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Locations of Sauk, Mesquakie, and associated Euro-American sites 1832 to 1845: an ethnohistoric approach

Kathryn Elizabeth Gourley
Iowa State University

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Locations of Sauk, Mesquakie, and associated Euro-American sites 1832 to 1845:

an ethnohistoric approach

by

Kathryn Elizabeth Gourley

A Thesis Submitted to the

Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the

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Signatures have been redacted for privacy

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

1990

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

By the treaty negotiated at the close of the Black Hawk War in 1832, the Sauk (Sac) and Mesquakie (Fox) ceded their lands bordering the Mississippi River. Thirteen years and several treaties later, the tribes had ceded all their remaining lands in Iowa Territory to the United States government and they were relocated to a reservation in present-day Kansas.

Abundant documentary evidence of these land transfers has survived. These documents have been the basis of many detailed studies by historians and ethnohistorians (Berthrong 1956; Gallaher 1916a, b; M. Green 1965, 1976; Hagan 1958; Kurtz 1986; Trennert 1981; Van der Zee 1914a, c). These researchers have concentrated on the political and economic history of the tribes.

In contrast, few researchers have studied the documents for the locational information they contain. Until now, there has been no systematic search concentrating on Sauk and Mesquakie villages and associated Euro-American settlements of the 1832 to 1845 era. The research presented herein is an attempt to fill that gap. This project uses archival resources in an attempt to identify the specific geographical positions of Sauk and Mesquakie villages, Indian agencies, trading houses, and United States military posts.

The purpose of this study is to lay the groundwork for future archaeological investigations by pinpointing historical locations. This research contributes to the State’s preservation planning.
efforts by documenting a number of historic properties. The National Park Service -- the federal agency responsible for the stewardship of the country’s cultural resources -- stresses the importance of evaluating the significance of an historic property in terms of its "historic context." The National Park Service recognizes that a property’s significance "can only be determined in relationship to the historic development from which it emerged and in relationship to a group of similarly associated properties" (National Park Service 1986b: 6). This study examines a number of properties related to the Indian/Euro-American contact period.

Beginning about 1978, the National Park Service promoted "RP3," or the "Resource Protection Planning Process," as a method of organizing information about a state’s cultural resources and developing a process for managing those resources (E. Henning 1985: 5). Basic to this planning process is the delineation of study units (E. Henning 1985: 13).

A study unit includes three elements: a conceptual framework; geographical boundaries; and chronological limits (Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service n.d.: 12). The conceptual framework consists of related themes about a group of cultural resources (Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service n.d.: 13).

Working with other interested parties, Elizabeth Henning defined 29 broad study units for Iowa (E. Henning 1985). For each study unit, a list of associated property types was developed, gaps in the data base were identified, and research questions were formulated.
Among the study units defined by Henning, the one most closely related to the present research project is "Frontier Safety." This study unit is limited to the major river corridors and spans the period from 1820 to 1851. Property types associated with the study unit include Indian villages, treaty sites, battle sites, forts, schools, Indian agencies, trail segments, and missions (E. Henning 1985: 58). This study unit is concerned with the dispossession of Indian groups, the transfer of their lands to the United States government, and subsequently to Euro-American settlers (E. Henning 1985: 58-59).

Federally-mandated preservation planning efforts have moved away from defining study units, now focusing on the development of "historic contexts." The National Park Service has defined the term:

A historic context is a body of information about historic properties organized by theme, place, and time. It is the organization of information about our prehistory and history according to the stages of development occurring at various times and places (National Park Service 1986b: 7).

In many respects, a "study unit" is equivalent to an "historic context," the term currently in vogue. Both have spatial, temporal, and thematic elements.

Essentially, the difference between the terms is one of detail. Each study unit defined for Iowa encompasses a broad topic while, for the most part, historic contexts have been more narrowly defined.

To date, no historic contexts directly linked to the present research have been developed, although some contexts are peripherally related. McKay has detailed an historic context related to Euro-American contact with the Native American population. Her research
focused on the northeastern quadrant of Iowa and largely was restricted to the years prior to 1830; thus, the context she defined provides background information for the current study (McKay 1988).

W. Green and Merry have researched the establishment of Fort Atkinson in 1840 and the adjacent reservation and Indian agency, farm and school established on the Neutral Ground for the Winnebago. Their work describes how mid-nineteenth century United States Indian policy affected the lives of the Winnebago, a neighboring tribe to the Sauk and Mesquakie, and outlines research which should be undertaken (W. Green and Merry 1988; Merry and W. Green 1989).

The data collected for the present study can be integrated readily into Iowa’s historic preservation program. These data also may be of interest to the residents of the Mesquakie Indian Settlement near Tama, Iowa. The Mesquakie have stressed a bi-lingual, bi-cultural educational program at the Settlement’s school. Curriculum units on Mesquakie history, culture, and government for use at the school have been developed by Jonathan Buffalo. Data collected during this research project could supplement the present Mesquakie curriculum.

The current study uses an ethnohistoric approach. An early definition of ethnohistory was provided by Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, who described it as:

the study of identities, locations, contacts, movements, numbers, and cultural activities of primitive peoples from the earliest written records concerning them, onward in point of time (Wheeler-Voegelin 1954: 168).
One root of modern ethnohistory is the "direct historical approach," developed by archaeologists as a method of linking historic or protohistoric groups to their prehistoric antecedents. This method involves the careful comparison of material culture remains at identifiable historic sites with remains at protohistoric and prehistoric sites with similar manifestations (Steward 1942: 337; W. Wedel 1938: 1).

Another of ethnohistory’s roots formed in culture contact studies. Axtell points out that historians, in their studies of frontiers, have contributed much to the understanding of cultures in contact (Axtell 1981: 6). Likewise, many anthropologists have focused on the contact between cultures, developing an acculturation model (Barnett et al. 1954; Bee 1974; Herskovits 1958).

Acculturation is a process of intercultural borrowing marked by the continuous transmission of traits between diverse peoples and resulting in new and blended patterns (Gove 1971: 13). Trigger asserts that the study of acculturation has been transformed into ethnohistory (Trigger 1986: 257).

Axtell sees ethnohistory as a hybrid approach, drawing techniques from the discipline of history while using theory derived from cultural anthropology (Axtell 1978: 114).

Three elements compose ethnohistory: (1) it is the study of culture; (2) its emphasis is on sociocultural change through time; and (3) it relies on the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials (Axtell 1981: 6-9; Spores 1980: 576).
Several scholars have assessed the development of ethnohistory as a discipline and have suggested the directions in which the field must grow. All have emphasized the utility of maintaining and strengthening the bond between ethnohistory and archaeology (Axtell 1978: 141; Spores 1980: 578-580; Trigger 1986: 259-260).

Some aspects of the cultural contact between the Sauk, Mesquakie, and Euro-Americans in the mid-nineteenth century have been analyzed by others (Berthrong 1956; M. Green 1965, 1976; Hagan 1958; Kurtz 1986). Archaeology has made no contribution to these analyses because few archaeological sites associated with this topic have been positively identified, investigated, and reported. Yet, the documentary sources are filled with references to specific historical locations.

The goal of this study is to use documentary sources to delineate the positions of historical locations as precisely as possible. Several research questions can be posed. Do the historic documents record locations specifically enough to aid archaeological investigation? Can patterns of site location and layout be discerned from the historic record? Are there particular types of sites which largely are ignored in the written records?

The long term goal of the research is to link historical locations to their archaeological remains. This study is not intended to achieve the long term goal; rather, the research should be seen as a planning study, important for its role in identifying specific areas to be surveyed in the future. The work is an
intensive study of reported historical locations in terms of their
time, space, and content dimensions.

Mildred Mott Wedel has spent many years refining the
ethnohistoric approach. In 1976 she published a paper entitled
"Ethnohistory: Its Payoffs and Pitfalls for Iowa Archeologists" (M. Wedel 1976). In that paper she set forth a methodology to be used in
identifying the archaeological remains of specific historic Native
American groups. Her emphasis was on linking historically known
tribes to their prehistoric antecedents. The ethnohistoric approach
she recommended, with its fundamental reliance on the examination of
written records, is equally applicable to later periods of
Indian/Euro-American contact.

In her 1976 work, Wedel cautioned researchers to use care when
attributing archaeological manifestations to specific historically-
known groups. She stressed that the degree to which such an
identification is acceptable depends upon: (1) the procedures used;
(2) the validity and quantity of available documentary evidence; and
(3) the presence of sufficient archaeological deposits.

These linkages can be investigated by two routes. The researcher
can begin with known historical archaeological sites and determine
which historic group could have been responsible for the
manifestation. Working from the other direction, one can use
documentary evidence to determine where specific groups lived, then
search those locations for archaeological sites of appropriate age
and content (M. Wedel 1976: 7). The latter approach has been used in
this research.
Bruce Trigger made an essential distinction between the terms "historical location" and "archaeological site."

An historical location ... is a place mentioned in historical records or oral traditions. While the nature and importance of such a place are normally made clear from the accounts in which it is mentioned, its precise geographical location may or may not be known. An archaeological site, on the other hand, is a geographical area containing a single unit, or a temporal sequence of single units, of human occupation. Although the temporal and cultural affinities of the site may be a matter of inference, its geographical location cannot be in doubt (Trigger 1969: 306).

Trigger warned against the premature correlation of an archaeological site with an historical location. He set forth three criteria for correlating an archaeological site with an historical location. These are the basic elements of all archaeological inquiry: time, space, and content (Trigger 1969: 306).

Before concluding that an archaeological site represents the remains of an historical location, Trigger cautioned that a careful comparison of their date, geographic location, and layout should be made. Only if evidence in each of these three categories is supportive, should the researcher conclude that the two are one and the same.

Trigger's definitions of "historical location" and "archaeological site" have been used in this research. It should be noted, however, that some archaeologists working in Iowa have not made this distinction. Several places have been assigned archaeological site numbers because they were reported as locations where an activity took place. Many of these have never been surveyed. Others have been surveyed but have not yielded material
culture remains (Gradwohl and Osborn 1973: 13; Mehrer and Perry 1989: 9, 17-19; Office of the State Archaeologist of Iowa n.d.).

Those historical locations which already have been recorded as archaeological sites are reviewed to assess the level of archaeological fieldwork completed and the results of that work. Additional archaeological fieldwork was beyond the scope and intent of this project.

The project has employed standard ethnohistorical techniques to the study of a previously unexplored problem -- to re-locate the Sauk and Mesquakie and their Euro-American neighbors. In 1938, Mildred Mott published a study in which she surveyed recorded locations of historic Indian tribes in the State of Iowa and examined archaeological manifestations (Mott 1938). The purpose of her study was to determine if any tribal location coincided with the geographical and temporal dimensions of any archaeological manifestation. Through this work, she was able to link the historic Ioway to their Oneota antecedents. Mott included all tribes mentioned in the historic documents in her survey of recorded locations. These included the Ioway, Oto, Omaha, Ottawa, Huron, Miami, Kitchigami, Kickapoo, Mascoutin, Chippewa (Ojibway), Sauk, Fox (Mesquakie), Pawnee, Dakota, and the Illinois Confederation.

She examined documents from the earliest period of European exploration west of the Mississippi River in the late seventeenth century up to the time of permanent Euro-American settlement in the area in the first half of the nineteenth century. Mott used the
documents to derive the general locations occupied by the various tribes throughout the century and a half encompassed by her study.

In many respects, this study follows Mott’s lead. She outlined a procedure for critically analyzing documentary sources. She stressed the need to determine a work’s authenticity; to assess the author’s propensity to report facts accurately; to ascertain whether the author described firsthand experiences; and, finally, to determine whether a report had been rewritten by various authors or editors (Mott 1938: 232).

There are differences in the studies, of course. The research reported herein focuses on only two allied tribes, the Sauk and Mesquakie, and concentrates on only a thirteen year interval. This period comes at the end of the interval studied by Mott. As is to be expected, documents from this late period are more numerous than the written records from earlier periods. While Mott defined the general areas inhabited by the various tribes, the availability of more complete records for the mid-nineteenth century should allow specific occupation sites to be located with greater precision. Another difference between the two studies is that Mott limited her research to Native American sites. This study includes associated Euro-American occupation areas.

Iowa is an ideal spot for such research. Unlike its eastern neighbors, Wisconsin and Illinois, Iowa was not home to a large number of Native American groups in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During historic times, southeastern and south central Iowa were occupied first by the Ioway, and subsequently by
the Sauk and Mesquakie. Certainly there were small bands from other tribes in the area at various times (for example, see Edmunds 1978: 251), but semi-permanent summer villages of the 1832 to 1845 period in the region can confidently be ascribed to the Sauk and Mesquakie.

Three limitations of the research need to be clarified. First, this study excludes locations outside the boundaries of the present State of Iowa (Figure 1). Until late 1838, the Indian agency with jurisdiction over the Sauk and Mesquakie was east of present-day Iowa. (This agency fluctuated between Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and Rock Island, Illinois.) Likewise, army personnel in direct contact with the Sauk and Mesquakie were stationed at Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, in the first years under study. Another location of importance in the period was a settlement known as Sweet Home, in the State of Missouri. These locations are mentioned in the text, but no effort was made to locate these with precision.

Second, this study is limited to a discussion of that portion of the tribes historically grouped as the "Sac and Fox of the Mississippi." In the early decades of the nineteenth century, a faction of the tribes split from the remainder (Kurtz 1986: 23-26). This faction migrated to the Missouri River valley, and was known as the "Sac and Fox of the Missouri." The two factions of the tribes interacted over the years, and eventually were placed on the same reservation in Oklahoma Territory. During the 1832 to 1845 period, however, the two factions were treated as separate groups by the United States government. The Missouri faction had a different
agent, and was not party to the land cessions in eastern and central Iowa.

Third, the Sauk and Mesquakie settlements considered here were inhabited primarily during the spring and summer seasons. The traditional Sauk and Mesquakie seasonal cycle included spring crop-planting, a mid-summer hunt, a late summer harvest, a fall hunt, and concluded with dispersal into small groups for the winter. The locations of the horticultural villages were fairly stable, with the same groups returning to the villages each spring. Documentary sources provide clues to these locations. In contrast, few records refer to the transitory hunting camps or to the winter quarters. Thus, the historic record provides locational information for only a portion of the settlement system. The locations of Sauk and Mesquakie winter encampments cannot be derived from an examination of the written records. It should be noted, however, that the traditional pattern was disrupted somewhat, with the villages being occupied for a greater portion of the year, in the last years under study. Therefore, some of these villages could contain materials deposited during the winter season.

Although changes in the settlement system occurred over the years, it is important to note that elements of the traditional pattern persisted. M. Green, chronicling the movements of the Mesquakie who remained in Iowa after 1845, found that Euro-American pioneers were visited by the Indians on a cyclical basis (M. Green 1976: 11-19). Gradwohl, citing oral historical information from Donald Wanatee, noted that the Mesquakie made seasonal hunting trips
to the northwest of their settlement in Tama County, Iowa, as late as the first decade of the twentieth century (Gradwohl 1974: 99). Observing the Mesquakie in the mid-twentieth century, Gearing found a more sedentary lifestyle. Still, he noted similar shifts in social grouping. Various tasks scheduled through the year required different social configurations. He termed these recurring arrangements "structural poses" (Gearing 1970: 118).

The present research was undertaken in three steps. First, relevant document collections were identified and evaluated. Substantial documentary evidence from the period is available. The major collections examined were Indian agency and military records held by the National Archives. Microfilm copies of many of these records were used. In other instances, the original documents were examined at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

The collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa, particularly records curated at the Des Moines branch, were used extensively in the research.

Document collections were critically evaluated. Mildred Mott Wedel has set forth some procedures for such evaluations, and has warned of the pitfalls awaiting researchers who do not make thorough and careful analyses (Mott 1938; M. Wedel 1976). Strengths and weaknesses of sources were noted. Sources which are clearly unreliable were not considered further.

Evaluations of document collections followed the methodology outlined by Wedel. Her method bases evaluations on the corroboration of facts from other sources, and assessments of the reliability of
various authors. For example, she suggests looking at the author’s role, purpose in writing, and audience, as well as considering any biases the author might have had. She also suggests reviewing what the author’s contemporaries had to say about him or her.

The second step of the research was to synthesize and analyze data derived from the documents. This inquiry focused on gathering data on four types of historical locations:

1. Sauk and Mesquakie Villages
2. Trading Houses
3. United States Indian Agencies
4. United States Military Posts

Although the four property types are distinct, it is important to consider them as pieces of an interrelated community. Research has indicated that at least 25 Sauk or Mesquakie villages, 17 trading houses, two United States Indian agencies, and three military posts were occupied during the interval between 1832 and 1845. These locations were occupied successively: with each new treaty cession, the villages and trading houses were moved upriver and westward. The agents and dragoons followed these westward movements.

In addition to the review of historic documents, state archaeological records were checked. A number of the historical locations under consideration have been designated as archaeological sites. Site records were reviewed to assess the level of fieldwork undertaken and the kinds of artifacts recovered. This discussion is not intended to be a detailed analysis of these archaeological sites; rather, it is a general assessment of the quality of the known archaeological record.
Generally, the study of historical locations focused on complexes rather than individual structures within a complex. For example, Fort Des Moines #2, established by the United States Army in 1843 and abandoned by it in 1846, covered a large area. Structures within the fort included officers' and soldiers' barracks, sutler's store, flagstaff, well, and hospital, among others (Brice, Petrides and Associates, Inc. 1985). While the boundaries of the fort are described in the study, specific locations of most of the individual structures within the complex are not mentioned. Such detailed discussions are beyond the scope of this research project.

This procedure was modified somewhat in the descriptions of the Indian agencies. The agencies were made up of a number of units which were geographically dispersed. For example, the Sac and Fox Agency included the agent's and interpreter's houses, a cemetery, a council house, two mills, a smith's shop, and a pattern farm. Some of these different components are discussed individually, since they were spatially separated and could therefore be represented as discrete archaeological sites.

An attempt was made to collect data on every historical location for which a reference was found in the documentary evidence. Available data vary widely in both quantity and quality. Some amount to a notation in a single document; a wealth of information is available for others. Data collection primarily was confined to the following categories:

1. Geographical location.
2. Dates of occupation at each location.
3. Structure, function, and reported content of each location. This category included information on number and sizes of structures, types of construction, general layout, and known uses.

While the historic documents were examined primarily for the temporal, spatial, and formal data they contain, another important data set could not be ignored completely, for it pertains directly to site identification. The historic records include much information on relationships: who was clerk to trader X; who was successor to village leader Y; who was in favor with agent Z. Understanding these relationships is a necessary step in deciphering some locational information.

Mildred Mott alluded to a similar problem in her discussion of place names. She stressed the need to examine the evolution of place names in order to determine referenced locations. She wrote:

Thus each statement of location required an amassing of data that included geographical terms in use at the time, geographical relationship of other Indian villages, and topographical information for the general region ... (Mott 1938: 232).

The third step of the research involved the mapping of each historical location. A modern United States Geological Survey (U.S.G.S.) base map, 1:500,000 scale, was used. The original plan was to reproduce pertinent historic maps photographically so that they could be adjusted to a uniform scale and printed on transparencies. They could then be overlaid and directly compared to one another and to the modern base map. In a few instances, this procedure was followed. Overall, however, this procedure had to be modified, because it proved to be very expensive. The alternative approach involved placing 4" X 5" or 8" X 10" photographic negatives
of each map on an overhead projector. The base map was fastened to the wall and the historic image projected onto it. The location of the projector was altered until reference points on the two images were superimposed. The accuracy of the historic map was then assessed. If the historic map appeared to be reasonably accurate, then important details depicted on the map were drawn onto the modern map.

The following discussion is divided into several sections. Brief summaries of Sauk and Mesquakie history, United States Indian removal activities, and fur trade operations are presented as a background for understanding the 1832 to 1845 period. Several individuals played significant roles in the transfer of lands from the Indian to the Euro-American. Pertinent biographical data are presented. Chapter 3 describes the collections of historic records used in the research, and the methods used to evaluate those records.

