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INDIAN VILLAGES OF THE  
ILLINOIS COUNTRY

*Historic Tribes*

*by*

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*with*

An introduction by Fred Eggan, Ph.D.

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ILLINOIS STATE MUSEUM  
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TO LOIS



Peoria Indian warriors bring a Sioux captive to their village on Lake Peoria about the year A.D. 1685. (Habitat group formerly in the Illinois State Museum.)

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## INTRODUCTION

The Illinois State Museum is dedicated to the preservation of the past of our state and to making that past meaningful to its citizens. The present volume on "Indian Villages of the Illinois Country" by Dr. Wayne C. Temple, Curator of Ethnohistory, is an important contribution to this objective. He here brings together from a wide variety of documentary sources—the accounts and letters of explorers, missionaries, traders, and representatives of the Crown—the rich and varied history of the Illinois region and its inhabitants. The Illini, the Miami, the Sauk and Fox, the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa, the Shawnee and Delaware, and the Winnebago and Menominee, the tribes who roamed and hunted and fought over the Great Lakes region, are now largely gone but they have left their mark in place names and in history. We usually see them as part of the conflict between France, England and Spain for possession of the North American continent, and they played major roles as allies or pawns in that struggle. But here the Indians are themselves the center of attention, as Dr. Temple follows them across the stage of history.

The archeologists are gradually outlining the prehistory of the American Indians from their entrance across Bering Straits into the New World some twenty-five thousand or more years ago. In the Eastern United States there was a long period when hunting and the gathering of shellfish and vegetable foods furnished the major sources of subsistence. Illinois lies between the eastern forests and the central plains; and the mixed prairie and parkland offered additional possibilities for cultural growth and development. The University of Illinois and the University of Chicago, in collaboration with the State Museum, have contributed to the outlining of our archeological past. Earlier studies, such as *Rediscovering Illinois*, by Fay-Cooper Cole and Thorne Deuel (University of Chicago Press, 1937), and more recent investigations such as those of the Starved Rock area and the Modoc Rock Shelter have given us an outline of cultural development over most of the period during which this region has been occupied. But archeology, interesting as it is, can only tell part of the story.

Some years ago the State Museum began a program of ethnohistory to fill in part of the gap. Ethnohistory is concerned particularly with

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the contact period and attempts to utilize the skills and techniques both of the historian and of the ethnologist. Sara Jones Tucker initiated this program by collecting microfilms of source materials and by assembling the maps relating to the Illinois country. These latter were published by the Museum in 1942 in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country, Part I, Atlas*. In his Foreword to the *Atlas* Dr. Thorne Deuel, Director of the Museum, proposed a second volume which would "contain a discussion of the story that the maps tell about Illinois, translations of important documents, and an attempt to visualize the conditions under which the original data were accumulated." This proposal has since been modified as increasing data has become available and new studies have been made.

In the past anthropologists and historians have largely worked in isolation, but today there is a growing trend towards co-operation. Anthropologists from their field studies are beginning to learn a great deal about the nature of social institutions and cultural practices, at the same time that historians are discovering new documentary sources and greatly increasing the richness of their accounts. The task of putting these together has been made more difficult by the fact that many of the tribes once resident in Illinois are either extinct or greatly reduced in number, so that the reconstruction of their old social life is both difficult and slow. Hence the attempt to include both the historical narrative and the cultural interpretation in one volume has been modified.

The present volume is devoted primarily to the historical period—the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries, and each major tribe or group of tribes, is followed chronologically from the time they enter the historical stage to the period of removal to reservations in the west or elsewhere. Another volume in preparation by Dr. Temple will present an additional series of maps to supplement the earlier *Atlas* by Mrs. Tucker. A further volume will be needed which should utilize the historical framework here developed, and the archeological background noted above, to present a full interpretation of the way of life or culture of the Illinois Indians and their neighbors.

Several of the field and library studies needed for this interpretation are underway at Indiana University, or the Universities of Chicago, Wisconsin, Illinois, and other institutions. Many of the tribal groups



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in the Great Lakes region are closely related linguistically, and comparative studies of their languages will contribute much new data. We know that a number of these tribes were forced southward from the Canadian forests into the Midwest prairies by the pressures of the French and by other Indian tribes. Much of the apparent aimlessness of movement in Dr. Temple's historical account is a reflection of this forced change in location, with resultant changes in their way of life. The shift from a primarily hunting culture to one based on agriculture, with correlative changes in population size and density, new forms of social organization, new techniques of warfare and defense, and even new religious beliefs was a major change, and one incompletely made.

In the Midwest, also, these Algonquian-speaking tribes came in contact with more sophisticated groups from the south and west, Siouan-speaking, for the most part, who had complex social structures and elaborate rituals. But before these new ideas and demands could be assimilated, the Iroquois raids began and lasted for a century and a half, during which period the Illini and their allies were driven beyond the Mississippi where they were able to recoup their strength and return, only to meet new enemies in the form of the Sioux and the Fox. Why the Iroquois federation was strong and the Illini confederation was weak was not a matter of numbers so much as of social and cultural organization.

The ethnological studies underway will not only make it possible to clothe the historical narratives with additional meaning but also promise to illuminate the deeper archeological cultures as well. We are making considerable progress in bringing the present to bear on the past, and we can reconstruct not only the material culture and subsistence patterns of the earlier populations, but something of their social life and ritual beliefs as well.

Dr. Temple's present account is an important study in itself and will be of value to all who have an interest in the history of Illinois and the neighboring regions. It has a key position, as well, with reference to the larger enterprise of the Illinois State Museum in exploring the whole past—prehistoric as well as historic—and interpreting that past in terms of modern scholarship. We look forward to these new studies at the same time that we congratulate Dr. Temple on a job well done.

FRED EGGAN

*University of Chicago*

November 8, 1957

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W. C. T.

## CHAPTER I

### ILINIWEK

The State of Illinois derives its name from a historic group of Indians who called themselves "Iliniwék" (from *ilini* "man," *iw* "is," *ek* plural ending), a term which the French quickly changed into "Illinois."<sup>1</sup> "When one speaks the word 'Illinois,'" the Jacques Marquette journal reports, "it is as if one said in their language, 'the men,'—As if the other Savages were looked upon by them merely as animals."<sup>2</sup> This idea of superiority over other tribal groups was a common belief among many American Indian nations. In this study the word "Illini" will be used to avoid confusion since many other tribes later moved into the Illinois Country and were referred to as "Illinois Indians."

Illini Indians spoke an Algonquian language mutually intelligible with the Miami tongue and closely related, but not intelligible, with other Algonquian languages such as Chippewa (Ojibway), Potawatomi, Kickapoo, to mention only a few.<sup>3</sup> Taken as a whole, the Illini formed a loose confederacy which seems to have been composed of the Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, Moingwena, Peoria, and Tamaroa. René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, an early explorer in the Illinois Country, also mentions the Korakoenitanon, Chinko, Tapouro, Omouahoas, Chepoussa and others as being Illini,<sup>4</sup> but these latter groups have long been extinct and little is known about them. For simplicity, the Illini confederacy will be referred to as the "Iliniwék."

In 1721 Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, a French Jesuit and historian, learned from several sources that, according to tradition, the Illini had originally come from the "banks of a very distant sea, to the westward."<sup>5</sup> Other tribes, such as the Delaware, have legends about

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907-1910), pt. 1, p. 597.

<sup>2</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), LIX, 125.

<sup>3</sup> C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, "Map of North American Indian Languages" (American Ethnological Soc., Publication No. 20, 1942).

<sup>4</sup> Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français* (Paris, 1879-1888), II, 96; Melville B. Anderson, ed., *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavelier de La Salle* (Chicago, 1901), 215.

<sup>5</sup> Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., *Journal of a Voyage to North America* (Chicago, 1923), II, 212.

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coming into their homelands from the west, but it is difficult to evaluate these traditions." There is, however, one mention of a group of Indians in the Delaware legend which some scholars identify as possibly being the Illini in late prehistoric times.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the lands of the Illini in early historic times were bounded by the Wisconsin, Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi rivers. At times they also lived in the present states of Iowa and Missouri.

It is impossible to locate the various groups of the Illini in prehistoric times, and some writers have denied that the Michigamea were part of the Iliniwék, but the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Tamaroa, and Cahokia declared in 1818 that the Michigamea were part of the confederacy.<sup>8</sup> There was a Michigamea chief named Chicago in 1725 and in the 1680's the Illinois River was called the Chicago.<sup>9</sup> But it is not possible to prove conclusively that the Michigamea once lived in the northern regions of Illinois.

In about the year 1639 the Winnebago betrayed and killed a group of Illini visitors, and for revenge the Illini delivered a telling coup against this tribe which was certainly living in the Green Bay area.<sup>10</sup> Reports of 1640 and 1642 place the Illini south of Lake Michigan and near the Sioux with whom they had continual wars.<sup>11</sup> Evidently, the main villages and hunting grounds of the Illini extended to or beyond the Mississippi River at this time. As late as 1655 the Illini—said to have sixty villages—were still masters of the Illinois Country and perhaps some of the lands along the west side of Lake Michigan,<sup>12</sup> but Nicolas Perrot, a *coureur de bois* in the Illinois Country from 1665 to 1701, declared that in the middle of the Seventeenth Century the Iroquois Confederacy from the East began attacking the Illini. At first the defenders were able to defeat the Iroquois and drive them out of the Illinois Country, but the stubborn Iroquois continued their attacks.<sup>13</sup> Although the Five Nations of the Iroquois seem to have had only about

<sup>6</sup> Eli Lilly and others, eds., *Walam Olum or Red Score* (Indianapolis, 1954).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>8</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 181-183.

<sup>9</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVIII, 203; John Gilmary Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Albany, 1903), 170.

<sup>10</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIV, 237.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 231; XXIII, 225-227.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XLII, 221.

<sup>13</sup> Emma Helen Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes* (Cleveland, 1911), I, 154-157.

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2,000 warriors, they had conquered most of their eastern neighbors by 1656 and were looking for new enemies to fight. They then concentrated their efforts against the Illini and other western groups.<sup>14</sup>

Jesuits were told again in 1657 or 1658 that the Illini numbered 20,000 men and lived in sixty villages, a report which was certainly exaggerated, but at this time they, no doubt, were a numerous nation although the French called several different groups "Illinois."<sup>15</sup> However, the Iroquois continued their raids against them and other groups near Lake Michigan; it was reported in 1659 or 1660 that Lake Superior was lined with Algonquin tribes who had fled there to escape from the Iroquois.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, the Illini retreated westward, probably across the Mississippi, where they seem to have lived for a number of years. The Huron of the Tobacco Nation, who had also run away from the Iroquois, were kindly received by the Illini at this time.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the Illini ventured east of the Mississippi River at certain times, because the Iroquois, while searching for the Fox about the year 1661, discovered an Illini party and "killed a considerable number of them." This unfortunate group of Illini was certainly east of the Mississippi, but it seems that shortly after this date they were forced to abandon their ancestral lands to the Iroquois beaver hunters. As the Illini moved further into the territory of the Sioux, they made peace with them so that they might pass through their country and trade at Point Chagaouamigong or Saint Esprit, near the western end of Lake Superior. As traders, the Illini were quite well known, exchanging their Indian slaves with the Ottawa for muskets, powder, kettles, hatchets, and knives.<sup>18</sup>

After the Illini withdrew across the Mississippi, the Iroquois sought other nations to fight, and gradually the Illini returned to their former country. Fifteen cabins went to the Green Bay region about the year 1666, established a village near the Fox, and cleared some land for their gardens. This particular group of Illini had probably lived west of the Mississippi in previous years.<sup>19</sup> The Jesuits learned

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<sup>14</sup> E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1853-1887), IX, 162, 358; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, XLIII, 263, LXII, 161.

<sup>15</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, XLIV, 247, LV, 207.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, XLV, 219.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XLV, 235.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 191; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 162.

<sup>19</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 41.

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that the Illini were greatly reduced in numbers from former times when they had had ten large villages; constant wars had "well-nigh exterminated them."<sup>20</sup> During the years 1669-1670, the Illini also frequented Saint Esprit, and the Jesuits learned that they had five large villages, "of which one has a stretch of three leagues, the cabins being placed lengthwise." (The French league was equal to about two and one half miles.) Their population was said to be nearly 2,000 men, women, and children, but their exact location during these years is unknown.

Marquette remarked that the Illini were thirty days' journey by land from Saint Esprit in 1669-1670 and were gathered in two villages which contained 8,000 or 9,000 people.<sup>21</sup> Since the missionaries had not contacted the Illini in their own country, these early reports seldom agree as to location, number of villages or population. At one time after the first Iroquois attacks it was said that the Illini were living at a spot seven days' journey west of the Mississippi,<sup>22</sup> but by 1670 part of the Illini were reported to be near the Mississippi, probably in Iowa.<sup>23</sup> Another report (1670) placed the Illini in eight villages which were located 100 leagues south of Saint Esprit,<sup>24</sup> and a Jesuit map drawn at about the same time, evidently from information supplied by French traders, indicates that the center of the Illiniwek was at a Kaskaskia village near Starved Rock on the Illinois River.<sup>25</sup>

Although these reports do not agree in detail, they seem to indicate that by 1670, or before, the Illini were returning either to live or hunt in the Illinois Country. When the mission of Saint François Xavier was established at the present site of De Pere (near Green Bay) in 1671, the Illini were encouraged to return to their former lands in the vicinity of Lake Michigan.<sup>26</sup> The following year, 1672, some of the Kaskaskia, Peoria, and Moingwena came to visit the Miami near Lake Winnebago. From these segments of the Illiniwek, the Jesuits learned that the Illini inhabited the banks of the Mississippi and all spoke the same language.<sup>27</sup> On August 13, 1672, Father Claude Jean Allouez, a

<sup>20</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LI, 47.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 167, 185-187.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, LV, 101.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, LV, 207.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, LV, 97.

<sup>25</sup> Copy in Parkman Coll., Harvard College Lib.

<sup>26</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 103, LVIII, 265.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, LVIII, 41-43.

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Jesuit missionary, discovered twenty cabins of the Illini on the Fox River southwest of Lake Winnebago; they were probably the same group previously mentioned as having visited and settled with the Miami that year.<sup>28</sup> Evidently, the Illini needed French goods and took advantage of the lull in the Iroquois raids to venture into these regions and contact the traders.

Our first long account of the Illini is contained in what has come to be called the Marquette journal of 1673. This document relates how Louis Jolliet, a French explorer and trader, and Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, embarked "with five men" on May 17 from the mission of St. Ignace at Michilimackinac (Mackinac) in two bark canoes to explore the Mississippi River. They paddled from the Straits of Mackinac down to the head of Green Bay, proceeded up the Fox River to Lake Winnebago and from there entered the lower Fox River. Their route continued along this river to the portage that connects it with the Wisconsin. It is said that on June 17, just one month after leaving Mackinac, the explorers entered the Mississippi and glided south with its gentle current. Nothing of importance seems to have happened until June 25 when they discovered an Indian path leading down to the shore. After following the tracks for about two leagues they came upon a village of Peoria which was located on the bank of a river—either the Des Moines or the Iowa. Two other villages, one of which was occupied by Moingwena, were situated on a hill about half a league from the Peoria.<sup>29</sup> The Illini are said to have informed Marquette that they were divided into many villages, some of which were at a great distance and whose inhabitants spoke slightly different dialects. After welcoming the French explorers, the Peoria related that their village consisted of 8,000 people and about 300 cabins.<sup>30</sup>

One anthropologist has recently declared that the Peoria were "on the west bank of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Missouri River" when Jolliet and Marquette discovered them in 1673.<sup>31</sup> The basis for this revolutionary thesis is an interpretation of one sentence in the so-called Marquette journal which seems to be vague. Since this question has been raised, it is necessary to delve into the origin of the Mar-

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, LVIII, 23.

<sup>29</sup> Marquette's map of 1673-1674, Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plate V.

<sup>30</sup> The number of cabins is also shown on the Jolliet map of 1674, *ibid.*, plate IV.

<sup>31</sup> *Ethnohistory*, III, 196 and footnote 12 on pages 218-219.

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quette journal of 1673. No copy of the journal in Marquette's handwriting has ever been found and Jolliet's original journal was lost in a canoe accident. Who then wrote the account of the expedition as we have it today? The late Dr. Jean Delanglez, who served in the Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University, was perhaps the most learned scholar ever to study this problem. Delanglez declares that Father Claude Dablon (1619-1697), superior of the Jesuit missions in New France and editor of the *Jesuit Relations*, assembled a journal of the expedition from various sources at hand: interviews with members of the exploring party, Jolliet's map and his dedicatory letter to Louis Frontenac, and Marquette's map and notes. "There is no essential fact concerning the voyage of 1673 in the *Récit*," Delanglez asserts, "that cannot be traced to these written or oral sources." Dablon had at his disposal previous accounts of various Indian nations, but he certainly found it very difficult to reconstruct the voyage of Jolliet and Marquette since he had never made this trip himself. This fact certainly accounts for the numerous errors and vague statements in the Marquette journal as we have it today. Dablon, Delanglez points out, was "undoubtedly distracted" when he wrote the tangled paragraph concerning the Missouri River.<sup>32</sup>

A study of the Marquette journal reveals that it is not a day by day account but rather a narrative of the voyage written after the event took place. At the beginning of the journal there is a statement about Marquette's mission among the Iliniwék, but this mission was founded during Marquette's second expedition.<sup>33</sup> And the date of the departure from the Peoria is given in one place as June 26 and at another place as "at the end of June."<sup>34</sup> The statements in the journal following the initial visit with the Peoria are very confused: first the explorers are in the current of the Missouri River, then the account jumps back up the Mississippi River to the spot near Alton, Illinois, where the Piasa Bird was found. Once again the journal takes the explorers into the rapid currents formed by the entrance of the Missouri into the Mississippi. This time Marquette and Jolliet are discussing the Piasa Bird when they enter the dangerous waters. The account then describes the

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<sup>32</sup> Jean Delanglez, "The 'Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette,'" *Mid-America*, XXVIII, 173-194, 211-258 (July-Oct., 1946).

<sup>33</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 93.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX, 113, 125, 137.



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mouth of the Missouri all over again.<sup>35</sup> But certainly the Peoria were not on or near the Missouri River because the journal names this river whereas the river at the Peoria village is left unidentified. The fact that the paragraph concerning the Missouri River follows immediately after the long description of the Peoria has little bearing upon the issue. Hundreds of miles pass without mention in this journal; in fact, there is no reference to the mouth of the Illinois River in the account of their voyage downstream. Only strange or noteworthy observations are recorded. At one point the journal states that they had traveled 100 leagues without discovering anything.<sup>36</sup>

Those who believe that the Peoria village was near the mouth of the Missouri ignore the one contemporary source which is beyond question: Marquette's autograph map of the expedition's route.<sup>37</sup> This document shows the Peoria and Moingwena to be located upon a river which is either the Des Moines or Iowa. The Missouri, placed a great distance below this site, is clearly marked and there is no mention of any Illini groups living there.<sup>38</sup> Another Jesuit map, describing explorations made in 1672 and 1673, also shows 300 cabins of Peoria and a village of Moingwena on either the Des Moines or Iowa rivers.<sup>39</sup> Since the Peoria houses were constructed of mats, it is possible that this group of Illini were on a summer hunt in Iowa, a common practice among these Indians.<sup>40</sup> This thesis seems to be corroborated by the fact that the Peoria are reputed to have fed Jolliet and Marquette fatty buffalo meat, signifying that it was not cured by sun, heat, or smoke. Rarely did any Indians hunt buffalo near their permanent villages, and if this had been a permanent village the buffalo meat would certainly have been obtained on a distant hunt and thus have been cured meat.<sup>41</sup> The permanent village of the Peoria at this time was probably on Lake Peoria in the Illinois Country where later explorers found them.

There is no mention in the Marquette journal of the explorers having seen either the Cahokia or Tamaroa along the banks of the Mis-

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX, 137, 139, 141, 143.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX, 113.

<sup>37</sup> Delangez, "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *Mid-America*, XXVII, 30 (Jan., 1945).

<sup>38</sup> Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plate V.

<sup>39</sup> Unsigned map, copy in Parkman Coll., Harvard College Lib.

<sup>40</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 129.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX, 123.

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Mississippi. Perhaps these groups were still on the west side of the Mississippi or away on their summer hunt. It was not until the expedition reached what is thought to be the St. Francis River in Arkansas that a Michigamea village was discovered.<sup>42</sup> This tribe prepared to attack the explorers, but upon seeing the calumet it is said that they ceased their menacing threats and allowed Marquette and Jolliet to come ashore. Although the Michigamea did not speak the same language as the Peoria, "an old man" was found in the village "who could speak a little Illinois." According to the journal, the Arkansas informed the explorers that there was an Illini village just four days' journey west of them.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps this was a group of Cahokia or Tamaroa who had not as yet returned to the Illinois Country after the Iroquois wars which had thrown the Iliniwék into disorder and demoralized them.

Marquette's journal relates that after staying with the Arkansas for awhile, the explorers decided to return instead of seeking the mouth of the Mississippi. July 17 is the date given for the start of the return trip, but there is some question about the exactness of the dates in this journal. Although the account of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition down the Mississippi is vague and confusing, it can be followed much better than the brief report of their return. It seems that when they reached the mouth of the Illinois, Jolliet and Marquette turned into this river "which greatly shortens our road, and takes us with but little effort to the lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan]." While paddling up the Illinois, presumably at a point between the present towns of Utica and Ottawa, they found a Kaskaskia village of seventy-four cabins. This certainly was the Great Village of the Kaskaskia or La Vantum as the French called it in later years. Then, as an afterthought, the journal reports that on the return voyage the explorers "passed through the Illinois of Peouara" where they remained for three days. No exact location for this Peoria village is given; it could well have been on Lake Peoria, the home of this tribe in later years.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps they were the same group of Peoria discovered by Jolliet and Marquette while descending the Mississippi. The time element would be approximately cor-

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<sup>42</sup> Delanglez identifies this village as Quapaw although the journal says "Mitchigamea." *Mid-America*, XXVII, 47 (Jan., 1945).

<sup>43</sup> Anatasius Douay visited the Arkansas in 1687 and reported that they had never seen a European before and Douay concluded that Jolliet and Marquette had not gotten as far south as the Arkansas. Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 227.

<sup>44</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 87-163.

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rect since the Illini usually returned to their permanent villages from the summer hunt in time to harvest their corn in August or September. But Dablon's editing of the material is confusing and it is impossible to locate those villages encountered on the return trip. If Dablon saw the Jesuit map which depicts the explorations of the Jesuits in the years 1672 and 1673 and used it as part of his source material, it is perhaps possible to explain why he mentioned their second visit with the Peoria as a vague afterthought. This map indicates that Jolliet's expedition retraced its previous course on the Mississippi River until the explorers reached the Peoria village on the Des Moines or Iowa. From this point the route suddenly moves overland across the prairie to the Kaskaskia village on the Illinois River.<sup>45</sup> Dablon, it would seem, was confused about many points of this famous expedition.

Illini were probably returning to their Illinois Country before the French made contact with them, but the presence of these Europeans seems to have given them courage to face the Iroquois. In 1673-1674 the Jesuits related that their mission at Green Bay (St. Francis Xavier) had encouraged some groups of the Illini who were still living west of the Mississippi to return to their "former country, near the lake that bears their name."<sup>46</sup>

After resting at Green Bay, Marquette set out again to visit the Illini on October 25, 1674, and was accompanied by a party of Potawatomi and Illini, but in November he was forced to make winter camp on the Chicago River where he witnessed the Illini going to trade their beaver skins at "Nawaskingwe" which has not been identified. The facts and details of this second expedition by Marquette are found in a journal which undoubtedly was written by Marquette himself.<sup>47</sup> He explains that there were encampments of Illini, evidently winter hunting parties, six leagues from his hut, but the severe weather kept them from hunting and they were starving. Here, Marquette met an Illini named Chachagwessiou who was held in much esteem by his tribe because he was a great fur trader. Marquette also learned that the Illini wished to obtain powder, but he refused to give them any since he feared they might start a war with the nearby Miami.<sup>48</sup> As spring

<sup>45</sup> Copy of map in Parkman Coll., Harvard College Lib.

<sup>46</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LVIII, 265.

<sup>47</sup> Delanglez, "The 'Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette,'" *Mid-America*, XXVIII, 219 (Oct., 1946).

<sup>48</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 167, 175, 177.

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returned to the Illinois Country, Marquette regained his strength and on March 30 continued his journey to the Illini's great village which was on the Illinois River and probably near Starved Rock. He estimated that the Kaskaskia there numbered approximately 1,500 warriors, and from other French reports it can be estimated that their strength was about 4,500 persons<sup>49</sup> or 500 to 600 families.<sup>50</sup> After establishing a mission called the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskia, Marquette left their village after Easter for the return trek to Mackinac, but he died along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan on May 19.

Soon after the Illini returned to their lands in Illinois, they renewed their war with the Fox who were living near Green Bay. During the winter of 1675-76 they raided the Fox, killing some and carrying others off into slavery.<sup>51</sup> Not until Father Claude Jean Allouez replaced Marquette at the mission among the Kaskaskia is there another reliable account of the Illini. In October, 1676, he left Green Bay and proceeded south along the western shore of Lake Michigan. When he reached the southern tip of this lake, he found eighty Illini encamped there, and the chief escorted Allouez to the great Kaskaskia village. On April 27, 1677, he reached his destination and discovered that the village contained 351 cabins, a great increase from the seventy-four cabins found there by Marquette in 1673. Then it had been occupied only by the Kaskaskia, but now it was the home of eight bands or groups of the Iliniwék who had formerly lived along the Mississippi but had been summoned to La Vantum by the Kaskaskia.<sup>52</sup>

It seems probable that the Kaskaskia had asked the other Illini groups to join them in order to withstand the threatened Iroquois attacks. In 1677 the Iroquois announced that they intended to make war upon the Illini, and the following year they did send war parties into the Illinois Country but were beaten by the Illini. The Iroquois, who had begun trapping in the Illinois Country since the defeat of the Illini, suddenly found that the previous occupants had returned and were killing their beaver hunters. Nearly forty Iroquois had been slain and their deaths were used as an excuse for renewing the war against the Illini. The English encouraged the Iroquois attacks which they thought

<sup>49</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 933.

<sup>50</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 189.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, LX, 201.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, LX, 159-161.

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would force the Illini to trade with them.<sup>53</sup> Although their first attempts failed, the Iroquois continued to send war parties to harass the Illini.

The next European contact with the Illini came in December of 1679 when René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, paddled down the Illinois River past the Kaskaskia village near Starved Rock. He found that the Kaskaskia were away on their winter hunt, but he estimated that the village contained 400 or 500 cabins, each of which was large enough to accommodate five or six families.<sup>54</sup> Father Louis Hennepin, who was with La Salle, counted the cabins and said that there were 460 lodges which were "made like long arbors and covered with double mats of flat flags, so well sewed, that they are never penetrated by wind, snow or rain."<sup>55</sup> The village was on the north bank of the Illinois and extended along the river for about a league. It had no walls or entrenchments and was about a quarter of a league in width.<sup>56</sup> While searching through the village, La Salle's men found the buried corn caches of the Kaskaskia. Since the party was in dire need of food, they took thirty minots of the corn and continued their voyage down the Illinois. (A minot is equal to slightly more than one bushel.)

On January 4 or 5, 1680, after the explorers had traveled thirty leagues from the Kaskaskia village, they discovered an Illini village of about eighty cabins located on the southern end of Lake Peoria. All young warriors were gone on their winter hunt, and the remaining Illini, who were certainly the Peoria, were frightened by the French whom they mistook at first for an Iroquois war party.<sup>57</sup> However, La Salle made peace with them and learned that the principal chief of the Illini was Chassagoac; Omoahoha was another chief, and a third was Nicanapé, a Kaskaskian.<sup>58</sup> La Salle built Fort Crèvecoeur near the village on the left bank of the river and, after placing Henri Tonti in command, left the Peoria village on March 10 bound for Fort Frontenac. He warned the little garrison that the Iroquois would probably attack the Illini during the winter and that the latter might flee

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, LX, 167; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 162-163.

<sup>54</sup> Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 97.

<sup>55</sup> Shea, ed., *A Description of Louisiana, by Father Louis Hennepin* (N. Y., 1880), 153.

<sup>56</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 195.

<sup>57</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of Henri de Tonty* (Chicago, 1898), 29-31.

<sup>58</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 99, 101, 199; Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, I, 471.

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at the first encounter. Evidently, La Salle realized that the Illini were disorganized and demoralized as a result of the previous Iroquois raids.

On La Salle's trip back up the Illinois, he passed the deserted village of the Kaskaskia but later saw two Illini and the principal chief, Chassagoac. The chief promised La Salle that he would send corn to the French at Fort Crèvecoeur.

Before La Salle left Fort Crèvecoeur, he had sent Hennepin, Michel Accault and "the Picard" to explore the Illinois River south of the Peoria village. They left on February 29 and met a returning party of Illini hunters who invited them to turn about, but the explorers paddled on toward the mouth of the river. At a distance of two leagues from the mouth, Hennepin's party found a village of Tamaroa consisting of 200 families. They informed Hennepin that their main village, however, was west of the Mississippi and six or seven leagues below the mouth of the Illinois.<sup>59</sup> It would seem that the Tamaroa were just starting to reoccupy the Illinois Country when Hennepin made contact with them. The Tamaroa were hiding not only from the Iroquois but also from the Sioux. After reaching the mouth of the Illinois, Hennepin's party turned north and paddled up the Mississippi. On April 11 they met a war party of 120 Sioux who were traveling south in thirty-three bark canoes and searching for the Tamaroa and Miami.<sup>60</sup> Thus, the Illini were caught between two powerful enemies: the Iroquois and the Sioux. With two such resolute foes, the days of the Illiniwek were numbered.

While La Salle was returning up the Illinois River, he noted the natural fort which has come to be known as Starved Rock and informed Tonti, by messenger, that he should occupy this site in case of an attack. And Tonti did move from Fort Crèvecoeur to Starved Rock in April of 1680, but no fortifications were made there. The Illini, La Salle said, had about 1,800 warriors and should have been able to defend themselves against the Iroquois, but their organization was growing weaker. The French themselves were one cause of this weakness, for they did not wish to see the Illini become independent or establish peace with the Iroquois. La Salle remarked that if peace were established, the Illini might make war against the Ottawa and interrupt the fur trade

<sup>59</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 117-121. See *The Site of Fort de Crèvecoeur* (Springfield, 1925).

<sup>60</sup> Shea, ed., *A Description of Louisiana by Father Hennepin*, 204-206.

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enjoyed by the French.<sup>61</sup> For these reasons, the French were slow to furnish the Illini with weapons and military support although they furnished arms and ammunition to the Iroquois. The Miami had about 1,500 warriors, who should have joined the Illini in their fight against the Iroquois, but fear and jealousy kept the Illini and Miami separated. The subtle Iroquois therefore made peace with the Miami and marched to strike the Illini in 1680. Only 500 or 600 Iroquois warriors and 100 Shawnee are said to have taken part in this raid, but the Illini would not face the Iroquois in battle although Tonti did his best to organize them for a defense of their village near Starved Rock.<sup>62</sup> In September the Iroquois arrived at the great village where about 7,000 or 8,000 Illini had been living,<sup>63</sup> but the women and children had been sent six leagues farther down the Illinois River as soon as scouts reported that the Iroquois were coming. Tonti related that he had only 500 Illini warriors with him when the Iroquois arrived.

Tonti approached the Iroquois party only to be stabbed and severely injured before he could make his peace proposals. Negotiations were carried on for several days, and meanwhile the Illini hurriedly constructed some fortifications, but on September 19 Tonti learned that the Iroquois were bent on destroying the Illini. When they heard this, the Illini fled south along the Illinois to join their women and Tonti moved north toward Green Bay.<sup>64</sup> Upon learning that the Illini had departed, the Iroquois gave vent to their rage by burning the village and desecrating the cemetery. Graves were dug up, the bones were strewed about, and the bodies, which the Illini had placed on scaffolds in the trees, were pulled down. Even the fields of corn were destroyed.

After several days of pillage, the Iroquois broke camp and followed the Illini down the river, not daring to attack because the Illini had mustered all their forces as they retreated. But although the Illiniwek Confederation was once again functioning, it lacked leadership and determination. On the retreat from Starved Rock toward Peoria, the Illini made six encampments and the Iroquois camped op-

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<sup>61</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, XXIII, 5-6.

<sup>62</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 163.

<sup>63</sup> Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 154.

<sup>64</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of Henri de Tonty*, 37-45.

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posite these spots each time.<sup>65</sup> These maneuvers continued until both parties reached the mouth of the Illinois River where the Iroquois announced that they were now content, having driven the Illini from their country once again, and promised to return home if the Illini would disband and offer no more resistance. The Illini were deceived by the wily Iroquois and separated, the Kaskaskia and Cahokia going up the Mississippi, the Peoria crossing the Mississippi, the Moingwena traveling down the Mississippi, and the credulous Tamaroa remaining to hunt in Illinois. Immediately the Iroquois fell upon the Tamaroa and slaughtered about 700 women and children, the fleet-footed warriors escaping with few losses. In this battle the Tamaroa suffered a loss of about 1,200 persons—either killed or captured—while the Iroquois lost only thirty warriors. Many of the captive women and children were subjected to the most terrible tortures before being killed. Never again would the Illini completely dominate the Illinois Country. Some of the Illini even fled north and lived with the Fox temporarily.<sup>66</sup>

Most of the Illini (whom Zénobe Membré—a Recollect missionary—said consisted of seventeen villages) fled across the Mississippi and established themselves among the Osage who lived 200 leagues from the Illinois Country.<sup>67</sup> The Iroquois, after slaughtering the Tamaroa, decided to return home by way of the Ohio River and were already on their way when Paessa, a chief of the Kaskaskia who had been away hunting, returned with 100 warriors to the site of the Tamaroa camp. Upon discovering the carnage, Paessa immediately followed the trail of the retreating Iroquois and in February of 1681 came upon them in winter quarters somewhere in the Miami country, probably in southern Indiana. Although greatly outnumbered, the Kaskaskia charged the Iroquois camp three times but were beaten off each time. Paessa was killed and the remaining Kaskaskia then proceeded toward Lake Erie to take revenge against some winter hunting parties of Iroquois whom they knew would be in that region.<sup>68</sup> When the Iroquois of Onondaga returned home, they had 700 Illini captives with them; over 600 of these were burned at the stake and their roasted flesh eaten.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 132-133.

<sup>66</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 211-215; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 163; Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 166.

<sup>67</sup> Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 166-167.

<sup>68</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 141-142.

<sup>69</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 71.



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In the spring of 1681 La Salle learned that the Miami intended to coöperate with the Iroquois in a continuation of the war against the Illini, but when he made a personal appearance in the Miami villages, the Iroquois quickly left and the Miami agreed to make peace with the Illini.<sup>70</sup> Now the French were convinced that the Iroquois had attacked the Illini, the Ottawa, and the Huron to disrupt trade,<sup>71</sup> but the Iroquois may have had other reasons for their raids; in any case, their organization was geared for war. And in 1682 the Iroquois wished to continue the war against the Illini although most of them were still living west of the Mississippi.<sup>72</sup>

When La Salle and Tonti with their party of twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Mohegan Indians<sup>73</sup> journeyed through the Illinois Country in January of 1682, they found that the big village at Starved Rock was deserted as was the Peoria village. Kaskaskia and Peoria were still hiding from the Iroquois beyond the Mississippi, but when the explorers reached the Tamaroa village, six or seven leagues below the mouth of the Missouri on the east bank of the Mississippi, they found evidence that the Tamaroa had returned and were occupying their former location. Although the Tamaroa were away hunting, Tonti counted 180 lodges which had been constructed since the Iroquois raid of 1680. La Salle and Tonti continued down the Mississippi and found an Illini slave among the Arkansas, but before they reached the mouth of the Mississippi, they turned back. In June of 1682, about four days after having left the mouth of the Ohio, Tonti discovered a war party which he thought consisted of thirty Tamaroa. They remembered him and upon closer inspection Tonti found that the party contained not only Tamaroa but also Missouri and Illini. By Illini Tonti probably meant Kaskaskia since the early explorers maintained that the Kaskaskia were the true Illini. No doubt the Tamaroa had allied themselves with the Missouri for protection against the Iroquois. From the Tamaroa Tonti learned that their village was only a day and a half distant, and he arrived there on June 18 to find that the Tamaroa had returned from their winter hunt along the Ohio River and that the village had increased to 200 cabins.

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<sup>70</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 267-273.

<sup>71</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, V, 7.

<sup>72</sup> *Colls. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XXXIV, 277-278.

<sup>73</sup> The Indians took with them ten of their women and three children.

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Tonti proceeded back up the Illinois River, but there was no sign of either the Peoria or Kaskaskia. It was June 27 when Tonti passed the Kaskaskia site and they should have been there long before this time if they intended to plant corn. He explained that fear of the Iroquois kept the Illini away from their country, and when Nicolas de La Salle, a commissary employee in the Louisiana Country from 1701-1709, arrived at Peoria in July there still were no indications that the Peoria or Kaskaskia had returned. Desolation reigned alone at both Peoria and Starved Rock.<sup>74</sup> Most of the Illini still remained west of the Mississippi, but the five Iroquois nations continued to search for them and informed Frontenac at Montreal on September 11, 1682, that they were about to march against the Illini again. These attacks continued although the Iroquois assured Frontenac that they wished to maintain peace with the French.<sup>75</sup>

Since La Salle wished to build a bulwark against the Iroquois and establish an empire in the Illinois Country for fur trade, he joined Tonti in December of 1682 and they began the construction of a fort on top of Starved Rock which they named Fort St. Louis. The deserted village of the Kaskaskia was, according to La Salle, about six leagues above the new fort, and he intended to induce the Illini to return and form an alliance with their neighbors for defense against the Iroquois.<sup>76</sup> When the fort was finished, probably in the spring of 1683, the Miami from St. Joseph's River and the headwaters of the Kankakee joined La Salle. In February of 1681 La Salle had met a Miami called Nanangoucy who told him that if a fort were built in the Illinois Country, the Miami would settle there.<sup>77</sup> With the Miami came a group of Shawnee who had been living with them at the mouth of St. Joseph's River since the fall of 1681. While La Salle had been traveling in the Illinois Country in 1681, a Shawnee chief sent word to La Salle from his village on a southern tributary of the Ohio River, probably the Cumberland, that he wished to bring his 150 warriors and join La Salle. By runner La Salle informed this Shawnee leader that he would be pro-

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<sup>74</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of Henri de Tonty*, 59-109; *Narrative of Nicolas de La Salle*, 67; Henri Tonti to Frontenac, Mackinac, July 23, 1682, in Marion A. Habig, *The Franciscan Pere Marquette: A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré* (N. Y., 1934), 228.

<sup>75</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 183-184; *Collection de Manuscrits a la Nouvelle-France*, I, 289.

<sup>76</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 175.

<sup>77</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 249.

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tected from the Iroquois if he came.<sup>78</sup> The actual number of Shawnee who left the Ohio River Country to settle near La Salle's fort was perhaps 200 cabins. Father Membré stated that there were 200 cabins of new Indians who were going to help "repeople" the Illinois Country.<sup>79</sup>

Eventually, the Miami were made to see the necessity of forming a strong alliance, and they invited the Illini to return.<sup>80</sup> In March of 1683, Tonti, carrying the invitations of both La Salle and the Miami, set out across the prairies to find the Illini who were living more than 100 leagues from Starved Rock.<sup>81</sup> They were probably still with the Osage near the Missouri River, but the exact date of their return is not known. It was probably during the fall of 1683<sup>82</sup> that the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Moingwena, Tamaroa, Cahokia, and others came to the site of Fort St. Louis and joined the Miami, Mascouten, and Shawnee.<sup>83</sup> Franquelin's map of 1684 lists La Salle's confederacy as: the Illini with 1,200 warriors living across the river from the fort, 200 Shawnee braves situated south of the fort, 1,300 Miami warriors located some distance from the fort up the Vermilion, 500 Wea (a branch of the Miami) situated just west of the Illini, and 150 Piankashaw (another branch of the Miami) at some distance up the Illinois on the north bank. In addition, there were 160 Pepikokia, 300 Kilatica, and 70 Ouabona. These last three tribes were certainly small divisions of the Miami. In all, La Salle mustered 3,880 warriors around his fort and with their families they numbered about 20,000. These figures agree with La Salle's own report which lists the strength of the confederation at about 4,000 warriors.<sup>84</sup> Within the Illiniwek itself, the Tamaroa were said to have 300 cabins and the Peoria 600 families, but Tonti reported that there were only 300 cabins altogether at the new fort.<sup>85</sup> Perhaps the cabins at La Salle's fort were larger and held more people. It was La Salle's wish that the Chickasaw might follow the Shawnee and settle at Fort St. Louis, but this dream never materialized.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 259; *Relation of Henri de Tonty*, 111.

<sup>79</sup> Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 182.

<sup>80</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 318.

<sup>81</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of Henri de Tonty*, 113.

<sup>82</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 112.

<sup>83</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 201; Anderson, ed., *Relation of Nicolas de La Salle*, 67.

<sup>84</sup> Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1889), 297.

<sup>85</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 201; *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, I, 147.

<sup>86</sup> La Salle to La Barre, Ft. St. Louis, Apr. 2, 1683, quoted in Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 299.

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Fort St. Louis gave security to the Indians although they themselves built four other forts for protection. The Miami certainly remembered that in 1682 the Iroquois had attacked their villages and caused them to flee. Only upon the return of La Salle did the Miami venture back to their old villages and then relocated at the fort. However, the Iroquois continued to raid into the Illinois Country during the first part of 1683, and although they could not capture the fort, they discouraged the Missouri from joining La Salle's colony. His Illini, La Salle learned, were very capricious and undependable; he found it difficult to raise scouting parties to reconnoitre the Iroquois forces.<sup>87</sup>

In August of 1683, La Salle left the fort and returned to Canada in order to straighten out affairs with the new governor who disliked him. Tonti was left in charge of the "colony," but the governor, La Barre, sent the Chevalier de Baugis to relieve him of his command. De Baugis found his task difficult and on March 21, 1684, the Iroquois attacked Fort St. Louis with 200 warriors. For six days they besieged the defenders and then retreated after some losses. Small parties of the Illini and their allies pursued and killed a few of the attackers, and<sup>88</sup> when the Iroquois began to pillage French canoes and capture many valuable furs, Governor La Barre secured a peace settlement with the Iroquois in September of 1684, but he did not send enough aid to the Illini.<sup>89</sup> The Iroquois boasted that they would not leave one Illini alive and the war continued.<sup>90</sup>

Tonti, having been restored to his command by La Barre, set off for the fort in the fall of 1684, but ice kept him in Canada until spring. When the Illini learned of the war which the French were waging against the Iroquois in the East, they offered assistance.<sup>91</sup> But La Barre's half-hearted support of the Illini caused Louis XIV to remove him in March of 1685 and appoint Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville.<sup>92</sup> Tonti arrived at Fort St. Louis in June of 1685 and discovered that the Miami had renewed their old feud with the Illini and had

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<sup>87</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, I, 123; La Salle to La Barre, Portage of Chicago, June 4, 1683, in Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 299-301.

<sup>88</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of Henri de Tonty*, 113-115.

<sup>89</sup> William Renwick Riddell, *References to Illinois in French-Canadian Official Documents* (Springfield, 1930), 4.

<sup>90</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 249.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 249.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 269.

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defeated them. But with many presents Tonti was able to reconcile the two nations and keep the confederacy together.<sup>93</sup> The governor of Canada planned to use the Illini against the Iroquois in the East, but the distance was great and many of the Illini were not eager for a battle with their powerful enemy.<sup>94</sup> When Tonti left the Illinois Country in April of 1687, he had with him only fifty Shawnee, four Delaware and seven Miami for a campaign against the Iroquois. Three hundred Illini, however, joined him while en route east, but all of them except 149 soon deserted;<sup>95</sup> Tonti and his Indian allies nevertheless proceeded toward Detroit.<sup>96</sup> During the summer the French raided many of the Iroquois villages, and at the conclusion of this campaign Tonti returned to Fort St. Louis with a little band of forty men on October 27, 1687.<sup>97</sup>

The Michigamea seem to have remained along the Mississippi during the years that La Salle maintained Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock. While Henri Joutel, a French officer, was paddling up the Mississippi, in August of 1687, he found the Michigamea living several days' journey below the mouth of the Ohio. He later discovered, on September 11, that part of the Kaskaskia were living near Lake Peoria, and when he arrived at Fort St. Louis, he found Kaskaskia, Peoria, and Shawnee living there.<sup>98</sup> No mention is made of the several groups of Miami who had previously been part of La Salle's confederacy although Sieur Deliette relates that the Miami were at the fort in 1687 but left the following year, part of them going to the upper Mississippi, part to the St. Joseph River, and some to Racine, Wisconsin.<sup>99</sup> These three groups were the Wea, Miami, and Piankashaw. There were still 100 families of Shawnee at the fort in 1687, according to Sieur Deliette, but they left about 1689.<sup>100</sup>

Slowly the confederacy fell apart and La Salle's dream of an Indian empire vanished as the allies of the Illini left Fort St. Louis. Even the Iliniwék was divided. About 1688 Tonti related that there

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<sup>93</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, I, 149.

<sup>94</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 285.

<sup>95</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, I, 151.

<sup>96</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 337.

<sup>97</sup> Henry Reed Stiles, ed., *Henri Joutel's Journal* (Albany, 1906), 195.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 184-190.

<sup>99</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, XXIII, 392.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 307.

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were eighty cabins of Illini living on the Kankakee River,<sup>101</sup> and before 1687 the Cahokia and Tamaroa—numbering more than sixty cabins—had returned to their villages along the Mississippi eight leagues below the mouth of the Illinois River.<sup>102</sup> However, the Illini were still a power to be reckoned with, and in 1688 Tonti was able to send 800 warriors against the Iroquois. They left in March and drifted back to Fort St. Louis in groups of ten or twenty up to the end of September, having killed or captured sixty Iroquois.<sup>103</sup> Armand Louis de l'Om Darce, Baron de Lahontan, said that in 1688 the Illini were frequently seen along the shores of Lake Huron where the Iroquois hunted.<sup>104</sup> Evidently, the Illini were killing small hunting parties of Iroquois who were far from home, and in 1690-1691 the Ottawa joined the Illini in fighting the Iroquois in the region of the Great Lakes.<sup>105</sup> However, the Illini had lost their control of Lake Michigan; their activities were limited to harassing their stubborn enemies. To the south, the Illini were fighting the Osage—a tribe with whom they were sometimes friendly.

On October 17, 1689, Tonti arrived at the mouth of the Illinois River and discovered a village of Illini there. Their warriors had just returned from a war with the Osage, having lost thirteen men while capturing 130 prisoners.<sup>106</sup> Illini were also living around Fort St. Louis in 1691, but the Iroquois attacks continued. During the summer of that year the women discovered that the Iroquois were cutting their corn, and Sieur Pierre Deliette, a nephew of Henri Tonti who had been left in charge of the fort in Tonti's absence, sent out eighty warriors to reconnoitre. These scouts captured two Iroquois and discovered that 300 more were in the vicinity, waiting for the corn to ripen before attacking. The Iroquois were beaten off, but upon the return of the Illini war parties which had gone out in the spring, a council was held and it was decided that Starved Rock could not be defended. Although the position of the fort atop the rock was nearly impregnable, firewood and water were difficult to procure during an attack. Deliette assem-

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<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 276.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 341-342.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 323-324.

<sup>104</sup> Thwaites, ed., *New Voyages to North-America by the Baron de Lahontan* (Chicago, 1905), I, 320.

<sup>105</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 502.

<sup>106</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, I, 155.

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bled the Illini in September and asked them where they wished to go; they replied that they would move to Lake Peoria which was called Lake Pimitoui, or "Fat Lake," so named because there was an abundance of game there.

During the winter of 1691-1692, Tonti returned to Peoria and built a fort there to protect the Illini who numbered about 800 warriors between the ages of twenty and forty. Their new village consisted of more than 260 cabins, each of which contained two or more families. Deliette stated that there were six villages of Illini at Peoria: the Kaskaskia, Peoria, Moingwena, Coiracoentanon, Maroa, and Tapouara. The Cahokia and Tamaroa were living eight leagues below the mouth of the Illinois River and Deliette never saw these two groups.<sup>107</sup> Nor does Deliette mention the Michigamea, who were living down the Mississippi near the Arkansas. Since they had been separated from the Illiniwek for so long, the other Illini probably never spoke of the Michigamea. The Peoria and the Coiracoentanon had the largest villages in the Illiniwek settlement and could muster as many men as the Kaskaskia, Moingwena, Maroa, and Tapouara combined. This new village area was on the west side of Lake Peoria's southern tip.<sup>108</sup>

Although the Illini were retreating from the Iroquois, the French were determined to send them and the Ottawa into war against the Iroquois who maintained connections with the British at Boston.<sup>109</sup> When the king of France granted Fort St. Louis to Tonti and François Dauphin de la Forest, one of the conditions of the grant was that the Illini would direct war parties against the Iroquois, and although the Illini were no longer at Fort St. Louis, the king expected the war to be continued.<sup>110</sup>

In the spring of 1692, Sebastien Rasles, a Jesuit, arrived at Lake Peoria to serve as missionary to the 300 cabins of Illini living there. From these people he learned that the Illiniwek was, at that time, composed of eleven villages, but these were not all at Peoria.<sup>111</sup> The following year it was reported that the other villages were along the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Missouri, where the Tamaroa and Cahokia

<sup>107</sup> See pages 11-12 for an explanation of the various parts of the Illiniwek.

<sup>108</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, XXIII, 324-327, 341-342, 350.

<sup>109</sup> *Coll. de Manuscrits Nouvelle-France*, II, 60.

<sup>110</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, XXIII, 263.

<sup>111</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII, 163.

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lived, and the only tribes mentioned as being at Peoria were the Kaskaskia and the Peoria. Although these last two groups were closely united, a considerable number of Kaskaskia remained at Lake Peoria and did not accompany the Peoria on their winter hunt which began on September 26, 1693.<sup>112</sup> Other groups of Illini who had previously lived on Lake Peoria seem to have moved before 1693, for the missionary report of 1693-1694 states that there were only four villages on Lake Peoria, and all of these were occupied by Peoria and Kaskaskia.<sup>113</sup> Perhaps fear of the Iroquois or disagreement with other members of the Illiniwek had again driven some of the smaller groups beyond the Mississippi.

In May of 1693 the chiefs of the Peoria and Kaskaskia journeyed westward to seek an alliance with the Missouri and Osage Indians.<sup>114</sup> It would seem that the Iroquois, a relentless foe, were still making inroads into the Illinois Country, although from 1687 until 1701 they were largely occupied in defending themselves from the attacks of the French and their Indian allies.

Little is known of the Illini from 1694 until 1696; in the latter year, a missionary, who was stationed at Peoria, reported that he had baptized 2,000 of the Illini, but he does not report the size of the village and many of these conversion accounts appear to have been greatly exaggerated for the eyes of the Jesuit authorities in Canada.<sup>115</sup> The Tamaroa in 1697 had two villages close to the site of Fort Chartres, west of the present town of Prairie du Rocher. In this same year the Michigamea were settled on what is probably known today as Apple Creek on the west bank of the Mississippi.<sup>116</sup> Although the Iroquois do not seem to have raided these Illini groups living on the Mississippi, the Sioux were a constant threat to their depleted ranks.<sup>117</sup>

Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme, who belonged to the Seminary of Foreign Missions, reached the site of Fort St. Louis on November 15, 1698, but found that it was abandoned, the Illini having settled at Lake Peoria. Four days later St. Cosme reached Peoria where those villagers

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, LXIV, 161, 171, 173, 189.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, LXIV, 197.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, LXIV, 161.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, LXV, 33.

<sup>116</sup> Tucker, ed., *Indian Villages*, plate XIV.

<sup>117</sup> *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII, 75.



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not on the winter hunt were encamped. After remaining here for awhile, St. Cosme continued his journey down the Illinois and during the first day's paddling he found the cabin of Rouensa, the principal chief of the Illiniwek. Another important chief among the Illini was named Peoria, evidently taking his name from the tribe so named or the village site. (Father Francis Pinet converted him sometime before January of 1699.) All along the route, St. Cosme found cabins of Illini who were evidently hunting. Among those encountered were chiefs called the Bear and Tivet; some of the encampments contained as many as twenty cabins. On December 6, St. Cosme came to the village of the Cahokia—probably at the present Cahokia site. They had suffered a disastrous raid which had been carried out by a group of Shawnee and Chickasaw. Ten Cahokia warriors had been killed and nearly 100 had been marched away into slavery. The following day St. Cosme's party reached a village of the Tamaroa, located on the east side of the Mississippi about eight leagues below the mouth of the Illinois River. However, the main Tamaroa village was situated on an island farther down the Mississippi where they evidently had fled for protection from the Shawnee and Chickasaw. St. Cosme related that although the greater part of the Tamaroa were away hunting, their village gave evidence of a numerous population. Thaumur de la Source said that the Tamaroa had 300 cabins. St. Cosme was told that the Michigamea were quite numerous and lived farther down the Mississippi, but at this season they were all hunting some distance away from the permanent village.<sup>118</sup> F. J. Montigny reported that the Michigamea village was on the Arkansas River at this time.<sup>119</sup>

Marc Bergier, the missionary at Cahokia, related in February of 1700 that many of the Tamaroa and Cahokia were not in their village since about half of the Cahokia had gone into winter quarters about twenty or twenty-five leagues up the Mississippi. The Tamaroa village near Cahokia consisted of Tamaroa, Cahokia, Michigamea, and Peoria: the Tamaroa having thirty cabins and the Cahokia about sixty. Although the Cahokia were more numerous, the village was called Tamaroa because they had been there first.<sup>120</sup> Tonti stated in 1700 that the Tamaroa

<sup>118</sup> Shea, ed., *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi* (Albany, 1861), 58-86. St. Cosme's trip was made in 1698-1699, not 1699 as Shea indicates.

<sup>119</sup> Letter cited in Isabel M. Calder, ed., *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys* (N. Y., 1935), 204.

