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Old Fort Crawford, 1816-1856

Bruce E. Mahan

State University of Iowa

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OLD FORT CRAWFORD
1816 - 1856

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate College
of the State University of Iowa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the
Degree of Master of Arts

By
Bruce E. Mahan
A.B. S.U.I. 1914

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INTRODUCTION

Of the many military posts which guarded the advancing frontier of the middle West Fort Crawford is typical. Combining the glamour of romance with the matter of fact routine and tediousness of garrison life it contributed its share to the development of the Upper Mississippi Valley.

The study of the history and influence of Old Fort Crawford was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Louis Pelzer of the State University of Iowa and was carried on under his direction. Research work was commenced in the summer of 1917 and was continued till the summer of 1920 when the results were submitted in the following pages as a thesis in the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa.

Accounts of Fort Crawford were found in numerous places. The Wisconsin Historical Collections yielded many and varied accounts of activities at the Fort and in the vicinity of its site at Prairie du Chien. The reports of government officials and the stories of travelers and visitors revealed pictures of life at the Fort as these persons saw it. In the Annual Reports of the Secretary of War, in the books and diaries of travelers, and in the American State Papers, Military Affairs were found many references to the post.

A visit to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin afford-
ed a wealth of source material. Through the kindness of Dr. M. M. Quaife, then Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and his assistants, access was given to the files of Prairie du Chien newspapers, to thousands of sheets of transcripts made from the records of the Indian Bureau at Washington, to the Jos. M. Street collection, and to photostat copies of inspection reports on Wisconsin posts taken from the originals on file in the War Department building at Washington. A copy of Biddle's Journal, letters from inhabitants of Prairie du Chien and the unpublished diary of a visitor to the Fort also yielded hitherto untouched facts about the post.

A visit to the site of the fort and interviews with leading citizens of Prairie du Chien yielded some touches of local color to the story.

Finally, through the help of Mr. Louis A. Rohret, a graduate student at the Catholic University, Washington D. C., transcripts were made of the letters and documents pertaining to Fort Crawford on file in the Archives of the War Department. Permission to make these transcripts was given by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and many courtesies were extended by those in charge of the files.

These numerous sources both original and secondary furnished the warp and woof from which has been woven the story of Old Fort
Crawford, a story of the background of French control and the establishment of English supremacy, of the coming of the Americans and the building of the frontier post, of Indian treachery and councils where the peace pipe was smoked and gaudy presents distributed, of the fur trade and the picturesque fur traders, of daily life at the fort and exciting episodes of the border, and finally of the position and influence of the Fort as an element in the great Westward Movement.
Under Foreign Control

The period of the French regime in Wisconsin gives to the background of the story of Fort Crawford the charm of romance. For more than a hundred years the *fleur-de-lis* of the Bourbons floated over the region which in 1763 passed into the hands of the British and in 1783 to the United States. From 1634 when Governor Champlain sent Jean Nicollet to penetrate the interior of Wisconsin as a part of the French scheme to convert the Indians and extend the empire of the Great Louis, till the Fall of New France in 1763 French priests, *coureurs des bois* and voyageurs became familiar with every nook and corner of the region.¹

Nicollet, however, failed to go farther west than the upper waters of the Fox River, but his journey paved the way for the French advance into the Northwest. Following Nicollet came the two adventurers, Radisson and Groseilliers, who, between 1658 and 1660, journeyed among the Wisconsin Indians and returned to Canada with boatloads of furs.² Next to visit this region was a Jesuit missionary, Claude Allouez, who, in 1670 visited the Mascoutins on the Fox River.³

In 1673, Louis Joliet, the explorer, and Father Jacques
Marquette, the missionary, with five other Frenchman ascended the Fox River, crossed the portage to the Wisconsin River, and glided down to its mouth. In the month of June 1673 their two canoes nosed their way into the current of the great river. With wonder they observed the broad bosom of the Mississippi and the high wooded bluffs over a mile to the westward. Bearing a Commission to explore the Mississippi to find out if its waters flowed into the Pacific or the Gulf of Mexico, the two leaders turned their canoes down stream away from the scenes of this story.4

The next visit of Frenchmen to this region occurred when La Salle in 1680, desirous of having the Mississippi River explored above the point where it was entered by Joliet and Marquette, sent Michael Accault with Anthony Auguelle and Louis Hennepin, a Recollet friar, to accomplish this end.5 In May of that year the party passed the mouth of the Wisconsin River and landed not far from the present site of Prairie du Chien.6 Simultaneously Daniel Greysolon Du Luth, "gentleman of the King's Guard", was engaged in a voyage of exploration to the northwest border of Wisconsin.7 He and his companions ascended the Bois Brule River, from thence they portaged to the St. Croix River, and floated down this to the Mississippi. When Du Luth reached the mouth of the St. Croix River, he learned that some Frenchmen were among the Indians as prisoners more than two hundred miles below. With his
four white companions he hastened down the river and fearlessly entering the Indian camp demanded sternly the release of his fellow countrymen who proved to be the Accault-Hennepin party. Du Luth's request was granted and the whole group of Frenchmen floated down the Mississippi River to the Wisconsin River, and from there to Green Bay by the Fox-Wisconsin route.  

Next to ascend the Mississippi was Nicholas Perrot under orders to establish a post on the Mississippi. In 1684 he proceeded from the St. Lawrence River to Green Bay, up the Fox River to the Portage thence down the Wisconsin and up the Mississippi to Lake Pepin where he erected a stockade. After passing the winter of 1685-1686 in his stockade he returned to Green Bay by the same route he had traveled two years earlier. In 1688 he again ascended the Mississippi from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the St. Peter's and returned by the same route to Green Bay. The favorable location for a trading post at the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi caused Perrot to establish there a post called Fort St. Nicholas. As to when this post was established, where it was established, when it was abandoned or whether it ever existed a spirited controversy developed. Assuming that Perrot did build a post, a stockade, a storehouse, or a fort at this point, it was a recognition of the trading and strategic importance of the place later dominated by Fort Crawford.
Another post at this point over which a long dispute has been waged was the so-called "French Fort" established, it is asserted, in 1755 and burned to the ground in 1780. According to tradition this fort was surrounded by a palisade embracing about two acres. Whether or not this second "French Fort" was a military establishment or merely a trading post and storehouse, it stood as a forerunner of the military posts that later commanded this area.

After Perrot's voyages two other French explorers of note passed the prairie above the mouth of the Wisconsin River. Pierre Charles le Sueur in 1700 made a second trip up the Mississippi and in 1727 Sieur la Perriere ascended the great river for the purpose of fur trade. From this time on till New France fell to the English, French traders at intervals passed up the river. For over a century the songs of the French boatmen had been heard on the rivers of Wisconsin, and the hardy adventurers and traders had established friendly relations with the Indians. By living with the natives, by taking the Indian girls as wives, and by supplying the needs of the tribes with goods the French established an influence over the Indians of the Northwest that was lasting and which caused the tribes of this region to regard anyone from Canada as their friend. Thus when the British traders came down from the upper country the support of the Indians was easily
transferred from the French to the English.

By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the French regime in name came to an end and the British fur companies gained the control for which they had been struggling for a generation. The actual men in the field, though, were the French trappers, settlers and voyageurs of the days gone by. British influence continued until the close of the second war with the United States when the latter began to assert its control over this region.

The first to ascend the Mississippi after Great Britain gained possession of the country was Jonathon Carver who followed the route taken earlier by Hennepin. Of the Indian village located above the mouth of the Wisconsin River and called by the French "La Prairies des Chiens," he says, "it is a large town and contains about 300 families; the houses are well built after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a very rich soil, from which they raise every necessity of life in great abundance. I saw here many horses of a good size and shape. This town is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and even whose who inhabit the remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their sale here, this is determined by a general council of the chiefs, who consult whether it would be more conducive to
their interest to sell their goods at this place or to carry them on to Louisiana or Michillimackinac.\textsuperscript{23}

Carver's journey in 1766 and his report thereof did not advance the settlement of the place, and the next visit of importance by an Englishman did not occur till 1780 when Captain J. Long was sent by the commanding officer at Mackinaw to secure a large quantity of furs which had been stored at Prairie du Chien.\textsuperscript{24} Fear was felt that these pelts would fall into the hands of the Americans. Long's party consisting of twenty Canadians and thirty six Indians of the Sauks and Foxes, set out in nine birch bark canoes loaded with presents. At the mouth of the Wisconsin they met a band of Fox Indians who though apparently hostile at first, later treated the visitors to a feast of dog, bear, deer, mountain cat, and raccoon boiled in bear's grease, and mixed with huckleberries.\textsuperscript{25} Consent having been given to the removal of the furs, and presents having been distributed, Captain Long filled the canoes with 300 packs of the best skins. Sixty more packs and the storehouse containing them were burned to prevent their falling into the hands of the Americans.\textsuperscript{26} This storehouse was the building believed by some to be the "Old French Fort".\textsuperscript{27} The return trip to Green Bay occupied seventeen days and from thence the party made its way back to Mackinac.\textsuperscript{28}

During the next year 1781 three Canadians of French descent,
Basil Giard, Pierre Antaya, and Augustin Ange arrived in Prairie du Chien bearing a commission from Governor Patrick Sinclair of Mackinac to purchase land. In accordance with their instructions they purchased a site nine miles square from the Indians and made their home here. Following these pioneers came many Canadian French to take up their abode at this place. Most of these inhabitants were unmarried men who adopted to a considerable extent the customs of their Indian neighbors and intermarried with the natives. By 1805 the number of cabins occupied by these settlers amounted to thirty-seven.

The transition from French to English rule of the region which was to be the site for Fort Crawford created no disturbance. Continuing the French policy and also their posts and voyageurs the British fur companies won over the friendship of the Indian tribes and of the French Canadian inhabitants. The change, though, from British to American sovereignty, nominally taking place through the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 was accomplished only after a long struggle which did not end till after the stirring events of the second war with Great Britain.
II

Fort Shelby and Fort McKay

Although both the treaty of peace of 1783 and Jay's treaty of 1795 stipulated that the Northwest Territory together with its forts and dependencies were to be transferred to the United States, Great Britain was so slow in fulfilling her agreement that the events narrated in this chapter became possible.

The Northwest Company organized by the Scottish merchants of Montreal in 1784 pushed westward from Green Bay and southward from Lake Winnipeg driving out their Spanish rivals by cutting prices and winning the confidence and friendship of the western tribes. The attention of President Jefferson having been called to the activities of the Northwest Company incornering the fur trade which naturally would have come down the river to the American traders, he sent the following message to Congress on January 18, 1803: "It is, however, understood that the country on that river is inhabited by numerous tribes, who furnish great supplies of furs and peltry to the trade of another nation, carried on in a high latitude, through an infinite number of portages and lakes, shut up by ice through a long season". He recommended, moreover, that an expedition be sent up the river to confer with the tribes in regard to the admission of American traders.

With the purchase of Louisiana the tardy removal of the
English traders from the upper Mississippi country became a more pressing problem and consequently Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was sent up the river to make a reconnoissance. His report indicated how firm a grip the English had upon the Indians of this region. Leaving St. Louis on August 9, 1805, he returned to the same place April 30, 1806. He stopped enroute at Prairie du Chien and described it as follows:

"The village of Prairie du Chiens is situated about one league above the mouth of the Wisconsin river. The prairie on which the village is situated is bounded in the rear by high bald hills. It is from one mile to three-quarters of a mile from the river and extends about eight miles from the Mississippi to where it strikes the Wisconsin".

Pike reported many signs of British sovereignty, such as using the British flag, presenting of medals to the Indians, and talking politics to the tribes. He heard of permanent trading posts south of Lake Superior and saw the stockades called forts at Lower Red Cedar Lake, Sandy Lake, and Leech Lake. Seeing the urgent need of the United States to assert control over this region, Pike proposed the erection of military posts at strategic sites, and he secured the assent of the Sioux Chief to cede land to the government for this purpose. However, the United States, busy with perplexing affairs far from the scene of Pike's explorations, neglected
to follow his recommendations or to occupy the region.\footnote{13}

The British authorities in Canada, however, saw the advantage of Indian allies in the impending struggle between the two countries. Consequently through the traders of the fur companies, seeds of distrust towards the Americans were implanted in the minds of the Indians along the western border.\footnote{14} The Indians preferring the free life of the hunt to the cession of land to the pioneer, fell in readily with the British plans.\footnote{15} The coming of hostilities, then, was a welcome event to the Northwest for "to the Indian it meant an opportunity to avenge past wrongs, the Canadian hoped to make secure his present position, and the American settler saw a chance to drive out both enemies - Indians and foreign traders alike."\footnote{16}

With the coming of hostilities Robert Dickson, who had long been a fur trader at Prairie du Chien, became active as a recruiter of Indians for the British service.\footnote{17} This Dickson was the same man who had entertained Pike on his journey up the Mississippi and had impressed the explorer as a person of "open, frank manners".\footnote{18} By June 1813, Dickson had sent 800 warriors to Detroit and 600 more to Mackinac.\footnote{19}

Prior to the war of 1812 Prairie du Chien had attracted little attention although it was the principal trading post on the Mississippi, the depot of fur traders, and the meeting ground of Indian tribes.\footnote{20} Since the post lay almost midway between Mackinac, which
had surrendered to the British, and St. Louis, the center of American operations for the Mississippi valley, its strategic position soon became apparent to both contending parties and made it the center of a noteworthy struggle.  

Both powers in 1813 took steps to establish here a military post. When the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien heard that the Americans were planning to come up the river, great apprehension was felt. The French habitants, closely bound by social ties to Great Britain, were anxious for a British force to come to their protection. In response to such an appeal Dickson appeared at the Prairie with some of his Indian allies to reassure his neighbors. After his departure a body of settlers under Captain Francis M. Dease, a Prairie du Chien trader appointed by Dickson to command the situation, prepared to defend the place in case of an attack. Likewise when reports of Dickson's Indian Allies and of his activities reached St. Louis the zeal of the Americans to capture and fortify this place increased. Accordingly, on the first of May, 1814, Governor William Clark set out with 200 men on five barges to make Prairie du Chien an American post. After a brief and bloodless skirmish with a few Indians at the rapids of the Rock River, Governor Clark arrived and took possession of the place without firing a shot. The inhabitants had reached the conclusion that submission was the better part of valor and that
the Americans would not harm them without provocation. 54

The Americans after taking possession of Prairie du Chien erected a fort on a mound in the rear of the village and named it Fort Shelby in honor of Isaac Shelby, the first Governor of Kentucky. 55 Lieutenant Joseph Perkins with a garrison of sixty men was left in command of the post. Among his equipment or stores, he also numbered two gunboats (each carrying a six-pounder) and six howitzers. 56

Steps to recapture Prairie du Chien were taken by the British as soon as news of the American victory reached Mackinac. Lieutenant Colonel William McKay commanded the expedition which consisted of British soldiers, French-Canadian traders, boatmen, and Indians, 650 in all, and of whom 500 were Indian allies assembled by Dickson. The party setting out from Mackinac and following the Fox - Wisconsin waterway reached Prairie du Chien about noon on June 17th 1814. 57

Colonel McKay ordered Lieutenant Perkins to surrender unconditionally. Perkins refused and the fight began. The British concentrated the fire of their one piece of artillery upon the gunboat which rode at anchor on the Mississippi in front of the Fort. Meanwhile Fort and gunboat returned the fire most of the shots falling short. After a time the gunboat weighed anchor and drifted down stream, taking shelter behind an island. Two
small boats sent by the British in pursuit fell in with the second
gunboat under Perkins' command and were chased back to land.

Although deserted by his gunboats, Perkins continued to hold
the Fort for two days. The British had fired almost all of their
shots and were throwing up breastworks within one hundred and fifty
yards of the Fort when a white flag appeared on the walls. Then
an officer came out with a note announcing his readiness to surren­
der the garrison. Lieutenant Perkins insisted that protection
be given his force from the Indians, to which Colonel McKay agreed
and then permitted the Americans to march out with the honors of
war. Although the defenders of Fort Shelby were cut-numbered,
they had the advantage of position and their supplies were ample
to hold out during a much longer siege. As it turned out the
attack and defense was not a very sanguinary affair only three men
being wounded and none dangerously during the entire siege.

The American officers and men were sent to St. Louis under
parole. A relief party which during the attack had been ascending
the river was routed and driven back by a band of Indians under
the command of one of McKay's lieutenants. This expedition which
the Indians repulsed near Rock Island consisted of United States
regulars from St. Louis under the command of Lieutenant James
Campbell who was slightly wounded in the encounter.

Colonel McKay modestly renamed the captured Fort in honor of
himself and, leaving his command in charge of a lieutenant, Thomas Anderson by name, set out on August 10th for Mackinac. Anderson was relieved by Captain A. H. Bulger of the regular army who spent a dreary time at the post. 61

Rather extensive preparations were made by the Americans during the summer to recapture the lost Fort. Major Zachary Taylor who later commanded Fort Crawford was sent with a force of regulars up the Mississippi early in August. News of the approach of this force had reached the British and a small force of British regulars with a large band of 1000 or more Indians lay in wait for this expedition at Rock Island. The attack was a complete surprise and only by sheer good fortune was Major Taylor able to extricate himself from this ambush with the loss in killed and wounded of only eleven men. Major Taylor returned with his command to St. Louis and Lieutenant Duncan Graham the British officer in command of the ambuscade was made a Captain. 62

When Captain Bulger arrived at Prairie du Chien to take command of Fort McKay, he found conditions in a sorry plight. Sickness prevailed, food was scarce, the Indians committed depredations on the stock and possessions of the inhabitants, and fear of another attack by Americans existed. Mutiny broke out among the troops, and martial law was declared. Punishment by laying one hundred and fifty lashes on each of the ringleaders helped to restore order.
Altogether, Captain Bulger's stay at the post was far from pleasant. 

Towards the middle of April 1815, word came to Captain Bulger from Governor Clark of Missouri that peace had been signed at Ghent during the previous December. Bulger had been planning an attack on St. Louis and much disappointment resulted among his Indian Allies who were primed for the expedition.

Official word did not reach Captain Bulger until May 20th that peace had been declared. Two days later he communicated the terms of peace to the Indians in accordance with his instructions. In the presence of seventy chiefs Bulger spread out a belt of wampum such as had been used in calling out the Indians in 1812. Then it had been red signifying war, now it was blue indicating peace. The message from the King was read and the terms of peace explained. The chiefs accepted the situation stoically. The pipe of peace was smoked and a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired from the Fort. Two days later Captain Bulger evacuated Fort McKay leading his command by the old Fox - Wisconsin route to Mackinac. He took the guns of the Fort with him and surrendered them to the American government at Mackinac.

Thus ended British dominion of Prairie du Chien and Wisconsin. The significance of Fort Shelby and Fort McKay lies not so much in the actual events in which they played a part, but in the fact that they were in a way the antecedents of the American post which appeared in their wake, namely, Fort Crawford.
Before the close of the summer of 1815 the government had decided to re-occupy Prairie du Chien, to establish garrisons at Chicago and Green Bay and also to build two new forts, one at Rock Island on the Mississippi, the other near the Falls of St. Anthony. This decision was reached in part at least through the suggestion of Lewis Coss, Governor of Michigan territory. Writing to the Secretary of War under the date of June 20, 1815, he urged just such a plan as the only effective means to hold in check the British fur traders and to preserve order among the Indians. At the same time the government planned to restore the factory at Chicago for the fur trade and to build new factories at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien.

At the latter place the site most suitable for the new post seemed to be that occupied by Fort Shelby and Fort McKay. To four companies from the lately organized Rifle Regiment under the command of Brigadier General Thomas A. Smith was assigned the duty of building and garrisoning the new fort. On June 20, 1816, the expedition arrived at the end of their 800-mile trip from St. Louis, disembarked from the keelboats and made a temporary camp. The United States factor, John W. Johnson deeming it unnecessary to wait for the military escort had been on the scene for more
than a month. 72

On the twenty-first of June the military officials began to assert authority by requiring all traders to show their licenses and by seizing the goods of all who could not comply with this demand. The troops took possession of some houses which were condemned for public purposes. Those occupied by Johnson were seized and turned over to him to use for United States Indian trading houses. At the same time he was forbidden to pay any rent upon them from that date. 73

Then began a reign of terror. General Smith's conduct was not such as to win the good will of the inhabitants. In addition to turning the inhabitants out of the houses which he wished to use, one of his first official acts was to arrest Michael Brisbois upon the charge of treason, alleging that he had taken up arms against the United States during the late war. Brisbois was kept in confinement for several days, then sent to St. Louis under guard. There, instead of being turned over to the authorities, he was left on the levee without funds. Fortunately aid from friends in St. Louis enabled him to return home. During his absence the soldiers ordered Mrs. Brisbois and her family out of their home which was then used as a place in which flour was spread out to dry. The bake-house of Brisbois together with some two hundred cords of dry oven wood was commandeered without compensation. 74
On July 3rd 1816, the troops under the command of Colonel Hamilton began the construction of the fort. Pit sawyers and other workmen had been brought from St. Louis. Oak logs wrought into proper form by whip saw, broad ax, and adz provided a sturdy frame work. The quarters, hospital, bakery, sutler's store-house and magazines were pushed with commendable industry during the summer. By late fall the quarters consisted of long blockhouses with shed roofs so arranged as to enclose a square 340 feet on a side. On both the northwest and southeast corners, blockhouses were erected. These consisted of two stories the upper story placed diagonally across the first in order to present eight faces against an attacking force. Each of these was armed with two pieces of artillery. At the other two corners of the square heavy pickets made a formidable stockade. A stone compartment 12 feet by 24 feet served as a magazine for the ammunition. The works furnished ample accommodation for five companies, and when completed the Fort was named Fort Crawford in honor of the then Secretary of War, William Harris Crawford. The site finally chosen for the erection of this post was that of Fort McKay, the scene of the events of the preceding chapter.