During the period under study, the Sauk and Mesquakie and their Euro-American associates moved frequently. An overview of these numerous shifts in location is presented in Chapter 4. The overview is followed by a synthesis of the data available for each historical location. The discussion is arranged in rough chronological order, with related properties grouped together. Because many of the historical locations overlap in date, it was not always possible to maintain strict chronological order.

This chronological arrangement proved wholly unsatisfactory in the discussion of the Mesquakie groups on the Iowa River, forcing an alternate arrangement. After 1836 a segment of the Mesquakie and all
of the Sauk were situated on the Des Moines and Skunk rivers. One band of Mesquakie, led by Poweshiek, continued to reside on the Iowa River. For the period 1836 to 1843, Poweshiek’s band was physically distanced from the remaining Sauk and Mesquakie, as well as from the United States government personnel. For this period, the historical locations associated with Poweshiek’s band -- and the traders who served it -- are grouped together following the discussion of the other bands. This deviation from chronological order allows the discussion to flow more smoothly.

The final chapter assesses the utility of the approach taken in this study, discusses some of the expected patterns of site location and layout, and suggests future avenues of research.

To aid the reader in understanding the presentation, each historical location has been assigned a reference number. In addition, the text has been cross-referenced. Finally, maps summarizing the locations and/or movements of each trading company, military post, agency, and Sauk or Mesquakie band have been prepared.
CHAPTER 2

INDIANS AND EURO-AMERICANS

Land transfers from Indians to Euro-Americans included members of the Sauk and Mesquakie tribes, traders affiliated with large companies such as the American Fur Company, as well as those in business for themselves, and representatives of the United States government.

Sauk and Mesquakie Indians

For much of the historic period the Sauk and Mesquakie, two Indian tribes of the western Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi River Valley regions, have been linked. The commonly accepted translations of their names -- Sauk, People of the Yellow Earth; and Mesquakie, People of the Red Earth -- suggest a close relationship, yet distinct identities (Temple 1958: 83).

In pre-contact times, the Mesquakie are thought to have occupied southeastern Michigan and northwestern Ohio (Callender 1978a: 636). The Sauk occupied lands immediately to the west of the Mesquakie (Callender 1978b: 648). They were driven westward by the Iroquois and Huron nations (Miller 1972: 5). When the French made direct contact with the Sauk and Mesquakie in the 1670s, the Sauk resided at the head of Green Bay (Figure 1), while the Mesquakie lived along the upper reaches of the Fox River in present-day Wisconsin (W. Jones 1939: 2; Thwaites 1899: (54) 215-219; (55) 103, 183-185).
In the early 1700s, the Mesquakie interfered with the French trade (Van der Zee 1914a). In retaliation, the French sent a number of expeditions against the Mesquakie. While the tribe probably sustained significant losses in these raids, the French were never able to exterminate them, as they had desired (Van der Zee 1914a: 259). After the final battle in 1735, the Mesquakie sought refuge with the Sauk. The tribes’ close alliance dates from this time.

Wars with the Iroquois and Shawnee, plus intertribal squabbles amongst the Kickapoo, Sauk, Mesquakie, Mascoutin, and Potawatomi groups caused the Sauk and Mesquakie to be displaced southward into Illinois (Temple 1958: 89-91). In the eighteenth century, the near decimation of the Illini, Miami, Peoria, and Kaskaskia tribes opened up vast areas for non-competitive expansion (Miller 1972: 4). The Sauk and Mesquakie were quick to move into the vacated areas. By the 1770s they were in control of northern Illinois and centered around Rock Island (Miller 1972: 5-6).

The Sauk established a village west of the Mississippi sometime between 1777 and 1781 (Mott 1938: 275). Their Mesquakie allies had a village on the western shore of the Mississippi at least by 1805 (Temple 1958: 101). The main Sauk village, however, remained on the east side of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Rock River until the Sauk and Mesquakie were forced to move west at the close of the Black Hawk War in 1832 (Van der Zee 1914a: (2) 245-246; 1914b: (4) 489-492; Stout, Wheeler-Voegelin, and Blasingham 1974: 204-208; Mott 1938: 275-276).
While the summer villages were along the Mississippi, the winter hunting territory of the Sauk and Mesquakie was in the interior of present-day Iowa. Winter camps were scattered in the sheltered river valleys.

The summer villages were filled with gable-roofed lodges, of bark and poles, and wickiups (W. Jones 1939: 50; Skinner 1925: 124-126, 154-155). The framework of a wickiup was constructed from saplings. These saplings were inserted into the ground, then bent and tied together to form a domed structure. The framework was covered with elm bark (Michelson 1925: 136; Quimby 1960: 134). Wickiups intended for winter use were covered with woven rush mats (W. Jones 1939: 50).

The seeds of the Black Hawk War were planted in 1804, when several warriors of the Sauk tribe signed a treaty with the United States government (W. Jones 1939: 6; Temple 1958: 99). In this treaty, they relinquished all Sauk and Mesquakie lands east of the Mississippi River. In exchange, the tribes were granted $1,000 a year (in goods) and were told they could remain on the land until it was sold to Euro-American pioneers (Kappler 1904: 74-77). Much has been written about the questionable legality of the treaty -- the warriors were not authorized to speak for the entire Sauk tribe; the Mesquakie tribe was not represented at all; and the Euro-American negotiators entertained the Sauk with quantities of liquor before, during, and after the treaty negotiations (Callender 1978a; Dockstader 1977: 35). Be that as it may, the treaty has been considered a legal document by the United States and the Sauk and Mesquakie have abided by its stipulations. The 1815 treaty with the
Mesquakie reaffirmed the earlier treaty, as did the 1816 treaty with the Sauk (Kappler 1904: 122, 127).

The 1804 treaty is important as it marks the first land cession of the tribes and thus marks the beginning of a change in their economic system. It also illustrates the policy of the United States to treat the two tribes as one. In this and subsequent treaties, the tribes are designated as the united or confederated tribes of the Sac and Fox, and in one instance, are called the "Sac and Fox Tribe" (Kappler 1904: 74, 305, 473). In 1832, the United States recognized Keokuk, a Sauk, as the head chief of the combined tribes, further undermining the autonomy of the Mesquakie nation.

The Sauk and Mesquakie became familiar with treaty signing in the years that followed 1804. Either singly or together, they were parties to treaties in 1815, 1816, 1822, 1824, 1825, 1830, 1832, 1836, and 1842 (Kappler 1904).

With the signing of the 1842 treaty, the tribes ceded all of their remaining lands in exchange for a reservation along the Missouri River (Figure 2). They began the trek to the Missouri in the fall of 1845 (Beach 1976). For a short time they resided on a reservation in present-day Kansas. Subsequently they were moved to a reserve in present-day Oklahoma, where portions of the tribes continue to reside (Hagan 1958: 225, 245).

In the mid-1850s, a contingent of the Mesquakie tribe separated from the larger group and returned to Iowa, purchased land, and established a village (Wanatee 1978: 78). This Mesquakie Indian
Half Breed Tract

Treaty Date / Removal Date
1832/June 1833
1836/November 1836
1837/October 1838
1842/May 1843
1842/October 1845

36 miles

N
Settlement, located in Tama County, Iowa, is an active community today.

**Sauk Leaders**

Keokuk became prominent because of his skill with words and as a warrior. He was born about 1783, and resided in the village of Saukenuk. His mother was Sauk, his father Indian and French (Dockstader 1977:134). In the late 1820s, Keokuk moved to the west side of the Mississippi River.

Through the 1830s and early 1840s, Keokuk was influential in both tribes' relations with the United States. His success at keeping a majority of the Sauk and Mesquakie neutral during the Black Hawk War led to the United States government appointing him head of the two tribes. This influence translated into considerable personal wealth, as tribal annuity payments were handed over by the United States to selected headmen -- the "money chiefs" -- for distribution.

Through this same time period, Keokuk’s leadership skills were diminished by his addiction to alcohol. Indian Agent John Beach always considered Keokuk as head chief because of his appointment as such by the treaty of 1832. John Chambers, Iowa Territorial Governor and ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, was not blind to Keokuk’s deteriorating condition. In 1841 he wrote:

It strikes me as being worthy of remark in relation to [Beach’s] statement of the claims of the Chiefs Keokuck & Hardfish [Wishecomaque]...that he confines himself to what they were, and fails to give any information of the present characters of these chiefs....There is no doubt I think that Keokuck has become very intemperate and has lost the confidence of a considerable majority of the Indians, yet
neither of these facts are stated by Capt. Beach as a cause for the existing dissentions among them; he seems to think it his duty to consider the treaty recognition of Keokuck as principal chief, a sufficient reason for sustaining him, but it seems to me necessary to consider well the effect to be produced upon the Indians by a pertinacious support of this intemperate Chief against a majority of the chiefs headmen and braves... (National Archives 1956b: Chambers to Crawford, 24 May 1841).

Keokuk's power was lessened somewhat in 1841, when a compromise was reached between the faction supporting annuity payments to the "money chiefs" and the faction favoring payment to household heads. That year, the United States distributed the 1840 payment (which had been withheld) as well as the 1841 annuity. The 1840 payment was divided between the "money chiefs": Keokuk received the Sauk share; Poweshiek received the funds due the Mesquakie. The 1841 annuity was divided between two factions. Wishecomaque's group received $16,000, which was distributed to household heads. The "money chiefs" received the remaining $24,000. The payment plan necessitated a census of the Sauk and Mesquakie, which was taken on October 19, 1841 (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(f): 1841 Census).

Keokuk still had a few hundred followers when the tribes began the journey to their reserve along the Missouri River in 1845. Upon his death in 1848, his leadership role was assumed by his son, Moses Keokuk (Dockstader 1977: 136).

Keokuk's rival in the 1830s was Black Hawk, who had gained some distinction as a warrior. Black Hawk's father was Pyesa, a Sauk leader. Born in 1767, Black Hawk spent his childhood and many of his adult years in Saukenuk (Dockstader 1977: 34).
In contrast to Keokuk, Black Hawk had never been friendly with the United States. In the early 1800s, his allegiance was to Great Britain (Hagan 1958: 85, 145). His support of the British through the War of 1812 left his followers with the moniker "the British Band" well into the 1840s.

In the fall of 1829 the United States began selling the lands in the vicinity of Saukenuk to Euro-American settlers. Large numbers of Euro-American squatters began to arrive in spring 1829 (Wallace 1982:269-270). When members of the Sauk tribe returned from their winter encampments in the spring of 1829, they found Saukenuk in ruins. Euro-American families had established residence in their wickiups and had begun erecting fences in the Indian fields (Wallace 1982: 270).

Black Hawk and his allies spent the summer at the old village. Much to Keokuk’s dismay, he, too stayed there. Keokuk was anxious to join his band on the Iowa River, but the chiefs had instructed him to remain at the Rock River village to keep the peace (Wallace 1982: 271-272). Black Hawk again returned to Saukenuk in spring 1830 and spring 1831 (Wallace 1982: 272, 275).

In the spring of 1832, Black Hawk again determined to re-occupy Saukenuk. Tradition holds that Black Hawk made an impassioned plea to the residents of the Sauk village on the Iowa River to accompany him on his return to Saukenuk. Keokuk answered this call by entreating members of the tribes not to follow Black Hawk, but to remain neutral instead. This exchange has become known as the "Council on the Iowa" (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(e)).
Keokuk was successful in keeping most of the Sauk and Mesquakie neutral. Black Hawk recrossed the Mississippi River with about 1,000 followers on April 5, 1832, beginning a series of clashes known as the Black Hawk War (Nichols 1982: 240; Wallace 1982: 277). Detailed accounts of that summer’s events, and the episodes that led to it, are presented in Nichols (1982) and Wallace (1982), respectively.

Black Hawk’s efforts that summer were ill-fated, and many of his followers were killed when they attempted to retreat. Black Hawk, his two sons, Nasheaskuk and Nasomsee; Waubakeeshik (Waboshashieek), a Sauk-Winnebago known as the Prophet, his brother and two sons; and four other followers, Neopope, We-sheet Ioway, Pamaho, and Chakeepashipaho were imprisoned first at Jefferson Barracks near St. Louis and then at Fortress Monroe in Virginia (Kappler 1904:350).

After his release in 1833, Black Hawk returned to his people on the west side of the Mississippi River, and ended his efforts to regain the ceded lands (Dockstader 1977: 36). He remained at peace with the United States throughout the rest of his life.

Shortly after Black Hawk’s death in 1838, a Euro-American settler in the region robbed his grave. Eventually, Black Hawk’s remains were retrieved. They were placed in a museum in Burlington, Iowa, where they were destroyed by fire in 1855 (Wallace 1982: 288).

Appanoose was a third Sauk leader prominent in the mid-nineteenth century. Information about Appanoose is conflicting. Some sources report that Appanoose’s father was Taimah (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h): Street to Clark, 9 May 1835, File 357). When Taimah died in the early 1830s Appanoose assumed his father’s position
(Kurtz 1986: 262). Most documents record, however, that Taimah was a Mesquakie chief, while Appanoose was a Sauk chief (Kurtz 1986: 253, 256).

Wallace considered Taimah a Mesquakie leader and Appanoose a Sauk, but acknowledged that Appanoose is sometimes identified as a Mesquakie chief (Wallace 1982: 278-279). Wallace did not mention any familial connection between these individuals. Moreover, he cited one document, written in July 1832, that indicated that both men were leaders at that time. This suggests that Appanoose did not assume his leadership role after the death of Taimah. These discrepancies in the historic record can not be rectified presently.

It is not known when Appanoose was born; however, his name is said to mean "He who was a Chief when a Child" (Kappler 1904: 496). Appanoose headed a village along the Des Moines River from 1834 until about 1841. After that date, records no longer mention him as a village leader. Sources indicate that he participated in treaty negotiations in the fall of 1842 and he is listed as one of the headmen that signed that treaty (Kappler 1904: 548). Thereafter, little mention is made of him.

Wishecomaque, or Hardfish, was a Sauk follower of Black Hawk, participating in the Black Hawk War (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 20 May 1841). Less than two years after Black Hawk's death, Wishecomaque established a new village -- containing both Sauk and Mesquakie -- along the Des Moines River (National Archives 1956b: Minutes of Council, 29 January 1841). Agent Beach protested the establishment of this village, arguing that it was in violation of
the 1832 treaty (National Archives 1956b: Chambers to Crawford, 24 May 1841). That treaty stipulated that Black Hawk's followers were to be divided amongst the other villages and were never to be allowed to congregate. Ultimately, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs enjoined Beach to be more tolerant, and Wishecomaque's village was not disbanded.

In the early 1840s Wishecomaque led the faction arguing for annuity payments to household heads, rather than to chiefs. That faction's portion of the 1841 annuity payment was distributed to heads of households (M. Green 1974: 155).

Wishecomaque led his band to its reservation in the fall of 1845, as required by the 1842 treaty.

Mesquakie Leaders

Poweshiek and Wapello were headmen of the Mesquakie. Poweshiek, born into the Bear clan about 1813, became a headman sometime before 1832 (Dockstader 1977:224). He was not a hereditary chief; instead, this duty fell to him after the murder of a number of Mesquakie chiefs in 1830 (Waseskuk 1978: 58). Most Euro-American sources describe him as an even-handed leader with a commanding presence (Anonymous 1883: 292). A Mesquakie historian gives a different portrayal. Bertha Waseskuk wrote:

Thus he became chief in name only, rather than by heredity as is the custom among the Mesquakie. Bad judgment often causes hardship for a people. At a time when the reins of this tribe should have been kept taut, they were thrown into the hands of one who put personal glory ahead of duty (Waseskuk 1978: 58).
Poweshiek was the "money chief" of the Mesquakie tribe. The village locations selected by his band were on the Iowa River or the Skunk River -- locations far removed from the Indian agencies. These distances insured that the village inhabitants would not have regular contact with the agent, and may account for the more conservative stance on many issues taken by this band.¹

In accordance with the 1842 treaty, Poweshiek's band headed southwestward in October 1845. The band was not anxious to leave, and so tarried along the way. Many members of the band took up residence among the Potawatomi in southwest Iowa. As late as September 1846 -- a year after they were to have arrived -- Agent Beach lamented that only one-fifth of the Mesquakie had come to the reservation (Beach 1976: Beach to Harvey, 1 September 1846).

It is unclear when, or if, Poweshiek made it to the reservation. In 1850, the Mesquakie began acquiring land in Tama County, Iowa. In 1856, the State Legislature passed a law sanctioning these purchases, and shortly thereafter more members of the Mesquakie tribe arrived. By this time leadership of the band had been returned to the hereditary chief (Waseskuk 1978: 58).

Some Johnson County, Iowa history books refer to Poweshiek's sub-chief, Wapashashiek or Wobokashiek (Anonymous 1883: 292-293; Huff 1868: 64-67). Little is known about this individual.

Sources reporting Wapashashiek as a sub-chief of Poweshiek are confusing because this name is very similar to Wabokieshiek, Black Hawk's confidante, the Prophet (Jackson 1955: 2). The Prophet was
Sauk-Winnebago, however, so it is doubtful that he would have been considered Poweshiek’s sub-chief.

An individual whose name is recorded variously as Waw-pee-shaw-kaw (1832), Waa-pa-shar-kon (1837), and Wa-pa-sha-kon (1842) signed the treaties of 1832, 1837, and 1842 as a representative of the Mesquakie tribe. The English translation of his name is given as White Skin (Kappler 1904: 351, 496). These may be references to the same individual called Wapashashiek in the Johnson County histories (Kappler 1904: 351, 496, 549).

Adding to the confusion, one of the county histories that speaks of Wapashashiek as Poweshiek’s sub-chief mentions Totokonock as Black Hawk’s prophet (Anonymous 1883: 290, 293). This source indicates that Totokonock left the region, joining the Winnebago shortly after the 1837 treaty was signed. No primary sources mentioning an individual named Totokonock have been found. He is not listed in either the 1841 census nor the 1842 annuity payment, two documents which list heads of households. The agent’s correspondence does not mention this name. He was not a signatory to any of the treaties from 1832 to 1845 (Kappler 1904: 351, 475, 478, 496, 548-549). Kurtz compiled lists of Sauk and Mesquakie chiefs mentioned in documents dating from 1818 through 1845: the name Totokonock was not found (Kurtz 1986: 250-253).

Wapello, a second leader of the Mesquakie, headed a village on the west side of the Mississippi in 1832, and perhaps for some years earlier. He was born in 1787 in Prairie du Chien (Anonymous 1883: 292). Through part of the period under study, his followers were
divided into two villages, occupied simultaneously. Documents distinguish between "Wapello’s Des Moines River band" and "Wapello’s Skunk River band."

Wapello was on good terms with Agent Joseph Street and was saddened by Street’s death in 1840. Wapello died in March 1842, and in keeping with his expressed desires, he was buried next to Street (J. M. Street n.d.: Receipt, Beach and Hardisty, 18 March 1842).

Records are sketchy, but it appears that Kishkekosh succeeded Wapello as leader of the Skunk River band. After 1843, the village headed by Kishkekosh may have been on the Skunk River in present-day Jasper County.

Within a year after Wapello’s death, his Des Moines River band had moved farther up the river in compliance with the latest treaty. This village, occupied for only one year, was still referred to as Wapello’s village. Another Mesquakie village, led by Pasheshemone, was formed in 1843. This village was probably composed of those formerly recognized as Wapello’s Des Moines River band.

Agents

In 1789, the United States established a policy of assigning agents to Indian tribes. These government agents were to enforce United States laws, policies, and treaties that removed tribes from their traditional lands. The agent was expected to foster social and cultural change among the Indians, drawing them into the mainstream of American life. At the same time, agents were to protect the rights of the Native Americans (Gallaher 1916a: 30-31, 36-37).
Early agents tended to have experience in trapping and trading, while later agents tended to be trained at the United States Military Academy. They were political appointees and, often, family and business connections netted them their jobs (Gallaher 1916a: 29).