<sup>120</sup> Edward Joseph Fortier, "The Establishment of the Tamarois Mission," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XIII, 236-237.

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village consisted of 400 Illini,<sup>121</sup> and they were constantly harassed by the hostile Sioux who paddled down the Mississippi to attack this village.<sup>122</sup>

When the French decided to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1698, this proposed settlement had considerable influence upon the Indians of the Illinois Country. Although the Kaskaskia had withdrawn from Starved Rock and joined the Peoria in 1681, the Kaskaskia wished to leave them and settle in the new Louisiana Country down the Mississippi. The Jesuit missionary Jacques Gravier left Chicago on September 8, 1700, and when he arrived at Lake Peoria, he discovered that the Kaskaskia were determined to leave the other Illini groups and move farther south. The Peoria and Moingwena were opposed to the Kaskaskia's moving and were about to insult them before they left. However, Father Gravier was able to heal the breach, but he could not stop the migration of the Kaskaskia.<sup>123</sup> He therefore went with them and on the journey persuaded them to settle on the north bank of the Des Peres River where St. Louis now stands. By October 9 the Kaskaskia had reached their new village site and Gravier found that the Tamaroa and Cahokia village was on the east bank of the Mississippi, five leagues north of the Meramec River mouth. The Tamaroa, however, were in winter quarters two leagues below the village where they awaited the Michigamea, who were going to winter with them. According to the Tamaroa, the Michigamea were living sixty leagues to the south, probably on the Arkansas River as previously reported. The Cahokia had moved four leagues north of the Tamaroa-Cahokia village and established a winter camp; this spot was nine leagues north of the Meramec River mouth on the Mississippi.<sup>124</sup>

The new Kaskaskia village consisted of about thirty cabins under the leadership of Rouensa who quickly encouraged the Tamaroa and Cahokia to join him. On April 13, 1701, the missionary at Cahokia related that some of the Tamaroa had already joined the Kaskaskia

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<sup>121</sup> Tonti to his brother, Ft. Mississippi, Mar. 4, 1700, in *Mid-America*, XXI, 232 (July, 1939).

<sup>122</sup> Fortier, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XIII, 237; Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, VI, 72.

<sup>123</sup> Shea, ed., *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, 116; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 103.

<sup>124</sup> Shea, ed., *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, 118-119.

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and that an additional twenty cabins of Tamaroa were preparing to join the first group. Long Neck, one of the Tamaroa chiefs, encouraged his group to join the Kaskaskia, but Chicago, another chief, was indifferent to the proposed move. About one third of the Tamaroa crossed the Mississippi to the Des Peres settlement, but the Cahokia, who amounted to sixty or seventy cabins, remained at the Tamaroa-Cahokia village on the east bank. Missouri Indians were friendly toward the Cahokia and sometimes ground their grain at this village. In 1700 about thirty-five cabins of Missouri came to Cahokia and then moved into winter quarters along the Mississippi, ten or fifteen leagues below the village.<sup>125</sup>

After remaining at their Des Peres location for about two and one half years, the Kaskaskia moved further down the Mississippi River. On April 25, 1703, they established a new village, often called Rouensa after their chief, near the mouth of what is known today as Kaskaskia River, but it was then called the Michigamea or the Tamaroa.<sup>126</sup> The Sioux had continued their war with the Illini and the move from Des Peres was to avoid contact with these ancient foes.<sup>127</sup> At first both the French and the Kaskaskia lived together in the same settlement. Pénicaut gives the first accurate location of the new Kaskaskia village by remarking in 1711 that it was two leagues upstream from the Mississippi, on the west side of the Kaskaskia River.<sup>128</sup>

With the removal of the Kaskaskia from the Illinois River, the power of the Iliniwék was greatly weakened, although in historic times this loose confederation was never able to maintain the solid unity necessary for survival against such groups as the Iroquois and the Sioux. Auguste Chouteau insisted that it was the Sioux who contributed the most toward the downfall of the Iliniwék and drove them from their northern lands.<sup>129</sup> By 1702 the Mascouten and Kickapoo, who numbered about 450 warriors, drifted down from Wisconsin and hunted beaver on the various northern tributaries of the Illinois River. These intruders did not establish large permanent villages in the Illinois Coun-

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<sup>125</sup> Mary Borgias Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country 1673-1763* (Cleveland, 1933), 36-37; Fortier, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XIII, 236-237.

<sup>126</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 221; *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (1904), 394.

<sup>127</sup> Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country*, 40-41.

<sup>128</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, V, 472.

<sup>129</sup> Grant Foreman, ed., "Notes of Auguste Chouteau on Boundaries of Various Indian Nations," *Glimpses of the Past* (Mo. Hist. Soc.), VII, 135 (Oct.-Dec., 1940).

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try; instead, they were content to trap the beaver and carry the valuable pelts to Green Bay for sale.<sup>130</sup> The French themselves attempted to move the Illini to the mouth of the Ohio River in 1702, but this plan failed. Some of the Illini even turned against the French and pillaged their canoes on the Mississippi.<sup>131</sup>

Although there was a mission among the Peoria, these Illini were hostile toward the priests and clung tenaciously to their old beliefs. Their village, on Lake Peoria, was the largest Illini settlement and consisted of Peoria, Moingwena, Korakoenitanon, Maroa, and Tapouro. If these groups had coöperated with their southern kinsmen—the Kaskaskia, Tamaroa and Cahokia—the Illiniwek at this time could have mustered about 1,500 warriors.<sup>132</sup> An estimate in 1702 of the Peoria and Cahokia villages is placed at 800 families, but this did not include the Kaskaskia.<sup>133</sup> Few of the population reports given at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century agree as to the number of Illini; the priest at Peoria insisted that the Peoria numbered 3,000 in 1706,<sup>134</sup> but another report estimates them at between 800 and 900.<sup>135</sup> The Tamaroa village at Cahokia in 1706 is said to have consisted of 2,200 inhabitants.<sup>136</sup> Although the Michigamea frequently wintered with the Tamaroa, they remained living with the Quapaw and in 1704 helped to destroy the Koroa who lived on the Arkansas and Yazoo rivers.<sup>137</sup>

A Peoria group of Illini on Lake Peoria drove the Jesuit missionary, Jacques Gravier, out of their village in 1706. One of the most powerful of the Peoria chiefs, Mantouchensa (Bear's Head) shot Gravier with five arrows because he resented the Jesuit's influence among his tribe. Although the Peoria had never accepted Christianity in large numbers, the missionaries made grandiose claims of success. But this overt action by Mantouchensa seems to have divided his people, and some of the Christian Peoria moved down to live with the Kaskaskia.<sup>138</sup> This division again weakened the Illini even though Hendrick

<sup>130</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV, 597.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 605; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 39.

<sup>132</sup> Statement of Antoine Denis Raudot at Quebec, 1710, in W. Vernon Kintz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes 1615-1760* (Ann Arbor, 1940), 383-384.

<sup>133</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV, 601.

<sup>134</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 121.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, LXVI, 229.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, LXVI, 123.

<sup>137</sup> John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley* (Washington, 1911), 331.

<sup>138</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 51, 265; Dunbar Rowland & Albert G. Sanders, eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion* (Jackson, 1927-1932), III, 32.

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de Leth's map of ca. 1710 shows the Illini to be in control of the country from Rock River south to the Ohio.<sup>139</sup> Perhaps this map was drawn from old reports. At this time the British estimated that the strength of the Illini was approximately 3,000 men. Father Gabriel Marest found no Illini near Lake Michigan in 1711; this area had been lost by the Iliniwék because they could no longer defend it. Potawatomi had moved into the St. Joseph River area at the southeastern tip of Lake Michigan by 1711, but they were on good terms with the Illini.<sup>140</sup> It was the Sioux who continually harassed them, coming down the Mississippi or paddling up the Illinois to strike the Illini.<sup>141</sup>

In the spring of 1711 Gabriel Marest passed down the Illinois River but made no mention of an Illini village at Starved Rock. There was a village at Lake Peoria, however.<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless, by 1712 part of the Peoria group had established a settlement at Starved Rock under the leadership of a powerful chief by the name of Chachagouache.<sup>143</sup> Perhaps this move indicates further trouble within the Lake Peoria band of Illini who were now divided into three different groups: those with the Kaskaskia, those at Lake Peoria, and those at Starved Rock. But the Iliniwék was able to muster a war party in 1712 to fight the Mascouten and Fox. Soon after Detroit was founded in 1701 a group of Fox and Mascouten settled around the fort, and in 1712 they rose against the French who called for assistance from the Illinois Country. Makouandebý, an Illini chief, raised a war party and joined the Missouri, Osage, and Potawatomi who finally defeated the unruly Fox village.<sup>144</sup> Although their action benefited the French, it kindled hatred in the hearts of the Fox nation against the Illini who were already surrounded by enemies. Of their northern neighbors only the Potawatomi were friendly with them, and Chachagouache, the chief at Starved Rock, traveled frequently with the Potawatomi chief Mikisabie who had much influence with this Illini leader.<sup>145</sup>

Although the Iroquois had made peace with the Illini in 1701, they executed a raid into the Mississippi Valley during 1714-1715 and

<sup>139</sup> Map in Winsor Room, Harvard College Lib.

<sup>140</sup> Wm. Keith to Lords Commissioners for Trade, Philadelphia, Feb. 16, 1710/9, MS., III. State Hist. Lib.; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 279, 283, 285.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, LXVI, 289.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, LXVI, 279.

<sup>143</sup> *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.* XXXIII, 550.

<sup>144</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 272-278.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 285.

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in returning they passed near Kaskaskia where they killed one Illini, wounded another and carried off eight women. This seems to have marked the last Iroquois attack upon the Illini, and in 1717 they felt remorse for their deed and returned two of the women.<sup>146</sup> Their trouble with the Iroquois came to an end, but the Illini still distrusted the Miami. La Salle had managed to keep peace between them until his Illinois empire collapsed; after this the Miami had withdrawn toward the Wabash River where they still nursed their hatred for the Illini. Trouble frequently broke out between the Illini and the Wea, but Deliette and de Vincennes attempted to reestablish peace even though others thwarted their efforts for selfish reasons. In 1714 the Miami and Illini could have mustered 1,500 warriors to repulse the inroads being made by the Fox if they had been able to unite and forget their past differences.

Soon the French king saw the necessity for establishing an amicable settlement between the Wea and Illini, and peace was consummated in 1715 with Vaudreuil sending many presents to both tribes.<sup>147</sup>

Those Peoria at Starved Rock in 1715 numbered at least 450 warriors, and—since peace had been established between the Illini and the Wea—the Illini joined the Huron and Potawatomi to fight the Kickapoo and Mascouten who were moving into the northern part of Illinois. On November 20, 1715, a battle ensued, probably on the Fox River, but the Illini and their allies from the Detroit region were able to defeat the seventy cabins of Kickapoo and Mascouten. In addition to capturing forty-seven prisoners, the Illini and their allies killed about 100 warriors, but as they withdrew, 400 Fox pursued them and a battle took place on December 1 in which the Illini repelled the Fox in a hard struggle lasting from dawn until three o'clock.<sup>148</sup> Afterwards the Fox retreated to their village in the Wisconsin Country, but the French forces followed them and laid siege to their camp. Instead of annihilating the defenders, the French allowed them to surrender on the promise of many beaver skins. This was an error because the Fox were determined warriors and had designs upon the northern parts of Illinois.

In southern Illinois the Kaskaskia were also having trouble, for in 1716 the Cherokee made war upon both the French and the Kas-

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 315; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 877.

<sup>147</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 302-303, 322; Louis XIV to de Ramezay and Begon, Marly, July 10, 1715, copy in Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>148</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 324, 341.

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kaskia.<sup>149</sup> The downfall of the Iliniwék came about largely because of their inability to coöperate, and when they became further divided in 1700, their doom was assured. In separate groups they could not withstand their enemies. The Peoria village at Starved Rock in 1718 contained about 400 warriors, the rest of this tribe being on Lake Peoria, but they were constantly at war with the Kickapoo and Mascouten or the allies of these two tribes—the Fox.<sup>150</sup> In the spring of 1719 the Fox sent a war party against the Illini living at Starved Rock,<sup>151</sup> and raids such as this continued until by 1721 the Iliniwék could boast of only 800 or 900 people.<sup>152</sup> Those Illini at Starved Rock were forced to make their village on an island at the foot of the rock in order to defend themselves, and here Pierre de Charlevoix found them in September of 1721. On October 3 he came upon the second Illini village at the southern tip of Lake Peoria on the right bank. Both of the villages were being attacked by the Fox who, in small war parties, were lurking about the neighborhood in order to kill any Illini that might go out hunting.

Charlevoix continued his journey south and on October 10 stopped at the combined village of Cahokia and Tamaroa which was on Cahokia Creek about one half league from the Mississippi. This village, said Charlevoix, was not a large one. When he arrived at the Kaskaskia settlement, he found that they were now divided, part of them having joined the Michigamea, who were settled with a priest a half league above Fort Chartres. It seems that part of the Kaskaskia had united with the Michigamea in about 1720 at a village above Fort Chartres called Michigamea. A separate mission was in operation at this place until 1736. Part of the Michigamea seem to have drifted south after the mission ceased to function and joined the Arkansas and Quapaw who were struggling against the inroads being made by the Chickasaw. According to du Pratz, the Michigamea had been adopted before 1757 by the Arkansas and were no longer mentioned as an individual tribe,<sup>153</sup> but references to this tribe's presence in Illinois are found years after this date.

<sup>149</sup> *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII, 587.

<sup>150</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 890, 893.

<sup>151</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 459.

<sup>152</sup> Lallement to Directors of Company of the Indies, Kaskaskia, Apr. 5, 1721, copy in Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>153</sup> Kellogg, ed., *Journal of a Voyage to North America by Charlevoix*, II, 186-206; Le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana* (London, 1763), II, 155.

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Charlevoix found the remainder of the Kaskaskia Indians two leagues up the Kaskaskia River from the French settlement of the same name. They had been frightened by the large number of French who had settled among them and had moved up the river in the summer of 1721, before the arrival of Charlevoix on October 19.<sup>154</sup> These Kaskaskia, Charlevoix observed, were very few in number and many of the Indians living with them were either Tamaroa or Michigamea.<sup>155</sup> The Osage were friendly with the Kaskaskia and frequently sent delegations to perform the calumet dance as a token of their loyalty.<sup>156</sup>

For mutual protection against the marauding Fox, the Peoria of the lake settled with the other group at Starved Rock in 1722. On June 9 Legardeur Delisle reached Lake Peoria and found the village abandoned, but when he arrived at Starved Rock on June 12, he saw the Peoria encamped there with their kinsmen. Many of the inhabitants were absent from the village hunting, but Delisle discovered that the two groups were not in agreement so he divided his presents between the two. Even in the face of a Fox invasion, the Peoria could not cooperate. Delisle left the Rock on June 18<sup>157</sup> and sometime later in the year the Fox surrounded the Illini village and forced them to surrender eighty women and children. As a result, the Illini immediately left Starved Rock and settled with the other members of the Illiniwek at Cahokia, Michigamea, and Kaskaskia. Mantouchensa, the powerful Peoria chief who had wounded Father Gravier at Lake Peoria in 1706, took his band to Kaskaskia and joined forces with the Kaskaskia bands led by Kiraoueria and Michael, the latter being a Christian as indicated by his name.<sup>158</sup>

Now the Illini were almost evenly divided among the three villages, with approximately 200 warriors each at Kaskaskia, Michigamea, and Cahokia. In all, D'Artaguiette estimated that the Illiniwek in 1723 consisted of about 700 warriors, and on April 30 a war party of 200 passed Fort Chartres on their way to strike the Fox who were attempting

<sup>154</sup> Lallement to Directors of Company of the Indies, Kaskaskia, Apr. 5, 1721, copy in Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>155</sup> Kellogg, ed., *Charlevoix Journal*, II, 212.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 208.

<sup>157</sup> Stanley Faye, ed., "A Search for Copper on the Illinois River: The Journal of Legardeur Delisle, 1722," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII, 38-57 (Mar., 1945).

<sup>158</sup> Clarence Walworth Alvord, *The Illinois Country 1673-1818* (Springfield, 1920), 161; Journal of Diron D'Artaguiette in Newton D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (N. Y., 1916), 71, 76.



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to establish a village at Starved Rock. However, the Fox drove the Illini back and killed eleven of their warriors.<sup>159</sup> These invaders made raids as far south as Fort Chartres, and it was necessary to keep a garrison there in order to protect Michigamea which was one half league north of the fort.<sup>160</sup>

In 1725 the French officials in the Louisiana Country decided to take a group of Illini chiefs to France. At this time the Peoria chief Mantouchensa, who was living at Kaskaskia, was considered the principal leader of the Iliniwек. Six chiefs were chosen for the journey, but Mantouchensa refused to go; instead, he sent a message to the king. Chicago, a Michigamea chief who claimed to be the head man at Kaskaskia, arrived at Paris on November 28 and met the French officials.<sup>161</sup> Although the Iliniwек was weak, the French were forced to rely upon this confederation for control of the northern Louisiana Country. The Peoria had 200 valiant warriors in 1728, and they sometimes ventured up the Illinois River to fight the Kickapoo. A report made the following year gave the strength of the Iliniwек as 600 warriors,<sup>162</sup> but the French declared that the Illini were nevertheless masters of the Mississippi River and must be kept from joining the English.<sup>163</sup>

Among the problems which the French encountered in controlling the Illinois Country were the incursions of the Fox. In 1728 the French had failed to defeat them, but the following year the Kickapoo and Mascouten, allies of the Fox, made peace with the Iliniwек as well as the French at Fort Chartres. This action withdrew 150 warriors from the Fox alliance, and now the French determined to conquer the weakened Fox. When the Fox learned of this, they decided to flee and unite with the Iroquois. In order to reach the Iroquois, they had to pass around the southern tip of Lake Michigan. Quickly the French marshaled their forces to trap them. Both the officials of Canada and Louisiana sent troops for the expected battle since the Fox had left their village on the Fox River of Wisconsin about June 1, 1730, and were traveling southeast with their women and children. But when they reached the trails at the foot of Lake Michigan, they found them barred

<sup>159</sup> Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*. 68-77.

<sup>160</sup> *Miss. Prov. Archives: French Dominion*, III, 514.

<sup>161</sup> London (Eng.) *Post Man*, Jan. 27, 1726; Jacob Piatt Dunn, "The Mission on the Ouabache," *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, III, 289-292 (1902).

<sup>162</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 48, 51, 55.

<sup>163</sup> Notes taken from a letter of M. Perier, Aug. 15, 1729, MS., Chicago Hist. Soc.

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by Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Potawatomi and were forced to proceed farther south into the lands of the Illini.

Early in July a party of 350 Fox warriors and their families (making a total of about 1,000) reached the Illinois River near Starved Rock where they forded the river only to discover that the Indian allies of the French had them surrounded. Those Peoria living near Starved Rock sent word of this movement to their kinsmen at Kaskaskia where the great chief Mantouchensa still remained with his band of Peoria. These warriors and the Cahokia marched to the aid of the Illini of Starved Rock.<sup>164</sup> In the face of this united opposition, the Fox retreated back along the Vermilion River and established a fort about 63 miles south of Starved Rock. Lieutenant de Villiers hastened there with his forces from Fort St. Joseph, and Lieutenant St. Ange from Fort Chartres marched to close the trap with 400 Illini. On August 17 St. Ange reached the besieged Fox and entrenched his forces; now the Fox asked for terms, but the siege continued even though on September 7 between 200 and 300 of the Illini from Cahokia deserted.<sup>165</sup> Wea and Piankashaw had joined the French and raised the number of besiegers to 1,200, but the Sauk pleaded for the lives of the trapped Fox. However, the Iliniwek and the French were determined to wipe out this tribe which had caused them so much trouble.

During the night of September 8 the hungry Fox stole from their fort and tried to escape toward the east, but the crying of their children revealed the movement and the French allies followed them. After the Fox had traveled about twenty-four miles, the Illini stopped their escape and massacred them; it is said that 1,000 or 1,200 Fox were killed and their nation was nearly annihilated.<sup>166</sup> Credit for the victory was sought by both the commandants of Canada and Louisiana; each submitted different reports claiming that the victory was obtained in their territory. This has caused much difficulty in locating the Fox fort and the battlefield.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>164</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 115, 173-174; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*. LXVIII. 203. See also the account in Sauk and Fox Chapt., pp. 89-91.

<sup>165</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 117.

<sup>166</sup> M. Perier to Comte de Maurepas, Louisiana, Mar. 25, 1731, copy in Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>167</sup> Faye, "The Foxes Fort—1730," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXVIII, 123-163 (Oct., 1935). William B. Brigham maintains that the Fox Fort was near Arrowsmith in McLean Co. Brigham, "The Arrowsmith Battlefield," *Trans. McLean Co. Hist. Soc.*, IV, 33-43 (1936). Archaeology supports the Arrowsmith site for the fort.

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With the defeat of the Fox, the Peoria chief Mantouchensa requested in May of 1731 that he be allowed to return to Peoria with a small detachment of French troops. Sieur Perier gave permission for their removal from Kaskaskia to Lake Peoria, but refused to allow French troops to accompany the band until Louis XV should approve such an order. French officials in the Illinois Country stated that the Illini respected the French more when they lived at some distance from each other.<sup>168</sup> However, it is not certain that any of the Peoria returned to Lake Peoria in 1731. Our first record of their being back at their old village comes in 1733; neither French soldiers nor priests were with them then.<sup>169</sup> In the previous year most of the Peoria had still been settled at Cahokia and these two groups numbered between 300 and 400 warriors. At this same time the Kaskaskia had about 200 men and the Michigamea 100.<sup>170</sup> One of the principal chiefs of the Iliniwék was Ouabichagana who had made an alliance with the Kickapoo and Mascouten.<sup>171</sup>

Although the Iliniwék favored the French above the English, they became quite insolent after the defeat of the Fox.<sup>172</sup> Part of the Peoria returned to Starved Rock in 1733 and in the spring of that year they sent a war party as far north as the Wisconsin River where they killed some Chippewa, Menominee, and Sauk,<sup>173</sup> but the French complained that the Illini were not eager to go on the war path.<sup>174</sup> However, the French induced those Illini living between Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia to take up the hatchet against the English-supported Chickasaw in September of 1732.<sup>175</sup> These attacks resulted in the Chickasaw's sending war parties against both the French and Illini villages,<sup>176</sup> but the Illini, aided by the Indians from Wabash River, took eighty-five scalps from the Chickasaw during the winter of 1733-34, and the Chickasaw asked for peace. With deaf ears, the Illini continued their raids, capturing at one time twenty women and children and at

<sup>168</sup> Louis XV to Bienville, Marly, Feb. 2, 1732, *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr. Dominion*, III, 555-556.

<sup>169</sup> Letter quoted in Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country*, 48.

<sup>170</sup> Memoir concerning the Illinois in 1732, unidentified copy in Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>171</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 170.

<sup>172</sup> De Vincennes to Gov., Mar. 7, 1733, in Dunn, "The Mission on the Ouabache," *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, III, 304 (1902).

<sup>173</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 183-84.

<sup>174</sup> *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr. Dominion*, I, 168.

<sup>175</sup> *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XXXIV, 110.

<sup>176</sup> *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr. Dominion*, I, 190.

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another, seventeen men. The three villages of the Illini contemplated another raid against their southern enemies in the fall of 1735.<sup>177</sup>

In 1736 the Michigamea were living at their village just north of Fort Chartres and, although the mission was closed sometime during this year, there were still 250 warriors there. The Kaskaskia had 100 warriors; the combined Cahokia and Tamaroa consisted of 200 braves, who were living with their families at Cahokia; and the Peoria, who were reported as living at Starved Rock in 1736, had 50 warriors. At this time the main villages of the Peoria were either at Starved Rock or Lake Peoria.<sup>178</sup> By 1736 the Illiniwek could no longer adequately protect itself and little bands were leaving the main villages. In this year there were eight Kaskaskia living with the Potawatomi on St. Joseph River, southeast of Lake Michigan. Within this same village were ten Miami, formerly an enemy to the Illini.<sup>179</sup>

When the French began their war with the Chickasaw, they called the Illini into the struggle and on October 25, 1739, a war party arrived at the present site of Memphis. With these Illini were some Potawatomi, Piankashaw and Shawnee, but the Illini were not enthusiastic about the war and had little success. They had renewed their fight with the Chickasaw in 1737, but had less success than in their earlier wars during 1732-1735. The theater of operation was in the Carolina Country, far from Illinois, and the Illini probably took little interest in the French-English struggle which raged in North America and in Europe from 1701 until 1763.<sup>180</sup>

Trouble was made for the Illiniwek in 1737 when a French officer caused an attack upon the Sioux who were living along the west bank of the Mississippi near its source. These Sioux retaliated—not against the French but against the Illini—and killed two women. One of the raiders was captured and burned by the Illini, but this brutality caused the Sioux to attack the Illini in the spring of 1740.<sup>181</sup> Then the following

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 228, 265.

<sup>178</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 250-251; Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1853), III, 555; Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plate XXIII.

<sup>179</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 1056.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 148; Bienville to Maurepas, New Orleans, Apr. 26, 1738, Paris Archives; Jean Delanglez, ed., "Journal of Father Vitry of the Society of Jesus, Army Chaplain during the war against the Chickasaw," *Mid-America*, XXVIII, 30-59 (Jan., 1946).

<sup>181</sup> *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr. Dominion*, III, 736-737.

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year the Peoria countered by making an attack upon the Sioux, probably under the direction of the Peoria chief La Babiche. However, the Sioux were not the only enemy of the Iliniwék; others were pressing down upon the Illini at the same time. In 1741 the Cahokia sought to punish the Sauk and Fox by raiding their villages, probably near the Wisconsin River or Fox River. The Cahokia captured some of the Sauk, but in returning they passed Lake Peoria where the Peoria attempted to secure the Sauk prisoners for themselves. When the Cahokia refused to give them up, the Peoria took them by force.<sup>182</sup> Such bickerings reveal the state to which the Iliniwék had degenerated. Their disunity had originally led to their defeat at the hands of the Iroquois, and it continued to plague the dwindling Illini. Even the Cherokee were seen hunting near the mouth of the Ohio River in 1741, a region formerly controlled by the Illini.<sup>183</sup>

Since their support of the French had caused them so much trouble, the Illini were inclined to be neutral in 1747, however the English sent runners to Kaskaskia informing them that if they did not unite with the English, they would be killed.<sup>184</sup> Regardless of their connections with either the French or British, the Illini were still subjected to the raids of the relentless Sioux. In 1750 the attacks were still continuing and the Illini's numbers were decreasing.<sup>185</sup> There were four Illini villages in 1750 and the principal chief of the Iliniwék was Rouensa.<sup>186</sup> The total population of these villages was about 2,000, but the Jesuits remembered that when they first entered the Illinois Country the Iliniwék numbered 5,000 souls.<sup>187</sup> In 1750, however, the three villages in the vicinity of Kaskaskia contained only 800 persons, of whom about 600 lived at Kaskaskia, and the remainder of the Iliniwék was at Lake Peoria.<sup>188</sup> Some of the Kaskaskia even lived at Fort Chartres in 1751,<sup>189</sup> and during the winter of 1751-1752 the Michigamea were

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<sup>182</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 337, 365.

<sup>183</sup> Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country 1540-1800* (Johnson City, 1928), 150.

<sup>184</sup> Entry of Mar. 15, 1747 in Pierre François Vaudreuil-Cavagnal's letter books, Loudoun Papers, Huntington Lib.; *Collection de Manuscrits Nouvelle-France*, III, 363.

<sup>185</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 78.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 59.

<sup>187</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 149.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, LXIX, 145, 201.

<sup>189</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 93.

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once more living at their old village above this fort.<sup>190</sup> These Michigamea seem to have traveled between the Arkansas River and their village near Fort Chartres. Other groups of Illini were also moving away from the regular village sites. In 1751 there were four cabins of Illini living at Starved Rock,<sup>191</sup> and along the White River of Indiana there were a few who had combined with other renegades to form a little republic which was friendly toward the English and the Iroquois.<sup>192</sup>

Attacks against the Illiniwek continued in 1751 when the Potawatomi, Mascouten, Menominee, and Chippewa sent war parties against the Peoria in the spring, but the Peoria defeated the raiders, captured some prisoners, and sent them home to tell their tribes that it was futile to fight the Peoria.<sup>193</sup> However, the other Illini villages were not so fortunate and by April of 1752, they had suffered serious losses.<sup>194</sup> And that same year the Cahokia brought down the wrath of the northern tribes by capturing and burning six Fox hunters in a time of peace. One of the Fox, while tied to the stake, escaped and carried the news to his tribe who called upon their allies, the Sioux, Sauk, and Kickapoo, for war against the Illini. It was estimated that 1,000 warriors descended the Mississippi in 180 canoes for a stroke against the Michigamea, who were living just north of Fort Chartres, because they had given shelter to the Cahokia. On June 6, 1752, the northern tribes surrounded the Michigamea and in a surprise attack killed seventy or eighty persons and destroyed the village. Many of the Illini contemplated removing to the renegade settlement on White River.<sup>195</sup> One traveler said in 1753 that one reason for the hatred of the Illini by the northern Indians was that the Illini, in previous years, had hunted beaver in the Wisconsin Country and had killed both male and female which was considered a crime by the northern tribes.<sup>196</sup> This was perhaps an excuse to hide their expansion into the Illinois Country.

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<sup>190</sup> John Reinhold Forster, ed., Jean Bernard Bossu's *Travels through that Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana* (London, 1771), I, 117.

<sup>191</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 82.

<sup>192</sup> Entries of Aug. 8, Oct. 10, 1751 in Vaudreuil Letter Books, Loudoun Papers, Huntington Lib.

<sup>193</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 89.

<sup>194</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 248.

<sup>195</sup> Forster, ed., Bossu's *Travels*, I, 129-135; entry of Sept. 28, 1752 in Vaudreuil Letter Books, Loudoun Papers, Huntington Lib. Vaudreuil said that some Winnebago, Menominee, and Potawatomi also participated in the attack. Jacques Nicolas Bellin's map of 1755 places the destruction of Michigamea in 1753, but the date is 1752. Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plate XXIV.

<sup>196</sup> Forster, ed., Bossu's *Travels*, I, 129.

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After defeating the Michigamea, a group of Sioux, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and Mascouten sent war parties against the Peoria who had previously been able to defeat them; the northern tribes were bent on destroying the Peoria also.<sup>197</sup> Although the Peoria were under attack, the commander of Fort Chartres was able to collect 300 Illini from his area for action against the English in the East. On June 26, 1754, Captain De Villiers arrived at Fort Duquesne and proceeded against Fort Necessity where they forced George Washington to surrender.<sup>198</sup> In the summer of 1755 another group of Illini, probably the Peoria, discovered some Kickapoo and Miami on the Iroquois River and drove them away after killing a few. Although in a weakened condition, the Peoria still considered this region of Illinois as their territory.<sup>199</sup>

At the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1756, the Illini were allied to the French, and those living in the area of Fort Chartres often joined expeditions against the English. On April 1, 1756, the great chief of the Illiniwek, Papapé-changouhias, led his warriors against the English settlers in Virginia. Papapé-changouhias had become chief in 1754 after the death of Chicago, a Tamaroa Indian and a visitor to France in 1725. (Chicago's predecessor had also been a chief by the name of Chicago.) Papapé-changouhias' war party was successful and captured a little fort and took forty prisoners.<sup>200</sup> During 1756, the Illini, Delaware, and Shawnee burned the grain of the English as far east as Pennsylvania, raided settlers in Georgia, and attacked English forces in the Carolina Country. In all of these instances, the Illini war parties were supplemented by French leaders.<sup>201</sup> The Peoria, however, had troubles of their own and apparently did not join in the raids against the English. This village at Lake Peoria was fortified with posts by 1756 to withstand the repeated raids of the Fox.<sup>202</sup>

With the advent of 1757, Illini war parties again moved against the English settlements along the frontiers, and an exaggerated account of their numbers was given by one writer who claimed that the Cahokia

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<sup>197</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 263.

<sup>198</sup> Sylvester K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Emma Edith Woods, eds., *Travels in New France by J. C. B.* (Harrisburg, 1941), 60-62.

<sup>199</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 401.

<sup>200</sup> Forster, ed., *Bossu's Travels*, I, 140, 185-187.

<sup>201</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 469; *Collection de Manuscrits . . . Nouvelle-France*, IV, 36, 40.

<sup>202</sup> Forster, ed., *Bossu's Travels*, I, 188.

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and Michigamea numbered 400 warriors, the Kaskaskia 400, and the Peoria 700.<sup>203</sup> A more realistic enumeration in 1759 of the Illini by M. Aubry, the last acting governor of Louisiana, places the Kaskaskia at 100 warriors, the Michigamea and Cahokia at 40 and 60 respectively.<sup>204</sup> Aubry does not mention the strength of the Peoria, but they were much stronger than the rest of the Iliniwék combined.

Just when the majority of the Peoria were driven from Lake Peoria is not certain. In 1763 there was a Peoria village within half a mile of Fort Chartres and nearby another group of Illini had reoccupied the Michigamea village which had previously been destroyed. Together these villages contained approximately 300 warriors. The following year Captain Thomas Hutchins estimated that the Peoria had 800 warriors, but their location is not given.<sup>205</sup> Some of the Peoria were still settled along the Illinois River and a few established themselves with a band of Iowa who lived along the Mississippi. Frequently, these Peoria would return to Lake Peoria and steal horses from the French living there. Likewise, the Peoria and Cahokia near Fort Chartres constantly stole horses from the whites and caused the French officials much consternation.<sup>206</sup> Many of the Peoria had never received Christianity and were more warlike than other members of the Iliniwék; as a result, they found it difficult to live like the white man. The Kaskaskia, however, became quite docile under the rule of the French and in 1764 numbered about 600 persons, including about 100 warriors, but liquor, war, and the diseases of the whites had already defeated them.<sup>207</sup> After 1764 the northern part of Illinois was controlled by the invading Sauk, Fox, and other tribes.

Although the Illinois Country was annexed to the British Empire by the peace treaty of 1763, the English troops did not take immediate possession of it. In May of 1763, Pontiac had led an uprising against the forts on the frontiers and the Illinois Country was cut off. Pontiac's confederacy was defeated the following year, but this brave chief continued to organize the Indians for war against the whites. On July 1, 1764, Pontiac left Fort Chartres with the promise of the Illini that they

<sup>203</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 282, X, 530; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 177.

<sup>204</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period 1763-1765* (Springfield, 1915), 4-5.

<sup>205</sup> Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*, 363-364; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, III, 555.

<sup>206</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period 1763-1765*, 293-295.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 218; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, III, 555.



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would coöperate with him.<sup>208</sup> However, in October of 1765 the British took possession of the Illinois Country and the Indians were under their surveillance. A British officer was sent to Fort Chartres, now renamed Fort Cavendish, and he learned that the Kaskaskia were living half a league north of French Kaskaskia and had about 150 warriors. Peoria and Michigamea were established within a mile of Fort Cavendish, the former numbering 250 warriors and the latter 40. But the Cahokia could count no more than 40 warriors and had their village at Cahokia.

Although the British tried to gain the friendship of the Iliniwék, their loyalty remained with the French who had moved across the Mississippi River into Spanish territory. When the British met the Kaskaskia in council, the Indians informed them that they were also moving across the river. Some of the Illini—probably the Michigamea—paddled down the Mississippi to join the Arkansas and the remainder left the Illinois Country in December of 1765. However, the Chickasaw threatened the Illini and some of them returned to their former villages but were slow to accept the offered presents of the British.<sup>209</sup> Prior to the arrival of the British, the French had attempted to have the Iliniwék make peace with the new masters of the Illinois Country, but the Kaskaskia chiefs Tomera (or Tamarois) and Chacoretomy, a war chief, together with another Illini chief, Levacher, informed St. Ange that they intended to continue the war with the British.<sup>210</sup> But when the Iliniwék discovered that the British could make peace with their enemies, the confederacy became better disposed toward the new occupants of the Illinois Country. The British arranged a peace between their own allies—the Chickasaw and Cherokee—and the Illini on condition that the latter would trade with British merchants and support their policies.<sup>211</sup> During 1765, however, many of the Illini remained west of the Mississippi, along the Missouri, although a few were living on the mouth of the Illinois River.<sup>212</sup>

By 1766 most of the Kaskaskia had returned to their old village where they occupied fifteen cabins and numbered about 150 men,<sup>213</sup>

<sup>208</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period 1763-1765*, 290.

<sup>209</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The New Régime 1765-1767*, 126-133; Carter, ed., *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage* (New Haven, 1931-1933), II, 27-28.

<sup>210</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period 1763-1765*, 441, 452, 469.

<sup>211</sup> Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country 1540-1800* (Johnson City, 1928), 216.

<sup>212</sup> Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America* (London, 1765), 192-193.

<sup>213</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The New Régime*, 177, 297.

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but Black Dog, chief of the Peoria, could not keep his tribe together on the east bank of the Mississippi. Captain Harry Gordon found twenty cabins of Peoria at Cahokia in August of 1766, but the remainder of the Peoria, about 200 warriors, had moved to a new village two miles south of St. Louis.<sup>214</sup> And even those Illini who remained on the British side of the Mississippi carried their furs to St. Louis where they traded with the Spanish,<sup>215</sup> although on August 24, 1766, George Croghan held a conference with the Iliniwék (Kaskaskia, Peoria, Michigamea, and Cahokia) at Fort Chartres and received permission to occupy forts in the Illinois Country and a promise of allegiance to the king of Great Britain. But the Illini had lived with the French for so long that it was not easy to change their "Great White Father."<sup>216</sup> A liberal estimate of the Iliniwék in 1766 placed their number at 650 men, but they were so frequently drunk that the British realized little benefit from their new charges.<sup>217</sup> In the summer of 1767, however, the Kaskaskia chose an additional chief who was friendly to the British and not a victim of whisky: Jean-Baptiste Ducoign. Although Tomera was still the principal Kaskaskia chief, Ducoign exercised much influence.<sup>218</sup>

Many of the Peoria lived at St. Louis in 1768, but Black Dog and his band maintained their village at Cahokia where they were on cordial terms with the British at Fort Chartres. While out hunting during the late spring of 1768, the Peoria discovered a war party of sixty Potawatomi who were on their way to attack the British. When the commander at Fort Chartres was informed of the matter, he immediately collected Iliniwék warriors to bolster his small garrison. A war party of Michigamea, from their village three quarters of a mile from the fort, joined the whites on May 5 and pursued the raiding Potawatomi. Likewise, the Kaskaskia set out under their chief Tomera to follow the Potawatomi whose raid had been beaten off. But pressure from northern Indian groups continued.<sup>219</sup> And fuel was added to the flames of war sometime within the first week after Easter (March 26) in 1769 when Pontiac, an Ottawa chief and recognized leader of the Indians in the Midwest,

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<sup>214</sup> Journal of Gordon in *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, II, 62 (July, 1909); Faye, "Illinois Indians on the Lower Mississippi, 1771-1782," *ibid.*, XXXV, 58-59 (March, 1942).

<sup>215</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The New Régime 1765-1767*, 301.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 490-494.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 228.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 581.

<sup>219</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *Trade and Politics 1767-1769* (Springfield, 1921), 275-277, 406-407.

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was stabbed to death at Cahokia, while drunk, by a Peoria Indian.<sup>220</sup> Many tales have been told as to why Pontiac was killed, but the actual reason was probably revenge since in the summer of 1766 Pontiac had stabbed one of the principal chiefs of the Iliniwék.<sup>221</sup>

After Pontiac's death, northern Indians made raids upon the Illini, and by August, 500 to 600 Indians had fled to Fort Chartres for protection.<sup>222</sup> It was probably fear that kept many of the Peoria, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia from hunting and trapping during the winter of 1769-1770. Nevertheless, Black Dog and some of his Peoria braves did secure a number of furs during this period. Although they brought their furs to Cahokia first, these Peoria sold only three packs there. They carried the rest across the river to St. Louis and sold them to the Spanish. Fort Chartres' commander complained that these Indians could collect 300 to 400 packs of furs if they would only trap.<sup>223</sup> Instead, too many of the Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Peoria, and Michigamea crossed the river to St. Louis and received free supplies from the Spanish.<sup>224</sup>

Although the Peoria had abandoned the Illinois River, no powerful tribe had moved into this region by 1770; the Potawatomi were still living at St. Joseph River,<sup>225</sup> and the Peoria continued to winter along the lower part of the Illinois near the mouth of Macoupin Creek.<sup>226</sup> The Kaskaskia remained in southern Illinois and were occasionally seen paddling down the Mississippi River.<sup>227</sup> Since the British had established peace among the Iliniwék and the southern tribes, the Chickasaw visited Kaskaskia in May of 1772. After becoming disorderly, however, the visitors attacked the Kaskaskia, and soldiers were needed to drive the Chickasaw away.<sup>228</sup>

Even though weak, the Iliniwék still held claim to much land, and on July 5, 1773, the Illinois and Wabash Land Company purchased

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<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 548, 556, 561, 577.

<sup>221</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The New Régime 1765-1767*, 321.

<sup>222</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *Trade and Politics*, 577.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 633; Thos. Hutchins to George Morgan, Cahokia, Aug. 4, 1770, MS., Ill. State Hist. Lib. (Morgan was at Kaskaskia at this time.)

<sup>224</sup> Louis Houck, ed., *The Spanish Régime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909), I, 44.

<sup>225</sup> Carter, ed., *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, I, 279.

<sup>226</sup> Patrick Kennedy's Journal (entry of Aug. 1, 1773), in Thomas Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia* (London, 1778), 52-53.

<sup>227</sup> Baynton-Wharton-Morgan Letterbook, VII (Apr. 18, 1770), Pa. Hist. & Museum Comm., Harrisburg.

<sup>228</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790* (Springfield, 1909), 90 and n.

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some of their holdings. The Kaskaskia chiefs who signed this agreement were Tomera or Gabriel, Petaguage or Michael, Maughquayah or Jean-Baptiste Ducoign, Couroway, Kicounaisa or Fish, and Tontowaraganih or Peter; the Peoria chiefs were Maughquinthepe or Black Dog, Aschiswewah, and Eschawinikiwah; one Cahokia chief was among those present: Meinquipaumiah.<sup>229</sup> At this time the Kaskaskia band lived three miles above Kaskaskia and numbered about 210 persons with sixty warriors; the Peoria and Michigamea were in a village one mile north of Fort Chartres and were the most powerful, having 170 warriors.<sup>230</sup>

When Tomera died, Jean-Baptiste Ducoign became the principal Kaskaskia chief, and he prepared to lead his people away from Kaskaskia in 1774 because it was constantly raided by hostile Indians. In the autumn Ducoign gathered eighty warriors (plus their families), paddled down the Mississippi River, and established a winter camp. In the spring of 1775 they moved up the Arkansas River to Fort Carlos III, the Spanish Arkansas Post, and joined the Quapaw. Many years before, the Michigamea had fled to the Quapaw and now the Kaskaskia sought refuge among them. Both the Spanish commander, Don Josef de Orieta, and the Quapaw welcomed them and offered land on which to plant corn, but the Kaskaskia wished to move up the White River and establish a separate village. Don Josef refused and Ducoign proceeded toward New Orleans to seek permission from the governor; he also refused. Finally, the Kaskaskia asked to be adopted by the Quapaw as the Michigamea had done once before, but outside events influenced the final outcome. When the American Colonies declared war upon Great Britain, Spain decided to grant her favors to the rebels.

Because the Kaskaskia raided the British traders moving along the Mississippi, the Spanish, as a reward, finally gave Ducoign permission to settle upon the White River. But the Peoria, who had lived in Spanish territory at St. Louis for about twelve years, returned to Cahokia to plant their corn in the spring of 1777, and many of the Kaskaskia also came back and joined the Peoria before November. Together they could muster only about 100 warriors. Some Kaskaskia and Peoria, however, settled at a village half way between St. Genevieve and the

<sup>229</sup> *American State Papers: Public Lands*, II, 118; Patoka, another Cahokia chief, is listed in 1777. Alvord, ed., *Kaskask' Records*, 39.

<sup>230</sup> Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia*, 37-38.

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mouth of the Ohio River. This merging of the Kaskaskia and Peoria was probably for mutual defense since a Sauk war party had attacked the Peoria at St. Louis in 1777. Although the Sauk were defeated, the Peoria saw the folly of dividing the forces of the Iliniwék.<sup>231</sup>

George Rogers Clark came to the Illinois Country in July of 1778, and Ducoign joined forces with him and attempted to wean the Chickasaw away from their allegiance to the British but failed.<sup>232</sup> Since the Illini were fearful of Ottawa attacks, Ducoign, who acted as chief of both the Kaskaskia and Peoria, sought—on October 5—to bring the Wea of the Wabash into the American alliance. The strength of the Illini in 1778 cannot be stated with sureness since Louis Chevallier reported that they numbered 100 warriors,<sup>233</sup> while another report indicates that they had 300.<sup>234</sup> In this war the Peoria divided their allegiance. One chief joined Henry Hamilton's English forces at Vincennes on January 30, 1779, and another group traveled up the Tennessee River with a party of Delaware to escape from the conflict.<sup>235</sup> However, the Kaskaskia remained loyal to Clark and were joined by the remaining Peoria, Michigamea, Piankashaw, Wea, and Kickapoo.<sup>236</sup> These Kaskaskia performed singular service to the American soldiers by serving as scouts and hunters.<sup>237</sup> They were also willing to make war upon the Cherokee who had fled into the Cumberland Mountains.<sup>238</sup> Although the British tried to organize a war party of Cherokee and Chickasaw for an attack upon the Kaskaskia in 1783, their efforts largely failed.<sup>239</sup>

At the end of the American Revolution in 1783, the Kaskaskia visited Arkansas Post in order to buy horses for their winter hunt, but the Iliniwék scarcely existed anymore. Ducoign and Michael Courwoües were the chiefs of the Kaskaskia, and the total number of Illini

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<sup>231</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Jan. 15, 1827, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes*, II, 183-244.

<sup>232</sup> Faye, "Illinois Indians on the Lower Mississippi, 1771-1782," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXV, 57-72 (Mar., 1942).

<sup>233</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, IX, 370, 486, XIX, 353.

<sup>234</sup> List of Indians in 1778, Parkman Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc.

<sup>235</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, I, 389, 400.

<sup>236</sup> Clark to Patrick Henry, Kaskaskia, Apr. 29, 1779, in Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1950), II, 259.

<sup>237</sup> John Dodge to Thomas Jefferson, Fort Jefferson, Aug. 1, 1780, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>238</sup> Arthur Campbell to G. R. Clark, Washington Co., Va., May 18, 1781, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>239</sup> Joseph Martin to Benj. Harrison, Long Island, Feb. 2, 1783, in James A. James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers 1781-1784* (Springfield, 1926), 189.

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living in Illinois by 1787 was only about fifty persons. Likewise, the Cahokia were reduced to four or five families and by 1789 they too had abandoned their lands between Cahokia and Kaskaskia. In 1789 the Kaskaskia numbered only twenty families and occupied only their village and 4,000 acres of land. The Peoria at this time numbered about 100 but had left Illinois and settled on the western bank of the Mississippi;<sup>240</sup> in 1794 they were settled in a village at Bois Brulé, ten miles south of St. Genevieve, and were occasionally raided by the Chickasaw. Chiefs of the Peoria were Massarosanga and Little Fish,<sup>241</sup> and Moses Austin discovered in 1796 that their warriors numbered only 40.<sup>242</sup> There were a few Peoria living near St. Genevieve in 1803, but gradually they too moved westward and were nearly forgotten as the whites crowded onto their lands.<sup>243</sup>

The Kaskaskia in 1796 numbered only eight or ten men, but their number had increased to fifteen or twenty by 1801; nevertheless, this remnant had inherited many square miles of territory.<sup>244</sup> On August 13, 1803, the United States negotiated a treaty at Vincennes with the Kaskaskia in which the latter relinquished their claims in the Illinois Country and received two reservations. Their old village near Kaskaskia was established as a reserve of 350 acres, and they also were given the right to locate another reserve of 1,280 acres anywhere within the bounds of the ceded territory.<sup>245</sup> Although the Kaskaskia were recognized in the treaty as being the survivors of the Iliniwék, one Michigamea, Ocksinga, and one Cahokia, Kee-tin-sa, also signed the treaty.<sup>246</sup> The Peoria, who amounted to about fifty men, were not in Illinois at the time and did not sign the agreement.<sup>247</sup>

For their second reserve, known as Survey No. 449, the Kaskaskia

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<sup>240</sup> Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794* (Washington, 1946), Pt. II, 90-91; Tardiveau Papers in Menard Coll., I, III. State Hist. Lib.; William Henry Smith, ed., *The St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), II, 31, 400-401.

<sup>241</sup> Houck, ed., *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 60, 72, 86.

<sup>242</sup> *American Historical Review*, V, 539 (Apr. 1900).

<sup>243</sup> Logan Esarey, ed., *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison* (Indianapolis, 1922), I, 78.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 30; *American Historical Review*, V, 539 (Apr., 1900).

<sup>245</sup> *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, ser. 2, I, 687.

<sup>246</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 78-79.

<sup>247</sup> Pierre Chouteau to Gen. Dearborn, St. Louis, Nov. 19, 1804, Chouteau Letterbook, 1804-1819, 10-12, Mo. Hist. Soc.

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chose a tract of 640 acres in Sand Ridge Township of Jackson County.<sup>248</sup> In 1804 Ducoign decided to establish his little band as farmers and asked for horses and fences. These were provided for him as guaranteed by the terms of the treaty.<sup>249</sup> However, the major portion of the Kaskaskia wished to leave their old village and establish themselves on the land reserved to them in Jackson County,<sup>250</sup> and early white settlers recalled that at about this time there were Kaskaskia lodges in Sand Ridge Township, "near the crossing on Kinkaid."<sup>251</sup>

Since the Peoria had been living on the Blackwater River in Missouri when the Iliniwék ceded their lands to the United States, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau drew up another treaty which was signed at Edwardsville on September 25, 1818. Peoria delegates who signed were: Waw Peeshawkawanan or Shield; Wassawconsangaw or Shine; Naynawwitwas or Sentinel; Wissineeaw or Eater; Rawmissawnoa or Wind; Mawressaw or Knife; Koongeepawtaw; Batticy or Baptist; Keenawraneaw or Seal; Wecomawkawnaw; Keeshammy or Cut Off a Piece. Kaskaskia signers were: Louis Jefferson Ducoign, Wawpamahwhawaw or White Wolf; Awrawmpingewaw or Whale; Keemawwassaw or Little Chief. Michigamea delegates were: Wackshingaw or Crooked Moon; Keetawkeemawwaw or Andrew; and Manggoussaw. Cahokia delegates were: Mooyawkackee or Mercier; Peemëekawwat-taw or Henry; Papenegessawwaw; Shopinnaw or Pint; Maysheeweerat-taw or Big Horn. Tamaroa delegates were: Mahkattamawweeyaw or Black Wolf; Queckkawpeetaw or Round Seat.<sup>252</sup>

By the treaty at Edwardsville, the Peoria were given a reservation of 640 acres which included their village on the Blackwater River in Missouri Territory.<sup>253</sup> Some Peoria still lived at times south of St. Louis on the St. Francis River; this group had about ten warriors and a total population of forty or sixty, while the Kaskaskia numbered about sixty persons (fifteen warriors).<sup>254</sup> But by 1820 some of the Kaskaskia left Illinois and were living with the Peoria, Michigamea, Cahokia, and

<sup>248</sup> The land was in Township 9 south, range 3 west of 3rd principal meridian, and included parts of sections 15, 16, 21, 22, 27, and 28. "Illinois Plats," XXXI, 43, Auditor's Records, Illinois State Archives.

<sup>249</sup> Esarey, *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison*, I, 114-115.

<sup>250</sup> Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1948), XVI, 75.

<sup>251</sup> *History of Jackson County, Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1878), 110.

<sup>252</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 181-183.

<sup>253</sup> *The Illinois Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), Mar. 24, 1819.

<sup>254</sup> *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, ser. 2, II, 76-77; Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, XV, 305.

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Tamaroa.<sup>255</sup> The Kaskaskia in September of 1826 numbered thirty-one persons: fifteen men of mixed blood, ten women, and six children.<sup>256</sup> Ten or fifteen Peoria had drifted back to St. Genevieve, Missouri, by 1827,<sup>257</sup> but three years later they left Missouri and settled in Kansas, being pushed westward by the white emigrants.<sup>258</sup> About eight Kaskaskia remained in Illinois, and when the Black Hawk War began in 1832, five Kaskaskia warriors marched north through Springfield, Illinois, on their way to join the United States troops.<sup>259</sup> In this small way, they got revenge against the Sauk and Fox, who had driven them from the Illinois Country, and saw Black Hawk's band cut to pieces.

Following the war, the Kaskaskia signed another treaty with the government, on October 27, 1832, and agreed to leave Illinois and settle with the Peoria on their western reservation. They ceded their reserve in Jackson County back to the United States, but the 350 acres at Kaskaskia was given to Ellen Ducoign, the daughter of the old chief.<sup>260</sup> There were a few Kaskaskia Indians—only one man of pure blood—at the village of Kaskaskia in March of 1833, and shortly after this they too moved west.<sup>261</sup> A census in 1836 shows that there were 132 Peoria and Kaskaskia living on their Kansas reservation, and the following year their numbers had increased to 142.<sup>262</sup> By 1865 the Kaskaskia, Peoria, Piankashaw, and Wea had banded together in one village which consisted of 220 persons.<sup>263</sup> Today the descendants of the once-powerful Iliniwék are living in northeastern Oklahoma and are known as the Peoria Tribe of Indians. There are 466 individuals listed on the Peoria Tribal Rolls, and they are almost wholly integrated into American culture and society. On August 2, 1956, the President of the United States signed Public Law 921 which made the Peoria free of any Federal supervision after three years.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>255</sup> John C. Calhoun to Richard Graham, Washington, Apr. 28, 1820; John C. Calhoun to Pierre Menard, Washington, Apr. 10, 1821, National Archives.

<sup>256</sup> Louise Barry, ed., "William Clark's Diary May, 1826—February 1831," *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, XVI, 14 (Feb., 1948).

