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REPORT
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THE undersigned, acting as a committee of
the Graduate School, have read the accompanying
thesis submitted by Miss Lizzie May Brown,
for the degree of Master of Arts,
They approve it as a thesis meeting the require-
ments of the Graduate School of the University of
Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

Colon J. Buck
Chairman
T. S. Jones
C. J. D. Allen

SUBJECT.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN ILLINOIS FROM 1815 TO 1820.

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

BY

LIZZIE MAY BROWN

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FOR

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INTRODUCTION.

The period between 1815 and 1820 falls within the time when the Indians occupying lands in the United States were extremely restless and unsettled. Trouble among themselves and the progress of white settlement were important causes. Another far-reaching factor, especially in the Northwest, was the influence of the British. By Jay's treaty they had been required to give up the posts which they had been holding on the American frontier but their influence over the Indians, due to continued intercourse and skillful dealing, was great. In the War of 1812 the majority of the Indians of the Northwest fought against the United States. Previous to and following this time numerous intermittent acts of hostility on the part of the Indians occurred. The government of the United States, involved in international questions and busy with growing national complications, did not have a well organized policy for dealing with them. Immediately following the War of 1812 the United States endeavored to make permanent peace with the Indians. The trade which had been carried on with them was continued as was also their gradual re-

moval to the west of the Mississippi River.

In these activities the Indians of Illinois had no unimportant part. Up to December 3, 1818, when it became a state, Illinois Territory included the present state of Wisconsin. This treatment will, however, deal with Indian affairs in that portion of the territory comprising the present state from 1815 to that time and in the state from then until 1820.

THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AMONG THE INDIANS OF ILLINOIS.

Because of the roaming habits of the Indians, a definite statement regarding their places of habitation is impossible. Jedidiah Morse after his tour in 1820 among the Indians in the Northwest wrote : "It is difficult to ascertain the definite boundaries of the different Indian tribes, living within a few miles of each other. The Indians themselves give vague and unsatisfactory accounts of their own boundaries, and so do some intelligent traders; who have been from twenty to thirty years trading with them."¹ Nevertheless they usually chose districts where they built and maintained villages for some time, leaving them each fall for the winter's hunt and returning to them in the spring with the furs which they had not sold.² Some idea, then, as to the largest dwelling places of the Indians residing in Illinois during this period may be given.

The Sacs and Foxes were tribes intimately related and closely connected with each other.³ In 1804 they ceded to the United States the land in Illinois which they claimed west of the Fox and Illinois rivers with the provision that

1. Report to the Secretary of War, appendix, 48.

2. Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 304.

3. Hodge, ed. Handbook of American Indians, pt. 1: 472.

they should have the privileges of hunting and living upon this land.¹ That they took advantage of this privilege is certain,² but the exact location of the villages of the separate or combined tribes is doubtful. William H. Crawford, Secretary of War, reporting to the Senate March 14, 1816, located the villages of the Sacs two miles up the Rock River and those of the Foxes on the Mississippi River in Missouri Territory below Prairie du Chien.³ Major Morrell Marston, commanding at Fort Armstrong, Illinois, substantiates this and says, that in 1820 the Sacs and Foxes lived at each other's villages.⁴ During the same year Schoolcraft found them both living at Rock Island.⁵ It is evident that they did not live apart for any length of time but mingled with each other a great deal, and that their most important villages were near the junction of the Rock and Mississippi rivers.

The other tribes living in Illinois may be more distinctly separated although their territories cannot be sharply divided. The Potawatomies claimed land on the Illinois River which was included in the cession of the Sacs

1. Treaty between the United States and the Sac and Fox Indians, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1:693. This treaty was ratified January 25, 1805, Statutes at Large, 7:84.
2. Forsyth to Rufus Eaton, September 8, 1814, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 11:331.
3. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:76.
4. Morse, Report, appendix, 122; Blair, Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi, 2:147.
5. Narrative of An Expedition, 176. Beckwith says the same but is not independent of Schoolcraft, The Illinois and Indiana Indians, 159.

and Foxes in 1804,¹ and the official list of tribes as reported to the Senate² shows that the Illinois River was their usual place of residence as does also their treaty of peace with the United States in 1815.³ Many of these Indians lived near Chicago,⁴ however, and when asked the extent of their territory they answered, "We live on a large tract of country west of Detroit extending to the Mississippi."⁵ Their weaker neighbors to the south were the Kaskaskias, including the old Mitchigamia, Cahokia, Tamaroi, and Kaskaskia tribes and representing all that remained of the tribes formerly called the Illinois except the Peorias.⁶ By a treaty between the United States and these Indians on August 13, 1803, the Kaskaskias unable to occupy the extensive territory which they had claimed up to that time, relinquished their rights to all except three hundred and fifty acres near the town of Kaskaskia and another tract of twelve hundred and eighty acres.⁷ The latter tract was never located and they continued to dwell near the old town of Kaskaskia.⁸ The Peorias did not join the others of the Illinois nation in the cession of 1803 but remained along the Illinois River until the year 1818 when they united with the Kaskaskias

1. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:10.

2. Ibid., 77.

3. Ibid., 2.

4. Indian Census, 1819, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:50.

5. Morse, Report, appendix, 141.

6. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1:687.

7. Ibid. The treaty was proclaimed December 23, 1803, Statutes at Large, 7:78.

8. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:76.

in giving up the greater part of their territory.¹

A large portion of central Illinois was claimed by the Kickapoos. It was reported to the government that they had villages "on the heads of the Kaskaskia River."² Warden says that they "inhabit the country on the west side of the Wabash River above Tippecanoe, and the head rivers of the Illinois."³ His work was published in 1819 and this statement does not in any way conflict with the previous one. In addition to this, the cessions of land made by the Kickapoos at Edwardsville, Illinois, on July 30, 1819 show that their claims extended over much of central Illinois.⁴ The Piankashaws also claimed land near the Wabash.⁵ This they wished to sell to the United States and they declared their intentions of doing so while they were attending the treaties of Portage des Sioux. No mention has been found of any villages belonging to them during this period.⁶ Although the Winnebagoes lived mostly in what is now the state of Wisconsin, they too had villages on the Rock River.⁷

As compared with the southern Indians these tribes were small in number. The exact number of each cannot be

1. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:167.
2. Ibid., 77.
3. Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States, 3:534. This information Warden derived from Samuel R. Brown, Western Gazeteer, 71.
4. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:196.
5. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, October 18, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:10.
6. Ibid.
7. Forsyth to Rufus Eaton, September 18, 1814, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 11:333; Morse, Report, appendix, 59.

given, but an estimate was made by the Secretary of War in September, 1815. This gives the number of warriors and the total number of souls as follows: Sacs, 800 Warriors, 3200 souls; Foxes, 300 warriors, 1200 souls; Potawatomies, 1200 warriors, 4800 souls; Kaskaskias, 15 warriors, 60 souls; Kickapoos, 400 warriors, 1600 souls; Winnebagoes (including those above Prairie du Chien) 600 warriors, 2400 souls.¹

When the British and Americans ceased hostilities, efforts were made to secure peace with the Indians. After a long period of negotiation on the subject, during which the British were very desirous of maintaining the Indian country south of the Great Lakes as a buffer state between the two countries, an agreement was made which was embodied in the ninth article of the Treaty of Ghent.² This provided that both nations should put an end to hostilities with all of the tribes with whom they were not at peace at the time the treaty was ratified. Furthermore they should restore to the Indians all the rights which they had enjoyed before the war as soon as the tribes agreed to desist from hostilities.³ Preparations for carrying this out were soon under way.

1. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:76.

2. Ibid., Foreign Affairs, 3:705 et seq.

3. Art. 9, ibid., 3:747.

The Treaty of Ghent was ratified February 18, 1815¹ and by March 11, 1815 commissioners were appointed to conclude treaties of peace with the Indians on the Mississippi and its waters who were at war with the United States.² Those commissioned were William Clark, governor of Missouri Territory, and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Mississippi region;³ Ninian Edwards, governor of Illinois Territory, and ex officio superintendent for that territory⁴; and Auguste Chouteau, an Indian trader noted for his success in dealing with the Indians.⁵ On May 11, they met at St. Louis and sent out men with invitations to the friendly and warring tribes to meet with them on July 6, at Portage des Sioux, a small place a few miles above the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers.⁶ In most cases white men were sent with the message although Indians were hired to go to the most hostile tribes. The difficulty in procuring persons for these missions caused some delay as did also the fact that some of the Indians were not to be found at their usual dwelling places.⁷ Arrangements were made for presents with which to conciliate the Indians and the

1. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1:560.