During the summer of 1816 Captain Willoughby Morgan who had been stationed at Mackinac advanced under orders with a detach-
ment to Prairie du Chien where he relieved General Smith and continued the planning and building of the post. Until the spring of 1817 when Morgan was relieved by Colonel Talbot Chambers, the attitude of the commandant towards the inhabitants was less arbitrary than that of his predecessor. In fact it is said that Smith directed Morgan to destroy the settlement and send the male portion of the people under arrest to distant points.

With the arrival of Colonel Chambers he assumed an imperious attitude towards the settlers and carried out his orders in a tyrannical manner. To this point one of the pioneers, James H. Lockwood said: "The houses in the village being an obstruction to the garrison, in the spring of 1817, he ordered those houses in front and about the fort to be taken down by their owners, and removed to the lower end of the village, where he pretended to give them lots." Again he says, "Although in a time of peace, and our Government had received the country by treaty stipulation, the officers of the army treated the inhabitants as conquered people, and the commandants assumed all the authority of a conquered country arraigning and trying the citizens by courts-martial, and sentencing them to ignominious punishments; --- Charles Menard was arrested, having been charged with selling whiskey to the soldiers. He was brought about five miles from his residence under a guard, tried by a court martial, whipped and with a
bottle hung to his neck, marched through the streets with music playing the Rogue's March after him. Then for some alleged immor­mal conduct he banished Joseph Rolette to an island, about seven miles above Prairie du Chien, where he obliged him to pass the winter, but in the spring permitted him to return to the village to attend to his business, as his outfits were coming in from the Indian country."

Although affairs in the village were conducted in an over­bearing manner by Commandant Chambers, the conditions inside the Fort made a favorable impression on inspection as the following report indicates:

"Fort Crawford (Les Praire des Chiens) is an Indian work, composed of strong oak logs, of a square form, with two block houses, each containing a twelve and six-pounder. The curtain of the work is formed by the buildings with appropriate loopholes, and the angles strongly protected. The Quarters are very neat and comfortable and capable of accommodating 400 men, with the necessary storehouses and comprised in the curtain of the work. Its local situation is an extensive Prairie, surrounded by immense high hills, but too distant to command the work, if occupied by an enemy. It is capable of defending itself against any combined Indian attack, although it is in the power of the Indians in 12 days to assemble 2000 warriors. But it is not
calculated to sustain an attack against Artillery. The greatest disadvantage which it labours under, is the inconvenience of procuring fuel, which cannot be done at a less distance than six miles; then attended with uncommon trouble and fatigue, and in a state of war would constantly be exposed to a predatory attack from the Indians. One half of the command is generally exposed to the collecting of wood, from one to three months every fall season. The site is healthy and if necessary could be supported by the productions of the surrounding country."

In 1817 Major Stephen H. Long, a topographical engineer in the United States army, having made a tour to the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, returned to Prairie du Chien and from there made voyage in a six oared skiff to the Falls of St. Anthony. The objects of his voyage were to follow and sketch the course of the Upper Mississippi, to show the topography of its shores and to locate sites suitable for military purposes. In his Journal, Major Long affords a clear picture of the site Fort Crawford. He says, "Dr. Pearson, Lt. Armstrong and myself took horse and rode about the neighborhood this morning for the purpose of discovering a position better calculated for a military post then the present site of Fort Crawford. We went down the prairie to the Quisconsin, then followed the course of that river about three miles above the commencement of the highlands, but could discover no position that
was not objectionable in very many respects. The Prairie itself is separated from the Quisconsin by a broad marshy tract of land, annually subject to inundation, which is the case also with some parts of the Prairie. The highlands are intersected by numerous ravines, and exhibit a constant succession of hills, ridges and valleys of various depths. They are inaccessible from the river at many points, and overlook it at none, the view, as well as command of the river, being effectually obstructed by the numerous islands which it embosoms."

After another day spent in examining the surrounding country for a better site and having failed in this respect, Major Long continues: "Spent the day in measuring and planning Fort Crawford and its buildings. The work is a square of three hundred and fifty feet upon each side; and is constructed entirely of wood, as are all its buildings, except the magazine which is of stone. It will accommodate five companies of soldiers. The enclosure is formed principally by the quarters and other buildings of the garrison, so that the amount of all the palisade work does not exceed three hundred and fifty feet in extent. The faces of the work are flanked by two blockhouses, one of which is situated in the S.E. and the other in the N.W. corner of the Fort, being alternate or opposite angles. The blockhouses are two stories high with cupolas or turrets upon their tops. The first stories are calcu-
lated as flank defenses to the garrison, the second form an oblique flank defense, and at the same time guard the approach of the angles on which the blockhouses are situated, being placed diagonally upon the first. The turrets are fortified with oak plank upon their sides and furnished with loop holes for muskets or wall pieces. The quarters, store-houses, etc. are ranged along the sides of the garrison, their rear walls constituting the faces of the work, which is furnished with loop holes at the distance of six feet from each other. The buildings are constructed with shed roofs, sloping inwards so that their outward walls are raised twenty feet from the ground, thus presenting an insurmountable barrier to an assailing enemy; the buildings are all rough shingled, except the blockhouses which are covered with smooth shingles. The rooms are generally about nineteen feet square, most of them floored with oak plank, and all that were designed for quarters furnished with a door and window each in front. The magazine is twenty four by twelve feet in the clear, the walls four feet thick, and the arch above supported by a strong flooring of timber. It has at present no other covering but the arch; preparations are making, however, to erect a roof over it, and cover it with shingles. The works are for the most part constructed of square timber, and the crevices in the walls of the buildings plastered with lime mortar, in such
a manner as renders them comfortable habitations, except that the roofs are not well calculated to shed rain. The troops, however, are at present busily occupied in dressing shingles, cutting timber, etc. in order to repair the defective parts of the works, and make additions where they are found necessary. Piazzas are to be built in front of all the quarters, floors to be laid, ceiling etc. to be made, all of which are necessary to cleanliness and a well regulated police within the garrison."

Of the difficulties involved in building a work of such magnitude he says, "The building of these works was commenced on the 3rd of July, 1616, by the troops stationed here under the command of Colonel Hamilton, previous to which no timber had been cut or stone quarried for the purpose. These articles were to be procured at the distance of from two to five miles from the site of the garrison, and transported to it in boats. The country where they were to be procured was so broken and hilly, that teams could not be employed even to convey them to the boats, but all must be done by manual labor. With all these disadvantages and hardships, and still more, with a corrupt and sickly atmosphere, have the soldiers at this place had to contend, in order to construct works of sufficient magnitude and strength to guard this part of the frontier. A considerable part of the work was done in the winter season, when at the same time they were compelled to get their fuel
at a distance of two or three miles from the garrison, and in many instances to draw it home by hand."

Apparently the Major had little regard for the location of the new post for he continues, "In regard to the eligibility of the site upon which Fort Crawford is situated very little can be said in favor, but much against it. Its relation to other parts of the country would seem to give it a high claim to consideration as a military post; as also its central situation with respect to our Indian neighbors. The first objection that presents itself, is, that the situation, from the nature of the place must be unhealthy. It is almost surrounded with stagnant water at a short distance from the fort. The country about it abounds in marshes and low lands, annually subject to be overflowed, and the part of the river lying immediately in front of the place, is very little better than a stagnant pool, as its current is hardly perceptible in low water. In a military point of view the objections to the present site, as also to any other that might be fixed upon in the neighborhood are various, and cannot easily be obviated. No complete command of the river can be had here, on account of the islands which it embosoms. Directly opposite to the fort, and at the distance of six hundred and fifty yards from it, is an island two and a half miles in length, and seven hundred yards in breadth, separated from the east shore by a channel five hundred
yards wide and from the west by a channel two hundred and fifty yards. Both above and below this are numerous others effectually obstructing the command of the river from any single point. At the distance of about six hundred yards from the fort, to the south and east of it, is a circular valley through which troops might be conducted completely under cover and secure from the guns of the fort. Immediately in rear of the place are the main river bluffs, at the distance of about one and a half miles from the fort. These are heights elevated four hundred and twenty feet above the site of the garrison, and overlook the whole of Prairie du Chien. The site has been repeatedly subject to inundation, which is always to be apprehended when excessive floods prevail in the river. Indeed, the military features of the place generally are so faint and obscure, that they would hardly be perceptible, except by occupying several of the neighboring heights with castles and towers in order to protect an extensive work erected in the prairies below.\footnote{85}

Having accomplished the purpose of his visit to the Prairie Major Long took leave of the officers of whom he spoke highly and descended the Mississippi. Six years later he again visited Fort Crawford but his opinion of its strategic importance remained unchanged.\footnote{86}

In the summer of 1818 Captain Llewellin Hickman accompanied
by his wife arrived from St. Louis and took over the command of the garrison from Colonel Chambers who returned to St. Louis. There followed a milder reign, and affairs with the local citizens were conducted less arbitrarily.

In 1819, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Leavenworth commanding officer of the Fifth infantry was ordered to take his regiment to Prairie du Chien. A portion of the regiment was to garrison Fort Crawford, another portion was to go to Fort Armstrong and the rest under its commander was to proceed to the Falls of St. Anthony near which the troops were to erect a post for the headquarters of the regiment. A tedious wait for provisions, ordnance, ammunitions and recruits ensued at Fort Crawford. During the enforced wait of the regiment Major Thomas Forsyth, Indian Agent, arrived from St. Louis and on August 8th, ascended the river with Colonel Leavenworth and ninety-eight soldiers. Along with the troops went Mrs. Nathan Clark, wife of the commissary, and their little daughter, Charlotte Quisconsin Clark, who had been born at the fort shortly after the arrival of the regiment. Forsyth mentioned the fact that at the Prairie flour sold for $10. per hundred weight, corn at $3. per bushel, eggs at $1. per dozen, and chickens at $1. per pair.

During the next year (1820) the garrison at Fort Crawford consisted of a company of infantry ninety-six strong, under command of Captain J. Fowle. It was during the summer of this year
that the town and post were visited by H.R. Schoolcraft, the well known writer on Indian history. He was attached to an expedition projected by Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan Territory and approved by the Secretary of War to explore the northwestern territory.

From 1822 till 1826 when the troops were temporarily withdrawn and sent to Fort Snelling Colonel Willoughby Morgan who had aided in the construction of the post again was assigned to its command. In the following years Major Stephen H. Long paid a second visit to the Fort stopping off on his journey by order of the government to discover the sources of St. Peter's River. Keating the narrator of the expedition says, "The fort which is one of the rudest and least comfortable that we have seen, is situated about one hundred and fifty yards from the river. Its site is low and unpleasant, as a slough extends to the south of it. The river bank is here so low and flat, that, by a swell which took place in the Mississippi, the summer before we visited it, the water rose upon the prairie and entered the parade, which it covered to a depth of three or four feet, it penetrated into all the officers and soldiers quarters, so as to render it necessary for the garrison to remove from the fort, and encamp upon the neighboring heights, where they spent about a month."

Fort Crawford continued to be occupied till 1826 when another great flood of the Mississippi occurred, the water at Prairie du
Chien reaching twenty six feet above low water mark. The troops abandoned the fort and encamped on the higher ground east of the slough.

In August of that year, an inspection of the Fort revealed its condition. The report states that two companies of the Fifth Infantry, Lieut. Col. Morgan commanding, comprised the garrison, Captain McCabe was in charge of G Company and Captain Bender and Lieutenant Clark in command of Company K. Under the heading, "Police", the report says:

Preparation of the men's messes good. Bread of the very best quality baked by a soldier of the Garrison. Its arm racks not in conformity with Regulation. Bunks demolished, the soldier sleeps on the floor of his quarters which is as uneven as may be, having been completely driven out of place by the late freshet.

Books neatly kept, but not after the same form; those of Capt. McCabe are perhaps most in conformity with Regulations. This officer in his desire to obtain the proper books, has had them sent to him from St. Louis at his own individual expense. Appearance of the troops under arms pretty good but without that very minute attention to exterior and rep. that I have remarked elsewhere. A close inspection shows that every article is clean and that the muskets although not brightly burnished
are in every instance fit for immediate service in the field. Lieut. Col. Morgan would sooner have his command one of usefulness than of shew and hence I would respectfully suggest, either that the musket be browned or that less value for the future be put upon its excessive burnish. The soldier fearing reprimand, if he go upon parade without having his musket like a mirror spares no pains and makes use of every means, however improper, for having it so. The price is completely unstocked and when the business of polishing is over, the ram-rod is found bent, perhaps the barrel, too, and the trigger guard so sprung as no longer to be brought to its proper shape.

Clothing - very well marked.

Hospital - under good regulation and sufficiently supplied; the buildings like every other within the fort in a state of ruin. The sutler gives satisfaction to the commanding officer by his exact observance of Orders and Regulations.

Discipline. All appearances favor the belief of its being sufficiently rigid and correct.

Instruction. Much room for improvement, which may be confidently expected from the constant pains taken by the officers to inform themselves from the example and unwearied efforts of Col. Morgan who seems more devoted to his profession than any officer with whom I have recently conversed (although there may be many equally so with himself).
Service - Regular.
Administration - Pay regularly received.
Subsistence - good and abundant.
Clothing - good and regularly received, here as elsewhere a desire for a commutation of some of the articles of clothing is expressed.

Q. M. Depart. Articles pretty well arranged, considering the size of the storeroom and in a better state of preservation than could be expected from their exposed situation for the roof which covers them leaks so badly as to require some pains to find out a sufficiently large surface free from wet, upon which to remove the most perishable articles. The storeroom, like to the others that I visited, is too much lumbered up with damaged and useless stuff to allow of proper care being taken with the serviceable. There ought properly speaking to be two store rooms, one for serviceable, the other for damaged and unserviceable stores. Compounding the two does not answer.

Commissary's Depart. Supply abundant, good and well arranged for preservation and under the arrangement would be preserved were the buildings secure against the weather, but unfortunately the roof here like the one over the Q. M. Store, too freely admits the rain for the safe keeping of perishable ar-
ticles. A large proportion of the peas is already in such a state, that nothing but the greatest attention can preserve it from becoming too much damaged for use. The whole of them will be immediately overhauled, frequently sunned and distributed among the different store rooms that may be found to be most secure against the weather.

Ordnance Depart. Arsenal so small when compared with the amount piled up within that a minute and correct inspection cannot be made. My remarks upon the inventory furnished by the officer in charge will show the disposition to be made of some of the articles in store.

Magazine - Arrangement pretty good; the building dry and secure. Remarks: It appears that a much longer occupancy of this place is doubtful, the orders for its abandonment received some time since, being suspended for the moment and depending upon the issue of the present conference with the Winnebago tribe of Indians. Should a continuance of the garrison be the result a new work must be erected for the present one is in ruins. Should, however, the garrison be withdrawn the most important Post on the Mississippi will then be abandoned."

The last statements were true prophecy for in a few months the Fort was abandoned only to be re-occupied the next year and within three years work had been started on a new and larger
Although the frontier had been quiet for some time, growing hostility of the Winnebago roused by frequent clashes with the lead miners about Galena, led Colonel Snelling in command of the Fifth Regiment at the fort hearing his name to send three companies to re-enforce the garrison at Fort Crawford. This occurred in August 1836. Continued uneasiness about the general situation caused the authorities to remove all the troops from Fort Crawford to Fort Snelling in October of that year.

The growing spirit of hostility towards the whites spread among the Winnebago until it resulted the next summer in the murder of settlers near Prairie du Chien and in an attack on a keelboat coming down the river for supplies. This Winnebago outbreak treated in detail in a later chapter brought about the reoccupation of Fort Crawford. At the urgent request of John Marsh, sub-agent at Prairie du Chien, for help, Colonel Snelling hastened down the river with four companies of soldiers. A few days after his arrival he was re-enforced by troops from St. Louis under Colonel Atkinson. Overawed by the force brought against them, the Indians became peaceable in short order. Colonel Snelling returned to the upper post and sent Major Fowle with four companies and provisions for a year to reoccupy Fort Crawford. Thus, again, United States troops became a part of
the life in Prairie du Chien, August 21st, 1827.

The next year Major Stephen Watts Kearny with companies of the First Regiment commanded the Fort while Joseph M. Street was Indian agent. After eleven months of frontier service Major Kearny was ordered to St. Louis. He and agent Street had co-operated to the fullest extent in taking care of Indian affairs and in enforcing the laws of the United States against trespassers upon the Indian lands, a policy quite in contrast to the lack of harmony so often prevailing between commanders of posts and Indian agents.

Major Kearny's successor was Colonel Zachary Taylor who commanded Fort Crawford from 1829 to 1837 when he was ordered to Florida to put down the Indian uprising in that state. With the coming of Colonel Taylor a new regime opened and the pioneer post which had guarded the frontier since 1816 soon gave way to a bigger, better Fort Crawford—a stronger, more comfortable fortification than its predecessor whose worthy name it was to bear.
The Second Fort Crawford

An inspection made for Fort Crawford in the fall of 1827, when Major Fowle was in command showed the urgent need for new quarters.

"Fort Crawford — is — so much decayed as to be uninhabitable without extensive repairs" ran the report, "and even with repairs the barracks cannot be rendered sufficiently comfortable to secure the health of the troops. The floors and lower timbers are decayed in part by frequent overflowing of the river which has left the wood soaked and filled with damp sediment."

More than two thousand feet of plank were required to put the quarters in shape for the winter. Due to the unhealthy site of the fort the inspecting officer found one officer and forty-four enlisted men sick out of a total force of one hundred and seventy-seven, or more than one fourth of the garrison. Both Major Fowle and Surgeon Coleman enclosed recommendations for a new fort to be erected across the river on an eminence called Pike's Hill. The inspector's report endorsed this plan as follows:

"These reports show clearly, that if there existed no other objection to Prairie du Chien, its unhealthiness affords a decided objection to its occupancy as a permanent military post. But there is another objection which is almost as conclusive against
this place as its unhealthiness: it is, that there is no spot on
the prairie which is not claimed by private individuals, except
the few acres where the fort now stands. This circumstance can­
not fail to subject the troops to the great evils of tippling
shops being erected very near them.

"To obviate all these evils, I have no hesitation in recom­
mending the site upon Pike's Hill, on the right bank of the
Mississippi, nearly opposite to the mouth of the Wisconsin, about
four miles from Fort Crawford, and in full view of the fort and
neighboring village."

He enclosed a plan for a fort to accommodate one hundred and
twenty-five officers and men - the works to be composed for the most
part of stone. Among the advantages of Pike's Hill for such a
fortification he cited its healthfulness, its five acres of table
land suitable for a drill ground and well adapted for gardening,
and a spring with a bounteous supply of water. Its disadvantages
consisted of the difficulty of ascent and the fact that it did
not afford immediate protection to the village of Prairie du Chien.

Both the unhealthfulness of the site and the damage to the
buildings caused by recurrent floods led the government to consider
favorably the recommendations in the foregoing report. Hence
Major Fowle's successor in command, Major Kearny, was directed to
examine the different situations and to select one possessing the
greatest advantages for a military site.

After a careful survey made by Major Kearny and Captain John Garland, they recommended the land embraced in lots 34 & 35 as the location most desirable for the end in view. The plan of fortifying Pike's Hill was abandoned because of difficulties encountered in building a road to the top of the bluff.