<sup>257</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Jan. 15, 1827, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes*, II, 200.

<sup>258</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Sept. 21, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>259</sup> *Senate Document* No. 72 (20th Congress, 2nd sess.); *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), June 14, 1832.

<sup>260</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 403.

<sup>261</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*. XXII, 210.

<sup>262</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, L, 436 (Aug. 27, 1836); *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), Nov. 11, 1837.

<sup>263</sup> *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 3, 1865.

<sup>264</sup> Paul L. Fickinger to author, Muskogee, Okla., Aug. 22, 1956; *U. S. Statutes at Large*. LXX, 937-938.



## CHAPTER II

### MIAMI

At one time the Miami and Illini were probably members of a single group of Indians since both spoke dialects of the same language and had nearly the same culture. But they had separated before the explorers from Canada discovered either tribe. Early accounts list six divisions of the Miami: Wea, Piankashaw, Atchatchakangouen, Kilatika, Pepicokia, and Mengakonkia. However, only the first two have a separate identity which can be traced in historic accounts. The Miami, an Algonquian tribe, have been given many names by other Indians. One is "Omaumeg," a Chippewa term meaning the "people who live on the peninsula." The Cherokee called the Miami "Twaatwaa" or crane; the Iroquois said "Twoittois" (certainly a French spelling of the same word); and the British explorers spelled their name "Twightwees." Since one totem of the Miami was the crane, this name perhaps denoted but one division of the Miami, the Atchatchakangouen. Other totems were the bear, elk, and turtle, but some Miami later insisted that their own name was "Meemeea," meaning pigeon. Clan groups within the Miami are said to be the wolf, loon, eagle, buzzard, panther, turkey, raccoon, snow, sun, and water,<sup>1</sup> but adequate information is lacking.

According to the information which La Salle gleaned, the Miami had once lived west of Lake Michigan until disputes with the Illini and attacks by the Iroquois drove them west of the Mississippi River into the country of the Sioux.<sup>2</sup> When the Iroquois found other enemies to fight, the Miami made peace with the Illini and both groups moved back across the Mississippi into their former countries. By 1669 Marquette had learned from the reports of others that the Miami had settled north of the Illinois prairies in what is now Wisconsin. One group

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907), I, 852-854; Vernon Kintz, ed., *Meemeeear Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge* (Ann Arbor, 1938), 6-7; Wm. Keith to Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, Philadelphia, Feb. 16, 1710/9, MS., Ill. State Hist. Lib.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle, 191-193*; Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 215-216.

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was living near the Mascouten on the Fox River, southwest of Lake Winnebago.<sup>3</sup> Jesuits encouraged the Miami to come and settle near their mission, offering them protection and trade goods. In 1670 the Jesuits discovered that the Miami were still established at this location and termed them "an Illinois tribe."<sup>4</sup> That same year Father Dablon estimated that the combined strength of the Miami and Mascouten was about 3,000, and two years later Father Allouez visited the village and counted over ninety Miami lodges; three others there belonged to the Wea. By this time the Miami were said to be "very numerous" and it was observed that they constructed their houses in the same manner as the Illini. If the Miami had ever lived in this area previously, it was many years prior to 1672 because this generation had no knowledge of snowshoes. Marquette is said to have passed through this same village in the summer of 1673 and declared that the Miami were very friendly, well built, and wore "two long locks over their ears." This description of their hair style definitely shows the close connection of the Miami to the Illini.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps some of the Miami soon left the mission of St. Jacques, which had been established for them on the Fox River, and moved south to the Chicago area.<sup>6</sup> This move subjected them more to the influence of the Iroquois who wished to divide them further from the Illini. It is known that by 1679 there was an encampment of Miami, Mascouten, and Wea on the portage between the St. Joseph River (of Lake Michigan) and the Kankakee; both La Salle and Hennepin visited this village.<sup>7</sup> However, there were still Miami living in the vicinity of Green Bay, for the Iroquois sought them out in 1681 and hurled their warriors against these settlements<sup>8</sup> while some of the inhabitants were away on a winter hunt along the Ohio River.<sup>9</sup>

Previously, the Miami had listened to the Iroquois' promises of peace, but after this attack the Miami realized that the Iroquois could not be trusted.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the Miami agreed to join La Salle's con-

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<sup>3</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIV, 185-187, 207, 227.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, LV, 103, 201, 209.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, LVIII, 23, 63, LIX, 101.

<sup>6</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I, 271.

<sup>7</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 77; Shea, ed., *A Description of Louisiana*, 140.

<sup>8</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 71-73.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 253.

<sup>10</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 151.

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federacy near Starved Rock in 1683 and sent words of friendship and peace to the Illini. When the Illini returned to the area of Starved Rock, they discovered that there were 1,300 Miami warriors, 500 Wea, and 150 Piankashaw situated around the fort.<sup>11</sup> Charlevoix declared that some of the Miami built their own fort atop Buffalo Rock on the Illinois River, east of Starved Rock,<sup>12</sup> but after awhile many of the Miami left again for the St. Joseph River.<sup>13</sup> Minet's map of 1685 locates the Miami along the southern tip of Lake Michigan and calls the Kankakee River the River of the Miami.<sup>14</sup> Deliette declared that some of the Miami were still near Starved Rock as late as 1687 but left the next year for the upper Mississippi, the St. Joseph River, and Racine, Wisconsin. They remained only a short time at these locations and then returned to the Chicago area and the Wabash River.<sup>15</sup> Deliette's account is corroborated by Jean Cavelier who remarked that when he arrived at Starved Rock in September of 1687, Tonti was on a mission to other groups of the Miami who were some distance away.<sup>16</sup>

One map maker indicated in 1690 that the Miami were established on the St. Joseph River near Lake Michigan, and Chicago is shown as the site of a Miami village, probably that of the Wea who remained there until about 1702. Cadillac explained that the Miami chiefs could not agree among themselves and the result was a divided tribe.<sup>17</sup> In 1696 Father François Pinet established a Jesuit mission among the Miami at Chicago and this institution, named the Guardian Angel, existed until 1700. At this little outpost of civilization both the French and Indians stopped while on their way to and from the Illinois Country.<sup>18</sup> St. Cosme visited this mission in October of 1698 and reported that there were two villages of Miami living on the Chicago River about one league apart, each of which contained over 150 cabins.<sup>19</sup> At this time

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<sup>11</sup> See page 27.

<sup>12</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, II, 185.

<sup>13</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 99. Unless otherwise stated, all references to the St. Joseph River refer to the one which empties into Lake Michigan, not the one in northeastern Indiana.

<sup>14</sup> Tucker, ed., *Indian Villages*, plate VII.

<sup>15</sup> Pease and Werner, eds., *The French Foundations*, 392-393.

<sup>16</sup> Jean Delanglez, ed., *Journal of Jean Cavelier* (Chicago, 1938), 125-127.

<sup>17</sup> Coronelli's map of 1690, Harvard College Lib.; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXIV, 143; Quaife, ed., *Memoirs of Cadillac and Liette*, 70-71.

<sup>18</sup> Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago 1673-1871* (Chicago, 1921), 13-14.

<sup>19</sup> Shea, ed., *Early Voyages*, 53. Shea is in error about the date of St. Cosme's visit; it was 1698 not 1699.

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the Miami were located in several villages from the Mississippi to the St. Joseph rivers with Chicago being the center of the Miami Country. Tonti revealed in 1700 that the Miami were upon the headwaters of the Illinois River and near the tip of Lake Michigan; Samuel York also found them at these locations that same year. During this period, the lower Fox River of Wisconsin was also referred to as the River of the Miami by Jean-Baptiste D'Anville. D'Iberville estimated the Miami in 1702 as 500 families, and many of these who lived to the west of Lake Michigan later migrated to Chicago where beavers were more plentiful. However, in 1702 there were still nearly 100 Miami on the Wisconsin River although by this time about 100 families were living at the junction of the Des Plaines and Kankakee rivers. The Miami, D'Iberville estimated, had 450 warriors who were armed with guns which had been received in exchange for beaver pelts.<sup>20</sup>

When the French urged them to establish a village at Detroit in 1702, many of the Miami left their homes in the vicinity of Lake Michigan and moved there, but not all of the nation migrated. In 1705 one village of Miami was still settled upon the forks of the Illinois River—the confluence of the Des Plaines and Kankakee. Those who moved to Detroit were dissatisfied by 1706 and wished to return to northern Illinois or the St. Joseph River. And when they encountered trouble with the Ottawa at Detroit that year, most of the Miami fled. However, they had come into contact with the British traders while traveling about the Detroit area, and in 1708 some Miami journeyed eastward again to trade at Albany, New York. This marks the beginning of the friendship between the English and Miami who had formerly traded only with the French.<sup>21</sup>

Probably as a result of British influence, the Miami had founded villages on the Maumee River before 1710. Other Miami groups migrated to the Wabash River and in 1715 made peace with the Illini, but it was too late to preserve the power of the Iliniwék which had already fallen because of the Iroquois wars and the pressure of other invaders. As the Miami moved down the Wabash, they again met British traders who attempted to divert them from their French alle-

<sup>20</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV, 597, 598, 602; Tucker, ed., *Indian Villages*, plate III; *Mid-America*, XXI, 233 (July, 1939); O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IV, 749; *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII, 75.

<sup>21</sup> *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII, 138; Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV, 592; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 230, 239, 249; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, V, 65.

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giance. Vaudreuil announced on October 28, 1719, that he was attempting to move the Miami back to the St. Joseph River, away from the British, but with little success. The following year, however, about 100 Miami warriors left the Wabash and returned to the St. Joseph where other parties of Miami were gathering. But those returning to St. Joseph were only a small part of the Miami nation. Although Chicago still bore the name "Fort Miami," about 2,000 of the Miami who had formerly lived in this area were settled on the Maumee River in 1710 and remained there. This early settlement was probably at Fort Wayne, Indiana, a village then known as Kekionga when the French built a fort there in 1722. At this time there were three major areas occupied by the Miami: the territories along the St. Joseph, Maumee, and Wabash rivers. Those on the Wabash were for the most part members of the Wea division. Never again would the Illinois Country be the principal residence of the Miami.<sup>22</sup>

It has been said that the Miami dislike to remain in one place very long, and when smallpox struck the main village on St. Joseph River sometime before 1734, the inhabitants quickly split into groups and moved to new locations. By moving eastward they again came into contact with British traders, and the French made large efforts to bring the Miami back to their old villages.<sup>23</sup> Many had settled in the Ohio Country and in 1749 a party of French paddled down the Ohio in an attempt "to whip home" the Miami, who were trading with the British, but their persuasion had little effect.<sup>24</sup> By 1751 the Miami had established a large village called Pickawillany about two and one half miles north of the present town of Piqua, Ohio. It was situated on the northwest side of the Big Miami River, about 150 miles from its mouth, and consisted of approximately 400 families who were augmented daily by new arrivals. This was considered to be one of the strongest Miami towns and it was able to withstand the onslaughts of the Six Nations<sup>25</sup> until about 1763 when the Miami withdrew into Indiana, leaving much of their Ohio lands in the hands of the Shawnee. Although there were

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<sup>22</sup> Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, II, 171-172; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 313, 322; Frances Krauskopf, ed., *Ojibwa Documents* (Indianapolis, 1955), 164, 169; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, V, 622; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XIX, 6; Charlevoix, *Journal*, I, 271; Wm. Keith to Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, Philadelphia, Feb. 16, 1710/9, MS., III. State Hist. Lib.

<sup>23</sup> Comte de Maurepas to de Bienville, Versailles, Sept. 2, 1734, Paris Archives.

<sup>24</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VI, 533.

<sup>25</sup> William M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Cleveland, 1893), 47-48.

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scattered bands of Miami living along the Illinois River and other places, their main villages were now on the headwaters of the Wabash River. They hunted through the lands lying west of the Wabash and along the Ohio River to its mouth. In 1765 there were about 2,000 Miami warriors,<sup>26</sup> and groups of them sometimes journeyed to St. Louis where they received presents from the Spanish. Other parties visited with the British garrison at Fort Chartres after it was surrendered by the French at the conclusion of the French and Indian War.<sup>27</sup>

Just prior to the American Revolution there were 250 Miami warriors and their families living opposite Fort Wayne, but the war seems to have disrupted their trade and in 1792 they left their villages and moved toward Detroit. Others journeyed westward and joined the Spanish on the west bank of the Mississippi. A band of Miami, afflicted with smallpox, appeared in 1793 at Kaskaskia, Illinois, and in January of the following year there was a group living near the mouth of the Ohio River.<sup>28</sup> A few years later—when the Miami were not so friendly toward the Americans—one of their principal towns was Mississinewa which was located about sixty miles southwest of Fort Wayne at the junction of the Wabash and Mississinewa rivers. There were other Miami towns up the Mississinewa to a distance of fifteen miles, and some of their prominent chiefs were Silverheels, Lapousier, Stone Eater, Pakaun, Hibou or the Owl, and Pussewa or Jean Baptiste Richardville. Little Turtle ruled a Miami village on the Eel River twenty miles northwest of Fort Wayne and this band was sometimes called the Eel River Indians.<sup>29</sup>

When the War of 1812 began, the Miami wavered from their allegiance to the United States, and military expeditions were sent against their towns in the Wabash Country. Many were burned and the Miami were scattered. Numbers of them joined the Shawnee Prophet on the Tippecanoe, but others had already left Indiana before the army struck their villages. Perhaps it was Tecumseh's appearance

<sup>26</sup> Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America* (London, 1765), 195.

<sup>27</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 299-300; Baynton-Wharton-Morgan Letterbook VII, n.p., Pa. Hist. & Museum Commission, Harrisburg.

<sup>28</sup> MS., n. d., Canadian Archives, copy in Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; MS. map in Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; James Wilkinson to H. Innes, Fort Washington, July 20, 1792, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XXIV, 422; Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 53, 60.

<sup>29</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1813; Esarey, ed., *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison*, I, 142, 147, 148, 580, II, 56-57, 61, 255.

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at Mississinewa with 600 warriors in 1812 that caused the attack against the Miami by American troops. Tecumseh seemed bent on war and led his men in making bows and arrows since they could not secure arms and powder, but not all the Miami followed him. On or about May 20, 1812, over twenty lodges of Miami left the Wabash and established a village within half a mile of Peoria, Illinois, near the Kickapoo. This Miami group consisted of 120 or 150 warriors and increased the Indian strength at Peoria to about 600 braves. Officials in Illinois were very worried about this sudden influx of Miami warriors with their families, and consternation mounted when 400 Miami journeyed westward, in May of 1813, from Ohio and other places to relocate on the St. Joseph River near Lake Michigan. Another party of either 25 or 28 Miami braves crossed Illinois and settled on the Des Moines River. It seemed that Great Britain was surrounding the Illinois Country with her Indian allies, but the United States secured an armistice with the Miami in 1813 and the threat was circumvented.<sup>30</sup>

Gradually, many of the Miami who had left Indiana during the War of 1812 returned, and in August of 1817 there were 1,400 Miami under the agency of Benjamin F. Stickney who was stationed at Fort Wayne.<sup>31</sup> The main chief of the Miami nation at this time was Richardville who was shrewd, knew the value of land, and had the cultured manners of an educated white man.<sup>32</sup> During the winter of 1823-24, the Miami from Fort Wayne hunted along the Wabash and roamed into Illinois to the number of about 300.<sup>33</sup> However, in 1824 the total number of Miami (including some Potawatomi) who lived in Indiana—mostly around Fort Wayne—was 2,441.<sup>34</sup> On October 6, 1818, the Miami of northern and central Indiana had ceded their lands to the United States, retaining only five reservations which were mainly along the Wabash River.<sup>35</sup> But the first large movement westward seems to

<sup>30</sup> Esarey, ed., *Messages and Letters of Harrison*, II, 19, 61-62, 109, 138, 164, 299, 579; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 570, 660, XVI, 229, 325; *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXIV, 342-343 (July, 1931); Maurice Blondeau to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, John Johnson to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 25, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>31</sup> John B. Dillon, "The National Decline of the Miami Indians," *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, I, 139 (1897).

<sup>32</sup> B. Parks to Sec. of War, Vincennes, Dec. 7, 1818, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 190.

<sup>33</sup> Wm. Clark to Edward Coles, St. Louis, Jan. 9, 1824, and enclosure from R. Graham, Exec. File, Illinois State Archives.

<sup>34</sup> Nellie Robertson and Dorothy Riker, eds., *The John Tipton Papers*, I, 408.

<sup>35</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 189-192.

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have come during the fall and winter of 1830. Pierre Menard reported on October 8, 1830, that he expected 500 Miami from Mississinewa and Stone Eater's Town to pause at Kaskaskia, Illinois, on their journey to new lands beyond the Mississippi.<sup>36</sup> And after the treaty with the Potawatomi in 1832, the Miami in Indiana were surrounded by government lands. As a result, approximately 900 Miami left their reservations that year and passed through Champaign County, Illinois, on their trek west,<sup>37</sup> but it was not until 1840 that the last ones ceded their reservations to the United States and agreed to move west of the Mississippi within five years.<sup>38</sup> Yet, in 1865, the Indian Office listed 353 Miami Indians still residing in Indiana even though the main body was on a reservation in the Indian Territory of the West. Although the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Piankashaw, and Wea agreed in 1867 that the Miami might join their confederation, the Miami have kept their own identity, and in 1939 the United States granted them a constitution as part of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. Their formal name is now the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and they have operated under a corporate charter since 1940. At the present time there are 300 persons on the Miami tribal rolls of which about forty-five live on or near the reservation, and there are still some living in Indiana. The Miami are now integrated into the culture of the white man and they hold no tribal lands. Restrictions on their allotted lands expired in 1915.<sup>39</sup>

## WEA

The Wea Indians were also Miami although they had separated from the main group in prehistoric times. Deliette remarked that the Wea, like the Miami, spoke the same language as the Illini and possessed the same culture but, unlike the Illini, they "remain settled in one place only a very short time." One reason for the separation of the Wea from the main body of the Miami was the jealousy of two chiefs, said Philippe de Rigault, the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Since Vaudreuil heard this legend from the Miami in 1720, this explanation is probably more valid than any offered later by these Indians. Perhaps, however, large villages of Indians also made hunting more difficult,

<sup>36</sup> Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), 56.

<sup>37</sup> Bateman and Selby, eds., *History of Champaign County* (Chicago, 1905), II, 644.

<sup>38</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 582.

<sup>39</sup> *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 3, 1865; C. C. Marrs (Acting Area Director) to author, Muskogee, Okla., Jan. 30, 1957.



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and the Miami divided into smaller groups for this reason.<sup>40</sup> The meaning and derivation of the name Wea is not certain. Perhaps it was a contraction of *wawiagtenang* meaning "place of the round, or curved, channel;" another word formed from the stem—*wawaqtenang*—was used by Algonquian tribes to denote Detroit, a French word meaning strait.<sup>41</sup>

Allouez found three cabins of Wea living along the upper Fox River of Wisconsin in the summer of 1672, and this is the first historical reference to them found among the early sources.<sup>42</sup> Prior to this period, the Wea had certainly been with the main body of the Miami when they fled across the Mississippi to escape from the attacks of the Iroquois. Upon the return of the Miami to the area west of Lake Michigan, the Wea undoubtedly accompanied them, and when La Salle established his Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock in 1683, 500 Wea braves were drawn to this French post. Four years later, Deliette found the Wea settled northeast of Starved Rock, but in 1688 they withdrew from this position and moved north. Their new location was on the upper Kankakee River or at Chicago; a few years after this removal from Starved Rock the Wea are known to have been at Chicago because Deliette spent four years there with them. He related that it was then the largest village of the Miami nation,<sup>43</sup> and in 1695 the Wea were still at Chicago,<sup>44</sup> but soon after 1700 they moved around the lower tip of Lake Michigan to the St. Joseph River area. One tradition among the Miami is that the Wea left the St. Joseph to find better hunting and under the leadership of Wuyoakeentonwau established a village on the Wabash River below the mouth of the Tippecanoe. It was said that this man's name meant whirlpool and the Wea Prairie was named after him. This tradition further states that their withdrawal was the first separation of the Wea from the Miami and gave rise to the name Wea.<sup>45</sup> However, the Wea had either been separated from the Miami or had been recognized as a distinct clan years before their move from the St.

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<sup>40</sup> Pease and Werner, ed., *The French Foundations*, 392; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 394; Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 168-169; Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, I, 574; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 91.

<sup>41</sup> Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 925.

<sup>42</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LVIII, 23.

<sup>43</sup> Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 392.

<sup>44</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 161.

<sup>45</sup> Kinietz, ed., *Meearmear Traditions*, 10-11.

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Joseph to the Wabash, and this legend illustrates the danger of using Indian traditions to bridge the gaps in historical knowledge.

At some date before 1717 the Wea were established on the Wabash River in the vicinity of Lafayette, Indiana. In that year a fort was built by the French on the west side of the Wabash, four miles below the present Lafayette, and named Post Ouiatanon, the French name for the Wea Indians. Since this new location of the Wea was closer to central Illinois where the Illini lived and hunted, the French were anxious to keep peace between the Wea and Iliniwék. To prevent friction, Vaudreuil proposed that the Wea return to Chicago or the upper Kankakee where they had formerly resided. In 1718 the Wea had five villages near Post Cuiatanon, but the names of only four have survived: Ouiatanon, Piankashaw, Peticotias, and Gros. In all, the Wea numbered 1,000 or 1,200 warriors, but they had suffered large losses in 1715 as a result of a newly introduced disease of the whites—measles.<sup>46</sup> Years later the area around Ouiatanon was known as the site of the old Wea towns which were about 150 miles by water from Fort Wayne and the same distance from Vincennes.<sup>47</sup>

Vaudreuil continued to seek the removal of the Wea and Miami from the Wabash, and during the summer of 1719 these Indians promised him that they would return to their former villages in the autumn. The Miami were to take up quarters on the St. Joseph and the Wea were to settle again on the Kankakee. Upon the death, however, of the Sieur de Vincennes, who had lived among these Miami, they refused to leave the Wabash. Only one little band of forty or fifty Wea could be persuaded in 1720 to return to the Kankakee River. Patiently they awaited the arrival of the main body from Ouiatanon, but when their kinsmen did not appear, the little vanguard returned to the Wabash in 1721. On October 6, 1721, Vandreuil wrote that his hopes "of drawing the Miami to the River St. Joseph and the Wea to the banks of the Kankakee have entirely vanished."<sup>48</sup>

In April of 1723 three Miami arrived at Fort Chartres and announced that the Wea were leaving Ouiatanon to establish a town at an old village site called La Babiche which was probably on the Maumee

<sup>46</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 160-162; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 323.

<sup>47</sup> Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, I, 353.

<sup>48</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 164, 168, 172; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 394, 399; Vaudreuil to Council, Quebec, Oct. 6, 1721, *Paris Archives*.

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River.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps this move was actually made; no definite location of the Wea is possible until 1726 when Bienville reported that the Miami were then located in three places: "the great village of the Crane" on the Maumee, Ouiatanon where the Wea had over 400 braves, and a new village of Piankashaw called Mercata which was several leagues down stream from Ouiatanon. The Wea had perhaps returned to the Wabash in order to trade with the British with whom better bargains could be struck. It was for this reason that the French tried to reëstablish the Miami farther north. Although loyal to the French in spirit, the Wea were in the habit of wintering along the Ohio River where they were joined by the Iroquois who brought many trade items from the British to exchange for the Wea's furs.<sup>50</sup>

To gain revenge against their European rivals, one French commandant ordered the Wea to make war upon the Chickasaw, a southern tribe which was friendly toward the British. In 1731 a war party of Wea did journey south and strike the Chickasaw, but Diron d' Artaquette reasoned that this action would merely close the Mississippi to the French and stir up the Natchez and Yazoo against them. Regardless of this reasoning, the Sieur de Vincennes dispatched another war party of Wea, Miami, and Piankashaw (who were joined by some Potawatomi, Iroquois, and Illini) against the Chickasaw in 1732-1733.<sup>51</sup> During the latter year many deaths occurred among the Wea, probably as a result of smallpox, but nevertheless another raid was planned against the Chickasaw with the aid of the Arkansas. At this time there were four villages of the Wea and their allies, the smallest of which contained sixty warriors; the combined strength of the villages was 600 to 700 braves.<sup>52</sup> Again, in March of 1738 the Wea raised four war parties which made forays against the Chickasaw and captured several of the enemy. These prisoners were nearly all burned by the Wea in their Wabash villages,<sup>53</sup> and the war continued for several years.

It is not evident that the population of the Wea villages was decreased because of their frequent wars with the Chickasaw. In 1746 it was estimated that the Wea still numbered about 600 braves who were loyal to the French interests. At this time their important chiefs

<sup>49</sup> Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*, 75.

<sup>50</sup> Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, III, 524, 534.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 59, III, 666; *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XXXIV, 100.

<sup>52</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 146; *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, III, 301, 303.

<sup>53</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 187.

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were La Peau Blanche (The White Skin), a war chief; L'Homme Chef (The Head Chief); La Petite Jarretiere (The Little Garter); Le Commis (The Traveller); La Teste Blanche; and Le Comte (The Count).<sup>54</sup> However, the influence of the British upon the Wea was also strong since the latter often wintered upon the Ohio or White rivers where British traders came into contact with them.<sup>55</sup> To coerce the unruly Miami at Pickawillany in Ohio, the French sent troops there in the summer of 1752, and this action probably caused the Wea on the Wabash to side with the British. Immediately the Wea sent Delaware runners with a "feathered pipe, and beaver blanket" to a Shawnee village on the Ohio River where the articles were given to representatives of both the British and the Six Nations as a token of friendship.<sup>56</sup> And during 1752 all but one group of Wea quit Ouiatanon and settled with the Piankashaw on the White River, but François-Marie le Marchand de Ligneris, commander at Ouiatanon, persuaded the Wea to return. He was aided by the supplications of the Potawatomi from St. Joseph, and in August and September of 1752 the Wea resumed their residence at the French fort.<sup>57</sup>

Little is known about the activities of the Wea during the French and Indian War, but in 1761 the British assumed command of the fort at Ouiatanon, a stronghold of upright posts, when it was surrendered by the French. A quick census disclosed that at this time the Miami consisted of 230 braves, the Wea 200, the Kickapoo 180, the Mascouten 90, and the Piankashaw 100. All these tribes were settled near the fort and traded there.<sup>58</sup> During the years 1762 and 1763 the Wea remained near Ouiatanon and maintained their same numbers,<sup>59</sup> but in 1764 some of the Wea seem to have broken with the new masters of Ouiatanon and joined the French at Fort Chartres in Illinois. De Villiers had one group of Wea and one of Piankashaw with him at the French fort in March of 1764.<sup>60</sup> Yet the British estimated that the Wea at this time numbered 400 warriors; perhaps distant Wea groups

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 152, 190, 196, 197, 198, 200.

<sup>55</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 249.

<sup>56</sup> Alfred T. Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain William Trent* (Cincinnati, 1871), 100-101.

<sup>57</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 218.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>59</sup> *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, X, 365 (July, 1926); O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 583; Thomas Hutchins' map in Henry E. Huntington Lib., San Marino, Cal.

<sup>60</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period*, 224.

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had gathered around Ouiatanon or the estimates were too high.<sup>61</sup> Although the Wea and their neighbors seem to have favored the French, most of them remained along the Wabash River after the British assumed control of their lands. The Wea, Piankashaw, Kickapoo, and Mascouten remained around Ouiatanon, and in July of 1765, there was a small village of Miami located six miles up the Eel River from the Wabash.<sup>62</sup> But some of the Wabash Indians did move to the French village of Vincennes where Lt. Alexander Fraser found them in 1766. This settlement consisted of elements from the Wea, Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Piankashaw.<sup>63</sup>

Fort Ouiatanon continued to be a strategic command, for in 1770 there were 1,000 warriors—Wea and allies—settled opposite the outpost.<sup>64</sup> Four years later a more definite description is available; the Wea were living on the left bank of the Wabash, opposite the fort, and the Kickapoo were encamped around the fort itself.<sup>65</sup> The number of warriors was the same as in 1770 and Ouiatanon was said to be about seventy yards from the Wabash's right bank.<sup>66</sup> With the coming of the American Revolution, these Indians became a valuable pawn, having, in 1777, approximately 1,000 braves. There were also Miami on Eel River, and Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton of Canada had much influence among them.<sup>67</sup> These Indians tended to favor whichever side promised them the most for their allegiance, and in June of 1778, representatives of the Wea, Kickapoo, and Mascouten gathered at Detroit to talk with the British. The Wea war chiefs were Au-qua-sa-ca, Mau-wee-shinga, Nee-Mee-Ca, Packing-qoi-shinga, and Cha-ha; the village chiefs of the Wea were Qui-qua-po-quois, Me-lou-e-son-ata, and Ta-pa-tia.<sup>68</sup> After the Wea raided the frontier settlements of the Americans, George Rogers Clark met with many of the Wabash chiefs at Cahokia in the fall of 1778 and peace treaties followed.

During the remainder of the Revolutionary War, the Wea were quite peaceful, and in January of 1782, they were observed, to the num-

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<sup>61</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 156.

<sup>62</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, I, 149.

<sup>63</sup> *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, II, 410.

<sup>64</sup> *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, X, 247.

<sup>65</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 157n.

<sup>66</sup> *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, II, 436; Undated MS. in Canadian Archives, Ottawa.

<sup>67</sup> Henry Hamilton's Journal, Oct. 7 to Dec. 17, 1778, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>68</sup> *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, I, 319.

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ber of five or six hundred, hunting along the Wabash. Although manifesting a certain haughtiness toward the American observer, the braves declared that they were still allies of the United States.<sup>69</sup> At this time, the principal Wea chief was Crooked Legs.<sup>70</sup>

The quietness of the Wabash was disturbed in February of 1789 when rumors were heard that the Wea were preparing for war and making plans to attack Vincennes. John Hamtramck therefore worked diligently among the Wea during the summer and succeeded in dividing the tribe. One group of eighty warriors and their families pledged support to the United States and released two Kentuckians who had been held as prisoners.<sup>71</sup> But good relations with the Wea did not last, and on May 23, 1791, Gen. Charles Scott from Kentucky led his troops north from the Ohio River to attack the Wea towns along the Wabash. His force reached the Ouiatanon settlements of the Wea and Kickapoo on June 1, and Scott defeated these Indians and destroyed their crops.<sup>72</sup> The Wea were scattered and some elements fled down the Wabash to a spot above Pointe Coupee, the name given to the sharp bend of the river twelve leagues above Vincennes. Today this spot is five miles below the town of Merom, Indiana.<sup>73</sup>

Whether these Wea ever returned to Ouiatanon is unknown, but on September 27, 1792, General Rufus Putnam made a treaty of peace with the Wea and other Indians of the Wabash at Vincennes.<sup>74</sup> And on August 3, 1795, the Wea and other Indians signed a treaty at Greenville, Ohio, which (among other things) gave to the United States thirty-six square miles of land at Ouiatanon where the old Wea towns had formerly been located. This cession was presumably for the erection of a fort, but the land was never surveyed and was finally returned to the Indians in 1809.<sup>75</sup> Ouiatanon had ceased to be an important post and no town has survived at this location. However, in 1795 John Wade, an American officer, discovered a village of twenty-two families—probably Wea—living three quarters of a mile from the Wabash and near the Ouiatanon site. He paid his respects to the Indians and

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<sup>69</sup> John Williams to G. R. Clark. Vincennes, Jan. 12, 1782, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>70</sup> *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XI, 370.

<sup>71</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records*, 504, 509.

<sup>72</sup> *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 129-132.

<sup>73</sup> Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, I, 77.

<sup>74</sup> *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 319.

<sup>75</sup> Charles C. Royce, ed., *Indian Land Cessions in the U. S.* (Washington, 1899), 654-655.

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visited with their five chiefs who assured Wade that they would remain friends of the Americans and that the Kickapoo would do the same.<sup>76</sup>

Moses Austin learned in 1796 that the Wea could muster 150 warriors and were living about 200 miles up the Wabash from Vincennes,<sup>77</sup> but by 1806 the main village of the Wea was at Terre Haute, Indiana, and the Kickapoo, Sauk and Fox were urging them to declare war against the United States. Wea territory extended from Vincennes to the Vermilion River, and Lapourier was becoming an important chief in this area.<sup>78</sup> On September 30, 1809, the Miami ceded more of their lands to the United States, and the Wea agreed to this cession on October 26 at Vincennes.<sup>79</sup> In spite of this treaty, the Shawnee Prophet in 1810 attempted to gain the support of the Wea at Terre Haute for his struggle against the United States, and the British attempted to gain their support by supplying them with arms and ammunition the following year. Perhaps some of the Wea did join the Prophet and Tecumseh before the defeat of this Indian confederacy by William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe in 1811, but the following year many of the Wea chiefs were at Fort Harrison, which was near Terre Haute, and some were living sixty miles above Vincennes.<sup>80</sup>

The Wabash Indians, who were now greatly reduced in strength, were confined to reservations after the war. In 1816 the Wea numbered only 460 and they agreed to the boundary survey of lands along the Wabash and White rivers which they had ceded in 1809. But the United States wished to purchase all their lands in Indiana, and Benjamin Parke sent word for the Delaware, Miami, and Wea to assemble at Fort Harrison on November 11, 1816. Only the Wea came and they objected to ceding their lands in the White River region without the consent of the Miami and Delaware. They asked that negotiations be resumed the following spring, but the secretary of war did not send Benjamin Parke a commission to treat with the Wea until May 2, 1818. A treaty was then concluded on October 2 at St. Mary's in Ohio, whereby the Wea ceded all their lands in the states of Ohio, Indiana, and

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<sup>76</sup> *Ind. Mag. Hist.*, L, 286 (Sept., 1954).

<sup>77</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, V, 530 (Apr., 1900).

<sup>78</sup> Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, I, 195, 353, 444; *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 801.

<sup>79</sup> Royce, ed., *Indian Land Cessions*, 676, 678.

<sup>80</sup> Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, II, 37, 637-638.

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Illinois to the government. They asked for a reservation along the mouth of Raccoon Creek and it was granted.<sup>81</sup>

In the vicinity of Vincennes the Wea became a nuisance to the white settlers who were quickly crowding the Indians into smaller areas. Since the Wea had little game to hunt and only a small payment from the government, they frequently killed the cattle and horses of the settlers. Whenever stock was killed by the Wea, the United States was liable for the loss and William Prince, Indian agent at Vincennes, was often called upon to pay reparations to the owners.<sup>82</sup> On September 8, 1819, John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, approved the plan of Benjamin Parke for extinguishing the title of the Wea to the reservation at Raccoon Creek and removing them west of the Mississippi. All Kickapoo living with them were also to be removed.<sup>83</sup> But it was not until August 11, 1820, that the Wea agreed to return their reservation to the United States and made provisions to obtain their annuity from the Indian agent at Kaskaskia, Illinois.<sup>84</sup>

Part of the tribe moved to Missouri and settled on the Current River, but many remained on the Wabash, unwilling to leave their homes. In July of 1822 the Wea who were in Missouri agreed to leave \$1,000 of their \$3,000 annuity with Pierre Menard at Kaskaskia for payment to the other group on the Wabash, providing those yet on the Wabash would leave their villages and cross the Mississippi by October of that year. If the Wabash contingent refused to join those on the Current River, the annuity was to be forwarded to the Wea in Missouri.<sup>85</sup> Those on the Wabash, however, refused to leave and informed William Clark that the treaty of 1820 had been signed by only a small group of the Wea and was unauthorized by the principal chief, Ke-Ke-Qua or Hair Lip, who remained with the main group on the Wabash. Finally, Clark met with the head chief at St. Louis on June 18, 1824, where the Wabash group ratified the treaty of 1820 and agreed to move west of the Mississippi by the end of 1827. Wea chiefs of the

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 734; *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 93; B. Parke to Sec. of War, Vincennes, Nov. 27, 1816, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; Sec. of War to B. Parke, Washington, May 2, 1818, National Archives; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 186.

<sup>82</sup> William Prince Coll., Ind. State Lib.

<sup>83</sup> Sec. of War to B. Parke, Washington, Sept. 8, 1819, National Archives.

<sup>84</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 209.

<sup>85</sup> Receipt of Pierre Menard, Kaskaskia, July 12, 1822, Menard Family Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; Sec. of War to Wm. Clark, Washington, Mar. 21, 1823, National Archives.



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Wabash who signed this new treaty were Hair Lip (also called Jacco), Wa-pa-ga or Swan, Ke-she-wa or Bull, and Na-wa-pa-manda. Those Wea chiefs who had led their groups away from the Wabash to Missouri were Quirva, Piquara, and Cluconsa; it seems that these three leaders had talked to Pierre Menard and made the agreement without the consent of Hair Lip.<sup>86</sup> The reluctant Wea finally left the Wabash under the leadership of Hair Lip and joined their tribesmen in Missouri when the terms of the treaty expired.<sup>87</sup> In all, 1,400 Wea had been removed from Indiana and Illinois since the signing of the treaty in 1820.<sup>88</sup>

Then the Wea were moved to Kansas in 1832 and seven years later they were living with the Piankashaw. At this time the group numbered 363.<sup>89</sup> Soon the Wea had dwindled to a smaller number which, with the Piankashaw, joined the remnants of the Illiniwek (Peoria and Kaskaskia) in 1854. This confederacy moved to Oklahoma in 1868 and by 1885 their numbers had been reduced to 149. Since the Wea were thoroughly integrated with the Illini, it has become difficult to identify the different elements of the little confederacy.<sup>90</sup>

## PIANKASHAW

The Piankashaw were also a division of the Miami and had separated from the parent nation sometime before the arrival of white men in their country. Their totem was said to be the deer. Their name perhaps comes from the term *Päyangitchaki* which means "those who separate." J. P. Dunn, a student of the Miami language, declared that the name was pronounced *Payunggish ah*.<sup>91</sup> One account of the separation has been given by a Miami Indian who stated that the tribe received its name from a Wea Indian who had no slits in his ears, as was customary among the Miami, and was therefore called Piankashaw. This man led his band away from the Wea and settled at the mouth of the Vermilion River.<sup>92</sup> Such late accounts are difficult to evaluate.

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<sup>86</sup> Copy of Treaty, June 18, 1824; Talk with Wea at St. Genevieve, Mo., Oct. 13, 1824. Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>87</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Sept. 14, 1830. Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>88</sup> Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), 52.

<sup>89</sup> Isaac McCoy, *History of the Baptist Indian Missions*, 568.

<sup>90</sup> Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 925.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 240.

<sup>92</sup> Kinietz, ed., *Meearmear Traditions*, 11.

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When La Salle established his fort at Starved Rock in 1682-1683, 150 Piankashaw warriors came to live on the Illinois River. Sieur Deliette said that about the year 1690 these warriors left the area of the fort and established villages farther east, toward the Wabash River.<sup>93</sup>

Perhaps their first village site after leaving Starved Rock was on the Kankakee River. St. Cosme found their camp in November of 1698 along the Kankakee, a day's journey from the Iroquois River. The Piankashaw were away hunting at this time, but St. Cosme seems to have known some of their history. He related that in previous years the Piankashaw had lived near the Mississippi.<sup>94</sup> Father Pierre Marest, writing from the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin at Peoria on July 10, 1700, announced that the Piankashaw had been defeated by the Sioux and Iowa, but he did not give the location of their village. Either the Piankashaw had returned to the Mississippi River or the Sioux had raided far into the Illinois Country. To retaliate, the Piankashaw joined with the Kickapoo, Mascouten, Fox, and Michigamea to strike a blow—not at the Sioux but against the weaker Iowa. Marest pointed out that the Piankashaw were allies of the Illini and the other members of this war party.<sup>95</sup> Henry Popple's map of 1730 indicates that the Piankashaw were living near the Kickapoo in a spot somewhere between Chicago and the Mississippi, north of the Illinois River. If this information was gathered some years before 1730, the Popple map helps to show that the Piankashaw returned to the Mississippi, encountered the Sioux, and withdrew to the Wabash region.<sup>96</sup>

By 1712 the Piankashaw had asked the French for permission to establish a village at the mouth of the Wabash, but there is no proof that this move was made. The Piankashaw probably hoped that the French would establish a fort or trading post there and when none was built they remained on the upper parts of the Wabash. However, by 1720 the Piankashaw were near Vincennes where they bartered with the traders from Canada and Kaskaskia. Piankashaw were said to be more numerous than the Wea and Miami.<sup>97</sup> A few years later the

<sup>93</sup> Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 392-393.

<sup>94</sup> Shea, ed., *Early Voyages*, 58. Shea has the wrong date for this trip; it was 1698-1699.

<sup>95</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, VI, 70.

<sup>96</sup> Popple Map, Winsor Memorial Map Coll., Harvard College Lib.

<sup>97</sup> Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, II, 61-62; Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 168.

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Sieur de Vincennes attempted to settle the Piankashaw on the lower Wabash as a bulwark against the English traders who came down the Ohio River and threatened to cut off the Louisiana Country from French control.<sup>98</sup> Finally, in the summer of 1731, Sieur de Vincennes brought a group of the Piankashaw from the Vermilion River to his fort at Vincennes where they established a village known as Chippekawkay, and in August of 1732, Simon Reaume (commandant at Ouiatanon) made an attempt to remove other groups from the Vermilion to his own fort.<sup>99</sup> In 1734 Vincennes also attempted to bring the Vermilion River group of Piankashaw to his settlement, which he termed the Fort of the Piankashaw, but his efforts seem to have been unsuccessful.<sup>100</sup> This group was probably in Illinois or at the mouth of the Vermilion.

The Sieur de Vincennes aroused the Piankashaw of his district to take up the hatchet against the Chickasaw in 1735 since a blow at them would hurt the British who were moving into the Ohio Valley. Because the Piankashaw were still allied to the Illini at this time, both groups fought against the British-supported Indians south of the Ohio River.<sup>101</sup> But in May of 1736 the Sieur de Vincennes was killed while fighting these southern tribes, and the Piankashaw quickly abandoned Chippekawkay, sometimes called the Little Ouiatanon. By 1737 there were only fifteen or twenty-five braves living at Vincennes—the remainder had journeyed up the Wabash and joined the Vermilion Piankashaw.<sup>102</sup> The Sieur de St. Ange remained at Vincennes and by 1746 there were about forty whites and five Negroes there, but the Piankashaw still remained on the Vermilion River under Chief L'Enfant (The Child).<sup>103</sup> It is not certain where all the Piankashaw lived during these years; however, in 1751 the main group was still on the Vermilion with a chief called Maringouin. At this time the principal chief of all the Miami was a Piankashaw named Mushequanockque or the Turtle.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>98</sup> "Reflections on the letter of M. Perier," Aug. 15, 1729, MS. Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>99</sup> Dunn, *True Indian Stories* (Indianapolis, 1908), 3-4; Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 145-146.

<sup>100</sup> *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, III, 309, 330.

<sup>101</sup> Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, I, 265; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 243.

<sup>102</sup> Salmon to the minister, New Orleans, June 22, 1737; Bienville to the minister, Louisiana, June 21, 1737, Paris Archives.

<sup>103</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 197.

<sup>104</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 92; Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 51; Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain William Trent*, 92.

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Discontent sprang up among the Miami in 1751 and under the leadership of La Demoiselle (The Dragon-fly or The Young Lady, a Piankashaw who had led his group to the Big Miami in 1747) the Indians of the Wabash—with the exception of the Kickapoo and Mascouten—organized a conspiracy against the French. The Piankashaw, who were also at war with the Shawnee, attacked those whites living near Fort Chartres and along the Vermilion River at Christmas time in 1751. Several people were killed and the Piankashaw finally told the commandant at Fort Chartres that the British had urged them to attack. As proof of their statements, these Indians gave St. Clair the war belts which the British had sent to them. In retaliation, the French marched on the Miami town of Pickawillany in 1752, and the Piankashaw fled to the White River where many of the Wea joined them. Mushequanockque, the Turtle, held a conference with the British and other Indian allies on the Ohio River during the summer, probably seeking protection.<sup>105</sup>

The Piankashaw seem to have remained on the White River until about 1754 when they returned, not to Vincennes but to Ouiatanon where they joined the Wea<sup>106</sup> and maintained their alliance with the Illini. Thomas Hutchins found 100 Piankashaw braves near Ouiatanon in 1762. However, there were probably other villages on the Vermilion since Col. Henry Bouquet estimated in 1764 that the Piankashaw numbered 250 warriors and Hutchins gave this same number in his second estimate.<sup>107</sup> When the British assumed command of the Wabash country as a result of the French and Indian War, the Piankashaw seem to have returned to Vincennes. In 1764 it is known that there were 60 Piankashaw men at Vincennes and their village was close to the white settlement. But there was also a group of Piankashaw living on the Vermilion in June of 1765,<sup>108</sup> although some of these Indians seem to have migrated to Vincennes where they joined the mixed group of Piankashaw, Wea, Kickapoo, and Mascouten.<sup>109</sup> Of these, the

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<sup>105</sup> Vaudreuil Letterbooks, Loudoun Papers, Huntington Lib.; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 247; Goodman, ed., *Journal of Capt. Trent*, 92.

<sup>106</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 263.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 583; Bossu, *Travels*, I, 195; *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, X, 365 (July, 1926); Schoolcraft, *Hist. of Indian Tribes*, III, 555, 559.

<sup>108</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period*, 218; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 780; Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, I, 143.

<sup>109</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The New Régime*, 227.

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Piankashaw and Kickapoo were closely allied to the Kaskaskia and certainly hunted in southern Illinois.<sup>110</sup>

A war party of sixty Cherokee traveled up the Wabash in 1768 to attack the Piankashaw and the latter seem to have thought that the raid was sponsored by the British because they began to harass the British traders in this year.<sup>111</sup> These Piankashaw were friendly, however, to the Spanish and frequently journeyed to St. Louis for presents.<sup>112</sup> They also moved south to attack the Cherokee in 1770, but the British declined to take sides in this struggle, wishing to remain friendly with both tribes.<sup>113</sup>

Just how long the Piankashaw group remained on the Vermilion is not certain, but one village—a mile upstream from the mouth—was occupied in 1774 by about 150 warriors.<sup>114</sup> These wandering Piankashaw gradually returned to Vincennes in later years, although they claimed the land along the Vermilion and had villages there as late as 1790. As their livelihood from hunting was being threatened by the influx of settlers and they needed money to survive in the white man's economic system, the Piankashaw agreed, on October 18, 1775, to sell some of their holdings to the Wabash Land Company. Those chiefs who signed this deed were: Tobacco, Tobacco's Son (sometimes called Tobacco Jr.), Montour, La Grand Couette (Big Rabbit's Tail), Ououaijao, La Mouche Noire (Black Fly), Maringoin (Mosquito), Le Petit Castor (Little Beaver), Kiesquibichias, Grelot (Bell), and Grelot Jr.<sup>115</sup>

Upon the outbreak of the American Revolution, the Piankashaw remained friendly toward the British, but when the French inhabitants of Vincennes took an oath to support the Americans on July 20, 1778, this post changed hands. George Rogers Clark then sent Capt. Leonard Helm to Vincennes (renamed Fort Patrick Henry) where Tobacco, the main chief of the Piankashaw, entered into a treaty with Helm on August 7. At this time the Piankashaw, Mascouten, and Kickapoo

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<sup>110</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *Trade and Politics*, 46.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 363; George Morgan to James Rumsey, Kaskaskia, May 27, 1768, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>112</sup> Houck, ed., *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, 44.

<sup>113</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VIII, 233.

<sup>114</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, X, 248; *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, II, 437.

<sup>115</sup> *Calendar of Va. State Papers*, I, 314; *Am. State Papers: Public Lands*, II, 120.

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numbered about 800 braves.<sup>116</sup> When the news reached Detroit that Vincennes had surrendered, Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton raised a party of British troops and left in October to recapture Vincennes. While passing down the Wabash, Hamilton found a winter camp of pro-British Piankashaw below the mouth of the Vermilion.<sup>117</sup> And when Hamilton reached Vincennes, the French quickly changed sides, professed their friendship to the British, and took an oath to King George III, but Clark marched through the flooded lands to Vincennes and recaptured the fort on February 25, 1779. Many of the Piankashaw and Kickapoo offered to fight with Clark but he refused their aid. Those Indians whom Hamilton had sent to raid Kentucky were captured as they returned to Vincennes and put to death. Wishing to reestablish their peace with the Americans, the Piankashaw, Peoria, and Miami met with Clark on March 15 and assured him of their fidelity and begged his protection.<sup>118</sup>

By this time, Tobacco's Son was the ruling chief of the Piankashaw and was called the "Grand Door" to the Wabash because of his great influence among the Indians; he held as much power as Pontiac had earlier exerted around St. Joseph. Tobacco's Son became friendly with the Americans, or the Big Knives as the Indians called them, and soon even the Wea came to Vincennes and offered allegiance to Clark.<sup>119</sup> But it was mainly the Piankashaw and French who actually fought against the British and their Indian allies.<sup>120</sup> The Miami remained friendly with the British as did the Potawatomi and other groups nearer the Great Lakes.<sup>121</sup> Sometimes the Potawatomi or Ottawa attacked the Piankashaw, and on one occasion the Piankashaw, in 1780, struck a blow at the Potawatomi because a Piankashaw chief had been carried off by the Ottawa.<sup>122</sup> In order to continue their war with the Potawatomi and other British tribes, the Piankashaw journeyed with Major Linctot to Fort Jefferson (three and one half miles below the mouth of the Ohio

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<sup>116</sup> Treaty of Aug. 7, 1778, signed by Helm, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.; Schoolcraft, *Hist. of Indian Tribes*, III, 561.

<sup>117</sup> Henry Hamilton's Journal, Oct. 7 to Dec. 17, 1778, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>118</sup> James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781*, 163.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 241-242.

<sup>120</sup> Valentine Thos. Dalton to G. R. Clark, Ft. Patrick Henry [Vincennes], June 25, 1780, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>121</sup> Geoffrey Linctot to Thos. Jefferson, Vincennes, Jan. 30, 1781, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>122</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XIX, 540.

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River) in February of 1781 to ask for ammunition and supplies. By 1782, Clark had discovered that only the Piankashaw and those Illini living near the settlements on the Mississippi were faithful to the Americans. The rest of the Indians in the Northwest were allies of the British.<sup>123</sup> Even the Piankashaw of the Vermilion River continued their raids into Kentucky. This matter was stopped on April 15, 1784, when Thomas J. Dalton held a council with the Piankashaw at Vincennes and received a promise of peace and the return of the white prisoners. The main chief of this band was called Costea[u] (The Strong One).<sup>124</sup>

In 1786 Chief Montour and the Piankashaw sold their old village site, just north of Vincennes on the east bank of Wabash, and moved<sup>125</sup> to Terre Haute and other villages further up the Wabash where they maintained cordial relations with the Americans with only occasional differences.<sup>126</sup> La Grosse Tête (Big Head), a Piankashaw chief, killed a man and boy at Sullivan, Indiana, in 1788, but the Americans and the other chiefs arranged an amiable settlement. At this time, the Piankashaw had dwindled to a small number and were only a token force on the Wabash.<sup>127</sup> There was a village on the mouth of the Vermilion in 1788 and it was still there in 1790; however, some of the Piankashaw were living in the vicinity of Kaskaskia and others were with the Spanish near St. Louis.<sup>128</sup> Although the Piankashaw had sold their lands at Vincennes (about 150 acres) in 1786, this sale was not confirmed until March 3, 1791.<sup>129</sup> At the treaty of Greenville on August 3, 1795, the United States relinquished their claims to the Indian lands north of the Ohio River, but reserved the right to the lands previously sold to the whites at Vincennes and the fort itself. At this council the Wea chiefs A-ma-cun-sa or Little Beaver and A-coo-la-tha or Little Fox signed for

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<sup>123</sup> Leonard Helm to G. R. Clark, Fort Jefferson, Feb. 14, 1781, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.; James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers 1781-1784*, 136.

<sup>124</sup> John Williams to G. R. Clark, Kaskaskia, Nov. 15, 1782, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.; Willard Rouse Jillson, ed., *Filson's Kentucke* (Louisville, 1929), 82-86.

<sup>125</sup> Deed signed by Montour on May 27, 1786 in Francis Vigo Papers, Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; *Am. State Papers: Public Lands*, I, 10, 86, map facing 303.

<sup>126</sup> Valentine Thos. Dalton to G. R. Clark, Vincennes, Mar. 23, 1787, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 21, 28, 31, 89.

<sup>127</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790*, 503-504.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 513-514; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 139-140, 155; St. Jean de Crevecoeur to Duc de la Rochefoucauld, N. Y., June 7, 1788, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>129</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, I, 221-222.

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both the Wea and Piankashaw.<sup>130</sup> By 1796 the Piankashaw were reduced to about 120 men and they had no fixed place of residence, although they called Vincennes their home.<sup>131</sup> Here, they brought their summer deer skins, called "red skins," to sell to the whites in exchange for whisky and supplies.<sup>132</sup> Both sides of the Wabash served as their hunting territory, but by 1802 it was said they numbered only twenty-five or thirty warriors.<sup>133</sup>

Agents for the United States met with the Piankashaw at Vincennes on August 27, 1804, and received title to their lands lying between the Ohio and Wabash rivers, proving that the Piankashaw had considered this area in Illinois their own. They agreed, however, that the Kaskaskia in Illinois also had the right to cede lands near this cession to the United States. Wabakinklelia (Gros Ble or Big Corn), Macatiwaalima (Black Dog), Dog, Three Thighs, and Lightning signed this treaty.<sup>134</sup> This area of land was again the subject of a treaty on December 30, 1805, but the Piankashaw were awarded a reservation of 1,280 acres within this cession. Big Corn and Black Dog once more signed in addition to the powerful chief Montour.<sup>135</sup> Under the stipulations of the second treaty, the Piankashaw were given the right to hunt on this land until claimed by the United States.

Once the Piankashaw realized that they too were being encircled by the advancing frontier, unrest developed in their villages. Yellow Bird returned to Vincennes in the fall of 1807 and reported that the Piankashaw on White River were grumbling and threatening to make war upon the Americans because of the treaties which had taken their land.<sup>136</sup> Their village was near the mouth of White River. And when the War of 1812 began, the Americans advised the Piankashaw around the Vincennes area to move north into Illinois Territory for their own safety. In the spring of 1812 they left the Wabash and joined the Kickapoo who were living near Peoria, Illinois. Here, they joined forces with the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa to raid the frontiers until they were driven from the Illinois River by force. In the

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<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 49-54.