2. J. Monroe to Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau, March 11, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:6.

3. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:379, note 31.

4. Edwards to Crawford, November 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:62.

5. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 18:412, note 18; Edwards Papers, 141, note.

6. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, May 15, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:7.

7. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, October 18, 1815, Ibid., 9

War Department advised that those who had maintained friendship with the United States should be treated as well as those who consented to make peace.¹ The presents which were bought for this purpose included a variety of goods such as blankets, cloths, handkerchiefs, flints, powder, rifles, tobacco, pipes, silver ornaments, paints, wampum, and flags.² Although the commissioners realized that many of the Indians were still hostile, they hoped for and made great efforts to bring about speedy negotiations.³

Not all of the Indians of the Northwest, however, were hostile to the United States.⁴ As early as July 22, 1814 - before the Treaty of Ghent - some of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanees, and Senecas made peace with a portion of the Miami, Eel River, Wea, and a small number of the Potawatomi and Kickapoo tribes and promised to aid the United States, while others who had not been hostile promised to continue their previous fidelity.⁵ It is doubtful if any of these Indians lived in Illinois but their intercourse with those farther west makes it impossible to entirely disregard their activities. Soon after the Treaty of Ghent, provision was

1. Monroe to Clark, March 25, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:6.

2. Monroe to Mason, March 27, 1815, ibid., 7.

3. Clark, Edwards, Chouteau to Secretary of War, July 16, 1815, ibid., 8.

4. Dallas to Harrison, McArthur, and Graham, June 9, 1815, ibid., 13.

5. Ibid., 1:826.

made for treating with the Indians in the state of Ohio and the territories of Michigan and Indiana.¹ Many of these had participated in the Treaty of 1814² but complications arose and the government wished to quiet all doubt and fears in the minds of the Indians regarding the supposed advantageous position of the British.³

That there was need on the part of the Americans of influencing the Indians and stimulating friendly relations with them was evident. The posts occupied during the war had been officially given up to the respective countries;⁴ but owing to the lack of buildings for the British troops, those which occupied Mackinaw were permitted to remain and formal possession of the fort was not taken by the Americans until July 18.⁵ Until that time the Indians believed that the British were still victorious in this region.⁶ In addition to this, until the first of July,⁷ the Americans held Malden, a fort on the Canadian shore not far from Detroit, established by the British soon after they were compelled to evacuate Detroit in accordance with Jay's

1. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:13 et seq.

2. Ibid., 1:826.

3. Dallas to Harrison, McArthur, and Graham, June 9, 1815, ibid., 2:13.

4. Treaty of Ghent, American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, 3:746.

5. Dallas to Harrison, McArthur, and Graham, June 9, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs 2:13; Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:397, note 47; Niles Register, 8:435.

6. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, October 18, 1815, ibid., 10; Forsyth to Edwards, August 20, 1815, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 11:342.

7. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 16:149; Niles, 8:402.

treaty.¹ The Indians did not understand this but the trouble expected by the Americans when Malden was surrendered and Mackinaw occupied was not as great as anticipated.² More was shown in other ways.

When invited to meet with the commissioners, the Indians in general did not show a readiness to go to Portage des Sioux.³ Besides the misunderstanding regarding the end of the war, the Indians were influenced by the British. The commissioners charged those trading in the United States with inciting the Indians.⁴ Thomas Forsyth, an Indian agent in Illinois, said he had been informed that the British in Canada had sent a letter to different tribes in the Northwest which was interpreted to the Indians as saying that the Americans were setting a trap for them and would come out and destroy them as they were going to the places of negotiations.⁵ One thing is certain. The British endeavored to continue their friendly relations with the Indians of the United States and invited them regularly to Drummonds Island across from the American agency at Mackinaw⁶ and to Malden across from Detroit where numerous presents were distributed to them.⁷ Whatever may have been

1. This place was also known as Amherstburg. Thwaites, ed. Early Western Travels, 8:81, note 28.

2. Dallas to Harrison, McArthur, and Graham, June 9, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:13; Monroe to Baker, June 3, 1815, Michigan Collections, 16:127; Niles, 8:402, 347.

3. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, July 11, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:8.

4. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, September 18, 1815, and October 18, 1815, ibid., 2:9.

5. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 11:340.

6. Ibid., 19:408.

7. Ibid. 376. This will be shown later in treating of trade with the Indians

the cause the Kickapoos sent only one chief to the council¹ although there is reason to believe that they were not opposed to peace earlier in the spring.² The Sacs and Foxes of the Rock River were strongly opposed to peace during the greater part of the year³ and continued committing murders and atrocities on the west side of the Mississippi River after they had been informed of the Treaty of Ghent.⁴ The persons sent from their tribes to the treaty were insignificant, and so unable to make negotiations.⁵ The Winnebagoes sent neither representatives nor excuses.⁶ The Potawatomes, however, were favorably impressed and some of them living in Illinois went to Portage des Sioux and asserted their claims to land on the Illinois River.⁷

The same spirit was shown at Spring Wells near Detroit where commissioners expected to meet the Indians of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan on August 25.⁸ Some of these Indians had promised before to be friendly to the United States but a sufficient delegation for making a treaty at

1. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, July 11, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:8.
2. Forsyth to Secretary of War. April 30, 1815, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 11:338.
3. Ibid.; Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, May 22, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:7; Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War. October 18, 1815, ibid., 10; Niles, 8:311.
4. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War. May 22, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:7; Niles, 8:311.
5. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:9.
6. Ibid., 10; Niles, 8:263.
7. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:10.
8. Harrison, McArthur, and Graham to Senior Officer, Malden. August 26, 1815, ibid., 15.

Spring Wells did not appear.¹ The British arranged for a council with the Indians at Amherstburg to meet at the same time for the purpose of explaining the articles of the Treaty of Ghent and the majority of the Indians went to the council on the Canadian side.² Although the actions of the British may have been intended for the best, the failure of the Indians to make immediate peace at Spring Wells could not have encouraged the unfriendly ones of the Mississippi to hasten peace in the United States. Nevertheless the British were probably not entirely responsible for the failure of the Indians to appear. Duncan McArthur wrote May 15, 1815, to the Secretary of War that the Indians wanted to continue the war to prevent Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois from being settled and surveyed.³ Thomas Forsyth writing to the commissioners at Portage des Sioux, partially excused the tardiness of the Indians on the grounds that sufficient time was not given to them to travel from their respective homes to Portage des Sioux.⁴ From all appearances, however, this was not the only important factor with the majority of the Indians; the British influence was evidently more effective.

1. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:15.

2. Barrack to Major General Harrison. August 27, 1815, ibid.: Niles, 9:63,64.

3. Indian Office, Michigan Letter Book, 1:59.

4. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 11:339.

At last conditions became more favorable. It was early realized that a display of military force was necessary at Portage des Sioux,¹ And Colonel Miller was stationed near with a small force.² Later word was given that General Jackson, noted for his dominance over hostile Indians elsewhere, would proceed to St. Louis.³ This may have had some effect in inducing the most tardy Indians to negotiate.⁴ Nevertheless, the negotiators were able only slowly to bring the Indians to terms of peace. The treaties with the different tribes were substantially the same. They provided that all acts of hostility should be forgiven, that peace should be maintained and that the friendly relations existing before the war should be reestablished. Provision was also made for giving up all prisoners of war. Besides this, most of the tribes placed themselves under the protection of the United States and many of them reaffirmed their previous treaties. The first treaties were made on July 18, when the Potawatomies residing on the Illinois River and also the Piankashaws came into friendly relations with the United States.⁵ Other tribes along the Mississippi

1. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, May 22, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:7.