Writing under the date of April 2, 1829, the commanding general of the army, Major General Alexander Macomb instructed Major Kearny to make without delay an examination of the immediate country and to select definitely a site for the contemplated barracks. Kearny was told to consider health, comfort, and convenience in making his choice, with special attention to convenience to the water courses inasmuch as all supplies would come over such channels. The information was given that an appropriation for the new barracks had been obtained by the Quartermaster General and the request was made that lots on which it was proposed to build the works should be marked on the map of private land claims at Prairie du Chien and returned to the Quarter-Master General. Furthermore, Major Kearny was told that the Quarter-Master General would furnish the plan and assign a quarter-master to superintend and disburse the money necessary to carry on the work. The commanding officer at Prairie du Chien was instructed to take general direction of the work, assisted by the quarter-
master, and directed that troops should be employed in the work as far as possible.

In reply to these instructions Major Kearny informed Major General T. S. Jesup, Quarter-Master of the United States Army that he had selected Lot No. 34 at the spot designated "Large Mound" as the one best adapted for the new barracks. He stated that this place was a high ridge overlooking the surrounding country and rising many feet above the highest rise of the river. Major Kearny also said that he had directed Assistant Quarter-Master, Major John Garland to purchase lots 33 and 34 for which he paid $2000, and that he had also obtained a deed without further expense to about five acres on the lower part of lot 35, running from the road to the river. This purchase would give free and uninterrupted communication to a tolerably good landing for boats.

Forthwith, all the carpenters at Fort Crawford - six in number - were put under the command of Assistant Quarter-Master Garland. Some men were selected for quarrying stone and burning lime and every preparation was made to expedite the erection of the new post. As all the materials - stone, timber, lime, etc. had to be procured by the soldiers at a considerable distance and as mechanics were lacking both in number and in skill it was clear that the new works could not be ready for troops for at least twelve months, and so to a part of the working force
was assigned the task of making the old quarters habitable for the winter.

On July 17th, 1829, Major Kearny left Fort Crawford for St. Louis and his successor in command was Colonel Zachary Taylor during whose stay the new fort was completed and occupied by the garrison.

Fun and hard work blended in the task of securing material for the new building. Lime was burned by one detail across the Mississippi River on the Iowa side where an abundance of good limestone furnished the raw material. Another detail quarried stone, of which a large amount was needed, from the quarries in the nearby bluffs from which oxen hauled the heavy loads to the building site. Another party proceeded to the pineries on the Menominee River to cut logs, to shape square timbers, and to fashion plank and shingles into proper form with whipsaw, broad-ax, and adz. A large well six feet square and sixty feet deep was sunk and this furnished an abundance of clear, cold water. Officers who in later life became famous on the fields of the Florida, the Mexican, and the Civil war worked along side the common soldier in shaping up the fort and its necessary buildings. Officers' quarters, barracks, hospital, commandant's home, sutler's store, and magazine slowly rose one by one, for
labor was scarce and material difficult to procure.

An interesting picture of the nature of the task of securing material for the fort came from the pen of one of the soldiers whose adventure may be quoted:

"It was during Taylor's command, in the year 1829, that the present Fort Crawford was commenced. It was known that I came down the Wisconsin River, and therefore Taylor chose me to pilot the men up along that river to a given point where they were to cut timber. I guided them as far as Helena now is. We found such timber as was needed, and the men commenced cutting down the trees, and preparing the logs to raft down stream. I returned to the fort, having performed the duty allotted me to the satisfaction of the commandant. This apparently raised me in favor, for I was appointed to do much outside duty, and frequently had a file of men under me.

"In an early stage of the fort's erection, Col. Taylor sent for me, to know where would be the best place to burn lime. I told him that the stone along the bluff, to the eastward was of a sandy formation, but I was sufficiently acquainted with the west side of the river, to know that plenty of good limestone existed there. He then gave me directions to take a file of men, and go over and find a convenient spot to make a kiln. It was an easy matter to have told of several with certainty, but it was
always my motto 'to obey orders, if you break owners', so follow-
ing his directions, I took two men and started across the Mississi-
ippi in a piroque. This species of water-craft was a dug-out made
from the trunk of a mammoth pine. In the center of this large
canoe was rigged a mast, with a large square sail. There was no
wind so we had to propel it with paddles. On reaching the west
side, below where the town of McGregor now is, we landed. Near
this place, we soon found suitable stone in abundance. There
was no difficulty in doing this, for a better quality of stone or
more of it, cannot be found, even at this day, than is in the
bluffs south of McGregor. The place picked out, we had nothing
but more to do/to return to the fort. The men who were with me were
both stonemasons. One was known by the name of Dunbar, a lively
fearless fellow, ready for any mischief; the other, as Baird, a
timid person who was afraid of Indians, of dying, drowning — in
fact anything that had any affinity to danger. It was a warm
sultry day, and we continued to loiter in the cool shade, 'neath
the bluffs, conversing, lolling on the grass, occasionally jerk-
ing a piece of rock out on the mirror-like surface of the Missis-
sippi (that being the way we worked for the government) until
about four o'clock in the afternoon. I had prophesied a storm
that day, on account of the calm; but my predictions sometimes
failed, and no attention was paid to my remark, until we heard a
deep distant rumble, and Baird jumped up and said, 'what's that'. I knew it was the coming storm, for lying on the ground, I heard the thunder distinctly, and looking up, I saw the fleecy clouds borne on the wind over the bluffs, but winking at Dunbar, he suggested the howling of wolves. This was very probable for wolves were more common than they are now, and the wildness of the place gave weight to the idea, but to increase his fright, I attempted to account for the growing darkness and roaring thunder on some volcanic principle. A new terror seized him, and casting a hasty glance up at the wild rugged precipitous bluffs, he implored us to hasten back, and made off in double quick time. It was now time to think of returning, and going down to the piroque, we found Baird crouched in the bottom, shivering with fear. We told him to get in at the bow, and trimming the sail Dunbar took charge of it, while I sat in the stern to steer. We waited for the storm to burst upon us.

"Drops of rain commenced following, the river became ruffled, the thunder sounded mearer, at last the storm burst with terrific fury. This was our time; putting out from the shelter of the bluff the wind struck us, and away went the piroque, plowing through the waves, dashing the spray from its bows, and leaving a foaming wake astern. With the wind blowing a perfect hurricane, and with the thunder, lightning, rain and water on a gener-
But how was it with Baird? Poor fellow! He sat in the canoe, praying us to take down the sail (the piroque would have instantly filled had we done so) but seeing we did not answer his prayers, and thinking he was certainly to be drowned, he appealed to Heaven. One exclamation of his was, "Oh, Lord, if I must die let the gallows claim its own!" We laughed at his fear as he continued to curse, pray, blaspheme, and finally to threaten us, when Dunbar told him to stop his noise. This made him cower down, but when the canoe struck the government landing, he was standing in the bow, and the sudden landing pitched him headlong, a distance of twenty feet out on shore. He recovered himself, and taking to his heels, ran to the fort, never once halting till he was safe in his quarters. I made my report to quarter-master Garland, and was afterwards sent back with a body of men to make lime; but poor Baird did not go with us, for he could never be induced to go boating on the Mississippi again."

Exciting indeed were the many adventures connected with the securing of logs and lumber for Fort Crawford. The following quotation affords a clear picture of the events from the time the logging party left Prairie du Chien until it returned months later with the lumber.

"It was in the fall of 1829, while the present Fort Crawford was building, that Col. Z. Taylor ordered a body of men to proceed to the pineries on Menomonee river, there to cut logs, hew
square timbers, make plank and shingles to be used in the construction of the fort and its defences. The number of soldiers drafted for the purpose was seventy, besides three officers and myself. Colonel Taylor, himself, came to me as he had done before, and did afterward, and said he wanted me to pilot that expedition. We left Prairie du Chien in seven mackinaw boats, with ten men in each boat. The officers accompanying the expedition were Lieutenant Gale, Lieutenant Gardenier, Sergeant Melvin and myself as pilot. Lieutenant Gale was the senior officer, and had the command, I was put in command of the advance boat, Gale in the third boat, Melvin in the fifth and Gardenier in the rear boat, with orders to keep the boats, and see that they reached shore together at night.

The weather was fine for that season of the year; cold nights and clear frosty mornings. The boats made good headway against the current, kept together admirably, and the men felt vigorous under the influence of the pure, bracing atmosphere. Officers and men were in good spirits, and we passed along swimmingly until we reached Wabashaw's Prairie. As we entered Lake Pepin floating ice was encountered, the current was swifter and the cold intense. Now, instead of the men being in good spirits, good spirits got into the men, and from that moment we had trouble. Lieutenant Gale would get ashore with his gun and a couple of men, to kill
some of the ducks and geese for our mess, and always left orders for the boats to keep together. One afternoon when we had entered the Chippewa River, Gale landed on the northwest shore to shoot brant geese, that were very plenty, leaving Lieutenant Gardenier in command, with strict orders to keep all the boats together, and at night to land them in a body, so the men might form one camp. This was necessary for the sake of convenience, and because it kept the men from getting separated, in case the river should close suddenly.

After Gale went ashore, I took his boat, which was the flag boat of the expedition, and appointed one of the men to take temporary command of mine, continued up the river. Chippewa River is a very crooked stream, and the channel is worse. Often only one or two of the boats would be in sight, on account of the bends and abrupt turns in the river. At sun-down we had arrived to within fifteen miles of the mouth of the Menomonee River, and only three boats in company. I decided to encamp and wait for the other four boats.

Selecting a place on the southeast side of the river, the men prepared to camp, and I sent a skiff to the opposite shore to bring over Lieutenant Gale and one soldier named Earl, who had come down stream opposite to the camp. Gale saw the other boats were missing, and sent me down in the skiff to find them
and hurry them up. Some distance below, I met Melvin with two of the boats. He said Gardenier had run aground on the sandbar that I had carefully warned him (Melvin) to look out for. I had guessed as much as Gardenier was far behind when the other boats were warned. The channel near the bar ran across the river at right angles with the course of the stream. Lieutenant Gardenier was not aware of this, and when his boats struck the bar the men tried to force them over into the deep water of the channel just above, but this made matters worse, for the boats were heavily laden with stores, and the quicksand closing around them, soon made it impossible to move backwards or forwards. Between the boats and the shore on either side, the swift, icy water was too deep to wade, and the only alternative was to remain where they were until the other boats took them off. So when I got down to the bar, there they were tight enough—in more respects than one. It was very cold, and to keep their blood in circulation, they had tapped two of the whiskey casks, and were circulating the liquor.

"On arriving alongside of the boats, I saw it was useless to think of getting them off that night, so telling all who could to tumble into the skiff, I pulled for the shore, and after three or four trips, had all the men together with their blankets and provisions, safely landed in the Chippewa bottoms.
After the fires were made, I got into the skiff and rowed back to the main camp where Melvin had arrived before me. I reported to Lieutenant Gale, and sitting down regaled myself on roasted goose. Next morning we went to Lieutenant Gardenier to inquire into the matter of running the boats aground. A council was held, and resulted in Lieutenant Gardenier's being sent back. There was an effort to attach the blame on me but it fell through. The day following was spent in unloading the boats, and fruitless attempts to get them off the sand bar. On the third night the Chippewa River closed, and while the ice was getting stronger, we made sleds to draw the stores on the ice fifteen miles up to the point on the Menomonee River, where we were to cut timber. By the time the sleds were made, the ice on the river was strong enough to bear a team, and the sleds were loaded with casks of whiskey, blankets and provisions, and we drew them up to the proper place on the Menomonee River, where Gale remained with two men to watch the stores, while I returned with the men and sleds for another lot.

"It seems that soon after I left, Gale discovered a war party of Chippewas on the path, looking for Sioux, and, having a natural fear of Indians, he made off through the wooded bottoms at the top of his speed. The chief of the party sent a couple
of his swiftest runners to bring Gale back, but they could not overtake him. The warriors had no idea of disturbing anything, but seeing the liquor and goods lying around without a guard, they were tempted to help themselves, and took some of the goods and filled everything they had that was capable of holding whiskey, and then departed. I arrived the second day with more goods, and learned from the two men that Lieutenant Gale had been gone almost sixty hours from camp. I sent men in the direction he had taken, and discharged guns every moment, and stationed a look out on the high ground that commanded an extensive view of the Chippewa flats. The day passed without our finding the Lieutenant. On the third day, the oldest chief of the war party paid us another visit, returning all the things they had taken except the whiskey, which they promised to pay for with venison.

"While the party were in the camp, the lookout reported that he could see some object moving on the marsh, about three miles distant. Two soldiers were sent out who succeeded in creeping on Lieutenant Gale, and catching him before he could get away. He had been wandering three days and three nights, and exposure had deranged his mind, and he did not recognize his friends. He was brought in, and, on examination, I found
his feet and legs were frozen up to the knees. A hole was cut in the ice, and the Lieutenant's limbs thrust through. After the frost was out of the frozen parts, they were greased with melted deer-fat, and wrapped up in blankets. In a few hours Gale had come to his senses, especially that of feeling, and ordered us to carry him down to Prairie du Chien. We made him as comfortable as possible on a sled, and with three men started to draw him to the Prairie, leaving Sergeant Melvin, who was my senior and ranked me, in command of the men. Lieutenant Gale endured great pain, for every motion was torture, but when we came within sight of the Indian lodges on Wabashaw Prairie, he forgot his pain and wanted us to avoid meeting the Indians. This would have been a difficult thing to accomplish, so we marched into the village, and Wa-ba-shaw came out of his wigwam to welcome us. Upon learning the condition that Gale was in, the chief had him carried into his lodge and treated after the Indian manner with a concoction of white oak bark and poultice of roots. To these remedies Gale owed his perfect recovery, if not his life. We left Wabashaw Prairie and arrived safe at Prairie du Chien, and the Lieutenant was placed under the care of Dr. Beaumont. I was immediately ordered up the river again with the three men, and had to drive
two yoke of oxen back. When we arrived at the camp on Menomonee River, the men had a log cabin almost finished, and were drawing the goods into it.

"We had only been there a short time, when one of the men who was drawing a sled, slipped down and broke his lower jaw. Sergt. Melvin was a severe disciplinarian and believed in flogging a soldier for an accident. He ordered the man to strip and prepare to receive a few lashes. It was brutal to scourge a man who was already suffering with pain, so I told the man to keep his coat on. The sergeant glared at me, but perhaps he discovered something in the expressions of the men's faces, for he kept silent, and the man was put on the sick list.

"The men were divided into three gangs, two of thirty men each, one gang commanded by Melvin, another by me; and the third gang of ten men remained in camp. It was my first duty to build a large flat-boat, and having selected a piece of timber suitable for the gunwales, we erected scaffolds and prepared pulleys and ropes to raise the log upon them.

"This preparation attracted the attention of Melvin, and he supposed the men were about to hand him. Fear had previously caused him to have built a small blockhouse in which he had placed all the arms and ammunition, and where he now unnecessarily shut himself up. He gave me orders through a loop hole,
but would never come out to see if they were faithfully executed.

"The work progressed steadily until the river opened. Trees had been felled, timber hewn, stuff for the flat-boat got out, and we had divided the log with whip-saws, and the parts were being hewed into proper shape for gun wales, when one of the men laid his thigh open to the bone with a broad-ax. It was necessary that the man should have medical aid, so Melvin made out his report of the work done, also a charge against me for creating mutiny, and appointed me to carry the documents and two wounded men — the man who broke his jaw was unfit for duty — in a dugout down to headquarters. I paddled down the river without accident, and entered the slough north of the fort, one evening after dusk, and was surprised to hear the bugles playing the "Dead March". I had the men put in the hospital as soon as I landed, and then repaired to Major Garland's office, where I found Taylor and his officers, holding a council. They were deliberating on the removal of Lieutenant McKenzie's body from the old burying ground near the mound to the officer's graveyard north of the new fort. It was to be done with the honors of war, and the musicians were practicing for the occasion which accounts for the music I heard. I delivered the papers to quarter-master Garland, and after perusing them in silence, he began to read Melvin's charge against me in his droll tone, that
convulsed all present with laughter. Garland asked me if we intended to hang the sergeant. I told him we hadn't thought of such a thing and then gave a straight forward account of all that had transpired from the departure of the seven boats, up to my leaving the camp on the Menomonee in the dug-out. I was not courtmartialed.

"Lieutenant Gardenier, Boisley, myself and seven men, returned to the pineries to bring down the rafts. We found on our arrival, that the men had worked well, and had got out a large quantity of square timber, with any amount of shingles, and the flat-boat was put together and nearly finished. Two rafts were soon formed of the timber, and I was put in command of one and Lieutenant Gardenier took the other. My raft was the largest but it drew less water, and, therefore, all the provisions for the men of both rafts were placed on it, except a barrel of whiskey. Melvin was left with some of the men to bring down the shingles in a flat-boat as soon as it was launched.

The rafts were run out of the Menomonee down into Chippewa River smooth enough. One night, I made fast to the shore, just above the head of Boeuf slough, on the Chippewa, and was waiting for the other raft. It presently appeared in sight and I noticed that something unusual was going on, for the raft floated
rail fence fashion, first against one shore and then against the other, bumping along as though it was intoxicated, perhaps that whiskey barrel leaked. I cried out to Gardenier to either make fast above me, or pull for a point opposite the slough, without touching, and was carried down some distance, and struck on a small tow-head or island. I thought it best to wait until morning before going to them, and quietly ate my supper which Boisley had prepared. The principal dish of this meal was a hedgehog that I had shot. It was cooked by throwing it into the fire whole, and after being perfectly roasted, taken out and all the quills and hair scraped off, and the entrails taken out. After it had undergone this process, it looked as nice as any roasted pig I ever saw, and with proper seasoning, it tasted better.

"In the morning, I put some food into Boisley's canoe, and went down to the raft. The men were glad to get the grub, for they had had nothing to eat but whiskey, all night and you may believe they were not in the best working order. I saw how matters stood, and suggested that the raft be "broke," and towed out of the slough piece-meal. Gardenier didn't approve of the plan, for he said such a large stream of water must have an outlet somewhere, and he would follow it, and take his risk of getting through to the Mississippi river."
At the entrance of this slough, the Chippewa River forms an elbow, the acute angle of which is the mouth of the slough. This slough was indeed a pretty stream of water, wide and deep, with fine banks, and had I not learned better, I would probably have made the same error that the lieutenant did. I told him, that when we drove oxen through the frozen bottoms, I found out where the slough spread out into a wide marsh, and following it up to the Chippewa, we often came to large piles of driftwood, that would certainly stop the raft.

It was decided, however, that the raft should go down the slough, and orders were given to swing her off the island, and bidding me goodbye, they were swept down the stream. I went along down the Chippewa into Lake Pepin, without seeing anything of Gardenier's party, and feeling anxious about them, for they had been absent four days without provisions, I got into the canoe with Boisley, and taking our guns and something to eat, started to find them. I knew very near where the raft would bring up, so putting into a slough that has its rise in a big march, we paddled the little canoe through the water at a good rate, until unfortunately we run on a sunken log and were upset. Boisley seized the guns and carried them ashore, but all our food and ammunition was damaged or lost. I turned the canoe right side up, and getting in, we continued up the slough, came
to the marsh, and, as I expected, found the raft jammed against a pile of driftwood in the slough some distance above. The raft was deserted by everything except the whiskey barrel, and that was empty. Boisley said the man had been gone from the raft at least two days, and knowing that they would head off my raft, somewhere below, we did not try to find them, but started to return to our party. We had gone back some distance, when, passing close to a small island covered with willows, a band of young Sioux braves jumped up and gave a war whoop. The Indians told us to come to them, and even waded towards us, but preferring to keep our guns, blankets, and canoe, in our possession, we paddled away through the islands, and soon got out of their reach.

In our haste to leave the Indians, we missed our way, and wandered around in the marsh for two days before we reached the Mississippi River, far above our raft. We were hungry, for our provisions gave out two days previous, our guns were wet, and all the powder spoiled, so we could not shoot any game for food. Landing on an island in the river, we hauled the canoe up, and went to sleep without a fire. Next morning the wind blew so, we dared not leave the island. I had been so long without eating that I did not care if I ever saw food again. I had a hot, bitter sensation in my stomach. Late in the after-
noon of that day we saw a canoe with two Indians in it, coming
down the western shore. I told Boisley, we must meet the canoe
if we wanted to live. Shoving the canoe out, we got in, and by
paddling and drifting made the western shore, where we were pick-
ed up by the Monomonee chief, Wa-ba-naw, and his squaw. I ask-
ed the chief for food, and told him how long we had been without.
He landed and made camp and his squaw cooked some hominy. This
was given to us in very small quantities at first, and no en-
treaty or threat could make the Indians increase the dose, until
it suited his pleasure. He continued to feed us at intervals,
little by little, until our appetites became ravenous, and then
he made us lie down, and we fell asleep. Wa-ba-naw's squaw
aroused us at midnight, and set before us a kettle of thick
buillon, made of hominy and meat, and told us to eat. We ate
all the soup, went to sleep, and awoke in the morning as well as
ever.