Ruth Gallaher provided a useful guide to Sauk and Mesquakie agents (Gallaher 1916b). Her article has been used extensively in preparing the following chronology.

Nicholas Boilvin was the first United States Indian agent assigned to the region occupied by these tribes. He had a number of tribes under his jurisdiction.

Thomas Forsyth was appointed agent to the Sauk and Mesquakie in 1819. Remnants of his correspondence have been preserved (Blair 1912; Forsyth n.d.; Tanner 1987). Forsyth seems to have had a good rapport with the Sauk and Mesquakie. He did not have an equally good relationship with his supervisor, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, William Clark. Forsyth fell into disfavor with Clark and was dismissed in 1830. He was replaced by Felix St. Vrain. St. Vrain’s tenure was short: he was murdered after only two years in office.

Joshua Pilcher, a long-time trader, was temporarily appointed agent in May 1832. He served until December 1832, when Marmaduke S. Davenport was appointed. Davenport’s tenure was also short: he was dismissed in 1834 when sweeping changes were made in the administration of Indian Affairs (Gallaher 1916a).
In 1834, Joseph Street was named agent to the Sauk and Mesquakie. Street had become an Indian agent in 1827, when he had been assigned to Prairie du Chien as agent to the Winnebago.

Prior to his appointment as agent, Street was serving as clerk of court in Shawneetown, Illinois. Previously, he had practiced law and had published a newspaper in Kentucky (M. Green 1965: 58).

Street was deeply committed to his family. Much of his correspondence reflects his affection for his wife and children, and his disappointment when his position separated him from them for long periods.

He also seems to have been fairly even-handed in carrying out his duties as agent. While he was loyal to the United States and carried out the orders he received, he occasionally wrote lengthy letters decrying government policies which had deleterious effects upon the Indians.

On several occasions, Street was accused of giving preferential treatment to certain trading establishments. Government investigations of these accusations concluded that Street had acted appropriately (Gallaher 1916b: 381-383).

Street continued as Sauk and Mesquakie agent until his death in 1840, whereupon the position was transferred to his son-in-law, John Beach. Beach served until the fall of 1847 (J. M. Street n.d.; Beach 1976).

Beach, a native of Massachusetts, trained at the United States Military Academy at West Point (Powell 1967: 185). He graduated in May 1832, and was immediately assigned to Fort Armstrong, on Rock
Island, as disbursing agent. When he arrived, the Black Hawk War was underway.

His duties as disbursing agent included distributing the Winnebago and the Sauk and Mesquakie annuities. It may have been in this role that he first met Joseph M. Street. In August 1837 he married Street’s daughter, Lucy Frances, took a six month furlough, and went to the East to visit his father (Davenport n.d.: Street to Davenport, 19 August 1837). By March 1838, Beach was stationed in New York on recruiting service (J. M. Street n.d.: Davenport to Street, 4 March 1838).

Beach suffered a partial hearing loss, necessitating his departure from the military in 1838. This problem was not disabling, and he soon got a job at the land office in Dubuque (M. Green 1965: 61). He was living in Dubuque when Joseph Street became ill early in 1840. When it became clear Street would not recover, his relatives began lobbying for a family member to be named as his successor (Gallaher 1916b: 383). Beach received his appointment as Indian agent days after Street’s death. He assumed his duties on June 19, 1840 (Beach 1976: Beach to Crawford, 24 June 1840).

Beach’s correspondence reflects his training as a military officer. He cited the appropriate regulation for each activity he undertook. Beach’s correspondence also shows that he held his views passionately. Shortly after his appointment as agent, he became embroiled in an argument with the first Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Robert Lucas. The argument centered on the need to disband Wishecomaque’s village, which had
been established in apparent violation of the 1832 treaty. Within a few months the disagreement had escalated to the point where Beach wrote:

But I must regret that legal necessity subjects me to the caprices of so unreasonable a superior (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Lucas, 2 February 1841).

Beach was spared Lucas' reaction to this statement, since the incoming President, William Henry Harrison, dismissed Lucas and appointed John Chambers as Territorial Governor.

Like his predecessor, Beach was accused of favoring certain traders. Whether Beach actually gave preferential treatment to some traders during his tenure in Iowa Territory has not been satisfactorily answered. It is well within the realm of possibility: similar accusations led to his resignation in 1847, after the Sauk and Mesquakie had removed from Iowa Territory (Trennert 1981: 141).

Evidence from the historic record suggests Beach showed some favoritism. The Ewing brothers, traders amongst the Sauk and Mesquakie, complained bitterly that Beach favored rival firm Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company. In 1843, the Ewing brothers stopped complaining about the agent's actions. Their complaints stopped about the same time as they hired Alexander Street -- Beach's brother-in-law -- as chief clerk. 4

There is strong evidence that in the fall of 1843, the Ewings and Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company had agreed to split all profits derived from the trade with the Sauk and Mesquakie 5. It seems unlikely that Beach would have been unaware of this arrangement.
Beach suffered some personal tragedies during his tenure as Indian agent and in his later years. His wife, Lucy F. Street Beach, died shortly after the birth of their daughter. The child, Lucy Elizabeth, died when she was four months old.

After he resigned as agent in 1847, he returned to Agency, Iowa, where he became a merchant. Beach died in 1874. Shortly before his death, he wrote a series of articles about his life as an agent for the Agency Independent (Beach 1874).

Other Indian agency employees are mentioned frequently in the records, although little else is known about them. Prominent names include Josiah Smart, interpreter, and Charles Withington and Harvey Sturdevant, smiths.

Traders

Two major trading houses, as well as several independent traders, transacted business with the Sauk and Mesquakie during the period under study. John Jacob Astor’s American Fur Company had traded with the tribes for many years.

Astor tried to monopolize the trade. When his attempts to drive competitors from the trade proved unsuccessful, he often convinced them to join him. Pierre Chouteau Jr. of St. Louis, whose family had long been active in the fur trade, became manager of the American Fur Company’s St. Louis operation. When the American Fur Company was reorganized in 1834, Chouteau took over the Western Department, which included the Sauk and Mesquakie trade. He first formed Pratte,
Chouteau and Company; in 1838, the firm was renamed Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company (Foley and Rice 1983: 189; Trennert 1981: 61).

Russell Farnham, George Davenport, and interpreter Antoine LeClaire had worked for Astor for a number of years and continued as the Company’s principal traders through the fall of 1832 and perhaps later. Davenport and LeClaire were granted sizeable parcels of land in the Treaty of 1832. Their trading activities lessened over the following years, as the Indians moved westward and Euro-American settlers moved into the area.

Other employees of the American Fur Company in 1832 included Wharton McPherson, Moses Stillwell and Andrew St. Amant. Little is known about these individuals.

The reorganized American Fur Company -- operating as the Chouteau firm after 1834 -- remained the principal trader with the tribes through the period under study.

William Phelps and his brother Stephen were independent traders from about 1830 -- or perhaps a little earlier -- until 1834 or 1835, when they joined the American Fur Company, or its successor, the Chouteau firm, as proprietors of the Sauk Outfit. There is conflicting evidence about the date of their joining the Company. Cutting Marsh, a missionary who visited the area, stated that William Phelps was in competition with the Company in August 1834 (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 154). Caroline Phelps, William Phelps’ wife, indicated that the family joined the American Fur Company sometime between spring 1834 and fall 1834 or fall 1835 (Phelps 1930: 217-
Kurtz' findings suggest the Phelps' joined the Company shortly after June 1835 (Kurtz 1986: 276-278).

Stephen Phelps ran the business from Oquawka, Illinois, while William, his wife Caroline, and their children resided among the Sauk and Mesquakie. Their posts were primarily along the Des Moines River (Phelps 1930). They followed the tribes to their new reserve in the fall of 1845 (Beach 1976).

John Gilbert manned an Iowa River post for the Chouteau firm from at least 1836 until 1837. He may have been in the vicinity much earlier, working for another trading firm (Huff 1868: 66). Gilbert, born John W. Prentice, was a native of New York state. After losing heavily in investments on eastern canals, he came west and assumed his new name (Huff 1868: 66). Gilbert left Chouteau's employ to become an independent trader in 1837. Gilbert died in March 1839 (Huff 1868: 66; Mansheim 1989: 17).

When Gilbert resigned from Chouteau's company, Wheten Chase -- Stephen Phelps' brother-in-law -- moved to the company's Iowa River post (Anonymous 1883: 301).

Peter and William Avery were also in the employ of the American Fur Company and probably worked as well for its successors, known as Pratte, Chouteau and Company and subsequently as Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company. As early as 1832 they had established a post along the Des Moines River, near the later town of Iowaville. They are also said to have had trading houses at Farmington, Bonaparte, Kilbourne, and Douds (Jordan n.d.).
In 1840, brothers George Washington Ewing and William George Ewing of Fort Wayne, Indiana opened a trading house amid the Sauk and Mesquakie villages (Trennert 1981). They had been trading with more easterly tribes since 1827. The firm’s first license to trade with the Sauk and Mesquakie listed George Hunt as chief clerk. Later, the Ewings replaced Hunt by hiring John Parmalee as resident manager. When Parmalee resigned, the Ewings hired Alexander Street, John Beach’s brother-in-law (Beach 1976).

An independent trader, Jabbish P. Eddy, opened his establishment amongst the tribes in 1840. Eddy quit the trade in May 1843, when the Sauk and Mesquakie were moved farther up the Des Moines River (Beach 1976; Eddy n.d.). He became a settler, founding the town of Eddyville, Iowa near where his trading house had been.

James Jordan had entered the trade in the 1830s, although the exact date is unknown. He is said to have traded with the Sauk and Mesquakie in present-day Jones County, Iowa in 1832 (Norlin 1990). He must have located along the lower Des Moines River at least by November 1834, as an account book bearing that date has survived (Jordan n.d.). An incomplete typescript entitled "Recollections of James H. Jordan," by Robert Sloan is included in the Jordan papers (Jordan n.d.). According to this essay, James Jordan was born in 1806. He settled in St. Louis in 1822 and entered the Indian trade. In 1835, he located along the Des Moines River near where the town of Iowaville was later founded (Jordan n.d.).

Jordan was a friend of Black Hawk, and the two men had adjoining cabins at the time Black Hawk died.
Jordan requested a license to trade from Beach in 1841. Beach felt that Jordan applied for the license simply because he wanted permission to remain in Indian country. Beach granted the license, but specified that the post had to be established on the Iowa River (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 31 July 1841; Chambers to Crawford, 10 August 1841). Jordan, already settled on the Des Moines, declined this offer. He removed from Indian country, but remained near the boundary line. When a future treaty cession opened the lands to Euro-American settlement, he returned to his claim.

Cousins John B. and Willson Alexander Scott were hired as foragers and farmers for the garrison at Fort Des Moines #2. In mid-July 1844, they supplemented their income by receiving a license to trade with the Sauk and Mesquakie (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 19 July 1844). John B. Scott followed the tribes to their new reservation in 1845, while Willson Alexander Scott remained, becoming one of the founders of the town of East De Moine.

Yet another trader was John H. Whistler. He was granted his license on March 13, 1845. John Whistler was from the Chicago area, the son of William Whistler, who commanded Fort Dearborn in the early 1830s. Whistler's brother-in-law was Robert A. Kinzie, sutler at Fort Des Moines #2 (Barry 1972: 579).

Several other individuals are named frequently in records concerning the trade. These men served as assistant clerks and interpreters, rather than as managers of trading houses. In many instances, these individuals are named on the licenses of competing traders. Many of these individuals were of Indian/Euro-American
descent. Prominent names include Thompson Connolly, Simpson Vessar (or Vassar), James Muir, and W. E. Jaynes.

Military Personnel

Lt. Col. Stephen Watts Kearny served as commander of Fort Des Moines #1 from 1834 until 1836, when he was promoted to colonel and transferred to Fort Leavenworth. He was replaced by Lt. Col. R. B. Mason. Kearny had a "take-charge" attitude. He was not shy about taking his concerns to higher levels. When he was unable to get a response from the appropriate military personnel, he simply wrote directly to the Secretary of War -- an action which met with considerable success.

Kearny also never hesitated to complain. To his mind, the troops were not adequately drilled, construction work on Fort Des Moines #1 proceeded too slowly, the buildings were of inferior quality, and supplies did not arrive on time.

Some of his complaints were justified. He ordered carbines in 1834. Despite repeated pleas, he did not receive them until 1836. His letter of acknowledgement to the Adjutant General reads:

The carbines which I required as necessary to arm my Command on November 12, 1834, were received March 26th 1836. Comment, I deem unnecessary (National Archives 1834a: Kearny to Jones, 1 April 1836).

Three companies of dragoons served under the commander at Fort Des Moines #1: Companies B, H, and I.

Another officer prominent in the history of Fort Des Moines #1 was Lt. Albert M. Lea. Lea led an exploratory expedition in 1835.
The descriptive report and detailed map he prepared at the end of this journey are extremely important documents. Shortly after completing this expedition, Lea left the military. He subsequently published a version of his report and the accompanying map, entitled *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory* (Lea 1935).

Fort Des Moines #1 was abandoned in 1837. A second military post, Fort Sanford, was established in the fall of 1842. The dragoons and infantry manning that post were ordered there from Fort Atkinson, a post in present-day Winneshiek County, Iowa. Captain James Allen led the troops at Fort Sanford.

Fort Sanford was abandoned less than a year after its founding. In May 1843, the garrison at that fort moved to the mouth of the Raccoon River and established Fort Des Moines #2. Captain James Allen was again placed in charge of the garrison.

James Allen was trained at the United States Military Academy at West Point. In 1832, he was given a special assignment as an engineer and was ordered to accompany Henry Rowe Schoolcraft on his journey to find the headwaters of the Mississippi River (Allen 1832). Allen was not a talented topographical engineer. Twelve years after the Schoolcraft/Allen expedition, the pre-eminent geographer Joseph N. Nicollet mapped the waters of the Mississippi basin. Nicollet found Allen’s work completely unacceptable (Bray 1970: 41, 103, 121, 130).

Two companies of dragoons and one of infantry were stationed at Fort Des Moines #2. The reports of two officers, J. Hadyn Potter and J. R. B. Gardenier, were of particular value to this research.
A number of civilians were affiliated with the fort. John B. and Willson A. Scott have been mentioned already. They provided forage for the fort. Robert A. Kinzie, also previously mentioned, served as fort sutler. In August 1843, Captain Allen granted Kinzie a license to trade with the Sauk and Mesquakie. Beach was infuriated by this action. He quickly pointed out that only agents, sub-agents, and superintendents of Indian affairs could grant licenses. The War Department supported Beach’s position in this disagreement and reprimanded Allen for his actions.

Kinzie then applied to Beach for a license. Beach granted it, but the license specified that the trading house had to be on the east side of the Des Moines River. Kinzie found this unsatisfactory, since the sutler’s store was inside the fort, to the west of the Des Moines River.

Beach refused to alter Kinzie’s license to allow him to trade inside the fort. Soon after, Beach notified Kinzie that he had learned that army regulations precluded sutlers from engaging in the Indian trade. This resulted in another confrontation between Allen and Beach. The War Department again supported Beach’s view. The matter was dropped until March 1845, when Kinzie’s brother-in-law, John H. Whistler, requested a trading license. Beach granted this license. Kinzie and Captain Allen secured Whistler’s bond.

Another person prominent during the period under consideration was John D. Parmalee. Parmalee was resident manager for the House of
Ewing from 1841 until 1843. He left its employ about the time he received a contract to construct and operate a mill on Middle River. This mill, intended to supply Fort Des Moines #2, was commissioned by the garrison, but privately operated. Captain Allen was Parmalee's business partner in this venture.

Other civilians who provided services to Fort Des Moines #2 included Thomas Mitchell, who built the bridge over Camp Creek and ran a way-station for travelers; Peter Newcomer, who maintained the bridge over Four Mile Creek; Josiah Thrift, who served as garrison tailor; and William Lamb and Alexander Turner who provided forage to the garrison.
CHAPTER 3
IDENTIFICATION OF DOCUMENTS

Documentary evidence from the period is extensive. The variety of source materials includes maps, reports by government agents, records kept by traders, and travelers' and explorers' accounts. During the period under study, the Sauk and Mesquakie were visited by a number of individuals who left written accounts. These included Cutting Marsh, a cleric with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who traveled to several of the Sauk and Mesquakie villages in 1834 (Chapin 1900: 25; Wight and Thwaites 1900: 104) and George Catlin, who visited the villages in 1835 and 1836 (DeVoto 1947: 401, 452).

The records left by these travelers provide glimpses of the Sauk and Mesquakie at specific times. In contrast, the documents left by Indian agents and military personnel provide a more continuous record. These reports aid in documenting when shifts in village location and leadership occurred. Reports of several exploratory journeys conducted by the United States military also contain valuable information.

Traders also left some important records. Their account books list items stocked, thus providing clues to the types of portable artifacts which may have endured to become part of the archaeological record.

Both primary and secondary sources were used in this research. Collections of Indian agency and military records curated by the
National Archives were studied. Its cartographic records were
utilized as well.

The State Historical Society of Iowa houses General Land Survey
notes and maps for the State, some of Indian agent Joseph Street’s
correspondence, and a number of other manuscripts and maps useful to
this project. The Society’s library also has an extensive collection
of late nineteenth- and early twentieth- century county histories.

Selected materials from other repositories were used. The Putnam
Museum in Davenport, Iowa, holds the only known copies of the
Burlington Hawkeye June to August 1843. The State Historical Society
of Wisconsin curates the papers of missionary Cutting Marsh, and has
reproduced these on microfilm. The Oklahoma Historical Society
houses Indian agent John Beach’s letterbook. It, too, is available
on microfilm. The Missouri Historical Society holds the extensive
Pierre Chouteau-Maffitt collection, containing records from the
Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company trading establishment. Microfilm
copies of selected records from this collection were used.

The following discussion of sources is limited to the two main
repositories visited: the National Archives in Washington D.C., and
the State Historical Society of Iowa in Des Moines, Iowa. All of the
materials used are not mentioned; rather sources of particular
importance are highlighted.

National Archives, Washington D.C.

The National Archives arranges its collections by Record Group,
Subgroup, Series, File Unit, and Record. A Record Group is the
largest unit of related records, and consists of (1) records created or received by a unit of the federal government or (2) records that related to a particular area of government concern (National Archives 1986: 1-3).

Major Record Groups (RG) of importance to this study include Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75), Records of the Office of the Secretary of War (RG 107), Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780-1917 (RG 94), Records of United States Regular Army Mobile Units 1821-1942 (RG 391), and Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (RG 77).

The National Archives has produced a number of guides to these records. Especially helpful sources included "Preliminary Inventory No. 163, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs" (Hill 1965); Guide to Records in the National Archives of the United States Relating to American Indians (Hill 1981); "American Indians: A Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications" (National Archives Trust Fund Board 1984); "Cartographic Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs" (Kelsay 1977); "Cartographic Records Relating to the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1846" (National Archives 1971); and "Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Adjutant General's Office" (Pendell and Bethel 1949).

Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75)

The Office, or Bureau, of Indian Affairs was established as an informal division within the War Department in 1824. In 1832, Congress created the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The
Commissioner reported to the Secretary of War until 1849, when the Department of the Interior was created (Hill 1981: 15, 24).

Bureau of Indian Affairs records include information on tribal population and modes of subsistence (and government attempts to modify these), as well as administrative matters such as buildings, supplies, accounts, employees, removal, annuity payments, claims, complaints, and traders (Hill 1974: 3).

Hill has written an historical sketch of each of the Bureau’s field offices from 1824 to 1880 (Hill 1974: 1). These sketches provide summaries of jurisdictional changes for each field office, and thus are essential to an understanding of where to look for particular records.

General correspondence was kept in files of letters received and copy books of letters sent. Letters received by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were arranged primarily by field units of the Bureau: superintendencies and agencies. Some correspondence was placed in Special Files.

Superintendents had general responsibility for Indian affairs within a specific geographic area (often a territory), supervising relations between tribes and between Indians and non-Indians, and overseeing the agent’s work.