2. Ibid., 8; Niles, 8:403.

3. Niles, 8:436 (August 19, 1815).

4. Stevens gives Jackson's reputation a great deal of credit for this. Black Hawk War, 58.

5. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:2,3.

soon followed ¹ but the remaining Illinois tribes were still unwilling to be peaceful.² By September 2, however, the Kickapoos were induced to sign a treaty³ and on the eighth of the same month the negotiations at Spring Wells were completed.⁴ Soon separate treaties were made with the Sacs and Foxes. On September 13, the Sacs residing on the Missouri River reaffirmed their policy of peace as they had not fought against the United States. These Indians had separated from the other Sacs and exerted no influence over them. The Foxes followed on September 14⁵ and other important Mississippi tribes fell into line.⁶ The Winnebagoes were unable to do anything as their chiefs were at Mackinaw.⁷ The Sacs of the Rock River did not begin to desire peace until late in the year⁸ and their treaty was not concluded until May 13, 1816.⁹ When this was accom-

1. July 19, the Sioux of the Lakes and the Sioux of the River St Peters, the Yanktons, and the Tetons signed treaties of peace. July 20, the Makahs did likewise. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:2-6.
2. Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, July 22, 1815, ibid., 9.
3. Ibid., 2.
4. Ibid., 12.
5. Ibid., 3-5.
6. On September 12 the Great and Little Osage tribes west of the Mississippi had made peace. (ibid., 3). The Ioway tribe made a treaty September 16. (Ibid., 1). The Kansas tribe held out until October 28, when their treaty was made at St Louis. Ibid., 5.
7. Forsyth to Edwards, August 20, 1815, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 11:341.
8. Crawford to Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau, November 24, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:12.
9. Ibid., 94.

plished the largest and most powerful tribes in Illinois had made promises of peace with the United States.¹ It had taken a great deal of persuasion and much time but friendly relationships had been established after a long period of war.

1. The treaties of peace made with the tribes of Illinois, with the exception of the one made with the Sacs were ratified December 26, 1815. (Statutes at Large, 7:123-136). The treaty with the Sacs was proclaimed December 30, 1816, Statutes at Large, 7:141.

THE TRADE WITH THE INDIANS.

Early in the history of the United States, the government made provision for the carrying on of trade with the Indians. At Washington, Indian affairs were conducted under the supervision of the War Department¹ with the office of the superintendent of Indian trade at Georgetown, District of Columbia.² Factories or trading stations under the direction of supervisors called factors were maintained at different points for the purpose of supplying the Indians and promoting friendly relations with them.³ The factors reported to the general superintendent for their district. In Illinois there were but two factories. The one at Chicago came under the immediate supervision of Governor Cass of Michigan Territory who had control of the Northwest region while the one at Fort Edwards and all others of the Mississippi came under the supervision of Governor Clark of Missouri Territory. The reasons for this division in the control of the factories were that the facilities for communication and transportation at these points made it necessary that the supplies be sent over different routes and the business was more easily controlled by men living along

1. Act of August 1, 1789, Sec. 1, Laws of the United States, 2:32.

2. Hodge, Handbook, pt. 2:799. Thomas Lorraine McKenney was appointed superintendent April 2, 1816 upon the resignation of General John Mason. McKenney held this position until the factory system was abolished in 1822. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:434, note 67.

3. Hodge, Handbook, pt. 2:799; Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:31, note 48.

the routes over which the supplies were sent. Governor Cass lived at Detroit on the Great Lakes and Governor Clark of St. Louis on the Mississippi so that each was able to supervise the transportation over his respective route.¹

The War of 1812 had brought to the United States the realization that the government must exert a greater influence over the Indians and make them more dependent upon it. In order to do this the government decided to establish strong posts on the upper Mississippi and across to Lake Michigan, and to operate factories under their protection and at other suitable places. The factories which had been established before had suffered during the war and occupation by the British.² The station at Chicago had been built in 1805,³ near the old fort Dearbon which had been established in 1804 and evacuated by Major Nathan Heald in 1812 just before the Chicago massacre.⁴ The fort was rebuilt and occupied by troops from June 1816 until 1823.⁵ Plans were

1. Graham to Edwards, October 29, 1815, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:443; 379, note 31.

2. Monroe to Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau, March 11, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:6.

3. Ibid., 1:768; Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 296.

4. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:2, note 2; Hubbard, Incidents and Events in the Life of Hubbard, 33; Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 134, 217-231.

5. Hubbard, Incidents and Events, 33; Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 267, 283.

made for the restoration of the factory in 1815¹ but owing to the delay in the occupation of the post the factory was not reestablished until 1816. It had been closed at the outbreak of the war by Irwin, the factor, and the stock of furs on hand had been sent to Mackinaw where they were captured by the British while the merchandise was distributed to the Indians when the fort was evacuated.²

When the factory was reestablished, Jacob B. Varnum, who had had some experience in trading before the war, was appointed factor at Chicago. He retained this position until 1822.³ The factory building was inadequate for the purposes for which it served. It was an old log hut and was used by Varnum as both a store and a dwelling. The building was about twenty feet square with a lean-to for a kitchen. The greater portion of the goods was stored in the loft while the remainder was taken care of by Kinzie, the interpreter for the factory. In 1819, however, a more commodious building was constructed.⁴

The Indians were evidently reconciled to the reoccupation of Chicago by the Americans⁵ but the factory did not

1. Mason to Varnum, August 20, 1815, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:391-395.

2. Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 299-301.

3. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:394, note 42.

4. Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 274-276. Quaife took this material from Varnum, Journal.

5. Puthuff to Cass, August 18, 1816, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:432.

continue the extensive trade which it had carried on before the war.¹ The neighboring factories which limited the district of the one at Chicago may have had something to do with drawing off the sales to other directions.² The factories at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien were established shortly after the close of the war and were near enough to attract trade from the Chicago district,³ while the station at Mackinaw drew many to that place because of its location near Drummonds Island where the Indians met periodically to receive presents from the British.⁴

The factory at Fort Edwards was established in 1818.⁵ Mr. Robert B. Belt, a former assistant factor at Prairie du Chien was placed in charge.⁶ Like Varnum he did not attain any great success in this business and the number of Indians trading at that factory was small.⁷

There were many causes operating to prevent the success of the factories. The location of these stations often made it necessary for the Indians to travel some distance before their furs could be sold. By the time they had arrived they usually had little if any left for private traders followed

1. Cf. Morse, Report, 47, and American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:208.
2. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:47.
3. Ibid., XIII.
4. Indian Office, Michigan Letter Book, 1:149, 150.
5. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:228, note 80.
6. Ibid., 19:386, note 36.
7. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:208; Indian Office, Trade Letter Book E, 172; Morse, Report, 57.

them into the forest and secured their furs whenever possible.¹ As financial gain was not a motive of the government in the maintenance of the factories, goods were furnished to the Indians at cost and only articles of the best manufacture were sold.² But the cheapness of the goods did not attract the Indians for they were able to see that the quality of the American merchandise was inferior to that manufactured by the British which private traders supplied to them.³ Besides, there was often delay in the arrival of the government's goods and presents and this shook the confidence of the Indians when they had been promised goods by a certain date.⁴ In addition to this, the factors could not give credit except in special cases and the Indians did not always have the furs to pay for the supplies which they needed.⁵

The regulation which forbade the selling of liquor to the Indians proved, however, the greatest hindrance to the sale of supplies by the factors.⁶ At Chicago this was especially noticeable. In writing to Major Irwin December 5, 1818, Varnum said, "The indiscriminate admission of British subjects to trade with the Indians is a matter of pretty general complaint throughout this section of the country.

1. Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 302 et seq; Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20: XIV, XV.

Hodge , Handbook, pt. 2:779.

3. Morse, Report, 56; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:66.

4. McKenney to Kennerly. January 22, 1817, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:448-450; Bowyer to Cass. July 22, 1817, ibid., 466.