<sup>131</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, V, 530 (Apr., 1900).

<sup>132</sup> C. F. Volney, *View of . . . the United States* (London, 1804), 368-394.

<sup>133</sup> Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 20; Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, I, 45.

<sup>134</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 83-84.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 100-101.

<sup>136</sup> Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, I, 273.



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meantime, the Piankashaw and Kickapoo had stolen everything of value from the Peoria settlement before the troops arrived. The Piankashaw were then taken to the Missouri River where they remained until 1814. In that year they moved to St. Louis and then journeyed to Cape Girardeau where they remained as prisoners of war until the peace treaty was signed. In all they numbered about 180 persons. As they had previously selected a reservation near the Wabash in Illinois, they desired to return there and their wish was granted. This reservation was near Albion, Illinois, but in 1815 the Piankashaw asked Ninian Edwards to exchange this reserve of 1,280 acres for one of like size near the Kaskaskia. It is not known whether this was accomplished, but before 1816 the tribe was divided: part in Illinois and part in Missouri.<sup>137</sup>

By November of 1816, the Piankashaw were all west of the Mississippi and their annuities were forwarded to Kaskaskia.<sup>138</sup> Only the Wea and Kickapoo remained in the vicinity of Vincennes, and the secretary of war authorized Thomas Posey at Vincennes to extinguish the Piankashaw claim to the reservation granted them in 1805.<sup>139</sup> Since this land had never been surveyed, it is nearly impossible to locate it, but the Piankashaw did live on what they considered to be their reservation: the land between the Embarrass and Little Wabash rivers in Illinois, near Albion. Posey proceeded to make a contract with the Piankashaw on January 3, 1818, for the sale of this reservation to the United States, but this treaty does not appear in the *Statutes at Large*. It is found only in a list of treaties published by the War Department in 1826 and was probably concluded with a few renegade Piankashaw without the knowledge of the whole tribe. This theory is borne out in part by the protest made in 1821 by the Piankashaw who proclaimed that they had never relinquished their reservation in Illinois.<sup>140</sup> Nothing was done about this matter and the Piankashaw, as well as the Wea, prepared to leave Missouri in 1830 for a reservation farther west.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Ninian Edwards to Gov. Shelby, Ill. Terr., Mar. 7, 1813, Ayer Coll., Newberry Lib.; Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, II, 696-697; *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 10; George Flower, *History of . . . Edwards County Illinois* (Chicago, 1882), 357-358; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVI, 311, XVII, 145, 253, 432.

<sup>138</sup> Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, II, 733.

<sup>139</sup> George Graham to Thos. Posey, Washington, Aug. 5, 1817; Sec. of War to Thos. Posey, Washington, Oct. 25, 1817, National Archives.

<sup>140</sup> Wm. Clark to John C. Calhoun, St. Louis, Feb. 20, 1821, photo. Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>141</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Sept. 21, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

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Not until October 29, 1832, did the Piankashaw cede this reserve in Illinois (as well as their lands in Missouri) back to the United States<sup>142</sup> and move to Kansas. By 1836 there were only 162 Piankashaw and 222 Wea on this new reservation,<sup>143</sup> and in 1854 the Piankashaw and Wea joined the remnants of the Peoria and Kaskaskia. Altogether this confederacy numbered but 259, and they were soon removed to Oklahoma where they remain today.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 410.

<sup>143</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, L, 436 (Aug. 27, 1836).

<sup>144</sup> Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 925.

## CHAPTER III

### SAUK AND FOX

Both the Sauk and Fox tribes are of Algonquian origin and closely related to the Kickapoo. The dialects of these three groups are all mutually intelligible. Sauk and Fox can scarcely be distinguished one from the other, but Kickapoo "is a relatively divergent dialect." The Shawnee are also linguistically related to these three tribes and some traditions relate that the Sauk, Fox, and Shawnee once constituted a single group. Thomas Forsyth reported that the Kickapoo and Shawnee called the Sauk and Fox "younger brothers." In return, the Sauk and Fox referred to the Kickapoo and Shawnee as "older brothers."<sup>1</sup>

"The people of the yellow earth" is one translation for the word Sauk, while the Fox are known as Mesquakie or "the people of the red earth." Neighboring tribes called the Mesquakie by another name because they were sly and cunning: Outagami. French explorers translated this term as meaning Renard which in English is Fox. It has been said that originally the Fox were divided into two groups, the Red Earth and the Outagami; if this is true, the two groups probably were not recognized as such by the majority of the French. Although the Sauk and Fox intermarried and often appeared to be one big group, these two nations kept their individual identity and generally lived in separate villages. Often their villages were very close together, but even while traveling with one another, each tribe established its own camp sites along the trail.<sup>2</sup>

Originally eastern people, the Sauk and Fox were driven westward by pressure from the Iroquois and Huron. The famous warrior Black Sparrow Hawk (more commonly called Black Hawk) stated that his

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<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report Bureau Am. Ethnology 1906-1907*, 252, 1929-1930. 3; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XII, 298-299; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XII, 107; Esarey, ed., *W'm. Henry Harrison*, II, 718; "Manners & Customs of the Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians 15 Jan. 1827," by Thomas Forsyth, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes*, II, 183-245; Carl F. Voegelin and E. W. Voegelin, "Linguistic Considerations of Northeastern North America," *Man in Northeastern North America*, ed. by Frederick Johnson (Papers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology), 183.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Spencer, *Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in the Mississippi Valley* (Chicago, 1942), 28-29.

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great grandfather, Na-na-ma-kee or Thunder, had been born in the vicinity of Montreal, Canada, "where the Great Spirit first placed" the Sauk.<sup>3</sup> From here the Sauk probably settled first in Michigan and later at Mackinac.<sup>4</sup> Father Allouez found the Sauk in the regions of Green Bay, Wisconsin, and his account of them in 1667 is the first report of their being in this part of the country. They were, said Allouez, quite numerous and more savage than any of the other Indians he had seen. Having no permanent villages, the Sauk roamed through the forests in small groups, but Allouez visited about 200 of them and baptized a few of their children.<sup>5</sup> His next visit to them was on April 17, 1670, and a definite location of one of their villages is given at this time. It was on the Fox River, south of Green Bay, where the town of De Pere stands today. Other settlements were also near Green Bay during these years."

Perhaps as early as 1640 the Fox were already in the Green Bay area, but the first definite report concerning this tribe is from Father Gabriel Druillettes in 1656. He had learned from other travelers that the Fox were in this region and were "of a very gentle disposition."<sup>6</sup> Father Allouez, however, who encountered the Fox in 1665 remarked that they were cruel and less docile than the Potawatomi. He discovered that the Fox and Sauk frequently would kill any Frenchmen whom they found alone in the woods. Allouez estimated that the Fox were a large nation, numbering about 1,000 warriors who excelled in hunting and war.<sup>8</sup> Although the French had little difficulty with other Algonquian tribes, they never won the trust of the Sauk and Fox.

Because of the continued attacks of the Iroquois, the Fox withdrew from their villages during the winter of 1665-1666 and established a settlement of over 600 lodges in the vicinity of the present town of New London, probably on the Wolf River. The Sauk, who were probably away hunting, seem to have kept their permanent village on the Fox River near De Pere, so when spring came the Fox quickly sent messengers who informed the Sauk of the relocation." The name of

<sup>3</sup> Donald D. Jackson, ed., *Black Hawk: An Autobiography* (Urbana, 1955), 47.

<sup>4</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, LI, 45.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 209, 215-227.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIV, 247.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, LI, 43, 45.

<sup>9</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 39.

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the new village was Ouestatinong,<sup>10</sup> but not until Allouez' visit to the Fox on April 24, 1670, is there an accurate account of the village. He declared that the Fox had over 400 warriors, each of whom had many wives—some having four, six or ten. Not only the Iroquois but also the Sioux were making war upon the Fox, and in the middle of their corn fields they had erected a fort wherein their houses were located.<sup>11</sup> Allouez established the mission of St. Marc in this village and priests went there until 1678, but the Fox never accepted Christianity to any large degree and their enmity toward the French increased.

As pressure from the Sioux grew, the Fox sought other locations although several Fox and Mascouten villages remained in the Green Bay region. One estimate, probably exaggerated, listed the combined strength of the Fox and Mascouten at 20,000.<sup>12</sup> Hunting trips were made to the south by these Indians and in October of 1679 La Salle found 125 Fox in a temporary village on the southern tip of Lake Michigan. Another hunting party of Fox, consisting of eighty lodges, was also discovered by La Salle in March of 1681. They were encroaching upon the territory claimed by the Illini and their presence in Illinois was a forewarning of events to come.<sup>13</sup> By 1680 they had probably moved some of their villages to the Fox River of Wisconsin where they harassed the French traders traveling to the Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. St. Cosme declared on September 20, 1698, that there were Sauk and Fox groups living around Green Bay and upon the Fox River. Their presence caused his party to paddle south by way of Lake Michigan where he discovered some of the Fox, Mascouten, and Potawatomi living on the Milwaukee River, indicating the southern movement of these Indians from Green Bay.<sup>14</sup> Less is known of the Sauk's exact location at this time, but in 1695 one of their important chiefs was named Columbi and they were fighting the Iroquois who ventured into their territory.<sup>15</sup>

During the year 1700 the Sauk and Fox continued to expand their domain; Tonti informed his brother that there were Fox on the Wisconsin River and another observer discovered a group of Sauk living

<sup>10</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIV, 207.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 219-225.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, LXI, 155.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 59, 259-263.

<sup>14</sup> Shea, ed., *Early Voyages*, 48-50.

<sup>15</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 164; Quaife, ed., *Cadillac*, 65-66.

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on Lake Michigan. War with the Sioux continued and war parties of Fox were seen hunting their enemy on the Mississippi.<sup>16</sup> Yet one village of Fox remained just south of Green Bay in 1703, at the site of De Pere.<sup>17</sup> French trade was curtailed by the hostility and location of the Fox, and the Sieur de Cadillac was instructed to found a post at Detroit in an effort to draw the Fox there. After many solicitations, many of the Fox finally moved to Detroit in 1710. On the way, a village of Mascouten joined the migrating Fox and this alliance soon caused the Fox to become embroiled in war with the Ottawa. During the winter of 1711-1712 Saguina attacked a Mascouten village on the St. Joseph River and the Fox at Detroit declared war upon the Ottawa. The French sided with the enemies of the Fox and helped to besiege the Fox fort which withstood the onslaught for nineteen days before the valiant defenders attempted to escape and were slaughtered. Even the Sauk had deserted the Fox, but the power of the latter had not been broken for there were large settlements of Fox still in Wisconsin. Fox chiefs who had commanded at Detroit were Pemoussa and Allamima; the Mascouten leaders were Kuit and Onabimaniton.<sup>18</sup>

The action of the French in this battle only encouraged the Fox to commit depredations against the tribes who supported the French. During the winter of 1713-1714 the Fox killed several Illini, and the Iliniwék formed an alliance with other groups who were also bent on destroying the marauders. Frenchmen declared that only among the Mascouten and Kickapoo would the Fox find a refuge. Their stronghold was a fort on the Fox River where in 1716 it was reported that the warriors numbered 300 under Chief Thunder. When it became apparent to the Fox that most of the other tribes were against them, they agreed to a peaceful settlement in 1716, but their attacks against the French continued. Two years later, the Sauk and Fox were both living on the Fox River within eighteen leagues of each other and the latter could muster approximately 500 braves. The Sauk had 200 warriors and in July of 1721 Charlevoix found their village on the east bank of the Fox River at the present site of Green Bay. But there seems to have been other villages of Sauk because Charlevoix added that they

<sup>16</sup> *Mid-America*, XXI, 234 (July, 1939); O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IV, 749; Shea, ed., *Early Voyages*, 92, 94.

<sup>17</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, I, 221.

<sup>18</sup> Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The Fox Indians during the French Regime," *Proc. State Hist. Soc. Wis.* 1907, 159-162; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 281, 289.

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*Photo courtesy Ill. State Hist. Lib.*

Keokuk, a Sauk chief.

were divided in their loyalties: those living on the shores of Green Bay associated with the Potawatomi while those farther south were allied to the Fox.<sup>19</sup>

When Charlevoix reached the portage from the St. Joseph to the Kankakee in 1721, he found the ruins of a Fox fort where at some previous time had stood one of their villages. The Sioux and Fox—who were allies at times—frequently swooped down upon the Illini along the Kankakee or Illinois rivers, and when Charlevoix reached Peoria in September, he discovered that the Illini were then under attack by the Fox.<sup>20</sup> But the Peoria were the most warlike of the Illini and de-

<sup>19</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 300, 301, 313, 338-339, XVII, 1, 2; Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, III, 191; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 889; Charlevoix, *Journal*, II, 58-59.

<sup>20</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, II, 170, 183, 190.

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feated the attacking parties. During the first raid, nine of the Fox were captured and on the second raid twenty-eight fell into the hands of the Peoria and were burned. In spite of this victory, Legardeur Delisle found, when he arrived at Peoria on June 9, 1722, that the Peoria group had abandoned their village and joined forces with the Illini at Starved Rock where they burned some more Fox prisoners. Ouashala (or Ouchata), the principal Fox chief, then returned with 200 warriors to attack Starved Rock in 1722 and managed to kill two men, one boy, and one woman but could not defeat the Illini who nevertheless sued for peace. Their petition was granted by the Fox and the siege was lifted. Many of the Peoria seem to have left in order to join the Cahokia on the Mississippi while others settled near Beardstown, but still the Fox attacks continued. During the spring of 1722 the Illini who were living near Fort Chartres suffered three attacks from the Fox, and one war party had the effrontery to pitch their camp in front of the Kaskaskia village.<sup>21</sup> A continual war was carried on by the Fox against the Illini, and in 1724 more Illini were killed near Kaskaskia. When the French asked the great chief of the Illini, Mantouchensa (a Peoria), to visit France for an audience with the king, he replied that since the Fox were threatening the existence of the Illiniwek, he must remain and fight them.<sup>22</sup>

Although the Fox were making war in southern Illinois, their main villages were still in the region of Green Bay and the Fox River where they maintained friendly relations with the Sioux. Since the Sioux had many furs for sale, the French wished to establish peace with the Fox in order to secure this trade. On June 7, 1726, they attempted to make an agreement with the Fox, Sauk, and Winnebago, and when it seemed that peace was established, Governor Beauharnois sent an expedition to build a fort in the Sioux country. This party, which included Father Guignas, departed from Canada on June 16, 1727, and arrived on August 15 at the Fox village which was located on the Fox River eight leagues from the Winnebago village on Lake Winnebago and forty-five leagues from the portage to the Wisconsin River. Guignas discovered that the men numbered only 200 but that there were many

<sup>21</sup> *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXVIII, 127 (Oct., 1935), XXXVIII, 52-54 (Mar., 1945); *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 418, 422, 429; Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, II, 276-277; *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, III, 321.

<sup>22</sup> Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, II, 412; Palm, *Jesuit Missions*, 83; *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, III, 293.



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husky boys ranging in age from ten to fourteen. Their village was not fortified and the Fox gave every indication of friendship, even smoking the calumet with the French.<sup>23</sup> But when the fort was built among the Sioux on Lake Pepin, the French struck a blow at the Fox without success. Although a peace treaty had been signed in 1726, neither party had observed it in good faith. The Fox continued to attack the Illini and had killed eight Frenchmen before the punitive expedition was sent against them. Again in August of 1728, the Iroquois, encouraged by the French, made war upon the Fox and burned one of their villages although the inhabitants escaped. It seems that at this time the Fox were divided into three villages and one of the prominent war chiefs was Chichippa. The Sauk had their main village at the site of Green Bay, but their ties with the Fox were not so important as they were in later years.<sup>24</sup>

As long as the other tribes supported the Fox, the French found it impossible to defeat them, but suddenly these allies vanished when the Fox made an unforgivable onslaught upon the Kickapoo. Previously, the Kickapoo of northern Illinois had given aid to the Fox, but after this treachery they became enraged, killed both Pémoussa and Chichippa (during the winter of 1728-1729), and made peace with the Illini. With a sigh of relief, the French announced in August of 1729 that "the Fox are not coming against us in war this year." Most of the Sauk, one group of whom were on the St. Joseph River, were also quiet that year.<sup>25</sup>

Forsaken by their former friends, the Fox quickly sought peace with the French but without success. As a last resort the Fox asked asylum among the Iroquois and started the long trek eastward from their villages on the Fox River about June 1, 1730. News of this flight reached the ears of the French and a trap was quickly set; all the trails around the southern tip of Lake Michigan were closed by Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Potawatomi warriors. In desperation the Fox, who consisted of 350 braves with their families (perhaps 1,000 in all), turned south to cross the Illinois River near Starved Rock, the country

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<sup>23</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, I, 21-22, XVII, 23-27; Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, III, 534-535.

<sup>24</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, X, 50-53, XVII, 53; Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, II, 539.

<sup>25</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 54, 63; "Reflections on the letter of M. Perier," Aug. 15, 1729, MS., Chicago Hist. Soc.; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVIII, 207.

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*Photo courtesy Ill. State Hist. Lib.*

Wah-bal-lo, an important Fox chief.

of the Peoria. Here they camped while messengers ran to secure aid from the Iroquois, but the Peoria harassed them and sent pleas for succor to the other tribes of the weak Iliniwék. Although the Fox had started toward the Wabash, they now retreated—perhaps along the Vermilion—to a spot about 63 miles south of Starved Rock where they constructed a fort and waited for the blow to fall.<sup>26</sup> Again the Peoria sought reënforcements from Fort Chartres and soon three little armies were marching to surround the Fox: Coulon de Villiers from Fort St. Joseph, Nicolas Joseph de Noyelles from Fort Miami, and Jean de St. Ange from Fort Chartres. On August 17 the Soldiers and Indians from Fort Chartres joined the Peoria, who were surrounding the Fox, and the siege commenced. With de Villiers came many

<sup>26</sup> The site of this fort has been disputed. William B. Brigham states that the battle took place near Arrowsmith in McLean Co. *Trans. McLean Co. Hist. Soc.*, IV, 33-43 (1936). See p. 42.

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Sauk to fight against the Fox, but the former aided the French but little since they sympathized with the Fox and attempted to smuggle food and ammunition to them. Repeatedly the Sauk suggested that a compromise be made with the Fox, but the French were determined to annihilate them if possible. Because their food and water were running out, the Fox decided to escape and during the night of September 8-9 they slipped away under the cover of fog, but the crying of the children alerted their enemies. Swiftly the allies pursued their trail along the Vermilion for about twenty-four miles until at last the Fox were surrounded and slaughtered—men, women, and children.<sup>27</sup> Between 200 and 300 warriors were killed or captured in addition to the 600 women and children who were slain; the defeat of the Fox was nearly complete, but a few escaped and rejoined their kin in Wisconsin.

Full of determination and hate, the French sought to destroy the remaining Fox, and during the winter of 1731-1732 they sent out a war party of Iroquois who fell upon the Fox, killing 300 of them. It is thought that only thirty Fox escaped and these could find few friends to hide them because the Sauk had returned to Green Bay by 1732 and rebuilt their old village under the protection of the French.<sup>28</sup> Chief Kiala came to Green Bay and offered his life in exchange for peace and pardon for his tribe. This brave chief was immediately seized, enslaved, and transported to Martinique where he soon died. There was no respite for the Fox. Another war party of Huron, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Illini (perhaps led by the Illini chief Ouabichagana) marched against the Fox in 1732 and found them fortified upon a "Lake MaramEEK" which perhaps was near the Fox River of Illinois. This expedition proved to be unsuccessful and the French began to search for stray groups of Fox. De Villiers attempted to take some of the Fox refugees away from the Sauk at Green Bay on September 16, 1733, but a battle ensued in which de Villiers was killed and the Sauk made a rapid departure from their fort. These Fox also abandoned their village, which contained only fifty warriors, and joined the Sauk who had fled to the Wapsipinicon River in eastern Iowa. Here the two tribes built separate forts.

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<sup>27</sup> Stanley Faye, "The Foxes' Fort—1730," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXVIII, 123-163 (Oct., 1935).

<sup>28</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 169; Kellogg, "The Fox Indians during the French Regime," *Proc. State Hist. Soc. Wis.* 1907, 142-188.

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As soon as the French learned the whereabouts of the Fox, they laid plans for another attack. A little army of eighty Frenchmen and 130 Indians, led by De Noyelles, left Montreal in August of 1734 to search for the Fox. Reënforcements were added at Detroit and after a journey of seven months the expedition found the Fox on the Des Moines—not the Wapsipinicon—about sixty leagues from its mouth. They were probably on their winter hunt and instead of a small group of Fox, the raiding party found that they were fighting 250 Sauk and Fox or about fifty-five lodges. French troops forced the enemy back to their fort and quickly retreated on April 19. Although the Sauk promised not to support the Fox, only a few of the former returned to the old villages near the French posts. Thirty Sauk (six lodges) did, however, establish themselves with the Potawatomi on the St. Joseph River in July of 1736. At this time the great chief of the Sauk was Ouabasseban or Le Chat Blanc (White Cat); Le Moyne was another powerful leader.<sup>29</sup>

The Fox roamed from place to place in 1736 and consisted of approximately 100 warriors while the Sauk were reported as being around Green Bay and having 150 braves. At times the Fox were seen along the Fox River of Wisconsin and in 1738 the French attempted to bring them back to Green Bay, but they remained in their villages near Rock River, launching war parties upon the Peoria. They did have some villages along the Wisconsin River and by 1742 many of the Sauk and Fox had gradually returned to the Green Bay area where they established a village within a day's journey of their old settlement on Fox River. Some scattered bands, however, remained near Chicago and Milwaukee. In 1743 there were ten lodges of Sauk and Fox at Chicago and two at Milwaukee.<sup>30</sup> A few years later the Sauk and Fox again pressed south into Illinois where they encountered the Peoria. Their old feud was renewed and about the year 1753 the Sauk defeated them at a spot somewhere between the Rock and Wisconsin rivers. Yet, with the coming of the French and Indian War, the Sauk and Fox joined forces with the French in the attack upon Fort George in 1757. Their residence was merely noted as being on the Mississippi River or

<sup>29</sup> *Coll. Michigan Pioneer and Hist. Soc.*, XXXIV, 104-105, 130-131; Maurepas to Bienville, Versailles, Dec. 27, 1735, Paris Archives; Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, I, 264, 292-293; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 170, 181, 182, 206, 218, 222, 223, 258, 259.

<sup>30</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 1055; Krauskopf, ed., *Ojibwan Documents*, 191; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 336, 363, 398-404, 437, XVIII, 1-3, 39-40.

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vicinity.<sup>31</sup> Evidently, the Sauk and Fox either roamed over large areas and frequently changed their villages or there was little contact with them.

Although during the winter of 1760-1761 the Sauk and Fox were observed on the Rock River (perhaps in Wisconsin), Lt. James Gorrell found one group of Sauk at Green Bay on October 12, 1761. Chief of this group was Aking, the French calling him Dirdo.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps the Sauk were merely visiting the area in order to trade with the whites, but it is more likely that there were several different groups of Sauk. Lt. Gorrell counted 350 warriors among the Sauk and a like number for the Fox whom he said lived on the Fox River in Wisconsin.<sup>33</sup> Thomas Hutchins in 1762 estimated the strength of these two nations as 300 Sauk braves and 320 Fox and declared that their district was around Green Bay and further to the southwest.<sup>34</sup> And the following year there was one group of Sauk living near the Ottawa at Mackinaw and aiding the British.<sup>35</sup>

Gradually the Sauk and Fox extended their domain down the Wisconsin River and in 1763 a Fox war chief named "La Port" [La Porte (Gate) or Le Port (Harbor)] established a village along the east bank of the Mississippi, two leagues north of the Wisconsin.<sup>36</sup> In this same year there was also a Sauk town on the Milwaukee River "about one mile" upstream from Lake Michigan, and living with them was a mixture of Ottawa and Potawatomi.<sup>37</sup> It was about this time that the Sauk and Fox established a village on the north side of the Rock River upon the point of land lying between this river and the Mississippi. Auguste Chouteau, who was in the Illinois Country at the time, reported that the Sauk and Fox moved from the Wisconsin to the present site of Rock Island in the year 1764. One village of Fox moved down from the Wisconsin at the same time and settled at Dubuque, Iowa. Perhaps the repeated attacks of the Chippewa caused these groups to relocate on the Mississippi.<sup>38</sup> Chouteau's date seems plausible in the light of

<sup>31</sup> William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (Philadelphia, 1824), I, 193; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 630.

<sup>32</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, I, 25-26, XVIII, 221.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 32.

<sup>34</sup> *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, X, 365 (July, 1926).

<sup>35</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 561.

<sup>36</sup> Journal of James Stanley Goddard, MS., McGill Univ., Montreal.

<sup>37</sup> Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*, 361-362.

<sup>38</sup> Statement of Chouteau in Wm. Clark to John C. Calhoun, St. Louis, Feb. 20, 1821, National Archives; Jackson, ed., *Black Hawk*, 100; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XI, 486.

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Black Hawk's statement that he was born at the Sauk village on the Rock River in 1767. Another group of Sauk and Fox informed Major Marston that the village at Rock Island had been settled about the year 1770, but since this estimate was a reminiscence given in 1820, Chouteau's year date of 1764 is probably correct.<sup>39</sup>

Although 1764 seems to mark the arrival of the Sauk and Fox at Rock Island, there were still villages of these tribes on the Wisconsin and Fox rivers in 1799 and later.<sup>40</sup> British traders declared in 1764 that Fort Edward Augustus on Green Bay was still an excellent location for commerce with the Sauk and Fox,<sup>41</sup> and since these Indians had never held cordial relations with the French, the British rapidly won them over after the French and Indian War.

A location for the Sauk village on the Wisconsin is given by James Stanley Goddard who arrived at this site in 1766. It was on the north bank of the Wisconsin and twelve leagues below the present town of Portage—probably at Sauk City. Three hundred warriors lived at this settlement under the village chiefs Ceshepau and Cagigameg; the war chiefs were Sigelo, Kokgick, and Washekone. When Goddard asked them about their military exploits, one of the war chiefs replied that the Sauk were engaged in a perpetual fight with the Illini and the war would continue as long as the sun, moon, and stars existed. Even their bones, the chief boasted, would continue to fight the Illini. Jonathan Carver also arrived at this Sauk town on October 8, 1766, and corroborated Goddard's estimate of 300 warriors and added that there were ninety lodges, each of which housed several families.

Goddard discovered the first Fox village, of 300 braves, twenty-five leagues down the Wisconsin from Portage where Macketochick and Chekequey were the village chiefs. Living here at this time were also the celebrated war chiefs "La Port" and Wasala, but when Carver arrived at this village on October 11 he learned that the Fox had deserted the site because of an epidemic which had killed approximately half of their number. Carver, however, observed that there were nearly fifty lodges in the village although the inhabitants were dispersed throughout the surrounding woods. After reaching the mouth of the

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<sup>39</sup> Maj. M. Marston to Jedediah Morse, Fort Armstrong (Rock Island), Nov., 1820, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wisconsin.

<sup>40</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XXV, 186.

<sup>41</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 658.

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Wisconsin in 1766, Goddard came upon the second Fox village two leagues above the Wisconsin, along the Mississippi, where twelve large lodges stood, housing 100 braves, both Sauk and Fox. This was the town which "La Port" had established in 1763, but Goddard had found the famous war chief at the first Fox village on the Wisconsin.<sup>42</sup>

Raids by the Sauk and Fox against the Illini continued during the 1760's even though the latter were settled near the British forts. On May 14, 1769, a party of Sauk and Fox killed six Kaskaskia near Fort Chartres and the whites themselves were forced to remain near the fortifications. The great distance which separated the villages of the Illini from the Sauk and Fox indicates the relentless hate which caused the latter to seek revenge. The utter defenselessness of the Illini is shown by the fact that both the Sauk and Fox journeyed unmolested down the Mississippi River to receive presents from the Spanish at St. Louis. And this practice had been going on for some time prior to 1769; the Spanish wished to obtain their trade and even persuaded them to attack the Osage.<sup>43</sup>

There is little information concerning the Sauk at Rock Island during their early years of occupancy, but those remaining on the Wisconsin River were frequently visited. Peter Pond passed the Sauk village at either Sauk City or Prairie du Sac in September of 1773 and counted approximately 100 inhabitants. Fifty miles lower down the Wisconsin, probably near Muscoda, he saw the Fox town previously mentioned by other travelers. Sickness still plagued the Fox and kept their population small.<sup>44</sup> Spanish reports in 1777 indicate that the Fox were living 200 leagues north of St. Louis on the Mississippi River, probably at the mouth of the Wapsipinicon, and had 350 warriors under the direction of Chief Macata Uchen. The Sauk at this time were said to be 230 leagues north of St. Louis and to number 400 warriors who were led by "Kakieguemec" (spelled "Cagigameg" by Goddard). These distances should not be considered as exact measurements since the Spanish did not actually visit the villages but obtained their reports from the Indians themselves.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Journal of James Stanley Goddard, MS., McGill Univ.; Jonathan Carver, *Travels*, 46-48.

<sup>43</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The New Régime*, 581; *Trade and Politics*, 548; *The Hist. Mag.*, VIII, 257-266 (Aug., 1864); *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 299-300; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XIX, 303.

<sup>44</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 314-354.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 365; Houck, ed., *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, I, 146. The name is spelled "Nacata Uchen" in Houck.

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Raids against the Kaskaskia by the Sauk and Fox continued in 1777 and a special conference was held on September 11 to determine the cause of these attacks. The Spanish, who were friendly toward the Americans during the American Revolution, attempted to restore good relations among the Sauk, Fox, and Illini by ransoming five prisoners held by the Sauk and Fox. One was a Peoria and the other four were Missouri. George Rogers Clark made a peace treaty with the Fox at Fort Bowman (Cahokia) on August 22, 1778, and Chief Kinaytounak promised to be a faithful subject of the United States, but Joseph Bowman complained in October that the Fox were not complying with the terms and many of their chiefs had gone to Montreal to fight with the British against the Americans.<sup>46</sup> Actually, the Sauk and Fox were divided in their loyalties; some Fox wintered at Montreal although the British admitted that these groups were merely trying to get presents from both themselves and the Americans.

Charles Gautier, a British subject, passed the mouth of Rock River on January 14, 1778, and revealed that the Sauk and Winnebago were away from their villages. Some 200 Sauk and 100 Winnebago kept their permanent villages here, but at this time they were either in winter quarters or at Montreal. In May of 1778, Gautier visited the Fox group living on the Wisconsin River and learned that their great chief was also called "Wisconsin." Some of the Sauk at this time were at their old location of Prairie du Sac under Chief Le Soichihone. Both tribes informed Gautier that they were considering taking up the hatchet against the Chippewa.

Gautier was at the mouth of Rock River again on April 4, 1779, and found one band of Sauk there who were friends of the Americans. La Main Cassé (Broken Hand) was their chief and he not only refused to let the Britisher pass but also took some prisoners away from him. Before reaching the Rock, Gautier had observed another band of Sauk living on the Wisconsin and declared that the Sauk tribe was divided into separate groups with different allegiances. It was this split among the Sauk that worked to the advantage of the Americans. The British mistakenly concluded that they had convinced the Sauk and Fox to attack the American forts during the winter of 1779-1780, but those

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<sup>46</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790*, 25-31; Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime*, I, 134-135; James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781*, 66, 71.



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of the two tribes who were loyal to the Americans kept the remainder from an open assault upon the United States.<sup>47</sup> However, on May 26, 1780, a band of British and their Indian allies swept down the Illinois River from Chicago and attacked St. Louis, but they failed to capture the Spanish fort and the following day were likewise driven away from Cahokia. Col. John Montgomery then collected a force of 350 men who pursued the retreating Indians up the Illinois River, destroyed some Indian villages at Peoria, and marched on to the Rock River where they burned the villages of the Sauk and Fox. It is said that these two tribes could muster 700 warriors, but they were disbanded and unable to defend their towns.<sup>48</sup>

That year, when asking for supplies and presents at Mackinaw, the Sauk and Fox were told by the British that there would be no gifts because they had allowed the Americans to work the lead mines at Galena. This caused the Indians to become as angry with the British as they were with the Americans, and it was rumored that the Sauk and Fox would declare war against them. This never happened, but in the heat of anger they surrendered their British medals and flags to Auguste Chouteau and requested Spanish ones instead. They reasoned that Spain was perhaps their only true friend. In June of 1781, one faction of the Sauk and Fox traveled to Mackinaw and informed Lt. Gov. Sinclair that they hated the Americans, no doubt to appease the British and receive presents once more. As long as the American Revolution was in progress, the Indians around the Great Lakes sometimes fought for one side and then the other. However, when peace talks began in 1783, the British summoned the Sauk and Fox to Prairie du Chien on May 24 for a council. Since the Fox and Sioux were still at war with the Chippewa, the British asked these nations to stop fighting and announced that no more attacks were to be made against Americans either. The Fox chief Vimotolaque assured the British of his coöperation while Anatchie, L'Epais (Thick One), and Le Mitasse spoke for the Sauk.<sup>49</sup>

Fear of the Chippewa caused one group of Sauk to leave the Wisconsin River in 1783, and a fur trader, Jean Baptiste Perrault, found

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<sup>47</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 102, 106, 107, 109, 126, 139; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, IX, 530, 573, XIX, 411.

<sup>48</sup> *Calendar of Va. State Papers*, III, 442-443; William A. Meese, "Rock River in the Revolution," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* 1909, 97-103.

<sup>49</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 159, 162, 166, 167, 169; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XI, 383, XIX, 639; Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime*, I, 175.

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their village at Turkey River, probably in the vicinity of Cassville. Perhaps it was at this time that the majority of the Sauk and Fox moved south from the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. Merchants at Montreal declared in 1786 that the Sauk "a few years ago" had inhabited the Wisconsin but fear of the Chippewa had caused them to move to the Mississippi where many of them lived on the west bank and engaged in war with both the Sioux and Chippewa. The Sauk's strength was placed at 1,300 warriors and the Fox's at 1,400, but the following year another report listed 700 Sauk braves and 300 Fox. Their true numbers are unknown.

War with the Chippewa continued and in 1790 Sauk and Fox warriors also joined with the Shawnee, Miami, Ottawa, and Delaware in making raids upon the Americans living southwest of Lake Erie. Since the Sauk and Fox hunted along the Iowa and Des Moines rivers and into Missouri, the Spanish wisely endeavored to placate these Indians and peace was maintained with the whites on the west side of the Mississippi. But the Sauk were not under Spanish jurisdiction. They had been placed under the protection of the United States by the treaty of Fort Harmar on January 9, 1789. Chiefs who signed this pact for the Sauk were Tepakee and Kesheyiva. It was impossible to obtain a united action from the Sauk and Fox although the United States continued to press for peace with them. Jean-Baptiste Ducoign, the Kaskaskia chief, reported in 1797 that he had made contact with the Sauk and received their promise of allegiance to the United States. Yet two years later the deputies of the Sauk and Fox—to the number of fifty—journeyed to Amherstburg (near Detroit) for a council with the British.<sup>50</sup>

As the United States expanded, William Henry Harrison recalled in 1802 that the Sauk and Fox had not been included in the Treaty of Greenville (concluded in 1795). Since these tribes laid claim to the Illinois lands lying between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, it seemed necessary to obtain their release of this area. The secretary of war agreed two years later that this land should be gotten from the Sauk—for an annuity of 500 or 600 dollars—together with a renunciation of

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<sup>50</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XII, 80, 90; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XI, 486, 502, XII, 298, XXIV, 132, XXXVII, 515; Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime*, II, 50; Jean-Baptiste Ducoign to Capt. Thos. Pasteur, Kaskaskia, Ill., Mar. 20, 1797, contemporary copy in James Wilkinson Papers, I, 88, MS., Chicago Hist. Soc.; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 28-32.

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their claims to any lands east of the Illinois. Accordingly, Harrison persuaded one group of Sauk, who frequented the Missouri lands during their winter hunts, to meet with him at St. Louis for a land cession in the name of all the Sauk and Fox. On November 3, 1804, this one small detachment of Indians sold all the tribal lands from the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Illinois and from the Mississippi to the Fox River of Illinois.<sup>51</sup> It is doubtful if they realized the significance of their act since the treaty promised that the Sauk and Fox might hunt and live in the ceded areas until white settlers actually purchased the land.

Not much is recorded about these tribes in 1804, but the fur traders at St. Louis knew that they had about three villages on the west bank of the Mississippi where 800 men lived and hunted, furnishing the traders 140 packs of fur each year at a value of \$5,600.<sup>52</sup> Pierre Chouteau at St. Louis sent Mr. William Ewing in May of 1805 to live at one of the Sauk villages which was said to be at "Lake la Pensée," a spot 180 miles from St. Louis. However, Ewing found that the Sauk had abandoned this site and returned to Rock River. This deserted village was probably at the Iowa River since the Sauk and Fox related in 1820 that one of their large villages upon the Iowa was discontinued about 1804 or 1805 when the inhabitants moved back to Rock River. No accurate measurement is possible to confirm this supposition because it is not known whether the 180 miles were measured by land or by water. If the measurement was by land in a straight line, the location was surely upon the Iowa River.<sup>53</sup>

A more accurate account of the Sauk and Fox villages is given by Zebulon M. Pike who explored the Mississippi in 1805. On August 20 he discovered the first Sauk village, while paddling north from St. Louis. It was on the western bank of the Mississippi, north of the Des Moines rapids, and consisted of thirteen log houses. At this village Pike found Mr. William Ewing, who had been sent there by the federal government for the purpose of teaching agricultural methods to the Sauk; evidently, Ewing established himself at this location after finding

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<sup>51</sup> Esarey, ed., *William Henry Harrison*, I, 44; Sec. of War to Wm. Henry Harrison, Washington, June 27, 1804, National Archives; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 84-87.

<sup>52</sup> "Nations of Indians Inhabiting the Country to the North of New Mexico & West of the Mississippi . . . 1804 & 5," MS., Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>53</sup> Pierre Chouteau to Wm. Henry Harrison, St. Louis, May 14, 31, 1805, Chouteau Letterbook, 1804-1819, 56, 60, MS., Mo. Hist. Soc.; M. Marston to Jedediah Morse, Fort Armstrong, Nov., 1820, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

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*Photo courtesy Ill. State Hist. Lib.*

**Black Hawk, an important leader among the Sauk although he was not a chief.**

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that the village at "Lake la Pensée" no longer existed. Three days later, Pike came to the second and largest of the Sauk villages which was fifty or sixty miles above the Des Moines and located on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, two and a half miles from the river, probably near Oquawka. A third village of the Sauk was located three miles up the Rock River on the south bank, according to Pike who passed it on August 27. In his summary of the Sauk villages, Pike mentions a location at the Iowa River, but this place was no longer being used and probably was a reference to the "Lake la Pensée" settlement of previous years.

Pike arrived on August 29 at the first Fox village which was on the western bank of the Mississippi, six miles north of the rapids caused by the Rock River. Here there were approximately eighteen lodges. When Pike reached Dubuque, Iowa, on September 1, he visited the lead mines and talked to Mr. Dubuque who stated that the Sioux were fighting the Chippewa and the Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago were aiding the Sioux. The second Fox village was twelve miles to the rear of the lead mines and the principal chief was the Little Raven. On the following day Pike visited the third Fox Village which was on the right bank of Turkey River and about half a league from its confluence with the Mississippi.<sup>54</sup>

In summing up his observations, Pike related that the Sauk numbered 700 warriors, 750 women, 1,400 children, or 2,850 in all, and lived in three villages. Their principal chiefs were Washione and Pockquinike or Bras Cassé (Broken Arm). The Fox numbered 400 braves, 500 women, 850 children, for a total of 1,750, and lived in three villages. The first chief of the Fox was Olopier and the others were Pecit or Le Petit Corbeau (Little Raven or Crow) and Akaque or La Peau Blanche (White Skin).<sup>55</sup>

Although the Sauk and Fox had signed a treaty with the United States, it soon became apparent that they were not friendly toward their new "White Father." By 1806 the Sauk and Iowa were displaying a

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<sup>54</sup> Zebulon M. Pike, *Exploratory Travels* (London, 1811), 7, 9, 12, 13, 14-15, 122, 123. Nicholas Boilvin was appointed assistant Indian agent in 1806 and was sent to live with the Sauk at the Des Moines. Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of the U. S.*, XIII, 488.

<sup>55</sup> Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, 134-135. In 1779 the chief at Rock River was called La Main Cassé (Broken Hand); Washekone was a Sauk chief in 1766 and perhaps "Washione" is the same one. The Sauk chief at Green Bay in 1761 was named Aking and this sounds like "Akaque" who is mentioned by Pike.

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hostile attitude and the secretary of war asked Nicholas Boilvin, the Indian agent living with the Sauk, to ascertain the cause of their discontent.<sup>56</sup> Gen. James Wilkinson, governor of Louisiana Territory, met with representatives of the Sauk and Fox on October 28, 1806, at St. Louis and warned them that he knew of their efforts among the Indians of the Great Lakes to ignite the flames of war against the United States. They had even killed the horses of their Indian agent and Wilkinson declared that if they insisted upon war, the United States would oblige them.<sup>57</sup> But the unrest continued and during the first part of 1808 the Sauk sent runners to visit the Shawnee Prophet on the Wabash and pledged him their support.<sup>58</sup>

To control the Sauk and Fox the government decided to build a fort among them and chose the mouth of the Des Moines River as the location, but William Clark informed the secretary of war that a more suitable site would be at the head of the Des Moines rapids on the Mississippi, some miles above the Des Moines River. Clark knew that the strength of the Sauk and Fox was centered closer to Rock River.<sup>59</sup> The location selected by Clark was, at the time, occupied by a village of Sauk. Meriwether Lewis, on March 8, 1808, visited this place (on the west bank of the Mississippi fifteen miles north of the Des Moines River mouth) and reclaimed the stolen horses from the Sauk who immediately retreated to the village on Rock River and fortified themselves (together with some Fox) in this stronghold, said to number 800 warriors. As the United States expected war with Great Britain at any moment, this Indian trouble added to their problems.<sup>60</sup> Clark's advice was followed and Fort Bellevue (sometimes spelled Bellview) was erected at the present site of Fort Madison, Iowa. During the spring of 1809 the entire Sauk nation visited the fort to trade and established a temporary village just across the Mississippi near the present town of Niota, Illinois.<sup>61</sup> Some councils were held with the garrison and

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<sup>56</sup> Sec. of War to Nicholas Boilvin, Washington, Aug. 21, 1806, National Archives.

<sup>57</sup> James Wilkinson Papers, II, 91, MS., Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>58</sup> Wm. Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn, Vincennes, Feb. 18, 1808, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>59</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, June 25, 1808, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*: XIV, 194.

<sup>60</sup> Meriwether Lewis to Sec. of War, St. Louis, July 1, Aug. 20, 1808, in *ibid.*, XIV, 202, 213.

<sup>61</sup> Fort Bellevue was later named Fort Madison which was abandoned and burned by the Americans in November of 1813 to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Indians. *American Weekly Messenger*, I, 238 (Jan. 1, 1814).

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there was much trading, but Clark soon learned that the Sauk remained hostile toward the United States.

Although most of the Sauk lived on Rock River, they frequently changed their villages and passed from one side of the Mississippi to the other. At times they sent war parties against the Kansas and Osage tribes who lived along the Missouri. The Fox, who lived on the western side of the Mississippi, were more friendly toward the United States than the Sauk, who continued to steal horses from the settlements on the Missouri River.<sup>62</sup>

This warlike attitude of the Sauk continued in 1810 and on March 21 John Bradbury came upon a war party of 300 who were traveling for an attack upon the Osage. The group consisted of Sauk, Sioux, Iowa, and Potawatomi. And later that year it was reported that many of the Sauk residing on the east bank of the Mississippi had gone to the Wabash for a talk with the Shawnee Prophet while another group of 150 had journeyed north to visit with the British.<sup>63</sup> If war came, the Sauk and Fox might prove to be the balance of power because in the summer of 1812 there were 400 Sauk and Fox warriors living along the Mississippi.<sup>64</sup> One observer pointed out to Ninian Edwards that, for the most part, the Sauk lived on the east bank of the Mississippi and the Fox on the west. The largest village of the Sauk in 1812 was one and one half miles up the Rock River on the south bank where 240 lodges stood. This village seems to have been moved from one side of the river to the other. A Fox village, formerly ruled by Akaque or La Peau Blanche (White Skin), was at the foot of the rapids just north of Rock River on the Illinois side. It contained thirty lodges in 1812 and was governed by Now Lawk, the brother of White Skin who had died shortly before this observation of the village was made. Another Fox village of ten lodges was near the Maquoketa River in Iowa, and at Dubuque there was a third settlement.<sup>65</sup> When word reached the West that Congress, on June 18, 1812, had declared war upon Great Britain, Black Thunder, a Fox chief, immediately moved his group to

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<sup>62</sup> John Johnson to Wm. Clark, Fort Bellevue [Fort Madison, Iowa], Apr. 12, 1809, copy in Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 271; Wm. Clark to Wm. Eustis, St. Louis, July 20, 1810, National Archives.

<sup>63</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, V, 49; report dated St. Louis, July 20, 1810, in *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, ser. 2, I, 799.

<sup>64</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, III, 106 (Oct. 17, 1812).

<sup>65</sup> John Hay to Ninian Edwards, May 31, 1812, Edwards Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.

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a spot north of Prairie du Chien in order to keep them away from the influence of the "British Band of Sauk and Fox." Black Thunder, a huge man both fierce and formidable in appearance, offered to help the United States but was never asked to fight by his American friends.<sup>66</sup>

As the war progressed the Indian agents carefully observed the actions of the Sauk and Fox in order to report the important developments to William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis. The Sauk had wintered mainly along the Iowa River, but on January 23, 1813, Maurice Blondeaux, an Indian agent and interpreter, reported that eight lodges of Sauk—about eighty individuals—had separated from the main group and returned to Rock River where they maintained friendly relations with the British.<sup>67</sup> By February 6 this group—probably led by Black Hawk—had increased to approximately 100 persons.<sup>68</sup> Blondeaux arrived at the Iowa River on February 28 and counted fifty lodges of Sauk. This report is confirmed by Auguste Laroche and Louis Chevalier who said that these fifty lodges were on the mouth of the Iowa where some British traders were encamped among them. But in April the Sauk left the Iowa and moved their village south to the Des Moines, probably in an effort to avoid trouble and escape from the influence of the British.<sup>69</sup>

In July, Blondeaux again reported the state of affairs to Clark: there were 650 Sauk warriors of whom 530 were at the mouth of the Des Moines and 120 were at Rock River. Of the latter group, 100 had pledged their support to the British while twenty were still undecided. The Fox, said Blondeaux, numbered 500 braves: 350 were with the Sauk at the mouth of the Des Moines, 100 were living on the Upper Iowa River, and fifty were settled at the lead mines near Dubuque. All the Fox were friends of the United States, Blondeaux declared.<sup>70</sup> John Johnson gave nearly the same report of the Sauk and Fox later in July, but his estimates of their numbers differ somewhat from those of Blondeaux. Johnson said that the Sauk numbered 700 men: at the Des Moines were 600 and at Rock River, 100. Of those on Rock River

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<sup>66</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, IX, 113 (Oct. 14, 1815); Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826), 149.

<sup>67</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 645.

<sup>68</sup> Sam. D. Solomon to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Feb. 6, 1813, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>69</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 659, 654, 661.

<sup>70</sup> Maurice Blondeaux to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.



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seventy-five were allies of the British and twenty-five were still uncommitted, but all of the Sauk on the Des Moines were friendly toward the United States, Johnson asserted. On the Des Moines were also 250 Fox warriors; 100 more were established near Prairie du Chien (certainly Black Thunder's group) while at the lead mines there were fifty, making a total of 400. Johnson agreed with Blondeaux that all the Fox were friendly.<sup>71</sup> Nicolas Boilvin also submitted an estimate of the Sauk and Fox in July which does not agree with either the reports of Blondeaux or Johnson but does tell much the same story. According to Boilvin the Sauk numbered 750 warriors of whom 130 favored the British; those on Rock River were still doubtful of their allegiance, said Boilvin. However, the group at Rock River had been joined by 200 braves from the Winnebago, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Menominee tribes. The Fox, Boilvin declared, were still cordial and numbered 500 men who were divided into seven villages.<sup>72</sup> These reports, all by competent observers, illustrate the difficulty of enumerating the Indians; not only did they change locations frequently but hunting or war parties were also absent from the villages throughout the year.

Although the British spent much time and money in an effort to win over the Sauk and Fox, they admitted by April of 1813 that half of the Sauk had already given their support to the Americans. By June, Robert Dickson had only gathered eighteen Fox braves for use by the British army.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, there was always the possibility that more would journey north to join the British, so the United States desired to remove the Sauk and Fox from temptation. It is said that Black Hawk offered his services to Gen. Benjamin Howard in June of 1813 but was refused and immediately joined forces with the British.<sup>74</sup> Thomas Forsyth, among others, suggested that the Sauk and Fox be removed to the Missouri River where many of them were in the habit of hunting.<sup>75</sup> Most of these Indians agreed to move and the activities of the Missouri and Illinois Rangers, under the command of Gen. Benjamin Howard, hastened their decision.

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<sup>71</sup> John Johnson to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 25, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>72</sup> Nicolas Boilvin to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 25, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>73</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XV, 273, 323.

<sup>74</sup> Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 135.

<sup>75</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 331-332.

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During the summer there was a large village of Sauk near Quincy, but on September 14, 1813, many of the Sauk and Fox had already assembled down the Mississippi at Cap au Gris (Grey Cape) which was in the vicinity of Hardin, Illinois. Black Tobacco talked with Gen. Howard who advised him to wait there until Boilvin arrived to lead them to the Portage des Sioux, located near the confluence of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.<sup>76</sup> Those Sauk and Fox who favored the Americans joined the emigrants under the leadership of Chief Quashquame (Jumping Fish) while Black Hawk's group remained on Rock River and took over the corn fields of their departed tribesmen.<sup>77</sup> On September 26 the Sauk and Fox, who were bound for the Missouri River, arrived at the Portage des Sioux where Clark held a council with them, and on the following day the emigrants started up the Missouri. It was estimated that 1,500 Sauk and Fox were in this party, part of whom traveled in 155 boats, but 500 of the warriors made the long trek by land.<sup>78</sup> The Missouri group, said Clark, constituted half of the total population of the Sauk and Fox and nearly all of the principal chiefs. British influence among these tribes was greatly reduced, but Governor Ninian Edwards complained that the whole operation had been conducted against his better judgment and without his permission.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, the "captive" Sauk and Fox were conducted to a point on the Missouri River above the mouth of the Osage.<sup>80</sup>

Although many of the Sauk and Fox had been removed from the theater of war, raids against white settlers and Fort Madison continued until this outpost was abandoned in the fall of 1813.<sup>81</sup> Nor were the Sauk and Fox content to remain on the Missouri; they had scarcely been settled there before discontent arose and they asked Clark when they would be allowed to return to the Mississippi.<sup>82</sup> Some of their kinsmen had drifted north to fight for the British instead of joining the Missouri settlement, and among this group were Walisseka Kenailounak, a Fox chief, and Mitass, a Sauk chief. Several other chiefs

<sup>76</sup> *American Weekly Messenger*, I, 125-126 (Nov. 13, 1813).

<sup>77</sup> Jackson, ed., *Black Hawk*, 80-81, 88.

<sup>78</sup> *American Weekly Messenger*, I, 111 (Nov. 6, 1813); *Missouri Gazette*, Oct. 2, 1813.

<sup>79</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 776; Ninian Edwards to Wm. H. Crawford, Kaskaskia, Nov. 5, 1816, in *Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), Dec. 11, 1816.

<sup>80</sup> MS. map enclosed in letter of Wm. Clark to James Monroe, St. Louis, Jan. 23, 1814, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>81</sup> *American Weekly Messenger*, I, 238 (Jan. 1, 1814).

<sup>82</sup> Wm. Clark to John Mason, St. Louis, Dec. 13, 1813, copy in Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

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journeyed to Quebec, during the winter, where they were royally welcomed and entertained. Thus bribed, some of them agreed to fight the Americans, but when spring came many of them prepared to return to the Mississippi with their families. The British supplied them with provisions and admitted that their numbers were not large. Evidently, some of the Sauk did not return to the Mississippi since Robert Dickson, the British Indian agent, reported on March 20, 1814, that there was a Sauk village on the Wisconsin River, probably at the old town of Prairie du Sac.<sup>83</sup> And when it came time for corn planting, many of the Sauk and Fox who were living on the Missouri returned to the Mississippi and Rock rivers by the overland route in order to avoid detection by the Americans.<sup>84</sup> These Indians loved the fertile valley of the Mississippi and found it impossible to remain away from their homes.

With the majority of the Sauk and Fox once more situated along the Mississippi, Governor Edwards immediately attempted to learn their strength and disposition. At the beginning of April, 1814, their numbers were estimated at 1,400 warriors,<sup>85</sup> and soon trouble again broke out on the frontier. To quell these disturbances, William Clark organized a force and left St. Louis on May 1. When the troops reached the mouth of Rock River, the Sauk made a show of strength but quickly withdrew. Proceeding north, Clark found the Fox at Dubuque to be very friendly, having little interest in the war. Prairie du Chien, captured previously by the Americans, quickly fell into the hands of the British again in July. However, the British soon learned that many of the Fox were "attached to the Americans" while numerous Sauk and Fox on or near Rock River had sued for peace. When an American force again passed Rock River in August, the Sauk (400 or 500 strong) agreed (after a council was held) to allow their passage. These Sauk had previously been warned of the American's coming by Sauk runners sent from the Missouri where ten lodges—100 braves—yet remained with the so-called "peace party."

British agents did everything in their power to gain the support of the Sauk and Fox, even distributing gun powder to them at Prairie du Chien. With the coming of the winter hunt, there was some shifting

<sup>83</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XV, 485, 492; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, X, 114; *Niles' Weekly Register*, VI, 114 (Apr. 16, 1814).