Agents were assigned to specific tribes and were charged with maintaining peace, inducing Indians to cede lands, and carrying out treaty provisions, including the distribution of money and goods (Hill 1974: 1-2).
Within the jurisdictional files, correspondence was arranged by year. General correspondence received by the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been reproduced (National Archives 1956a, b, c).

Administrative responsibility for the Sauk and Mesquakie was shifted to several agencies and superintendencies during the interval under study. The St. Louis Superintendency, headed by William Clark, had responsibility for the Sauk and Mesquakie until 1836, when they were placed under the Wisconsin Superintendency (Hill 1974: 159). Governor Henry Dodge, ex-officio superintendent, served from 1836 to 1841 (Hill 1974: 210).

When Iowa Territory was created in 1838, the Iowa Superintendency was established, and responsibility was shifted from the Wisconsin Superintendency. Three men served as Governor and ex-officio superintendent during Iowa's Territorial period: Robert Lucas 1838-1841; John Chambers 1841-1845; and James Clarke 1845-1846. The Sauk and Mesquakie were reassigned to the St. Louis Superintendency when they emigrated in 1845 (Hill 1974: 158).

In addition to shifts in superintendencies, there were changes in agency administration. An agency for the Sauk and Mesquakie was in operation at least as early as 1821. This agent was primarily stationed at Rock Island, although he was sometimes at Prairie du Chien. Pertinent correspondence is filed under both "Prairie du Chien" and "Sac and Fox Agency" from 1824 until 1837 (Hill 1974: 150).

Under a reorganization plan of 1834, the Rock Island Agency was eliminated and the Sauk and Mesquakie were assigned to the Prairie du
Chien Agency. In a brilliant bureaucratic move, the same plan called for the Prairie du Chien Agency to be relocated from Prairie du Chien to Rock Island (Hill 1974: 143).

The reorganization of 1837 again provided for a separate agency for the Sauk and Mesquakie. In 1838, this agency was moved from Rock Island to the Des Moines River and was named the Sac and Fox Agency (Hill 1974: 151).

In the spring of 1843 a new agency, the Raccoon River Agency, was established farther west on the Des Moines River. In October 1845, that agency was abandoned as the tribes and their agent moved southwestward to a reservation in present-day Kansas (Hill 1974: 147).

Two items in the Special Files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs 1807-1904 provide important data (National Archives 1964a, 1964b). Special Files are comprised of correspondence, accounts, reports, and other records pertaining to specific claims or investigations (Hill 1965: 44).

File 15 covers the Sugar Creek and Soap Creek Mills (National Archives 1964a). Both were built in 1839, as part of the Sac and Fox Agency. The mills were destroyed by flooding within a year of their construction. The Soap Creek Mills were reconstructed in 1840, and destroyed by fire in 1842. Among other records, File 15 includes a copy of the contract for rebuilding the Soap Creek Mill (see Appendix A).

File 66 contains documents relating to the sale of the Sac and Fox Pattern Farm in 1843 (National Archives 1964b). Of particular
importance is a plat map of the farm, showing the positions of various structures.

Other sources of important data from the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are the books of contracts and bonds, which were maintained in the Bureau's Washington office. Copies of all contracts were to be entered into these books. Contracts for some of the buildings constructed at the Raccoon River Agency, as well as at Soap Creek Mills have been found in these records (National Archives 1967a, b). Excerpts from these contracts are included in Appendices A, B, and C).

Researchers can special order microfilm copies of specific documents from the National Archives. Staff of the Iowa Department of History and Archives (now the State Historical Society of Iowa) placed such an order in 1941 (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941). This special edition microfilm contains two records. The first is a two-volume set of the field notes from the survey which laid out the 1832 treaty boundary line. The map drawn at the conclusion of this survey also exists (National Archives 1835), and is described below. The map and survey notes, taken together, are critically important to the research reported herein.

The survey laying out the 1832 treaty boundary line was commenced on April 30, 1835, and completed some four months later. William Gordon originally contracted to conduct this survey. Other duties forced him to make alternate arrangements. With the permission of William Clark (Superintendent of Indian Affairs), he deputized Charles DeWard to survey in his stead (State Historical Society of
Iowa n.d. (h): Gordon to Clark, 9 October 1835, File 391). DeWard’s field notes record the courses and distances he traveled, prominent landscape features, and the positions of Sauk and Mesquakie villages.

The microfilm also includes the field notes of Charles Bracken, who surveyed the 1837 treaty boundary. Bracken’s field work was undertaken in 1838 and 1839. His notes are not as useful as DeWard’s for he failed to mention any Indian villages.

Numerous cartographic records from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75) were helpful to the research. Five maps are particularly significant:

1. Sprigg’s map of the Half Breed Tract (National Archives 1833) shows Thomas Riddick’s land claim bordering the Des Moines Rapids on the Mississippi River, and Toleman’s claim along the Des Moines River.

2. DeWard’s map of the 1832 treaty boundary (National Archives 1835) depicts the "Sac and Fox Reservation" enclosing "Keocuck’s principal village," "Wapalaw’s village" and two unnamed villages. "Pawochique’s village" is shown on the Red Cedar River, three or four miles outside the Sac and Fox Reservation. The map also shows "Keocuk’s village" on the Des Moines River.

This map was adjusted to the scale of the modern U.S.G.S. topographic map (1:500,000 scale) and overlaid on it. That procedure demonstrated that the historic map correlates very closely with the modern map. Field notes from this survey are also housed in the National Archives (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941). The notes are discussed above.
3. An undated "Map of the Tract of Land reserved for the Half Breeds of the Sacs & Foxes" shows the limits of the military reservation surrounding Fort Des Moines #1 (National Archives n.d. (d)).

4. Charles Bracken surveyed the boundary line as set forth in the 1837 treaty. Although unsigned, a map in the National Archives is surely the result of his work (National Archives c.1838). This map is important for its depiction of the precise treaty boundary. It shows the major rivers, but does not locate any villages. The field notes from this survey have been described above (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941).

5. An anonymous map, produced in c.1843, delineates the 1842 treaty boundary known as the 'Red Rock Line' (National Archives c.1843). The "supposed position of Powasheek's Village" is shown to the west of the line, in present-day Jasper County. A poor quality photostatic copy of this map is available in the National Archives. Archives staff were unable to locate the original in September 1989.

**Records of the Adjutant General's Office (RG 94)**

Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office 1780s-1917, contains muster rolls for Company I, First Dragoons, for April 1834 through December 1840 (National Archives 1834b). This includes the entire period that Fort Des Moines #1 was occupied. Muster rolls, completed every two months, provide a wealth of data on the population of a fort and the health of its personnel, as well as a
record of events. These rolls also list the name of every individual stationed at the post, date enlisted, and duty status.

This Record Group also contains the "Outline Index of Military Forts and Stations." This index provides summary information on United States military posts occupied between 1700 and 1900. The index was created in the 1880s (National Archives 1972: 1).

In addition, the Adjutant General's Office maintained a series of loose records called the reservation files. These files contain information on the tracts of land surrounding forts which were reserved for military purposes. Files are maintained for Fort Des Moines (the file includes information on both forts #1 and #2) and Fort Sanford (National Archives n.d. (a), n.d. (b)). These files include copies of orders establishing and abandoning the forts, some correspondence, and bibliographic references to published materials concerning the forts. They also include typescript copies of articles prepared by the United States War Department. These articles were published in the Annals of Iowa (United States War Department 1898: 351-363; 1899: 161-178; 1900: 289-293).

Of particular interest in the Fort Des Moines file was an original sketch entitled "Map of Fort Des Moines and Vicinity." This map was published in 1899 (United States War Department 1899: facing page 161). Researchers had suspected that this sketch was drawn in the late nineteenth century as an illustration to the 1899 Annals of Iowa article, but no evidence had been found to confirm this suspicion. It is now certain that the sketch dates to the last decade of the nineteenth century.
An important piece of original correspondence in the Fort Des Moines reservation file is a letter dated September 8, 1835, from 2nd Lt. Albert Lea to Lt. Col. Stephen Watts Kearny. The letter describes Lea's journey down the Des Moines River from its junction with the Raccoon River to its mouth (National Archives n.d.(a): Lea to Kearny, 8 September 1835).

Records of the Bureau of Land Management (RG 49)

Very few materials in the Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49, were consulted, but some important records were found. Once a military reservation was no longer needed for military purposes, the Adjutant General returned control over the land to the General Land Office. The General Land Office maintained the "Abandoned Military Reservations File," which includes data on the creation, appraisal, and disposition of military tracts (National Archives 1972: 1, 5).

The Abandoned Military Reservations File contains one item regarding Fort Des Moines #1 (National Archives n.d.(c)). This letter reads, in part:

...I enclose a map showing site of Fort Des Moines and limits of the reservation adjoining it, which this Dept. is advised by Col. Kearney will be required for military purposes (National Archives n.d.(c): Cass to Brown, 22 October 1835).

A note on the letter advises that the map was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in April 1836. This letter is important, for it may help date a map found in Record Group 75 (National Archives n.d.(d)).
Jenifer T. Sprigg subdivided the Half Breed Tract in 1832 and 1833. His field notes are included in the records of the General Land Office, and have been reproduced on microfilm (National Archives 1979). The map drawn from these notes has been discussed above (National Archives 1833).

The plats and field notes of the original land surveys are important records of the Bureau of Land Management. The copies used in this research, however, are housed at the State Historical Society of Iowa, and so are discussed under that repository.

Records of the United States Regular Army Mobile Units (RG 391)

The Records of United States Regular Army Mobile Units 1821-1942 (RG 391) contain some valuable sources for understanding the three military posts being studied. A volume entitled "Letters Sent by a Detachment of Dragoons August 1834-1837" represents the letterbook of the detachment’s commanding officer (National Archives 1834a). Lt. Col. Stephen Watts Kearney led these troops until his promotion in the summer of 1836. Lt. Col. R. B. Mason succeeded him. The majority of the letters were written from Fort Des Moines #1.

Kearny’s strong personality and his attitudes toward the Indians are illustrated in these letters. They provide valuable insights into his character.

The correspondence gives a good overview of life at the fort, recording problems of securing supplies, expeditions by fort personnel, and events in the vicinity. Of particular importance to
this study are the numerous comments regarding the construction and maintenance of Fort Des Moines #1.

**Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (RG 77)**

Cartographic materials from the Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (RG 77) locate a number of Indian villages, trading houses, and military installations. Important records include Robert E. Lee's map of the Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi River (National Archives 1837), John C. Fremont's map of the Des Moines River below the mouth of the Raccoon River (National Archives 1841), and J. Haydn Potter's map of a military expedition in 1844 (National Archives 1844).

Lee's map is extremely valuable, for it depicts a number of structures along the Mississippi's western shore from the City of Keokuk northward to Fort Des Moines #1 (National Archives 1837). Many of these structures are labeled with the occupant's name. A number of these names are prominent in records of the trade. Perhaps more importantly, the map shows the position and layout of Fort Des Moines #1. The map was drawn just a few months after the fort was abandoned by the military; thus it provides a glimpse of the fort as it appeared immediately after its transfer to civilians.

John C. Fremont was assigned to survey and describe the lower and middle reaches of the Des Moines River in 1841. He began his journey at the Des Moines River's mouth in June 1841 (Jackson and Spence 1970: 115). He traveled overland to its junction with the Raccoon River. He then canoed down the Des Moines River. Along the way, he
Fremont's map appears to be extremely accurate when adjusted to the same scale as the modern U.S.G.S. base map (1: 500,000 scale) and overlaid upon it. Fremont's field notes have not yet been located by this researcher. A summary report, submitted to the Chief of Topographical Engineers, has been published (Jackson and Spence 1970: 115-121).

J. Haydn Potter was one of the officers stationed at Fort Des Moines #2. On his map, he located the fort and the villages of Wishecomaque, Keokuk, Pasheshemone, and Poweshiek. The military campaign recorded on this map was an exploratory journey undertaken in the summer and fall of 1844. Potter showed the position of each evening's campsite.

Potter's map was reduced to the same scale as the modern U.S.G.S. topographic map (1:500,000) and the two were compared. This exercise demonstrated that while Potter's map is generally reliable, there are some physiographic features which he clearly exaggerated.

Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General (Record Group 92) should contain a number of documents concerning the construction of the three military installations under consideration. These records have not been studied intensively. One undated map from this Record Group shows the layout of Fort Des Moines #1 (National Archives n.d.(e)). This map was probably drawn in the fall of 1834.
A number of primary and secondary sources held by the State Historical Society of Iowa were examined during the course of this study. Several of the individuals who played significant roles in the transfer of lands from Indian to Euro-American have left written records. These are included in the special collections of the Bureau of Library and Archives. The arrangement of these collections varies. Calendars and indices have been prepared for some groups of records. Others have not been arranged.

Selected correspondence of Joseph Montfort Street is preserved, having been arranged in a letterbook by Street's granddaughter (J. M. Street n.d.). Annotations of some documents were prepared by two of his sons.

Both incoming and outgoing correspondence is included. Documents relate primarily to Indian affairs although some pertain to other matters. The coverage is uneven, however. Numerous letters are included for some years; other years are represented by only one or two letters.

Other Street family correspondence is also held by the Society (J. H. D. Street n.d.). These include materials from three of his sons, and some items marked "miscellaneous." Within the miscellaneous file are Sauk and Mesquakie censuses from the 1840s.

The State Historical Society has a number of other records produced by United States government officials in the conduct of Indian affairs. In the early twentieth century the Society obtained photostatic copies of materials relating to the Sauk and Mesquakie at
the National Archives (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h)). These materials cover the years 1810 to 1840. They have been cataloged as "Sac and Fox Photostat Materials." The originals of these documents are probably in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75) at the National Archives.

Iowa's three Territorial Governors -- Robert Lucas, John Chambers, and James Clarke -- served as ex-officio Superintendents of Indian Affairs. The letterbook maintained by the Governor's office is preserved in the State Archives. This letterbook contains copies of outgoing correspondence related to Indian affairs. A microfilm copy of the letterbook was used in this research (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(c)).

The State Historical Society of Iowa also houses some of the original letters sent by the Territorial Governors to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Federal government returned these to the State of Iowa in 1901 (State Historical Society of Iowa 1970).

Traders in the region have left a few written records. The Society's Des Moines branch houses three pertinent collections: those of Davenport, Jordan, and Scott (Davenport n.d.; Jordan n.d.; Scott n.d.). The Davenport collection includes letters from both George Davenport and his son George L. Davenport. The James Jordan collection has not been arranged, so it is difficult to research. A few documents of significance to the study were located. The majority of the Willson Alexander Scott collection pertains to his later life, although a few records from the early 1840s relate to his years as a trader.
Public lands were surveyed and subdivided shortly after they were acquired by the United States. The State Archives houses the original plat maps from these surveys. In the late 1930s typescript copies of the field notes were prepared. Microfilm copies of the typed field notes and original plat maps were used in this research (Secretary of State 1938).

Other published and unpublished maps are included in the Society's holdings. Plat atlases from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century helped verify ownership of particular land parcels. Several original maps of areas now within the City of Des Moines were helpful in identifying the general location of the Raccoon River Agency (Millar 1854; 1856).

The State Museum was established in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Charles Aldrich, the first director of the museum, served until his death in 1903. He was succeeded by Edgar R. Harlan, who held the position until the 1930s. The post was then transferred to Orie Erb Klingaman. These three men -- especially Harlan -- were interested in Iowa's Indian history. Records relating to their efforts to research Sauk and Mesquakie history are contained in their correspondence files (Aldrich n.d.; Harlan n.d.; Klingaman n.d.)

Iowa Territory had its share of promoters. Several books extolling the virtues of the area west of the Mississippi River were published in the 1830s and 1840s. The Bureau of Library and Archives holds original copies of several of these, as well as twentieth-century reprints of some. This promotional literature includes works
by Galland (1921), Lea (1935), Newhall (1841) and (1846), and Williams (1840). These books contain much valuable locational information. They were written for promotional purposes, however, and so contain some exaggerations.

County histories, written in the second half of the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth centuries, were used extensively (Andrews 1908; Anonymous 1883; Aurner 1912; Dinwiddie 1915; Dixon 1876; Donnel 1872; Porter 1896; Sanford 1874; Springer 1912; Turrill 1857; Union Historical Company 1879, 1880; Waterman 1914; Weaver 1912; Western Historical Company 1878). While most of these histories are filled with ethnocentric opinions concerning the character of Native Americans, they are useful in documenting locations. They were written within the lifetimes of many of the original Euro-American settlers in Iowa. The histories contain interviews with some of the original settlers, and the topics covered in the interviews invariably included the locations of contemporary Indian villages.

Likewise, many articles published in history journals contain the reminiscences of early settlers (Anonymous 1897, 1921; Campbell 1867; Evans 1907; Fulton 1884; Huff 1868; Irish 1868; Spaulding 1901; W. Street 1895).

An extremely important historical record was printed in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society. The Society published a journal kept by Caroline Phelps, wife of trader William Phelps (Phelps 1930). This journal provides an invaluable account of one woman’s life in the fur trade.
At the time of publication, the manuscript was owned by Phelps’ granddaughter. It is not known whether the manuscript is still in private hands, or whether it has been donated to a public repository. The published version has no editorial remarks, so it is not known how closely the published version compares to the original manuscript. This creates a number of problems. For example, the dates of some events described in the journal are clearly incorrect. Are these merely typographical errors which occurred in printing, or are these the dates Caroline Phelps recorded?

Phelps’ journal is difficult to evaluate. Portions of it suggest that she recorded events shortly after they occurred; other segments suggest she was reminiscing about events which occurred years earlier. A careful reading of the journal yields the approximate date of most events.

The files of the Bureau of Historic Preservation also contain information of use to the study. Data gathered as a prelude to nominating a property to the National Register of Historic Places are housed in the Bureau’s files (State Historical Society n.d.(f), (g), (h); Upp n.d.). The Bureau also holds copies of the State’s archaeological site records.

The documents described on the preceding pages comprise the bulk of the written records used in this research. The documentary evidence is extensive, but of variable quality. Sources were compared to one another, and conflicting or corroborating evidence noted. Evidence for each historical location is presented in Chapter 5.
Several shifts in village location had occurred in the years immediately prior to the period under study. The Mesquakie had resided in a number of villages from the Turkey River and the Mines of Spain area (now the City of Dubuque, Iowa) southward to the mouth of the Rock River. The Sauk generally resided in the region south of the Mesquakie, from the Rock River to the mouth of the Des Moines River (Kurtz 1986: 21-30). Until the early 1830s, the main Sauk village was on the eastern side of the Mississippi, along the Rock River.

In 1830, Wynkoop Warner, subagent at Fever River, invited the Mesquakie to Prairie du Chien in an attempt to settle differences between the Mesquakie and the Sioux. The Mesquakie accepted, and the majority of their chiefs headed there. En route, they were ambushed by a party of Menominee, Sioux, and Winnebago. Only one member of the Mesquakie group survived. Following this catastrophe, the northern Mesquakie villages -- at Dubuque’s Mines, and at the mouth of the Wapsipinicon River, were abandoned and a new village was established nearer their Sauk allies (Wallace 1982: 273; Kurtz 1986: 28-29).

The ensuing years brought more shifts in village locations (Figures 3 and 4). The Black Hawk War was an attempt to retain possession of the village on Rock River, Saukenuk. Black Hawk’s defeat insured that the tribes would no longer visit Saukenuk. In
Figure 3. Movements of Sauk and Mesquakie villages from 1832 to 1845
addition to this loss, they were forced to relinquish possession of a wide strip of their territory adjoining the west bank of the Mississippi River.

The treaty ceding these lands was signed in the fall of 1832. A portion of the tribes, led by Appanoose, moved west by the spring of 1834, relocating on the Des Moines River (V6). Other portions were allowed to remain on a 400 square mile reserve along the lower reaches of the Iowa River (V1, V2, V3, V4, and V5).