5. Directions for Factors, ibid., 19:326-330.

6. Ibid.

There are five establishments now within the limits of this agency, headed by British subjects. These with the large number of American traders in every part of the country will effectually check the progress of this Factory."¹ He attributes the success of private traders to the sale of liquor among the Indians: "The Indians have been induced to come here this season by the facility with which they are enabled to procure whiskey. In fact the commerce with them this season has been almost exclusively confined to that article. I would venture to say that out of two hundred barks of sugar taken, not five have been purchased with any other commodity than whiskey. I have not been able to procure a pound (of sugar) from the Indians but can get a supply from the traders at ten cents a pound."²

The private traders had many more advantages than the factors although their trade was also regulated by the government. The act of 1802 which continued in force during this period provided that private traders who had licenses might go among the Indians. The licenses were granted on bonds with good security and the penalty for trading without them was forfeiture of goods and a fine of one hundred dol-

1. Morse, Report, 46.

2. Ibid., 47.

lars with imprisonment not exceeding thirty days.¹ Most of the traders who secured licenses before the war were French or half breeds owing their allegiance to Canada.² In 1816 a law to exclude foreigners from the trade was passed. It provided that licenses should be granted to citizens only. The president, however, might make exceptions to the rule subject to his own regulation. The penalty for going into the Indian country without such permission was seizure of goods and a fine of from fifty to one thousand dollars or imprisonment from one to twelve months.³

The president vested in the governors of different territories and the agents throughout the country the right to grant special as well as ordinary licenses for trade.⁴ The agents were stationed at different places and made negotiations for the settlement of the disputes which came up between the Indians and white settlers. They also distributed the annuities to the Indians.⁵ Governor Edwards was superintendent over all the agents in the Illinois Territory except the one at Green Bay until Richard Graham

1. Annals of Congress, 7 Cong., 1 sess., appendix, 1318.

2. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 22: XIII.

3. Annals of Congress, 14 Cong., 1 sess., appendix, 1902; Report of of Committee on Indian Affairs to Congress in 1817, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:127.

4. Crawford to Governor Cass and Indian Agents. May 10, 1816, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:406.

5. Edwards, History of Illinois and Life of Edwards, 543.

was appointed general agent for Illinois.¹ As part of his work Graham was commissioned in 1817 to assist in the marking out of the boundaries of the previous land cessions.²

At Chicago the Indian agent from 1815 to 1819 was Charles Jouett.³ He was followed by Alexander Wolcott Jr.⁴ and John Kingie acted as interpreter for them as well as for the factor.⁵ For a short time Maurice Blandeau was sub-agent at Peoria although by 1818 he was an employee of the American Fur Company.⁷ Thomas Forsyth was made full agent in charge of the Sacs and Foxes in 1819. He had before been a subagent.⁸ In 1804 the United States had promised to keep up a trading house for the Sacs and Foxes but this was never established. A later agreement in 1822 provided for other

1. McKenney to Graham. January 29, 1819, Indian Office, Trade, Letter Book E, 194; Executive Journal, 3:139; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:163; Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:424, note 62.

2. Graham to Cass. November 1, 1817, Edwards, History of Illinois and Life of Edwards, 545.

3. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:340, note 80.

4. Ibid., 20:276, note 9.

5. Indian Office, Michigan Letter Book, 1:413; Quaipe, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 270.

6. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:163.

7. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:356, note 74.

8. Ibid., 227, note 79.

means by which these tribes were supplied.¹ B. Stevenson was evidently subagent at Edwardsville for some time before the first of the year 1821 but nothing has been learned about his activities.² Mention is made of a Kaskaskia agency and disbursements up to and including the year 1813³ but nothing later until 1822 when Pierre Menard is mentioned as sub-agent of the Kaskaskias.⁴

These agents were not always particular regarding the persons to whom they granted licenses and many of the old traders remained.⁵ In addition to this, permits were allowed so that American traders might employ foreign boatmen and interpreters.⁶ The American Fur Company⁷ favored the exclusion of foreigners and profited by the act of 1816 because it drove out the Northwest and other British companies.⁸

1. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:202.

2. Indian Office, Letter Book D, 358; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:365.

3. Ibid., 33.

4. Ibid., 365.

5. McKenney to Southard. January 6, 1818, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:12.

6. Cass to Agents at Mackinaw, Green Bay, and Chicago, April 23, 1818, ibid., 42-44.

7. Organized by John Jacob Astor in 1809, ibid., 19:164, note 20.

8. Astor to William Irving, December 23, 1816, House Files, 14 Cong.

After that it monopolized the trade of the district and continued to employ British voyagers and interpreters.¹ Mr. Ramsey Crooks supervised the trade for the American Fur Company along the Great Lakes.² The Illinois "Brigade" of traders left its headquarters at Mackinaw each fall, came over Lake Michigan, passed through Chicago and thence to the Illinois River where the different traders separated and went to their posts.³

John Crafts was one of the traders at Chicago. He started in this business about 1816 under a Detroit firm.⁴ The date of the passing of the company into the hands of the American Fur Company and the change of Crafts to that company is uncertain. Hubbard would lead one to think that during his trip in 1818 he found Crafts occupying the American Fur Company's log house as its agent.⁵ In a communication to Hurlbut, however, he says that Crafts did not trade for that company until 1822.⁶ Andreas agrees that the transfer

1. Schoolcraft, Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes, 485-487.
2. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:348, note 91.
3. Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 278; Hubbard, Incidents and Events, 28 et seq.
4. Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 269; Blanchard, The Northwest and Chicago, 1:471.
5. Hubbard, Incidents and Events, 37; Blanchard, The Northwest and Chicago, 1:471, Blanchard is not independent of Hubbard.
6. Hurlbut, Chicago Antiquities, 31.

did not come about until 1822.¹ Thwaites says that Crafts did a flourishing business with the Detroit house until 1819 when the other company sent an employee to oppose him and that he entered the American Fur Company's service in 1821.² Schoolcraft found him in Chicago in 1820 but does not say in whose employ.³

Another trader of the American Fur Company who carried on trading operations in the region of Chicago was Jean Baptiste Chandonnai. He is characterized as being very dishonest in his dealings with the company and generous with his supply of whiskey for the Indians.⁴ The same company also located at Chicago about 1818 Jean Baptiste Beaubieu, an old Milwaukee trader.⁵ Nothing definite can be found regarding the success of his trading activities. Like many other traders of the time he married a squaw and lived as the Indians lived.⁶ In 1817 Rix Robinson established posts at South Chicago, Milwaukee, and on the Illinois River. He was probably not connected with the American Fur Company, however, until some years later.⁷

1. History of Chicago, 1:93. Quaife says the same but is dependent upon Andreas.

2. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:182, note 40.

3. Narrative of an Expedition, 197.

4. Andreas, History of Chicago, 1:94, 95; Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:159, note 12.

5. Ibid., 455, note 81; Andreas, History of Chicago, 1:85.

6. Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 278.

7. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:217, note 67.

Other posts of the American Fur Company were to be found in different parts of Illinois. Antoine De Champs was the head agent for all that territory except Chicago.¹ Gurdon S. Hubbard who later bought out the interests of the company in Illinois² was one of the traders there during the years 1818 and 1819.³ His post was near the Illinois River about a mile above the present town of Hennepin.⁴ On his trip down that river in 1818 he mentions passing several Indian villages where he found the Indians friendly and gave them powder and tobacco in exchange for meat and corn. At Peoria he saw the Indians dancing about the burning Fort Clark. They thought that Hubbard was a young American and expressed their dislike for the Americans. The young trader was so enraged by the actions of the Indians that he pointed a gun at one of them but was saved from a dangerous quarrel by one of the men of his party. The incident was not forgotten. When Hubbard on his return trip arrived at his post, Waba, the Indian chief of that district, called upon him. He admired the young trader for the bravery which he had displayed at Fort Clark and they became great friends. Hubbard appears to have been successful