Wa-ba-naw went down to the raft with us, from which we had
been gone six days. The men were glad to see us safe, and get-
ting the raft into the current, we floated down keeping a good
lookout for any signs of Gardenier's party. Second day after
my return to the raft, a signal was discovered on an island be-
low us. It proved to be the missing party. They had been ab-
sent eleven days, and had eaten nothing but acorns and roots.
We treated them according to Wa-ba-naw's direction, for they were almost famished, and would have killed themselves, had they been allowed to eat all their appetites craved. They took the high land after leaving the raft, and traveling ahead of us, made a raft of driftwood that carried them to the island. The wind broke up their raft, and it was swept away, making them prisoners on the island. There they remained without eating until we took them off. They had resolved to kill and eat a man named Austin Young, who was resigned to his fate, and had gone down to the river for water, while his comrades loaded a musket and cast lots who should shoot him. He filled the kettle with water, and was about to go back, when he saw the raft coming, and told his companions. Our appearance at that time saved his life.

Putting the weakest of the party into a Mackinaw boat, we had picked up, I sent them down to the Prairie with a couple of men. The boat must have got down a long time ahead of the raft for when we arrived at Point Rook, I met Lieutenant Gardenier looking well as ever, and he promised me something handsome if I would not give the particulars in my report, as to how the raft was lost. But I knew that Taylor hated a liar as bad as he did a drunkard, so when I arrived at the fort I stated all the facts just as they were, and it was well that I did, for Col. Taylor would soon have found out the truth. Besides I secured the re-
spect of Lieutenant Gardenier by so doing, for he was an honorable man." 114

Work on the Fort continued from 1829 to 1832. It was occupied by part of the garrison in 1831 and by all in 1832. 115 The Fort proper consisted of an enclosure rectangular in shape, the north and south sides of which consisted of a stockade of pine logs each one foot square and sixteen feet high. The east and west walls of the Fort were formed by two barracks each 35 feet wide and 175 feet long. These were constructed of stone consisting of an elevated basement and one story. Inside the stockade and forming the north and south limits of the enclosed parade ground stood the officer's quarters each 35 feet wide and 242 feet long. These also consisted of an elevated basement with one story above and were constructed of stone. A shingled gable roof covered each of these four buildings and these roofs continued inside the fort formed the roof of a porch ten feet wide facing the parade ground. The parade ground flanked on the east and west by barracks and on the north and south by officer's quarters was intersected at right angles in the center by a paved walk running north and south and by a paved sally post which extended east and west through the Fort, thence westward to the river. The west wall of the structure rested on a ridge fifty feet above the river and distant several hundred feet.
In the southeast corner of the parade ground stood a tall flag staff where the Stars and Stripes were raised daily at guard mounting and lowered at retreat. In the northwest corner of the parade ground was the well six feet square and sixty feet deep, the depth of the water depending upon the rise and fall of the river. In the southeast corner of the Fort was the stone powder magazine, in the southwest corner was a room fitted up for a theatre. The windows in the basement of the Fort were two feet wide by four feet high each cross barred with iron slats. Both the hospital and the commandant's home were outside the Fort, the former a large stone building to the south the latter a frame structure to the north.116

In building the Fort a large Indian mound was leveled disclosing an Indian burying ground. Cart-loads of bones were removed therefrom.117

To provide funds for the erection of the Fort an appropriation of $22,230.82 was made on March 21, 1828. A year later an additional appropriation of $10,000. was voted for the completion of the barracks. On May 31, 1830, $12,000. more was granted - $2000 of which was to purchase the site, the balance for the erection of the barracks.118 The land embraced in the purchase of May 13, 1829 included almost 200 acres.119

Fort Crawford, the second, commanded by its builder,
Colonel Taylor, continued to play an important part in the development of the frontier just as its predecessor and namesake, Fort Crawford the first, had served a worthy purpose since 1816. It represented a stage of our national development where the frontier post protected the settlers and served as a wedge for opening the Indian country.
To furnish protection for the frontier settlements and to carry the authority of the government to the Indian lands were primary purposes of the War Department in establishing frontier military posts. Furthermore, the fort was to be the center of the Indian life for the tribes within its jurisdiction.

In carrying out these purposes, the garrison of both Fort Crawfords performed every type of frontier duty - each taking part in an Indian struggle of importance. The successful carrying out of many difficult tasks by the officers and soldiers of this post constituted an important link in the chain of events on the then ever shifting border of the United States.

An incident which occurred during the early days of the Fort is a type of attack for which the garrison had to be prepared. A young man, Willard Keyes, had arrived at Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1817 after a 2000 mile journey from Vermont. In his diary he mentioned the fact that a general muster of the garrison was held on the first Sunday of his stay at the Prairie. About 200 well disciplined riflemen under Colonel Chambers made up the garrison at that date. Nearly a month later, October 13th, 1817, about half past eight in the evening a messenger rode up to his cabin at full speed stating
that Indians had attacked the town and urging Keyes and his companions to make their way to the Fort with all haste. As their firearms were absent or out of order they started pell mell for the fort, just as the Indian whistle began to sound the signal for attack. Out of the darkness sounded the loud war-whoop and a valley of bullets, and the now thoroughly scared civilians scattered towards the hills to the east. The noise having quieted as suddenly as it had begun, the fleeing parties re-assembled at Keyes's cabin and concluded that it was a false alarm created "by some evil disposed, drunken, lowlived persons". On the next day Colonel Chambers explained that the attack the night before had been staged by the officers of the garrison and some principal citizens to impress on the newcomers the necessity of being well armed or of living near the fort.

During the early years of its existence - while the buildings were being erected and Fort Crawford was becoming a center of the civil life, of the Indian life, and of the fur trade of the surrounding country, the region was for the most part quiet. The first actual outbreak came to a head in 1827 when the so-called Winnebago War held the center of the stage. During the summer of 1826 frequent clashes between the lead-miners near Galena and the Winnebago led Colonel Snelling to re-enforce the garrison of Fort Crawford by sending Captain D. Wilcox with three
companies of the Fifth Infantry from Fort Snelling to the lower post. Continued unrest and increasing hostility on the part of the Indians induced, however, the authorities to concentrate all the units of the Fifth at Fort Snelling and consequently Fort Crawford was abandoned in the fall of 1826.

The commandant took with him two Winnebago who had been confined in the guard-house at Fort Crawford. During the spring of 1827, reports reached the Winnebago in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien that the two prisoners had been killed. This false rumor stirred up the enmity of the Indians, and, driven to desperation by the encroachments of the miners and encouraged by the removal of the garrison they were in a mood for war.

Toward the latter part of June of that year, Red Bird, a Winnebago chief and two of his braves, We-Kau and Chic-hon-sic, paid a visit to the home of James H. Lockwood for the purpose of killing the inmates. Mrs. Lockwood who was in charge of the home and store during her husband’s absence fled into the latter where Duncan Graham, an old British trader, persuaded the Indians to depart. They stopped next at the home of Register Gagnier, some two or three miles south east of the village. Here Red Bird shot and killed Gagnier, another Indian murdered a discharged soldier, Solomon Lip cap, who lived with the Gagniers, and the third Indian attacked Mrs. Gagnier. She struggled with him
and wrested away his gun whereupon the three Indians fled from the house. With her three year old son she hurried to the village to spread the alarm forgetting in her fright her youngest daughter about one year old. A party from the village went at once to the scene of the murder and found the child, scalped and thrown under a bed. Strange to say, she lived and grew to womanhood.  

On the same day about sunset the Winnebago inflamed by liquor and elated over the murders near Prairie du Chien attacked a keelboat, the "O. H. Perry" on its return trip from Fort Snelling. Fearing an outbreak from the Sioux, Colonel Snelling had furnished the crews of both the "O. H. Perry" and "General Ashley" with guns and ammunition for their return journey. The attack was made just below the mouth of the Bad Axe River and in a sharp engagement of several hours, two of the crew and seven of the Indians were killed. The second boat passed the island at night and although fired upon, no damage was inflicted.  

The murder of the Gagnier family and the attack on the keelboats caused widespread alarm among the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien. During the 27th, the people had constructed breastworks of the timber piled near a tavern and fortified it with the swivel and wall pieces from Fort Crawford. They also resurrect-
ed and repaired the condemned muskets left behind by the soldiers and prepared to defend themselves. But in the Babel of words of advice and commands there were few who were willing to obey. The settlers had decided, however, not to occupy the Fort as a report was common that the Indians intended to burn it if the inhabitants took refuge in it.

Such was the situation when Mr. Lockwood returned. Upon his advice a local commander was selected to take charge and a company of ninety chosen as a militia. Thomas McNair was made captain, Joseph Brisbois lieutenant and Jean Brunet ensign. Captain McNair ordered all the families to move to the Fort, to return the guns, and to take along goods to withstand a siege. It was decided to repair the Fort at once for defensive purposes. Dirt was thrown up for two or three feet high around the bottom logs which had become dry and rotted. Joseph Snelling, son of Colonel Snelling, was put in command of one blockhouse and Jean Brunet of the other. A few men were trained to use the swivel and wall pieces, while the rest handled the muskets which had been put in repair by the blacksmiths. Barrels of water were placed around the quarters to use in case of fire. Mr. Lockwood furnished plenty of powder and lead from the supply at his store and messengers were dispatched to Fort Snelling and to Galena for help.
Governor Cass, who, in the same month (June 1837) had set out to Butte des Morts to hold a council with the Winnebago relative to the boundaries set down in the treaty of 1825, hastened to Prairie du Chien as soon as he heard of the threatened danger. Arriving at Fort Crawford on July 4th, he encouraged the inhabitants and mustered into service the local militia. From thence he hurried to Galena where he raised a company, sent them by keelboat to Prairie du Chien, and then sped down the Mississippi in his canoe to take the news to St. Louis and secure the aid of the regulars under General Henry Atkinson. Soon Atkinson with 700 troops was on his way up the river by steamboat. From St. Louis, Cass proceeded without delay to Chicago, thence to Green Bay and back again to Butte des Morts making a circuit of travel of eighteen hundred miles.  

In the meantime Colonel Snelling in response to the urgent call for help had arrived with four companies of the Fifth Regiment. A few days after he reached Fort Crawford, General Atkinson arrived with his troops and Colonel Snelling was ordered back to protect the region about Fort Snelling. On August 17th, Major John Fowle left the upper post with four companies and started downstream in two keelboats, and nine Machinac boats. At the same time, Major William Whistler with the garrison of Fort Howard ascended the Fox River and made camp at the Portage where Fort Winnebago was built the next year. Another force
of over a hundred volunteers organized by Henry Dodge near the lead mining region advanced on both sides of the river driving the Indians before them.\footnote{133}

The Indians seeing the rapidity with which forces were set in motion against them and alarmed at the numbers of their foes quickly sued for peace. At the Portage they decided to surrender and Red Bird dressed in his finest Indian costume give himself up, as did his two accomplices. They were taken to the military prison at old Fort Crawford where Red Bird died and his two companions were sentenced to be hanged, but later were pardoned by President John Quincy Adams. Thus ended the Winnebago outbreak.\footnote{134}

Although the Winnebago struggle had come to an end with little bloodshed, the Indians were cowed but not conquered. The cause of their hostility, namely the aggressions of the lead miners had not been removed and the ever increasing advance of the settler continued. To hold in check the dissatisfied tribes in the northwest, it was decided to regarrison Fort Crawford and to build a new fort at the portage of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway.\footnote{135}

In May 1831 Joseph M. Street, Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, left the agency temporarily in charge of Thomas P. Burnett, sub-agent. In a communication to General William Clark, super-
intendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, Burnett said that "the
Indian relations among the different tribes of this quarter,
have not a very amicable appearance." Between the hatred of
the Sioux for the Sauks and Foxes and that of the Menominees
for the Chippewas, the watchful attention of both the officers
of the garrison and the agents was necessary. However, it be­
came a mooted question as to which one had the lead in the
matter. The military officers claimed the right but the agents
demanded the privilege of knowing what was being done. As
both departments were then under the supervision of the War
Department, the military men felt that the Indian Department
was subordinate. A meeting of Sauk and Fox Indians and Sioux
braves held at Fort Crawford by Colonel Morgan furnished the
means for a tart interchange of notes between Mr. Burnett and
the Colonel as to the right of the latter to hold such a meeting
without giving the particulars to the agent.

On the night of July 31, 1831, occurred an Indian clash
indicative of the unrest, hostility, and excitement that pre­
vailed among the tribes. A party of Menominee braves numbering
about forty had encamped with their women and children some three
or four hundred paces above Old Fort Crawford and distant about
two miles from the new fort to which the garrison had been trans­
ferred. Two or three hours before daybreak a party of nearly
100 Sauks and Foxes crept upon the sleeping camp and began an orgy of butchery. No resistance could be offered as the women had hidden all guns and knives to prevent their intoxicated braves from hurting each other. In a few minutes twenty-five Menominees lay murdered and six wounded — six women and eleven children among the number. The Sauks and Foxes retreated down stream followed by three or four Menominees who kept up a running fire on their enemies until they were below the village.138

Joseph M. Street arrived on the scene of the massacre within an hour and a half after its occurrence and sent a letter at once to the commanding officer at Fort Crawford acquainting him with the details of the tragedy. A detachment from the Fort got under way at once but the fugitives managed to make good their escape. A messenger was despatched to Rock Island in order to head off the murderers if they came that way, but in spite of all efforts on the part of the troops the culprits escaped.139

The wounded Menominees were given treatment by Street and the bereaved families partly pacified by presents. Finally Street wrote to Governor Clark the information that "the wounded Menomonees are recovering, but must be ordered away soon as the remainder get drunk and raise a row with the Sauk and Fox wives of the French inhabitants." Street was at a loss to know what to do as it seemed to him that the officers at the Fort had not
exercised the proper zeal in seeking the guilty Sauk and Foxes. Colonel Taylor was absent at the time and the chief of the outraged Indians sorrowfully complained, "When the chief of your warriors, declared to all the Indians at the Council, that he would march his soldiers into the country of the first Indian who broke the peace and punish them, my heart was glad, and I said to my people, now we are all safe. This will be a good peace. Now at our own land, and near your own fort, I laid down and slept. I had a wife and brother and children — in the night the Sauks and Foxes came into my lodge, and in the morning I was alone. Who will revenge me? Your chief of the soldiers is gone, and I see no person going against the murderers." 140

Near the end of October Street wrote that the Menominees seemed pacified by the demand of the government that the murderers be given up, and by presents which consisted of a full suit of clothes and a blanket for every squaw and child under sixteen, a keg of powder, 100 pounds of lead and a spear made by a Winnebago blacksmith for each man.141 Later, during the spring of the next year, the Sauk and Foxes surrendered three of the murderers to General Atkinson at Fort Armstrong.142

The next act in the drama of defending the frontier began when Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi April 6, 1832, at the
head of his dissatisfied band of Sauk. While the Winnebago cut-break in which the first Fort Crawford played a part was little more than a flash in the pan, the uprising under Black Hawk was a war in every sense of the word. Two presidents of the United States Abraham Lincoln and Zachary Taylor, the president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, leaders in state craft and in the Mexican and the Civil War, Winfield Scott, A. C. Dodge, Henry Dodge, John Reynolds, Henry Atkinson, Joseph E. Johnston, Albert Sidney Johnston, David E. Twiggs, Robert Anderson, S. P. Heintzelman, W. S. Harney all participated in this short and inglorious struggle. As the story of this struggle may be found in many places, it is the purpose here to sketch merely the part played therein by the second Fort Crawford.¹⁴³

Black Hawk had crossed the Mississippi and had emerged victor in his first skirmish with the Illinois-militia under Isiah Stillman. James H. Lockwood then wrote Street from Galena urging him to send guns and ammunition from the arsenal at the agency and to try to prevail on the commanding officer of Fort Crawford to forward a supply for the citizens of Galena. Later in the month (May 26) Street received a letter from General Atkinson in pursuit of the Sauk and Foxes, asking him to recruit a band of Sioux and Menominee Indians to aid in the operations against Black Hawk, and to secure arms for them if possible from the commanding officer.
Street sent Sub-Agent Burnett up the Mississippi to accomplish this purpose. By June 7th, a band had been assembled, rifles furnished, and the detachment sent off under Colonel William S. Hamilton. The Indians, however, proved to be indifferent and were sent back to their camps.

How the Sauk and Foxes retreated from the Rock River to the Wisconsin hotly pursued by the troops under Henry and Dodge has been related many times. Many of the fugitives tried to cross the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin, but a detachment of regulars from Fort Crawford under Lieutenant Joseph Ritner fired on them and prevented such escape. This encounter was given the name of the Battle of Wisconsin Heights. The final defeat of Black Hawk's band came August 2, 1832, in a last desperate attempt to recross the Mississippi. The day before the battle of Bad Axe, the steamboat, "Warrior" had come upstream and stopped at the government landing at Prairie du Chien. Here a six pounder from the Fort was placed on board at the forward part and manned by five soldiers. The boat steamed up the Mississippi with all on board anxious to get a chance at the Indians. They came upon them near the Bad Axe River where they were making a desperate attempt to get their women and children across. A volley from the Indians brought three showers of canister from the boat which killed several and
caused the rest to retreat to the low ground back from the shore, where they were safe from the cannon. A continued fire of small arms was kept up on both sides until the firewood on the boat gave out. The steamboat then had to put back to Prairie du Chien for a new supply, and as soon as this could be hurried on board returned to the scene of the battle. There the boat crew beheld the volunteers under Dodge hotly engaged with the Indians and driving them towards the river. Caught between two fires the followers of Black Hawk were rapidly mowed down and wereOverpowered. In this engagement the white troops lost seventeen killed and eleven wounded. The Indians suffered one hundred fifty killed and as many more were drowned. Many who succeeded in crossing were later killed by the Sioux and about fifty were taken prisoner. Only one person who came up on the "Warrior" was killed.

When the battle ended and the wounded were made as comfortable as possible, the Indian prisoners, the wounded of both sides, and many of the regulars were placed aboard the steamboat and taken to Prairie du Chien. Here the Indians were placed in confinement and the wounded in the hospital of Fort Crawford. Black Hawk, seeing the fate that overtook his people, hastened back to the Dells of Wisconsin where he was captured by two Winnebago Indians and turned over to agent
Street at Prairie du Chien.

In the meantime, General Winfield Scott, who had been placed in command of all the forces operating against Black Hawk, arrived at Fort Crawford, August 7th. While enroute the cholera had cut down his command from a thousand to about eight hundred. On the 21st of September a treaty of peace was signed at Fort Atkinson which formally terminated the war. Under its provisions the Indians ceded to the United States their lands in southern Wisconsin and accepted instead a new strip of land in what is now Iowa. Black Hawk was taken from the military prison of Fort Crawford to Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis and in charge of Jefferson Davis, then a young lieutenant in the army. Later he was confined at Fortress Monroe - where by the irony of fate, Davis was destined to be a prisoner, and finally released.

Among the officers at Fort Crawford who took an important part in the Black Hawk War were Colonel Taylor who commanded a force in the campaign and Captain Gustavus Loomis, who commanded during the Colonel's absence. Both General Atkinson and General Scott spent several days at the Fort in arranging the final details of the struggle after the battle of Bad Axe.

As a matter of fact every officer and soldier of the garrison at Fort Crawford saw service in the Black Hawk War either
on the firing line or in guarding the prisoners at the end of the struggle. 

No other serious outbreaks occupied the attention of the garrison although it was often necessary during the occupancy of the Fort to send out small detachments to various parts of the Indian country to keep the savages in check. With the removal of the red men to the western bank of the Mississippi less and less need was felt for a garrison at the Prairie.

During the Mexican War, during the years of 1846 and 1847 while the regular troops were away, the Fort was in charge of a company of volunteers under Captain Wiram Knowlton. However, from the time of the capture of Black Hawk in 1832 until the departure of the government officers and troops with their stores and provisions on the steamer, "War Eagle", for Fort Snelling on June 12th 1856, little actual campaigning took place. The strenuous days in guarding the frontier had passed.
Glimpses of the daily life of officers and privates at Fort Crawford may be found in many places. The General Regulations for the Army issued in 1830 reveals the daily program at a military post; notes of travelers, the diary of a resident at Prairie du Chien, and the personal reminiscences of a soldier of the garrison afford intimate pictures of military and other duties. Furthermore, inspection reports in the files of the War Department and the pages of the *Army and Navy Chronicle* indicate the routine tasks and simple pleasures of the men who represented the power of the United States on the frontier.

When dawn appeared over the high bluffs to the east of the Fort, the trumpeters took their station on the parade ground and shortly thereafter, the clear tones of the reveille rang out over the prairie. Sleepy officers and men arose and appeared on the parade ground. After roll call quarters and barracks were put in order, bunks made up, and the ground policed. Then the horses were fed and watered. Sick call sounded at eight thirty and the breakfast call at nine o'clock met a hearty response.