This reserve was ceded to the United States a few years later, and the residents of those villages were displaced. Keokuk’s band migrated to the Des Moines River (V9). Wapello’s band maintained two villages, one on the Skunk River and one on the Des Moines River (V7, V12). Poweshiek’s village (V4) on the Red Cedar River was abandoned, but the Mesquakie retained possession of two villages on the Iowa River (V17, V18) for another two and one-half years.

In 1838, Keokuk moved his village about ten miles farther up the Des Moines River (V11). A year later Poweshiek and his followers moved upriver on the Iowa (V19, V21).

Trading establishments followed the tribes (Figures 5 and 6). George Davenport and Russell Farnham, agents of the American Fur Company, became less active in the trade after the initial land cession in Iowa occurred. They continued to reside along the Mississippi (T1), exchanging their life as traders for the more sedentary life of settlers. Antoine LeClaire, who served as interpreter for the Indian agent as well as having had an interest in the trade, followed this same pattern (T2). He was granted a large
parcel of land by the treaty of 1832. He founded the Town of Davenport, Iowa, on this land.

The progressive withdrawal of Davenport, Farnham and LeClaire roughly coincided with the reorganization of the American Fur Company. After 1834, in this region, the Company operated under the Chouteau name.

The Phelps brothers, who had been independent traders, moved into the Company positions vacated by Farnham and Davenport. William Phelps' establishments were centered along the Des Moines River (T5, T9), while in-laws of his brother Stephen manned posts along the Iowa (T12).

John Gilbert also entered the employ of the Company about the time that Davenport, Farnham, and LeClaire became less active. Gilbert traded primarily with Poweshiek's band, for his establishment was on the Iowa River (T10, T11).

The United States government became more directly involved in the lands west of the Mississippi after the Black Hawk War. In an attempt to secure the frontier, the War Department ordered the establishment of a regiment of dragoons, or mounted soldiers. One regiment, consisting of three companies, was ordered to the mouth of the Des Moines River in 1834 (F1). This post, referred to as Fort Des Moines #1 for it was the first of three United States military installations bearing that name, was abandoned in 1837. Upon abandonment, the companies returned to Fort Leavenworth (Figure 7).

About the time the Adjutant General's Office was ordering the abandonment of Fort Des Moines #1, another unit within the War
Department, the Office of Indian Affairs, was preparing to establish an Indian agency on Sauk and Mesquakie lands. Their agency had been at Rock Island until 1834. The Rock Island Agency was discontinued that year, and the agent at Prairie du Chien was given jurisdiction over them (Hill 1974: 143). Soon after, the agent at Prairie du Chien was instructed to move to Rock Island. The agent, Joseph M. Street, spent much of the next four years at Rock Island, making trips to visit his family at Prairie du Chien whenever practicable. The commanding officers at Fort Armstrong (Rock Island) and Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) had jurisdiction over Indian affairs whenever Street was at the other location.

In the fall of 1837, the Sauk and Mesquakie ceded more of their lands. In accordance with the treaty stipulations, the United States was to establish a pattern farm, a grist mill, and gunsmith and blacksmith shops for the tribes. The following spring, Street was instructed to select a site for the agency and the specified accoutrements.

The Sac and Fox Agency (A1), the Pattern Farm (A2), and the Sugar Creek (A3) and Soap Creek Mills (A4) were established in response to this order (Figure 8). For the agency, Street selected a site near the Sauk villages on the Des Moines River. The agency house was completed by December 1838 and Street moved into it. In spring 1839, his family joined him there.

Street resided there with his family only one year, for in May 1840 he died. Fearful of losing their home, family members used their political influence to urge the appointment of John Beach,
Figure 5. Locations of trading houses from 1832 to 1845
Figure 6. Trading house chronologies
Figure 8. Movements of United States Indian agencies
Street's son-in-law, as his successor. Their efforts paid off: Beach received his appointment and assumed his duties at the Sac and Fox Agency in June 1840.

In some of his initial correspondence as agent, Beach reported the establishment of a new Indian village. This village, led by Wishecomaque, or Hardfish, was on the Des Moines River (V14), about twenty miles upstream from the other villages.

New trading establishments appeared that year as well. J. P. Eddy, an independent trader, opened his store (T7) adjacent to Wishecomaque's village. Brothers George Washington and William George Ewing, expanded their trade to include the Sauk and Mesquakie in 1840. They, too, opened their store (T6) near Wishecomaque's village.

In the fall of 1841, the United States government sought another land cession from the tribes. The Sauk and Mesquakie rejected these offers. A large number of pioneers had been anticipating a new cession and were awaiting their opportunity to move onto these lands. This opportunity did not materialize and the agent tried to keep the Euro-Americans off Indian lands. The situation grew tense.

In the spring of 1842, the Indians along the Des Moines River moved still farther upstream, to the White Breast Creek area (V15). Some of the traders followed.

By the summer of 1842 Euro-American settlers made threats against agency property, set fire to portions of the property, and burned John Beach and Governor John Chambers, ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in effigy. These events led John Chambers to request
a military presence at the agency during the upcoming annuity payment and planned treaty negotiations. A company of dragoons and one of infantry were dispatched from Fort Atkinson to the Sac and Fox Agency.

The treaty negotiations resulted in the Sauk and Mesquakie ceding all of their remaining lands in Iowa Territory. The lands were ceded in two parcels. By the terms of the treaty, they could remain on all their lands until May 1, 1843. After that date, they were to move west of a line passing through the Red Rocks, a prominent rock outcrop near the confluence of White Breast Creek and the Des Moines River. They could remain on this western tract until October 11, 1845. Thereafter, they were to relocate to a reservation in present-day Kansas.

The dragoons were stationed near the Sac and Fox Agency through the remainder of 1842 and well into 1843 (F2). The barracks were established in a trading house abandoned by Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company (T9). This post, unofficially named Fort Sanford, was deserted in May 1843, when the military moved upstream to the mouth of the Raccoon River, there establishing Fort Des Moines #2 (F3).

Beach selected a site for the new agency about one mile east of Fort Des Moines #2. This facility was named the Raccoon River Agency (A5, A6).

In May 1843, the Sauk established two villages along the Des Moines River (V22, V23), and one band of Mesquakie located there also (V24). Poweshiek's band of Mesquakie, who had been residing on the
Iowa, moved to the Skunk River (V25). Another village, headed by Kishkekosh, may have been near Poweshiek’s village.

Two of the trading companies moved to locations convenient to the new villages. The Ewings’ post (T16) and Phelps’ trading house (T17) were along the Des Moines River. Eddy left the Indian trade, choosing instead to plat the town of Eddyville and there serve as a merchant to the incoming settlers.

A number of civilians moved into Indian country as attaches of the garrison at Fort Des Moines #2. They were allowed to remain in the area in exchange for providing services. They built mills, roads, bridges, and provided foodstuffs to the fort. Some of these men supplemented their incomes by procuring licenses to trade with the Sauk and Mesquakie.

Most of the Sauk and Mesquakie began their southwestward trek to their new lands as scheduled in the fall of 1845. Some were too ill to travel, and others were reluctant to go. The major trading firms followed the tribes to the Kansas reservation. Some of the smaller firms gave up the trade, choosing instead to become settlers. Beach closed the agency in the first days of October 1845. Most of the fort personnel left for their new assignments that fall also. Some remained until spring, to escort the remainder of the tribes and to dispose of the public property.

Military personnel succeeded only partially in their efforts to remove the Indians from the region, for the core of the Mesquakie tribe lingered in Iowa Territory. Eventually, some migrated to the reservation in Kansas, but a large contingent never left Iowa. In
the 1850s, these Mesquakie purchased land along the Iowa River in
Tama County, establishing the Mesquakie Indian Settlement.

Despite the limited success in removing the Mesquakie, the
military considered its task finished in the spring of 1846. Fort
Des Moines #2 was formally abandoned on March 10, 1846, completing
the transfer of lands from the Sauk and Mesquakie to their Euro­
American successors.
In 1832, the Sauk and Mesquakie maintained at least three villages: those of Keokuk (V1), Wapello (V2), and Poweshiek (V4). Two other villages, those of the Winnebago Prophet (V5) and Appanoose (V6), had been formed by 1834 (Table 1).

Keokuk’s Village (V1), Louisa County

Keokuk had moved west of the Mississippi by the spring of 1829\textsuperscript{11} (Springer 1912: 26; Wallace 1982: 269). His principal village was on the Iowa River, about twelve miles upstream from its mouth (Kappler 1904: 349). This village is sometimes called the "Council on the Iowa" site, as it is here that Keokuk is said to have tried to dissuade Black Hawk from re-crossing the Mississippi in the spring of 1832. Keokuk’s efforts were unsuccessful and Black Hawk’s attempts to regain the village of Saukenuk that summer resulted in the Black Hawk War. Black Hawk’s defeat forced the Sauk and Mesquakie to sign a treaty with the United States government relinquishing a strip of land adjacent to the Mississippi.

Keokuk had worked to keep the majority of both the Sauk and Mesquakie tribes neutral throughout the Black Hawk War. The United States repaid his efforts by naming him chief over both tribes. Although Euro-Americans recognized Keokuk as head of the village, the Sauk recognized Pashepaho, or the Stabber, as village leader (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 114). The United States also repaid Keokuk by
granting a 400 square mile reserve within the land cession. This tract was to be laid out beginning at:

...the boundary line crossing the Ioway river, in such manner that nearly an equal portion of the reservation may be on both sides of said river, and extending downwards, so as to include Ke-o-kuck’s principal village on its right bank, which village is about twelve miles from the Mississippi river (Kappler 1904: 349).

A detailed eye witness account of Keokuk’s village is provided by Cutting Marsh. He located it:

...upon the S. S. Eastern bank of the Lower Iowa river about 12 miles from its mouth where it empties into the Mississippi. It contains between 40 & 50 lodges, some however are 40 or 50 feet in length, constructed of bark and in the form of houses....There were probably as many as four or five hundred souls in it.

This village is situated at the northern extremity of a vast and delightful Prairie, extending for many miles south and west.

It was towards eve. of the 29th of August [1834] when I visited this village....I approached from the west having the prairie on the right and the river on the left ...(Wight and Thwaites 1900: 116).

The survey of the 1832 treaty cession was conducted by Charles DeWard in 1835 (National Archives 1835). His map depicts several villages, including "Keocuck’s principal village" on the right bank of the Iowa River (Figure 9). DeWard’s notes state that, at the time of the survey, this was Black Hawk’s village, but "heretofore Keocuck’s principal village." DeWard counted twenty lodges (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, Book (1) 18).

A later account is given by Samuel Goodnow, leader of the crew that conducted the survey of this township for the General Land Office. This survey work was done in December 1837, a little more
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<th>Dates of Occupation</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Legal Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>V1</td>
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<td>circa spring 1829</td>
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<td>T.73N., R. 2W., 20</td>
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<td>fall 1835 or 1836</td>
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<td>Muscatine</td>
<td>T.76N., R. 3W., 22?</td>
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<td>by 1834</td>
<td>Muscatine</td>
<td>T.74N., R. 3W., 26?</td>
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<td>V5</td>
<td>Winnebago Prophet</td>
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<td>1834</td>
<td>Wapello</td>
<td>T.72N., R. 14W., 26</td>
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Table 1. Dates of occupation and geographic position of Sauk and Mesquakie villages
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Figure 9. DeWard's map of the 1832 treaty cession (National Archives 1835)
than a year after the village had been abandoned. Beginning at the western boundary of T. 73 N., R. 2 W., Goodnow traveled down the right bank of the Iowa River, mapping its meanders. In Section 20, he recorded the ferry and house of P. B. Harrison. Farther downstream in that Section he recorded "old house of Black Hawk." He also noted that Black Hawk's house was south of P. B. Harrison's field (Secretary of State 1938: (22) 461).

In his summary description of the township, Goodnow wrote:

In section 20 adjacent to the House of P.B. Harrison has been laid out a village called Florence as yet unimproved which may probably be a place of some business... (Secretary of State 1938: (22) 474).

The accompanying survey map shows four structures in Section 20, labeled "Florence."

A number of other sources mention this same Sauk village in relation to Florence; generally, the descriptions agree with one another. John B. Newhall, a booster who wrote Sketches of Iowa, or The Emigrant's Guide, platted the town of Florence on the Sauk village (Newhall 1841:97-98). Newhall wrote:

[Black Hawk's] lodge was still standing at the time the country was surveyed. The writer lingers with peculiar interest upon this spot, having been among the first (white men) to set the landmarks of civilization upon the "Keokuck Reserve," having laid off the town of Florence, and being associated in the ownership of this celebrated "Indian Council-house" from its transfer from the Indians. We kept it nearly two years in a good state of preservation ... (Newhall 1841:97-98).

In a later book, A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846, Newhall mentioned Florence, on the south side of the Iowa River, as the site of "the old Sac village" (Newhall 1846: 25).
Jesse Williams, secretary to first Territorial Governor Robert Lucas, published a guide, *A Description of the United States Lands in Iowa*, in 1840. In his description of T. 73 N., R. 2 W., he referred to Black Hawk's residence:

His house was still standing at the time when the surveys were made; it stood on the south bank of Iowa river, in sec. 20....The village of Florence is located on the S. fraction sec. 20... (Williams 1840: 48).

Some of the village residents had left the area by the spring of 1835, establishing a new village (V9) under Keokuk on the lower Des Moines River (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h): Street to Clark, 14 June 1835, File 375). It is not known when the remainder of the band left the village, but it must have been between the fall of 1835 and the fall of 1836. DeWard indicated the village (with 20 lodges) was occupied when he visited on the 25th of May, 1835 (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) 16-18). Street noted that a Sauk village was still on the Iowa River reservation in October 1835 (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h): Street to Clark, 7 October 1835, File 390).

On September 28, 1836, the Sauk and Mesquakie sold these reserved lands to the United States (Van der Zee 1916: 496). The United States requested that the Indians remove from these lands by November 1, 1836. When told of this request, Keokuk reportedly laughed, stating that he had already sold the lands to three white men who were now living in the abandoned village (Van der Zee 1916: 496).

This historical location was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1978 (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(e)).
Prior to listing this property, a reconnaissance-level archaeological survey of the area was undertaken. One small archaeological site, 13LA64, which did not yield diagnostic artifacts, was recorded to the southeast of the probable village location. At the time of the survey, surface visibility was poor and the field crew could not gain access to a large part of the area. No subsurface testing was conducted, so the depth of post-settlement alluvium in the area was not assessed.

Wapello’s Village (V2), Muscatine County

Two locations are given for the village occupied by Wapello’s band in the early 1830s. This researcher suspects that these locations were occupied in succession, although it is possible that they were occupied simultaneously. Fulton supports the contention that they were occupied successively. He wrote: "In 1829 [Wapello] removed his village to Muscatine Slough, on the west side of the Mississippi, and then to a place at or near the present town of Wapello in Louisa county" (Fulton 1882: 252).

Some other sources also report that Wapello moved to Muscatine Slough on the west side of the Mississippi River in 1829 (Fulton 1882: 252, Anonymous 1897: 636). Kurtz stated that the largest Mesquakie village was on the east bank of the Mississippi opposite Fort Armstrong until 1828. In that year Wapello abandoned that village, moving his people to Grand Mascoutin, or Muscatine Island (Kurtz 1986: 27-28).
Muscatine Island, bounded on its western margin by the Muscatine Slough, is a vast marshy area paralleling the Mississippi River. It is some 20 miles north-south and about 8 miles east-west at its widest point.

Walton described a village along Muscatine Slough, but attributed it to Keokuk. Since other sources agree that Keokuk's village was along the Iowa River, it is likely that Walton was mistaken about the village's leadership. Walton, who settled in Muscatine County in 1838, wrote:

About six miles southwest of Muscatine, along the Muscatine Slough or the west side of Muscatine Island, there is a beautiful lake. It is about the only body of water within the county large enough to be called a lake. When I came to the county in 1838 this was known as 'Keokuk Lake'. I recently made an effort to find out how the name came to be applied to it and in so doing I learned that it was the site of the habitation of the noted Chief, Keokuk. His village was situated on the west bank of the lake. This village was probably vacated in 1834. In that year the Indians raised corn in this vicinity for the last time. There are parties yet living in this vicinity who saw the frame work of the buildings in this Indian village. A gentleman of my acquaintance who visited it a short time after Keokuk left it, says that it occupied nearly all the high bottomland west of the lake—at least forty or fifty acres (Walton 1895: 56-57).

Keokuk Lake is located in T. 76 N., R. 3 W., Section 24. A large marshy area adjacent to the lake indicates that it formerly extended to the southwest.

Springer questioned Walton's assertion that this village was occupied by Keokuk until 1834 because the treaty signed in September 1832 located "Keokuk's principal village" elsewhere (Springer 1912: 26). The village described by Walton is well outside the limits of the 1832 reserve, and thus was to have been vacated by June 1, 1833.
The actual date that the Muscatine Island village was abandoned is unknown. The treaty specified removal by the summer of 1833; yet, Walton related that the Indians planted corn in the vicinity in 1834. That year, another location was reported for Wapello’s village as well.

Wapello’s Village (V3), Louisa County

In the late summer of 1834 Cutting Marsh concluded not to visit Wapello’s village. He wrote:

Wah-pel-lo’s village, the head chief of the Foxes is also situated upon the Lower Iowa and about 10 miles above Ke-o-kuck’s. This is considered to contain about 30 lodges. As only a part of his band resided at the village at the time, most of them being at their cornfields I did not go to them as Wah-pel-lo himself was absent and I had seen him before (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 118).

Marsh probably was describing the same village as that noted by DeWard in May 1835 (Figure 9). DeWard mapped "Wapalaw’s village" on the right bank of the Iowa River, about nine miles upstream from "Keocuck’s principal village" (National Archives 1835). According to his notes:

Wawpawlaw’s village [is] on the bank of the river in a large prairie in which there [are] many others in sight far off. This is a Mesquaqua village of 12 lodges (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) 17).

Springer reported that Albert M. Lea placed Wapello’s village in this location too. Springer stated:

At the time Lieutenant Lea made his trip through this country in 1835 he seems to have learned that Wapello had a village on the west bank of the Iowa river just north of the present city of Wapello, and probably on the northern part of the land now owned by Mr. E.M. Firend, or a little west of it (Springer 1912: 26).
Springer mentioned one other village location along the Iowa River:

There is a well recognized site of an old Indian village, on the east bank of the Iowa river a short distance north of Harrison hill, and it is thought this was the first place of residence in this county chosen by Wapello (Springer 1912: 26). No other references to a village in this position have been found. This location is just across the Iowa River from the village described by DeWard.

Poweshiek’s Village (V4), Muscatine County

In 1834, and perhaps for some years earlier, Poweshiek’s village was on the Red Cedar River, about ten miles above its mouth, and some thirty-five miles from Keokuk’s village (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 118; National Archives 1835). Kurtz stated that the Mesquakie of the upper villages, abandoned in 1830, had united in this village (Kurtz 1986: 32).

Cutting Marsh visited this village of Poweshiek during the late summer of 1834. Marsh estimated that the village had a population of 400, living in about 40 lodges. He wrote:

There are more in it than in Wah-pel-lo’s. It is not more than 12 or 15 miles west of the Mississippi, consequently upon the U. S. land. It will doubtless be removed in the course of one or two years further up the river and upon their own land (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 118).

Marsh also described the cornfields, which were at some distance from the village, as having excellent quality soil (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 119). On his way to the village, he reached the
cornfields at nightfall and so determined to spend the night there. He described the scene:

The owners were now encamped in them, harvesting the corn, drying, shelling, and putting it up in sacks for winter (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 121).

It is not known when this village was abandoned. Since it lay outside the reserve granted in the 1832 treaty, the village should have been vacated by June 1, 1833 (Kappler 1904: 349). DeWard’s map depicts the village, indicating it was in existence in the summer of 1835; however, his field notes make no mention of it (National Archives 1835; State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) and (2)).