1. Hubbard, Incidents and Events, 23.

2. Ibid., 148.

3. Ibid., 58.

4. Ibid., 44.

at his post but returned to Mackinaw in March, 1819.¹

The life of the trader as described by Hubbard was very primitive. His cabin was made of logs which were daubed in the cracks and openings with cement made of clay and ashes. The roof was covered with long grass which was held in place by other logs. The floor and door were made of punch-ions while the hole left for the window was covered with oil paper. The bunks were placed in a row, one above the other and the bedding consisted of coarse grass, skins, and blankets. The table and a three-legged stool constituted the additional furniture while the rude fireplace occupied considerable space. The only tools each outfit had were an axe, a tomahawk, an auger, a scalping knife and a crooked knife rounded at the end. Usually meat and honey with wild turkey as a substitute for bread were the only victuals. The clothing which Hubbard wore was made of buckskin and he carried a knife, a sheath, a tomahawk, and a tobacco pouch. Beebeau, the old trader at the post was still the master but as he was ill most of the time Hubbard did the work. He kept the books, was present at sales, especially those which were made for furs on credit, and spent the remainder

1. Hubbard, Incidents and Events, 44-58.

of his time hunting and trapping.¹

There was another post about three miles below Peoria. This was called Opa post and was controlled by Mr. Beason.² In 1816 Colonel George Davenport went to Rock Island. For some time he was engaged here as a trader for the American Fur Company. At the same time he was also engaged in the lead trade.³ Mention is made by Hubbard of various trading posts of the company along the Mississippi and Illinois rivers but nothing definite is said about them.⁴ As a rule the traders did not remain at the same place all the time. Hubbard spoke of going to Rock River during the winter of 1818 and 1819. He said that he took packs of goods with him which he exchanged for furs and peltries.⁵

Taken as a whole the private traders were much more successful than the factors. Most of the private traders were British in spirit if not in allegiance and they used British methods. They were acquainted with the habits and customs of the Indians in a manner in which only relations covering a long period of time could bring about.⁶ In

1. Hubbard, Incidents and Events, 51-57.

2. Ibid., 45, 58.

3. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:357, note 75; 13:286.

4. Hubbard, Incidents and Events, 49.

5. Ibid., 56.

6. Puthuff to Secretary Crawford, January 12, 1817, Indian Office, Letters Received. S. Ste. Marie No. 3. 1829-1832, pp. 723-739.

the fall when the Indians went deeper and deeper into the woods to hunt, the traders followed them living a savage life themselves. They encamped a short distance from the Indians' temporary home and enticed them from time to time, when they had been successful in collecting furs with displays of useful and ornamental goods. More than this they allowed the Indians credit so that they might have provisions with which to continue their work.¹ Although the instructions given by the superintendent to private traders contained a prohibition of the sale of liquor, their supply was usually generous as were also their presents.² The Indians were not able to withstand these temptations and so sold most of their furs to, and bought most of their supplies from, these men.

There were also other factors which were operating against the government system. Realizing the need of Indian aid or at least neutrality, in any future war which might come up with the United States and providing for the safety of upper Canada, the British not only promoted more vigorously their policies of trade as a security against Indian depredation but endeavored to maintain the friendship

1. Marston to Morse, Blair, Indian Tribes of the Mississippi, 2:176.

2. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 20:87, 108.

of the Indians by giving them numerous presents.¹ Periodically the Indians were invited to Malden and given clothing, arms, and ammunition.² The effect of this, as Governor Cass saw it, is given in a letter written by him to Calhoun, secretary of war, August 3, 1819 where he says, "The Indians are invited to that place and on their journey going and returning through the settlements in this territory they assault the inhabitants, steal their horses, kill their cattle and hogs, forcibly enter their houses and take thence whatever they may find and want, and thus keep the frontier in a continual state of alarm. Scarcely a day passes but complaints are made to me of injuries they committed equally wanton and unprovoked in their character, and injurious and alarming in their effects. In nine cases out of ten the Indians who are guilty of these aggressions are on their return from Malden carrying with them British presents and British counsels."³ In regard to the presents he said, "A suit of clothes and a handful of powder with a due proportion of shot and balls is annually given to each Indian besides particular presents to influence the chiefs and a proper distribution of arms, kettles, and other articles."⁴ To him this appeared entirely unjustifiable and without excuse as he said, "The British

1. Michigan Collections, 16:67.

2. Forsyth to Edwards, March 31, 1816, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 11:346; Michigan Collections, 13:337.

3. Copy enclosed in Secretary of War to Secretary of State, August 28, 1819, United States, State Department, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Miscellaneous Letters,

4. Ibid.

government has purchased no land of these Indians and owes them no annuities. The distribution of presents is not the payment of a debt nor the price of services justly rendered."¹ Cass was undoubtedly prejudiced against the British for the presents, or some of them at least were probably given as annuities for services during the war.² It is evident, nevertheless, that there was cause to fear the influence of the British upon the Indians.

At Drummonds Island the British carried out the same policy. William Henry Puthuff, Indian agent at Mackinaw from 1815 to 1818, a man particularly suspicious of the British influence,³ was also aroused by the quantity of presents given to the Indians when they made their periodical trips to Drummonds Island, and feared the outcome.⁴ Specific mention is made that as late as the autumn of 1817 the Sacs and Foxes from the Mississippi and many of the Indians living in Wisconsin and Illinois passed through Mackinaw on their way to that place.⁵ The British themselves speak of the continuation of great numbers of some of the tribes to come several years later,⁶ and Schoolcraft could not help noticing in 1820 the effect upon the Indians of the distribution of

1. Copy enclosed in Secretary of War to Secretary of State, August 28, 1819, United States, State Department, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Miscellaneous Letters.

2. Michigan Collections, 30:176.

3. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 19:407, note 55.

4. Puthuff to Cass. August 20, 1817, ibid., 472.

5. Ibid.; Morse, Report, 44, 54.

6. Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to Secretary of Indian Affairs. Montreal, July 22, 1823, Michigan Collections, 23:128.

presents at Malden and Drummonds Island as they turned to the old traders of the British for counsel and supplies.¹

It is evident that the trade with the Indians so far as it was controlled by the government, was gradually declining. The American Fur Company, employing the old traders who were largely French or half breeds, monopolized the greater portion of the Illinois trade. Although these traders supplied the Indians with their material necessities, the methods which they used were such as fostered excitement and restlessness.

1. Narrative of an Expedition, 219.

THE PROGRESS OF INDIAN REMOVAL.

The idea of the removal of the Indians from the lands which they claimed, to regions farther and farther west originated in 1803 at the time of the Louisiana purchase.

It was developed as time went on until Indian removal became a national policy. The Indians were usually summoned to meet the commissioners of the United States at a general council where negotiations were made for the cession of certain tracts of land by the tribes who inhabited or claimed them. In return for this the government gave presents to the tribes at the time of the treaty and promised them other lands or annuities of specified amounts, or both.

The alliance of the Indians with the British in the War of 1812 caused a more vigorous and a more extensive promotion of the removal policy under the leadership of General Jackson, President Monroe, and Secretary Calhoun. The losses of life and property in the Northwest made the few settlers there desirous of seeing the Indians removed. As time went on the desire increased for the small tribes in the north were exceedingly quarrelsome and the treaties of amity did not bring entire freedom from disturbance or agitation.

In addition to this the attractions of the West, made more widely known by the war in that region, caused an increase in the westward flow of population and in the number of those seeking land. The demand for land was not greater than the supply but those interested in the development of the West thought that there should be an open unsettled region to entice more settlers.¹

The Sacs and Foxes had relinquished their title to the land between the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers² by the treaty of November 3, 1804 but they had retained the privileges of living and of hunting upon this tract as long as it remained the property of the United States.³ After the war two million acres of this tract was given to the soldiers as bounty land. The Indians were very much displeased and very hostile towards the surveyors who came to mark out the land so that further negotiation was necessary.⁴ The treaties at Portage des Sioux in 1815 were made with the principal object of securing peace but the Sacs of the Missouri River and the Foxes were persuaded to confirm their cession of 1804.⁵ The Sacs of Rock River continued

1. Abel, "Indian Consolidation" in American Historical Association, Report, 1906, vol.1: 241-278.
2. See map No. 1.
3. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:74.
4. Abel, "Indian Consolidation" in American Historical Association, Report, 1906, vol. 1: 288, note (a); Graham to General Thomas A. Smith. November 6, 1815, Indian Office, Letter Book C. 273-274; Niles, 9:15.
5. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:120, 121.

to make trouble and did not confirm the cession of 1804 until May 13, 1816 when they made peace with the United States.¹

The Sacs and Foxes were not the only tribes who claimed rights to the military bounty land. The Potawatomes were in the habit of hunting upon them. To satisfy these tribes, Governor Edwards was authorized in 1815 to give them two thousand dollars because of the inconvenience they would suffer if they discontinued the practice.² The Potawatomes, however, were unable to make the cession alone because of the additional claims of other tribes. These were the Ottawas and Chippewas, most of whom were living in what is now the ~~present~~ state of Wisconsin. The tribes united on August 24, 1816 in making a treaty with Edwards, Clark, and Chouteau at St. Louis. They promised to relinquish their claim to all the land included in the Sac and Fox cession of 1804 lying "south of a due west line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River."³ The title to the land north of this line included in the cession of the Sacs and Foxes in 1804, was relinquished by the United States and given to the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatomes. An exception was made of a few

1. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:126.