There followed the various duties of the day. Under the
command of the officer of the day a "General Fatigue" swept the parade ground, a task usually imposed upon the prisoners of the guard-house. Various groups were detailed to guard the prisoners, to protect the colors, to watch over the quarters of the commanding officer and sentinels were posted about the Fort. Other detachments were sent to reconnoiter when danger threatened and at other times to secure provisions and fire-wood. At three o'clock another roll call was followed by dinner. Half an hour before sunset the entire garrison was summoned by music for dress parade, various formations and drills were practiced and the general orders were announced. After the parade, the arms were placed in the arm racks and another roll call answered. Then the horses were bedded for the night, tatoo sounded, lights were put out and quiet reigned.

Although the daily routine of duties grew deadly monotonous the soldiers at Fort Crawford fared well in the matter of meals. The regulation diet which Congress had prescribed in 1802, consisted of a pound and a quarter of beef, eighteen ounces of bread or flour, one gill of rum, whiskey or brandy, and with every hundred rations two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four pounds of soap, and a pound and a half of candles. Coffee and sugar took the place of liquor in 1832.

Often there appeared in the Army and Navy Chronicle adver-
tisements asking for proposals for the delivery of provisions for the use of troops of the United States at Fort Crawford and these always asked for the articles enumerated above. These were to be delivered in bulk upon inspection. One such advertisement called for: "240 bbls. of pork; 750 bbls. of fresh superfine flour; 220 bushels of new white field beans; 3500 pounds of good, hard soap; 2400 pounds of hard tallow candles; 80 bu. of good, clean dry salt; 900 gallons of good cider vinegar."

Bread and soup were important items in the soldier's diet. The General Regulations for the Army specified: "Bread ought not to be burnt, but baked to an equal brown color. The crust ought not to be detached from the crumb. On opening it, when fresh, one ought to smell a sweet and balsamic odor."

Quartermasters were instructed to supervise carefully both the making of bread and the making of soup.

"No quartermaster or quartermaster sergeant can be deemed instructed in his duties, until he has followed up, once at least, the whole process of converting a barrel of flour into good bread."

Apparently the regulations were carefully observed at Fort Crawford for inspection reports of both the old and new fort, praised the men's messes. For instance, one inspector declared:

"The fare at this post is as good as we could desire, and the arrangement, neatness and order of the kitchen, mess rooms
and furniture are highly creditable to all concerned. \(^1\) Must

No neglect on the part of the cooks was tolerated and the
ample rations were properly cooked and served. \(^2\)

Abundant fishing in the Mississippi and good hunting along
the prairie and in the ravine among the neighboring bluffs fur­
nished amusement in the leisure time of the soldiers and added
variety to the messes. \(^3\)

The severity of military life and the monotony of garrison
duty led to frequent desertions at many posts. But information
covering three years time indicates that the percentage of de­
sertions at Fort Crawford was small in comparison with that of
other places of like nature. In 1823 there was stationed at
Fort Crawford a total force of ninety-five men under Colonel
Willoughby Morgan and in 1824 and 1825 eighty-nine and fifty-eight
men respectively under Captain R. A. McCabe. \(^4\) Of this number
none deserted in 1823, one in 1824 and two in 1825, of whom two
were laborers and one a shoemaker. \(^5\) In respect to the number
of deaths at the Fort this post was fortunate during these three
years, the number at Fort Crawford being none, at Fort Snelling
seven, and at Fort Howard eleven. \(^6\) Quite different was the
situation in 1832 when the dreaded cholera which had reached the
United States from Europe and had then spread westward reached
Prairie du Chien. In two weeks time over one hundred soldiers
died. \(^7\)
Late in the fall of 1833, Charles J. Latrobe, an English traveler, visited the post after an arduous seven days trip from Galena in a wagon. He spoke of being received by the officers of the Fort "with that warmth of welcome which makes the traveler feel at once at home." Just as the party was coming down to the prairie from the uplands about six miles from the Fort they caught up with the postman trudging along and invited him to ride. Soon after he had climbed aboard the "mud waggon" the whole outfit was spilled out on the prairie by a sudden overturning of the vehicle. The telling of this incident added to the hilarity of their arrival at the Fort. He wrote that the Fort was calculated to afford quarters to an entire regiment but that only a few companies were there at the time of his visit. He described it as a "large spacious range of stone barracks built on a gentle swell east of the bayou." During his stay at the Fort he crossed the Mississippi and from the top of one of the bluffs on the west bank of that river beheld the panorama which every soldier who had hunted over or reconnoitered the surrounding country had been privileged to behold. Below him whirled the mighty Father of Waters dotted by grassy or wooded islands. On the opposite shore stretched the prairie for several miles with its picturesque background of high grassy bluffs broken
by ravines which gave outlets to streams. On the semi-island separated from the prairie by the Slough of St. Feriole he saw the ruins of the old fort and the blockhouses of squared logs so built as to present eight faces to the enemy. On this island and dotted along the mainland opposite were the homes of the inhabitants who could observe the stone walls of the new Fort Crawford well to the south. Between these homes and the bluffs stretched the farms of the villagers, the whole view presenting a riot of color and a panorama of rare delight.

With considerable regret he took leave of Colonel Taylor and the soldiers with whom the time had passed most pleasantly and proceeded up the river to Fort Snelling. Again on the return trip he stopped at Fort Crawford and passed an enjoyable time with "as warm hearted a set of young fellows and as staunch and brave an old colonel as you would wish to see." 

In the summer of 1835 George Catlin and his wife spent several months at the frontier forts where he was engaged in painting "scenes of Indian life and portraits of Indian chiefs." On July 27th, accompanied by a soldier, he left Fort Snelling for Fort Crawford to find "new subjects for my brush and new themes for my pen". He stated that three or four companies were stationed at the Fort engaged "in keeping the peace among hostile tribes and in protecting the frontier inhabitants from
the attacks of excited savages."  

During the fall of the same year George William Featherstonhaugh and William Mather, geologists, were engaged in making a survey of the Minnesota valley for the government and stopped enroute at Fort Crawford. Of his reception he wrote, "The scene before me was a pleasant one, and some of the officers of the garrison coming down to the beach to learn who we were, I landed, and was conducted by them to their quarters in an extensive quadrangle in the fort. Here I had a commodious room assigned to me, and almost immediately afterwards, Colonel Taylor, the commandant, called upon me and offered all the services in his power. It is impossible to express by words how much a traveler in these rude countries is touched by such attentions and certainly it is due to the officers of the American army to say, that upon all similar occasions I have found them as hearty and as hospitable as men know how to be."

After seeing his Canadian boatmen comfortably quartered and having cautioned them against getting drunk, Featherstonhaugh supped with the officers and then visited the quarters of Colonel Taylor from where they adjourned to the theatre in the south end of the southwest barracks. The bill to be presented by the histrionically inclined was the comedy, "The Poor Gentleman". Apparently the amateurs presentation did not please the distinguished visitor for he says:
"Miss Emily was personated in a most astounding manner; such a monster in petticoats, and stick in feeling, probably never was exhibited before. The only three decent performers were an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Scotchman; the rest seemed to have neither sense nor feeling."

However, the crowded house liked the offering for loud and frequent applause greeted the lines of the comedy and the acting of the military thespians. The visitor recognized in this type of diversion, one of the most powerful agencies for making use of the leisure time of the soldier to good advantage and for offsetting the inclination to debauchery. He spoke in grateful terms of the hospitality of Colonel Taylor and his garrison and with regret took leave of the post to continue his journey.

In common with life outside the Fort drinking was a habit among the soldiers and only too often was their undoing. Many a night was spent in the guard-house by those who had imbibed too freely and who had been absent from roll call. In order to promote the cause of temperance there was organized at Fort Crawford in 1848, "The Fort Crawford Temperance Society". In joining the soldier signed a pledge to abstain from the use of liquor for whatever length of time he put down opposite his name. Apparently the demon rum was in full retreat. At about this time Major John Garland arrived to inspect the Fort and strict
orders had been issued to keep all liquor outside of both the Fort and the soldiers. Twenty sentinels were posted to enforce this order and when the review was held, every man was in his place. Major Garland was impressed with the discipline and complimented the officers on the appearance of the men. That night Major Garland with one of the local officers took a stroll outside the Fort. As they were returning the attention of the Major was attracted by the queer antics of a cat that seemed to be approaching. The two stepped over in its direction and suddenly it stopped. The Major reached down, picked it up, and discovered he held a cat's skin, stuffed with a bladder full of whiskey. Stepping on the string attached to it had stopped the cat's mysterious approach. This episode came as a climax to a recital of the benefits of the local temperance society.

Various methods of punishing those who disobeyed orders or who violated regulations were administered by the different commandants at Fort Crawford. Confinement in the guard-house, extra police duty and curtailment of privileges were among the most common. But it remained for Colonel Taylor to introduce an unusual but effective method. This consisted in taking hold of both ears of the culprit and then shaking him severely, a treatment called "wooling". One day when all the garrison had been mustered for dress parade, Colonel Taylor came out to look over
his troops and observed a large German recruit who constantly failed to execute the commands correctly because his knowledge of English was faulty and the commands not understood. Colonel Taylor, unacquainted with the true situation, thought the fellow was wilfully disobeying, and walking up to him began to "wool" him. The big German not understanding the reason for the punishment drew back and struck Taylor such a blow that he fell like a log. The soldiers were ready to kill the recruit for this act of insubordination to "Old Zack" but Taylor rose up and ordered them to leave him alone saying that he would make a good soldier. The fellow afterwards became a faithful soldier and served in the Black Hawk War.

On Sundays a general muster of the garrison was usually held. The rest of the day was used by the inhabitants of the village as a day for amusements. Games of ball, play, and holiday recreations held sway in which the soldiers on leave took an active part. This was a typical Sunday especially during the days of Old Fort Crawford.

Reading, too, helped to relieve the monotony of camp life. Each frontier post possessed a library and this was added to by the books of the young officers who were assigned to duty here. Among the books were works on history, geography, mathematics, science and on subjects pertaining to military affairs.
papers such as the "National Intelligencer" and the "National Gazette" although many weeks old when they arrived were eagerly awaited and each line read. When those in the Fort had finished reading, the periodicals and papers passed around the village to those who desired to see them.

For the children of the Fort and those of the prominent citizens of the community a post school was established at Fort Crawford as early as 1817 in charge of a sergeant by the name of Reeseden, a person of character and of good education. Afterwards non-commissioned officers performed the same duty for many years, receiving fifteen cents a day above their regular army wages of five dollars a month. In 1836, Reverend Cadle moved from Fort Howard at Green Bay to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien and there performed the double duty of teacher and chaplain as he had done at the other post. The commandant had supervision over the school and usually the oversight was strict and the instruction thorough.

A writer in the Army and Navy Chronicle in 1840 summed up the disadvantages of those who occupied the frontier posts and pleaded that conditions there should be made as attractive as in the older posts of the east. He felt that the young recruits and officers who came to the West were too prone to give way to gambling and liquor because of the monotony of their existence.
He recommended, "the erection of all posts by hired labor instead of soldier labor, the building up of a good library, a gymnasium at each post, and a system devised for the encouragement of essays on subjects connected with the profession".  

Although many of his criticisms and suggestions were wise the daily duties at Fort Crawford gave some relief from its military monotony. Then, too, Prairie du Chien was the great meeting point of the tribes of the northwest and thus furnished many a rumor and occasional excitement among the soldiery at Fort Crawford.

Officers and men alike hunted, fished, and attended to military tasks by day and took part in theatricals, games, or parties by night. The women did needle work and attended to household duties while the children attended the post school and played in the vast confined of the Fort. The soldiers stood sentry, spent their scanty wages for supplies at the sutler's store or at the dram shops in the village, where they sang lustily the soldier ditty of "Benny Havens Oh." Athletic games, horse-back rides and marches into the Indian country relieved the tedium of routine duty. Life at Fort Crawford was much like the life at every other frontier post and "vice and virtue" went hand in hand."
Many events worthy of record happened during the occupation of the first and the second Fort Crawford from 1816 to 1856. They include the story of brave deeds, of affairs of honor, of stirring incidents, and romantic adventure. It was here that Jefferson Davis, a young lieutenant wooed and won the fair Noxy Taylor and incurred the wrath of Colonel "Zack" for the time being. Here, too, soldiers, officers and their wives died and were buried with military honors, the former in a plot to the east of the Fort, the latter in a smaller tract to the north. The scenes of the border near the Old Fort and the ancient village of Prairie du Chien furnished the material for a pageant of historical events typical of the winning of the West.

Willard Keyes, a resident of Prairie du Chien for two years, made a number of references in his diary pertaining to the acts of the soldiers. Among other things he mentioned that one day while out hunting with two companions they happened to discharge their fowling pieces within a short distance of the Fort. They were soon overtaken by a sergeant and a file of men who arrested them for violating a recent order prohibiting anyone firing within one hundred yards of the Fort. After a severe reprimand by
Colonel Morgan they were released. On another date he recorded the fact that the surgeon of the garrison made "three fruitless efforts to extract my troublesome tooth". On the next Sunday a religious service was held at a house which Keyes was using for a school. Although few people attended that day the soldiers who came behaved "very orderly and decent". July 4th 1818 was announced at the Fort by the firing of cannon at sunrise. The troops marched out and fired a salute by platoons, presenting a handsome appearance. Refusal of the French citizens to help celebrate the day drew reproaches from the Americans. One cold morning in February 1818 a quarrel between Mr. Benjamin O'Fallon and Lieutenant William G. Shade of the garrison resulted in the latter's receiving the second shot in the jaw when the two met on the field of honor. Keyes observed that "O'Fallon unfortunately escaped without injury". Apparently the loser of the duel recovered in due time for he left the Fort in active service the following summer.

During the command of Major Kearny an event took place most tragic in its outcome and created a profound impression on the garrison. Among the soldiers at this time was a young man, Reneka by name, of good education who had joined the army
for the sake of adventure. His careful attention to duty and unfailing courtesy made him a favorite with both officers and men. However, he allowed himself to take part in a drinking spree with some companions. Unused to liquor he soon felt sick and started for the barracks. Soon he emerged with a rifle, and rushing out on the parade ground swung it around his head like a madman. Lieutenant Mackenzie, officer of the day strode out to learn the cause of the commotion and ordered a corporal to take Reneka to the guard-house. The latter paused a moment, raised his rifle and shot Mackenzie, his best friend, through the head killing him instantly. Reneka was arrested, confined in the guard-house then tried, convicted and sentenced to be hung. The gallows were built near the Slough of St. Feriole, east of the Fort where Reneka met his fate like a brave soldier. Before the trap was sprung he made a touching speech to his companions urging them to leave liquor alone. Filled with remorse he paid the penalty for his crime.

In strong contrast to the tragedy of this episode was the courtship of young Jefferson Davis, who was destined to be the president of the Southern Confederacy, when he won the fair daughter of Colonel Zachary Taylor whom fate had decreed to be the hero of the Mexican War and later president of the United States. According to a story which gained a wide circulation
Lieutenant Davis fell in love with Sarah Knox, the second daughter of Colonel Taylor, while he was stationed at Fort Crawford. When it was learned that the Colonel opposed the match — so the story runs — the two eloped climbing out of a window of the Fort and returning man and wife. Unfortunately the facts in the case spoil this pretty romance. The first part was quite true namely, that the two principals fell deeply in love with each other at the Fort. True, too, the Colonel opposed the match primarily because he wished to spare his daughter from the hardships and discomforts to which the wife of a frontier army man was subjected. However, this opposition was overcome and in 1835, Davis married Miss Taylor at the home of Colonel Taylor's sister at Beechland near Louisville, Kentucky, in the presence of several members of the Taylor family.

Besides the Reneka tragedy two other brutal murders at the post furnished considerable excitement. In 1831 a soldier named Barrette was killed by an officer, J. P. Hall, who struck the former on the head with a pitch fork handle breaking his skull. Exculpating circumstances brought about Hall's acquittal.

In the second case, Coffin, a provost sergeant, who spied on the men, reported their misdeeds and made arrests, saw one soldier Beckett by name, sneaking out of the Fort through a window. This happened after tattoo had sounded and all except the sentinels
were supposed to be in their quarters. Coffin caught the fellow just as he was clambering down on the outside and kicked and beat him till he was insensible. Then he ordered the victim to be dragged away to the guard-house. After a long siege in the hospital Beckett rejoined his company with the members of which he had been a favorite. His usual cheerful disposition had changed to one of gloom. Some days later, he entered the room where Coffin stood with his back to the door and shot him dead using his army musket. Arrested and placed in the guard-house, Beckett was bound and shackled but managed to escape. Later on he was found in the mines south of Cassville by Captain Harris who brought him back to Fort Crawford. Convicted of murder he was hung as Reneka had been earlier. The sheriff who hung him was forced to flee by the dead man's enraged friends among the soldiers.

Among the many scenes of the border a race for life during the occupancy of the first Fort Crawford and a robbery of the second Fort are among the most thrilling though not so well authenticated as the others. Tradition has it that during the summer of 1827 after the Winnebago outbreak had subsided, a Sioux Indian shot and scalped a Winnebago on the Iowa shore not far from the Fort. The Sioux was captured and confined in the military prison. Soon a large band of indignant Winnebago
called at the Fort demanding the surrender of the prisoner. The commanding officer tried to persuade them to take a payment of horses which they refused. Finally they agreed to give the Sioux a chance for his life if he were delivered to them. Three weeks later he was to be brought out and put on a certain spot. Seven paces behind him twelve Winnebago warriors were to take their stand ready to hurl at the prisoner tomahawk or knife. At the tapping of the drum both were to start, if the Sioux escaped—a seeming impossibility—the Winnebago were to be satisfied. There followed a training season both within and without the Fort. Twelve of the swiftest Winnebago swung in practice with unerring aim their deadly tomahawks. The post surgeon, on the other hand, put the Sioux on a training diet and practiced him in daily sprints. It is asserted that three days before the race he covered a mile within the fort in less than four minutes. The day for the race came. The drummer was stationed behind a screen a few paces in front of the Sioux so that he would hear the sound an instant before his pursuers. The prairie was dotted with spectators, Indians, French villagers, and soldiers. Victim and would be victors took their places, the signal sounded, and the race was on. Bounding quickly to one side the Sioux dodged the deadly tomahawks which split the air where he stood a second before. For a mile three of the fleetest Winnebago kept within a few yards of the
speeding Sioux but soon he began to draw away from them. The soldiers saw to it that fair play prevailed and that no horses were used in the pursuit. At the end of four miles the chase was abandoned and the disappointed Winnebago withdrew.

A persistent report affirmed that in the fall of 1837 the Fort was robbed. At that time a large amount of money consisting of the funds to pay the Winnebagoes' annuity and also the sum due them under a previous treaty, was stored in the magazine of the Fort. Part of this money was in gold packed in boxes holding $15000 each; part in silver in kegs. Although the magazine was guarded by three soldiers, the two thieves - one an ex-soldier - managed to pry their way into the magazine and make off with two kegs of silver, leaving the gold behind. It was not a hard task to track the robbers as they left a trail of silver behind them from one of the kegs which was split open. Most of the money was recovered and the two adventurers jailed. This episode gave rise to many searching parties to recover the lost treasure of Fort Crawford.

Inspection days were the times when the Fort and garrison took on a gala appearance and it was rare, indeed, when officers and men, and their discipline and manner of caring for equipment did not receive official praise. It was no small task to polish each article of ordnance and to arrange the stores in the
approved order. The 1023 muskets had to be burnished, both the two twelve pounders and the two six pounders had to be cleaned and put in shape to meet the eye of the inspector. The kegs of powder, boxes of cartridges, the ladles, sponges, buckets, saddles, harness, the paint and the lead had to be arranged for quick appraisal. In the new Fort an inspection in 1834 showed five companies of the First Infantry present with a complement of five officers and 177 men. The muskets were clean and the cartridge boxes in good condition. The discipline was exact and the men were complimented on their knowledge of infantry maneuvers. The sutler furnished the soldiers with a large assortment of merchandise which was sold at a moderate price. Post inspections presented scenes of activity both for many days in preparing for the event and in seeing it through to a successful end.

Trips abroad into the Indian country were welcomed eagerly by the soldiers of the garrison for they furnished a change from monotonous drills and tedious routine. The following description indicates clearly the bustle connected with the departure of a detachment for frontier service.

"Now for excitement, the charm of garrison life. Officers are of course always ready to 'go where glory waits' them, but who ever heard of one being ready to go when the order came?
"Alas! for the young officer who has a wife to leave; it will be weeks before he meets again her gentle smile!

"Still more - alas for him who has no wife at all! for he has not a shirt with buttons on it, and most of what he has are in the wash. He will have to borrow of Selden; but here's the difficulty, Selden is going too, and is worse off than himself. But no matter! What with pins and twine and trusting to chance they will get along.