This land was subdivided into sections in 1837. Several Indian trails are noted in the original land survey records, but no mention is made of a village (Secretary of State 1938: (40) 1-140). Abandonment must have occurred by sometime in 1837, when Poweshiek’s village was reported to be in present-day Johnson County (see V17, below).

DeWard’s map (Figure 9) and field notes contain some intriguing clues to the relationship between this village of Poweshiek’s (V4) and the ones he and his band occupied subsequently (V16, V17, and V18). The map shows a village labeled "Pawochique’s" on the Red Cedar River. Trails leading west and northwest from this village terminate at unnamed settlements on the banks of the Iowa River. The locations of these unnamed settlements correspond to the locations of Poweshiek’s village (V17) or Wapashashiek’s village (V18) and Totokonock’s village (V16). While DeWard did not note the names of
the leaders of these villages, he did state that they were Mesquakie villages (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) 11-13).

Winnebago Prophet's Village (V5), Louisa County

Marsh referred to the existence of two other villages in 1834. A small village (V5), of no more than a dozen lodges, was situated upon the Mississippi River about forty miles below Rock Island (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 124). This village was composed of both Mesquakie and Winnebago, including Black Hawk's prophet, Waboshashiek. The Mesquakie resided in the lower end of the village, the Winnebago a short distance above (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 124-125).

Kurtz placed this village north of the present-day mouth of the Iowa River, but did not indicate the source of this information (Kurtz 1986: 23). In 1835, DeWard mapped the vicinity of the Iowa River's mouth, but did not record a village in the area. Possibly, DeWard's notes should not be relied on in this instance. Overall, DeWard's notes are clearly those of a careful surveyor. In that light, it is interesting to note that the location he mapped as the mouth of the Iowa River is approximately five miles south of its present-day mouth. Geomorphological studies indicate, however, that the Iowa River has occupied its present channel for a long period. It is not known whether the river mapped by DeWard was, in fact, the main channel of the Iowa River in 1835, or whether DeWard simply erred in naming the stream.

The township was subdivided in 1837 and 1838 (Secretary of State 1938: (22) 399-478). The surveyor showed the Iowa River in its
modern channel, and labeled the more southerly channel "Iowa Slue." He did not note an Indian village adjacent to either channel.

Appanoose’s Village (V6), Wapello County

Marsh also described Appanoose’s village (V6). Appanoose probably succeeded his father, Taimah, as a village leader (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h): Street to Clark, 9 May 1835, File 357). Taimah’s village had been at the Flint Hills, at present-day Burlington, Iowa, until the early 1830s, when Taimah died (Campbell 1867; Kurtz 1986: 27).

In the spring of 1834 Appanoose’s band situated on the south side of the Des Moines River, approximately 125 miles from its mouth (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 122-123; State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h): Street to Clark, 9 May 1835, File 357). Eight lodges were built in the village that summer, including Appanoose’s which was reported to be 100 feet long (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 143).

Marsh spent several days at this village. He described the locale as delightful,

...being upon the bank where it is very high, and having a large and fertile prairie extending 7 or 8 miles in a southerly direction and about two miles wide (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 123).

He noted a salt spring near the village and a good mill seat within one and one-half miles (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 123).

Marsh noted that Appanoose’s village was called "Ah-taum-way-e-nauk (Perseverance Town)" (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 122). The modern
City of Ottumwa, adjacent to Appanoose’s old village, has retained the Indian designation.

No historic maps showing Appanoose’s village have been found. John C. Fremont, mapping the Des Moines River in the summer of 1841, did not mention Appanoose’s village (Figure 10). He did, however, locate "Antemoynok Creek," entering the south side of the Des Moines River above Keokuk’s village (National Archives 1841). This stream’s modern name is Kettle Creek.¹³

Fremont’s failure to mention Appanoose’s village is instructive, as it suggests that the village was not extant in 1841. Nine month’s previous to Fremont’s exploration, Governor Lucas had described this village:

There were but few families with Appenoose in his village, and some of them said they intended to move to the upper village [Wishecomaque’s] soon (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(c): Lucas to Crawford, 23 October 1840).

The village could well have been abandoned by the time of Fremont’s visit: certainly it had disappeared by September 1842 when a census of the tribes was taken.

John Beach, writing in 1874, described the village locations as they existed at the time of J. M. Street’s death in May 1840:

Upon the bank of the Des Moines, opposite the mouth of Sugar Creek, where there is quite a spacious bottom extending for a mile or more below, where the bluff closes in pretty closely upon the bank, and for a much longer distance in the up-river direction toward and past Ottumwa, was the village of Keokuk, and still above were those of Wapello, Foxes, and Appanoose, a Sac chief. According to the writer’s present memory, that of Wapello, was the intermediate one (Waterman 1914: 31).
Figure 10. Fremont’s map of the middle and lower reaches of the Des Moines River (National Archives 1841)
A comparison of Beach's description and Fremont's map with the modern U.S.G.S. topographic map reveals the approximate location of these villages along the south side of the Des Moines.

Population estimates for Appanoose's village vary widely, reflecting the growth, decline, and eventual abandonment of the village. Marsh recorded a population of 250 when he visited the newly established village in August 1834 (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 123). Street estimated 1300 in the village in 1838 (United States Congressional Documents 1838: 492). Lucas commented on the village's decline in 1840 (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(c): Lucas to Crawford, 23 October 1840); Fremont failed to mention its existence in 1841 (National Archives 1841); and it had been absorbed by Wishecomaque's village by late 1842 (Kurtz 1986: 34).

Trading Houses

Several traders did business with the Sauk and Mesquakie in the early 1830s (Table 2). These included the Phelps brothers, George Davenport, Russell Farnham, Antoine LeClaire, and Josiah Smart. Despite the abundance of trading records, relatively little is known of the specific geographic positions of these trading posts. Account books record what was sold to whom, but not where the transactions took place. Trading licenses are rarely specific enough to be useful. Some licenses give locational information, but these are not always reliable, for research indicates that trading houses were sometimes established far from the area described in the license.
Some trading houses were occupied seasonally, making them particularly difficult to locate. Caroline Phelps' journal illustrates this seasonal occupation. The posts Caroline Phelps described may be representative of posts occupied by small trading firms.

Her journal records events which occurred between March 1830 and February 1841. She mentions that she and her husband William built a trading house at the mouth of the Iowa River, which they occupied from May to July 1830 (Phelps 1930: 209-210). In September 1830, they traveled 90 miles up the Des Moines River and built a trading house which they occupied until the spring of 1831. This house was "...a log cabin with rough puncheon floor, and no hearth, a small rock fire place..." (Phelps 1930: 211-212).

The Phelps' spent the summer in the Euro-American towns along the Mississippi River. In September 1831, William journeyed to the Des Moines River, constructed another house, and returned for Caroline and their six-week-old son (Phelps 1930: 212). They returned to the Mississippi River towns in the spring of 1832 (Phelps 1930: 215-216). William went to the Des Moines River without his family that fall, rejoining them in March 1833. Again, they spent the summer along the Mississippi.

In the fall of 1833, the Phelps family moved to the Des Moines River, built a house, and traded with the Indians. This house was about three miles upriver from Sweet Home. They moved to Sweet Home in the early spring of 1834, building two trading houses, on opposite
sides of the river (Phelps 1930: 217). By May, they were back on the Mississippi River.

In the fall of 1834 or 1835, the Phelps’ traveled farther up the Des Moines River, possibly with plans to trade with the Sioux. By this time, they had joined with the American Fur Company or its successor, the Chouteau firm (Phelps 1930: 217-218). The family moved into some abandoned trading houses, occupying them until their new post was built.

They headed downstream in late March 1836, stopping at a trading house opposite an Indian town. Caroline and their two children stayed here, while William traveled to St. Louis (Phelps 1930: 220).

William soon returned, and the family journeyed to the Mississippi River in June 1836. Caroline gave birth to a third child in mid-July, and returned to her home (T5) along the Des Moines River by mid-August. From the fall of 1836 on, the Phelps’ lived on the Des Moines River year round, except for occasional trips to the Mississippi River.

The family spent the spring and summer of 1838 in St. Louis, but by fall they were back on the Des Moines River (Phelps 1930: 223).

In the spring of 1839, the Phelps’ built a new trading house (T9), and moved upriver. This move was occasioned by the 1837 treaty. The Sauk and Mesquakie had moved upriver in the spring of 1838, and the traders followed the next year (Phelps 1930: 233). The trading house built by the Phelps’ in 1839 was occupied for at least two years.

The ephemeral nature of trading houses makes their locations particularly difficult to identify. They are the least well known of
the four property types being studied. Of the trading houses for which references have been found, only a few of them can be located with precision.

Davenport’s Trading House (T1), Rock Island, Illinois

George Davenport had established a post on Rock Island as early as 1816 (T1). Although he continued to be active in the trade until about 1835, he did not move his residence from Rock Island when the Indians vacated the lands adjoining the Mississippi.

Charles DeWard mapped the right bank of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of Rock Island in order to establish a base line for his survey of the 1832 treaty cession. His field notes record that he began at the mouth of a brook which entered the Mississippi River "at a place nearly opposite the middle of Rock Island..." (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) 2). Meandering down the bank of the Mississippi River, he recorded the course and distance to a point "opposite George Davenport’s trading house" (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) 3).

Davenport’s land holdings on Rock Island are shown on an illustrated map of the City of Davenport, Iowa, as well (Figure 11). This map was produced in about 1837 or 1838 (Russel c.1837).

In 1831 the Secretary of War questioned Farnham and Davenport about their trade with the Sauk and Mesquakie. In response, they stated that, for the past seven years, they had traded at the Dirt Lodge on the Des Moines River, at the Flint Hills (near present-day Burlington), at a post on the Iowa River, at a post on Rock River,
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<tr>
<td>T16</td>
<td>Ewing</td>
<td>1843 1845</td>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>T.78N., R.24W., 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T17</td>
<td>Phelps</td>
<td>1843 1845</td>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>T.78N., R.24W., 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 11. A portion of Russel’s map of the City of Davenport, Iowa, showing the residences of Antoine LeClaire and George Davenport (Russel c.1837)
and at or near Rock Island on the Mississippi River. They had employed about 30 men annually. The posts along the Mississippi River were manned year-round, while the posts on the interior streams were occupied only from September to April (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h): Statement of Farnham and Davenport, 22 November 1831, File 165).

LeClaire’s House (T2), Scott County

In the early 1830s, Antoine LeClaire had a dual role as interpreter for the Indian agent and employee of the American Fur Company. DeWard located "LeClaire’s house" in his notes of the treaty boundary line survey (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) 2-3).

LeClaire’s house and the square mile reserve granted to him in the 1832 treaty are depicted on a late 1830s map of the City of Davenport (Russel c.1837).

Fort Des Moines #1 (F1), Lee County

The year after the Black Hawk War, Congress passed an act providing for the better defense of the frontier by establishing a dragoon regiment to scout the lands west of the Mississippi (United States War Department 1898: 351). Consequently, in 1834, Lt. Col. Stephen Watts Kearny, with three companies of dragoons, was ordered to take up winter quarters "on the right bank of the Mississippi, within the Indian country near the mouth of the Desmoines" (United States War Department 1898: 352).
Upon issuance of the order, a Quartermaster’s force led by Lt. George Crosman was sent from Jefferson Barracks. This force selected a site for the military post at the head of the Des Moines Rapids on the Mississippi, some 12 miles upstream from the mouth of the Des Moines River (Table 3).

The site selected was within the "Half-Breed Tract," a parcel of land which had been reserved by the Treaty of 1824 for the offspring of Sauk-Mesquakie and Euro-American unions.

The site was also at least partially on a 1799 Spanish land grant which had been confirmed by the United States government in 1816 (Van der Zee 1916: 479). Louis Honore Tesson, the man to whom Spain had granted the land, established an apple orchard and built a cabin on the parcel in about 1799. This orchard is an important landmark for the research.

Tesson lived on the claim from approximately 1798 to 1805. Sometime during this period, the land was assigned to Joseph Robidoux. Robidoux died in 1810, and his estate was sold (Van der Zee 1914b: 370). Thomas F. Riddick of St. Louis bought these lands. Spain had granted Tesson a square league of land. In 1816, Riddick asked the United States to confirm his title to these lands. The United States confirmed Riddick’s ownership of 640 acres, rather than the square league he claimed (Van der Zee 1916: 479). It is unclear whether the land actually was occupied by Riddick.

Isaac R. Campbell, an early resident of present-day Lee County, Iowa, first visited the area in 1821. In 1867, he recalled the
placement of numerous trading houses and Indian villages. He wrote:

At the head of the Rapids, Montrose, was an Indian village, Chief's name, in English, 'Cut Nose.' Below the creek running into the river, on the lower side of the Indian town, were the remains of a deserted trading house, around which was growing a number of apple trees" (Campbell 1867: 884).

The Half-Breed Tract was surveyed and subdivided in 1832 (Figure 12). The surveyor, Jenifer T. Sprigg, noted the position of Tesson's apple orchard and the brook just above it (National Archives 1833, 1979). Sprigg reported:

There being neither claimant, or agent, to superintend the surveying of the claim of Thos F. Riddick ass. estate of Joseph Robidoux ass. Louis Honore Tesson--From the best of my judgement--I have concluded that it would be as advantageous to the owners to throw the improvement, in the center of the front on the river--and as it is ordered that the survey should be as nearly in a square as maybe & to give it one mile (when reduced to straight line) front on the Mississippi river, and to run back at right angles from said line for quantity--I therefore commence at a stake which I set on the right bank of the Mississippi River and as nearly as I could jud[g]e opposite the center of the improvements of the said Tesson--(National Archives 1979: Sprigg, p. 149).

By the terms of the 1832 treaty the Sauk and Mesquakie had agreed to relinquish their lands bordering the Mississippi by June 1, 1833. Sometime shortly after that date, Isaac Campbell’s father-in-law, James White, crossed the Mississippi and built a double log house just above Tesson’s apple orchard (Campbell 1867: 892). Campbell stated that this house was "on the slope, near the creek, about thirty rods from the river" (Campbell 1867: 892). In the spring of 1834, White planted a cornfield above this log house.

When Lt. Crosman arrived in the summer of 1834, he determined to erect the military post in White’s cornfield. He purchased both the
field and the cabin from White and began construction. White returned to his residence on the opposite bank of the Mississippi.

Lt. Col. Kearny arrived at the fort on the 25th of September 1834, to find the construction work progressing much more slowly than he had anticipated. The dragoons spent their first weeks at the camp assisting with the erection of the structures (National Archives 1834a: Kearny to Jones, 26 September 1834).

Kearny first referred to the military establishment as "Camp Des Moines"; soon it became known as Fort Des Moines. It is now commonly referred to as Fort Des Moines #1 to distinguish it from two later posts of the same name.

The configuration of the post, both in terms of its layout and the dimensions of individual structures, is preserved in an undated plan of Camp Des Moines (National Archives n.d.(e)). Each structure shown on the plan is labeled as to its use, indicating that the plan was drawn after the post buildings were occupied (Figure 13).

Former State Archaeologist Marshall McKusick, who tried unsuccessfully to relocate the fort through archaeological testing in 1966, attributed this plan to Lt. Crosman (McKusick 1975: 514-515, 520). While this seems a logical assumption, McKusick did not state how he arrived at this conclusion. It should be noted that the original drawing, housed in the National Archives, does not indicate the draftsman's name nor the drawing's date. It is possible that the plan was prepared by Lt. J. H. K. Burgwin, Company I, First Dragoons, for on September 4, 1835, Kearny informed T. S. Jesup, Quartermaster General, that the quarters were erected:
...after the plan submitted to you by Lieut. Burgwin in December last, excepting Quarters for the Comd Officer, which had not been thought of. There were 3 Blocks for the 3 comps & 20 Rooms for Officers Quarters, mess rooms, kitchens, offices, Hospital, Guard House and Carpenters shop... (National Archives 1834a: Kearny to Jesup, 4 September 1835).

Kearny's letter to Jesup provides other details of the fort's construction. He wrote:

Upon my asking Lieut. Crosman what arrangements he contemplated for Qrs for myself as Comd Officer, he replied he had none, but supposed I would take what he had intended for a Guard House, or for a Hospital, each being a detached Block of 2 rooms. Not approving his suggestion, I drew a plan for my Quarters of 3 rooms and a kitchen (my Regulation allowance) and detailed 2 non comd officers & 8 or 10 soldiers... & directed Lieut. C. to employ them in putting up the Building. The soldiers went to work, and about a week after viz. Oct. 7" I proceeded to Saint Louis and returned on the 31st, when I found Lieut. C. had during my absence, contracted with a citizen to erect the Building, which was nearly finished (National Archives 1834a: Kearny to Jesup, 4 September 1835).

Two maps show the general placement of the fort. Lt. Robert E. Lee mapped the Des Moines Rapids in September 1837 (Figure 14). His map is of sufficient scale to show individual fort buildings. In most aspects it mirrors the configuration shown on the plan just described. An exception is the layout of the stables. There is a plausible explanation for this discrepancy. Lt. Col. Kearny, who complained regularly about the condition of the fort, requested that some of the extra stables at Jefferson Barracks be dismantled and shipped to Fort Des Moines to replace the original, poorly constructed stables. Kearny reported that the stables had arrived by the fall of 1835.
An undated map shows the fort in relation to an area reserved for the garrison (National Archives n.d.(d)). This map depicts the bluff line and streams adjacent to the post (Figure 15). The origin of this map cannot be determined at present. This researcher suspects that it was drawn during the time Fort Des Moines #1 was occupied as a military installation. Lt. Col. Kearny recommended that a reserve of two-mile radius be established (National Archives 1834a: Kearny to Jesup, 16 December 1834). Receiving no reply, Kearny wrote directly to the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass. Kearny stated:

On the 5th Inst. I issued an order making a Reservation of Land of 2 miles out, from this Garrison, for Public Purposes, & forbid any Timber to be cut from it, or any Building to be erected on it, by any Citizen....Is this measure approved of ? (National Archives 1834a: Kearny to Cass, 24 March 1835).

Cass forwarded Kearny's map to the General Land Office in October 1835. The endorsement on the letter indicates that it was answered November 3, 1835. A second endorsement notes that the map enclosed with the letter was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 19, 1836, in compliance with his letter of April 18th (National Archives n.d.(c): Cass to Brown, 22 October 1835).

Encroaching settlement caused the Fort to be abandoned by the military in June 1837, and the public property was sold shortly thereafter.

Smart's Trading House (T3), Henry County

Josiah Smart became interpreter for the government agent in July 1839 (National Archives 1956b). Prior to accepting this position,
Table 3. Dates of occupation and geographic position of United States military posts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference Number</th>
<th>Historical Location</th>
<th>Dates of Occupation</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Legal Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Des Moines</td>
<td>1834 1837</td>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>T.66N., R.5W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>Fort Des Moines</td>
<td>#1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>late spring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>Sanford</td>
<td>1842 1843</td>
<td>Wapello</td>
<td>T.71N?, R.13W?</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>Des Moines</td>
<td>1843 1846</td>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>T.78N., R.24W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Figure 12. A portion of Sprigg’s map of the Half Breed Tract, showing Tesson’s land grant
(National Archives 1833)
Figure 13. An undated plan of Fort Des Moines #1, showing the layout of the fort and the size of individual structures (National Archives n.d.(e))
Figure 14. A portion of Lee's map of the Des Moines Rapids, showing the layout of Fort Des Moines #1 (National Archives 1837). (Map is reproduced with north toward the bottom of the page to correspond with the orientation of Figure 13)
Figure 15. Undated map showing lands reserved for the garrison at Fort Des Moines #1 (National Archives n.d.(d))
Smart had traded with the Sauk and Mesquakie. Few references to the location of his trading post have been found. In late July, 1840, Agent Beach reported the murder of a Mesquakie man. Beach stated that this event took place:

...a short distance N. W. of Smarts old trading house, or just West of the N. W. corner of Town 75 N. Range 7 W.
...(Beach 1976: Beach to Lowry, 25 July 1840).