2. Graham to Clark, November 10, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:11; Clark, Edwards, and Chouteau to Secretary of War, October 18, 1815. ibid., 10.

3. See map No. 2.

reservations" that would not in the whole exceed the quantity that would be contained in five leagues square,"¹ with the expectation that these reservations would be chosen in such places that they would include the lead mines at Galena, Illinois.² The Sac and Fox cession had included about 9,803,520 acres. The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi cession included less than 1,274,880 acres which is the estimated amount of ^{all} the land ceded by these tribes on August 24, 1816.³

In addition to a portion of the 1804 cession the amount ceded by the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatomes included land near Lake Michigan. On August 24, 1816 the government also gained possession from these tribes of a route by the Chicago River and portage to the Illinois River by the cession of a strip of land twenty miles wide which extended from Lake Michigan to the Kankakee and Fox rivers.⁴ Permission was given to the tribes to continue hunting and fishing in the region.⁵ This did not interfere with the designs of the government which purchased it with the expectation of constructing a canal to connect the

1. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:132.

2. Wisconsin Historical Collections, 13:286.

3. Morse, Report, appendix, 385.

4. See map No. 1.

5. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:132.

rivers. The commissioners prevented hostilities by leading the Indians to believe that the canal would greatly benefit them¹ and the treaty was proclaimed December 30, 1816. In addition to the land given over to the tribes by the United States,² they were also given a considerable amount of merchandise on the day of the treaty and promised goods to the value of one thousand dollars annually for twelve years.³ The Secretary of War, writing to Governor Edwards, November 1, 1817, emphasized especially the desirability of staking out definitely the boundary line of the land cession in Illinois. He believed that the land, if surveyed, would draw many settlers from New England and New York as the Great Lakes route was made more safe by the cession of 1816.⁴

Following these cessions the government realized more fully that the cession of August 13, 1803 with the Kaskaskias⁵ was not entirely satisfactory. The Piankashaws had given up whatever claims they had to the land and had acknowledged the right of the Kaskaskias to sell it on

1. Edwards, History of Illinois and Life of Edwards, 99.

2. See map No. 2.

3. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:132.

4. Edwards, History of Illinois and Life of Edwards, 545.

5. See map No. 1.

August 27, 1804.¹ But since all Indian claims to the military bounty lands had been given up and early settlement was expected, the desirability of possessing the title to the land connecting the Kaskaskia and Sac and Fox cessions was realized by the government.² The Peorias had not joined in the treaty of 1803 with the Kaskaskias and they claimed land along the Illinois River.³

Late in the year 1817 Governor Clark and Governor Edwards were appointed to negotiate with the Kaskaskia, Peoria, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo tribes for the purpose of obtaining the cession of land between the cessions of the Kaskaskias and the Sacs and Foxes. They were authorized to remove those who wished to go to land west of the Mississippi and to give to others annuities sufficient to pay for the relinquishment of all their claims. Six thousand dollars were set aside for the purpose of buying presents for the tribes, the rations necessary for the Indians while attending the treaty were provided for, and the commissioners were allowed eight dollars per day.⁴ As Governor Clark found it impossible to assist, he resigned and his place was

1. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:72.

2. Secretary of War to Governor Edwards. February 28, 1817, Edwards, History of Illinois and Life of Edwards, 540.

3. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:165.

4. Monroe to Edwards. April 13, 1818, Edwards, History of Illinois and Life of Edwards, 521; Graham to Clark and Edwards. November 1, 1817, ibid., 544.

taken by Auguste Chouteau,¹ who feared dissension on the part of the Indians and considered it necessary that all their annuities be paid promptly by Graham, the Indian agent for Illinois. Chouteau also expressed regret that Fort Clark on the Illinois River had recently been evacuated.² A treaty was made, nevertheless, without much display of hostility. On September 25, 1818 the Peorias united with the other of the remaining Illinois tribes, that is the Kaskaskias, Michigamia, Cahokia, and Tamaroi tribes, in confirming the cession which had been made by all except the Peorias on August 13, 1803. In addition to this the land claimed by the Peorias was also given up so that the tract as enlarged extended to the Illinois River.³ Two Thousand dollars worth of merchandise was given to the tribes at the time, while a twelve year annuity of three hundred dollars was promised to the Peorias. The Peorias also received land in Missouri Territory. The treaty was proclaimed January 5, 1819.⁴

Several treaties were necessary also before the United States had exclusive title to the land along the Wabash

1. Calhoun to Chouteau. March 7, 1818, Indian Office, Letter Book D, 123; Calhoun to Edwards, March 7, 1818, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:173.

2. Chouteau to Edwards, July 17, 1818, Washburne, ed. Edwards Papers, 143.

3. See Map No. 1.

4. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:165.

River. When ceding a large tract of land in Indiana on September 30, 1809 the Delawares, Potawatomes, Miamies, and Bel River Miamies included a strip fifteen miles wide in Illinois to the northwest of the Upper Wabash¹ They made the condition, however, that the treaty should go into effect only when the Kickapoos agreed to it.² On December 9, 1809 the Kickapoos consented to this and also gave up their title³ to a small tract between this and the Vermillion River which flows into the Wabash.⁴ Difficulties arose, however, in the surveying of the land along the Wabash because of the indefiniteness of the boundaries of the tracts. Benjamin Park and Fidelio C. Sharp, the commissioners appointed to make a treaty with certain tribes of Indians at Fort Harrison, Indiana Territory, were given five thousand dollars with which to satisfy the Indian claims in that district.⁵ The Weas who resided mostly in Indiana claimed some of this land nearest the Vermillion River. They joined with the Kickapoos on June 4, 1816 in a treaty in which the Kickapoos reaffirmed their cession of 1809 but the Weas sanctioned only the cession of the southern portion.

1. See map No. 1.

2. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:101.

3. Ibid., 104.

4. See Map No. 1.

5. Crawford to Clark and Sharp. May 13, 1816, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:96.

This treaty was proclaimed December 30, 1816.¹ The Weas did not confirm the cession of land near the Vermillion River until October 2, 1818 when they were persuaded to do so by Jonathan Jennings, Benjamin Park, and Lewis Cass at St. Marys, Ohio, in return for the promise of annuity of one thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars in addition to their former annuities.²

On the same date the same commissioners made a treaty with the Potawatomes providing for a cession of land in Indiana, of which a small portion extended into Illinois just north of the Wea and Kickapoo cession.³ At this time the United States promised to the Potawatomes a "perpetual annuity", of twenty five hundred dollars in silver. They also agreed to grant to certain specified persons and their heirs small tracts of land, with the proviso that the titles should never be changed without the consent of the president, and promised to purchase from the Kickapoos any claim which they might have to this tract.⁴

In addition to a claim to this tract the Kickapoos asserted a right to the land in the Peoria cession on the grounds of ownership by their ancestors, conquest from the

1. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:131.

2. Ibid., 169.

3. See Map No. 1.

4. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:168.