"Then the married men are inquiring for tin reflectors, for hard bread, though healthy, is never tempting. India rubber cloaks are in requisition, too.

"Those who are going, claim the doctor in case of accidents. Those who stay, their wives at least, want him for fear of measles; while the disciple of Esculapius, though he knows there will be better cooking if he remains at home, is certain there will be food for fun if he go. It is soon decided - the doctor goes.

"Then the privates share in the pleasure of the day. How should a soldier be employed but in active service? besides what a capital chance to desert! One, who is tired of calling, 'All's well' through the long night, with only the rocks and trees to hear him, hopes that it will be his happy fate to find out there is danger near, and to give the alarm. Another vows,
that if trouble won't come, why he will bring it by quarreling
with the first rascally Indian he meets. All is ready. Rations
are put up for the men; - hams, buffalo tongues, pies and cake
for the officers. The battalion marches out to the sound of
the drum and fife; - they are soon down the hill - they enter
their boats; handkerchiefs are waved from the fort, caps are
raised and flourished over the water - they are almost out of
sight. They are gone.⁴³²

A typical trip into the Indian country was the one made
in 1848 when the Winnebago Indians were collected and removed
to their reservation near Fort Atkinson, Iowa. Orders were
received from Sub-Indian Agent, J. E. Fletcher to arrest the
Winnebago who were scattered throughout the country along the
Fox and Wisconsin rivers, through the Kickapoo Timbers and
the Lemonweir Valley. A lieutenant with fifty men set out
to execute these orders. When scouts sent on ahead announced
the presence of Indians, a small detachment of soldiers would
be sent into the camp and would proceed to remove the locks,
from the Indian's guns. Then the main body of troops would
come up and the Indians marched along with them. The Indians
resented having their weapons removed but offered no actual
violence. One young brave who had an especially fine rifle
grasped the barrel after the lock had been removed, raised it
above his head and shattered it against a tree trunk, then hurled the useless barrel into the river. The Winnebago were brought to Fort Crawford and there turned over to a body of regulars from Fort Atkinson who escorted them to their Reservation across the Mississippi.

Another expedition took a detachment from Fort Crawford down the Mississippi to Dubuque to capture some Sauk and Fox Indians who had committed depredations on the whites at the mines. Several horses had been stolen and a call for help was sent to the Fort. Lieutenant John Gardenier with a body of troops hurried down the river and camped on the Iowa side where a driving rain soaked men and equipment all night long. A careful search through the bluffs and ravines about Dubuque resulted in nothing and the troops returned to the Fort without horses or glory.

Of all the officers and men stationed at Fort Crawford who liked to hunt none was a keener sportsman or a better shot than Lieutenant Martin Scott. He was a young man, a native of Vermont and a graduate of West Point. In his youth he was famed as a sharpshooter being able, it is said, to drive a nail into a board part way with a hammer, then stepping away until he could barely see it, he would drive it home with an unerring bullet. His favorite hunting ground lay across the river near
a small stream called Bloody Run. Here, his trusty rifle brought low an abundance of wood-cock, ducks and pheasants and an occasional deer. In 1823, the commandant of Fort Crawford detailed a party of men to cultivate a garden on the Bazil Girard tract across the river. While the soldiers tilled the soil and made ready to raise fresh vegetables for the Fort, Lieutenant Scott, in charge of the detail, would take his dogs and rifle and bag a score of wood-cocks for the evening mess.

Just as the seasons transformed the green-clad bluffs and prairie of spring and summer into the riotous red and gold of autumn and then to the snow-clad banks and frozen river of winter so the outdoor tasks of the garrison varied from season to season. In the spring and early summer gardening and cutting and stacking the long grass of the prairie for the horses and cows at the Fort were the regular tasks. During the later summer and fall, cutting wood for the ravenous months of the fireplaces kept several details busy. In winter when impassible drifts isolated the garrison from the world outside duties were few. Then card playing, dominoes, checkers and chess, reading newspapers and books weeks old, the rehearsing and staging of amateur theatricals and numerous parties bridged the gap till the river opened again and once more communication with the outside world was re-established.

The arrival of the mail coming up the Mississippi River was
a scene of rejoicing among all those at the Fort. Until 1823, mail matter arrived at Prairie du Chien by keelboat or by military express sent occasionally for a special trip from Clarksville, Missouri, a village about one hundred miles above St. Louis where the nearest post office was then located. Upon the application of Judge James D. Doty a post-office was established at Prairie du Chien in 1823. The receipts from postage aided by contributions from the principal inhabitants of the village and officers of the garrison made a sum of $30 which was paid to a special messenger for a winter trip to Clarksville. By 1824, post-offices established first at Galena, then at Rock Island, increased the receipts and made it possible to send the mail to Clarksville twice during the winter and to receive mail at the Fort twice.

In order to keep in touch with each other it was decided to have soldiers take the mail once a month from Fort Crawford to Fort Snelling most of the letters consisting of correspondence between the troops of the two garrisons. In summer the trips were made by canoes, when a steamer often gave the postman a lift. In winter, though, the trip was made by foot and was fraught with danger. The messengers setting out from the two posts would meet at Wabasha's village, exchange packs and return to their own fort. One spring the postman from the south
having passed the village as the courier from the north was behind schedule, found the ice cracking beneath him and only by rare luck did he succeed in reaching a small island. Here he found the Fort Snelling postman who had been trapped in the same manner. Their provisions gave out and they existed for a time on rose apples. Nearly two weeks later they were rescued by some friendly Sioux. The coming of the mail was eagerly awaited and the letters and papers read and reread by the lucky recipients.

Supplies for the Fort were brought up from St. Louis by keelboat and their loads of flour, beans, pork, salt, candles, clothing, ammunition and whiskey were almost as welcome, perhaps more welcome, than the mail. When the boat arrived and made fast at the government landing little time was lost in transferring its cargo from the deck to the warehouse and magazine, of the Fort by the soldiers. The coming of the keelboat meant perhaps a new uniform or added rations or some treasure dear to the trooper's heart.

Another scene of the border always left in its wake a sober state of mind. Death spared neither officers nor men nor the women of the garrison. When a soldier passed away, a detail of six men carried his flag covered coffin to the cemetery outside the Fort. As the body was lowered into the grave, the sweet
solemn tones of "Taps" rang out over the prairie and a salute was fired over the grave. Today all marks of the burial place of the privates of Fort Crawford have been obliterated by time, but the visitor can still see the small plot where the officers were buried north of the Fort itself. Here enclosed by an ornamental iron fence, the gate of which bears the legend, "United States Military Cemetery, Fort Crawford" lie many of the men who helped guard the frontier in the stirring times of the old northwest.
Without doubt the two most influential factors in holding in check the Indians while the white settler gradually pushed the red men farther and farther west were the frontier garrison and the Indian agency. Co-operating usually but oftentimes working at cross purposes they were the two connecting links between the Great Father at Washington and the tribes on the border. The fact that both were under the jurisdiction of the War Department caused the commandants of the garrison to consider his position superior to that of the agent, a fact which many times caused friction. At Prairie du Chien, as at Green Bay, Chicago, Fort Snelling, and wherever, in fact, a fort and agency existed, the story of one was so intertwined with that of the other that no narrative would be complete without reference to each. 202

The duties of the Indian agent were many. At Prairie du Chien his special charge was the Winnebago tribe and this station was called the Winnebago Agency. First of all he had to attend to the affairs of and draw provisions for all the Winnebago Indians except those who were living in the superintendancy of Governor Cass. Occasionally he had to visit General William Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs at
St. Louis, there to report the conditions of the Indians under the agent's charge, to render an account of his stewardship and to receive any instructions which Clark saw fit to give. Supplies of provisions, blankets, trinkets, presents, powder, guns and sometimes liquor were kept in stock at the agency store. Annually, too, the agent paid out the annuities of the government in accordance with treaty provisions. If trouble threatened and the Indians grew unruly it was the agent's duty to try to control them by wise advice and counsel. In many instances his power over the Indians was as potent in keeping the peace as was the presence of the military establishment.

On the other hand, the Indian looked to the agent for advice and explanation in all things relating to the sale of lands, treaties, hunting, annuities, and the like. Any complaint he had to offer was promptly carried to the "Father" who listened sympathetically and gave the best advice under the circumstances. Oftentimes the Indian held the agent at fault if treaty provisions were violated. In time of sickness he called upon the agent for help and the latter with the aid oftentimes of the post surgeon brought comfort to the injured or ailing ward. The relationship between the agent and the Indians was much like that between a father and his children.
From the early days of the French traders, down through the period of English supremacy and on through the time when Fort Crawford dominated the region Prairie du Chien was an important center for Indian trade and councils. Indians came from far and near. From the north, along the Minnesota and Chippewa rivers and the upper Mississippi, came the Sioux, Chippewa, Winnebago, and Menominee. Down the Wisconsin came different tribes. From below Prairie du Chien on ponies, afoot, or by canoe came the Iowa, Sauk, and Foxes.

When the Indians visited the Prairie, they wore their most gaudy colors — the braves decorating their faces with red, yellow and green and the squaws being content with a round spot of vermilion on each cheek and a streak down the middle where their hair was parted. In their dug-outs or birch bark canoes they brought furs, wild game, pemmican made of clean fat venison pounded to a pulp, jerked venison and buffalo meat. Baskets, mats, wild honey, maple sugar, berries, dried lotus root also made up the Indian goods brought to the village and bartered for flour, pork, coffee, tobacco, blankets, hatchets, knives, dress-goods, ribbons, ammunition, and trinkets. Bows and arrows, buckskin, and moccasins were also sold or bartered.

During their visit at Prairie du Chien the Indians enjoyed
life to the fullest extent. Feasts, dances and ball games, races and pow wows afforded a holiday season of two or three weeks. All night long the tum-te-tum-tum of the drums, the wild songs, and hideous yells, make sleep impossible when an Indian dance held the center of the out-door stage. Keyes during his visit at Prairie du Chien - 1817 to 1819 - makes numerous references to the Indians. One entry in his diary reads, "May 28th. Here - Indian Pow wows - the copper coulered natives are as thick as grasshoppers in a dry autumn." Another entry records, "April 25. Walk out into the Prairie to see an Indian game at Ball. The Menominees and Winnebagoes play on opposite sides - they display great activity and address in catching and hurling the ball, and mind neither broken bones nor bruises - indeed it is a most vigorous and manly exercise. - The Menomonees are victorious three times out of five and win the prize."

George Catlin, too, nearly twenty years later, 1835, impressed by the display of agility in the Indians game of ball sketched it in his note book as follows: "There are on the prairie some forty or fifty families, mostly French or half breeds, whose lives have been spent in the arduous and hazardous occupations of trappers, and traders, and voyageurs, which has well qualified them for the modes of dealing with Indians,
where they have settled down and stand ready to compete with one another for their share of the annuities, etc., which are dealt out to the different tribes who concentrate at that place, and are easily drawn from the poor Indian's hands by whiskey and useless gewgaws.

"The consequence of this system is, that there is about that place, almost one continual scene of wretchedness, and drunkenness and disease amongst the Indians, who came there to trade and to receive their annuities, that disgusts and sickens the heart of every stranger that extends his travels to it.

"When I was there, Wa-be-sha's hand of the Sioux came there, and remained several weeks to get their annuities, which, when they received them, fell (as they always will do), far short of paying the account, which the Traders take good care to have standing against them for goods furnished them on a year's credit. However, whether they pay off or not, they can always get whiskey enough for a grand carouse and a brawl, which lasts for a week or two, and almost sure to terminate the lives of some of their numbers.

"At the end of one of these few days since, after the men had enjoyed the surfeit of whiskey, and wanted a little more amusement, and felt disposed to indulge the weaker sex in a little recreation also; it was announced amongst them and through
the village, that the women were going to have a ball play.

"For this purpose the men, in their very liberal trades they were making, and filling their canoes with goods delivered to them on a year's credit, laid out a great quantity of ribbons and calicoes, with other presents well adapted to the wants and desires of women, which were hung on a pole resting on crotches, and guarded by an old man, who was to be judge and umpire of the play which was to take place amongst the women, who were divided into two equal parties, and were to play a desperate game of ball, for the valuable stakes that were hanging before them.

"In the ball play of the women, they have two balls attached to the end of a string, about a foot and a half long; and each woman has a short stick in each hand, on which she catches the string with the two balls, and throws them, endeavoring to force them over the goal of her own party. The men are more than half drunk, when they feel liberal enough to indulge the women in such amusement; and the infinite pleasure in rolling about on the ground and laughing to excess, whilst the women are tumbling about in all attitudes, and scuffling for the ball. The game of 'hunt the slipper' even loses its zest after witnessing one of these, which sometimes last for hours together; and often exhibits the hottest contest for the balls,
exactly over the heads of the men; who half from whiskey, and half from inclination, are lying in groups and flat upon the ground."

Relative to the condition of the Indians at this time Catlin remarks, "Prairie du Chien is the concentrating place of the Winnebagoes and Menomonies, who inhabit the waters of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers and the chief part of the country lying east of the Mississippi, and west of Green Bay.

"The Winnebagoes are the remnant of a once powerful and warlike tribe, but are now left in a country where they have neither beasts nor men to war with, and are in a most miserable and impoverished condition. The numbers of this tribe do not exceed four thousand, and the most of them have sold even their guns and ammunition for whiskey. Like the Sioux and Menomonees that came into this post, they have several times suffered severely with the small-pox which has in fact destroyed the greater proportion of them.

"The Menomonees like the Winnebagoes are the remnant of a much more numerous and independent tribe, but have been reduced and enervated by the use of whiskey and the ravages of the small-pox, and number at this time, something like three thousand, living chiefly on the banks of the Fox River, and the western shore of Green Bay. They visit Prairie du Chien, where
their annuities are paid them, and they indulge in the bane, like the tribes that I have mentioned." 

As a matter of fact, Indian affairs held the attention of the inhabitants at Prairie du Chien from the beginnings of settlements there till the removal of the Winnebago across the Mississippi in 1848. Here the Winnebago assembled annually for years to receive their annuities and here, too, came oftentimes the Sioux, the Sauk and Foxes, and the Menominees and occasionally the Chippewas. Here, took place the beginning and closing scenes of the Winnebago outbreak, and as an important point of operations it figured prominently in the Black Hawk War. Here gathered the leaders of that short struggle Dodge, Atkinson, Scott, Taylor, the big four, who outgeneraled the wily Black Hawk. Here, also, were held important councils where commissioners representing the United States met the chiefs and delegates of Indian tribes to formulate treaties under the range of the guns of Fort Crawford.

Two of these meetings were especially noteworthy, namely the Council of 1825 and the one of 1829. At the first, on the 19th of August, a treaty was concluded with the Sioux, Chippewa, Sauk and Foxes, Winnebago, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, by which the boundaries between the tribes was fixed. On July 29th, 1829, a treaty was made between the Chippewas,
Ottawa and Potawatomi whereby these tribes ceded the land which they claimed in the northwestern part of Illinois, and four days later, August 1, another treaty was completed with the Winnebago by which they agreed to cede and give up all claim to the land south of the Wisconsin River. These agreements added some 8,000,000 acres to the public domain.

On the occasion of such a meeting, the authorities were careful to see that a due amount of ceremony was performed to impress the Indians with the importance of the government. Typical of these gatherings was the one in 1825, and from the description of witnesses and the official journal of the proceedings an interesting picture of the council may be seen.213

The purpose of this meeting was to establish boundaries for the purpose of promoting peace among those tribes of Indians. Representing the United States, Governor Louis Cass of Michigan Territory and General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis came as commissioners. Thomas Biddle of Missouri was appointed Secretary to the Commissioners. Two thousand Indian delegates were expected for a stay of fifteen days, and consequently, Clark expended $8750 for beef, bread and corn rations, $2000 for presents of tobacco, salt, sugar, guns, powder, lead and spirits, $750 for pay to interpreters, $400 for transportations of commissioner, interpreters and staff
and the goods, $500 for contingent expenses. A keel-boat heavy-
ly laden with these rations and provisions left St. Louis June
30, 1825. Clark and Biddle left July 6th, catching the pro-
vision boat at Clarksville. They arrived at Prairie du Chien
July 30th, and found that Governor Cass had been awaiting them
for ten days.

A gorgeous assembly spread out before their eyes. For
days the delegates had been arriving in bands - some afoot, some
by pony, and some by canoe. They brought with them their squaws,
children, and relatives all of them bedecked in riotous colors.
In the village, and along the river for miles above and below
the town their tepees dotted the prairie. "The Dakotahs, with
their high-pointed buffalo skin tents, above the town, and their
decorations and implements of flags, feathers, skins and person-
al adornments presented the scene of a Bedouin encampment."

Among the most impressive of the gathered tribes were the
Iowa and the Sauk and Foxes. They came to the treaty meeting
with the arms and dress of a war party. Armed with spears,
clubs, guns, and knives they presented a formidable appearance.
Their head dress consisted of red-dyed horse hair tied to the
scalp lock, the rest of the head being completely shaved and
painted. A necklace of bears claws, tufts of red horse hair
tied to their elbows, a baldric supporting their arms, breech-
clout, leggings and moccasins completed their attire. Under the leadership of the impressive Keokuk they made their presence felt in the conference.

Among the prominent representatives of the government were the two commissioners mentioned above, and H. R. Schoolcraft, Lawrence Taliaferro, Nicholas Boilvin and Thomas Forsyth, Indian Agents. W. B. Alexander, and R. A. Forsyth Sub Indian Agents, and the commandant with the garrison of Fort Crawford completed the official party. A large bower had been erected near the Fort and here in the shade the sessions of the convention took place beginning August 5th, and lasting till August 20th.

At half past ten o'clock on the morning of August 5th, the booming of cannon at the Fort announced the opening of the council. Gen. William Clark mounted the speaker's platform and in his most eloquent manner made the principal speech to the chiefs and delegates who were seated in a semi-circle before him. He began, "We have been directed by your Great Father, the president of the United States to meet you here in council at this time and we are rejoiced that the Great Spirit has enabled you all to arrive here in peace and safety; he has given us a clear day and we hope he has opened your ears and will prepare your hearts for the good works before us."
He said that the Great Father asked nothing from them and that they had come a long way just for the welfare of the Indians and especially to make peace by dividing up the land and by fixing boundaries. In closing he admonished the tribes: "Children, you can take time to consider on this subject and when you are prepared to give an answer we shall be ready to hear you. At ten o'clock each day a gun will be fired from the Fort, which will be a signal for the Chiefs, Braves, and all the young men of each nation to meet us at this Council fire, where we will remain in council as long as may be thought necessary to for the business of the day."

The pipe was then smoked and after it made the round, the ashes were dumped into the council fire. Adjournment was then taken till the next day.

When the council reconvened, speeches were made by various chiefs who agreed in general with the keynote address, but asked for time to consider its details. Clark in reply told them to take plenty of time to mull over the suggestions he had made and said that the Great Father was not inclined to hurry them, but incidentally he added that no more whiskey would be issued until the business of the council was finished and furthermore that a great feast for all would be held at the close of the proceedings.
Day after day the commissioners labored with the chiefs, going over bark maps and drawings, listening to the claims of the tribes and ironing out disputes. This pleased the Indians greatly, as did also the ration of one pound of bread, one pint of corn, and either one pound of beef or three-quarters of a pound of pork, which was issued to each delegate.

On Friday, August 19th, the treaties were prepared, one read aloud by Thomas Biddle, and explained article by article. The copies were then signed in triplicate by the commissioners and the principal men of each tribe present. A wampum belt was produced and passed round and the peace pipe smoked. On the next day copies of the treaty were given to each band or nation. Again all smoked the peace pipe and speeches concluded the final meeting of the council. The promised feast delighted the hearts of the Indian visitors who stayed for the completion of the treaty. On the next day, Sunday, August 31, 1825, commissioners, agents, and Indians left Prairie du Chien for their respective homes and the great council of 1825 was over.

At such a meeting the sound of the cannon of the Fort and the sight of the well drilled uniformed soldiers impressed the Indians with the might and power of the Great Father and caused them to treat with respect any expedition escorted by a detachment of troops.
Among the voluminous correspondence of Joseph Montford Street, Indian Agent, at Prairie du Chien from 1827 to 1834, there is to be found a running sketch of Indian affairs in his agency and their relation to the garrison. He and his sub-agents, John March till 1830 and Thomas P. Burnett after 1830, exercised a profound influence over the tribes in their charge and performed arduous duties just prior to and during the Black Hawk War. As to the ability of Street as an Indian Agent, Major Kearny testified "as to his capacity and disposition to be useful in his situation as Indian Agent, I conceive there are but few of his Department superior to him."