In the same letter Beach stated that the murder took place near the Skunk River. The Township and Range position recorded by Beach is several miles north of the Skunk River. It is possible that Beach made a transcription error, and that he meant T. 73 N., rather than T. 75 N. This would place the trading house in close proximity to the Skunk River. Other evidence suggests that Smart’s trading house was in, or immediately adjacent to, the extreme northwest corner of T. 73 N., R. 7 W. County histories report that Smart’s post was near the later town of Coppock (K. Fisher 1978: 51). It was positioned "on the north side of main Crooked Creek below Holcomb and Bullock’s mill [c.1879], and near the mouth of said creek: but we believe this trading post was just outside of our line on the edge of Henry County" (E. L. Jones 1977: 5). The post was established about 1835. Smart reportedly left the area in 1837 (K. Fisher 1978: 8, 51).

Wapello’s Village (V7), Washington County

County histories report the existence of a large village led by Wapello along the Skunk River in present-day Washington County. This village was on the left bank of the river, near the later Euro-American town of Sandy Hook (K. Fisher 1978: 18; E. L. Jones 1977:
133

85). Its location was described by Nathan Littler in 1879 or 1880:

...[the] village...was situated on the east bank of the Skunk River at the bend in that stream about one mile above where it is crossed by the road from Washington to Brighton, and a short distance north of the deep sand ridge on said road, near the bluff east of the river, known as Sandy Hook (E. L. Jones 1977: 85).

The town of Sandy Hook was platted in 1841. It was situated on the NE 1/4 of Section 20, T. 74 N., R. 8 W. (K. Fisher 1978: 52). The Indian cemetery was later used by the Euro-American settlers, and was known as the Sandy Hook cemetery (E. L. Jones 1977: 85).

Dates of occupation for this village cannot be established with precision. It was located in close proximity to the 1832 treaty boundary line, which was surveyed in 1835. The surveyor, who recorded the presence of a number of villages in the tract, made no mention of a village along the Skunk River (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) and (2)). This suggests that the village post-dates the survey in the fall of 1835.

One county history reports that the village was occupied in 1836, when Euro-American settlers began arriving (K. Fisher 1978: 8). Another history indicates that the Indians left the area in 1840 "...having overstayed their time...nearly two years" (E. L. Jones 1977: 87). The village residents had definitely moved to the west by 1841 (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1841).

Although the leader of the village, Wapello himself may not have resided there. County histories suggest he positioned his wickiup in close proximity to Josiah Smart’s trading house, some five miles southeast of the Sandy Hook area (see T3, above) (E. L. Jones 1977:
Wapello and some of his followers left as early as 1838, establishing a village along the Des Moines River. For a period, Wapello's band maintained villages on both the Des Moines and Skunk rivers.

Samuel Wiltse subdivided the township in 1841. He did not mention an Indian village in the locality (Secretary of State 1938: (65) 303-403).

**Crooked Creek Village (V8), Washington County**

When surveyor William Ewing subdivided T. 75 N., R. 7 W., in 1837, he noted Indian lodges in the SW 1/4 of Section 19. He estimated that the number of wickiups would be "...sufficient for the accommodation of several hundred Indians" (Secretary of State 1938: (59) 105). The village must have been occupied at the time of Ewing's survey, for county histories report that the village was not abandoned until late 1838 (K. Fisher 1978: 19; E. L. Jones 1977). This village was on the left bank of the West Fork of Crooked Creek. Its cornfields reportedly extended from Crooked Creek to present-day South Iowa Avenue in Washington, Iowa (K. Fisher 1978: 19).

The date of its founding is unknown, but probably pre-dates 1835. Charles DeWard would have passed within four miles of this village's position when he established the 1832 treaty line (National Archives 1835). He did not note the village, but this is not surprising, given its distance from his survey line.

Nathan Littler indicated that the village was occupied at the time of the survey. The Indians were reported to have disagreed with
the boundary line fixed by the United States, and to have destroyed the survey marks (E. L. Jones 1977). Littler seems to have been correct in his assertion that this village was east of the 1832 treaty boundary line (E. L. Jones 1977; Dodds 1943: 546; National Archives 1835).

Littler, writing in 1879 or 1880, stated that this village was "on what is now the farm of Mrs. William G. Stewart, a little southwest of our city [Washington]" (E. L. Jones 1977). He located the village:

...on the ridge of land lying to the southwest of the present dwelling on that farm, and it extended downward in the same direction towards Crooked Creek. The present road from our town to Brighton probably runs through the midst of where the Indian town stood. The cultivated lands occupied by the Indians lay in an easterly direction from their village and extended as far east perhaps as the east line of the lands now belonging to C. N. Stewart and W. R. Jeffrey adjoining our town on the south. The population of the village was estimated at not less than 300 persons and it contained a good many residences (E. L. Jones 1977).

The leadership of this village cannot be ascertained. Littler stated that Poweshiek probably headed it, but he also reported that "at the time our informant visited the village near our town, in the summer of 1837, a subordinate chief, named Hard Fish, was in command" (E. L. Jones 1977).

Since Wishecomaque [Hard Fish] was a Sauk headman while Poweshiek was a Mesquakie leader, it seems unlikely that they would have headed the same village. Poweshiek led a number of villages along the Iowa River during the period this village was occupied. It seems unlikely that he would also have headed this village, more than twenty miles southwest of his band's other villages. The suggestion that
Wishecomaque headed the village is equally puzzling. Agent Beach reported in the summer of 1840 that a village led by Wishecomaque had just formed. His correspondence indicates that Wishecomaque had not been a village headman previously.

Keokuk’s Village (V9), Van Buren or Davis County

By the spring of 1835, one portion of Keokuk’s band of Sauk had moved to the left bank of the Des Moines River, some 7 miles above the 1832 treaty boundary (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h): Street to Clark, 14 June 1835, File 375; State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) 40; National Archives 1835). DeWard depicted this village on his map (Figure 9), although his field notes suggest that he did not actually visit it (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard, (1) 40).

Traveling down the Des Moines River in August of 1835, Lieutenant Albert M. Lea passed by this village. In his report to his commanding officer, he placed Keokuk’s village some 176 miles south of the Raccoon River’s mouth (National Archives n.d.(a): Lea to Kearny, 8 September 1835).

Lt. Col. Kearny traveled through the village some days after Lea’s departure. Writing from Fort Des Moines #1, he reported that he "marched through Openousas [Appanoose’s] town 75 miles from here, and 20 miles this side of it, Keokuk’s town both on the Des Moines River" (National Archives 1834a: Kearny to Cass, 27 September 1835).

Keokuk attempted to start a farm at this village in the spring of 1835. Agent Street reported that Keokuk had purchased a yoke of oxen
and hired two white men to establish the farm. Some prairie was broken, and a small rail enclosure erected. Street sought financial aid for this endeavor of Keokuk's, but seems never to have been able to procure the supplies requested (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(h): Street to Clark, 7 October 1835, File 390; Street to Clark, 14 June 1835, File 375).

The majority of the village appears to have been abandoned shortly after this land was sold to the United States through the treaty of 1837. By this transaction, which took place in Washington, D.C., the Sauk and Mesquakie sold a V-shaped parcel comprising some one million, two hundred and fifty thousand acres (Figure 2). The treaty specified that the Indians had to remove within eight months after Senate ratification of the treaty, except for Keokuk's band, which was allowed to remain in its village for two years more (Kappler 1904: 367-368; Van der Zee 1916: 498). Keokuk did not intend to remain. Upon returning from Washington, Keokuk sold his village reserve to three traders residing in the area: James Jordan, William Phelps, and John Tolman (Van der Zee 1916: 499). The Indians removed from the villages early in 1838, moving some fifteen miles upriver to the present-day site of Ottumwa, Iowa. Jordan, Phelps, and Tolman immediately laid out the town of Iowaville upon this land (Van der Zee 1916: 499). Iowaville grew for a number of years, then declined and finally was abandoned about 1870 (Evans 1907: 59). It shows up on a number of contemporary maps (Dewey 1849; Andreas 1875; Jordan n.d.). Iowaville was in northwestern Van Buren County, abutting its boundary with Davis County.
Historian A. R. Fulton recorded in 1884 that Iowaville was "at one time the home of the celebrated Chief Keokuk" (Fulton 1884: 46). Fulton provided a description of a structure in the Sauk village. He wrote:

The ruins of Keokuk's old House were still visible a few years ago near the west limits of the village of Iowaville. The embankment which was thrown up around his lodge was examined by the writer in 1868. The form of the enclosure was elliptical, and measured 90 feet north and south, by 160 feet east and west. There was a gateway on the south side, facing the river. A few feet from the west end of this enclosure were buried the remains of a son of Keokuk, a youth of 19 years of age, who died in the fall of 1837, while the chief was absent in Washington (Fulton 1884: 46).

S. B. Evans, another early historian, referred to a smaller structure in essentially the same location when he stated that, until 1860, Black Hawk's 'council ring' was

...preserved at the western boundary of Iowaville, about three blocks from the river. The diameter was 40 X 70 feet, egg or oval shape, thrown up on the outer diameter about one foot. There were two entrances... (Evans 1907: 58-59).

Surveyor Willard Barrows mapped the northeasternmost township (T. 70 N., R. 12 W.) of present-day Davis County in October 1843. This township adjoins the western edge of Iowaville in Van Buren County. Barrows noted "Black Hawk's Old Village" north of the Des Moines River, in Section 12. This placement is about one-third of a mile northwest of the town of Iowaville.

Beginning around 1777, the Ioway had established a village along this stretch of the Des Moines River (Blaine 1979: 57). The exact location of this village is not known, although evidence suggests that it, too, was in the prairie on the left bank of the Des Moines River, between the present-day towns of Eldon and Selma, Iowa.
Several archaeologists have attempted to relocate this village. Charles R. Keyes searched the area in 1924; he returned in 1938 with Waldo Wedel and Mildred Mott Wedel. They found no trace of the Indian occupation (Keyes 1951: 331-333; Straffin 1971: 3-4).

In the fall of 1970, Anton Till discovered fragments of human bone during a surface survey of the Iowaville area. Trade beads and a fragment of a brass musket ram rod were found adjacent to these human remains. Till immediately notified Dean Straffin, then assistant State Archaeologist, who visited the site and subsequently reported on the discovery (Till 1976: 35; Straffin 1971: 4-5). The site has been designated 13VB24.

Straffin tentatively ascribed these cultural remains to the Ioway, but noted that they could "represent the Sauk and Fox who briefly lived in the region later in time" (Straffin 1971: 5).

Till and others have revisited the site a number of times, making surface collections. The site extends over five to seven acres and has a Woodland component as well as historic aboriginal and Euro-American components (Till 1976: 36-37). Till noted several minor depressions surrounded by five distinct concentrations of historic aboriginal materials, which he suggested are the remains of Indian lodges (Till 1976: 36).

Till discussed the possibility -- and the difficulty -- of determining the tribal affiliation of the site by carefully analyzing the cultural materials. He stressed the need to excavate one of the suspected lodge features (Till 1976: 37).
Two lines of evidence suggest that the site may be Sauk rather than Ioway. First, historical records agree that the town of Iowaville was platted on the Sauk village (Evans 1907: 57; Van der Zee 1916: 499; Fulton 1884: 46). Statements concerning the location of the Ioway village are less reliable. For example, Cyrus Thomas placed the Ioway village "around the point where [Jordan's] present [1883] residence now stands" (Thomas 1887: 34), while Fulton put the Ioway village farther southeast, at Iowaville. Both of these men derived their information from the statements of James Jordan, who arrived in the area some four to ten years after the Ioway had left.

In contrast, the Sauk village was occupied during Jordan's tenure in the valley. Moreover, Jordan had purchased the village lands from Keokuk and had laid out the town of Iowaville on this parcel (Jordan n.d.: Plat of Iowaville).

Second, the archaeological site is located on a broad prairie flanking the river's edge. This landscape position is consistent with the locations of all the 1830s and 1840s Sauk and Mesquakie villages that have been documented during the present research. On the other hand, Straffin commented:

Almost all known Oneota sites in Iowa are found in bluff top locations or on high terraces, and this is also true for the known Ioway sites which date to the early historic period. The Iowaville site, located on the flood plain of the Des Moines River, is the only known example of a historic site tentatively identified with the Ioway which is located in the physiography of a broad flood plain (Straffin 1971: 7). Straffin attributed the floodplain position to a shift in settlement pattern correlated with changes in Ioway culture after European contact (Straffin 1971: 7). This researcher would suggest that a more
plausible explanation is that archaeological site 13VB24 represents the remains of a Sauk village. As Till (1976: 37) noted, limited excavation should be undertaken to determine the tribal affiliation of the site.

Black Hawk’s Lodge and Grave (V10), Davis County

Black Hawk also lived in Keokuk’s village, but he did not emigrate with the rest of the band. Instead, he continued to reside in the vicinity, although perhaps not within the village proper, until his death in October 1838 (Van der Zee 1916: 499; Jordan n.d.).

According to James Jordan, he and Black Hawk were friends. Those who interviewed Jordan reported that Black Hawk lived only a short distance from Jordan.

Jordan also told of Black Hawk’s grave. A surveyor employed by the Bureau of Ethnology interviewed Jordan and drew a map of the Eldon-Selma area. He showed the placement of Black Hawk’s grave in relation to Jordan’s house and an "old Agency." This researcher suspects that the "old Agency" was Jordan’s 1830s trading house.

As a child of ten or twelve years, C. J. Fulton accompanied his father [A. R. Fulton?] on a visit to James Jordan. Jordan showed the younger Fulton Black Hawk’s burial place. Late in life, C. J. Fulton recalled this journey in a letter to Edgar Harlan. Writing in September 1934, Fulton related:

The burial place was within a grove on a little knoll overlooking the scene of the fighting in which Black Hawk won esteem as a warrior. At the time of this visit, more than sixty years ago, the trees had disappeared, the site
was marked by a pile of limestone spalls, and about it in
every direction stretched an immense field of man-high corn.

Mr. Jordan searched for a moment among the pieces of rock,
picked out and gave me a chunk of red granite, stating that
it came from the boulder the indians had placed at the feet
of Black Hawk, most of which had been carried away by
curiosity seekers (Harlan n.d.: Fulton to Harlan, 26
September 1934, File 49J, Part 20, Group 2).

Two others who visited the site also noted that stones marked the
burial (Harlan n.d.: Harlan to Fulton, 1 October 1934, File 49J, Part
20, Group 2; Anonymous 1921: 131).

The land upon which Black Hawk resided was subdivided in October
1843, by surveyor Willard Barrows. Perhaps because of Black Hawk’s
notoriety, Barrows recorded the location of his grave (which had been
robbed shortly after his death) and his wickiup.

Barrows provided specific locations for these structures.
Unfortunately, there is some doubt as to the reliability of Barrows’
observations. The General Land Office voided Barrows’ survey work
and ordered it redone in 1846. Paul Jeffries made the resurvey,
obliterating all of Barrows’ markings (Upp n.d.: 19). Regrettably,
the Jeffries survey does not mention Black Hawk’s grave or wickiup.
The researcher is left to wonder whether Barrows mapped these
features correctly.

Barrows defended his survey work, arguing that those who wanted a
resurvey were attempting to gain lands pre-empted by others
(Anonymous 1933: 545).

Orville Upp, former Davis and Van Buren County engineer, spent
hours researching the history of the region between Eldon and Selma,
with the hope of nominating the area to the National Register of
Historic Places (Upp n.d.). He attempted to reconcile the Barrows and Jeffries survey notes, and concluded that the two surveys could be correlated reasonably well. Thus, he was comfortable relying on Barrows’ placement of Black Hawk’s wickiup and grave.

Jordan’s Trading House (T4), Davis County

As stated above, James Jordan’s trading house was near Black Hawk’s lodge (Jordan n.d.). The map of the Eldon-Selma vicinity, prepared by the Bureau of American Ethnology, shows Jordan’s 1883 residence as well as an "old Agency" consisting of two structures (Thomas 1887: 33-34). The larger structure is presumed to be Jordan’s 1830s trading post. The smaller structure may represent Black Hawk’s lodge. Both of these structures are shown to the south of Jordan’s 1883 residence.

A statement by Jordan’s granddaughter supports the accuracy of this map. She reported that Black Hawk’s residence was in the southwest corner of Jordan’s front yard (Jordan n.d.).

The house occupied by Jordan in 1883 continued as the family home well into the 20th century (Upp n.d.). It is no longer extant, but its location has been designated as an archaeological site, 13DV9 (Till 1976). This site can serve as a reference point in attempting to locate Jordan’s earlier trading post. Several archaeological sites in close proximity to Jordan’s 1883 residence (13DV9) have, in fact, been designated (Till 1976). Materials from these sites have not yet been analyzed sufficiently to determine whether any of them represent Jordan’s trading post.
Phelps' Trading House (T5), Van Buren County?

William Phelps operated a trading house near Keokuk’s village (V9). The Phelps family had spent the winter of 1835-36 high up the Des Moines River. In the spring of 1836, they loaded their furs and headed downriver. Caroline Phelps recorded that they traveled to a trading post which was about ten miles above the [1832] treaty boundary line, and across the river from the Indian village (Phelps 1930: 223, 228). This placement suggests the area near the later town of Iowaville. Caroline Phelps and her children lived here while William took the furs they had collected to St. Louis (Phelps 1930: 219-220). The entire family traveled to the Mississippi River during the summer, but returned to the post in August 1836.

Caroline recorded some events which occurred while they occupied this post. She mentioned the death of Keokuk’s son during the fall of 1837, while Keokuk was participating in treaty negotiations in Washington (Phelps 1930: 230-231). Her mention of this event substantiates that her family’s post was near the Sauk village, V9, discussed above.

The Phelps’ continued to occupy the post until the spring of 1838, when they moved to St. Louis. William spent the year piloting a steamboat [probably for Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company]. In the spring of 1839, the family returned to the Des Moines River, packed their belongings, and moved their household farther up the Des Moines River. Caroline Phelps noted that this move was necessary because the Indians had abandoned their village the previous spring and moved upriver, in compliance with the treaty.
Keokuk's Village (VII), Wapello County

When Keokuk moved his band upriver early in 1838, he settled in a large prairie on the right bank of the Des Moines River. His village was to the south of Appanoose's village, established four years earlier.

John C. Fremont located Keokuk's village on his 1841 map (Figure 10). When Fremont's map is overlain on the modern U.S.G.S. map, Keokuk's village falls immediately south of the Des Moines River, in the NW 1/4 of T. 71 N., R. 13 W. The original town line surveys, conducted in June 1843, indicate the boundaries of "Keokuk's field" in these sections.

Beach described the topographic position of Keokuk's lodge and field:

Keokuk himself has selected a pleasant commanding and picturesque point for his own summer wigwam, some halfway up the side of the bluff, in the rear of his village, where with his own little field of corn and beans, despite the large field of Uncle Sam just beneath him, he enjoyed the otium cum dignitate of his authority and rank during the hot weather.

His wigwam was a very conspicuous object to a traveler along the road that crests the bluff and winds down the long hill to Sugar Creek on this side (Waterman 1914: 31).

The description provided by Beach matches both the original plat map and the modern topographic map.

Although several lodges had small gardens adjacent, the main agricultural fields were across the Des Moines River from the villages. Beach reported that a stretch along the lower half of the hillside on the left bank of the Des Moines River was cultivated by the Sauk and Mesquakie (Waterman 1914: 31).
Keokuk’s village contained 800 inhabitants in 1838 (United States Congressional Documents 1838: 492). Lucas noted its decline in 1840 (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d (d): Lucas to Crawford, 23 October 1840). The village was completely abandoned by the spring of 1842, and a new village established several miles upriver.

Wapello’s Village (V12), Wapello County

Few direct references to the location of Wapello’s village on the Des Moines River have been found. Beach recollected that Wapello’s village was located between the villages of Appanoose and Keokuk, within the same bottomland (Waterman 1914: 31).