<sup>84</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 331-332.

<sup>85</sup> Ninian Edwards to Gov. Isaac Shelby, Elvirade, Ill. Terr., Apr. 4, 1814, Ayer Coll., Newberry Lib.

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of the Sauk and Fox from Rock River to the Missouri, and by the late summer of 1814 there were 200 warriors living on the Missouri while 1,000 were along the Mississippi—800 of whom were collected at the mouth of Rock River. With the latter were some Kickapoo and the entire village was hostile to the United States, being referred to as the British Band. At this time there was also a Fox settlement on the Iowa River and another at the mouth of Turkey River. When fall came, and with it the migration to winter quarters, the British Band with their Kickapoo allies withdrew to the Iowa River and joined the Fox village.<sup>86</sup>

Even after news of the peace treaty, which had been signed at Ghent on December 24, 1814, reached the western frontiers, the British Band of Sauk and Fox continued to raid and kill. To add further complications, the friendly Missouri Sauk and Fox fell victim to severe attacks by the Pawnee or other tribes, and after losing about 100 braves they too returned to their kin on the Mississippi. By March of 1815 most of the Sauk and Fox were reunited near the Rock River. For strength, the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Iowa established one big village on the Rock where they could muster 1,500 men.<sup>87</sup> William Clark sent a messenger to the mouth of Rock River in May to inform them that the war was over and peace established.<sup>88</sup> When Pierre [?] Turcotte arrived with Clark's message, the Sauk freely admitted that they had 200 warriors who were still fighting along the frontiers.<sup>89</sup> And they agreed "to bury the tomahawk" only if told to do so by the British. Their villages at this time were located on Rock River and in the vicinity of the Des Moines, totaling 1,200 or 1,500 warriors among whom were some Iowa, Winnebago, and Menominee.<sup>90</sup>

Yet the raids against Americans continued even after the visit of Clark's emissary, so military measures were taken against the marauders.<sup>91</sup> Finally, on August 5, Lt. Gen. Sir Gordon Drummond ordered a British officer to the Mississippi with instructions to stop the warfare

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<sup>86</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, IX, 208, 216, 221, 239, 245, 248, 250, XI, 329, 334; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 769, 786; Frank E. Stevens, "Illinois in the War of 1812-1814," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* 1904, 62-197.

<sup>87</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, X, 128.

<sup>88</sup> Wm. Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau to Turcotte, St. Louis, May 16, 1815, Ayer Coll., Newberry Lib.

<sup>89</sup> *Missouri Gazette*, June 17, 1815.

<sup>90</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, VIII, 312 (July 1, 1815).

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 311 (July 1, 1815), VIII, 362 (July 22, 1815).

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being conducted by groups of Sauk and Fox who, it was said, continued to kill (in defiance of their chiefs' wishes) in order to gain revenge for lost relatives.<sup>92</sup> The British were also somewhat disgusted with the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo who were living in Canada and demanding food, clothing, and supplies in return for mere lip service. Le Moite (Moist), the head chief of the Sauk, was a very old man who favored the British and spent much of his time at Mackinaw. He informed the British that his best war leader was Black Hawk, the most able organizer since Tecumseh and the man who had smashed the American attempt to reinforce Prairie du Chien.<sup>93</sup>

Although Clark was unsuccessful in an attempt to buy the hunting lands of the Sauk in Missouri,<sup>94</sup> he was able to make a treaty of friendship and peace with the band of Sauk who had returned to the Missouri River. This group, who had formerly lived on the Missouri during the War of 1812, left their villages near the Osage River and at Pierced Rock to meet with Clark at the Portage des Sioux on September 13, 1815. They agreed to the sale of lands which had been made by the treaty of 1804 and promised to remain separate from the Rock River Sauk until peace was concluded between that hostile group and the United States. Chief and warrior signers were: Shamaga (The Lance), Weesaka (The Devil), Catchemackeseo (The Big Eagle), Chekaqua (He That Stands By Tree), Kataka (Sturgeon), Mecaitch (Eagle), Neshota (The Twin), Quashquame (Jumping Fish), Chagosort (Blue's Son), Pocama (The Plumb), Namachewana or Chaha (The Sioux), NANOCHAATASA (The Brave By Hazard).<sup>95</sup>

On the following day the Fox nation held a council with Clark and also signed a treaty of friendship and peace. Their leaders were: Mackkatananamakee (Black Thunder), Pierremaskin (The Fox Who Walks Crooked), Muckkatawagout (Black Cloud), Namasosanamet (He Who Surpasses Others), Waapaca, Pashechenene (The Liar), Wapasai (White Skin), Catchacommu (Big Lake), Malasenokama (War Chief), Kechaswa (The Sun), Mataqua (The Medical Woman), Paquampa (The Bear That Sits), Aquoqua (The Kettle), Mowhinin (The Wolf), and several others.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XVI, 203-204.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 192-193, 194, 277, 285.

<sup>94</sup> Wm. Clark to James Monroe, St. Louis, Jan. 23, 1814, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>95</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 134-135; *Mo. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, V, 186-188.

<sup>96</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 135-136; *Niles' Weekly Register*, IX, 113 (Oct. 14, 1815).

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Britishers continued to give presents to the Sauk on the Mississippi even after the treaty of peace with the United States.<sup>97</sup> But after much effort on the part of the Americans, the Sauk of Rock River came to St. Louis and signed a treaty of peace with the United States on May 13, 1816. Among those signing were Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kiak (Black Hawk), Mashashe (The Fox), Wapamukqua (The White Bear), Nasawarku (The Fork), Namatchesa (The Jumping Sturgeon), and Matchequawa (Bad Axe). This "British Band" of Sauk agreed to cease fighting and acknowledged the land cession of 1804, but reports of their depredations continued to be a public issue in Illinois Territory.<sup>98</sup> Even the location of these Indians—part on the east side of the Mississippi and part on the west—caused official bickering. Ninian Edwards, the territorial governor of Illinois, had been miffed ever since the friendly Sauk and Fox had been removed to the Missouri River in 1813 without his consent or knowledge. On November 5, 1816, Edwards again voiced his complaint to William H. Crawford, the secretary of war, and lamented that although the Sauk lived on Rock River, "nothing seems to have been left for me to do." Even the Indian agent made his report to Clark. Crawford replied in October that if the Sauk and Fox resided on the east bank of the Mississippi, they must be detached from the control of Governor Clark.<sup>99</sup> Edwards was even provoked because the Indian agent, Thomas Forsyth, lived in Illinois Territory, so Clark transferred him to Missouri Territory where the tribal hunting lands were. Clark then informed Forsyth to encourage the Sauk and Fox "to occupy the lands claimed by them on the Mississippi and as distant from our settlements as possible."<sup>100</sup> After due deliberation and discussion, Edwards and Clark reached an agreement: the Sauk and Fox should be controlled from Missouri Territory since they had sold all their lands in Illinois. Gradually, the federal government wished to move these Indians west and settle them on their hunting lands.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XXV, 634; trading license issued to John Cleves Symmes by Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Apr. 24, 1816, Wm. Clark Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>98</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 141-142; *Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), June 25, 1816. In this treaty Black Hawk's name is spelled "Mucketamachekaka."

<sup>99</sup> *Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), Dec. 11, 1816.

<sup>100</sup> Wm. Clark to Thos. Forsyth, St. Louis, May 6, 1817, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>101</sup> Wm. Clark to act. Sec. of War, St. Louis, May 15, 1817, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XV, 260. The Sec. of War told Ninian Edwards to decide the matter with Wm. Clark and inform the War Dept. Sec. of War to Ninian Edwards, Washington, Mar. 26, 1817, National Archives.

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Thomas Forsyth proceeded to Fort Armstrong (Rock Island) from St. Louis in the spring of 1817 with the annuities for the Sauk and Fox and was informed by the military that the Sauk were living in 100 lodges at their old village on Rock River about one mile (actually it was two miles) from its mouth. There were approximately 1,000 men here and the old lodges were being repaired and new ones built, but the Missouri Sauk intended to leave the Rock in the fall. North of the Sauk village was the Fox settlement which was "within a few hundred yards of Fort Armstrong across the channel of the [Mississippi] river," Forsyth remarked, and consisted "of twenty odd lodges" which housed "about two hundred warriors, being about one-half of the whole Nation." This Fox village was certainly on the east bank of the Mississippi. The Fox seemed friendly, but the Sauk had delegates from the Winnebago, Osage and other tribes in their village trying to form an alliance since the British agents constantly told them that soon the Americans could be beaten.<sup>102</sup>

Later that year, Major Stephen H. Long explored the Mississippi River above Prairie du Chien and discovered, on July 10, that there was a small village of five or six Fox lodges three miles up the "Little Iowa" [Upper Iowa]. Eleven days later, Long passed twelve boats bearing Fox hunters from this village, but he did not see the remainder of the Sauk or Fox until his return trip down the Mississippi. He reached Fort Armstrong (Rock Island) on August 1 and gave a more detailed location for the villages, saying that "immediately opposite to the fort on the south side of the [Mississippi] river is a village of Fox Indians, containing about thirty cabins, with two fires each." His estimate of the total population was 500 and from his description the village was certainly on the left bank of the Mississippi, about three and one half miles above the mouth of Rock River. At the same time Long related that the Sauk village was two miles up Rock River and three miles from Fort Armstrong—near Vandruff Island—where there were 100 lodges each with two, three, or four fires. Two or three thousand men, women, and children lived here; it was the largest Indian village that Long had seen between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony (Minneapolis and St. Paul). The Sauk, Long thought, could muster 800 or 900 warriors who were all armed with guns.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 347-349; Benj. O'Fallon to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, May 10, 1817, National Archives.

<sup>103</sup> Stephen H. Long, "Voyage in a Six-Oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1817," *Coll. Minn. Hist. Soc.*, II, 12, 50, 69.

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In the spring of 1818, Thomas Forsyth learned from the Sauk chiefs that they intended to build a new village sixty or eighty miles up the Iowa River, but as late as 1821 the Sauk were still living along the Mississippi.<sup>104</sup> Benjamin O'Fallon also passed down the Mississippi during the spring of 1818 and found nearly the entire Fox nation assembled at Dubuque and prepared for an attack, so they claimed, from the Sioux of the plains. Upon seeing O'Fallon, the Sauk at Rock River showed signs of displeasure and later that year a band of Sauk and Fox, probably Black Hawk's group, visited the British at Amherstburg to obtain presents.<sup>105</sup> Perhaps it was this same detachment which established a village near the mouth of Rock River about 1819.<sup>106</sup>

When Thomas Forsyth arrived at Fort Edwards (Warsaw, Illinois) on June 16, 1819, he discovered that a group of Sauk and Iowa had settled near the fort and had even planted corn there. The attraction at this location was the whisky which could be obtained at the fort. While proceeding north, Forsyth met the great chief of the Fox, Black Thunder, near the Iowa River. At this time there was a Fox village nine miles above the rapids of Rock Island and another near Turkey River. A third band of Fox remained near Prairie du Chien where The Kettle resided. Nearly all the Sauk were at Rock River during the summer of 1819, even the so-called Missouri Sauk. The latter group raised their corn at Rock River but wintered on the Missouri. Forsyth saw several of the important Sauk chiefs of the Missouri band at Rock Island, including Catchemackeseo (Big Eagle), Shamaga (The Lance), and Quashquame (Jumping Fish).<sup>107</sup>

An enumeration of the Sauk in 1819 shows that there were 400 warriors (and a total population of 1,400) on the Rock River; the Fox village nearby contained 150 warriors and 550 women and children. Although Dubuque was considered the main village of the Fox, there were only eighty braves and 240 others at this site in 1819. Here it was that the Fox gathered during the summer to mine lead for sale to the whites. On Turkey River in Iowa was another large village of Fox: 280 braves and 820 members of their families. It was estimated

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<sup>104</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XV, 379, 732.

<sup>105</sup> Benj. O'Fallon to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, May 20, 1818, National Archives; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XVI, 632.

<sup>106</sup> Morse, *A Report . . . on Indian Affairs*, app. 127.

<sup>107</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, VI, 190, 191, 192, 193, 196, 197.



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that the combined strength of the Sauk and Fox was 4,220 of whom 1,110 were able to bear arms.<sup>108</sup>

The Lance, a Sauk chief, died during the late summer of 1819. He had advocated the surveying of their lands and the assignment of separate portions to each family, according to their needs. Previously, the Sauk—as well as the other American Indians—had not suggested the use and assignment of private property.<sup>109</sup> Mo-me-to-mack also died about this same time; he was one of the greatest chiefs whom the Sauk had chosen in many years.<sup>110</sup>

In 1820 the principal chief of the Sauk was Nan-nah-que, a small man who was nearly forty years of age. Next in rank stood Musk-ke-la-bah (The Red Head) and Mas-co; the latter was an old man and very fond of whisky. Over the two divisions of the Sauk were the war chiefs Keokuk and Na-cala-quoick. Their main village was still on the point of land formed by the Rock and Mississippi rivers and called by the Sauk "Sen-i-se-po Ke-be-sau-kee" which meant the Rock River peninsula. There was also a small village of five or six Sauk lodges on the east bank of the Mississippi near Warsaw. Wah-bal-lo, or Wapello (The Playing Fox), a man about thirty years old, had become the principal chief of the Fox, and the next in command was Ky-ei-ma (The Strawberry), a man about forty. In 1820 the Fox were scattered from the Missouri to the lands of the Potawatomi, but their main village at this time was opposite Fort Armstrong on the west bank of the Mississippi. Here there were thirty-five permanent lodges while at Dubuque there were twenty lodges with a third village of ten lodges at the mouth of the Wapsipinicon. Major Marston estimated that altogether the Sauk and Fox nations number 5,000 people of whom 800 were warriors; the Fox represented two-fifths of the total population. Henry R. Schoolcraft arrived at Dubuque—The Kettle's village—on August 7, 1820, and counted 250 Fox and nineteen lodges. And during this period Black Tobacco, a Fox chief, often frequented the Galena area although his village site is unknown. Schoolcraft discovered that the number of lodges at the great Sauk village on the Rock had decreased to sixty by 1820.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>108</sup> "Indians of Upper Mississippi," MS. in Jacob Brown Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc.

<sup>109</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Sept. 23, 1819, *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, VI, 218.

<sup>110</sup> M. Marston to Jedediah Morse, Fort Armstrong, Nov., 1820, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*; Mentor L. Williams, ed., *Narrative Journal of Henry R. Schoolcraft* (East Lansing, 1953), 223, 224, 227; Moses Meeker, "Early History of the Lead Region of Wisconsin," *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, VI, 289.

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During the early 1820's, the Sauk and Fox continued to hunt along the Missouri River where they frequently fought with those tribes native to the region. Benjamin O'Fallon at Council Bluffs declared that the Sauk and Iowa should either settle their differences with the Indians of the Missouri or form a strong alliance and fight.<sup>112</sup> Small war parties of Sauk and Fox were observed by Major Stephen H. Long in May of 1820 near the Platte,<sup>113</sup> but when these braves encountered large groups of the Sioux, retreat was in order. In November of 1823 the Fox were hunting on English River, a branch of the Iowa, when the Sioux suddenly appeared and killed six of the hunters. At the same time, sixty lodges of Sauk and Fox on the Grand River (near the Missouri) were surprised by the Sioux and driven back eastward. Nevertheless, thirty lodges soon returned to the Missouri and established themselves at a point two days' march above the Platte where Russell Farnham, a fur trader, met them according to schedule. He obtained 140 packs of furs and remarked that they always paid their debts very well. Fur traders would advance goods to the Indians, who (in turn) repaid the debt with their winter catch.<sup>114</sup>

Those Sauk and Fox who were living near Fort Edwards caused the settlers much trouble, and Thomas Forsyth, Indian agent at Fort Armstrong, suggested that they be removed, forcibly if necessary. But the secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, replied that such action could not be taken; instead, a subagent was assigned to Fort Edwards and another sent to the Fox at Dubuque.<sup>115</sup> By 1822 the Fox were scattered along the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien to Fort Edwards,<sup>116</sup> and in 1823 The Great Eagle, a Sauk chief who had lived on the Missouri, settled his group at the latter post to trade. J. C. Beltrami related how The Great Eagle had been persuaded by William Clark to join his party on a steamboat leaving St. Louis on May 2, 1823, for the return trip to Fort Edwards. When the boat neared the Des Moines River, The Great Eagle jumped from the deck and swam to shore where he rejoined his group at the fort. Beltrami saw another village of Sauk

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<sup>112</sup> Ben. O'Fallon to Wm. Clark, Council Bluffs, July 9, 1820, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>113</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains 1819, 1820* (London, 1823), II, 108.

<sup>114</sup> Russell Farnham to Samuel Abbott, Fox Channel, Jan. 30, 1824, Ayer Coll., Newberry Lib.

<sup>115</sup> John C. Calhoun to Thos. Forsyth, Washington, Nov. 6, 1821, National Archives.

<sup>116</sup> Wm. Clark to John C. Calhoun, St. Louis, Jan. 11, 1822, copy in Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

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nine miles below Fort Madison, on the east bank of the Mississippi, and upon arriving at the mouth of Rock River he reported that the old Fox village was still on the eastern bank of the Mississippi near the Sauk who remained on the north bank of the Rock River, three miles from its mouth. This was the only permanent Sauk village, said Beltrami, which was occupied throughout most of the year. Nine miles above Rock Island, on the western shore of the Mississippi, was another encampment of Fox and there was also "a kind of a village" at Dubuque. A Fox village just above the Turkey River was deserted although formerly it had been an important settlement.<sup>117</sup> Major Long found a mixed village of Sauk, Fox, Winnebago, Menominee, and Potawatomi living on the Pecatonica River, near Rock River, in July of 1823. There were ten lodges here and the chief was a Sauk by the name of Wabetejec (The White Cedar).<sup>118</sup>

At Washington on August 4, 1824, the Sauk and Fox ceded their lands within the State of Missouri to the United States although this same area had already been sold by the Osage in 1808.<sup>119</sup> Nevertheless, the Sauk and Fox had some claim to these lands because they hunted in this area. At times they fought here too; in July of 1824 a war party of forty-five Sauk left Rock Island, proceeded westward toward the Missouri River, and then turned north in search of the Sioux. They ambushed a small party of Sioux but were forced to fight their way out of a trap since the Sioux numbered nearly 100 lodges. Eight Sauk were killed before their war party escaped and returned to Rock Island on September 8; the Sauk on this expedition were all mounted and discovered that the Sioux frequently dug holes in the prairie to conceal themselves from observation—an entrenchment later employed by the American soldiers during World War II and known as a "foxhole."<sup>120</sup>

In an attempt to stop the war between the Sauk-Fox alliance and the Sioux, a council was held with the principal tribes of the northwest at Prairie du Chien on August 19, 1825. Sauk and Fox delegates

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<sup>117</sup> J. C. Beltrami, *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America* (London, 1828), II, 128, 134, 150, 152-153, 160, 163, 169.

<sup>118</sup> William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (Philadelphia, 1824), I, 188.

<sup>119</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 229-230. Pish-ken-au-nee or Pish-kee-naw was at Washington for this signing; his name meant All Fish. The Sauk chief, Waw-kee-chaw, was also present.

<sup>120</sup> George Davenport to O. N. Bostwick, Rock Island, Sept. 9, 1824, Ayer Coll., Newberry Lib.; *Illinois Intelligencer* (Vandalia), Oct. 1, 1824.

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agreed to limit their hunting areas west of the Mississippi in order to avoid encroaching upon those of the Sioux, and the following Sauk assented to the treaty: Na-o-tuk (The Stabbing Chief), Pish-ken-au-nee (All Fish), Po-ko-nau-qua (Broken Arm, spelled Pockquinike by Pike in 1805), Wau-cau-che (Eagle Nose), Quashquame (Jumping Fish), Ochaach (The Fisher), Keokuk (The Watchful Fox), Skin-gwin-ee-see (The Ratler), War-ar-wis-ke-no (The Yellow Bird), Pau-ko-tuk (The Open Sky), Au-kaak-wan-e-suk (He That Vaults on the Earth), Mu-ku-taak-wau-wet, Mis-ke-bee (The Standing Hair). Among the Fox signers were: Wah-bal-lo (The Playing Fox, principal chief of the Fox), Taimah or Ti-a-mah (The Bear That Makes the Rocks Shake), Pee-ar-maski (The Jumping Sturgeon), Shagwa-na-tek-wisa (The Thunder That is Heard All over the World), Mis-o-win (Moose deer horn), No-ko-wot (The Down of Fur), Nau-sa-wa-quot (The Bear that Sleeps on the Forks), Shin-quin-is (The Ratler), Keesis (The Sun), Mock-to-back-la-gum (Black Tobacco).<sup>121</sup> Pee-ar-maski (The Jumping Sturgeon) was the Fox chief at Dubuque and Thomas Forsyth spelled his name "Peimosky."<sup>122</sup>

Trouble occurred in June of 1827 along the Mississippi River when several settlers were killed by Winnebago near Prairie du Chien. Other small raids followed, and John Connolly, subagent at Galena, was ordered to accompany a party of Fox to Prairie du Chien for its defense. Terror filled the minds of the frontier whites, but George Madeira, who was at the lead mines of Galena, said on July 3 that the Sauk and Fox had promised to protect the inhabitants from the Winnebago with 1,500 warriors if necessary.<sup>123</sup> Governor Ninian Edwards called out the militia on July 14 and William Clark requested that Thomas Forsyth separate the Sauk and Fox from the Winnebago,<sup>124</sup> although there seems to have been little connection between them at this time. In general, the Sauk and Fox were scattered along both sides of the Mississippi from the Des Moines to the Wisconsin in 1827, but one group of Sauk was encamped that summer near the Missouri River.<sup>125</sup> All through the difficult times, however, the Sauk and Fox remained neu-

<sup>121</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 272-277.

<sup>122</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, June 1, 1825, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>123</sup> *Illinois Reporter* (Kaskaskia), July 18, 1827.

<sup>124</sup> Wm. Clark to Thos. Forsyth, St. Louis, July 14, 1827, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>125</sup> Edwin James, "Menominee," MS., Am. Phil. Soc., Philadelphia; Wm. Clark to Thos. Forsyth, St. Louis, July 24, 1827, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

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tral and in September the Winnebago surrendered those of their number who had murdered whites. Peace was made on September 22 and the "Winnebago War" was formally ended.

Before 1828 most of the Fox had left the mouth of Rock River, and Thomas Forsyth attempted to induce the Sauk to move west of the Mississippi too. He talked to the principal chief, Musk-ke-la-bah (The Red Head), in 1828 and reported that he was "a vile unprincipled fellow." Evidently he had obtained his high office by the death of Nan-nah-que, since in 1820 The Red Head was only second in command.<sup>126</sup> Most of the Sauk leaders agreed to withdraw to the west bank of the Mississippi except Black Hawk and Quashquame.

During the month of April in 1829, the Stabbing Chief and other Sauk chiefs left the Rock River, but Black Hawk's group planted corn and informed the Indian agent that they intended to remain.<sup>127</sup> Soon white settlers pushed into the fertile fields which the Sauk had cultivated near Rock Island. William Clark feared that trouble might start at any moment.<sup>128</sup> On May 21 several Sauk told Thomas Forsyth that they would not leave their old village and announced that they intended to defend it with their lives. Keokuk, being at Rock Island, informed Forsyth that Black Hawk's band did not like him but that the other Sauk chiefs, who were then living at the Iowa River, had assigned him the onerous task of remaining on Rock River to keep peace.<sup>129</sup> Keokuk himself was unhappy because his family was at the new Sauk village on the Iowa; only a portion of his braves were with him and they—more than half those remaining on Rock River—would leave, he promised, as soon as their crops were harvested. Upon receiving this information, the War Department instructed the Illinois governor to refrain from using troops unless the Black Hawk faction had not left the Rock River by 1830.<sup>130</sup> When the last days of September appeared, all the Sauk abandoned their village and there was no hint of trouble.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Extract of Forsyth's report, May 24, 1828, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>127</sup> Extract of Thos. Forsyth's report, May 22, 1829, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>128</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, May 20, 1829, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>129</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, May 22-23, 1829, in Greene and Alvord, eds., *The Governors' Letter-Books 1818-1834* (Springfield, 1909), 144-146; extract of this letter is in Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>130</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, May 17, 1829, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; McKenney to Wm. Clark, June 17, 1829, National Archives.

<sup>131</sup> Extract of Thos. Forsyth's letter, Oct. 1, 1829, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

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Remaining behind, however, was the old chief Waw-kee-chaw, who had taken part in the Washington treaty of 1824. Evidently, he was too ill to travel for he died at Rock Island in October of 1829.<sup>132</sup>

All of the Fox who had previously had their villages in the vicinity of Rock Island traveled south about thirty miles and established a settlement on that long arm of the Mississippi which forms a separate channel near Muscatine, Iowa. Here the principal chief of the Fox resided: Wah-bal-lo (sometimes spelled Wapello). The main chiefs of the Sauk, including Stabbing Chief, led their groups south to the Iowa River, but a small group of Sauk and Fox under Chief White Cloud (Wabokieshiek, half Sauk and half Winnebago) was living on the Illinois near Henry in 1829 and another band had a temporary camp one mile north of Fort Clark (Peoria) at this time.<sup>133</sup>

War with the Yankton Sioux marred the peace of the frontiers in 1829. In May, William Clark declared that the fighting between the Sioux and the Sauk-Fox alliance had not as yet become serious, but the situation might become worse at any moment. Kittis Morgan (a Fox war chief having approximately 120 followers) killed a Sioux on the Iowa River and retaliation followed swiftly with the ambushing of a Fox group going to Prairie du Chien and the killing of the beloved chief Pee-ar-maski (The Jumping Sturgeon) who lived at Dubuque.<sup>134</sup> Contrary to the advice of the chiefs, small parties of Fox and Sauk then began ranging far to the west in their search for unwary Sioux who ventured away from their main villages. These tactics enraged the Sioux who threatened to raise a large expedition and destroy all the Fox towns. It was no idle threat, for the Fox knew that the Sioux had enough strength to do just that.

Fighting continued during the spring of 1830, and the Fox village at Dubuque moved down the Mississippi to be under the protection of Fort Armstrong at Rock Island. Immediately, a group of white men crossed the river from Galena to work the lucrative lead mines at the deserted village only to be informed by the authorities that such action was illegal.<sup>135</sup> The Fox, now greatly alarmed, pleaded

<sup>132</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Aug. 5, 1830, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>133</sup> Thomas Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, May 17, June 7, Aug. 10, Oct. 1, 1829, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; S. P. Shannon MS., undated, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>134</sup> Sometimes spelled "Piemansky." Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 137.

<sup>135</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Apr. 27, June 19, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Wm. Clark to Col. McKenney, St. Louis, June 19, 1830, Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, June 4, 1830, *Sen. Doc. No. 512*, 63, 68 (23rd Cong., 1st sess.).

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with the United States to make peace for them and a council was held on July 15, 1830, at Prairie du Chien where both Sauk and Fox met with the Sioux to arrange definite boundaries for their hunting lands west of the Mississippi. A Sauk delegation was led by the principal chief, Musk-ke-la-bah (The Red Head),<sup>136</sup> in addition to Keokuk (The Watchful Fox), and War-ar-wis-ke-no (The Yellow Bird).<sup>137</sup> Representatives of the Fox nation included Wah-bal-lo (The Playing Fox),<sup>138</sup> Ky-ei-ma or Taweemin (The Strawberry), and several others.<sup>139</sup> However, it was not until October that deputies from the Yankton and Santee groups of Sioux met with the Sauk and Fox at St. Louis to sign a treaty of peace which, it was hoped, would end the spasmodic fighting of previous years.<sup>140</sup>

Unexpectedly, the Stabbing Chief and Keokuk returned to Rock Island during the early spring of 1830, but they quickly informed Forsyth that they were leaving with their groups for the new villages west of the Mississippi even though some of the Sauk refused to leave Rock River. In late March or early April, the head chief of the Sauk, Stabbing Chief, and Keokuk visited William Clark who concluded from their conversation that the Sauk "would be willing to sell all their lands on the Mississippi and running back some distance." Their main village at this time was on the Iowa River and their population was estimated at 800 warriors and 1,600 women and children. Among the advisers of the Sauk in 1830 was the Fox medicine man Taimah, who was fifty-five years old and outranked all the other medicine men. He was considered by Forsyth to be a fine man and his presence was required for the initiation of new members into the medicine society.<sup>141</sup>

When it came time for the summer hunt in 1830, Black Hawk's band left the Rock River and did not return in the fall although the

<sup>136</sup> Sometimes spelled "Mash-que-tai-paw."

<sup>137</sup> Also spelled "O-saw-wish-canoe."

<sup>138</sup> In this instance spelled "Wapalaw" and also called "The Prince."

<sup>139</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, May 17, Aug. 18, Sept. 16, undated letter [Sept. or Oct.], 1829, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Wm. Clark to Thos. Forsyth, St. Louis, July 4, 1829, copy in Illinois State Archives; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 328-332.

<sup>140</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Oct. 16, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>141</sup> Extract of Thos. Forsyth's report of Apr. 28, 1830, Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Apr. 6, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Aug. 5, 1830, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, June 7, 1830, *Sen. Doc. No. 512*, 95 (23rd Cong., 1st sess.); S. P. Shannon MS., undated, Chicago Hist. Soc.; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, IV, 537 (Jan., 1831).

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Indian agent heard reports that this group was determined to come back in the spring.<sup>142</sup> To gain support for a demonstration or a war against the whites, Black Hawk and other chiefs of the "British Band" sent emissaries to visit the Osage and other bands of southern Indians; some of the Sauk runners traveled as far south as Texas. Fortunately for the United States, the Black Hawk band consisted of only one sixth of the Sauk nation. One important group of the Sauk and Fox (to the number of 600) lived in the Missouri River country and did not agree with Black Hawk.<sup>143</sup> An estimate of Black Hawk's following—probably exaggerated—was 300 or 400 braves.<sup>144</sup>

True to his threats, Black Hawk returned to Saukenuk in the spring of 1831 from his village west of the Mississippi. William Deniston, who lived one half mile above the mouth of Edwards River in Mercer County, reported that these Sauk crossed the Mississippi and landed near his farm en route back to their old village.<sup>145</sup> And Felix St. Vrain informed William Clark on May 15 that Black Hawk had already arrived at the Rock River and the women were planting corn. As some of their land had been sold to the whites, the Sauk pulled down the fences and turned their horses into the wheat fields. The new village built by Black Hawk's group was about four miles from Rock Island and on the north bank of the Rock.<sup>146</sup> In an attempt to gain conciliation, St. Vrain held a council with the leaders of the band and learned that Black Thunder, a Fox Indian, was the principal chief; Black Hawk, although a medicine man, was only a brave, but he had "considerable influence with them." Quashquame too was an important chief of the British Band, but during the summer of 1831 Black Thunder died, leaving Black Hawk in a position to exert more influence than previously.<sup>147</sup>

Since the Sauk showed no signs of leaving the Rock River, Gov. John Reynolds informed Clark on May 26, 1831, that he was calling

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<sup>142</sup> Felix St. Vrain to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Oct. 8, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>143</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, Washington, Jan. 17, 1831, Andrew S. Hughes to Wm. Clark, Iowa Agency, Mar. 29, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>144</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Aug. 12, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>145</sup> Report of William Deniston, Nov. 4, 1831, Sec. of State File, Illinois State Archives.

<sup>146</sup> Felix St. Vrain to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, May 15, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868), 239 (entry of July 1, 1831).

<sup>147</sup> Felix St. Vrain to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, May 28, 1831, Rock Island, Apr. 6, 1832, Journal of Council with Sauk and Fox Sept. 5, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.



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out the militia to remove them. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines led the troops north to deal with the "invaders" and took possession of the Sauk village on June 26, the Sauk having fled upon the appearance of mounted soldiers, artillery, and an armed steamboat. Black Hawk's group crossed the Mississippi, hoisted a white flag, and surrendered the following day.<sup>148</sup> On June 30 these Indians signed "Articles of Agreement and Capitulation" stating—among other things—that they had broken the treaties by living on land ceded to the United States in 1804.<sup>149</sup> The remainder of the Sauk and Fox nations, estimated to constitute 1,500 warriors in all, maintained friendly relations with the United States and it seemed that peace had been established once again. Peaceful Fox at Dubuque continued to mine and bring their lead to the whites who smelted it on one of the little islands nearby.<sup>150</sup>

Trouble, however, was stirred up by the Sauk just one month after the articles of capitulation had been signed. Nearly 100 warriors attacked a Menominee camp within sight of Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) and killed twenty-five. Later it was learned that Quashquame had led this war party which, for all practical purposes, started the Black Hawk War.<sup>151</sup> At the time, however, it seemed that an Indian war might be averted. In January of 1832 the Sauk and Fox were on their winter hunt, far up the Des Moines and Iowa rivers, but in February it was learned that certain groups were trying to influence the western Indians and the Missouri Sauk for a war against the white settlers.<sup>152</sup> Although reënforcements were not forthcoming, it soon became apparent that Black Hawk's group was bent upon returning to Saukenuk in the spring. Many settlers believed firmly that Black Hawk would cross the Mississippi and rumors spread quickly. In March one Illinois newspaper reported that he had already landed on Illinois soil—with 500 or 600 followers—and established corn fields thirty miles above Rock Island.<sup>153</sup> Indian agents announced during the first days of

<sup>148</sup> Greene and Alvord, eds., *The Governors' Letter-Books 1818-1834*, 165, 169, 174.

<sup>149</sup> Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 218.

<sup>150</sup> Felix St. Vrain to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 29, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; John Reynolds to Pres. of U. S., Belleville, Ill., Aug. 15, 1831, copy in Gov. Corr., Illinois State Archives.

<sup>151</sup> Joseph M. Street to Wm. Clark, Prairie du Chien, Aug. 1, 1831, Council with Sauk and Fox at Fort Armstrong, Sept. 5, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>152</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Feb. 23, 1832, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; John Daugherty to Wm. Clark, Cantonment Leavenworth, Feb. 3, 1832, National Archives.

<sup>153</sup> *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), Mar. 8, 1832.

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April that Black Hawk and Neapope were preparing to cross the Mississippi near Yellow Banks (Oquawka), but William Clark was inclined to think that Black Hawk would not dare return to the Rock River.<sup>154</sup> But while the Indian agents and Clark pondered the situation, Black Hawk and his band of approximately 600 had already crossed the Mississippi, on April 5, near the mouth of the Iowa (at the same spot used in the spring of 1831).

Black Hawk was met by the Winnebago Prophet (Wabokieshiek or White Cloud), who was half Sauk and half Winnebago and had a village on the Rock River where Prophetstown stands today. Together the two groups marched up the Rock to the Prophet's village where Black Hawk intended to plant corn, but William Clark declared on April 20 that this "British Band" would never "be brought to a sense of propriety until they" were severely punished.<sup>155</sup> Black Hawk soon discovered that the Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and Winnebago would not join his group, and he fled up the Rock River with the Illinois militia close on his trail. Fortunately for the United States, the bulk of the Sauk and Fox nations remained neutral; there were 750 friendly Sauk and Fox living on the Iowa River and Chief Taimah had a village of Fox on the Des Moines, but he was the most faithful of all the Fox chiefs to the United States. Another Fox chief who remained loyal to the whites was Apanos-Okiman. Keokuk likewise kept his group of Sauk out of the struggle, and sometime between the fifteenth and twenty-eighth of June most of the Sauk and Fox living on the west bank of the Mississippi left their villages for their summer hunt up the Iowa and Des Moines rivers. Some Fox did remain, however, on the Iowa near the Mississippi, but they were occupied in their own work.<sup>156</sup>

Onward the Sauk pushed, hoping to find shelter among the Winnebago near Four Lakes, but soon it became apparent to Black Hawk that his only escape was back across the Mississippi. As they attempted to cross the Wisconsin, troops engaged them in combat and later

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<sup>154</sup> Charles D. St. Vrain to Wm. Clark, Keokuk, Iowa, Apr. 8, 1832, Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Apr. 8, 1832, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>155</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Apr. 20, 1832, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>156</sup> *Randolph Free Press* (Kaskaskia), July 23, 1832; Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, May 1, 30, July 6, 1832, John Ruland to Elbert Herring, St. Louis, Aug. 24, 1832, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Joshua Pilcher to Wm. Clark, Lower Rapids, June 28, July 4, 1832, copies in National Archives.

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caught up with the retreating band at the Mississippi where the battle of Bad Axe took place. The British Band was badly beaten and many of those who escaped to the west bank of the Mississippi were slaughtered by the Sioux. Black Hawk then turned north, trying to reach Chippewa country, but a party of Winnebago captured him and brought the beaten leader to J. M. Street at Fort Crawford on August 27, 1832.<sup>157</sup> A council was held at Rock Island with the Sauk and Fox on September 21 and the resulting treaty, which took much land from the two nations in Iowa, decreed that they must retire to the reservation by June 1, 1833. This reserve was established along both sides of the Iowa River and contained 400 square miles, including Keokuk's village which was on the south bank and twelve miles from the Mississippi. The treaty further stipulated that the remnants of the British Band must go to live among those groups that had remained neutral in the war: the Sauk with the Sauk and the Fox with the Fox.<sup>158</sup>

After his capture, Black Hawk was imprisoned and then taken on a tour of eastern United States before being released. Broken in spirit, he refused to have his picture painted with a spear in his hand.<sup>159</sup> Upon his return to the Mississippi, Black Hawk lived at times near Camp Des Moines or on the headwaters of the Des Moines River.<sup>160</sup> On October 3, 1838, the old warrior died and was buried above ground in a log tomb.

As a result of the Black Hawk War, the Sauk and Fox were forced from Illinois and at first many of them attempted to kill white men who were alone in the woods. One traveler, who was in the vicinity of Galena on August 24, 1833, learned from his guide that there were occasional groups of Sauk and Fox wandering about and from "them we could not expect much mercy."<sup>161</sup> However, Pashepaho (Little Stabbing Chief) remained friendly with the Americans and during the years of 1832-1833 traded at John Dixon's store where Dixon, Illinois, now stands.<sup>162</sup> At this time the Sauk numbered about 2,400 and the Fox, 3,600,<sup>163</sup> and their hatred for the Menominee continued. In

<sup>157</sup> J. M. Street to Sec. of War, Prairie du Chien, Aug. 28, 1832, National Archives.

<sup>158</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 374-376.

<sup>159</sup> *New-York Mirror*, XI, 9 (July 13, 1833).

<sup>160</sup> *Galena Gazette & Advertiser*, Feb. 18, 1837.

<sup>161</sup> Anon., "Journal to the 'Far Off West,'" MS. diary, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>162</sup> John Dixon's account books, William D. Barge, *Early Lee County* (Chicago, 1918), 70.

<sup>163</sup> *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), Feb. 27, 1835.

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November of 1834 a war party attacked a lodge of Menominee on the Grant River in Wisconsin and killed three. A few days later, they killed some Winnebago near Prairie du Chien, but Keokuk delivered the guilty Indians to the United States Army for punishment.<sup>164</sup>

Four villages of the Sauk and Fox were known in 1835, probably all in Iowa. The Sauk village consisted of 2,400, but its location was not given. Wah-bal-lo (Wapello) ruled a Fox village of 1,100; Powsheek's village contained 2,600 Fox; and Apanos-Okiman (Appenoose) was the chief of 300 Fox.<sup>165</sup> Apanos-Okiman was probably living on the Iowa River, just above its junction with the Cedar River (at this time called the Red Cedar River) and Powsheek was on the Cedar River, about twenty miles upstream from the mouth. The location of Wah-bal-lo's village is uncertain.<sup>166</sup> As long as the Fox remained on the Iowa River, the Sioux constantly launched attacks upon them, and on November 19, 1836, they swept down the river and killed twenty Fox, one man escaping the slaughter to carry the news to Powsheek's village on the Cedar. Powsheek maintained this village site as late as 1837 even though the Sioux continued to strike the Fox.<sup>167</sup> Some of the Sauk seem to have been living in Missouri at this time,<sup>168</sup> although the nation was somewhat divided. In 1836 the British Band attempted to depose Keokuk or assassinate him, wishing to establish Hardfish in his place.<sup>169</sup>

It was announced in March of 1836 that the United States was attempting to obtain the reservation of the Sauk and Fox along the Iowa River,<sup>170</sup> and on September 28 these Indians ceded their reserve back to the United States in return for a payment of \$30,000 and an annuity.<sup>171</sup> By November 1 the Sauk and Fox were to remove and establish their villages on a reservation which had been assigned to them in Kansas. The government then obtained a final cession from

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<sup>164</sup> George Davenport to Pratte, Chouteau & Co., Rock Island, Nov. 22, 1834, Ayer Coll., Newberry Lib.; *Illinois Champion and Peoria Herald*, Nov. 29, 1834.

<sup>165</sup> *Missouri Republican*, Feb. 27, 1835.

<sup>166</sup> William Gordon, "Journal of Exploration West of the Mississippi, July 30 to September 12, 1835," MS., National Archives; *Quincy Argus and Illinois Bounty Land Register*, Dec. 24, 1836.

<sup>167</sup> *Quincy Argus and Illinois Bounty Land Register*, Dec. 24, 1836; *Galena Gazette & Advertiser*, Feb. 25, 1837.

<sup>168</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, L, 436 (Aug. 27, 1836).

<sup>169</sup> *Quincy Argus and Illinois Bounty Land Register*, Dec. 24, 1836.

<sup>170</sup> *Galena Gazette & Advertiser*, Mar. 5, 1836.

<sup>171</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 517-520.

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them on October 11, 1842, whereby they renounced any lands which they had claimed west of the Mississippi.<sup>172</sup> This treaty was necessary since many of the Sauk and Fox, particularly Keokuk's band, continued to remain on the Des Moines River.<sup>173</sup> Pashepaho died during 1844 as did many others because of the unhealthful conditions surrounding their camps on Raccoon River in central Iowa, and on September 17, 1845, Keokuk led his band toward Kansas with Hardfish setting out with the rest of the Sauk a few days later. Powsheek moved his Fox out on the trail several weeks after this.<sup>174</sup>

In spite of their long association with the Sauk, the Fox were not happy living with them in Kansas, and gradually the Fox wandered back to Iowa where they purchased lands. Six Fox chiefs journeyed to Washington and talked to the commissioner of Indian affairs on November 7, 1865, seeking an arrangement whereby they might live in Iowa. The commissioner replied that they must return to Kansas in order to draw their annuities, but the chiefs declared that they would not return.<sup>175</sup> At that time the official tabulation for the Sauk and Fox population in Kansas showed that 1,626 had formerly lived along the Mississippi River and 180 had previously inhabited Missouri.<sup>176</sup> Most of the Sauk later moved to Oklahoma while a group of those who had lived in Missouri remained in northeastern Kansas, but the majority of the Fox live today near Tama, Iowa, named, no doubt, for the great medicine man "Taimah." Slowly the Fox increased in numbers and today there are 650 at Tama where they have inaugurated the Tamacraft industry which features the drawings and art of Charlie Pushe-to-ne-qua. Dr. Sol Tax, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, is the director of the Tama Indian Program and has made a detailed study of the Fox whose settlement embraces 3,253 acres along the Iowa River.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 596-600.

<sup>173</sup> House of Rep. Exec. Doc. No. 2, I, 464 (25th Cong., 3rd sess.).

<sup>174</sup> Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 145-146.

<sup>175</sup> N. Y. *Tribune*, Nov. 8, 1865.

<sup>176</sup> N. Y. *Times*, Aug. 3, 1865.

<sup>177</sup> Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, July 15, 1956; Fred Gearing, Robert McC. Netting, and Lisa R. Peattie, eds., *Documentary History of the Fox Project, 1948-1959: A Program in Action Anthropology*. Directed by Sol Tax. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1960).

## CHAPTER IV

### POTAWATOMI, OTTAWA, AND CHIPPEWA

At an early date groups of these three Algonquian nations formed a confederation which was sometimes called "The Three Fires," and as it functioned in the Illinois Country one member would not act upon important matters without consulting the other two.<sup>1</sup> As a result, it is difficult to separate these three nations, members of which frequently intermarried and assumed membership in one or another village or tribe. Farther north there was more of a division among these tribes.

In the Illinois Country it was the Potawatomi who became the predominant representative of "The Three Fires" after the defeat of the Iliniwék. The languages of these three nations are closely related and it is thought that the Potawatomi and Ottawa were originally part of the Chippewa (Ojibway) tribe.<sup>2</sup> Potawatomi as a word is thought to mean "people of the place of the fire;" Ottawa is translated as meaning "to buy and sell;" and Ojibway is a word meaning "to roast till puckered up."

In prehistoric times the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa certainly lived east of Lake Michigan, but enemies—probably the Iroquois—drove them west to Mackinaw where they seem to have settled in separate places. Some Jesuits learned in 1666 that it was the Iroquois who had driven the Ottawa westward.<sup>3</sup> When the Potawatomi wandered into the land of the Sioux, they were forced back to Sault Ste. Marie where once again they were among friends: the Ottawa of Lake Huron and the Chippewa of Sault Ste. Marie and Lake Superior.<sup>4</sup> Gradually, the Chippewa settled around Lake Superior, the Ottawa at Lake Huron, and the Potawatomi at Green Bay. The latter had

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. John F. Carmichael's Journal of Greenville Treaty, June 16 to Dec. 3, 1795, MS., Henry E. Huntington Art Museum and Library.

<sup>2</sup> Truman Michelson, "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," *Ann. Report of Bureau of Am. Ethnology 1906-1907*, 262; William W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways: Based upon Tradition and Oral Statements," *Coll. Minn. Hist. Soc.*, V, 81.

<sup>3</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LI, 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII, 225.

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moved there from Mackinaw as a result of pressure from eastern enemies and in later years the Potawatomi could not trace their ancestors beyond those who had resided at Sault Ste. Marie or Lake Michigan.<sup>5</sup>

Father Gabriel Dreuilletes reported that the Potawatomi in 1657 numbered 3,000 of whom 700 were males. He gave no exact location, but they were certainly living along the northern tip of Lake Michigan where the Iroquois continued to attack them.<sup>6</sup> It is certain that they were living on Lake Michigan in 1666, and it would appear that the Iroquois had killed many of them since at this time they could muster only 300 warriors. Although frequently on the war path, the Potawatomi were said to be well disposed toward the French, easily managed and civil toward strangers.<sup>7</sup>

A definite location for the Potawatomi is given in 1669 by the Jesuits who declared that they were living on Green Bay. The following year Father Allouez established a mission among them and here they remained for several years. Frequently, they were seen south of Green Bay, probably hunting, but La Salle—on his way south in September of 1679—discovered that the Potawatomi were still inhabiting the islands which lie between Lake Michigan and Green Bay. However, he found another Potawatomi village farther south along the western shore of Lake Michigan.<sup>8</sup> It would seem that their movement south had already begun by this date. Nor were the Ottawa strangers to the Illinois Country; Tonti was visited by a group of Ottawa warriors at Peoria in 1680, but it is doubtful if they had any villages there at this time.<sup>9</sup> Henri Joutel also visited some Potawatomi in April of 1688 who were living half way between Mackinaw and Chicago along the west shore of Lake Michigan,<sup>10</sup> indicating that they were not all living together. Cadillac, in 1695, found that the islands in the entrance of Green Bay were still occupied by Potawatomi who were fighting off the Iroquois with small groups of valiant braves.<sup>11</sup> When St. Cosme arrived at Green Bay in September of 1698, he saw that the region was

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, LV, 103; Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, I, 108-109, 170.

<sup>6</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, XLIV, 115, 245.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, LI, 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 211, 265, LX, 151, 153; Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 43, 49.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of Tonty*, 35.

<sup>10</sup> Stiles, ed., *Joutel's Journal*, 199.

<sup>11</sup> These islands were known for a time as the Potawatomi Islands. Quaife, ed., *Cadillac*, 64.

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inhabited by Potawatomi, Menominee, and Fox; another group of Potawatomi was also established with a number of Mascouten and Fox at the mouth of the Milwaukee River.<sup>12</sup>

From the report of Samuel York in 1700, the British learned that the Ottawa remained largely in the vicinity of Lake Huron while the Potawatomi were farther south on the shores of Lake Michigan.<sup>13</sup> Within a year or so after York's visit, there were enough Potawatomi living on the southeastern tip of Lake Michigan for the Jesuits to establish a mission for them on the St. Joseph River in Michigan or northern Indiana.<sup>14</sup> It is said that 200 Potawatomi warriors planted the first village on the St. Joseph about 1695, a region then controlled largely by the Miami. And when Detroit was established in 1701, Potawatomi families settled near the new post. After 1728 the focus of Potawatomi occupation ceased to be upon the islands of Green Bay; instead, it was between the St. Joseph River and Detroit, but the total population of this nation was not accurately recorded. It is thought that their numbers, however, were never large.<sup>15</sup>

Father Gabriel Marest visited the Potawatomi of St. Joseph River in 1711 and learned that the Illini did not object to this settlement. They visited each other frequently although Marest thought that their manners were quite different: the Illini being "gentle and kind" while the Potawatomi were "brutal and coarse." It is possible that Marest did not understand the Potawatomi customs as well as he did the Illini.<sup>16</sup> In the following year, the French discovered that the Potawatomi intended to leave their more northern villages and settle either at Detroit or in the Illinois Country.<sup>17</sup> But not all of them left Green Bay for there were Potawatomi living there in later years. At this time a prominent war chief was Makisabie who had a brother named Tehamasimon.<sup>18</sup> Charlevoix reached the St. Joseph River in August of 1721 and reported that both the Miami and Potawatomi were dwelling upon this river and the latter were led by Piremon and Wilamek.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Shea, ed., *Early Voyages*, 48-49, 50.

<sup>13</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IV, 749.

<sup>14</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, I, 221.

<sup>15</sup> Kinatedz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes*, 309-310.

<sup>16</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 279, 285.

<sup>17</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XXXIII, 551.

<sup>18</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 271.

<sup>19</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, II, 86, 98.



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Throughout these years the Potawatomi remained loyal to the French and in 1730 Chief Mandiché led his warriors to the aid of the French allies who destroyed the fleeing Fox. Groups of Potawatomi also joined Sieur de Vincennes in his fight against the Chickasaw in 1732-1733.<sup>20</sup> But their population was not large when compared to other powerful Indian tribes. In 1736 Chauvignerie counted 20 warriors upon the islands of Green Bay, 180 at Detroit, 100 on the St. Joseph, and 10 who had joined the Miami along the Wabash.<sup>21</sup> The accuracy of these estimates is difficult to ascertain because of the continual migrations of the Indians.

About 1743 the Potawatomi seem to have moved into the Chicago region, replacing the Wea who had lived there prior to their move to the Wabash. According to the statement of Auguste Chouteau, it was a group of Potawatomi from the vicinity of Detroit, together with some Ottawa and Chippewa, who moved to Chicago and the lands along the Illinois River. Gov. Ninian Edwards declared that the Ottawa claimed northern Illinois by right of conquest from the Peoria and later permitted the Potawatomi-Ottawa-Chippewa confederation to occupy these lands. Pressure also came upon the Illiniwek at this time from the Sauk and Fox in the northwestern section of Illinois. Chouteau recalled that "The Three Fires" confederacy had been formed at Mackinaw prior to 1743 and was dedicated to the removal of the Illini from northeastern Illinois.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps Chouteau's memory is correct; it is known that by 1747 the Potawatomi on the St. Joseph had turned their backs on the Illini and formed an alliance with the Miami, Sauk, Fox, and Menominee.<sup>23</sup> Four years later most of the Potawatomi were located in two villages: one upon the St. Joseph and another on the Chicago River. These two villages, augmented by the Chippewa, made an attack upon the weakened Illini in 1751 even though they were also allies of the French in their fight against Great Britain. When the Wea deserted the French upon the persuasion of the British, the Potawatomi of St. Joseph got them to return to Ouiatanon in 1752.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 101; Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: F.*, III, 666.

<sup>21</sup> Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, III, 556.

<sup>22</sup> Foreman, ed., "Notes of Auguste Chouteau," *Glimpses of the Past*, VII, 131-132 (Oct.-Dec., 1940); Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVII, 255.

<sup>23</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 84.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 630; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 81; Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 218.

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Yet the Illini remained loyal to the French and were attacked by the Potawatomi. It seems reasonable to say that the Potawatomi were enemies of the Illini because they wanted the fertile Illinois valley.

Thomas Hutchins reported that there were 200 Potawatomi braves and their families settled at Fort St. Joseph in 1762, but he did not mention the Chicago settlement.<sup>25</sup> However, a Mr. Hamburg made a trip down into the Illinois Country from the north during the following year and left a fine account of the Potawatomi. At Milwaukee River he saw an Indian village one mile upstream from Lake Michigan where a mixture of Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Sauk lived. At the mouth of the Chicago River there was another Potawatomi village in which Ottawa and Sauk were also present. After leaving Lake Michigan, Mr. Hamburg paddled up the St. Joseph River where, at a distance of twenty leagues from the mouth, he arrived at Ft. St. Joseph which was located on the east bank of the river. Living on the opposite bank were the Potawatomi and here the principal chief of this tribe resided. The hunting lands used by the Potawatomi of Chicago and St. Joseph were down the Des Plaines, Kankakee, and Illinois rivers where there was an abundance of game: buffalo, deer, elk, raccoon, otter, and beaver. Their winter hunting ground was along the Illinois and the Potawatomi ventured to Starved Rock or farther in search of game. Great chief of the Potawatomi at St. Joseph was probably Mitamingue who went to Ft. Chartres in 1764 to confer with the French.<sup>26</sup>

At this time, the Ottawa were settled, for the most part, near Mackinaw and St. Joseph, but there were some Chippewa and Potawatomi who moved south from St. Joseph to the Sangamon and Illinois rivers about 1765.<sup>27</sup> Groups of Chippewa joined the Potawatomi in making raids along the Ohio River in 1767 and exclaimed that the British did not treat them fairly now that they were in control of the Northwest Territory as a result of the French and Indian War. Potawatomi from the Wabash region even murdered the British traders who came to St. Joseph. "The Three Fires," however, were friendly toward the Spanish at St. Louis where they received presents from

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<sup>25</sup> *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, X, 365 (July, 1926); Hutchins' map of 1762, MS., Henry E. Huntington Lib.