Illinois tribes, and possession for many years.¹ It was decided that greater success would result if a separate treaty was made with them.² Much opposition on the part of the tribe was shown. Their neighbors, the Potawatomes who still retained some land in Illinois endeavored to induce them not to give up their lands and traders were opposed to their moving west of the Mississippi.³ On July 30, 1818, however, Chouteau and Stevenson were able to negotiate a treaty with the Kickapoos at Edwardsville, Illinois by which they gave up their claims to all of the central part of the state east of the Illinois River.⁴ The right to their old annuity was relinquished, on the promise of a new annuity of two thousand dollars for fifteen years. Many presents were given to the tribes in addition to the land in Missouri Territory.⁵ The treaty was not proclaimed until January 13, 1821 on account of the Senate's refusal to ratify it until a clause providing for a change in Indian tenure was removed.⁶ The Kickapoos of the Vermillion River sold their land in this district a month later.⁷

1. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:182.

2. Washburne, ed. Edwards Papers, 141.

3. Chouteau and Stevenson to Calhoun. June 7, 1819, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:197.

4. See map No. 2. This cession is consolidated with the cession of the Kickapoos of the Vermillion a month later, on the map.

5. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:182.

6. Executive Journal, 3:214; Abel, "Indian Consolidation" in American Historical Association Report, 1906, vol.1:292.

7. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:184.

The relinquishment by the Indians of the title to this large tract of land was of great importance to the state of Illinois. The tract overlapped the Peoria and Kaskaskia cession of 1819 and the Piankashaw cession of 1805¹ so that the title to much of that land which had been only nominally held before, became actual. At the time some stress was put upon the importance to the government of the lead and copper mines on the Vermillion River.² The chief importance of the cession, however, lies in the facts that it connected the land already given over to white settlement and that preparations were made for the removal of one of the most enterprising and warlike tribes.³

In 1820 the United States had exclusive title to the larger portion of the land in Illinois.⁴ They had partial claim to some of the remaining land⁵ while the Indians had exclusive title to the rest.⁶ There were many villages of white settlers along the rivers in Illinois and scattered settlements elsewhere. The white population had largely

1. See map No. 1.

2. Prince to Calhoun, April 15, 1819, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:197

3. Chouteau and Stevenson to Calhoun, August 20, 1819, American Historical Association, Report, 1906, vol. 1:292.

4. See maps No. 1 and 2. The United States had secured from the Indians title to all land shown on the map which is not enclosed in the dotted red lines.

5. The Kickapoo and Kaskaskia tribes had sold to the United States their rights to this land but the Potawatomes still claimed that region. (Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:353) See the part marked A. Map No. 1.

6. The Potawatomes still had exclusive title to part of this. See the part marked B. Map 1. The Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatomes, and Winnebagoes owned the remainder. See the part marked C. Map 2. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:353, 297, 300, 345, 402.

increased between the years 1815 and 1820 due in some measure, at least, to the removal of many of the Indians.¹ A great number of the Indians, nevertheless, remained in the state. The small tribe of the Kaskaskias still lived near the old town of Kaskaskia for by the treaty with the Kickapoos of the Vermillion September 5, 1820 the United States promised to give the annuity of that tribe to the Kaskaskias in Illinois as the Kickapoos of the Vermillion River were leaving that region.² The other Kickapoos were delayed in moving for some time because of the refusal of the Senate to ratify their treaty. When all arrangements had been made, Kanakuk, a prophet, arose among them urging them to remain in Illinois, to give up their old customs, and to live at peace with the United States. Some remained and he became their chief.³ The Potawatomes remained as they not only retained the land which was relinquished to them in 1816 by the United States but claimed some of that ceded by the Kaskaskias in 1818 and by the Kickapoos in 1819.⁴ Some of the Winnebagoes were evidently living in Illinois or claiming land there for they later relinquished a claim to a por-

1. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 10:327; Boggess, Settlement of Illinois, 106; Warden, Statistical, Historical, and Political Account of the United States, 3:57.

2. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:191.

3. Hodge, Handbook, pt. 2:650.

4. Calhoun to Clark, October 5, 1820, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:229. This claim was not relinquished until October 20, 1832. Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:353.

tion of the tract which the United States had given up to the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatomes in 1816.¹ A part of the Sacs and Foxes still retained the privilege which had been granted to them of living on the lands which they had formerly owned in Illinois for the squatters who began to come in, in 1822 and 1823 were not satisfied until they had preempted the land on which the Indian villages were built. The Sacs and Foxes continued to trouble them until the Black Hawk War.²

Although there were apparently many Indians in Illinois in 1820 their numbers had been gradually decreasing. It was reported in 1825 by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of War that there were 6,706 Indians in Illinois including the Sacs and Foxes on both sides of the Mississippi River. In addition to this there were 3,900 Chippewas and Potawatomes in Indiana and Illinois, the numbers of which cannot be determined separately for each state.³ The general condition of the Indians of Indiana and Illinois in 1820 is well described by Morse; " The most of them have sold their lands and are either still lingering on them, unwilling to take a last look over the fertile

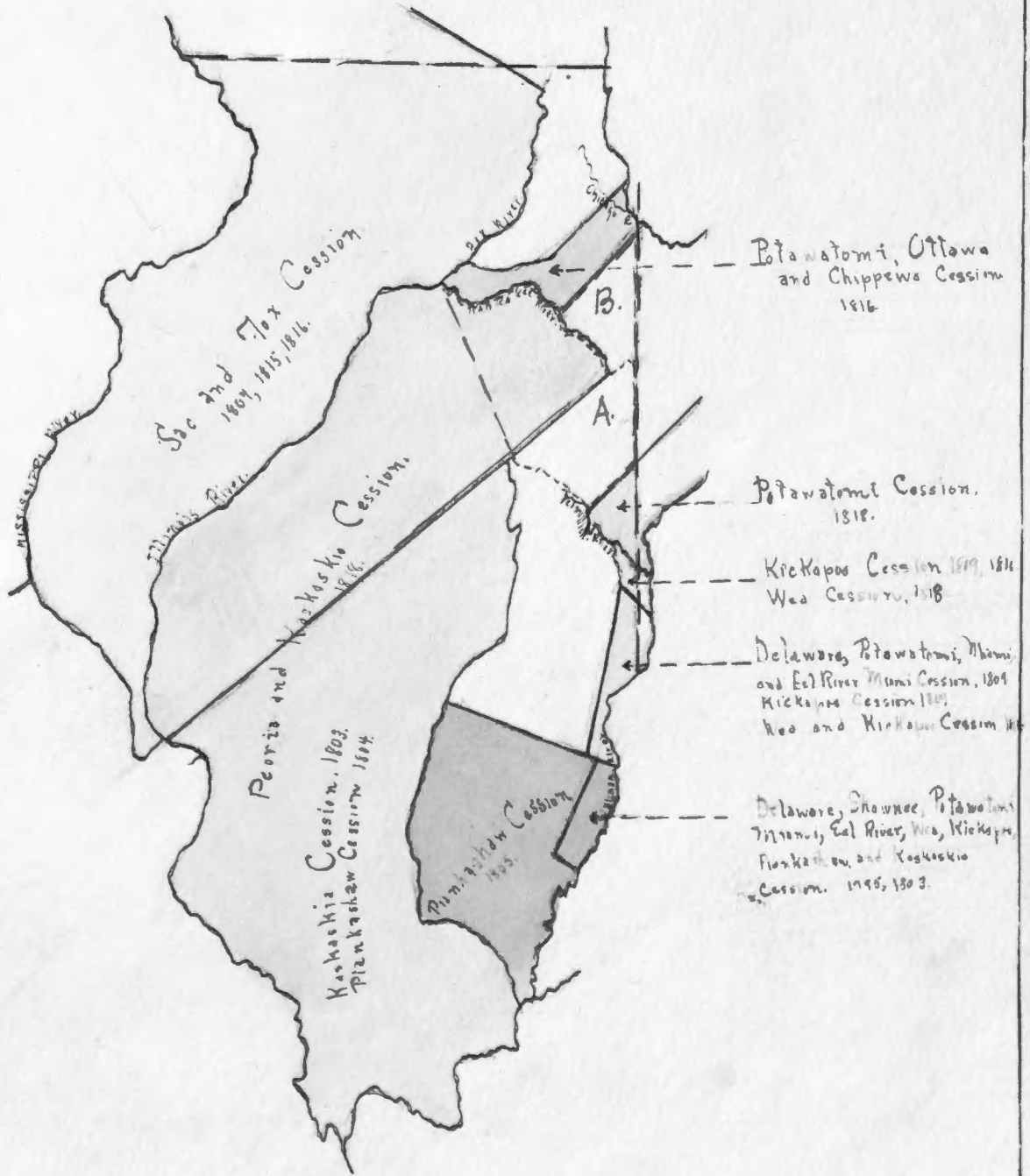
1. This claim was relinquished August 1, 1829, Kappler, Indian Laws and Treaties, 2:300.