In his letters to William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, Street mentioned the warlike spirit of the Chippewa, which expressed itself especially in 1830 and 1831. To protect the soldiers getting out logs for the new Fort Crawford at a mill some distance to the north frequent details of soldiers were sent to the site. The Chippewa became daring and insolent after they had been allowed to escape punishment for the crime of having killed some white men on Lake Pepin prior to Street's appointment. The Chippewa said to the Winnebago: "If we do sometimes kill white men, and the murderers will keep away from the forts, they will not send into our country to find them. They are afraid they will be killed also."
It required all the persuasive power of the agent and the influence of the garrison to prevent an out and cut rupture of relations between the warlike Chippewa and the Menominees when the former murdered a number of the latter not far from Prairie du Chien.

In respect to the use of the annuities, Street mentioned in a letter to the Secretary of War that of $18000 paid to the Winnebago for 1830 about $16000 of it was out of their hands within thirty six hours after it was received.

In 1834, the President of the United States acting under the power conferred by an Act of Congress, transferred to the Green Bay Agency the one at Rock Island and the agent at the latter was discontinued. The Sauk and Foxes in the neighborhood of Rock Island were annexed to the Prairie du Chien agency and the agent there ordered to reside at Rock Island. This change was opposed vigorously by Street on the grounds that less service could be rendered the Indians at Rock Island than at Prairie du Chien. Furthermore, it would derange his extensive plans at the Prairie to establish a school for educating the Indian children and for teaching the Indians farming. He maintained that the commandant of Fort Crawford in whose charge the Indians would be placed had neither the time from military duties nor the inclination to attend to this project. Colonel Taylor, too, felt that Prairie du Chien was the logical place
for the Agency and that it should remain there. He said, "the location of an Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien now and for a number of years to come is of more importance than at any other point on the Mississippi." In spite of protests, the contemplated change was made and in accordance with orders, Street turned over all public property of every description at the Prairie du Chien Agency and removed to Rock Island.

In the fall of 1834 both the agent at Prairie du Chien and the commandant of the Fort were again called upon to settle an Indian difficulty. A band of Sauks and Foxes had ambushed a party of Winnebago and killed ten of them. One Winnebago boy who escaped and brought the news to the Fort fired before running and shot a Fox brave through the heart. The next day the boy who was about twelve years of age was decked out in the badges of a "brave" and had possession of the Fox Indian's rifle, tomahawk, and blanket. A detachment was sent at once from the Fort and apprehended the murderers.

It was the plan of the government to protect the western frontier by building a chain of forts from the upper Mississippi southward as far as the frontier extended. Better to facilitate this task and to stop the depredations of the Indians a military road was planned to connect these posts beginning at Fort Snelling and extending to the Red River. In this chain of forts
that overawed and repressed hostilities among the Indians were in 1841 Forts Jesup, Towson, Smith, Gibson, Wayne, Leavenworth, Crawford, Howard, Winnebago and Snelling, in and near which many Indian relations were adjusted and treaties signed.

The coming of land seekers and settlers eventually forced the Indians away from Prairie du Chien and Fort Crawford across the Mississippi, where new posts and new agencies took up and carried on the tasks performed for so many years by agent and commandant in the Wisconsin Country.
The lure of the fur trade brought to the region which is now Wisconsin Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans, each in turn. For nearly two centuries this trade was almost the only commerce of the region. Under the fleur de lis of the Bourbons, the Cross of St. George, and the Stars and Stripes, it developed, grew, and finally gave place to agriculture. Knowledge of the country spread to the eastward from which came the pioneer and settler but in their coming was sounded the death knell of the fur trade. While the exploration of the region disclosed its advantages to the settler, the effect of the trade upon the Indians was bad, especially in a moral sense. He came to look upon the trader as an unfailing source of supply for his wants and in so doing became shiftless, giving up to a great degree any incentive to shift for himself. The Indians acquired, too, a taste for liquor and this fact left a blot upon an otherwise picturesque commerce of the frontier.

Prairie du Chien lying at the junction of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi early became an important center for the collection of pelts and its story is closely bound up with the development of the trade. Here every phase of it was enacted; the fitting out of the expeditions, the return of the flotillas of
of canoes laden with packs of furs, the competition of rival
traders, the establishment of an American factory, the license
difficulties, the supervision and interference of the military
officials - all these scenes took place within a stone's throw
of the site of Fort Crawford.

In the early days of the trade there developed a peculiar
type of organization which in a modified form continued through
successive stages. The chief trader was known as the bourgeois.
He it was who governed the pack and train, commanded the canoe
flotilla, and ruled the trading post. Immediately under him
were the commis, clerks in training for the position of bourgeois.
These young men lived with the master, had charge of his corres­
pondence and commanded side expeditions and subsidiary posts.
Next in order came the voyageurs, French Canadian peasants or half-
breeds, sturdy, carefree youths who preferred the wild life and
excitement of the forest to tilling the fields at their homes.
They signed an agreement - an engagement to obey the bourgeois
implicitly, to work only for his advantage and to refrain from
any trading for themselves. They did the menial work of the
trip, propelled the canoes, carried them and their cargoes over
the portages, pitched tents, cooked the meals, furnished part of
the rations by hunting and fishing, supplied fire wood and pack-
ed the furs. The first season out the voyageur was called
mangeur de lard (pork eaters) indicating their lack of experience and ineptitude for the coarse fare of the wilderness, later, after a season or two of experience, they gained the appellation, hivenant (winterer) - one who could endure privation and fatigue.

Another group, outlaws, of the fur trade, were the coureurs de bois, wild adventurous fellows, both peasants and sons of the best families of the French colonies. They roamed through the woods, collecting pelts on their own account in defiance of the King and his laws.

From the day that Jean Nicollet, as agent for the great fur trader Samuel de Champlain pointed the nose of his birch canoe up the Fox River in 1634 till the surrender of Canada to the British in 1763, Frenchmen dominated the fur trade of the upper Mississippi. At Prairie du Chien this period saw the coming of Nicholas Perrot and later of Pierre Antaya, forerunners of the French traders and pioneers who settled at the Prairie. There followed the passing of the fur trade into the hands of the British who had competed for it for years. England hastened to avail herself of the chance to exploit the trade for which she had long intrigued but to do so without disturbing the established order. The French traders found their ranks increased by the British master hands, and the clerks and voyageurs continued in the service of new lords. In the land south of the
Great Lakes and along the Mississippi the British traders of
the Michilimakinac Company held a monopoly of the trade until
supplanted by that American genius of the fur business, John
Jacob Astor. The American period of control extended rough-
ly from 1816 till the disappearance of the trade some twenty
or thirty years later. The effect of the trade during this
period covering two centuries is ably summed up by Professor
Turner as follows.

"The traffic stimulated explorations by making it profit-
able, transformed Indian society politically and economically;
brought the Indian into complete dependence on the trader; and
paved the way for the peaceful agricultural settlement of the
state. 240

The period of the fur trade in what is now Wisconsin be-
tween 1812 - 1825 was one of change fraught with dangers. Be-
fore the outbreak of the second war with Great Britain, the
trade had changed but little either in method or in the charac-
ter of those engaged therein. Under Jay's Treaty of 1796,
the Americans gained control of the posts of the Northwest. In
1808 Astor's American Fur Company took over the territory of
the British Michilimakinac Company retaining as agents and crews
those who had spent their lives in the trade. 241

The opening of the War of 1812, however, brought a change
to the old established order. Prior to the war certain Wisconsin traders had accepted the American regime, and some had accepted commissions as Indian agents such as Nicholas Boilvin of Prairie du Chien or as a justice of the peace as John Campbell of the same place. Now, many of the traders cast their lot with the British, hoping to drive out the Americans from the Upper country and to regain the old days, free from American restrictions. Great was their disappointment when the Treaty of Ghent gave back to the United States the region dominated by the posts at Prairie du Chien and at Mackinac which had been captured by the British. This Anglo-French hostility toward the Americans lasted for years. Even as late as 1837 indications of such feeling still existed.

With the coming of peace, the Americans began to reassert control over the fur trade of the Northwest. To do this the posts at Mackinac and Chicago were regarrisoned and new posts, Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, Fort Howard at Green Bay and a few years later (1819) Fort Snelling at the Falls of St. Anthony were erected. Next came the fur trade factories at Chicago, Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien. Hopeful, indeed, was the outlook, but the factory system could not compete with the private trader. Many causes undermined the factory system among the most potent being the inability of the factor to com-
pete with the traders in giving presents to the Indians which made the latter consider the government stingy. Then, too, the factors were forbidden to exchange liquor for furs or to deal in that commodity, a restriction which put them in an unfavorable position in competition for pelts. Under the mellowing influence of rum or whiskey private traders and representatives of the great fur companies could drive favorable bargains in securing furs. Inability, too, in advancing credits to the Indian for his season's hunt, contempt for the government turned trader, and attacks of the big fur companies combined in affecting the abolition of the factory system in 1822. Its failure had been complete and its passing excited little impression on the trade itself.

With the abandonment of the factory system the American Fur Company was left in practical control of the fur trade in the Wisconsin region and it proceeded to drive its competitors, the private traders to the wall. At Prairie du Chien stood an important office and depot of this company which until the removal of the Winnebago continued to be an important center of the trade.

The commandant and garrison of Fort Crawford had little to do with the fur trade except to regulate it and to see that the laws of the United States pertaining thereto were enforced.
The military officials saw to it that the men who engaged in the work were properly licensed and they likewise supervised the method of carrying on the trade. The act of March 30th, 1802, supplemented by the acts of April 29, 1816, and June 30, 1834, provided that no one could carry on trade with the Indians without obtaining a license from an Indian agent, which could be revoked by the superintendent of the district.

In granting a license the Indian Agent had to make sure that the applicant was an American citizen, and that he did not have with him any insignia of a foreign power. He had to present an invoice of his goods to the agent who checked it over to see if it was correct. The trader was not allowed to have liquor and must agree to trade only at a specified place and with a certain tribe. To guarantee fulfillment of these promises the trader had to furnish bond.

To see that the above requirements were observed and to examine applicants for licenses required the attention of the officers of Fort Crawford and the Indian agent nearby. If reports came of foreigners trespassing in the jurisdiction of the Fort a body of troops would soon drive him out or bring him to the Fort, a prisoner. Confiscation of cargoes and prohibition of further trading in the region, with perhaps a fine imposed made up the punishment meted out to transgressors of the trading laws.
From the recollections of traders at Prairie du Chien and from papers, records and documents of the trade itself a definite picture of fur trading customs in the region guarded by Fort Crawford may be drawn.

Sometimes during September the traders left for the Indian country or if they had a short distance to travel they would wait till October before leaving Prairie du Chien. They carried their supplies in canoes, barges, or cordelles. The French voyageurs paddled the one type of conveyance, poled the second and drew the third with ropes from shore. In the barges, canoes, or cordelles, the trader took as his cargo a supply of hatchets, knives, powder, lead, blankets, calico, woolen dress-goods, trinkets of beads, ribbons and silver ornaments. In addition to these articles the trader also took along traps for catching animals and several kegs of rum. The latter was a more potent purchasing medium than any of the rest of the goods but it had to be smuggled into the cargo after the Agent had certified the invoice. The skilled trader gave the Indian just enough rum or whiskey to make him happy and then favorable bargains for furs could be made.

The trader entered the remote parts of the region specified in his license and sent his trappers in different directions. During the fall, winter and early spring he would dicker for
furs, and later in the spring with his cargo of goods exhausted
and their place filled by packs of muskrat, deer, bear and rac-
ocoon skins, he would depart for Prairie du Chien. The voyageurs
were ready for their pay and their provisions of hardtack, hulled
corn and peas, and salt pork were almost depleted. On the re-
turn journey these fellows became a merry crew. Singing their
French boat songs by the hour and keeping time with their paddles they rapidly put miles behind them. One standing on the
landing near the warehouse of the American Fur Company would
hear the music of their songs floating out over the valley and
suddenly around the bend of the river or from behind an island
would appear the returning flotilla with an American flag flying
from the bow of the head canoe.

The traders and voyageurs spent the summer at Prairie du
Chien, taking their way into the wilderness again in the fall.
The voyageurs were usually illiterate, and often completing their
time with the fur company would either return to Canada or settle
down at the Prairie. Many of them married Indian wives. In
agreeing to work for a fur company they signed a contract - en-
gagement - which bound them to the company for a term of years.
Their pay was small but the wild life of the forest and their
freedom from conventions appealed to them and they formed a main
element of the trade. In the fall they were eager to return
to the wilderness. On the day of departure, a scene of hugging and kissing would occur between friends and relatives of both sex. "Bon Voyage!" "Bon voyage!" would echo from the shore as the swarthy boatmen, pushing the canoes into the stream dipped their paddles simultaneously into the water and drove the prow up or down stream. At the same time the leader would commence to sing in a tremulous voice, and the air would be taken up by his fellows, one of the innumerable boatsongs with which the voyageurs enlivened the labor of the trip. Their gaudy turbans or plume bedecked hats, brilliant handkerchiefs tied around swarthy necks, cotton shirts, belts of flaming hues holding knife and tobacco pouch, rough trousers, leggins and cow-hide shoes or moccasins completed a costume both picturesque and serviceable.

The Indians adjusted their mode of living, in a way, to the seasons of the fur trade. After a season's hunting the Indians returned to their villages in the spring after the trappers and hunters had departed for the trading post. While the voyageurs spent their season's wages in carousal at Prairie du Chien the Indians' braves set their squaws to making maple sugar, planting corn, watermelons, potatoes, and squashes while they hunted a little and loafed or played for the most part. In the fall, though, about the time the voyageurs packed the trad-
ing canoes with freight and provisions preparatory to setting out for the Indian country, the Indians packed up their tepees and set out for the hunting grounds. The season ended with a large catch usually of deer skins, muskrat skins, bears, raccoons, beavers, otters, martens, lynxes, foxes, wolves, badgers and skunks, the value of the whole catch amounting to a considerable sum.

Significant indeed has been the influence of the fur trade upon the history of Wisconsin. The early traders by selecting commanding points for posts fixed the sites of many Wisconsin cities. The trails later on became roads; while the trader penetrating every corner of the state brought back a report of the country which paved the way for settlement and the development of agriculture. The location of the garrison at Fort Crawford in 1816 afforded its officers the chance to supervise and regulate the fur trade during the period of American control.
In 1837, Colonel Zachary Taylor received orders to leave for the Florida War. He left Fort Crawford never to return but was destined to climb to the highest position in the land— the presidency of the United States. Ten years later June 15, 1847, an editorial in the Prairie du Chien Patriot expressed the sentiment of the locality which had learned to know him and love him during his eight years stay as commandant.

"General Taylor" said this paper, "is as simple and unostentatious as a child, plain as a pike-staff, homely and unpretending, brave as Caesar, and as determined and firm as adamant. He has strong good sense—is unornamental, useful. His sense is of the cast iron kind, not shining but solid, and altogether practical, he is the least showy, unartificial general that is or ever was in the American army. A power and influence he has over man, whether individual or armies, that is irresistible. All around him have a consciousness of security and safety while his is with them."

General George M. Brooks succeeded Colonel Taylor in command of Fort Crawford. The new commandant thinking that the house in which his predecessor had lived for years was not
good enough applied to the War Department for a new house. The answer came back, "No! can't afford it; repair the old one." To do this the old house was torn down, and removed except the cellar foundation. On this a new home was erected costing $7000 and the bill was then allowed under the head of "repairs". In 1843 General Henry Wilson succeeded General Brooks in command of Fort Crawford, and he in turn was followed by Colonel William Davenport in 1845.

When the war with Mexico broke out the regulars at Fort Crawford were despatched to Mexico leaving sergeant Cummins in charge of the Fort and property. Orders from the Secretary of War to enlist a local company for one year resulted in the mustering into service of seventy three men by Brevet Major A. S. Hooe. Wiram Knowlton was made captain, Charles Brisbois first lieutenant and John H. Fonda, second lieutenant. When the original term of enlistment expired another company made up largely of those who had served in the first was mustered into service by Major John Garland. This company assumed the name "Dodge Guards" after the famous governor of Wisconsin, territory, Colonel Henry Dodge. On August 13, 1847, First Lieutenant Charles Brisbois died at the Fort and John H. Fonda was elevated to his rank. During September of that year Major A. S. Hooe received orders to repair to Baton Rouge and from thence to Mexico.
During the two years occupancy of Fort Crawford by volunteers (1846 - 1848) many duties of a military nature were handled in an able manner. For instance a news item in the local paper for March 16, 1847, announced the fact that Captain Knowlton's company was passing into the Indian country to put a stop to robberies of mail carriers and travelers. Another item carried the information that nearly all the troops had been withdrawn from that section of the country for service in the war with Mexico. Only three companies were left to hold 50,000 savages in check and protect a frontier of fifty miles. Another item conveyed the news that Captain Knowlton's company "paraded the streets of the village one day last week and made an excellent appearance". The issue of the Prairie du Chien Patriot for November 2, 1847, told of the passing over into the territory near the village of a number of Winnebago who were committing depredations on hogs and poultry. Captain Knowlton and his men were kept busy for two weeks sending these Indians to the west side of the Mississippi. An article appearing during the next March said that Lieutenant McKinney with a detachment of thirty men from Fort Atkinson encamped west of Prairie du Chien. Their purpose was to help rid the country of roving Winnebago and to send them to their new home west of the Mississippi. During the previous winter this detachment
aided by Captain Knowlton and his company had removed between three and four hundred Indians. On June 20th, 1848, Captain Knowlton with his troops went up the River on the steamboat "Dr. Franklin" to Wabasha's Prairie there to join the expedition in rounding up the Winnebago. On this expedition the forces from Fort Crawford won golden opinions by the performance of their duty, and their efficient and soldierlike conduct.

On Friday August 29th, 1848, Colonel John Garland arrived at Prairie du Chien accompanied by Paymaster Singer and Captain Dent. On Monday September 4th, they mustered out of service the famous "Dodge Guards", and thus was honorably discharged a group of men who had performed the hardest of frontier duty with honor and credit. In payment for their services the men received $7 per month for the time they enlisted a warrant for 160 acres of land, and $21 or three months extra pay. During the first visit of the paymaster at the time the troops were mustered out he refused to give the volunteers the three months extra pay on the grounds that they had not served in Mexico. Through the efforts of Captain Knowlton, however, the Secretary of War, instructed Paymaster Singer to return to Fort Crawford and pay out the additional amount. This he did on December 18, 1848.
After the honorable discharge of the "Dodge Guards", Fort Crawford was reoccupied by companies G, B and F Sixth United States Infantry from Fort Atkinson. This transfer was made in March 1849.\textsuperscript{277} During the next month an order was received by the commanding officer to abandon the post. Company C with the band and non commissioned staff was to proceed to Fort Snelling, which was to be the headquarters of the regiment. Companies B. and F were to proceed to Fort Leavenworth.\textsuperscript{278} On April 24th, 1849, Company C departed for Fort Snelling on the steamship, "Senator", while Companies B and F left the day following on board the "Dr. Franklin"for Fort Leavenworth. Fort Crawford was thus stripped of its troops except a few soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Foote who remained to dispose by sale of government property and stores.\textsuperscript{279} On May 30th, 1849, the sale took place and the remaining troops departed leaving only a caretaker in charge.

It was thought that Fort Crawford had served its usefulness and that the rapid settlement of the country thereabouts rendered its further occupation unnecessary.\textsuperscript{280} Many suggestions were made as to what use should be made of the ground and buildings. An editorial in the Crawford County Courier for May 26th, 1852, urged that an immediate petition be circulated for the donation by Congress of Fort Crawford to the
Madison and Prairie du Chien Railroad Company to be used for a depot. This plan, however, failed. Other suggestions made nearly a year later were that the land and buildings should be donated to the railroad company or for school purposes or that it should be obtained for a college. It was urged that it would probably never be required again for government purposes and that in addition to being an expense to the War Department it was fast going to ruin. It was pointed out, furthermore, that the field surrounding the fort would make a beautiful city park, and that if the whole property were granted to a seminary the land not included in the park could be laid off into village lots and sold, thus making a liberal endowment as well as furnishing the necessary funds to alter the buildings for a seminary. All these proposals, too, came to naught.

Two years later word came to Prairie du Chien that a large number of Winnebago Indians had left their new home with chiefs Dandy and Tuttle Hill on their way back to Wisconsin. The report also indicated that their appearance and conduct were hostile, that they were making serious depredations upon the whites, stealing horses and cattle, entering homes and carrying off provisions. On March 18th, Henry Dodge then in the United States Senate called the attention of the Secretary of the
Interior, Honorable Thomas Ewing, to the matter, who promised that troops would be sent forward to protect the settlers and force the Indians to return to their country. Accordingly, two companies of infantry under the command of Colonel C. F. Smith came down the Mississippi from Fort Snelling early in the fall and took possession of the buildings and grounds of Fort Crawford. Temporary repairs were made and a new flag staff seventy feet high was erected. Once more the clear tones of the reveille awoke the soldiers to duty in the gray light of the morning and taps called for lights out and retirement in the blue twilight of the evenings. This reoccupation was brief, however, for the Indian scare passed away and in June of the following year Colonel Smith and his troops re-embarked for Fort Snelling leaving a caretaker or agent in charge.