<sup>26</sup> "Minutes of Mr. Hamburg's Journal, 1763," in Mereness, ed., *Travels*, 361-363; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 259; Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period*, 50, 293.

<sup>27</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 554; Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period*, 33, 484, *The New Régime*, 22, 69.

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time to time. After questioning the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa who came there in 1769, the Spanish learned that these Indians lived on both the St. Joseph and Illinois rivers where they seemed to be in complete control.<sup>28</sup>

Although it cannot be said with certainty at what time the Potawatomi moved to the Kankakee River, it is known that by about 1774 there were twelve large lodges of them located at the confluence of the Kankakee and Illinois.<sup>29</sup> Gradually the groups which had moved down the Illinois River became known as the "Potawatomi of the Prairie" and those living on the Kankakee were called the "Potawatomi of the Kankakee."<sup>30</sup> Many of the latter, however, were located in Indiana near the groups on the Tippecanoe or St. Joseph rivers. All of these groups ranged widely and frequently killed the British traders who attempted to replace the French.<sup>31</sup> And their hatred of the Iliniwék increased after the assassination of Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, by a member of the Peoria group in 1769. Since the Chippewa and Ottawa of Mackinaw sometimes wintered on the Grand River in Michigan, it was easy for them to maintain a liaison with the Potawatomi of St. Joseph River.<sup>32</sup>

With the coming of the American Revolution, the Potawatomi suddenly declared themselves in favor of the British after having opposed them for years. In 1779 there were three well-known villages of Potawatomi on the St. Joseph River: St. Joseph, the largest settlement, Terre Coupé, and Little Pilormeau. In addition to these, there is a mention of three other sites in this same year, but no names are given. Each had its own village chief and some were said to be miles apart. At Milwaukee where there was a mixed village, the great chief was a Chippewa: Sagenake.<sup>33</sup> In spite of their support of the British, groups of Potawatomi and Chippewa continued to trade at Kaskaskia

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<sup>28</sup> John Campbell to Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, Pittsburgh, Apr. 8, 1768, Baynton-Wharton-Morgan Corr., Pa. Hist. & Museum Commission; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VIII, 76; Alvord and Carter, eds., *Trade and Politics*, 417; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 299-300; Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, 44.

<sup>29</sup> Undated and unsigned MS. in Canadian Archives, copy in Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>30</sup> Danville (Ill.) *Enquirer*, Nov. 30, 1833.

<sup>31</sup> Carter, ed., *Correspondence of Gen. Thomas Gage*, I, 310; Henry Hamilton's Journal, MS. in Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>32</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, IX, 376.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 349, XIX, 375, 416.

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as late as 1780.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the Potawatomi carried belts from Detroit in that same year, asking the Sauk and Fox to take up the hatchet against the Americans or suffer death at the hands of British troops.<sup>35</sup> Some of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi had made a treaty of peace with George Rogers Clark, but some of their number were very hostile to the Americans. The powerful Sagenake (also spelled Seguinac) of Milwaukee had moved to St. Joseph by 1781 where he joined Chief Makewine. War parties from Chicago continued to raid the Kaskaskia Indians, and the white settlers feared another Indian war since the Ottawa were moving south along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan from Mackinaw to the St. Joseph River.<sup>36</sup> Finally, the United States was able to make peace with some groups of the Potawatomi on January 9, 1789, and Windigo, Wapaskea, and Nequea signed the treaty.<sup>37</sup> However, other groups continued to make raids into Kentucky until the militia was able to defeat them, whereupon they sued for peace also.<sup>38</sup> On September 27, 1792, Gen. Rufus Putnam concluded a treaty of peace at Vincennes with the Potawatomi of the Illinois River and serious trouble was averted for the time.<sup>39</sup>

One traveler from Detroit found a village of Indians—which he did not identify—at the junction of the Des Plaines and Kankakee rivers on May 15, 1790. These were probably Potawatomi since reports of previous years place them at this spot. Lt. John Armstrong drew a map of this area in 1790 and indicated that there were eight Indian villages here at the "Forks of the Illinois." There were Indian settlements along Lake Peoria too, and these, no doubt, were also Potawatomi.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, the Americans had little contact with the Potawatomi, and those groups living away from the traveled rivers were unobserved. Only when representatives of these Indians met with the United States officials for treaties were they closely studied and noted. Since the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa were widely scattered, they frequently had dealings with other Indian tribes living

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<sup>34</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790*, 157.

<sup>35</sup> John Montgomery to G. R. Clark, n. p., May, 1780, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>36</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, X, 453-454, XI, 485, XII, 78-79, XXXVII, 517.

<sup>37</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 28-32.

<sup>38</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records*, 503-504.

<sup>39</sup> *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 319.

<sup>40</sup> Quaife, ed., *John Askin Papers*, I, 357, 359; Colton Storm, "Lieutenant John Armstrong's Map of the Illinois River, 1790," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXVII, 53 (Mar., 1944).

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as far east as Ohio. In May of 1793 "The Three Fires" held a council with the Six Nations and renewed their friendship with them.<sup>41</sup>

In February of 1795, Gen. Anthony Wayne announced that he had reached a temporary agreement with the Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sauk, Wyandot, Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami for the suspension of hostilities and said that he intended to hold a general treaty council with these tribes about the fifteenth of June at Greenville, Ohio. Influential chiefs and warriors assembled there for talks which lasted from June 16 until August 10. No mention is made of any Potawatomi being present from the Illinois River, but those of the St. Joseph River and Lake Michigan made an appearance. From this region came a Potawatomi chief, The New Corn, who was a Sauk by birth. He stated that there were twenty-three chiefs below his rank and declared that under his command were 1,000 braves who inhabited the lands between Detroit and Lake Michigan. In addition, he boasted that his tribe had an alliance with the Miami. With him was a Chippewa chief from Lake Michigan by the name of Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish. This nation complained that they were being pushed further west and losing strength rapidly. But the Potawatomi were expanding, for that same year they established two villages on the Wabash, one at Tippecanoe and the other at Chippoy which was twenty-five miles below the former.<sup>42</sup>

One year after the Greenville treaty, Sagenake and Pistoame (two Chippewa chiefs from Milwaukee) fled to Mackinaw with eighteen of their followers and related that they had abandoned this village because they feared the Sauk. At the same time, two Ottawa chiefs from Chicago, Akawabamie and Ekimabitane, arrived at Mackinaw with seven tribesmen and begged for clothing which was given to them. The Potawatomi living near Joliet, Illinois, however, traveled to Greenville, Ohio, to receive presents and deliver prisoners to the Americans.<sup>43</sup>

When the Potawatomi who were living upon Illinois River saw

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<sup>41</sup> E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1824), II, 9.

<sup>42</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 49-54; Journal of Dr. John F. Carmichael, MS., Henry E. Huntington Lib.; *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 564, 569, 572; Esarey, ed., *Wm. Henry Harrison*, II, 638; Gen. Wayne to W. Sargent, Greenville, Ohio, Feb. 10, 1795, MS., Ill. State Hist. Lib.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Duggan Journal (entries of July 2, 7, 1796), MS., Clements Lib., Univ. of Michigan; Anthony Wayne to R. Reigs, Greenville, Ohio, July 25, 1796, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

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that the Americans were pushing in upon their lands, they again turned their eyes toward the British. By 1802 the United States realized that something would have to be done, but the officials hesitated to erect forts within the country of the Potawatomi: at Peoria and Chicago. Nevertheless, Chicago became a focus for military fortifications.<sup>44</sup> Gradually, diplomatic relations with these Indians became worse until Blackbird, an Ottawa chief, and Wawiaikasa, a Potawatomi chief, openly spoke against the Americans in 1805 at Chicago.<sup>45</sup> Many of the Potawatomi swore allegiance to the Shawnee Prophet on the Wabash and made preparations for war, engaging in what the whites described as "religious duties" which honored warlike sports.<sup>46</sup> A large assemblage of Potawatomi gathered near Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1808, but hostilities were not forthcoming as expected at this time.<sup>47</sup> In the following year, officials of Illinois Territory sent an expedition to Peoria in order to learn the attitude of the Potawatomi there. This village was considered to be the "capital" of the Indians in this area.<sup>48</sup> It seems that some of the Potawatomi liked the British while some favored the Americans. The main problem was this: these Indians were forced to rely upon presents from the whites in order to survive because their hunting lands no longer contained large herds of buffalo. Fur trade was their only source of revenue.

By 1809 the settlers in Illinois had learned the name of a celebrated Potawatomi chief who lived along the Illinois River and frequently led his band on the war path. Although his name has been spelled many ways (Main Pogue, Main Poque, Main Pock, and Main Poc), the proper French spelling was probably Main Poche meaning Hand Bag. In 1801 he had led successful attacks upon the Piankashaw of the Wabash and was known as a "juggler" which probably indicates that he was a medicine man.<sup>49</sup> Eight years later he was raising war parties for war against the Osage and when his warriors passed down the Illinois to the Missouri River, they stole goods from the settlers. On April 3, 1810, Main Poche's band took \$600 worth of articles from

<sup>44</sup> Sec. of War to Wm. H. Harrison, Washington, Apr. 23, Sept. 3, 1802, National Archives.

<sup>45</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XXIII, 41.

<sup>46</sup> Esarey, ed., *Wm. Henry Harrison*, I, 291.

<sup>47</sup> Wm. Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn, Vincennes, Feb. 18, 1808, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>48</sup> Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 78.

<sup>49</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Jan. 15, 1827, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes*, II, 183-244.

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*Photo courtesy Ill. State Hist. Lib.*

Shabbona, an Ottawa chief, as he appeared in July of 1859. He was one of the principal chiefs of the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa confederacy in the Illinois Country.

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Thomas Weeks' boat which was tied to the Illinois shore opposite the Missouri River. Later, these items were discovered among the possessions of Main Poche's wives at Peoria.<sup>50</sup> From stealing, the crimes of the Potawatomi had increased to murder by July of that year, and William Clark held a council on September 12 with Gomo (the principal chief of those Potawatomi living on the Illinois), several other village chiefs, and approximately forty of their braves. Gomo declared that Oki-che-games and Niskad-na-mis—followers of the Shawnee Prophet—had killed four whites and were now living on the Wabash. Later that year the Potawatomi stole some horses, and the indignation of the settlers foretold that serious trouble would soon occur.<sup>51</sup>

At Chicago, where Capt. Nathan Heald commanded, the Ottawa and Chippewa informed one John Latimer that they wished peace with the whites and if the Potawatomi continued to provoke trouble, they would withdraw from their ancient alliance, "The Three Fires."<sup>52</sup> And when the Shawnee Prophet attacked William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, all the Potawatomi living upon the Wabash fought against him except Chief Winnemac.<sup>53</sup> Main Poche had a permanent village in Illinois some thirty-six miles up the Fox River,<sup>54</sup> but the Potawatomi chief who was stirring up trouble near Peoria at this time was The White Rabbit from the Wabash. Other troublemakers were the two brothers of Main Poche's wife, who lived at Peoria or at Prairie du Corbeau (Crow Prairie) which was twenty-four miles north of Lake Peoria,<sup>55</sup> although it is certain that Main Poche himself was on the Huron River, twenty miles from Amhurstburg, Michigan, during the winter of 1811-1812. He had 100 warriors in his band.<sup>56</sup> Gomo's village was about a day's journey by

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<sup>50</sup> Meriwether Lewis to Nathaniel Pope, St. Louis, May 10, 1809, Gov. Corr., Vol. I, Illinois State Archives; Thos. D. L. Weeks' testimony before Wm. Arundel, Kaskaskia, June 12, 1810, Weeks to Ninian Edwards, 1810, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVI, 116, 117, 118, 119.

<sup>51</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Sept. 12, 1810, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 413; signed statement of Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Nov. 14, 1810, Wm. Clark to [Thos. Forsyth?], St. Louis, Nov. 15, 1810, Wm. Clark Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>52</sup> John Latimer to Wm. Clark, Chicago, Oct. 9, 1811, original owned by Everett D. Graff, Chicago.

<sup>53</sup> Esarey, ed., *Wm. Henry Harrison*, I, 684.

<sup>54</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>55</sup> *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 800, 802; J. Lalime to Wm. Clark, Chicago, May 26, 1811, Auto. Letters, L, 91, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>56</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, II, 344 (July 25, 1812).



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canoe up the Illinois from Peoria although there was much shifting of sites.<sup>57</sup>

Early in 1812 Gov. Ninian Edwards received word that the Potawatomi and Kickapoo had held a meeting at Peoria and had decided to attack the Americans and support the British.<sup>58</sup> He immediately authorized Capt. Edward Hebert to proceed up the Illinois in an effort to quiet these Indians and summon them to a council.<sup>59</sup> During the first days of April, Capt. Hebert returned to St. Louis with sixty men, women and children of the Potawatomi, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Kickapoo tribes. William Clark met the delegation and issued them supplies before sending them across the river to meet with Gov. Edwards.<sup>60</sup> On April 16 they talked at Cahokia to the Illinois Governor who found that those present included Gomo, Pepper, White Hair, Little Sauk, and Black Bird from the Potawatomi; Mittitasse, Keeskagon, and Malsh-wa-she-wai from the Ottawa; White Dog of the Chippewa; and Little Deer and Blue Eyes from the Kickapoo.<sup>61</sup> Gomo convinced Edwards that he stood for peace while secretly laughing at the Governor.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, Edwards dug into his own pockets and purchased presents for the Indians in an effort to maintain peace along the Illinois.<sup>63</sup> Then he sent them home, hoping that his talks had been successful.<sup>64</sup>

John Hay reported to Edwards that there were three bands of confederated Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa in the Illinois River valley. Gomo could muster 150 braves at his village on the north end of Lake Peoria, Pepper had 200 within two leagues of the Kankakee, Main Poche's group of fifty braves was two leagues up the Kankakee although he himself was still with the British in Michigan<sup>65</sup> and his

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<sup>57</sup> Samuel Levering to Ninian Edwards, Peoria, Aug. 12, 1811, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVI, 176-177.

<sup>58</sup> Ninian Edwards to Wm. Eustis, Elvirade, Ill. Terr., Mar. 3, 1812, in *ibid.*, XVI, 194.

<sup>59</sup> Ninian Edwards' order to Capt. Hebert, Cahokia, Ill. Terr., Mar. 12, 1812, Auto. Letters, L, 155, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>60</sup> Wm. Clark to Ninian Edwards, St. Louis, Apr. 11, 1812, Auto. Letters, XLIX, 85 and copy in Wm. Clark Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>61</sup> *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* 1904, 101.

<sup>62</sup> Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 83.

<sup>63</sup> Ninian Edwards to Wm. H. Crawford, Kaskaskia, Ill. Terr., Nov. 5, 1816, in *Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), Dec. 11, 1816.

<sup>64</sup> Ninian Edwards to Sec. of War, Cahokia, Apr. 24, 1812, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVI, 215.

<sup>65</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Gen. Gibson, n.p., July 26, 1812, Chicago Hist. Soc.

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permanent village was on the Fox River. On the Fox there was a small band of thirty warriors under Chief Wa-bee-sause; three leagues from Chicago on the portage from the Chicago to the Des Plaines were thirty more under an Ottawa chief named Co-wa-be-may; on the Little Calumet River, five leagues from Chicago, were 100 braves led by Cam-pignan and Nan-non-qui.<sup>66</sup>

Thomas Forsyth at Peoria related to Edwards on June 8 that the Indians there were planting corn and could muster 600 warriors if necessary, and Edwards immediately told William Henry Harrison that there must be at least 800 there. It was his firm conviction that as soon as the corn reached roasting-ear stage there would be an attack upon the settlers. These estimates were probably exaggerated since Hay reported a much smaller group at Peoria; Edwards probably wished to obtain help from the federal government in the form of troops and supplies.<sup>67</sup> Another source of information reported that there were perhaps 500 warriors on the Illinois and its tributaries.<sup>68</sup> It is thought that 160 Potawatomi—perhaps from Indiana and Michigan—joined the United States forces in the War of 1812.<sup>69</sup> Most of the Chippewa were living along the southern shore of Lake Superior during the summer of 1812.<sup>70</sup>

Although there were some murders committed by the Potawatomi in Illinois, only one great massacre occurred and that was at Chicago. General William Hull, commanding at Detroit, decided that Fort Dearborn could not be defended against the British and ordered Capt. Nathan Heald to evacuate the fort and march back overland to Detroit. This message reached Heald on August 9, 1812, and the Indians quickly learned of the plan to abandon the fort. On the 13th Captain William Wells arrived from Fort Wayne with thirty Miami who were to escort the garrison to Detroit. The following day, Capt. Heald distributed much of the goods to the Indians but destroyed the ammunition and liquor. At 9 a. m. on August 15 the soldiers marched out of Fort Dearborn and had proceeded about a mile and a half when

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<sup>66</sup> Notes of John Hay to Ninian Edwards, 1812, Edwards Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>67</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, Peoria, June 8, 1812, Ninian Edwards to Sec. of War, Elvirade, Ill. Terr., July 21, 1812, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVI, 229-230, 244; Esarey, ed., *Wm. Henry Harrison*, II, 59.

<sup>68</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, III, 106 (Oct. 17, 1812).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 427 (Aug. 20, 1814).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 106 (Oct. 17, 1812).

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Heald discovered that the Indians were preparing to attack. Since the Miami refused to defend the soldiers, the commander surrendered to Black Bird, a Potawatomi chief, but most of his men were slaughtered. Of the fifty-four regulars and twelve militia, twenty-six regulars and all the militia had been killed before Heald surrendered. (The commander and his wife were spared and eventually returned east as prisoners of war.)<sup>71</sup> When the soldiers marched out of Fort Dearborn, there were 500 Potawatomi, Ottawa, Winnebago, and Kickapoo waiting for them. Of these about 400 actually took part in the massacre. Thomas Forsyth informed William Clark that the Indians responsible were the Potawatomi and Ottawa from the Aux Sable (then known as Sandy Creek), the Potawatomi from Main Poche's village, some Potawatomi from the St. Joseph and Wabash rivers, one Sauk, one Kickapoo, and three Winnebago.<sup>72</sup> After burning Fort Dearborn, the Indians marched to Fort Wayne to lay siege to it.<sup>73</sup>

The capture of Fort Dearborn spurred the Illinois River Potawatomi on to more pillage and conquests. Thomas Forsyth, who was at Peoria, announced that between 300 and 400 Potawatomi and Kickapoo left their villages on or about September 7, 1812, to attack the white settlements in southern Illinois. This war party was headed by Gomo, Shequenebec, and Black Partridge who gathered their forces from Gomo's and Shequenebec's villages situated north of Peoria. However, Governor Edwards had raised forces which were already marching north to destroy the Indians. These troops stole the march on their foes and forced them back to their villages. Militiamen attacked Black Partridge's village, located twenty-one miles north of Peoria, and drove the Indians into the swamp and across the Illinois. Some of the fleeing Indians were killed and the town, with all its store of corn, was burned. This timely action on the part of Edwards broke the back of the Indian war and caused a retreat of the Kickapoo and Miami to Rock River where the Sauk were living. The remainder of

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<sup>71</sup> Capt. Heald's account, dated Pittsburgh, Oct. 23, 1812, in *Niles' Weekly Register*, III, 155 (Nov. 7, 1812).

<sup>72</sup> A. Curtis to Col. P. Kingsbury, Ft. Wayne, Sept. 21, 1812, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>73</sup> E. Cruikshank, "The Employment of Indians in the War of 1812," *Ann. Report Am. Hist. Assoc.*, 1895, 331.

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the Indians withdrew to Bureau Creek where they "erected a strong fortification, consisting of five long block houses." Surrounding trees were felled and thick puncheons were hewn with port holes for rifle fire. The fort was "situated at the point of a hill—a large Marsh in front—the river in the rear of it and approachable only with any kind of facility on one side where the passage is narrow."<sup>74</sup>

There was a large Potawatomi village on the Kankakee River and it was thought that the Shawnee Prophet fled in this direction during the winter of 1812-1813.<sup>75</sup> Potawatomi from St. Joseph were leaving their villages during March of 1813 in order to join the Shawnee, Kickapoo, and Delaware in an attack upon Detroit, but Peoria continued to be the center of Indian trouble in Illinois. In the spring of 1813 the Potawatomi returned to their villages on Lake Peoria and threatened to launch another campaign against the Americans.<sup>76</sup> Forsyth again compiled a list of the Potawatomi who were likely to cause trouble and noted that there was a village of approximately 100 warriors on the headwaters of the Iroquois River, they being mostly Potawatomi from the Wabash. Chief Catfish and others had villages of 150 men on Fox River, and Mittitasse (an Ottawa) was living on the portage from the Chicago to the Des Plaines with 100 fighting men. Shequenebec and 100 braves had returned to the Illinois above Peoria; Main Poche's village of 100 warriors was thirty-six miles up the Fox River and he was the most influential among the Potawatomi although he himself stayed with the British most of the time. Black Partridge and Pepper were on the Aux Sable with at least 200 braves. Gomo, who led about 50 men, returned to his village, which stood upon the present site of Chillicothe, and his band raided far and wide although Forsyth informed William Clark that he was in the war contrary to his own wishes. There was also a camp of Potawatomi

<sup>74</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Gen. Benj. Howard, Peoria, Sept. 7, 1812, Ninian Edwards to the President, Kaskaskia, Jan. 16, 1813, Petition to Congress by Terr. Legislature of Ill., Nov. 30, 1812, Wm. Russell to Sec. of War, Camp Russell, Oct. 31, 1812, Ninian Edwards to Sec. of War, Elvirade, Ill. Terr., Apr. 12, 1813, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVI, 263, 269, 271, 286, 312; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 87-89.

<sup>75</sup> Benj. Howard to Sec. of War, Lexington, Ky., Jan. 10, 1813, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 617; Ninian Edwards to Thos. Forsyth, Cahokia, May 11, 1813, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>76</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XV, 259; Thos. Forsyth to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Apr. 10, 1813, Benj. Howard to Sec. of War, St. Louis, July 9, 1813, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVI, 311, 347.

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thirty miles south of Peoria on the "River de Sheesheequen" which has not been identified.<sup>77</sup> To dislodge the Potawatomi from Lake Peoria, Gen. Benjamin Howard marched north with the Missouri and Illinois Rangers on September 19, 1813. When the troops reached Peoria on September 28, the Indians had all abandoned their villages and fled in fear of the soldiers. Gen. Howard then constructed a strong military installation at the site of Peoria and named it Fort Clark. This show of power intimidated the Potawatomi and only minor disturbances occurred during the remainder of the War of 1812.<sup>78</sup>

During the first days of January in 1814, Black Partridge with ten of his warriors arrived at St. Louis and asked for peace with the Americans. He held a council with William Clark, offered six hostages for the good behavior of the Potawatomi, and appeared to be very humble. Clark accepted the hostages, read them the terms of peace,<sup>79</sup> and Black Partridge returned to Fort Clark at Peoria where there were thirty families of Potawatomi.<sup>80</sup> Gomo had his village at the north end of Lake Peoria and Forsyth reported that only Potawatomi were to be seen around Fort Clark, all the Kickapoo having withdrawn to live with the Sauk on Rock River.<sup>81</sup> These Potawatomi had become friendly with the garrison of Fort Clark and supplied the commander, Capt. Joseph Phillips, with game and fish which were used as provisions for the troops. When Black Hawk, the Sauk leader, visited Gomo, he discovered that these Potawatomi had made peace and wanted no more war.<sup>82</sup>

Main Poche's village remained thirty-six miles up the Fox River, but the chief himself was living at St. Joseph where he frequently visited the garrison at Detroit, undetected by the Americans who did not know that he was spying for the British. He had a group of forty

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<sup>77</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 95; Report of Auguste LaRoche and Louis Chevalier, St. Louis, Apr. 4, 1813, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 652.

<sup>78</sup> Benj. Howard to John Armstrong, St. Louis, Oct. 28, 1813, in *American Weekly Messenger*, I, 253-254 (Jan. 8, 1814); Wm. Clark to John G. Comegys, St. Louis, Nov. 20, 1813, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>79</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, VI, 12 (Mar. 5, 1814).

<sup>80</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 290.

<sup>81</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, Fort Clark, May 29, July 6, 1814, *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 318, 320.

<sup>82</sup> Unsigned MS. of 1814 in Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; Thos. Forsyth to Benj. Howard, Peoria, July 6, 1814, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVI, 446; Jackson, ed., *Black Hawk*, 87.

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Potawatomi with him.<sup>83</sup> In addition to the Potawatomi of St. Joseph, there were scattered bands living on the headwaters of the Kaskaskia River and upon the Kankakee. These groups caused some trouble during 1814 as did those living upon the Tippecanoe in Indiana.<sup>84</sup> There were also groups residing on the Aux Sable and at Milwaukee, and some Ottawa and Chippewa had villages just west of Lake Michigan, but the major part of the Chippewa were farther north near Green Bay. It was estimated that the Potawatomi in Illinois and surrounding territory numbered 1,200 warriors who were about equally divided in their loyalty. Forsyth went to Peoria in April in order to persuade the Potawatomi to make war upon the hostile Winnebago, but they replied that they had no powder. This was a wise decision since Edwards should not have encouraged them to engage in more fighting.<sup>85</sup>

Gov. Edwards claimed in 1815 that "the major part" of the Potawatomi were living within his territory, but this statement was made in order to get the Potawatomi annuities distributed from Kaskaskia.<sup>86</sup> Actually, there were numerous Potawatomi living between the St. Joseph and Grand rivers in Michigan under Chief Chebainse. Some Ottawa were also living in this area, while numerous Potawatomi were also located in Indiana where Five Medals had much influence. Of those residing upon the Kankakee, Bad Sturgeon was an important chief. But in the spring of 1815 Gomo (known also as Nasima) died and the position of head chief of the Illinois River Potawatomi devolved upon his brother, Senachwine (also called Petchaho); Black Partridge, however, continued to be recognized as the other principal chief, and his village was located on the northern end of Lake Peoria in May of 1815.<sup>87</sup>

Some trouble had occurred between the Illinois Rangers and the Potawatomi in November of 1814, but Thomas Forsyth was able to

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<sup>83</sup> Br. Report, York, Canada, May 14, 1814, *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XV, 553; Esarey, ed., *Wm. Henry Harrison*, II, 667.

<sup>84</sup> Ninian Edwards to Thos. Forsyth, Kaskaskia, Dec. 4, 1814, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; Esarey, ed., *Wm. Henry Harrison*, II, 667.

<sup>85</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 326, 333, 334; Ninian Edwards to Benj. Howard, Elvirade, Ill. Terr., June 15, 1814, Auto. Letters, XLIX, 151, Chicago Hist. Soc.; Ninian Edwards to Thos. Forsyth, Elvirade, Apr. 4, 1814, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>86</sup> Ninian Edwards to Sec. of War, Kaskaskia, Mar. 8, 1815, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVII, 145.

<sup>87</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XVI, 87, XXIII, 469; Thos. Forsyth to James Monroe, St. Louis, Apr. 13, 1815, Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, May 30, 1815, *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 336-339, XIII, 96.

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restore good feelings among the Indians the following spring.<sup>88</sup> To confirm their friendship with the United States, a delegation of Potawatomi from the Illinois journeyed down to the Portage des Sioux (a point on the Mississippi, nine miles north of the Missouri River's mouth) where they signed a treaty of peace on July 18, 1815. Senachwine, Black Partridge (also called by his Indian name Mucketepoke<sup>89</sup> or by the French translation Perdrix Noir), Neggeneshkek, Chawcawbeme, Bendegakewa, Wapewy (White Hair), and Ontawa represented their nation.<sup>90</sup> A few weeks later, this friendly attitude of the Potawatomi disappeared when they learned that their lands along the Illinois had been ceded by the Sauk and Fox to the United States in 1804. Black Partridge appeared at Fort Clark on September 1 and announced that the Potawatomi had just learned "for the first time that the [Sauk] at a treaty held some time since with one of your chiefs, we know not where, and without our Knowledge, sold to the Americans all the lands or chiefly all lying on this River the Principal Hunting ground of our Nation." He declared vehemently that the Illinois River had never belonged to the Sauk and an inquiry would prove this statement. Although the Black Partridge admitted that at the present the Potawatomi were not numerous along the Illinois because of the late war, he disclosed that soon there would be 500 or 700 families in this region.<sup>91</sup>

What had happened in the Sauk and Fox cession of 1804 was a frequent occurrence in regard to Indian land sales; one tribe was always willing to sell another's land and the whites were willing to permit the practice. William Clark informed the secretary of war that when the surveyors moved in to divide the land west of the Illinois River, trouble was likely to develop.<sup>92</sup> And the Potawatomi chiefs announced that anybody with surveying instruments would be prohibited from entering their lands that year.<sup>93</sup> Forsyth confirmed this attitude of the Indians and further concluded that the Potawatomi could not sell this

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<sup>88</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, St. Louis, Apr. 15, 1815, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>89</sup> Also spelled Mackelapucky.

<sup>90</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 123.

<sup>91</sup> Speech of Black Partridge at Peoria, Sept. 1, 1815, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVII, 227-228.

<sup>92</sup> Wm. Clark and others to Wm. H. Crawford, St. Louis, Oct. 18, 1815, in *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 10.

<sup>93</sup> John McDonald to Edward Tiffin, Portage des Sioux, Mo. Terr., Oct. 29, 1815, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVII, 234-235.

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area without the consent of the Ottawa and Chippewa who had prior claim to it.<sup>94</sup> Black Partridge's estimate of the number of Potawatomi who would return to the Illinois proved correct, for when they passed down the Illinois for their winter hunt in the fall of 1815, Capt. Joseph Phillips at Fort Clark counted between 600 and 700 hunters, each of whom probably was the provider for a family.<sup>95</sup> This number of Potawatomi men would indicate that there was a movement from the eastern settlements to the Illinois, and it is known that Potawatomi from Michigan were moving to Chicago as well as to the Illinois and Fox rivers.<sup>96</sup>

A report of trade with the Indians in 1816 shows the Potawatomi and Kickapoo to be living along the Illinois and on the prairies east of it; the Chicago and Milwaukee regions also contained large numbers of the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa confederacy.<sup>97</sup> It seems that the Potawatomi and Kickapoo were living together at this time in central Illinois. Thomas Forsyth reported that he had encountered eight lodges of Potawatomi and Kickapoo along the Illinois and among the group was Main Poche who had lost both hearing and health because of his intemperate use of alcohol.<sup>98</sup>

Since "The Three Fires" objected strongly to the Sauk and Fox land sales of 1804, measures had to be taken to secure the permission of the former in order to survey the area north of the Illinois, commonly known as the Military Bounty Tract. Commissioners were appointed and the Indians were summoned to St. Louis where 400 men, women, and children of the Potawatomi, Chippewa, Ottawa, Kickapoo, and Sauk nations gathered in August of 1816.<sup>99</sup> After receiving the promise of annuities, "The Three Fires" agreed to the cession of their lands made years before by the Sauk and Fox and further ceded their lands in northern Illinois to the United States on August 24. By the terms of the treaty, the Potawatomi and their allies were allowed to hunt and fish on these lands "so long as it may continue to be the property of the United States." Perhaps the Indians did not realize that

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<sup>94</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, St. Louis, Dec. 8, 1815, in *ibid.*, XVII, 259-260.

<sup>95</sup> Ninian Edwards to Sec. of War, Kaskaskia, Mar. 20, 1816, in *ibid.*, XVII, 319.

<sup>96</sup> John Kinzie to Lewis Cass, Detroit, July 15, 1815, in *ibid.*, XVII, 201.

<sup>97</sup> Memorandum, St. Louis, Oct. 15, 1816, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>98</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, St. Louis, Mar. 31, 1816, in *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 345.

<sup>99</sup> *Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), Aug. 21, 1816.



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as soon as private citizens purchased the land it would no longer belong to the United States government according to the interpretation given this phrase by the federal officials. Among the many signers for "The Three Fires" were Black Partridge, Senachwine, Black Bird, Bendegakewa, Pemasaw (Walker), Ontawa, Shabbona, Ignatius (brother of Senachwine). Present also were several Kickapoo chiefs together with Quashquame (Jumping Fish), who represented the Sauk nation, Capi-toi, a Fox chief, and Kettle, the principal war chief of the Fox nation.<sup>100</sup> Following this peaceful settlement of the land question, Stephen H. Long was sent up the Illinois River in search of a suitable position for a new fort. Although Gomo was dead, the village where he had lived still carried his name and Long found it just north of Lake Peoria, 230 miles above the Illinois River mouth.<sup>101</sup>

During the 1820's the Potawatomi continued to reside along the Kankakee, around the southern tip of Lake Michigan as far north as Milwaukee on the west and the St. Joseph River on the east, and along the Illinois River. An estimate of the Potawatomi in the Chicago area in 1820 was 1,000 to 1,500. After their earlier differences with the Americans, the Potawatomi by this time were friendly and those along the Illinois were urged by a medicine man called Menominee to live moral lives and forsake alcohol.<sup>102</sup> There was a large village of Potawatomi on the Illinois River west of the mouth of the Kankakee in 1821 and another southeast of Chicago on the Kankakee, sixty miles from Chicago. A third, containing many Chippewa, was situated at the confluence of the Little Calumet and Grand Calumet near Chicago.<sup>103</sup> The group living east of Lake Michigan ceded their lands in Michigan to the United States at Chicago on August 29, 1821, and the treaty was signed by Meta and others. Our government at this time obtained the right to build a road from Detroit through Fort Wayne and on to Chicago.<sup>104</sup> Metea (Kiss Me) was the principal chief of the village called Muskwawasepeotan (Town of the Old Red Wood Creek) which

<sup>100</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 146-148.

<sup>101</sup> Stephen H. Long to Thos. A. Smith, St. Louis, Sept. 15, 1816, *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLVII, 418 (Winter, 1954).

<sup>102</sup> Wm. Clark to John C. Calhoun, St. Louis, Feb. 20, 1821, John C. Calhoun to Richard Graham, Washington, Apr. 28, 1820, National Archives; Morse, *Report on Indian Affairs*, app. 103; McCoy, *Hist. of Baptist Indian Missions*, 95.

<sup>103</sup> "Journal, Indiana-Illinois Boundary, May 15-July 30, 1821," Robertson and Riker, eds., *John Tipton Papers*, I, 263, 266, 273. The Potawatomi called the Kankakee "Tioakakee."

<sup>104</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 218-221.

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was located nine miles above Fort Wayne on the St. Joseph River, not to be confused with the river of the same name which flows into Lake Michigan.<sup>105</sup>

When Major Long's expedition reached Illinois in 1823, he estimated that there were 1,200 Potawatomi living in this state. At Chicago he talked with Chief Alexander Robinson, who was half Chippewa, and learned that the Indians of this area were greatly mixed: Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi. They had formed a confederation with the Kickapoo of Illinois who numbered 600 persons; the total Potawatomi population around Lake Michigan and vicinity was said to be 2,500. Their western boundary was the Rock River and their eastern, the Wabash. To the south, they claimed the Illinois River for a distance of 200 miles. Long left Chicago on June 11 and moved west to the Des Plaines where the party forded the river, probably near Riverside, and found another village of Potawatomi on the east bank. Near the mouth of the Kishwaukee River in July, Long discovered another settlement of Potawatomi, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Menominee under a Potawatomi chief.<sup>106</sup>

"The Three Fires" continued to live along the Illinois in 1824 although reserves had been established for them north of the state boundary. Some of their villages remained near Peoria and their principal chiefs were Senachwine (leader of the confederacy), White Dog (a Chippewa), and Shabbona (an Ottawa).<sup>107</sup> For several years the Sauk, Fox, and Sioux had been fighting the Chippewa who lived in the region near Lake Superior and on August 19, 1825, the United States assembled delegates of these nations at Prairie du Chien for a treaty of peace. Although there had been little trouble along the Illinois River, "The Three Fires" requested that their representatives from Illinois be present, and among the signers were Shabbona, for the Ottawa, and Ignatius, for the Potawatomi.<sup>108</sup> And these Indians continued to live close to Peoria (one village was twenty miles north of the

<sup>105</sup> Keating, *Expedition to St. Peter's River*, I, 88.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 124, 169-170, 171, 173, 181.

<sup>107</sup> Wm. Clark to John C. Calhoun, St. Louis, May 10, 1824, in *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLVI, 143-144 (Summer, 1953); Louise Barry, ed., "William Clark's Diary: May, 1826-Feb., 1831," *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, XVI, 14 (Feb., 1948); Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Apr. 9, 1825, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>108</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 272-277. For a biography of Shabbona, see Wayne C. Temple, "Shabbona: Friend of the Whites," *Outdoors in Illinois*, IV, No. 2, 18-23 (Fall-Winter, 1957).

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town) even though settlers were moving into the area. Senachwine informed Peter Menard, Jr., on November 9, 1827, that there were numerous Potawatomi on the Illinois, and the following year there were some skirmishes with the whites on Spoon River. But when spring came in 1828, the Potawatomi did not return to their villages near Fort Clark (Peoria); perhaps they had moved farther north to the Fox River and vicinity. By 1829 there was much talk of removing the remaining Indians from Illinois (estimated to be 5,900), and the Potawatomi became excited. Metea obtained a pass on April 29 from John Tipton, the agent at the mouth of the Eel River in Indiana, to visit with the Sauk on Rock River, and on June 8 Keokuk with twenty of his Sauk left Rock Island to return the visit. Keokuk had absented himself from the group which had declared to the Indian agent at Rock Island in May that the Sauk would never leave Illinois and that the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Kickapoo would assist them in fighting the whites. Keokuk, it would seem, was now trying to pour oil upon the troubled waters and prevent the Potawatomi and their allies from joining the foolish Black Hawk band.<sup>109</sup>

"The Three Fires" along the Illinois had received their last annuity payment for their land in 1828 and a year later were barely able to exist. Then the governor directed that they be removed from Illinois immediately and William Clark pleaded for assistance to help them. On November 8, 1829, Senachwine and Shabbona talked to the Indian agent at Peoria and the latter complained that the whites had driven him from his villages on Spoon River and called him a "no good Indian."<sup>110</sup> Shabbona, a truly great leader, spoke not for himself but for his people since a few months earlier, at the treaty of Prairie du Chien (July 29, 1829), he had been given a tract of land at his village near Paw Paw Grove as had another chief, Waubonsee.

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<sup>109</sup> Wm. Clark to Peter Menard, Jr., St. Louis, Nov. 2, 1827, copy in Gov. Corr., Ill. State Archives; Speech of Senachwine to Peter Menard, Jr., at Peoria, Nov. 9, 1827, Exec. File, *ibid.*; Tom McNeale to Gov., Springfield, May 18, 1828, Gov. Corr., *ibid.*; Wm. Clark to Ninian Edwards, St. Louis, May 26, 1828, Gov. Corr., *ibid.*; agent at Chicago to Wm. Clark, Chicago, May 12, 1828, Gov. Corr., *ibid.*; *North Am. Rev.*, XXX, 62 (Jan. 1830); pass for Metea, Apr. 29, 1829, pass for Keokuk, June 8, 1829, John Tipton to Thos. Forsyth, near Logansport, Ind., June 26, 1829, Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, June 7, 1829, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, May 22, 1829, copy in Gov. Corr., Ill. State Archives.

<sup>110</sup> Wm. Clark to J. H. Eaton, St. Louis, Nov. 23, 1829, together with the speeches of Senachwine and Shabbona, photo. in Wm. Clark Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.

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This treaty confirmed the sale of the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa lands from the Rock River to Chicago.<sup>111</sup>

Since the Potawatomi had moved farther north by 1830, William Clark asked that these groups be attached to the Chicago agency, but Peter Menard, Jr., the agent at Peoria, spoke in favor of moving the agency to the Rock River where many of their villages were.<sup>112</sup> Menard reported that there were 857 Indians in his agency: Capt. Hill's village on Spoon River, 83 persons; Senachwine at "Marias d'Prioux," 210; White Bird at Paw Paw Grove, 293; Shickshack, at Somonauk on Fox River and Illinois River, 171; Waubonsee on Illinois and Fox, 100. No mention was made of Shabbona unless he was known to Menard as White Bird. In the Chicago agency "The Three Fires" numbered approximately 2,000.<sup>113</sup> After considering Menard's proposal, Clark requested that the Peoria agency be transferred to the Rock River in order to encourage the Indians to leave the Illinois.<sup>114</sup> From their Illinois River villages, the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa hunted down upon the Sangamon River among the white settlers, and William Clark held a meeting with their chiefs at St. Louis on November 2, 4 and 5, 1831, in an attempt to solve the problem. Chose-que-mong, Mauntay, and Shabbona appeared for the confederation although Senachwine was still the principal chief of the Illinois River groups. These delegates to the conference agreed to move their followers to the Rock River in the spring of 1832.<sup>115</sup> During the winter of 1831-1832, however, it was reported that there were 100 Potawatomi hunting in the Illinois River bottom lands from the mouth of Spoon River to Copperas Creek.<sup>116</sup>

With the start of the Black Hawk War in 1832, the citizens of Illinois distrusted all Indians and feared an uprising of the Potawatomi. But when Black Hawk visited the Winnebago and Potawatomi villages in an effort to win them over to his cause, he met with scant suc-

<sup>111</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 320-322.

<sup>112</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Sept. 15, 1830, Peter Menard, Jr. to Wm. Clark, Peoria, Nov. 1, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>113</sup> Peter Menard, Jr., to Wm. Clark, Peoria, Nov. 12, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>114</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, Washington, Jan. 28, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>115</sup> Reports in *Sen. Doc. No. 512*, I, 701-702, II, 703-705 (23rd Cong., 1st sess.); Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Aug. 11, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>116</sup> Isaiah Stillman to the Gov., Canton (Fulton Co.), Ill., Jan. 4, 1832, Gov. Corr., Ill. State Archives.

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cess.<sup>117</sup> Yet, Governor John Reynolds insisted that the Potawatomi were allied to the Sauk and would fight with them. In order to protect his friendly Potawatomi, Thomas J. V. Owen, the Indian agent at Chicago, called in many of his charges who were being hunted down by both whites and Sauk. On June 5 Owen replied to Reynolds that the Potawatomi were not only helping the whites but also fighting the Sauk. Fifty Potawatomi and twenty-five whites, under the command of Capt. J. B. Beaubien of Chicago, had been scouting the countryside for hostile Sauk.<sup>118</sup> Shabbona offered to lead 100 of his braves against the Sauk, but the militia officers at Chicago refused his proposition and he journeyed to Dixon with forty warriors to offer his services on June 20.<sup>119</sup> Finally, the authorities at Chicago allowed the great chief of "The Three Fires" in Illinois, Billy Caldwell (Sauganash), to organize a company of Potawatomi. Caldwell, past fifty years of age at the time, was half Potawatomi and half white.<sup>120</sup> His Potawatomi company left Chicago on June 22 and joined the United States forces at Ottawa on the 29th. Here, Shabbona joined the group which was composed of ninety-five members of "The Three Fires" and included twenty chiefs, among whom were Alexander Robinson and Waubonsee. Most of the band, however, were discharged from the Army on July 22, before the final battles were fought. But Billy Caldwell, Waubonsee, Shabbona, and Perish Le Clair remained with the troops and served in various capacities with much honor.<sup>121</sup> Another loyal chief of the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa confederacy was White Crow (Kau-ree-kaw-see-kaw) who traded with John Dixon on the Rock River and charged his purchases to the United States government, indicating that he was serving the Army in some capacity.<sup>122</sup> Some of these Indians served as messengers between the various military units since they knew the surrounding countryside so well.

Just why "The Three Fires" of Illinois were so anxious to fight

<sup>117</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, May 8, 1832, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>118</sup> T. J. V. Owen to S. Mason, Chicago, June 17, 1832, National Archives; *Randolph Free Press* (Kaskaskia), July 23, 1832.

<sup>119</sup> Letter of T. J. V. Owen, Chicago, June 5, 1832, in *Randolph Free Press* (Kaskaskia), July 23, 1832.

<sup>120</sup> Billy Caldwell to Thos. Forsyth, Chicago, Apr. 8, 1832, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>121</sup> Muster Book of Lt. Robert Anderson, MS., Ill. State Hist. Lib.; *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), June 21, 1832.

<sup>122</sup> John Dixon's Account Books, in William D. Barge, *Early Lee County* (Chicago, 1918), 74.

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against Black Hawk's Sauk and Fox is unknown. Perhaps they wished to gain revenge for the many attacks made upon the Chippewa by the Sauk and Fox in previous years. Then too, the families of the warriors who fought with the Army were supplied with food by the government and many of these Indians were destitute and starving. Soon after the end of the Black Hawk War, the Potawatomi of the Illinois River, known as the Prairie group, and the Potawatomi of the Kankakee ceded their lands along the Kankakee, Illinois, and Fox rivers to the United States on October 20, 1832. At this time the government was grateful to the Potawatomi for their fine service during the war and stipulated that in consideration of this they would be permitted to hunt and fish on the ceded land as well as the countryside bordering the Wabash and Sangamon rivers "so long as the same shall remain the property of the United States." The treaty was signed by Shabbona, Shaytee, Masco, and others.<sup>123</sup>

A short time after this treaty, rumors reached central Illinois that the Potawatomi were restless and committing depredations in the northern part of the state. It was said that they had burned the bridge over Winnebago Inlet on the road to Galena and destroyed fences at Dixon. Other reports blamed them for the murder of white settlers or accused them of forming an alliance with the Winnebago for war.<sup>124</sup> Illinois' white population was nervous after the alarming encounter with Black Hawk, and the state officials were seeking an excuse for removing the remaining Indians from the state. Accordingly, the governor ordered the Potawatomi out of Illinois and sent a representative to Hennepin, near Senachwine Lake, where his message was delivered to the Indians on December 3, 1832.<sup>125</sup> As a result of this ultimatum from the governor, 200 Potawatomi belonging to the so-called Prairie Band immediately left Illinois before the month was out. They settled within fifteen miles of Logansport, Indiana, and asked the federal government to remove them to an area west of the Mississippi in the spring of 1833. There were two chiefs among this band, one of whom was called Qui-qui-to.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*. VII, 378-380.

<sup>124</sup> *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), Nov. 17, 1832; *Illinois Patriot* (Jacksonville), Dec. 8, 1832.

<sup>125</sup> Report in Exec. File, Ill. State Archives.

<sup>126</sup> *Sen. Doc. No. 512*, IV, 135-137 (23rd Cong., 1st sess.).

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Those Potawatomi living on the Des Plaines, Kankakee, and other rivers in the vicinity of Lake Michigan remained at their villages even though many of the Prairie Band had left Illinois.<sup>127</sup> It now became a problem for the federal government to remove the remaining groups of "The Three Fires." As early as July of 1803, Thomas Jefferson had grappled with the difficult question of Indian removal. He had proposed a constitutional amendment which would allow the government to force the Indians beyond the Mississippi by exchanging lands with them, and the purchase of the Louisiana Territory that year made the scheme feasible.<sup>128</sup> It was not until 1830, however, that a law was placed in the statute books which gave the president authority to exchange lands with the Indians and force them west of the Mississippi.<sup>129</sup> Using this act, the federal officials called the confederated Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa to Chicago for a final cession of their lands in 1833. After years of living together, the three tribes had become so intermixed that it was nearly impossible to differentiate the three components.<sup>130</sup> In September these Indians began to assemble for the treaty, and one traveler reported that he found the first encampment five miles from Chicago and estimated that there were 5,000 Indians in the vicinity. Rations were being supplied to the braves and their families by the government and every night there was dancing and celebration in the encampments which dotted the countryside.<sup>131</sup>

The first treaty was concluded on September 26 and it stipulated that in return for their lands around Lake Michigan "The Three Fires" were to receive five million acres west of the Mississippi. A second treaty was signed the following day which declared that these Indians would move west within three years and would leave Illinois as soon as the treaty was ratified by Congress. There was a provision for an exploring party to be sent west to examine the new lands set aside for "The Three Fires" and another article stated that these Indians might live north of the Illinois boundary until the time limit of three years had expired. As it happened, however, the treaty was not ratified

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<sup>127</sup> Chas. Reed to John Reynolds, Vandalia, Feb. 10, 1833, Exec. File, Ill. State Archives.

<sup>128</sup> Paul L. Ford, ed., *Works of Thomas Jefferson* (N. Y., 1905), X, 6-7.

<sup>129</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IV, 411-412.

<sup>130</sup> John Dean Caton, "The Last of the Illinois, and a Sketch of the Pottawattomies," *The Past and Present of La Salle County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1877), 213.

<sup>131</sup> Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America 1832-1833* (N. Y., 1835), II, 149, 151.

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until February 21, 1835, and their presence around Chicago caused little or no trouble. One of the officials present at the treaty exclaimed that the Indians were "thoroughly imbued with the spirit of emigration."<sup>132</sup> After the treaty council the Indians returned to their villages, one of which was observed in December of 1833 near Niles, Michigan and on the west bank of the St. Joseph River. At this site there were "several winter lodges" which housed 300 or 400 Potawatomi.<sup>133</sup>

To fulfil the terms of the 1833 treaty, Congress approved an appropriation of \$9,453 on March 3, 1835, for the expenses of an exploring party of fifty Potawatomi from the Chicago agency.<sup>134</sup> Capt. William Gordon, U. S. Army, was placed in charge of this expedition which consisted of several other white men and a group of Potawatomi of whom only Ma-chu-etah is mentioned. They drew their supplies from Capt. J. B. F. Russell on June 6, 1835, and apparently left soon afterward.<sup>135</sup> Gordon led the group, which included William Holiday, as far west as Fort Leavenworth before returning to Chicago. One section of the exploring party returned during the last week of August, but Gordon did not reach home until September 9.<sup>136</sup>

As early as May 25 some of the Potawatomi had gathered on the banks of the Des Plaines, about ten miles from Chicago, to await their removal west of the Mississippi, and by the middle of August the town of Chicago was crowded with Indians. The last annuity payment was scheduled to be paid to them on August 15, but the trade goods had not even arrived by the last of the month.<sup>137</sup> In the evenings the braves put on their paint and danced for the entertainment of themselves and the citizens of the growing town of Chicago.<sup>138</sup> Slowly, the arrangements were made for the removal of these Indians: Col. Thomas J. V. Owen, Indian agent at Chicago, was named superintendent and Capt.

<sup>132</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 431-433, 442, 445; T. Hartley Crawford to J. R. Poinsett, Washington, Feb. 6, 1839, George B. Porter to Lewis Cass, Chicago, Sept. 28, 1833, National Archives.

<sup>133</sup> Letter of Charles Fenno Hoffman, Door Prairie, Ind., Dec. 29, 1833, in *Fergus Hist. Ser. No. 20* (Chicago, 1882), 8-9.

<sup>134</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IV, 791.

<sup>135</sup> The first part of Capt. Gordon's Journal is missing.

<sup>136</sup> William Gordon, "Journal of Exploration West of the Mississippi, July 30 to September 12, 1835," M.S., National Archives; *Chicago American*, Aug. 29, 1835.

<sup>137</sup> Ellen Bigelow to her aunt, Peoria, Ill., June 27, 1835, in *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXII, 335-353 (July, 1929); *Chicago American*, Aug. 22, 29, 1835.

<sup>138</sup> Caton, "The Last of the Illinois, and a Sketch of the Pottawattomies," *Past and Present of La Salle County*, 219-223.



## POTAWATOMI, OTTAWA AND CHIPPEWA

J. B. F. Russell of the U. S. Army was appointed disbursing officer.<sup>139</sup> On September 9 Capt. Russell placed a notice in one of the local papers:

“WANTED FOR THE REMOVAL OF INDIANS.”

“From 10 to 40 Ox Teams. The waggons to be strong and well made, with good canvass or cotton covers, to keep everything within dry—to carry with it a bucket for tar or greese—to be supplied with an axe, or hatchet, hammer, and nails. Each waggon to have two yoke of Oxen, to carry 1500 lbs. if required, and to travel daily twenty miles, if necessary. A per diem allowance will be paid, commencing on the day the team is accepted, which will include all allowances, except to the teamsters, a pound of bread and meat will be issued and forage to the Oxen. This allowance to continue until the arrival of the party at the country allotted to the Indians west, and a day’s pay for each twenty miles for their return to Chicago. The United States will not be responsible for any accident that may accrue.—The teamsters are implicitly to obey all reasonable orders and directions from any government agents. No teamster under 18 years of age will be accepted. It is reserved to the government agent in charge of the party, to discharge a team at any time by allowing him his return pay as above stipulated. Proposals to be made to the subscriber, at his office, in Col. John H. Kinzie’s store, on or before the 19th of September.

J. B. F. Russell,  
Capt. U.S. Army, Military Disb’g Agent.  
Chicago, Sept. 9, 1835.”<sup>140</sup>

Christian B. Dodson, who had come to Chicago in August of 1833, received the contract to furnish transportation for the Potawatomi, and the wagon train left Chicago on September 21 for the rendezvous point on the Des Plaines River, twelve miles from Chicago. Four groups, under the leadership of Alexander Robinson, Billy Caldwell, Waubensee, and William Holiday, left the Des Plaines on September 28 and were assisted by Robert Kinzie and Gholson Kercheval. There were only 500 to 1,000 emigrants instead of the thousands anticipated; it seems that only the ones who had inhabited Illinois were willing to go west. The train proceeded west to Skunk River in Iowa where Patogushah was wintering with his band and they too joined the group

<sup>139</sup> T. Hartley Crawford to J. R. Poinsett, Washington, Feb. 6, 1839, National Archives.

<sup>140</sup> Chicago *Democrat*, Sept. 9, 1835.