2. Wisconsin Historical Collections, |2:222-226.

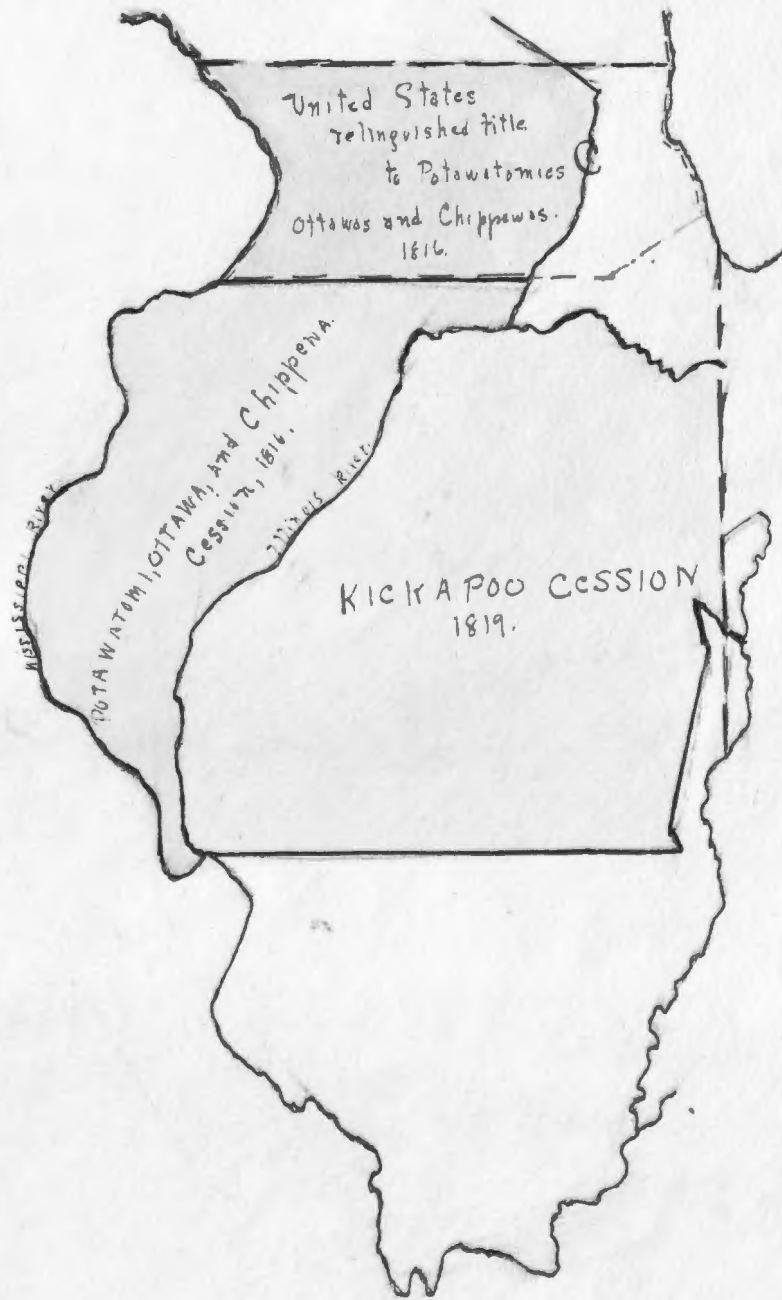
3. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 2:546.

fields which they once called their own, and at the bounds which contained the bones of many generations of their ancestors: or they are scattered and roaming without a home in the territories of strangers. Not many years since, we could point to the populous villages of these Indians, and knew where to direct our efforts for their benefit. Now we ask the question 'Where are they?' and there is no one among us who is able to give an answer. The most of them, however, are already gone, or are going, beyond the Mississippi, to some spot selected or to be selected for their future 'permanent' residence."¹

1. Report, 29.



Copied from map of Illinois:
 C.C. Royce, INDIAN LAND CESSIONS.



Copied from map of Illinois
C.C. Royce, INDIAN LAND CESSIONS.

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they include instructions and correspondence, and reports and communications on the Indian trade. Vol. 3 of foreign affairs contains material regarding the treaty of Ghent.

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These volumes contain the debates and proceedings of Congress. Each volume has an extensive appendix with important state papers, public documents, the laws of a public nature, and a copious index.

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thing of their characteristics and land cessions is related in this volume. It is based upon Schoolcraft, Reynolds, Parkman, Brown, Ford and others and is not of much value.

Bioren and Duane, Laws of the United States of America including the constitution of the United States, the old act of the confederation, treaties, and many other valuable ordinances and documents, with copious notes and references. Arranged and published under the authority of an act of Congress, Philadelphia and Washington, 1815, 5 vols.

Laws regarding Indian affairs have been taken from this edition.

Blair, Emma Helen, editor, The Indian tribes of the upper Mississippi valley and region of the great lakes as described by Nicolas Perrot, French commandant in the northwest; Bacqueville de la Potherie, French royal commissioner to Canada; Morell Marston, American army officer; and Thomas Forsyth, United States agent at Fort Armstrong, Cleveland, Ohio, 1911-1912, 2 vols.

These memoirs and accounts were translated, edited, and annotated, by Miss Blair. She has also added a bibliography, appendices, illustrations, a map, and an index. The "Memoirs relating to the Sauk and Foxes including a letter to Reverend Dr. Jedidiah Morse by Major Morell Marston, U. S. A., commanding at Fort Armstrong, Illinois, November, 1820" and the "Account of the manners and customs of the Sauk and Fox nations of Indian traditions" which is a report sent to General William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs by Thomas Forsyth, Indian agent for the United States government, St. Louis, January 15, 1827, both taken from the original manuscripts in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, have been valuable for this treatment. The appendices have also been useful.

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This is a comprehensive encyclopaedia of the American Indians containing among other things material on the tribes, the settlements, the history.

the customs, and the institutions of the Indians north of Mexico. The preparation of the work took many years and the compilation is the result of the researches among the tribes of many contributors. A map showing the locations of the different stocks is included and an extensive bibliography appended.

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Kappler, C. J., Indian affairs: Laws and treaties, (Senate documents, 58 Congress. 2 session. No. 319) Washington, 1904, 2 vols.

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This report contains material regarding the number, the territory, the customs, the trade, and the general conditions of the tribes of Indians in the United States and some parts of Canada. A great deal of the material and recommendations to the government is the result of Reverend Morse's own observations, while the remainder is gathered from communications received by Morse from traders and other men who lived among the Indians. The report itself is not extensive. It is followed, however, by a lengthy appendix which includes extracts from letters, reports of visits to the Indians, and a map showing the location of different tribes, and statistical tabulations.

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This has been exceedingly valuable as a general treatment of the Northwest. It is based largely upon source material, much of which has been inaccessible. The descriptive bibliography has given many suggestions.

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The narrative of this expedition is largely a treatment of the geological conditions of the region although some mention is made of the aborigines.

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A series of annotated reprints of some of the best and rarest contemporary volumes of travel, descriptive of the aborigines and social and economic conditions in the middle and far west during the period of early American settlement, Cleveland, Ohio, 1904-1907, 52 vols.

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These papers are the correspondence of Edwards which had not been published before. Because of the prominence of Edwards in public affairs at this time, much light is thrown upon the history of Illinois and of the Northwest.

Wisconsin Historical Collections. (Vols. 1-10 are reprints of the original issue) Madison, 1903-1911, 20 vols.

For the history of the Northwest this collection is unequalled. Volumes 19 and 20 which were edited by R. G. Thwaites contain letters and manuscripts on the fur trade, the originals of which are found in the Wisconsin Historical Society Library, the Canadian archives and the Indian office at Washington. Other volumes have been helpful also.