On the day after the troops departed the sheriff of Crawford County demanded the possession of the Fort on behalf of Ira B. Brunson, B. W. Brisbois and Cyrus Woodman, who had recently won an ejectment suit against the late incumbent Colonel C. F. Smith. Upon the watchman's refusal to surrender possession of the keys to the gates, the sheriff took other means of forcing an entrance and left the three claimants in possession. This act was the culmination of a suit which had been planned
for years and which afforded considerable excitement during the last days of Fort Crawford.

As early as 1853, Mrs. Emelia R. Hooe, widow of the late Major A. S. Hooe, in a letter to the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, warned him that a plan was under way to get possession of the Fort and the grounds thereof. As agent in charge of the government property she felt it her duty to call the attention of the War Department to the matter. In keeping with this warning a formal claim to all the land at Prairie du Chien which had been occupied by the government for military purposes was made by Ira B. Brunson and James D. Doty in a letter from the former to the Secretary of War dated December 8th, 1853. This claim was based on the grounds that the original deeds to the United States were void because no law was passed by Congress authorizing the purchase by the War Department, and furthermore that the lands were taken for military purposes, and when the government ceased to use them for this purpose, these lands reverted to the original owners.

The authorities at Washington ignored the above claims, and in the meantime B. W. Brisbois had set up a claim to Lot 34, the part claimed by James D. Doty in 1853. Brisbois based his claim on the assumed reversion of title to the origi-
nal owner and hence to him. Thereupon Brunson and Brisbois started an ejectment suit against John J. Chase for all of the Fort Crawford military tract comprised in lots 33 and 34 except eighteen acres on which the buildings of the Fort stood. Inasmuch as the government could not be sued the defendant named in the notice was an uninterested tenant living in the Fort. As soon as notice of the suit was filed Mrs. Hooe informed the Secretary of War and Major D. H. Vinton Quarter-Master at St. Louis. The grounds on which this suit was based were the same as those made by Brunson two years earlier. The case came up for trial in the November term of the Circuit Court in and for Crawford County where a jury returned a verdict in favor of the plaintiffs. At once the attorneys for the United States moved that the verdict be set aside and that a new trial be granted. The court ordered that the motion be granted and directed that the case be continued until the next term of court.

During the next year another claimant appeared in the person of Cyrus Woodman who asserted ownership of the eighteen acres containing the buildings of the Fort. Meanwhile the troops from Fort Snelling had reoccupied these quarters and therefore an ejectment suit was commenced against Colonel C. F. Smith, the commandant. In the second trial of Brunson and Brisbois versus Chase the plaintiffs were again successful, and likewise in the
ejectment suit against Colonel Smith, Brunson Brisbois and Woodman, the plaintiffs, won. Thereupon forcible posses-
sion of the Fort was taken as indicated in a previous para-
graph.

The government did not consider the findings of the Wisconsin Court binding and continued to consider itself in possession of the Fort. However, as the site was not needed for military purposes, the pseudo owners were permitted without molestation to do as they pleased with the property. They proceeded to rent the quarters to numerous families. The de-
struction of the government property aroused the wrath of Brevet Major T. W. Sherman who was detailed to examine the condition of Fort Crawford in 1857. He reported that the Fort was occupied by Rufus King to whom about sixty families paid rent since he represented the claimants, Brunson, Brisbois, and Woodman. The government agent still occupied his quarters in the Fort but could do nothing to stop the damage being done to the property. Major Sherman reported also that the board fence around the fort had been removed, together with the plank flooring of the stable lofts. The siding on the stable had been partially removed, the hospital wood house, and log building near-
by demolished and all of the solid picketing of hewn timber a-
round the north end of the Fort had been taken away. In addition
to this, 32 large bunks, 29 mess tables, and 29 benches had been destroyed. Furthermore, he said that great injury had been done to shrubbery, bushes, trees, walks and plats and that general damage had resulted to the interior of the Fort in the destruction of windows, casings, doors, ceilings, floorings, gates, piazzas, walks and parade grounds. He recommended the immediate ejectment of the occupants and a suit for damages to cover the wanton destruction of the property of the United States.

However, no immediate action was taken by the government. The next step in the controversy was the offer to the Secretary of War on the part of B. W. Brisbois and I. B. Brunson to submit the question of ownership to arbitration. This was agreed to by the Secretary of War, Honorable John B. Floyd. Under this agreement the government selected one arbiter, Brisbois and Brunson another who finally decided that the true title to the property rested with the United States.

Once more Fort Crawford was destined to be used for a military purpose. A little over a month after the firing on Fort Sumter the State of Wisconsin leased the property "known as Fort Crawford with all the land and appurtenances thereto for the use and purpose of quartering the troops of said state therein, said used to continue so long as the state shall re-
quire said property for said purposes". Accordingly, Fort Crawford became the rendezvous for soldiers enlisting in the Thirty-first Wisconsin regiment of Infantry until the headquarters for this regiment was moved to Racine in November, 1862. Again in 1864 - 1865 the Fort was occupied by Provost Marshal Captain John G. Clark with the enrolling commission to secure troops for short time service. This was the last time Fort Crawford served any military purpose.

On November 17, 1864, the acting commissioner of the General Land Office, by order of the War Department offered for sale at public auction at La Crosse the land belonging to Fort Crawford which had been sub-divided into town lots. Then and later these lots were sold as well as the site on which the buildings of the Fort and the commandant's home stood. Thus the United States was divested of all interest in the military lands and quarters at Prairie du Chien save one small plot, the military cemetery, where about fifty graves are marked "Unknown", seven are walled and have inscribed slabs lying prone above them and some half dozen other graves are known and marked.

In 1872 was erected the first building of a convent school on the site of the officer's quarters of Old Fort Crawford. John Lawler who had purchased that part of the military reserva-
tion occupied by the buildings and who had taken up his residence in the former home of the commandant felt that a school was a fitting successor to the old Fort. Soon a splendid set of buildings replaced the dismantled and abandoned ruins,

"Where the night birds unmolested
Reveled in the gloomy darkness".

On the spacious campus were left relics of the former occupancy. Beneath shady maples was placed a strong barred prison window behind which Black Hawk had chafed after his capture. At the end of a paved pathway there remained a sentinel post where youthful pickets had paced to and fro through the long hours of night while guarding post and outwork. From the top of the seventy foot flag staff still floated "Old Glory" as it had waved over Fort Shelby and both the old and new Fort Crawford.

To the visitor at Prairie du Chien these relics together with the ruins of the old hospital of the Fort bring to his mind a train of events, the pageant of the Middle West. There passes in review the coming of the Frenchman, the English and French struggle for mastery, the brief but exciting scenes of the War of 1812, the erection of the pioneer fort, Indian councils, pow wows and skirmishes, the marching of troops, the coming of settlers, pushing the Indian across the Mississippi, and the abandonment of the Fort when the need for it ended.
Old Fort Crawford, one of the strong links in the chain of posts guarding the frontier contributed its bit in a manner worthy of the highest praise in paving the way for the settlement of the Middle West.
Notes and References

Chapter I


2. Folwell’s Minnesota, pp. 1 – 23. In Thwaites’s France in America, p. 74 is a map of the French explorations of the West.

3. Davidson’s In Unnamed Wisconsin, Chapters 1 – 3, contains a summary of the French explorations in the West.


8. History of Crawford County, p. 132.


11. History of Crawford County, p. 132.


See also Lyman C. Draper's *Early French Forts in Western Wisconsin*, pp. 321 - 333.
See also James D. Butler's *Hold the Fort*, pp. 54 - 63.

14 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. X. (Arguments against, pp. 313 - 320; arguments for the fort, pp. 333-357).

Map illustrating Traditions and Recollections of Prairie du Chien, Related by Hon. B. W. Brisbois: Noted Down and Amotated by Lyman C. Draper.


17 History of Crawford County, p. 132.


23 Carver's Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, pp. 50 - 51.
24 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. IV, p. 290.
25 Thwaites' Early Western Travels, J. Long's Voyages, pp. 12, 184 - 191.
26 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. IV, p. 290.
(Footnote by Lyman C. Draper.)
28 Thwaites' Early Western Travels, J. Long's Voyages, pp. 190 - 191.
30 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. IX, p. 283.
32 Hansen's Old Fort Snelling, pp. 3, 4.
Chapter II


44 Hansen's Old Fort Snelling, p. 9. Based on Updyke's The Diplomacy of the War of 1812, p. 204

45 Hansen's Old Fort Snelling, p. 9.


49 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIII, p. 1. See Events at Prairie du Chien Previous to American Occupation by Alfred Edward Bulger. This narrative is written by the son of Captain Andrew H. Bulger, British Commandant on the Mississippi from 1814 - 1815. A British point of view.


55. Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIII, pp. 9, 10. See Footnote p. 9, relative to Isaac Shelby.


57. Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIII, p. 11.


Thomas A. Smith, a Virginian, enlisted in the regular army in 1803 as a lieutenant of artillery. He became a captain in the Rifle Regiment in 1808, and later lieutenant colonel and colonel of this regiment. He was brevetted brigadier general in 1814. After bringing the troops to Prairie du Chien he retired and resigned from the army in 1818.
72 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, p. 387.
   Footnote.

73 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, p. 424.


76 History of Crawford County, p. 334. A short sketch of William H. Crawford is also given on pp. 334 - 335 of the same volume.

77 Annals of Prairie du Chien, p. 5. This was a paper presented to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin by Daniel S. Durrie, Librarian, December 28, 1872.


Inspection Reports in the Department of War, Vol. I, pp. 112 - 113. (Report of the different Posts in the 9th Department under the command of Colonel Chambers.)

Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. II, Introductory Note. This volume contains Long's Journal of this expedition.


Ibid, pp. 56 - 57.

Ibid, p. 57.

Ibid, pp. 58 - 60.


Hansen's Old Fort Snelling, pp. 21, 23.

See also Major Forsyth's narrative in Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. III, pp. 139 - 167.
See also Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes*.


See Keating's *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*. Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc. performed in the year 1823, by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the command of Stephen H. Long, U.S.T.E. Vol. I.


*Inspection Reports in the Department of War*, Vol. III, pp. 73 - 76.

Hansen's *Old Fort Snelling*, pp. 32 - 33.

Hansen's *Old Fort Snelling*, p. 34.

See footnote sketch, p. 238. See also in Street Papers, Kearny to Street dated July 17, 1823, No. 10 in the collection of the Library of the State Historical Society at Madison, Wisconsin. See also Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, pp. 433 - 434 for an example of the friction often existing between commanders and Indian agents.

100 History of Crawford County, pp. 336 - 337.


Chapter IV


106 Alex. Macomb, Major General to Commanding Officer at
Prairie du Chien, April 2, 1829; Original in the office of the Judge Advocate General War Department, Washington. Bundle A. pp. 15, 16.


109 Major S. W. Kearny to Joseph M. Street, July 17, 1829. Street Papers 10, in the Library of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.


113 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. V, pp. 242-244.
The material was written by the editor of the Prairie du Chien Courier, as dictated by Mr. Fonda. They appeared in the Courier beginning Feb. 15th 1858 and continuing till the next May.


Prairie du Chien Annals, p. 2.


File Record on Old Fort Crawford in Office of Judge Advocate General War Department, Washington. Bundle A. p. 17.


Chapter V


Hansen's Old Fort Snelling, pp. 31 - 32.

The diary from which this incident was taken was kept
by Willard Keyes, a resident of Prairie du Chien from 1817 to 1819. For an account of the diary see The Wisconsin Magazine of History, Vol. III, Number 2, pp. 268-271.


125 Hansen's Old Fort Snelling, 32 - 33.


128 Quaife's Chicago and the Old Northwest, p. 311.


130 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. II, p. 162.

131 Ibid. pp. 164 - 165.

132 Quaife's Chicago and the Old Northwest, pp. 312-313.

133 Hansen's Old Fort Snelling, p. 34.

Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest* pp. 318 - 321.


136 **Street Correspondence**, Burnett to Clark, May 18, 1831.

137 **Street Correspondence**, Burnett to Clark, May 28, 1831; Burnett to Morgan May 23, 1831. Also Morgan to Burnett May 23, 1831.

138 **Street Correspondence**, Street to Clark, July 31, 1831.

139 **Street Correspondence**, Street to Clark, July 31, 1831.

140 **Street Correspondence**, Street to Clark, Aug. 9, 1831.

141 **Street Correspondence**, Street to Clark, Oct. 24, 1831.

142 **Street Correspondence**, No. 18, Atkinson to Street, Fort Armstrong Apr. 25, 1832. **Street Collection** No. 21. Street to Clark, Apr. 28, 1832.

143 Stevens's *Black Hawk War* is a detailed narrative. For a brief useful account see Thwaites's *Story of the Black Hawk War in Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, pp. 217-265. Pelzer's *Henry Dodge* gives an account of Dodge's part in the
Black Hawk War.

144 Street Correspondence. No. 22. J. H. Lockwood to J. M. Street. Galena, May 16th, 1832. See also Memorandum of purchase of firearms for the Black Hawk War, dated June 7, 1832 Prairie du Chien among the Street Correspondence.


Street Correspondence, No. 24, Captain Loomis to Street. Fact Crawford July 9, 1832.

150 History of Crawford County, pp. 226 - 256.


History of Crawford County, pp. 246, 247.


153 For the activities of the soldiers after the Black
Hawk War see the files of the Prairie du Chien newspapers in the Library of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin

Prairie du Chien Patriot, September 1846, August 1851.

Crawford County Courier, May 1852 – May 1853.


Chapter VI

155 American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. II, pp. 201 - 274, contains a report of Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun to the House of Representatives. The report is called "Systems of Martial Law, and Field Service, and Police". The report was sent to the House Dec. 26, 1820. Other references in this paragraph are given separately below.


160 inspection reports in the department of war, vol. v, p. 69.

161 inspection reports in the department of war, vol. v, p. 124.


164 american state papers, military affairs, vol. ii, pp. 558, 706; vol. iii, p. 115.

165 american state papers, military affairs, vol. iii, pp. 274 - 275.

166 american state papers, military affairs, vol. iii, p. 277.

167 quaife's chicago and the old northwest has a splendid account of the ravages of the plague in the united states at pp. 328 - 337.

168 latrobe's the rambler in north america, pp. 263 - 317.


170 featherstonhaugh's a canoe voyage up the minnay sotar, pp. 213 - 216.


174 *History of Crawford County*, pp. 113-114.


178 Turner's *History of Fort Winnebago* in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IV, pp. 74, 75, 78, 91, 94.

Chapter VII

179 Fonda's *Narrative in the Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 205-284 is replete with scenes in and about Fort Crawford.

180 Diary kept by Willard Keyes in *The Wisconsin Magazine*


184 *Ibid*, February 10, 1818 and July 9, 1818.


186 *History of Crawford County*, p. 339.

187 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. V. p. 258


189 *History of Des Moines County*, pp. 357 - 360.

190 *Prairie du Chien Annals*, p. 8. Written by a Major Viele and full of errors.

191 *Inspection Reports* in the Department of War for the years 1834 and 1836 Vol. V, pp. 69 - 71, 124, 128.


184 Ibid, pp. 241 - 242


188 Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings, 1913, pp. 116 - 117.


Chapter VIII

202 See Photostat copies of Indian Office Files in the Library of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.
203 **Street Correspondence**, Street to Burnett, July 1, 1830

204 Hansen’s *Old Fort Snelling*, Chap. VII.

205 **Wisconsin Historical Collections**, Vol. 10, p. 213.


209 *Keyes' Diary*, May 28, 1818.


214 **Street Correspondence** # 148. Journal of the Proceeding of the Council at Prairie du Chien in 1825, a transcript of the original Journal kept by Thos. Biddle, Secretary to the Commissioners. No pages given.


Ibid, p. 115.

Biddle's *Journal*. No pages in transcript.

Biddle's *Journal*. No pages in transcript.

Schoolcraft's Article in *History of Crawford County*, p. 116.


Biddle's *Journal*, No pages in transcript.


Street Correspondence, in the Library of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

Street Correspondence, No. 11. Maj. S. W. Kearny to John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, February 10, 1830.

Ibid, Street to General William Clark, Vol. 32. Copies of letters found in Vol. 32 of the manuscript books from the
office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, Missouri, between the dates Aug. 8, 1830 and April 1, 1832. Copies in the Library of the State Historical Society at Madison Wisconsin.

227 Ibid, Street to Clark, August 27, 1830; February 2, 1831.

228 Ibid, Street to Clark, August 8, 1830; September 21, 1830; October 29, 1830.


231 Ibid, No. 31, Colonel Zachary Taylor to Joseph M. Street, September 6, 1834.

232 Ibid, No. 48, Department of War, Indian Affairs March 5, 1835.

233 Ibid, No. 40, Lieutenant E. A. Hitchcock to Colonel Davenport, November 9, 1834.


Chapter IX


237 In the Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, a series of documents illustrates two articles, The Fur Trade on the Upper Lakes 1778 - 1815 and The Fur Trade in Wisconsin 1815 - 1817; and in Vol. XX another body of documentary material affords a first hand study of the Wisconsin fur trade down to 1817. Many of the documents, letters, invoices, etc. are from traders, Indian agents or military officers at Prairie du Chien. These documents furnished the greater part of the warp and woof for this chapter.

238 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, pp. XIII-XIV.


240 Turner's The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1887 - 1891, Vols. XXXIV - XXXIX, p. 52

241 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XX, p. 9.

243 Ibid, Vol. XX, p. XII.


245 Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, Chap. XIII, has a clear account of the development of the fur trade with emphasis on the rise and fall of the factory system.

246 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp.XIII,XVIII.

247 Ibid, Vol. XX, pp. XIX - XX.

248 Hansen's *Old Fort Snelling*, pp. 136 - 138


252 The description of a fur trade at Prairie du Chien is
based on the Recollections of Antoine Grignon who was a survivor of the fur trading period in Wisconsin. His father was interpreter for Colonel Zachary Taylor at Fort Crawford for a number of years. Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1913, pp. 110-136.

253 For a sample "engagement" see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, p. 292; Vol. XX, p. 212.


255 Turner's The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1887-1891, Vols. XXXIV-XXXIX, pp. 77-78.

256 Ibid, pp. 80, 88.

257 Ibid, p. 91.

258 Ibid, pp. 97-98.

Chapter X

259 Prairie du Chien Annals, 1837
260 Prairie du Chien Patriot, June 15, 1847. A Tribute to General Taylor. The files of this paper are in the Library of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.


262 Prairie du Chien Annals pp. 9 - 10 1843, 1845.

263 Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. V. p. 278.


265 Prairie du Chien Patriot, September 14, 1847.

266 Ibid, March 16, 1847.

267 Ibid, June 1, 1847.

268 Ibid, September 21, 1847.

269 Ibid, November 2, 1847.

270 Ibid, March 8, 1848.

271 Ibid, July 5, 1848.

272 Ibid, September 6, 1848.

273 Ibid, December 27, 1848.
Ibid, September 6, 1848.

Ibid, November 15, 1848, Captain Wiram C. Knowlton to General Nathan Towson. Paymaster General, Dated September 10, 1848. Also Acting Paymaster General Benj. F. Larned to Captain Wiram Knowlton, Sept. 29, 1848.

Ibid, December 20, 1848; December 27, 1848.

Ibid, March 7, 1849.

Ibid, April 25, 1849.

Ibid, May 2, 1849.

Crawford County Courier, June 2, 1852, The files of this paper are in the Library of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

Ibid, May 26, 1852.

Ibid, May 10, 1852.

The facts upon which the story of the suits to recover the military tract and buildings are based on File Records on Old Fort Crawford in the Office of the Judge Advocate General, War Department, Washington.

Ibid. Emelie R. Hooe to Jefferson Davis August 14, 1853, Bundle A. p. 68.

Ibid. Ira B. Brunson to Jefferson Davis December 8, 1853, Bundle A. pp. 69 - 70.


Ibid. Emelie R. Hooe to Jefferson Davis, February 3, 1855, Bundle A. p.66.


236 File 266, MSS. Collection in the Library of the State Historical Society, Madison Wisconsin. Copy of the lease.

237 Tuttle's History of Wisconsin. p. 443.

238 Prairie du Chien Annals, 1864, 1865.

239 History of Crawford County, p. 352.

300 File 350, MSS. Collection in the Library of the State

Based on the illustrated booklet, Historic St. Mary's Academy, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, Founded 1872.