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which was bound for a new reservation at Council Bluffs. However, when they reached a point in western Missouri, the Indians refused to go farther and settled there until removed by force in the summer of 1837.<sup>141</sup>

Actually, the federal authorities had not expected many of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi to move beyond the Mississippi in 1835 and had informed members of the American Fur Company that those of "The Three Fires" who lived in the vicinity of Milwaukee would not leave before 1836.<sup>142</sup> The Indian agent at Chicago, Col. Owen, died on October 15, 1835, soon after his charges had left, and Gholson Kercheval succeeded him.<sup>143</sup> This new agent was immediately beset with problems. It seems that many of the Indians who had been removed from the Chicago area soon returned, being discontent with their new lands.<sup>144</sup> Kercheval and Russell, in the spring of 1836, inaugurated another removal program which resulted in the transferring of 712 Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa to western Missouri where they joined their friends and likewise were taken to Council Bluffs the following year.<sup>145</sup> John Reynolds and other citizens of Illinois immediately asked that the garrison of Fort Dearborn be removed from Chicago since the threat of an Indian war was past.<sup>146</sup>

On July 4, 1837, Christian B. Dodson again signed a contract to furnish transportation for the removal of Potawatomi Indians from Chicago and vicinity, most of whom seem to have been living north of that place. This time the contract specified that horses were to be used on the wagons instead of oxen.<sup>147</sup> Col. Lewis H. Sands was named superintendent and Lt. J. T. Sprague served as disbursing officer for the removal of 479 members of "The Three Fires" confederacy.<sup>148</sup> Ten days after this contract was let to Dodson, the American Fur Com-

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<sup>141</sup> C. B. Dodson to Chicago Hist. Soc., Geneva, Ill., Oct. 24, 1879, Auto. Letters, XXII, 509, Chicago Hist. Soc.; *Chicago American*, Oct. 10, 1835; Journal of Russell, in Rufus Blanchard, *Hist. of Du Page County* (Chicago, 1882), 15-16; T. Hartley Crawford to J. R. Poinsett, Washington, Feb. 6, 1839, National Archives.

<sup>142</sup> Ramsey Crooks to Solomon Juneau, N. Y., Apr. 17, 1835, Am. Fur. Co. Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.

<sup>143</sup> *Chicago American*, Oct. 17, 1835.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1836.

<sup>145</sup> T. Hartley Crawford to J. R. Poinsett, Washington, Feb. 6, 1839, National Archives.

<sup>146</sup> W. L. D. Ewing, John Reynolds, William L. May to Pres. of U. S. [Chicago], Oct. 1, 1836, copy in Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>147</sup> Original contract between First Lt. E. S. Sibley and C. B. Dodson in Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>148</sup> T. Hartley Crawford to J. R. Poinsett, Washington, Feb. 6, 1839, National Archives.

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pany informed their agents that there would be no more opportunities for trade in the vicinity of Lake Michigan and terminated their activities there.<sup>149</sup> Another removal was made from Chicago in 1838 with Col. A. C. Pepper as superintendent and Lt. Sprague again serving as disbursing officer. This effort resulted in 151 Potawatomi being taken west and yet in 1839 there were still Potawatomi residing near Chicago!<sup>150</sup> Indiana also removed 859 Potawatomi in 1838, and this group made the long trek across Illinois where many of them had formerly lived and hunted in the beautiful prairie country along the Illinois River.<sup>151</sup>

At the Council Bluffs reservation in 1838, Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, a Jesuit, counted 2,000 Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa.<sup>152</sup> By 1846 there were two reservations for these people: Iowa and Kansas. In this year they also united and became known simply as the Potawatomi Nation and later were moved farther west to other reservations. In 1950 there were Potawatomi reservations in Kansas and Nebraska with a total population of 811.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Ramsey Crooks to John Lawe, N. Y., July 14, 1837, Am. Fur. Co. Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.

<sup>150</sup> T. Hartley Crawford to J. R. Poinsett, Washington, Feb. 6, 1839, National Archives.

<sup>151</sup> *House of Representatives Exec. Doc. No. 2, I, 437* (25th Cong., 3rd sess.).

<sup>152</sup> Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, S. J. (N. Y., 1905), I, 160.

<sup>153</sup> *Resident Population on Indian Reservations 1950* (Washington, n. d.), 7, 8.

## CHAPTER V

### KICKAPOO AND MASCOUTEN

According to the statements of a Kickapoo band now living in Mexico, their name in English translation means "Walking Indian."<sup>1</sup> The Kickapoo are of Algonquian stock and their language is very similar to Sauk and Fox and but slightly different from Shawnee. Several Miami Indians told one investigator that the Kickapoo were originally a part of the Shawnee group until they separated and then associated, to some degree, with the Miami. Chief Wah-bal-lo, a Fox Indian, related in 1820 that the Kickapoo were related to the Sauk and Fox by language and that the manners and customs of the three nations were alike.<sup>2</sup>

The Mascouten have long been a problem to the historian, anthropologist, and ethnologist because: the early explorers or missionaries misunderstood their name; they frequently lived or associated with other tribes; and they signed no treaties with the United States where a study of their names and language could be made. One Jesuit reported in 1669 that the Mascoutens' name meant "Nation of Fire," but the following year another priest corrected this report and translated the word as meaning "a treeless country." He explained that "mascouten" had been misunderstood and confused with another word which meant fire.<sup>3</sup> Later, a Miami confirmed the second priest's translation and declared that in the Mascouten tongue "m'skoataa" is a prairie while "skoataa" is fire. The Mascouten, said this Miami informant, were a division of the Kickapoo and were known as the "People of the Prairie."<sup>4</sup> But Alanson Skinner, who based his conclusion mostly upon the translation of "mascouten" as fire, insisted that the Mascouten were merely the Prairie Potawatomi since the latter's

<sup>1</sup> Dick Cassidy and Frederick Peterson, "American Indians in Mexico," *Mexico City Collegian*, Apr. 20, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Truman Michelson, "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," *Ann. Report of Bureau Am. Ethnology 1906-1907*, 252, 1929-1930. 3; Kinietz, ed., *Meearmear Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge*. 2; Maj. M. Marston to Jedediah Morse, Fort Armstrong, Nov., 1820, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>3</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIV, 227, LV, 199.

<sup>4</sup> Kinietz, ed., *Meearmear Traditions*, 4, 69.

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name also meant "Nation of Fire."<sup>5</sup> Dr. Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin and her associates in the Great Lakes-Ohio Valley Research Project at Indiana University have completed the most recent and thorough study of this problem and report that the language of the Mascouten was understood by the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo group whereas Potawatomi is much different from these three dialects. Therefore, they conclude, "if the Mascouten were linked with anyone during their known history, they were linked with the Kickapoo."<sup>6</sup> It was said by the early Jesuits that the Mascouten also understood the Illini tongue—probably as a result of their association with the Miami while in Wisconsin.<sup>7</sup>

Jean Nicolet referred to the Mascouten in 1634 and located them near what is thought to be the present town of Berlin, Wisconsin, in the Fox River Valley.<sup>8</sup> About 1657 the Jesuits said that the Mascouten were a three days' journey by water from Green Bay, and in 1669 they were placed near the Miami. At this same time, the Kickapoo were living within four leagues of the Fox Indians and in the same general area. By 1670 the Jesuits had discovered that the Mascouten and the Miami were living together in a palisaded village which numbered 3,000 persons, of whom 400 were warriors.<sup>9</sup> Thus it can be seen how the Mascouten obtained a working knowledge of the Miami language which is nearly the same as that of the Illini. Probably because of the close connection between the Mascouten and Miami at this time, confusion arose in one instance concerning the identity of a chief named Monso. He came to Lake Peoria in January of 1680 and La Salle said that he was a Miami chief while Father Membré called him a Mascouten chief.<sup>10</sup> La Salle also declared on August 22, 1682, that the Illiniwek had previously forced the Miami north into the country of the Mascouten.<sup>11</sup>

A Jesuit map, included with the reports of 1670-1671, showed the Mascouten on the Fox River southwest of Lake Winnebago, and

<sup>5</sup> "The Mascouten or Prairie Potawatomi Indians," *Bull. Public Museum City of Milwaukee*, VI, No. 1 (Nov. 10, 1924).

<sup>6</sup> Wheeler-Voegelin, Baerreis, Wycoco-Moore, "Report of Royce Area 148," 167, MS., Rayle House, Indiana Univ.

<sup>7</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 237.

<sup>8</sup> John J. Wood, Jr., "The Mascoutin Village," *Proc. State Hist. Soc. Wis.* 1906, 167-174.

<sup>9</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, XLIV, 247, LIV, 207, 229, 233, LV, 199-201.

<sup>10</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 97; Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration*, 99. Membré spelled the name "Monsoela."

<sup>11</sup> Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 215-216.

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Father Allouez, who was at the Saint Jacques mission here in August of 1672, said that there were fifty large lodges of Mascouten, thirty of Kickapoo, and numerous Miami as well as some Illini near his chapel. The following year, Marquette is said to have found the Mascouten, Kickapoo, and Miami at this same location.<sup>12</sup> Near the southern tip of Lake Michigan in 1674 there were eight or nine lodges of Mascouten who were hunting in this area.<sup>13</sup> Soon after this time, it would appear that the Mascouten were breaking up into various groups and living with their allies. In 1679 La Salle and Hennepin visited a group of Mascouten, Miami, and Wea near the portage from the St. Joseph to the Kankakee and in the same year there were Mascouten and Fox villages in the vicinity of Lake Winnebago or Green Bay.<sup>14</sup>

Although the Kickapoo were said to be a small nation and living in the neighborhood of the Winnebago, they were migrating down into the Illinois Country to hunt game or enemies in 1680. In October of that year some Kickapoo killed Father Gabriel below the junction of the Illinois and Kankakee rivers, and La Salle discovered during the following month that a party of 200 had camped at the mouth of the Iroquois River. Upon reaching Starved Rock in December, La Salle observed that this same party of Kickapoo had moved into the Illini village (which had been destroyed by the Iroquois in September) and rebuilt the houses after their own manner of construction. Some Mascouten had also moved south in 1680 and were seen near the Chicago portage and also at the Milwaukee River with a band of Fox. The area along the Chicago River was pointed out two years later as being the country of the Mascouten.<sup>15</sup>

About the year 1683 the Iroquois made an attack upon the Mascouten who were in the Lake Michigan area and carried off a number of them as prisoners. The remainder of the Mascouten and Kickapoo fled to escape further slaughter although the Fox were induced by the Iroquois to remain where they were. Perhaps this attack marks the beginning of their migration into the Illinois Country since the Franquelin map of 1684 shows the Rock River of Illinois as the River of

<sup>12</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LV, map facing 94; LVIII, 21-23, LIX, 99-101.

<sup>13</sup> Marquette's last letter to Claude Dablon, *Bull. Chicago Hist. Soc.*, II, 73 (Mar., 1937).

<sup>14</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 77; Shea, ed., *Description of Louisiana*, 140; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXI, 155.

<sup>15</sup> Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration*, 154, 162; Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 161, 209, 221, 227; Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, II, 174, 187.

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the Kickapoo. Minet's map of 1685 also places the Kickapoo here, and Homan's map of 1687 shows the Mascouten to be between the Rock River and the Wisconsin. Coronelli's map, drawn the following year, indicates that the Mascouten were living south of the Wisconsin and gives a clue to the identity of this elusive nation. They were, said Coronelli, a group composed of Mascouten, Miami, and Kickapoo.<sup>16</sup>

Tonti stated that the Kickapoo and Mascouten were fifteen leagues inland from the Mississippi, near the Wisconsin River, and in 1690 there were still some Mascouten on the Chicago River. Five years later Cadillac reported that the Kickapoo and Mascouten were west of Lake Michigan's southern tip where they were able to hide from the Iroquois. Father Julien Binneteau said in January of 1699 that the Kickapoo had migrated south near the country of the Illini in order to raise better corn. There were still some Kickapoo living above the Wisconsin in 1700, but by this time they and the Mascouten had become acquainted with the Michigamea and joined them in war upon the Iowa. Since the Iliniwék had abandoned their northern lands, the Kickapoo and Mascouten were moving into the vicinity of the Illinois River and its tributaries by 1702. In this year, D'Iberville related that the Kickapoo and Mascouten could muster 450 warriors and they sometimes attacked French canoes on the Mississippi although their main purpose was to catch beaver which they sold at Green Bay or to traders in the Illinois Country. For a time, the Mascouten had a village near the mouth of the Ohio, but the missionaries could not convert them even though they understood the Illini language.<sup>17</sup>

It seems reasonable to suppose that the Kickapoo and Mascouten used the Illinois Country more as a hunting area than as a permanent habitat since in 1703 these two tribes still had villages on the Fox River near De Pere, Wisconsin. Two years later they were along the Wisconsin River and numbered approximately 400 braves. Some of these Mascouten seem to have joined the Miami on the Wabash before 1711 and the following year a group also joined the Fox at Detroit

<sup>16</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 112; Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 61; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXIII, frontispiece; Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plate VII, Homan map in *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, IV, 158 (July, 1911); Coronelli map of 1688, Harvard College Lib.

<sup>17</sup> Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 276; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 145; Quaife, ed., *Memoirs of Cadillac*, 71; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 69, LXVI, 237; statement of D'Iberville on board the *Renommée*, June 20, 1702, in Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV, 597-605, VI, 70, 72-73.

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where they and the Fox were nearly all destroyed. There was also a settlement of Kickapoo on the mouth of the Maumee River and thirty Mascouten moved there, probably for defense against the angry French. Soon after 1712 the Kickapoo and Mascouten withdrew to the Illinois Country and again settled upon the Rock River where they continued their war with the Illini.<sup>18</sup>

The White Robe is said to have been the principal chief of the Kickapoo in 1720 and their country, as well as that of the Mascouten, was between the Fox and the Illinois rivers. But on September 15, 1720, two Mascouten chiefs appeared at the St. Joseph River and asked permission to live near the Potawatomi, saying that they could no longer live in peace with the Fox. In May of the following year some Mascouten, together with a group of Kickapoo led by the White Robe, established a village on the St. Joseph. Their hunting grounds seem to have been down the Wabash although these tribes wandered about from one region to another, as did most of the other neighboring tribes. Pierre François Vaudreuil, writing on Oct. 11, 1723, declared that the Mascouten had been incorporated into the Fox tribe, indicating that the former had moved toward the Mississippi again, and by October of 1728 both the Kickapoo and Mascouten were living just north of the Illini on the Mississippi River. The center of their activities was the Rock River where the Kickapoo chiefs Pechicamengoa and White Robe had established villages. During the year 1728 the Fox killed a few Kickapoo and a rupture occurred between these two tribes, enabling the French to deal severely with the Fox who were now largely without allies. The Kickapoo, greatly enraged, sprung upon the Fox, killed two of their great chiefs (Pemoussa and Chichippa), and made peace with the Illini. It appears that some of the Mascouten had also abandoned the Fox, for by 1729 they were again allies of the Kickapoo and aiding the French, whom they had previously fought against.<sup>19</sup>

Both the Kickapoo and Mascouten were living in the area between the Illinois and Rock rivers in 1730,<sup>20</sup> but during the winter of 1734-

<sup>18</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, I, 221; Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV, 592; Rowland and Godfrey, eds., *Mississippi Prov. Archives: Fr.*, III, 162; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 268, 275, 285, 288, 301, 377; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 889.

<sup>19</sup> Vaudreuil to Council, Quebec, Oct. 6, 1721, Paris Archives; "Reflections on letter of M. Perier," Aug. 15, 1729, MS., Chicago Hist. Soc.; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVI, 398, 429, 434, 461, XVII, 38, 41, 44, 61; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXVIII, 207-209; Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, II, 644; Charlevoix, *Journal*, I, 271, II, 92, 184.

<sup>20</sup> Henry Popple map of 1730, Harvard College Lib.



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1735 at least some of the Kickapoo and Mascouten moved back to the Wabash and settled within six leagues of Ouiatanon (a post which was near the present city of Lafayette, Indiana). However, the Kickapoo and Mascouten did not "harmonize" with the Wea who were settled there.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the newcomers remained near Ouiatanon and the French made an unsuccessful attempt to settle them on the mouth of the Tennessee River as a buffer against the Cherokee in 1736.<sup>22</sup> It is evident that at this time there was a split in the Kickapoo and Mascouten tribes because in 1736 there were eighty Kickapoo braves and sixty Mascouten still on the Fox River—either in Illinois or Wisconsin.<sup>23</sup> But in April of 1741 those Mascouten who had been living in the direction of the Wisconsin River arrived at Ouiatanon and joined the Mascouten chief already there. These new arrivals filled eight lodges and it appears that all the Mascouten were now together, but no mention is made of the other Kickapoo group taking part in this migration.<sup>24</sup>

Although they expressed a desire to leave the Wea and settle in the "meadow of the Maskoutins" in 1742,<sup>25</sup> the Kickapoo remained at Ouiatanon and two years later the French again attempted to settle them on the Ohio River. By 1746 they finally agreed to move to the projected fort on the Ohio, but no evidence has been found which indicates that they actually moved there.<sup>26</sup> As the French became more interested in these tribes, mention is made of their chiefs and in 1746 several are identified. Among the Mascouten were Le Temps Clair (Unclouded Weather); his brother, Pacanne (Pecan); La Noix (Walnut); Le Brave (Brave One); Mirraquoist; and La Mauvais Jambe (Bad Leg). The last two were war chiefs and La Mauvais Jambe was in charge of thirty warriors. Chiefs of the Kickapoo were Deux Visages Plats (Two Flat Faces); Mainbas (Bad Hand); and Le Petit Bonheur (Little Good Luck).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 147, 185; De Bienville to Minister, June 21, 1737, in Dunn, "The Mission on the Ouabache," *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, III, 312 (1902).

<sup>22</sup> Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, I, 327-328, III, 749.

<sup>23</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, IX, 1055.

<sup>24</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 149, 191.

<sup>25</sup> This meadow was perhaps in the vicinity of the Kankakee River.

<sup>26</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 382; Vaudreuil Letter Books (Aug. 30, 1744, Feb. 6, 1746), MS., Henry E. Huntington Lib.

<sup>27</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 203.

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Envoys from the Kickapoo and Mascouten visited the French at Montreal on April 24, 1748, but it is not stated where their villages were.<sup>28</sup> Unless they were from the Wisconsin, their homes were on the Wabash since it is known that the Kickapoo settlements remained along this river for many years. The Wabash Kickapoo had established a village at Terre Haute, Indiana, but in 1752 the French called them back to Ouiatanon in order to make the Wea jealous and secure their return from the British-controlled areas along the Ohio. Other Kickapoo were allied to the Sauk and Fox who remained on the Wisconsin and made raids upon the Illini.<sup>29</sup> As a result of the French and Indian War, the British assumed control of Post Ouiatanon and enumerated the Indians living in the surrounding territory. This census disclosed 180 Kickapoo and 90 Mascouten, all of whom were probably braves since the Europeans were mainly interested in the fighting strength of the Indians. Thomas Hutchins found the same number of Kickapoo and Mascouten at Ouiatanon in 1762 and said that his count was only of the warriors, thus confirming the earlier account.<sup>30</sup> Yet all of the Mascouten did not live at Ouiatanon; a village of twenty families was discovered in 1763 up the Kankakee River sixty miles from the confluence of that river with the Des Plaines.<sup>31</sup>

Even though the British were in control of the Wabash Country, the Kickapoo and Mascouten professed friendship for the French, who still retained control of Fort Chartres in Illinois, and on June 26, 1764, a group of Kickapoo visited the commandant there. At this time the British estimated that the Kickapoo could muster 300 braves; the military authorities made no mention of the Mascouten. They were, however, still united with the Kickapoo and on June 8 in 1765 George Croghan was captured by a mixed party of Kickapoo and Mascouten, who were hunting near the mouth of the Wabash, and taken to Ouiatanon. The following year these tribes were observed living near Vincennes and by 1767 the Kickapoo had made peace with the Kaskaskia, probably because they too favored the French.<sup>32</sup> Both the Kickapoo

<sup>28</sup> *Coll. de Manuscrits Nouvelle-France*, III, 407.

<sup>29</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 218-219; Bossu, *Travels*, I, 131.

<sup>30</sup> Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 156; *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, X, 365 (July, 1926); Hutchins' map of 1762, Henry E. Huntington Lib.

<sup>31</sup> Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*, 362-363.

<sup>32</sup> Alvord and Carter, eds., *The Critical Period*, 289, *The New Régime*, 227, *Trade and Politics*, 46; Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 156; Journal of Croghan in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 780; Hamilton, ed., *Papers of Wm. Johnson*, XI, 841.

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and Mascouten continued to kill stray Britishers and when Fort Chartres hoisted the British Union Jack, a Kickapoo war party raided the village itself.<sup>33</sup> Across the Mississippi at St. Louis, the Spanish maintained cordial relations with the Kickapoo and Mascouten who traveled all the way from the Wabash to receive presents.<sup>34</sup>

At the time of the American Revolution there was a Mascouten village of fourteen large lodges at the confluence of the Iroquois and Kankakee rivers; the Kickapoo resided mainly about Post Ouiatanon, but in later years William Henry Harrison recalled that some Kickapoo had moved north at this time to establish a village on the Vermilion River. These tribes sided with the British in the Revolution and remained near Vincennes. The Spanish learned that the Kickapoo had 300 warriors and had for their principal chief a man who had the same name as a previous Mascouten leader, Pacanne (Pecan); within a mile of their village was a Mascouten settlement which could raise 200 warriors and had for their principal chief El Tander. A delegation of Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Wea held a council with the British at Detroit on June 29, 1778, and declared falsely that they never traded with the Spanish at St. Louis. Although no Mascouten chiefs were listed, the Kickapoo war chiefs present at the conference were Egh-kee-too-wa and Miquetto; the village chiefs were Mahinamba and Pi-emash-kee-canny. However, when the Kickapoo observed the success of the Americans and received a message from George Rogers Clark—delivered by Captain Leonard Helm—they sued for peace.<sup>35</sup>

After the American Revolution, the Mascouten and Kickapoo seem to have moved farther up the Wabash and spread out into the Illinois Country. By 1781, reports place them south of Lake Michigan and Tanclel was said to be the principal Mascouten chief, a man who thoroughly hated the Illini. John Armstrong's map of 1790 calls the Des-Plaines "Kickapoo River" and when surveyors moved up the Kaskaskia River to its source, they were attacked by the Kickapoo who resided in the prairies of north-central Illinois. There also was a Kickapoo

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<sup>33</sup> Thos. Hutchins, "Journal from Fort Pitt to the Mouth of the Ohio in the Year 1768," MS., Canadian Archives; George Butricke to Thos. Barnsley, Fort Chartres, June 27, 1769, in *The Hist. Mag.*, VIII, 257-266 (Aug., 1864).

<sup>34</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 299-300.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 358-368; undated MS., Canadian Archives; Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 157; *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, I, 319; James, ed., *G. R. Clark Papers 1771-1781*, 124; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, II, 638.

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village, called "Kikapouguoi," on the Wabash below the Vermilion where Chief "Les Jambes Croches" (probably La Mauvais Jambe or Bad Leg) resided. Another of their main villages was in the prairie near the northern part of the Sangamon River.<sup>36</sup> When Gen. Anthony Wayne called the Indians to a treaty council at Greenville, Ohio, on August 3, 1795, the Kickapoo were represented, but no location of their villages is given.<sup>37</sup>

By 1800 the Prairie Band of the Kickapoo was living north and east of Springfield and in the area around Bloomington. This group hunted down the rivers and into southern Illinois where they sometimes killed the peaceful Kaskaskia. Since they received no annuity payments, these Kickapoo stole horses without fear because they had nothing to lose. As a result, these several hundred Kickapoo committed many depredations against the white settlers living in Illinois.<sup>38</sup> Because there had been difficulty in defining and determining the boundaries of the land purchased from the Indians in 1795, several of the Wabash tribes were called to a council at Fort Wayne on June 7, 1803. The Kickapoo were represented by Nah-mah-to-hah (Standing) and Pas-she-we-hah (Cat) and after the Indians had talked the matter over among themselves, another council and treaty resulted on August 7 whereby the Indians agreed to a land cession in Illinois as well as Indiana and granted the government the right to erect stations along the road from Vincennes to Kaskaskia. At this second meeting, the Kickapoo were represented by the Eel River Miami.<sup>39</sup>

A second large group of Kickapoo lived on the Vermilion and were called the Vermilion Band. Although they generally kept to themselves, Michael Brouillette obtained a license to trade with them in 1804. Chief Pemwatome (The Swan that Cries) was an influential leader of these Kickapoo. Other little bands seem to have moved west to the Illinois River, and Zebulon Pike announced in 1805 that some Kickapoo had a summer village on the little peninsula that was formed

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<sup>36</sup> Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 137, 155, 228; *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXVII, 48-55 (Mar., 1944); Kinnaid, ed., *Spain in Miss. Valley*, II, 244-245; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XIX, 615.

<sup>37</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 49-54.

<sup>38</sup> Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 20; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, Jan. 15, 1827, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes*, II, 183-244; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, I, 30, 45; Sec. of War to Harrison, Washington, Apr. 23, 1802, National Archives.

<sup>39</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 74-76, 77.

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by the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. This western movement of the Kickapoo alarmed the officials and an attempt was made in 1807 to remove them to the Wabash. Yet on December 9, 1809, the United States persuaded the Kickapoo to cede even these lands along the Vermilion River from Danville eastward. Their chiefs and principal braves who agreed to this cession were Joe Renard, Nemahson (Man on His Feet), Knoshania (Otter), Wakoah (Fox Hair), Nonoah (Child at the Breast), and Moquiah (Bear Skin).<sup>40</sup>

As the war clouds gathered just prior to the War of 1812, the Kickapoo became restless and carried out raids into southern Illinois. Part of the tribe traveled east to join the Shawnee Prophet's band on the Wabash, but many remained along the Sangamon River as late as November 7, 1810. Those who had joined the Prophet fought against the forces of Gen. Harrison on November 7 the following year and Mengoatowa, a Kickapoo, served as one of the war chiefs. Harrison estimated that half of the total Kickapoo strength had aided the Prophet. Soon after this important battle of Tippecanoe the Kickapoo moved their villages from the Sangamon to Lake Peoria where Pemwatome established his band of 100 braves in a village twenty-four miles north of Peoria. Little Deer's group of seventy settled across the lake from Gomo's Potawatomi village, and the third band of Kickapoo—without a chief—took up quarters on the Mackinaw River with some Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa making a little village of sixty braves. The rest of the Kickapoo remained with the Shawnee Prophet. In an effort to prevent further hostilities, Gov. Edwards held a council with the Kickapoo and others at Cahokia on April 16, 1812, but that autumn the Kickapoo raided Peoria. Pemwatome explained the action of the Kickapoo by saying that the whites had killed one of their chiefs who was hunting near the Kaskaskia River.<sup>41</sup>

Thomas Forsyth, who was living at Peoria, informed Gen.

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<sup>40</sup> Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, I, 102, 133, 176-177, 214, 273, 277, 323; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 111, XVI, 52; Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, 2 (entry of Aug. 10, 1805); Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 78-79; Nathaniel Pope to Wm. Eustis, Kaskaskia, May 11, 1809, copy in Gov. Corr., Ill. State Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Charles Reece to Frederick Bates, St. Louis, Aug. 3, 1810, Auto. Letters, L, 75, Chicago Hist. Soc.; *Am. State Papers; Indian Affairs*, I, 799; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, I, 484, II, 12, 21; *Niles' Weekly Register*, II, 69 (Mar. 28, 1812); *North Am. Rev.*, XXII, 97 (Jan., 1826); Notes of John Hay to Ninian Edwards, 1812, Edwards Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.; *Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), Dec. 11, 1816; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 570, 571, XVI, 215, 229.

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Benjamin Howard in September of 1812 that the Kickapoo who had formerly lived near Portage des Sioux were planning an attack upon the frontier settlements. Without waiting for this to happen, the Americans marched north to the Kickapoo towns on Lake Peoria and burned them, causing the Kickapoo and Miami to seek protection among the Sauk on Rock River. Just a month or so later, troops also marched north into the stronghold of the Shawnee Prophet in Indiana and not only destroyed his town but also that of the Wabash Kickapoo; the latter numbered 160 houses and was located nearby. Those Kickapoo who joined the Sauk remained with them until the spring of 1813 and then established their own village six miles up the Iroquois River from the Kankakee. There were 200 warriors in this settlement and Thomas Forsyth speculated that the other group of Kickapoo living with the Shawnee Prophet might join them. Little Deer was the most influential Kickapoo chief and fought stubbornly against the Americans, but Pemwatome engaged in the war against his wishes and better judgment.<sup>42</sup>

Although the Mascouten are mentioned in 1812 as a separate tribe, there are no further reports about this little-known tribe and one observer declared to Thomas Jefferson in 1813 that they had been absorbed into the Kickapoo nation.<sup>43</sup> Other scholars have agreed with this explanation, but more research among the surviving Kickapoo groups must be done before a definite answer can be given.

After the War of 1812, the Kickapoo were said to have 400 braves, but they were widely separated as a result of several American attacks which killed eighty of their warriors. Gomo, the Potawatomi chief declared to Thomas Forsyth at Peoria that the Kickapoo had asked to camp with him on Lake Peoria, but they dispersed instead to different sections of the country. Some had gone to live with the Sauk on Rock River where the British were distributing free gunpowder. Among

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<sup>42</sup> Col. Russell to John Gibson, Camp Russell, Oct. 31, 1812, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Ninian Edwards to Thos. Forsyth, Kaskaskia, Jan. 28, 1813, Edwards to Forsyth, Elvirade, June 22, 1813, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; *Genius of Liberty* (Uniontown, Pa.), Jan. 14, 1813; *Niles' Weekly Register*, III, 204 (Nov. 28, 1812); Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of the U. S.*, XIV, 652-653, XVI, 264, 331-332, 333-334; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, II, 192, 232.

<sup>43</sup> H. M. Brackenridge to Thos. Jefferson, Baton Rouge, July 25, 1813, *Niles' Weekly Register*, supplement to XVI, 89.

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this group was Pemwatome's band who had established a village on the Pecatonica River. Little Deer was also encamped somewhere in Illinois although his location is not known; perhaps it was his group of 200 braves who were living on the Vermilion River. In the fall of 1814 some of the Kickapoo assembled at the mouth of Rock River and then established their winter hunting village on the Iowa River with a band of Fox. Another village of Kickapoo took up their winter quarters on the Kankakee with Neshkagenaymain (Bad Sturgeon), a Potawatomi chief.<sup>44</sup>

When the Kickapoo of the Rock River area learned that the war was terminated with Great Britain, they informed the Americans that their party would leave the Rock and return to their villages in central Illinois. One of these villages was on Kickapoo Creek, near Lincoln, and the Old Kickapoo Town was near the headwaters of the Sangamon. Those Kickapoo who had joined the Potawatomi on the Vermilion remained there in 1815, and Ninian Edwards confidently informed the secretary of war that all of the Kickapoo were in Illinois. Yet many of the Kickapoo who had fought with the British were still living in Canada as late as October in 1815. However, two groups did return to their former haunts the following month. One band settled on the Embarrass and the other on the Sangamon, but in 1816 there were still 161 Kickapoo in Canada: forty-three men, sixty-seven women, and fifty-one children. Another little group of Kickapoo were along the Illinois River with the Potawatomi in 1816, and there were several lodges near Skunk River (Iowa) in addition to twenty lodges of Pemwatome's band who were living on the banks of the Mississippi. Altogether, the Kickapoo nation consisted of 1600 persons of whom 440 belonged to the Vermilion Band.<sup>45</sup>

On June 4, 1816, Kickapoo chiefs and braves gathered at Fort Harrison in Indiana to confirm the land cession of 1809. Representing

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<sup>44</sup> Wm. Henry Harrison to Othniel Looker, Greenville, Ohio, July 6, 1814, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; Thos. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, Fort Clark, May 29, 1814, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVII, 34; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, IX, 221, 245, 250, XI, 320, 323, 325, 329, 330, 334; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XXIII, 455, 470; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, II, 667.

<sup>45</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 338, 340, 345-346; Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plate XL; Thos. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, St. Louis, Apr. 15, 1815, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVII, 145; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XVI, 134, 191, 323, 345, 346, 349, 524; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, II, 696, 734; Foreman, *Last Trek*, 38.

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the Kickapoo were Sheshepah (Little Duck); Kaanehkaka (Drunkard's Son); Skekonah (Stone); Mahquah or Moquiah (Bear); Penashee (Little Turkey); Mehtahkokeah (Big Tree); Keetahtey (Little Otter); Nepiseeah (Blackberry); Pehsquonatah (Blackberry Flower); and Tecumthena (Track in Prairie). Although it is not stated where the Kickapoo resided, those who signed the treaty were certainly from the Vermilion River.<sup>46</sup> Later that year a delegation of the Kickapoo band who were living among the Potawatomi went to St. Louis where they witnessed "The Three Fire's" land cession on August 24. The Kickapoo chiefs who signed this treaty were Katasa, Tapema, Sakappee, Kenapoeso, Pawanaqua, Ancowa, Mackkattaoushick, and Shaquabee.<sup>47</sup>

Since the Kickapoo continued to hunt through the lands along the Sangamon, Gov. Edwards was determined to remove them at once. He claimed that these Kickapoo had occupied this section of Illinois only since about 1800 and had formerly lived on the Wabash until smallpox forced them to leave these villages.<sup>48</sup> After much effort, the Indian agents finally persuaded the Prairie Band of Kickapoo to come down to Edwardsville, on July 30, 1819, where they ceded their holdings to all of central Illinois as far west as the Illinois River. In return, the Kickapoo received a grant of land upon the Osage River and promised to go there immediately. Among the signers was Pemwatome, the celebrated chief.<sup>49</sup> One month later the Vermilion Band of Kickapoo agreed to this same land cession and also agreed to leave Illinois immediately, but much trouble took place and some time passed before the Kickapoo were finally removed.<sup>50</sup> When an attempt was made to gather them together for the long journey west, only Waw-pee-ko-ny-a (Blue Eyes) could be found—the remainder were hiding. Pemwatome (The Swan that Cries) and Pacanne (Pecan) quickly moved north, with about 200 of their followers, and established a village near the mouth of Rock River. Major Marston observed this group near Rock Island in November of 1820 and declared that Pemwatome was an old man while Pacanne was about forty years of age.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 145-146.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 148; *Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), Aug. 21, 1816. "The Three Fires" was the Potawatomi-Ottawa-Chippewa confederation.

<sup>48</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVII, 487, 506.

<sup>49</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 200-202; *Niles' Weekly Register*, XVII, 112 (Oct. 16, 1819).

<sup>50</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 202-203.

<sup>51</sup> M. Marston to Jedediah Morse, Fort Armstrong, Nov., 1820, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.



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Many of the Kickapoo refused to leave Illinois in 1820, but between the years 1821 and 1822 some of them did cross the Mississippi.<sup>52</sup> Among those who remained was Little Duck who had his permanent village on the Wabash one mile above the mouth of Pine Creek. His braves caused the Illinois settlers trouble as late as October of 1823. There was also a band of Kickapoo living near the Rock River and the Sauk allowed them to hunt on the Iowa River. The Potawatomi had also formed an alliance with the remaining Illinois Kickapoo who, it was said, numbered 600 persons.<sup>53</sup> C. C. Trowbridge learned in 1823-1824 that there were still Kickapoo living between Terre Haute and the Illinois River. These villages contained approximately 400 persons and in 1823-1824 the Kickapoo of the Wabash Valley wintered on the Kaskaskia, but during the next two years some of them moved west to Missouri.<sup>54</sup> A few Kickapoo were still living within the boundaries of Illinois in 1824: a group on the headwaters of the Little Wabash and another on the Vermilion River. Of the latter group, Wagoa and Oquid were the chiefs.<sup>55</sup>

Thomas Forsyth learned in May of 1825 that there was a Kickapoo village thirty or forty miles south of Rock Island and other informants reported that Macena's band was on the north fork of the Sangamon, Pemwatome's on the Embarrass, and Little Thunder's and Kanakuk's (The Kickapoo Prophet) on the Mackinaw River. From 1825 to 1827 about twenty-five lodges of Kickapoo moved to Missouri and one group of thirty drew attention when it arrived at St. Louis on June 29, 1826. The destination of this party was the James Fork of the White River. On June 6, 1827, the Black Buffalo led his little family across the Mississippi and headed for the Osage River reservation, but other small groups of Kickapoo remained in Illinois. The village on the Missis-

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<sup>52</sup> John C. Calhoun to Wm. Clark, Washington, May 18, 1820, National Archives; Wm. Clark to A. F. Hubbard, St. Louis, Nov. 1, 1825, Exec. File, Ill. State Archives.

<sup>53</sup> "Journal, Indiana-Illinois Boundary, May 15-July 30, 1821," in *John Tipton Papers*, I, 275-276; John Tipton to Lewis Cass, Fort Wayne, Oct. 31, 1823, in *ibid.*, I, 323; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Fort Armstrong, Sept. 8, 1822, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, I, 169-170.

<sup>54</sup> Kinietz, ed., *Meearmear Traditions*, 69; John C. Calhoun to Wm. Clark, Washington, Mar. 21, 1823, National Archives; Report of R. Graham to Wm. Clark enclosed in Clark to Edward Coles, St. Louis, Jan. 9, 1824, Exec. File, Ill. State Archives; Wm. Clark to A. F. Hubbard, St. Louis, Nov. 1, 1825, in *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Wm. Clark to Ed. Coles, St. Louis, Jan. 9, Dec. 5, 1824, Exec. File, Ill. State Archives; talk with Wagoa and Oquid at Kaskaskia, Oct. 27, 1824, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

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issippi below Rock River was still occupied in 1827 and Macena clung tenaciously to his hunting grounds on the Sangamon. It was said in November of 1827 that fifty lodges were yet in Illinois, but in the spring of 1828 several small parties of Kickapoo left their villages and moved west. Even Wagoa had gone to the White River by the year 1828. Of the prominent chiefs, only Kanakuk (The Kickapoo Prophet) remained at his village on the Mackinaw and he promised William Clark on May 25, 1828, that he would move out of Illinois by May of the following year. His little village numbered approximately 200 souls.<sup>56</sup>

Those Kickapoo who resided near the Sauk of Rock River agreed with Black Hawk in 1829 and spoke against the white settlers. One Kickapoo band from the Mackinaw River migrated to the Rock River in May of 1830 and joined their friends there. This village of 100 warriors and twenty bark lodges was just south of the Rock's mouth. In October of that same year the Vermilion Band was encamped near Chicago on their winter hunt. This was certainly the village ruled by Kanakuk. William Clark ordered this chief to leave the state in 1831, but Kanakuk replied to the messenger, Augustus Kennerly, on August 4 that "God has not told me to go on the other side of the Mississippi; but to stay here and mind my Religion." Clark had told him to move out by October 1 at which time the corn and pumpkins would be harvested at his village on the Vermilion River. The other band of Kickapoo—who were living along the Mississippi—followed the Sauk into Iowa in the fall of 1831 for their winter hunt.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Edwin James, "Some Account of the Menomonies," MS., Am. Phil. Soc., Philadelphia; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, May 11, 1825, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; speech of R. Graham to Kickapoo, St. Louis, Nov. 23, 1827, copy in Exec. File, Ill. State Archives; Wm. Clark to A. F. Hubbard, St. Louis, Nov. 1, 1825, *ibid.*; speech of the Flower to Wm. Clark, Embarrass River, Dec. 22, 1825, *ibid.*; speech of Kanakuk on Mackinaw River, Dec. 25, 1825, *ibid.*; R. Graham to Wm. Clark, Delaware Agency, Nov. 8, 1827, Gov. Corr. *ibid.*; Ed. Mitchell to Ninian Edwards, Springfield, Ill., July 17, 1827, *ibid.*; Peter B. Porter to Ninian Edwards, Washington, July 7, 1828, *ibid.*; account on White River, Oct. 20, 1828, Pierre Menard and Jean Vallé Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.; trading records on White River in 1826, Menard Family Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; *Sen. Doc. No. 72, 98-99 (20th Cong. 2nd sess.)*; Barry, ed., "William Clark's Diary May, 1826-February, 1831," *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, XVI, 10, 28 (Feb., 1948).

<sup>57</sup> Augustus Kennerly to Wm. Clark, Kickapoo Town on Vermilion, Ill., Aug. 4, 1831 and speech of Kanakuk, Exec. File, Ill. State Archives; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, May 22, 1829, copy in Gov. Corr., *ibid.*; Wm. Clark to John Reynolds, St. Louis, Aug. 20, 1831, Exec. File, *ibid.*; petition of James Levit and others, Aug. 22, 1831, *ibid.*; Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, May 17, 1830, Aug. 9, 12, 1831, extract of Thos. Forsyth's report, May 25, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago* (Chicago, 1921), 32.

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In the spring of 1832 some of the Kickapoo returned to Illinois from hunting lands west of the Mississippi, and in April there were 100 lodges of Kickapoo and Sauk encamped at the point where the Lewistown road crossed the Rock River (near Prophetstown). Citizens of Pekin reported in May that there were 380 warriors assembled at the Kickapoo town on "Money Creek, within twenty-five miles of Bloomington," and some of these were Kickapoo. They remained in the vicinity of Mackinaw River and some joined Black Hawk's hostile band of Sauk and Fox. When his rebellious force was defeated by federal and state troops, one little group of Kickapoo fled to a Potawatomi village near Chicago only to be placed under arrest by the Indian agent there, T. J. V. Owen, and delivered to Fort Dearborn. This little band consisted of nine men, eleven women, and seventeen children.<sup>58</sup>

A federal official, on October 11, 1832, instructed the governor of Illinois that he might negotiate a treaty for the final removal of the Kickapoo, and Kanakuk (The Kickapoo Prophet) led his band of about 250 Kickapoo and 150 Potawatomi from the Vermilion River to Castor Hill (near St. Louis) where they signed a treaty with William Clark on October 24 that year. By the 31st, Clark informed the Illinois governor that all the Kickapoo had left his state except those who had been incarcerated by Owen at Fort Dearborn in September.<sup>59</sup>

The Kickapoo reservation was four miles north of Fort Leavenworth. Kanakuk became associated with the Methodist missionaries and was licensed to preach.<sup>60</sup> Others followed the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1836 it was stated that there were 470 Kickapoo living on the reservation.<sup>61</sup> By 1865 there were 344 Kickapoo still in Kansas and an undetermined number living in Texas near the Mexican border.<sup>62</sup> Shortly after this date, the Kickapoo in Texas migrated across the border and frequently made raids into the United

<sup>58</sup> Joseph M. Street to H. Atkinson, Prairie du Chien, Apr. 25, 26, 1832, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; committee of safety to Gov. Reynolds, Pekin, May 23, 1832, *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XVIII, 1008 (Jan. 1926); *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 29, 1832; T. J. V. Owen to A. Hustins, Chicago, May 24, 1832, T. J. V. Owen to George B. Porter, Chicago, Sept. 18, 1832, National Archives.

<sup>59</sup> Lewis Cass to John Reynolds, Washington, Oct. 11, 1832, Wm. Clark to John Reynolds, Castor Hill, Mo., Oct. 31, 1832, Greene and Alvord, eds., *Governors' Letter-Books*, 213, 216; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 391-393.

<sup>60</sup> McCoy, *Hist. of Baptist Indian Missions*, 458.

<sup>61</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, L, 436 (Aug. 27, 1836).

<sup>62</sup> *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 3, 1865.

## HISTORIC TRIBES

States until Col. H. M. Atkinson removed them to their reservation in 1875.<sup>63</sup> However, many of these Indians later fled back across the border into Mexico where they still reside today in their own village which is approximately 125 miles south of Eagle Pass, Texas (by road), and in the state of Coahuila, Mexico, near the town of Muzquiz. The remainder of the Kickapoo are mostly in Oklahoma.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> N. Y. *Tribune*, May 3, 1875.

<sup>64</sup> Robert E. Ritzenthaler and Frederick A. Peterson, *The Mexican Kickapoo Indians* (Milwaukee, 1956).

CHAPTER VI  
SHAWNEE AND DELAWARE  
SHAWNEE

The Shawnee are a member of the Algonquian-speaking tribes and are linguistically related to the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. According to a tradition of the Sauk and Fox, the Shawnee were once a member of their group but withdrew to themselves because of a quarrel over a choice piece of bear meat at a feast.<sup>1</sup> As a word, "shawnee" is translated as "southerners," but their early history is a matter of much speculation.<sup>2</sup> Some Jesuits thought that it was the Shawnee whom the Iroquois were raiding in the 1660's. These missionaries remarked that the Iroquois were traveling 400 leagues from Quebec toward the southwest to kill the Shawnee since they were not Iroquois allies. If this reference is actually to the Shawnee, they were probably living in Tennessee, Kentucky, or along the Ohio River. It was said that these Indians were trading with the Spanish at the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>3</sup> About the year 1669 a group of Shawnee visited the Illini after journeying overland for thirty days. These visitors to the Illinois Country wore glass beads, indicating that they had contact with European traders and reënforcing the earlier reports that the Shawnee were trading with the Spanish on the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>4</sup>

Early maps, which were drawn ca. 1700, indicate that the Cumberland River was called the Shawnee River, and as late as 1795 it still was known by this name. On John Mitchell's map of 1755 it is stated that the Iroquois conquered the Shawnee in 1672 and thus held a claim to the country along the Ohio River. This report tends to corroborate the statement of the Jesuits that the Iroquois were fighting the Shawnee in the 1660's.<sup>5</sup> When Jolliet and Marquette paddled down the Missis-

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<sup>1</sup> M. Marston to Jedediah Morse, Fort Armstrong, Nov., 1820, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.

<sup>2</sup> Erminie W. Voegelin, "Some Possible Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Locations of the Shawnee," *Proc. Ind. Academy of Science*, XLVIII, 13-18.

<sup>3</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, XLVII, 145-147.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 189.

<sup>5</sup> Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plates, XV, XVII, XIX; George Morgan's reports of Apr. 10, 13, 1770, Baynton-Wharton-Morgan Corr., Pa. Hist. and Museum Comm.; Andre Michaux, "Notebook: Botanical Observations in Illinois, Wabash Area, 1795-96," MS., Am. Philosophical Soc.

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issippi in 1673, they learned from other Indians that the Shawnee were living some distance up the Ohio in numerous villages which were under attack by the Iroquois.<sup>6</sup> The Marquette map indicates that the Shawnee were in the vicinity of the Ohio, but no definite location can be determined from it.<sup>7</sup>

In March of 1681, La Salle met the messenger of a Shawnee chief who lived with 150 warriors "on the banks of a large river which flows into the Ohio" and wanted to settle under the protection of the French. La Salle sent word by the messenger that he would protect these Shawnee from the Iroquois if they would come to the Illinois Country. By July of 1682 these Shawnee had migrated north and settled with the Miami on the St. Joseph River near the portage to the Kankakee. Upon the completion of Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock, the Shawnee accompanied the Miami to this site about 1683. There were perhaps 200 lodges of Shawnee around the fort, and they informed the French that their former country was near the borders of the English colonies in the South. They also described to Tonti the lands along the Ohio River and those to the south. In 1687 there were still 100 families of Shawnee living near Starved Rock, but two years later they were gone.<sup>8</sup>

Just where the Shawnee went after leaving La Salle's fort is not known. Father Douay visited a Shawnee village at the mouth of the Illinois River on September 5, 1687,<sup>9</sup> and Charles A. Hanna—from his study of the colonial records—is convinced that these Shawnee migrated eastward into Pennsylvania.<sup>10</sup> Other scholars declare that the Shawnee bands which appeared in the East toward the end of the Seventeenth Century were from the Ohio Valley but east of the Wabash.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that those Shawnee from the Illinois Country returned to the Ohio River and then moved eastward into Ohio and Pennsylvania. We know that there were several groups of the Shawnee and it is diffi-

<sup>6</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 145.

<sup>7</sup> Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plate V. Perhaps the Kincaid Site is actually Shawnee. See Fay-Cooper Cole, *Kincaid: A Prehistoric Illinois Metropolis* (Chicago, 1951).

<sup>8</sup> Anderson, ed., *Relation of La Salle*, 259, *Relation of Tonty*, 111, 113; Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements*, III, 502-503, IV, 274; Tonti to his brother, Fort Mississippi, Mar. 4, 1700, *Mid-America*, XXI, 231-232 (July, 1939); Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations*, 307; Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration*, 182, Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 209.

<sup>9</sup> Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration*, 228.

<sup>10</sup> Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (N. Y., 1911), I, 126.

<sup>11</sup> John Witthoft and William A. Hunter, "The Seventeenth-Century Origins of the Shawnee," *Ethnohistory*, II, 42-57 (Winter, 1955).

## SHAWNEE AND DELAWARE

cult to separate or trace them. However, one report states that the Shawnee appeared on the Susquehanna about 1698 and in 1700 obtained permission from the officials at Philadelphia to settle there.<sup>12</sup> Other groups of Shawnee seem to have remained on the Cumberland or Tennessee rivers during these same years, indicating that the Iroquois may have scattered them in several directions.<sup>13</sup> When the Delaware Indians moved to the headwaters of the Ohio River about the year 1724, the Shawnee followed them and established settlements there also. Quickly the French seized this opportunity to win the Shawnee back to the Illinois Country and away from the British, but the latter sought to keep the Shawnee near them by giving them a tract of land on the Susquehanna in 1731.<sup>14</sup>

In order to remove the Shawnee from the British influence, the French asked them to move north of the Ohio River and settle in the Wabash River Valley near the Wea and Piankashaw. The Wea agreed to this proposal in 1732 and soon after this some of the Shawnee moved further west, but they did not go to the Wabash. To counteract the French plan, the British asked the Iroquois Confederation to allow the Shawnee to live either near them or on the Tennessee River. Other Shawnee groups seem to have been at Detroit and in the South on the Alabama River. Those at Detroit are said to have moved to the Wabash and joined the Shawnee who had migrated from the Ohio and settled among the Wea and Mascouten by October of 1745 after having promised the previous year to move there. However, by April 12, 1746, the Shawnee had established a village where Shawneetown, Illinois, stands today. The French proposed to move them further down the Ohio, but they refused. Soon afterward the Shawnee declared that the other tribes on the Wabash did not like their presence, and when they discovered that the French would not build a fort near their village or supply them with trade goods, the Shawnee decided to move. An attack by the Illini and Piankashaw upon their village, while they were away on a winter hunt, decided the issue. These raiders had burned the lodges of the Shawnee and dug up their dead. Leader of this Shawnee group was Chartier and by May of 1748 Shawneetown was

<sup>12</sup> James Logan to Gov. of N. Y., Stenton (near Philadelphia), Aug. 4, 1737, Am. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia.

<sup>13</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 107; Shea, ed., *Early Voyages*, 69.

<sup>14</sup> James Logan to Gov. of N. Y., Stenton, Aug. 4, 1737, Am. Philosophical Soc.; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VI, 872.

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abandoned. For awhile the French were not certain where they had gone, but eventually it was discovered that Chartier's band had gone to Alabama and the others had returned to the mouth of the Scioto River. In 1749 there were sixty lodges of Shawnee on the Scioto. Perhaps some of those who went to Alabama remained, since some Shawnee were still there in 1796.<sup>15</sup>

One band of Shawnee was living at Wyoming (near Wilkes-Barre) on the Susquehanna in 1750 and another large settlement was still at the mouth of the Scioto. Christopher Gist visited the latter town in 1751 and reported that their village consisted of forty lodges on the south bank of the Ohio River and 100 on the north bank, comprising in all approximately 300 warriors. Gist was there in January and later that year a party of Shawnee from the Scioto village paddled down the Ohio to hunt near Vincennes, but they decided to repay the Piankashaw for an earlier attack made against them when they had lived at Shawneetown. The Piankashaw, however, were alert and chased the Shawnee away, swearing that they would follow the attackers back to their village. In an attempt to make peace between the Piankashaw and Shawnee in 1752, the Wea sent a "feathered pipe, and beaver blanket" to the Shawnee village on the Ohio. Frenchmen, likewise, tried in 1756 to settle the differences between the Illini and the Shawnee by escorting an Illini chief and four braves to the Shawnee village for a pipe-smoking ceremony.<sup>16</sup>

Fearing that the British would launch an attack upon the Illinois Country by way of the Tennessee River, the French ordered Captain Charles Philippe Aubry to protect this area. To carry out this order, he constructed Fort Massac just northwest of the mouth of the Tennessee, on the north bank of the Ohio. It was completed by June 20,

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<sup>15</sup> Vaudreuil Letter Books (entries of July 18, 1743, Feb. 6, Apr. 12, Nov. 20, 1746), MS., Henry E. Huntington Lib.; Krauskopf, ed., *Ouiatanon Documents*, 146, 152; Comte de Maurepas to de Bienville, Versailles, Sept. 2, 1734, Paris Archives; Rowland and Sanders, eds., *Miss. Prov. Archives: Fr.*, I, 266; *Coll. de Manuscrits Nouvelle-France*, III, 407; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VI, 107, 532, X, 20, 152, 156; *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, XXIX, 13, 21, 68, 69, 85, 242; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 183; Bushnell Jr., *Native Villages*, 46-47; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVII, 156, 178, 417, XVIII, 4, 11, 12, 20.

<sup>16</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VI, 548, X, 437; William M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Cleveland, 1893), 44; *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 90; *Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, XXIX, 361-362; Alfred T. Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain William Trent 1752* (Cincinnati, 1871), 100-101.



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1757, and once again the French moved some of the Shawnee westward away from their British allies. In June of 1759 forty lodges of Shawnee from the Scioto River established a village near Fort Massac; this was Chartier's band, but in October of that year the Shawnee fled into the Illinois Country to escape the wrath of the British. Two years later, the British were still trying to locate these Shawnee who were living in the Illinois Country. By 1763 the Shawnee from the mouth of the Scioto had moved approximately ninety miles up that river, evidently to escape from the frequent British cries of disloyalty. Another group had fled seventy miles up the Muskingum River, but the British were slow to chastise the Shawnee because they had much influence with the Indians in Illinois. The French also gave the Shawnee food and supplies.<sup>17</sup>

Capt. Harry Gordon, however, found the major part of the Shawnee gathered at the mouth of the Scioto in June and July of 1766. When the British asked them to transport supplies to the Illinois Country, the braves declined because they were at odds with the Kickapoo. On June 8, 1765, George Croghan and his Shawnee guides had been captured by a Kickapoo-Mascouten war party and held for sometime at Ouiatanon. Yet the Shawnee continued to travel down the Ohio, for the Spanish at St. Louis reported in 1769 that these Indians came there for presents. At times the Shawnee served as guides for the British, who were going into the Illinois Country, but they were not contented. The Six Nations had promised them land between the Ohio and the Great Lakes and it was not forthcoming. So, by 1772 the Shawnee frequently were seen in the Illinois Country and had belts which symbolized their agreement with those tribes living in that region. The British decided to punish the Shawnee and fixed September 25, 1774, as the date for an attack upon their village on the Scioto. This action caused the Shawnee to become hostile to both the British and Americans, and they raided many white settlements during the American Revolution. In 1778, the Shawnee had 300 warriors and were living along the Wabash and its tributaries. Although small in number, the Shawnee proved to be formidable fighters and wrought havoc

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<sup>17</sup> Caldwell, "Fort Massac during the French and Indian War," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLIII, 100-119 (Summer, 1950); *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 216-217; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XIX, 63, 240, 293; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 552, 694.

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both in Ohio and Kentucky. At the end of the war, some of them were residing upon the Miami and Little Miami in five villages.<sup>18</sup>

Since the Shawnee frequented the Illinois Country after the American Revolution, the Americans held a council with them in 1789 at Kaskaskia to restore peace, but part of this tribe moved across the Mississippi to Spanish territory after obtaining the permission of Baron de Carondelet on January 4, 1793, to establish themselves on any unoccupied lands between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers. One group settled at Cape Girardeau and another at New Madrid in what is now Missouri.<sup>19</sup> But the remainder of the Shawnee caused the Americans much trouble until Gen. Anthony Wayne defeated them and their allies at the battle of Fallen Timbers on August 18, 1794.<sup>20</sup> This victory was followed by a treaty, made at Greenville, Ohio, on August 3 the following year, whereby the Shawnee and other tribes ceded their lands in eastern and southern Ohio and a small area in Indiana. Although the Shawnee had been given lands in 1786, their continued hostilities against the United States caused this reserve to be withheld from them and the treaty of 1795 superceded the former one. At the Greenville treaty the prominent Shawnee chiefs were Cut-the-we-ka-saw (Black Hoof) and Wey-a-pier-sen-waw (Blue Jacket).<sup>21</sup>

As a result of Gen. Wayne's campaign, some of the Shawnee went to live among the Creek Indians, but in July of 1796 a few of them were seen again at Fort Massac. They were returning to join the Shawnee at Cape Girardeau. Some Shawnee established a village in 1796 at the mouth of the Saline River in Illinois territory, but there were few Indians living here at this time although the Shawnee occasionally hunted through this area.<sup>22</sup> Gradually, groups of Shawnee

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<sup>18</sup> Mereness, ed., *Travels*, 466; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 780, VIII, 291; Alvord and Carter, eds., *The New Régime*, 247, Thos. Hutchins, "Journal from Fort Pitt to Mouth of the Ohio in the Year 1768," MS., Canadian Archives; Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, 45, Baynton-Wharton-Morgan Corr., MS., Pa. Hist. and Museum Commission; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, I, 339; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, IX, 465, 475; Jillson, ed., *Filson's Kentucke*, 89.

<sup>19</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records*, 516; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 397; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XV, 105; Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 60-61, 69, 92.

<sup>20</sup> Richard C. Knopf, ed., "Two Journals of the Kentucky Volunteers 1793-1794," *The Filson Club. Hist. Quar.*, XXVII, 268 (July, 1953).

<sup>21</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 26-27, 49-54.

<sup>22</sup> Zebulon Pike to Anthony Wayne, Fort Massac, Feb., 24, Aug. 6, 1796, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 401.

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settled along the Wabash as they were pushed out of Ohio and eastern Indiana. There were scattered villages from Vincennes to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Chief Settetah or Setteedown roamed over the old Salt Route with a little band of Shawnee in 1807; this trail ran from Vincennes to the White River, on to the Patoka River, and then southwest to the Wabash where it crossed this river near the mouth of the Little Wabash.<sup>23</sup>

When Tenskwatawa (The Shawnee Prophet) began collecting Indian converts for his campaign against the acceptance of white man's culture, the quietness of the frontier was again broken. The Shawnee Prophet, twin brother to Tecumseh, started his crusade near Greenville and then moved north. William Wells at Fort Wayne declared to the secretary of war on March 6, 1808, that the Prophet was ready to move to the Wabash where he intended to gather all the Indians of the Midwest around him.<sup>24</sup> Sometime before May 3 he arrived at his new village with eighty warriors; he called the site Keth-tip-pe-canunk (later referred to as Prophetstown) and it was located on the northwest side of the Wabash, two miles below the mouth of the Tippecanoe River. Quickly other Indians joined him until frontier settlements feared another Indian war, but the Prophet informed William Henry Harrison on June 24 that he meant no harm and, as proof of his statement, pointed to the women and children settled in his village. After visiting with Harrison for more than two weeks, the Prophet returned to his village and Harrison admitted that this Indian leader had great powers of leadership and persuasion. Before fall, this band of Indians under the Prophet was in a starving condition because most of the Shawnee annuities were taken by Black Hoof. The Prophet applied to Harrison for relief and received \$100 worth of provisions which were to be deducted from future annuities. It was said that he had from 300 to 350 warriors in his village and more were coming to join him. Word of the Prophet's influence spread throughout the countryside, and small groups of Indians left Illinois territory and moved to the Wabash.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Quaife, ed., *Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis* (Madison, 1916), 48, 50, 64; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, I, 252, 267, 270.

<sup>24</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, VII, 531.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 650; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, I, 290, 291, 292, 302; Oscar J. Craig, "Ouiatanon: A Study in Indiana History," *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, II, 347; "Journal, Indiana-Illinois Boundary, May 15-July 30, 1821," *John Tipton Papers*, I, 274; Wm. H. Harrison to Henry Dearborn, Vincennes, Nov. 9, 1808, *Northwest Terr. Coll.*, Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; *Niles' Weekly Register*, II, 343 (July 25, 1812).

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By the spring of 1810 the Prophet had 1,000 people settled near his village; most of his followers were Shawnee, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa. When it became apparent to Harrison that the Prophet meant to fight, he gathered an army, marched north, and defeated the Prophet's band at the battle of Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811. Many of the survivors fled across the Wabash and the troops destroyed the town. Only the Kickapoo remained on the Tippecanoe; the Potawatomi and Winnebago returned to Illinois. Now the Prophet was alone except for a few Shawnee and his brother, Tecumseh. Together, they moved far up the Tippecanoe, but upon occasion they raided into Illinois and continued their efforts to form an alliance of Indians for another battle with the whites. When the War of 1812 began, Tecumseh and the Shawnee Prophet renewed their struggle against the Americans, but Tecumseh was killed and—although the Prophet was soon recognized as the principal chief of the Indians of the Midwest—the power of the Shawnee was destroyed.<sup>26</sup>

Several groups of the Shawnee nation were living west of the Mississippi or near the Ohio River's mouth when the War of 1812 began, but this group did not join the Prophet. These Shawnee, together with the Delaware, numbered about 400 warriors in the summer of 1812. In 1810 there had been several groups of Shawnee in Illinois; in December of that year John James Audubon found a settlement of fifty families on the mouth of Cache River. The women were gathering pecans and the warriors were engaged in killing swans which were skinned for the marketable feathers. Swan Lake in Kentucky was the hunting grounds for these birds and it can still be seen today much as Audubon described it.<sup>27</sup> In January of 1817 there was a Shawnee group living near the mouth of the Ohio. They earned money by killing wild fowl and selling them to the settlers.<sup>28</sup> Although they frequently hunted along the Ohio River, these Shawnee lived west of

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<sup>26</sup> Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, I, 417, 421, 606, 656, 700, 705, 723, II, 13, 18, 22-23, 176, 232; *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XV, 57, 66-68, 534; Wm. Wells to Wm. H. Harrison, Fort Wayne, July 22, 1812, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>27</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, III, 107 (Oct. 17, 1812); Ninian Edwards to Gov. Isaac Shelby, Elvirade, Ill. Terr., Apr. 4, 1814, Ayer Coll., Newberry Lib.; John Francis McDermott, ed., "Audubon's 'Journey up the Mississippi,'" *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXV, 148-173 (June, 1942); Illinois State Museum research trip conducted by Marion K. Hoffman, Curator of Exhibits, Dr. Paul Parmalee, Curator of Zoology, and Jerome Connolly, artist, on Sept. 10-11, 1956.

<sup>28</sup> Diary of Enoch Honeywell, 1815-1820, entry of Jan. 20, 1817, MS., copy in Indiana State Lib.

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the Mississippi and on October 6, 1818, they and the Delaware signed a treaty of friendship with the Cherokee.<sup>29</sup>

Both the Shawnee and their Delaware allies resided in the general area of Cape Girardeau. In 1820 Major Stephen H. Long saw one village of 400 Shawnee and Delaware fifteen miles north of Jackson, Missouri, but government officials were trying to move them farther west.<sup>30</sup> They finally ceded their lands around Cape Girardeau (the Apple Creek lands) on November 7, 1825, by a treaty which was concluded at St. Louis. At this time the main villages of the Shawnee were on the White River in Missouri and the federal government supplied rations from October 21 to November 21 for thirty-three of the families of the Shawnee delegates who stayed at Ste. Genevieve during the negotiations.<sup>31</sup> There were other groups of Shawnee living in Ohio on reservations, and on December 13 of the following year, 500 of them from the area of Wapakoneta passed through Vincennes on their way west. It was said that the Shawnee Prophet and a son of Tecumseh were among this party who spent the winter twenty miles below Kaskaskia.<sup>32</sup> In December of 1827 there were still Shawnee and Delaware living at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and other groups passed through the State of Illinois from Ohio on their way to reservations in 1830.<sup>33</sup> The following year William Clark referred to the Shawnee as "late of Cape Girardeau," indicating that perhaps all of this group had already been moved further west.<sup>34</sup> And on October 26, 1832, the Shawnee and Delaware ceded all their lands in Missouri at the treaty council of Castor Hill (St. Louis County, Missouri).<sup>35</sup> At the time of this land cession, the Shawnee who had formerly resided on Apple Creek and at Cape Girardeau were living on the White River in Arkansas Territory.<sup>36</sup> Four years later it was stated that there were

<sup>29</sup> Treaty of Friendship, St. Louis, Oct. 6, 1818, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>30</sup> Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition* (London, 1823), I, 42, III, 146; Wm. Clark to John C. Calhoun, St. Louis, June 25, 1820, copy in Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>31</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 284-286; ration papers in Pierre Menard and Jean Vallé Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>32</sup> Foreman, *The Last Trek*, 53.

<sup>33</sup> Wm. Clark to Thos. McKinney, St. Louis, Dec. 10, 1827, copy in Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.; Foreman, *The Last Trek*, 56.

<sup>34</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, Washington, Jan. 17, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>35</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 397-399.

<sup>36</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, July 27, 1832, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

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1,250 Shawnee occupying lands west of the Mississippi, and in 1865, there were 851 Shawnee residing in Kansas Territory.<sup>37</sup> In recent years approximately 1,100 Shawnee were living in central and northeastern Oklahoma.<sup>38</sup>

## DELAWARE

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape, meaning "real men" in much the same sense as the Iliniwék refer to themselves as "the men." But the British, who named the river where they lived, called them Delaware. Much speculation has been made about this nation's prehistorical wanderings because of the *Walam Olum*, or migration legend, which purports to be their tribal chronicle.<sup>39</sup> In 1656, however, it is known that they were living near Philadelphia on the west bank of the Delaware River. William Penn made a treaty with them in 1682, but after this date the British became more closely associated with the Iroquois, who conquered the Delaware—an Algonquian people.<sup>40</sup>

About the year 1724 the Delaware withdrew from their old villages to the headwaters of the Ohio River and the Shawnee followed them.<sup>41</sup> From this time forward the Delaware and Shawnee were closely associated. Both were refugees of the Six Nations, without land or adequate support from the whites. The number of Delaware rapidly decreased until by 1751 there were only about 500 warriors left, and their most western village on January 28 of this year was on the southeast side of the Scioto River in Ohio. At this point there were about twenty families and Windaughalah was the chief; the remainder of the Delaware were scattered among the other Indians who lived up the Ohio to the east.<sup>42</sup> Upon occasion the Delaware traveled as far west as the Wabash where they visited the Wea,<sup>43</sup> but at the conclusion of

<sup>37</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, L, 436 (Aug. 27, 1836); *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 3, 1865.

<sup>38</sup> Erminie Wheeler Voegelin, "Mortuary Customs of the Shawnee and Other Eastern Tribes," *Prehistory Research Series* (Ind. Hist. Soc.), II, 227 (Mar., 1944).

<sup>39</sup> Eli Lilly and others, eds., *Walam Olum or Red Score: The Migration Legend of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians* (Indianapolis, 1954).

<sup>40</sup> Kinitz, "Delaware Culture Chronology," *Prehistory Research Series* (Ind. Hist. Soc.), III, 9 (Apr., 1946).

<sup>41</sup> James Logan to Gov. Clarke of N. Y., Stenton (near Philadelphia), Aug. 4, 1737, *Am. Philosophical Soc.*; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VI, 872.

<sup>42</sup> Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 43-44; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 109-110, 156, 229.

<sup>43</sup> Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain William Trent*, 100-101.

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the French and Indian War the Delaware were reported to be living with the Shawnee in two villages; one was seventy miles up the Muskingum River and the other was ninety miles up the Scioto River.<sup>44</sup> In 1768 it was said that most of the Delaware were still on the Muskingum or its branches, but before 1773 Chief Custalaga and 100 of his followers had moved down the Ohio and established a village—by permission of the Piankashaw—near the Wabash River. These Piankashaw later stipulated that the Delaware had equal rights with themselves to the White River lands in Indiana. Although Chief Custalaga moved to the Wabash, about 800 Delaware Indians remained along the Ohio River, evidently near the Scioto River.<sup>45</sup>

At the beginning of the American Revolution, there were Delaware villages near the mouth of the Wabash and some of these Indians were friendly toward the Americans.<sup>46</sup> Their wintering ground was near the mouth of the Ohio where supplies could be obtained from white traders.<sup>47</sup> Not all of the Delaware, however, were friends of the Americans; many fought with the British and raided white settlements.<sup>48</sup> In a treaty council with the Delaware at Fort Pitt on September 17, 1778, the Americans received permission to pass through the Delaware lands in Ohio in order to attack the British, and some Delaware warriors joined the American troops.<sup>49</sup> But many of them on the forks of the White River in Indiana proved to be unfriendly to George Rogers Clark and he killed some of them. Immediately, the remainder surrendered and the Piankashaw declared that the Delaware would remain peaceful.<sup>50</sup> But trouble with them continued and it appeared in May of 1779 that war would occur unless they were moved north.<sup>51</sup> They did move from the White River during the winter of 1779-1780, but the explanation for this may have been a routine winter hunt. They were absent from the old village on White River in April of

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<sup>44</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XIX, 240; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VII, 552.

<sup>45</sup> Thos. Hutchins, "Journal from Fort Pitt to the Mouth of the Ohio in the Year 1768," Canadian Archives, copy in Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 92; Benj. Parke to Sec. of War, Vincennes, July 31, 1816, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, VIII, 396.

<sup>46</sup> A. D. S. by John G. Jones, Harrodsburg, Ky., June 20, 1776, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>47</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XIX, 328.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 396.

<sup>49</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 13-15.

<sup>50</sup> James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781*, 298-299.

<sup>51</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records*. 90, 97, 98.

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1780 but visited Vincennes to trade the following month and returned to their settlement.<sup>52</sup>

Two years later, a group of the principal Delaware and Shawnee chiefs visited the Spanish at St. Louis and asked for peace. According to the Spanish reports, the Shawnee had previously been there (about 1770), but this was the first visit of the Delaware.<sup>53</sup> In November of this year—1782—there were groups of Delaware near the Saline River in Illinois and they were helpful to the Americans.<sup>54</sup> By 1784, however, Delaware Indians were leaving their settlements and moving to the Spanish side of the Mississippi,<sup>55</sup> although the United States made a treaty of peace with them on January 21, 1785. Some of the Delaware, such as Chief Kelelamand (Lt. Col. Henry), had served in the American army and were given protection by the United States since many of their kinsmen had fought with the British.<sup>56</sup> One traveler, Lewis Brantz, reported later that year that there were Delaware encamped at the mouth of the Wabash although their lands had been seized by the settlers and many of the Delaware had fled to the Chickasaw. Their numbers, he thought, amounted to approximately 500 braves.<sup>57</sup>

There was a large migration to the west bank of the Mississippi in 1787; 1,200 Shawnee and 600 Delaware are said to have joined the Spanish.<sup>58</sup> Yet there seem to have been groups of Delaware and Shawnee about Kaskaskia in 1789. Some of the Delaware, who had moved across the Mississippi in previous years, were now living opposite the mouth of the Ohio.<sup>59</sup> Gradually, the Delaware left the White River lands in Indiana and moved into Illinois where they became transients.<sup>60</sup> On January 4, 1793, the Spanish officially recognized the Delaware "squatters" and authorized them to occupy the lands—temporarily—from the Missouri to the Arkansas rivers. Many settled near Cape Girardeau with Chief Le Point du Jour (Dawn). Another

<sup>52</sup> Valentine Thomas Dalton to G. R. Clark, Ft. Patrick Henry (Vincennes), Apr. 16, 1780, Fort Clark (Kaskaskia), May 16, 1780, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>53</sup> Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, 209-210.

<sup>54</sup> John Williams to G. R. Clark, Kaskaskia, Nov. 15, 1782, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

<sup>55</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XX, 230.

<sup>56</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 16-18.

<sup>57</sup> Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting Hist. and Prospects of the Indian Tribes*, III, 342-343.

<sup>58</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 435.

<sup>59</sup> Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records*, 516; Houck, ed., *Spanish Regime*, I, 292.

<sup>60</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XXIV, 375.



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Delaware leader here was Le Corbeau (Crow), who had fifty-two people in his band.<sup>61</sup> All the rest of the Delaware were settled in the Ohio Valley to the east. Those in Indiana Territory were sometimes hostile to the Americans.<sup>62</sup> In January of 1794 there was a camp at the "Big Shawnee Springs" on the Saline River in Illinois Territory and in May an encampment of seventeen Delaware lodges was observed on the White River in Indiana Territory near Vincennes. This last group, however, intended to move west of the Mississippi.<sup>63</sup> And William Henry Harrison reported that after the treaty at Greenville in 1795, many Delaware from more eastern areas moved to the White River.<sup>64</sup>

Moravian missionaries settled among these Delaware, and the Indians attempted to practice farming, requesting that some of their annuities be used to purchase livestock and agricultural implements.<sup>65</sup> However, they needed money and on June 7, 1803, the Delaware ceded the "great salt spring" on the Saline River to the United States and on August 18 of the following year they sold all their lands between the Ohio and Wabash rivers.<sup>66</sup> Since the Miami objected to the sale, they were also paid for this cession in 1805.<sup>67</sup> In this year the Delaware of the White River had two prominent chiefs: Telabuxika and Keehlawhenund (William Anderson).<sup>68</sup> One of the large Delaware towns was located at the headwaters of the White River and only twenty-four miles from Fort Hamilton.<sup>69</sup>

By 1805 the young Delaware braves had become dissatisfied with their Miami neighbors and wished to move west of the Mississippi, but the chiefs did not wish to go.<sup>70</sup> During the War of 1812, many of the Delaware were friends of the Americans, but some of those in Indiana seem to have gone west of the Mississippi. In 1813 a sub-

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<sup>61</sup> Wm. Clark to Pres. of U. S., St. Louis, Jan. 22, 1816, in Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XV, 105; Houck, ed., *Spanish Regime*, II, 68, 97.

<sup>62</sup> Knopf, ed., "Two Journals of the Kentucky Volunteers 1793 and 1794," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXVII, 268 (July, 1953).

<sup>63</sup> Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime*, II, 59-60, 87.

<sup>64</sup> Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, II, 638.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 30.

<sup>66</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 74-76, 81-83.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 91-93.

<sup>68</sup> Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, I, 142.

<sup>69</sup> Meriwether Lewis to Wm. Clark, Pittsburgh, Aug. 3, 1803, Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc. This fort was on the site of the present town of Hamilton, Ohio.

<sup>70</sup> Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, I, 181.

## HISTORIC TRIBES

agent was appointed to serve the Delaware and Shawnee in the Cape Girardeau area of Missouri, indicating that their numbers were increasing.<sup>71</sup> Following the War of 1812, the Delaware who lived along the White River in Indiana, agreed to exchange their lands for a reserve in Missouri Territory,<sup>72</sup> but they did not cede their lands until October 3, 1818. By the terms of this treaty they were required to move west within three years and release all their holdings in the State of Indiana.<sup>73</sup> There were also villages in Illinois, across the Wabash from Vincennes.<sup>74</sup>

Beginning in June of 1820, the Delaware from Ohio and Indiana emigrated under the leadership of William Anderson, Lapahilie, and Nathcoming. This migration lasted through 1822 and their final destination was the Arkansas Country. Many of these emigrants camped for awhile on the west fork of the Current River in Missouri. A few, however, wandered off during the long trek and settled with the Kickapoo in Illinois. The chief of this group, "Murck," was later killed, but these Delaware were given permission by the Sauk and Fox to hunt with them along the Iowa River in 1822-1823. A few Delaware were camped on the Kaskaskia River during the winter of 1823-1824 and some remained in Illinois after this time. Twenty lodges of Delaware were seen upon the Mackinaw as late as August of 1827, although twelve lodges had previously moved to Missouri. And the following year there is a reference to James Gray, a chief, visiting Peoria.

Principal settlements of the Delaware were on the James Fork of the White River in Missouri and Arkansas, but as late as 1827 there were still some at Cape Girardeau. The Delaware ceded all their lands in Missouri on September 24, 1829, and agreed to move to the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 632.

<sup>72</sup> Benj. Parke to Sec. of War, Vincennes, Nov. 27, 1816, Northwest Terr. Coll., Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib.

<sup>73</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 188-189.

<sup>74</sup> Windell, ed., "The Road West in 1818: The Diary of Henry Vest Bingham," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 52-53 (Oct., 1945).

<sup>75</sup> Pierre Menard to Wm. Clark, Kaskaskia, Oct. 8, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Wm. Clark to Thos. McKinney, St. Louis, Dec. 10, 1827, photo., Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.; Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, Fort Armstrong, Sept. 8, 1822, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; William Prince to Sec. of War, Vincennes, Feb. 5, 1821, William Prince Coll., Ind. State Lib.; various bills and receipts in Menard Family Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; R. Graham to

## SHAWNEE AND DELAWARE

William Clark reported in September of 1830 that most of the Delaware intended to move to their reserve near Leavenworth, Kansas,<sup>75</sup> and by 1835 most of these Indians were settled there. They sold their Kansas lands in 1867 and associated themselves with the Cherokee of Oklahoma.

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Wm. Clark enclosed in Wm. Clark to Edward Coles, St. Louis, Jan. 9, 1824, Exec. File, R. Graham to Wm. Clark, Delaware Agency, Nov. 8, 1827, Gov. Corr., Peter Menard, Jr. to Wm. Clark, Peoria, May 23, 1828, copy in Gov. Corr., Ill. State Archives; *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLVI, 144 (Summer, 1953); Foreman, *The Last Trek*, 41, 43; Barry, ed., "William Clark's Diary," *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, XVI, 32 (Feb., 1948); *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 327-328.

<sup>75</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, Sept. 21, 1830, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

## CHAPTER VII

### WINNEBAGO

The Winnebago (also called Puants or Puans) are of Siouan stock, but their neighbors in Wisconsin during historical times were Central Algonquian people and the word "winnebago" itself is Algonquian. Their own name is "Hotcangara" or "Otchagra" which has not been translated satisfactorily. Other tribes closely related to the Winnebago are the Iowa, Missouri, and Oto.<sup>1</sup> Two early observers declared that the Winnebago spoke a "cognate dialect" of the Dakota Sioux.<sup>2</sup> There are several traditions concerning their migration to the area of Green Bay and one of them relates that the Winnebago came to Wisconsin from the lands west of the Missouri River.<sup>3</sup> Yet Jesuits were told that Green Bay had always been the home of the Winnebago, an explanation which does not seem plausible.<sup>4</sup>

By 1657, the Jesuit missionaries had collected information about the Winnebago who were then living around the "Baye des Puans" (Bay of the Winnebago) which is now known as Green Bay.<sup>5</sup> Later, the missionaries learned that the Winnebago had been greatly reduced in previous years by wars with the Illini.<sup>6</sup> When Jolliet and Marquette passed through their country in 1673, the Winnebago were living near the east bank of the Fox River below Green Bay.<sup>7</sup> In May of 1699 "some canoes" of Winnebago were observed on the Illinois River, indicating that they were also familiar with this country. This observer further stated that many of the Winnebago previously had been drowned in Lake Michigan when a storm overtook them.<sup>8</sup>

A British report in 1721 estimated the Winnebago at approximately 600, and Charlevoix related that the Winnebago had moved

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Radin, "The Winnebago Tribe," *Annual Report of Bureau Am. Ethnology 1915-1916* (Washington, 1923), 49, 53; Charlevoix, *Journal*, II, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, 215; Edwin James, "Menominees," MS., Am. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XVIII, 330.

<sup>4</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 183.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIV, 247.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, LV, 183.

<sup>7</sup> Jolliet's map of 1674, Tucker, ed., *Atlas*, plate IV.

<sup>8</sup> Isabel M. Calder, ed., *Colonial Captivities* (N. Y., 1935), 202.

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from Green Bay to Lake Winnebago before his exploration that year.<sup>9</sup> Father Emanuel Crespel also discovered them on Lake Winnebago in 1728 and declared that their name meant simply "the maritime Indians." Eighty of their number, he learned, had returned to live among the Sioux.<sup>10</sup> The Fox, it seems, were attacking them and in 1741 other Winnebago fled to a Mascouten village. Their nation was divided into two groups by 1742: those of the Green Bay area and those of the Rock River.<sup>11</sup> Although the majority of the Winnebago were probably living just south of Green Bay or Lake Winnebago in 1777, the Spanish at St. Louis learned in this year that Chief Lepy, with 150 warriors, was living on the Rock River within two leagues of the Mississippi.<sup>12</sup> This seems to be the first reference to the Winnebago occupying lands in Illinois. George Rogers Clark made a treaty with Chief Chourarchon of the Rock River the following year, but the great village of the Winnebago was at Neenah, Wisconsin, on Lake Winnebago.<sup>13</sup>

In 1786 the Winnebago numbered 600 men and their main village was twelve leagues southwest of Green Bay.<sup>14</sup> Zebulon Pike, the explorer, reported in 1805 that this tribe was composed of seven villages which were located at the entrance of Green Bay; at the end of Green Bay; on Lake Puckaway; at "Wuckan;" at Portage, Wisconsin; and two villages on the Rock River. Pike, who had traveled widely, said that they spoke the same language as the Otoes of the Platte River.<sup>15</sup> Meriwether Lewis, the explorer, related in April of 1809 that a band of Winnebago had moved down the Illinois River and were established there in several places.<sup>16</sup> And in May of that year another man reported that a party of Winnebago had recently come south from Wisconsin and presumably were living near Chicago.<sup>17</sup> But this tribe's main area of residence was still the headwaters of the Rock River.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, II, 57-58; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, V, 622.

<sup>10</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, X, 51, XVII, 248.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 383, 400.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 365-366.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 109; James, ed., *Clark Papers 1771-1781*, 65.

<sup>14</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XI, 486.

<sup>15</sup> Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, 124.

<sup>16</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 258-259.

<sup>17</sup> Bird Pratte to Nathaniel Pope, Wauconda, May 8, 1809, Gov. Corr., Ill. State Archives.

<sup>18</sup> Wm. Clark to Wm. Eustis, St. Louis, July 20, 1810, photo. Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.

## HISTORIC TRIBES

Some of the Winnebago fell under the influence of the Shawnee Prophet and became hostile to the Americans<sup>19</sup> during the War of 1812. They made scattered raids against the frontier settlers.<sup>20</sup> One of their villages in 1812 was up the Rock River at the present site of Prophetstown, Illinois, and others were further up the river in Wisconsin. An old village, called Carimimi, had been located previously on the Fox River of Wisconsin, but some of these Winnebago probably migrated to the Wabash and joined forces with the Shawnee Prophet.<sup>21</sup> After the defeat of the Shawnee Prophet's band, most of the Winnebago returned to their villages in Wisconsin or Illinois. They were neighbors of the Sauk and Fox and in 1815 were moving south to the Chicago, Illinois, and Fox rivers to hunt.<sup>22</sup>

Those Winnebago who lived on the Wisconsin River desired peace with the United States and separated from the other bands; to prove their friendship, they concluded a treaty of peace with the United States commissioners at St. Louis on June 3, 1816.<sup>23</sup> It was hoped by Nicolas Boilvin, the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, that the other hostile bands would also sue for peace, but no record of such an action can be found.<sup>24</sup> According to the traders, most of the Winnebago were living near Lake Koshkonong, and Stephen H. Long confirmed these reports in 1817 by stating that they were around the "Four Lakes": Mendota, Monona, Waubesa, and Kegonsa in Wisconsin.<sup>25</sup> These four bodies of water and Lake Koshkonong form the headwaters of the Rock River. Because of their northern position, the Winnebago often visited the British in Canada and were given presents.<sup>26</sup>

Although Wisconsin remained the center of the Winnebago population, numerous members of this tribe often hunted down the Rock River into Illinois. White Elk's band lived on "the first lake from

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<sup>19</sup> *Am. State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 800.

<sup>20</sup> Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XIV, 506, 519, XVI, 186-187, 212; report from Kaskaskia, Feb. 18, 1812, *Niles' Weekly Register*, II, 69 (Mar. 28, 1812).

<sup>21</sup> John Hay to Ninian Edwards, May 31, 1812 and notes of John Hay, Edwards Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.; Esarey, ed., *Wm. H. Harrison*, II, 59.

<sup>22</sup> Wm. Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau to Turcotte, St. Louis, May 16, 1815, copy in Clark Papers, Mo. Hist. Soc.; Carter, ed., *Terr. Papers of U. S.*, XVII, 201.

<sup>23</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 144-145.

<sup>24</sup> *Western Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), June 12, 25, 1816.

<sup>25</sup> Report dated St. Louis, Oct. 15, 1816, Forsyth Papers, State Hist. Soc. Wis.; *Coll. Minn. Hist. Soc.*, II, 74.

<sup>26</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XVI, 592.

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the mouth of the" Rock—most certainly Lake Koshkonong—during the early 1820's, and his group moved down the river to a spot near the Sauk village for a winter hunt in 1820-1821. Their temporary encampment was probably near Prophetstown. Another Winnebago chief living on the headwaters of the Rock in 1821 was Cahharanch. In spite of their distance from Rock Island (Fort Armstrong), these Winnebago were in the habit of trading there. During the years 1825 and 1826 several important chiefs drew their rations at this post: the Turtle, the Crane, Twisted Mouth, and Fire.<sup>27</sup> George Davenport, a fur trader, reported in November of 1826 that there were 600 Winnebago on the Rock River hunting muskrats.<sup>28</sup>

Some of the Winnebago in 1827 created a minor disturbance which has come to be known as the Winnebago War. Those groups living on the lower part of the Rock River fled north to the Wisconsin River or Lake Koshkonong. Chief Red Bird was said to have 400 warriors near the Wisconsin,<sup>29</sup> and Chief Winnesheek had a village upon the present site of Freeport on the Pecatonica. Perhaps the latter also moved north at this time.<sup>30</sup> When the trouble ended, a treaty of peace was made with these Indians on August 11, 1827, but the United States reserved the right to punish the guilty Winnebago who had committed the "outrages at Prairie du Chien."<sup>31</sup> As soon as peace was established in northern Illinois, some of the Winnebago returned, and in December of 1827 there is a mention of one Winnebago leader who was to figure largely in events to come. His name was Wabokieshiek (White Cloud), but he was better known as the Winnebago Prophet. His mother was a Winnebago from Broken Arm's family and his father was a Sauk. His wife, however, was a full-blooded Winnebago. Although he was not a chief, his leadership as a medicine man was very great. Thomas Forsyth informed William Clark that White Cloud intended to spend the winter near the mouth of Rock River, probably at the place which has come to be known as Prophetstown or lower down near Rock Island. From all appearances he was in favor of

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<sup>27</sup> Report from Prairie du Chien, June 9, 1821, and ration records, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>28</sup> Geo. Davenport to Russell Farnham, Rock Island, Nov. 19, 1826, Ayer Coll., Newberry Lib.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Menard, Jr. to ?, Peoria, Aug. 6, 1827, Wm. Clark to Ninian Edwards, St. Louis, Sept. 3, 1827, Gov. Corr., Ill. State Archives.

<sup>30</sup> *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXX, 219-320 (1923); H. S. Tanner's map of Illinois and Missouri, 1834, National Archives.

<sup>31</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 303-305.

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peace and Forsyth encouraged him to hunt on Rock River instead of joining the Sauk for their winter hunt across the Mississippi.<sup>32</sup> In the spring of 1828 the Winnebago Prophet established himself and his relatives at Wittico's (also spelled Weteco) village which was said to be fifty or sixty miles up the Rock River. Later he visited Forsyth at Rock Island with two or three chiefs and 100 followers. Although another group of Winnebago had fortified themselves at Koshkonong and invited the Prophet to join them, he refused to go and declared that he wished to remain at peace with the whites.<sup>33</sup>

In the summer of 1828 there was another Winnebago village in addition to Winnesheek's on the Pecatonica River; this was probably the camp of Man-ah-kee-tsump-kan (Spotted Arm) which is mentioned in the Green Bay treaty of August 25.<sup>34</sup> As settlers and miners pushed into the lands of the Winnebago, friction developed and Lewis Cass and Pierre Menard called Winnebago delegates to Green Bay for a council in August of 1828. These commissioners offered to buy the mineral lands, but White Crow declared that he had lived on Rock River for ten years and that the Winnebago considered themselves "the masters" of this country and did not wish to dispose of it. The chiefs, however, promised to give a definite answer the following year.<sup>35</sup> Resulting from this council at Green Bay was the establishment, on August 25, of a boundary line between the lands of the Winnebago and the United States.<sup>36</sup> Because minerals had been discovered in this area, the whites were eager to prospect in the Winnebago country. Even Winnesheek decided to dig for lead. One day in 1828 a friend discovered him—with a "red CAP" on his head—emerging from a hole in the ground near the headwaters of the Pecatonica, but the chief declared that he had had no luck.<sup>37</sup>

Spotted Arm and other Winnebago chiefs led their bands to an-

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<sup>32</sup> Felix St. Vrain to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, Apr. 6, 1832, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Samuel C. Stambough to Geo. Boyd, Green Bay, Aug. 28, 1832, copy in Black Hawk War Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; Jos. M. Street to Wm. Clark, Steamboat *Warrior* below Rock Island, June 12, 1833, in *Annals of Iowa*, XVII, 63-66 (July, 1929); Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, n.p., Dec. 2, 1827, Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

<sup>33</sup> Extracts of Thos. Forsyth's reports of May 24, June 25, July 12, 1828, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>34</sup> Extract of Thos. Forsyth's report, July 12, 1828, *ibid.*; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 315-317.

<sup>35</sup> Account of the council at Green Bay, MS., Lewis Cass Papers, Chicago Hist. Soc.

<sup>36</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 315-317.

<sup>37</sup> *Miners' Journal* (Galena), Dec. 27, 1828. Here his name is spelled "Wen-no-shik."



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other treaty council at Prairie du Chien where they ceded part of their land to the United States on August 1, 1829. Among the signers were Wau-kaun-tshaw-way-kee-wen-kaw (Whirling Thunder) and Hoo-wau-noo-kaw (Little Elk). At this time, the village at Prophetstown was the best known of the Winnebago camps in Illinois;<sup>38</sup> Russell Farnham and George Davenport, fur traders, declared in 1831 that they kept a trading post about fifty miles up the Rock River where they did business with the Winnebago.<sup>39</sup> Those bands living toward the headwaters certainly paddled down the river to trade their furs too.

When a white family moved to Prophetstown in order to establish a ferry across the Rock River in 1831, the Winnebago Prophet (who led a mixed band of Winnebago, Sauk, and Fox) drove them away.<sup>40</sup> The British Band of Sauk and Fox led by Black Hawk was also dissatisfied at this time, but they finally crossed the Mississippi into Iowa whereupon the Winnebago Prophet moved down the Rock to the old Sauk village. Most of the Winnebago, however, still lived near the Wisconsin or upper Mississippi rivers.

By August of 1831 the Prophet had moved his little group (now said to consist of Winnebago, Sauk, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo) west of the Mississippi where he joined the British Band. Other Winnebago chiefs asked William Clark to destroy Prophetstown since it was the headquarters of their own renegades. It was thought that the Prophet had seventeen lodges of Indians under his command, and by October of 1831 he may have returned to Illinois since one of the settlers stated that the Prophet had agreed to move up Rock River and remain away from Black Hawk.<sup>41</sup>

When Black Hawk led his British Band of Sauk and Fox back into Illinois on April 5, 1832, the Winnebago Prophet invited him to live at his village.<sup>42</sup> This Winnebago leader "spoke his mind very

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<sup>38</sup> *Galena Advertiser*, July 27, 1829; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 320, 323-325.

<sup>39</sup> Report of R. Farnham and G. Davenport, St. Louis, Nov. 22, 1831, *Sen. Doc. No. 90* (22nd Cong., 1st sess.), 64.

<sup>40</sup> Felix St. Vrain to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, May 28, 1831, *Report of the Indian Bureau 1831*.

<sup>41</sup> Wm. Clark to Sec. of War, St. Louis, June 29, Aug. 9, 12, 1831; J. P. Burnett to Wm. Clark, Prairie du Chien, June 29, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.; Henry Gratiot to Wm. Clark, Gratiot Grove, Oct. 15, 18[31], *Sen. Doc. No. 512* (23rd Cong., 1st sess.), 715.

<sup>42</sup> Felix St. Vrain to Wm. Clark, Rock Island, Apr. 6, 1832, Wm. Clark Papers. Kansas State Hist. Soc.

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freely" to the Americans and it was apparent that war would follow.<sup>43</sup> And when hostilities began, the Winnebago Prophet and some of his followers joined Black Hawk. Quickly these Indians moved up the Rock River to escape the soldiers, but they were followed by a detachment of troops who burned the Prophet's village and also Wit-tico's—the latter was probably in the vicinity of Sterling—on May 14.<sup>44</sup> Eventually, both the Prophet and Black Hawk were captured and held in custody for sometime before being released. As a result of the war, the Winnebago were called to a council at Rock Island (Fort Armstrong) where, on September 15, 1832, they ceded all their remaining lands in Illinois and those in Wisconsin as far north as Lake Winnebago. They further agreed to leave this region by June 1, 1833. It is evident from a study of this treaty that the Winnebago were divided into three groups: those at or near Prairie du Chien, the Fort Winnebago (Portage, Wisconsin) band, and the Rock River group. The last named band was led by the powerful chief Whirling Thunder<sup>45</sup> who continued to trade at John Dixon's store as late as 1833. Other chiefs who traded at Dixon's Ferry were Jarro, whose village was about ten miles above Dixon on the Rock, and the Crane. The Turtle also had a village near the present site of Beloit, Wisconsin.<sup>46</sup>

At the conclusion of the Black Hawk War, John Reynolds, the Illinois governor, thought that a detachment of troops should be stationed either at Lake Koshkonong or the Rock River as soon as the spring grass would support horses.<sup>47</sup> In February of 1833 rumors were heard that the Winnebago planned another war with the support of other tribes, and in April it was reported that 500 had returned to a village above Dixon's Ferry. But John Dougherty, a trader living with the Winnebago, declared that Whirling Thunder was living on Sugar Creek and desired peace.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the citizens of Galena asserted that the Winnebago were "still prowling about their former

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<sup>43</sup> Thos. Forsyth to John Connolly, St. Louis, Apr. 16, 1832, John Connolly Papers, Minn. Hist. Soc.

<sup>44</sup> Journal of Lt. Albert Sidney Johnston (May 14, 1832), MS., Tulane Univ.

<sup>45</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 370-373.

<sup>46</sup> Barge, *Early Lee County*, 74; Henry Gratiot Journal, Jan.-Sept. 19, 1832, MS., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Prairie du Chien file, National Archives.

<sup>47</sup> John Reynolds to Lewis Cass, Vandalia, Dec. 13, 1832, in Greene and Alvord, eds., *The Governors' Letter-Books*, 220.

<sup>48</sup> *Illinois Patriot* (Jacksonville), Feb. 27, Apr. 13, 20, 1833.

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haunts" and had not gone to their assigned lands across the Mississippi.<sup>49</sup> Instead, they had moved north of the Wisconsin River and continued to hunt down into Illinois because they liked the area better. Henry Gratiot estimated that the Winnebago numbered 2,500 in 1836,<sup>50</sup> and at this time they informed members of the American Fur Company that their lands were not for sale.<sup>51</sup> But they were forced to cede all their lands east of the Mississippi by a treaty concluded at Washington on November 1, 1837. They further pledged to move west of the Mississippi within eight months.<sup>52</sup>

Most of the Rock River band of Winnebago were living beyond the Mississippi in 1838; one group, however, was still near the portage from the Fox to the Wisconsin.<sup>53</sup> They were determined not to leave Wisconsin and exclaimed in 1840 that they would rather die than move.<sup>54</sup> Later that year they were removed, some of them by force, to the "Neutral Ground" in Iowa. Six years later they were taken to Minnesota Territory and in 1865 the Indian Office stated that the Winnebago numbered 2,546 persons.<sup>55</sup> In 1950 many of the Winnebago were living at their agency in Nebraska.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), Nov. 16, 1833.

<sup>50</sup> Lewis Cass to Pres. of U. S., Washington, Mar. 1, 1836, in *Sen. Doc. No. 215* (24th Cong., 1st sess.), 1-2.

<sup>51</sup> Joseph Rolette to Ramsey Crooks, Fort Winnebago [Portage, Wisconsin], Oct. 21, 1836, *Am. Fur. Co. Papers*, N. Y. Hist. Soc.

<sup>52</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 544-546.

<sup>53</sup> House of Rep. Exec. Doc. No. 2 (25th Cong., 3rd sess.), I, 466.

<sup>54</sup> *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), May 22, 1840.

<sup>55</sup> *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 3, 1865.

<sup>56</sup> *Resident Population on Indian Reservations 1950*, 8.

## CHAPTER VIII

### MENOMINEE

Although the French called these Indians "folle avoine" or wild oats, they were more properly referred to as *Menominiwok ininiwok* by other Indian nations, meaning "wild rice men." This translation carries the same inference as that of Lenni Lenape or Iliniwok: real men. Edwin James, an assistant army surgeon, learned in 1827 that the Menominee had once called themselves *Maehatiwuk* or *Kiash Maehatiwuk*, but other tribes had changed this to Menominee. Their own name *Maehatiwuk* also means "men," James declared. He also stated that they were quite handsome—having light colored skin—and were very swift runners. To James their language seemed to be a dialect of the Algonquian tongue, but they sometimes spoke a Chippewa dialect when conversing with other Indians or whites.<sup>1</sup> Recent studies indicate that the Menominee belong to the Central Algonquian language group and are members of the "lower tier" as are the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Miami, Wea, Piankashaw, Peoria, Potawatomi, and Shawnee.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps because the Menominee frequently spoke a Chippewa dialect to be better understood, one writer has declared that they are closely related to the Chippewa by language and culture.<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix declared that the Menominee were larger in stature than the Potawatomi.<sup>4</sup>

The Menominee had no tradition of ever having lived at any location other than Green Bay. One report, made in 1640, places them on what is certainly the Menominee River.<sup>5</sup> Here they remained for generations. Father Allouez visited them at this location on May 6, 1670, and remarked that they had been "almost exterminated by the wars." At the time of his visit, Allouez discovered that the young

<sup>1</sup> Edwin James, "Some Account of the Menomonies," MS., Am. Philosophical Soc.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, "Linguistic Considerations of Northeastern North America," *Man in Northeastern North America*, ed. by Frederick Johnson (Papers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundations for Archaeology, vol. III), 182.

<sup>3</sup> S. A. Barrett, "The Dream Dance of the Chippewa and Menominee Indians of Northern Wisconsin," *Bull. Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, Nov., 1911), 254.

<sup>4</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, II, 56.

<sup>5</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, XVIII, 231.

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people were still "in the woods," indicating that in this northern climate they returned late in the spring from their winter hunts. Their language, said Allouez, was Algonquian "although much corrupted."<sup>6</sup> The Marquette report of 1673 describes the method used by the Menominee to gather wild rice, the heads of which stood about two feet above the water. In September the natives paddled their canoes among the patches of rice and shook the heads out into the boats. Then the grain was dried over a fire and put into a leather bag which in turn was inserted into a hole in the ground where it was thrashed by tramping. When the grain had been separated from the chaff, it was ground into flour and cooked with fat.<sup>7</sup>

In April of 1673, Father Louis André, a Jesuit, was at the Menominee village where he observed a picture of the sun which had been painted on a board and attached to the top of a painted pole. Little blocks of cedar wood, similar to those used by the Menominee as floats for fish nets, were also fastened to the pole. This was an offering to the great spirit in order that he might grant them good luck in fishing. André learned that the Menominee were enemies of the Sioux and that their medicine men called upon the thunder for aid and often ran naked into the woods during a storm in order to attract its attention. In 1710 their population was estimated to be approximately 200 braves.<sup>8</sup>

Charlevoix found this tribe still on the Menominee River in 1721 and related that the entire nation was living in one rather small village.<sup>9</sup> By 1747 the Menominee were allied to the Potawatomi, Miami, Sauk, and Fox.<sup>10</sup> Thomas Hutchins found 140 Menominee warriors in the Green Bay region in 1762,<sup>11</sup> and four years later another man described their village of eighty warriors as being two miles up the Menominee. Nekick (The Otter) was their chief. Another village was located on the upper Fox River and comprised forty braves led by Chief Horse.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, 235.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX, 93-95. Wild rice, *Zizania aquatica* L., still exists and has been collected in Illinois also. See G. N. Jones, G. D. Fuller, G. S. Winterringer, H. E. Ahles, and A. A. Flynn, *Vascular Plants of Illinois* (Urbana, 1955), 85.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, LVIII, 273-279; Wm. Keith to Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, Philadelphia, Feb. 16, 1710/9, MS., Ill. State Hist. Lib.

<sup>9</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, II, 56.

<sup>10</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents*, X, 84.

<sup>11</sup> *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, X, 365 (July, 1926).

<sup>12</sup> Journal of James Stanley Goddard, MS., McGill Univ.

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In that same year, 1766, another observer described these two villages and estimated that the total number of warriors was approximately 200. The village on the upper Fox River was said to be about 100 rods west of the fort, meaning the settlement of Green Bay.<sup>13</sup>

One British source of information in 1811 placed the number of Menominee braves at 300,<sup>14</sup> and indicated that a few of them were living on the headwaters of the Rock River.<sup>15</sup> And in the summer of 1812 it was reported that there was an unknown number of Menominee living in northern Illinois.<sup>16</sup> The following year Thomas Forsyth gave more detailed information about these Menominee by saying that they were living on the Fox River of Illinois with the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa.<sup>17</sup> For a wintering ground, some of the Menominee were also using the Mississippi bottoms.<sup>18</sup> At this time one of the principal chiefs was Thomas, who had been a renowned war chief as early as 1796, and another was Ke-Wi-chite.<sup>19</sup> Black Hawk told a British commander at Drummond Island on July 12, 1821, that there were a number of Menominee living among the Sauk and Fox.<sup>20</sup> But the majority of the Menominee resided north of Milwaukee in the Green Bay region. In the summer of 1823 there was a village of Menominee on the Fox River in Illinois, about twenty-seven miles south of the Wisconsin border; another settlement of sixty Menominee and Potawatomi was located on the Kishwaukee River near Rockford, Illinois. Chief of the latter group was Kakakesha (Crow) and the entire village consisted of four large lodges. These Menominee informed the members of Major Stephen H. Long's expedition that they were allowed to remain on the hunting grounds of the Potawatomi because they had intermarried with them.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Fridley, "Papers of Jonathan Carver," *Proc. Minn. Academy of Science*, XXIII, 10 (1955).

<sup>14</sup> M. Elliott to Wm. Claes, Amherstberg, Dec. 9, 1811, *Niles' Weekly Register*, VI, 359-360 (July 23, 1814).

<sup>15</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>16</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, III, 107 (Oct. 17, 1812).

<sup>17</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Wm. Clark, St. Louis, July 20, 1813, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>18</sup> Thos. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, St. Louis, Mar. 31, 1816, *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, XI, 347.

<sup>19</sup> *Coll. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Michigan*, XVI, 482, 483, XX, 443.

<sup>20</sup> *Coll. State Hist. Soc. Wis.*, X, 145.

<sup>21</sup> Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition in 1823*, I, 174, 175, 176, 177-178, 179.

## MENOMINEE

It is possible that the Menominee who had lived in Illinois later moved to the Prairie du Chien region, because it was here that the Sauk surprised a village of Menominee just before dawn on July 31, 1831, and killed twenty-five of the inhabitants within sight of Fort Crawford.<sup>22</sup> This event can probably be called the beginning of the Black Hawk War because it caused an increased amount of Indian animosity and led to the use of troops to suppress the activities of Black Hawk the following year. Even after this war, some of the Menominee continued to venture down the Rock River, and in 1835 a brave from one of these groups murdered a man named Burnette. Quickly the offending band of Menominee was arrested and taken to Green Bay where Ash-obo-ma confessed to the killing.<sup>23</sup>

On September 3, 1836, the Menominee ceded their lands in the Green Bay region to the United States,<sup>24</sup> and on October 18, 1848, they agreed to give up all their claims to Wisconsin. The Menominee further promised to move to a reservation within two years, the reserve to be established in an area ceded by the Chippewa.<sup>25</sup> It was upon the Wolf River, not far from the former home of the Menominee, and comprised twelve townships in Shawano County in northeastern Wisconsin.<sup>26</sup> According to the 1950 census, there were 1,763 Menominee living upon this reservation.

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<sup>22</sup> Jos. M. Street to Wm. Clark, Prairie du Chien, Aug. 1, 1831, Wm. Clark Papers, Kansas State Hist. Soc.

<sup>23</sup> *Galena Gazette & Advertiser*, Dec. 26, 1835, Jan. 23, Mar. 26, 1836.

<sup>24</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII, 506-509.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 952-954.

<sup>26</sup> Huron H. Smith, *Ethnobotany of the Menomini Indians* (*Bull. Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*, Vol. IV, No. 1, Dec. 10, 1923), 10.

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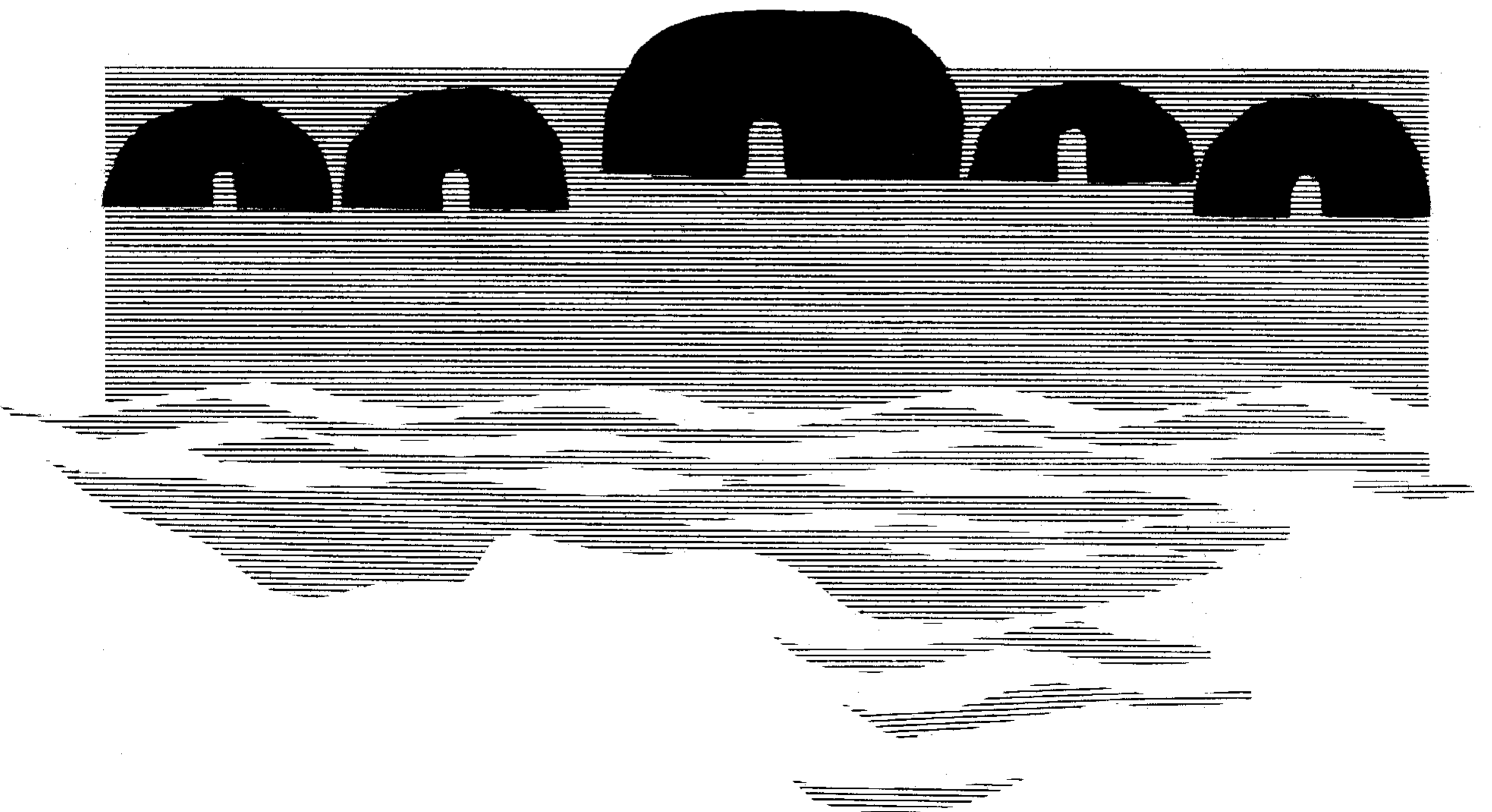
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