Wapello’s village was established along the Des Moines River by 1838 (Kurtz 1986: 32). Street estimated the population of this village as 400 in that year (United States Congressional Documents 1838: 492).

The date of the village’s demise is uncertain, but it probably was abandoned after the 1840 fall harvest. It had few residents when Lucas visited it in October 1840 (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(c): Lucas to Crawford, 23 October 1840). Fremont noted Keokuk’s village along this stretch of the Des Moines, but failed to mention Wapello’s village. This suggests that the village had been abandoned by the summer of 1841 (National Archives 1841; Jackson and Spence 1970: 115-121).

Wapello thought highly of Agent Street and asked to be buried beside him. Some sources report that Wapello, in addition to his village home, also erected a lodge a short distance north of the
agency house (D. Henning 1990). This lodge would have been nearly six miles from his village.

Kishkekosh’s Village (V13), Mahaska County

John Beach referred to Kishkekosh’s village on the Skunk River in his reminiscences. He placed it "...somewhere out north from Kirkville, and probably not over twelve miles distant [from Agency, Iowa], on the bank of the Skunk River, not far above the 'Forks of the Skunk'..." (Waterman 1914: 35). It contained fifteen to twenty lodges (Waterman 1914: 35).

Kurtz’ research led him to conclude that this village was composed of the former residents of Wapello’s Skunk River village (V7). Kishkekosh’s village formed in the late fall of 1841 (Kurtz 1986: 34).

Three archaeological sites associated with the village’s cemetery have been designated: 13MK97, 13MK98, and 13MK99 (Office of the State Archaeologist n.d.). The archaeological site inventory forms state that local residents refer to the area as "Kishkekosh’s burial ground." The burials at these sites had to be exhumed because they were eroding from the bluff overlooking the Skunk River. Materials recovered from the sites include glass beads, a fragment of coarsely woven cloth with an attached silver brooch, and human remains.

Sac and Fox Agency (A1), Wapello County

The reorganization of the Office of Indian Affairs in 1834 disappointed Joseph Street because it meant transferring his
residence from Prairie du Chien to Rock Island. In October 1834, he
received permission to return to Prairie du Chien for the winter. He
was ordered to return to his post on Rock Island by April 1, 1835
(Hill 1974: 143).

In a letter to George W. Jones, Street advocated the removal of
the agency from Rock Island to a location within the bounds of Indian
country (J. M. Street n.d.: Street to Jones, 25 January 1836). He
suggested this transfer should occur early in the spring of 1836.
Part of Street’s dissatisfaction with his assignment to Rock Island
revolved around a personal matter: there was no building available
on Rock Island suitable for housing his large family, and the
government had refused to construct one, since the agency would be
abandoned within a few years (J. M. Street n.d.: Street to Jones, 25
January 1836). Government officials knew the agency would be
discontinued before long because 50 miles of Euro-American
settlements separated the Indian country from the agent.

Street freely admitted that, given a choice, he would return to a
position at Prairie du Chien. If that were not possible, he wanted
the new agency constructed as soon as practicable so that he could be
reunited with his family.

Street noted that the new location he would select would be on
the Des Moines River, near where the 1832 treaty boundary crossed the
river. He pointed out that this location would be only fifty or
sixty miles from Fort Des Moines #1, and near the military road from
Des Moines to Fort Leavenworth (J. M. Street n.d.: Street to Jones,
25 January 1836).
The agency was not moved in the spring of 1836, as Street had advocated. Street lived at Rock Island through that summer. In October Henry Dodge, Governor of Wisconsin Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, gave Street permission to return to Prairie du Chien. Street remained at Rock Island, returning to Prairie du Chien in the spring of 1837 (Hill 1974: 143).

Shortly after his move to Prairie du Chien, many things changed. Most of the troops had left Fort Des Moines II in the fall of 1836; the remainder left in June 1837 (United States War Department 1898: 362). Another treaty was negotiated with the Sauk and Mesquakie, resulting in yet another cession of land (Kappler 1904: 495-496). These events made the agency location Street had proposed impractical.

In March 1838 Street was given the assignment of establishing a new agency (J. M. Street n.d.: Harris to Street, 10 March 1838). The selection of the site for the agency was left to Street’s discretion, with the stipulation that he position the agency upon a navigable stream (J. M. Street n.d.: Harris to Street, 24 May 1838). In July 1838, he notified Henry Dodge that he had visited "all the Sacs at their towns which are on the Des Moines River, and Wapello’s band of Foxes in the same Prairie with the Sacs" (J. M. Street n.d.: Street to Dodge, 13 July 1838).

He also reported that he had selected the locations for agency structures, and that construction was underway (Table 4). He stated:

The Agency is in a Prairie about four miles N. E. of the Des Moines and 75 or 80 miles from Burlington--six or seven miles from Keokuk’s Town, and probably 6 or 8 miles from the
line of the new purchase, within the country retained by the
Indians of the last tho' I cannot be certain as no survey
has been made. It is strange that Mr. Ellis the surveyor
appointed has never written to me .... In making a location
of the Agency, the Mills & other Treaty improvements, I was
embarrassed and had to guess at distances (J. M. Street
n.d.: Street to Dodge, 13 July 1838).

One month later, Henry Dodge notified Street that Charles Bracken
would be surveying the boundary line and that he should be contacting
Street shortly¹⁹ (J. M. Street n.d.: Dodge to Street, 16 August 1838).
Bracken commenced the survey on September 17, 1838, but he and his
crew became ill shortly thereafter. He did not return to complete
the field work until June 1, 1839 (State Historical Society of Iowa
1941: Bracken (1), (2)). Unfortunately, Bracken did not include any
man-made features -- such as agency structures or Indian villages --
on his map or in his notes (National Archives c.1838; State
Historical Society of Iowa 1941: Bracken, (1), (2)).

By August 1838 the hewn-log council house was ready. Some of the
other buildings were not completely finished until after Street took
possession in late 1838 (Van der Zee 1916: 501).

Street’s successor, John Beach, described the agency in his
annual report, filed September 1, 1841. He wrote:

Neither have I astronomical, geographical, or other data
whereon to construct a map as required by the Regulation.
This Agency is about 17 miles due west from a point 1 1/2
miles south of our Post town (Fairfield). Three villages
are respectively 5, 6, & 7 miles west of this on the bank of
the Des Moines; a fourth 25 miles distant, North of West on
same River, a fifth 10 miles north of the last mentioned, on
Skunk River; and the sixth on the Iowa, from 60 to 70 miles
distant from this Agency. The Soap Creek Mills lie south
across the Des Moines and seven miles distant (National
Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1841).
Beach's reminiscences were published as a weekly series in the Agency Independent and were reprinted, in edited form, in Waterman's History of Wapello County (Waterman 1914: 23-42). Beach described the agency in these articles.

In August 1838, he had accompanied Street to the agency to assess the progress of the construction work. He reported that the council house was already completed, being the first building constructed. Timbers for the agency house were hewn. Bricks and lime were manufactured on site.

The buildings were essentially complete and ready for occupancy by the onset of winter. Street moved to the new Sac and Fox Agency in December 1838. He brought his family from Prairie du Chien to the new agency in April 1839 (Waterman 1914: 29).

Beach reported that the government gave Street a generous allocation for the agency. Street was able to erect "a house of quite substantial and of convenient size" (Waterman 1914: 28). In addition, a large field was broken and fenced, and stables and other buildings constructed adjacent to the house.

A more detailed description of the Sac and Fox Agency comes from Beach's 1841 annual report. He reported the agent's residence to consist of:

One 1 1/2 story frame house, 58 X 18 feet, with 2 brick chimneys.

One stone-walled well, 35 feet deep, with a well house 6 X 8 feet.

One smoke house of hewed logs 16 X 18 feet.
One stable of round logs, 18 X 18 feet (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1841).

In addition to the agent's domicile, Beach reported the existence of:

One council house, of hewed logs, 24 X 24 feet, with one brick chimney.

One smith shop, of round logs, 38 X 20 feet, with one brick chimney, 3 flues, 2 rooms (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1841).

Farther away were the government buildings of the Pattern Farm and the Soap Creek Mills. These will be described separately, below.

One final facility mentioned by Beach was a warehouse, of hewed logs 18 X 18 feet, "on the Des Moines River" (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1841). No other references to this warehouse have been found.

Late in life, Beach described the layout of the agency as it had appeared to him in June 1840, when he assumed the position of agent:

In the agency house was Mrs. Street and the nine youngest of her children....Just over the branch, in the rear of the agency was Josiah Smart the interpreter,...and within a few steps of his residence was that of the blacksmith, Charles H. Withington. There was also Harry Sturdevant, the gunsmith, but being unmarried, he boarded with Withington until a year or so later he put himself up a cabin, where the writer now lives (August 1874)...(Waterman 1914: 30).

Although Beach does not mention it, the family cemetery had already been established by this time, too. The cemetery was a short distance west of the agency house.

The last annual report filed by Joseph M. Street, in September 1839, included a list of portable government property in his possession. He listed numbers of chairs, tables, desks, wagons, ploughs, tools, horses, cattle, etc., at the Agency, the Pattern

The agency was the site of the October 11, 1842 treaty signing in which the Sauk and Mesquakie ceded their remaining lands in Iowa Territory to the United States government. Because of this event, historians have focused a good deal of attention on this historical location. In particular, attention has been paid to the cemetery area. The cemetery consists of seven graves\(^1\) (Harlan n.d: Abstract of Title No. 11185, File 49J, Part 20, Group 3).

Charles Aldrich, first curator of the Iowa State Historical Department (now the State Historical Society of Iowa) inquired about the condition of Street’s grave in 1903. He was told that the burial ground, 40 X 50 feet, belonged to the Street family. The cemetery was very near the agency house, such that one acre would enclose both (Aldrich n.d.: Harper to Aldrich, 21 December 1903, File 63). By the 1920s, the C. B. and Q. Railroad Company, whose line ran south of the agency complex, began acquiring additional right of way. Edgar Harlan, Aldrich’s successor at the Historical Society, initiated efforts to protect the agency cemetery. To that end, he had an abstract of title prepared for the cemetery in 1928 (Harlan n.d.: Abstract of Title No. 11185, File 49J, Part 20, Group 3).

A photograph of the cemetery, c. 1895, shows the graves surrounded by a picket fence (W. Street 1895: facing page 104). Another photograph shows some large trees adjacent to the fenced cemetery (Waterman 1914: facing page 46). At the time the cemetery abstract was prepared in 1928, the cemetery was described as having
monuments five and six feet high which were surrounded by a white fence (Harlan n.d.: Abstract of Title No. 11185, File 49J, Part 20, Group 3).

Renovations of the cemetery were undertaken in the 1970s. A chain link fence now encloses the graves; a kiosk displays photographs and text describing the importance of the site.

Similar efforts were made to protect the site of the agency house. In 1936, Harlan was alerted to efforts to have Wapello County citizens:

...purchase the ground on the east [side of the cemetery] where the old Agency house stood and restore it, as the large elm trees still remain at this location, which is now part of a stock farm and has grown up in weeds. Part of the foundation still remains (Harlan n.d.: Connett to Harlan, S October 1936, File 49J, Part 20, Group 3).

Orie Erb Klingaman succeeded Harlan as curator of the Historical Department. Like his predecessors, Klingaman was interested in the agency grounds. In 1938, he corresponded with Richard Leggett of Fairfield on this matter. Leggett reported the location of the agency house as:

...about four hundred yards south of the present highway #34 and just adjacent to the right-of-way of the Burlington Railroad and about a quarter of a mile west of the Wapello and Street graves (Klingaman n.d.: Leggett to Klingaman, S November 1938, File 6).

This location is not in agreement with other accounts. Leggett put the house west of the graves, while others put it to the east; Leggett also put a much greater distance between the house and the cemetery.
Klingaman traveled to Agency, Iowa, in November 1938 and interviewed James and Philomena Lynn [Linn] Van Zant (Klingaman n.d.: Data concerning the site of the Agency House, c. 10 November 1938, File 6). According to Philomena Van Zant, her father purchased the farm on which the agency house stood in about 1860, when Philomena was three years old. She lived in the house until 1877, when she married James Van Zant. According to Philomena Van Zant’s account, the house was a log cabin when her father purchased it. He put siding on the outside and lathed and plastered the inside.

Philomena Van Zant gave the location of the agency house as just east of the graves, in the locust grove on the north side of the present [1938] C. B. & Q. railroad. Klingaman noted that the site was plainly visible because the cellar was not completely filled (Klingaman n.d.: Data concerning the site of the Agency House, c. 10 November 1938, File 6).

There are some problems with this account. According to the title abstract for the cemetery area, this land was not transferred to John Linn until 1892 (Harlan n.d.: Abstract of Title No. 11185, File 49J, Part 20, Group 3). There are several possibilities. Linn may have rented the land from 1860 to 1892; or, Linn may have purchased the house area in 1860, but not the cemetery. The abstract of title prepared for Harlan is concerned only with the sliver of land enclosing the cemetery.

There is also a discrepancy between Van Zant’s recollection that the house was originally a log cabin, and Beach’s 1841 statement of fixed property, in which he records the agency house as a frame
structure (Klingaman n.d.: Data concerning the site of the Agency House, c. 10 November 1938, File 6; National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1841). Beach's statement is more reliable, since it was written during the time he occupied the house. In contrast, Van Zant was recalling her childhood home. Another possibility, although unlikely, is that Van Zant did not live in the former Street residence, but rather in one of the other agency buildings. A photograph of the agency house (Figure 16) was published in 1911 (Brigham 1911: between pp. 24 and 25). A different view of the agency was depicted in Evans (1901: 16).

Both the agency house and the cemetery have been designated as archaeological sites. The cemetery is 13WP124, the house 13WP125. The cemetery has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(b)). Both are in T. 72 N., R. 12 W., Section 31. Artifacts collected from the agency house site are curated at the Office of the State Archaeologist. No collections have been made from the cemetery.

Sac and Fox Pattern Farm (A2), Wapello County

After selling the village land, Keokuk moved farther up the Des Moines River, near an already-established Sauk village. The 1837 treaty stipulated that the United States would construct an agency near the villages and would establish a pattern farm for the use and benefit of the Sauk and Mesquakie. The farm structures were built sometime after September 1838 (United States Congressional Documents 1838: 493).
Table 4. Dates of occupation and geographic position of United States Indian agencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference Number</th>
<th>Historical Location</th>
<th>Dates of Occupation</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Legal Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Sac and late Fox Agency</td>
<td>late 1838 1842</td>
<td>Wapello</td>
<td>T.72N., R.12W., 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T.72N., R.13W., 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T.72N., R.13W., 26</td>
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<td>T.72N., R.13W., 35</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T.72N., R.13W., 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Sac and Fox late Pattern</td>
<td>late 1838 1843</td>
<td>Wapello</td>
<td>T.72N., R.13W., 28?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T.72N., R.13W., 33?</td>
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<td>A3</td>
<td>Appanoose (Sugar) Creek Mills</td>
<td>1839 1840</td>
<td>Wapello</td>
<td>T.70N., R.12W., 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Soap Creek Mills</td>
<td>1839 1842</td>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>T.78N., R.24W., 2?</td>
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<td>A5</td>
<td>Raccoon River Agency Smiths' Shops</td>
<td>1843 1845</td>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>T.78N., R.24W., 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>Raccoon River Agency House</td>
<td>1843 1845</td>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>T.78N., R.24W., 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 16. Photograph of the Sac and Fox Agency house (Brigham 1911: between pages 24 and 25)
A record of the appearance of the farm structures comes from Agent Beach’s annual report in September 1841. He listed the pattern farm buildings as follows:

One 1 1/2 story house of hewed logs, 46 X 18 feet with two brick chimneys

One smokehouse of hewed logs, 16 X 16 feet

Two stables of hewed logs, 15 X 20 feet (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1841).

He also listed all equipment at the farm, ranging from augers, axes, saws and hammers to bells and bridles.

George Wilson, a brother-in-law of Agent Beach, served as agency farmer beginning in the spring of 1843. By the time he assumed this post, the Indians had already moved to a more westerly tract, so his duties revolved around caring for this government property until it was sold.

In March of that year, Congress passed an Act authorizing the sale of agency lands and structures as soon as an agency was abandoned. These parcels could not exceed 640 acres in size. Citing that law, Wilson wrote to Governor John Chambers, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in July 1843 (National Archives 1964b: Wilson to Chambers, 8 July 1843). He complained that several settlers had claimed portions of the pattern farm, and refused to remove from these lands. He warned Chambers that if the land sale was held in the area, the farm would bring only $1.25 per acre, the same price as unimproved lands.

The township survey was then in progress and Wilson persuaded the surveyor to map the pattern farm (Figure 17). Wilson sent Chambers a
copy of this map showing the farm buildings, area fenced, and the settlers' claim cabins. He also drew two lines on the map, one green and one red, showing the best selection of lands.

Wilson estimated the value of the pattern farm as $1545. He acknowledged that the estimate might seem low, but hastened to add:

The fences have been standing near five years; the house has never been finished; chimneys much dilapidated, and one portion of it is so much infested with vermine that the men have to sleep in the stable lofts; the roof clapboard. The house needs $100 of repairs for another winter (National Archives 1964b: Wilson to Chambers, 8 July 1843).

Wilson concluded his letter with an offer to buy the pattern farm at private sale, for the amount estimated.

By the middle of August 1843, Chambers was instructed to sell the Sac and Fox Agency lands. Bidders had to submit written proposals. Deeds were granted the following February. Several bids were offered; documents in the Street papers show that three successful bidders purchased portions of the farm. By far the largest parcel, 440 acres, went to George Wilson for $1000. His parcel included all the farm buildings as well as a mix of pasture, cropland, and timber.

Government Mills

The locations of the government mills were determined by Joseph M. Street on his tour of the Indian country in July 1838 (J. M. Street n.d.: Street to Dodge, 13 July 1838). Street reported that he selected locations for the agency, the mills and other improvements required by the treaty.
Figure 17. Map of the Sac and Fox Pattern Farm (National Archives 1964b: Wilson to Chambers, 8 July 1843)
Mills were built on two streams. According to the contract for the construction of these mills, Street selected one mill site on Ferro Creek and the other on Appanoose Creek (National Archives 1967a: 160-163). In apparent contradiction, Beach reported that the mills were on Soap Creek and Sugar Creek (Waterman 1914: 26). This researcher suspects that Appanoose Creek and Sugar Creek are the same stream, the name having been changed between the time Street selected the mill site in 1838 and the time Beach wrote his reminiscences in 1874. Beach’s letterbook refers to mills on Appanoose Creek. No evidence has been found to suggest whether or not Ferro Creek and Soap Creek are the same stream. Street hired Jeremiah Smith, Sr. to construct the mills. The construction contract gives a detailed plan for the structures. An excerpt from the contract is printed in Appendix A. Jeremiah Smith was hired to operate the Appanoose Creek Mills. Samuel Smith was employed at Soap Creek Mills. Within a year after construction, both mills had been washed away. John Beach succeeded to the position of agent about the time of these catastrophes. Initial correspondence in his letterbook includes his removal of the Smiths as millers.

Appanoose (Sugar) Creek Mills (A3), Wapello County

Little information about the Appanoose Creek Mills has been found. This is not terribly surprising, since the mills were in operation less than one year when they were washed away by a flood. Beach reported their destruction on August 21, 1840. The dam and the entire saw mill were gone, and the grist mill house was moved down
the bank. Only the stones and some portions of the machinery were
left. Beach did not recommend rebuilding this facility because the
water level was often too low to allow operation (Beach 1976: Beach
to Crawford, 24 August 1840).

Soap Creek Mills (A4), Davis County

Beach reminisced about agency life in his Agency Independent
articles. He described the short life of the mill on Sugar Creek.

He then wrote:

Another mill was put up on Soap Creek, and when the writer
took charge of the Agency in June, 1840, that also was
destroyed; but as that was a better stream and he was
fortunate enough to secure the services of Peter Wood, a man
who fully understood his business, and was honestly disposed
to attend to it, a second mill that was erected fared
better... (Waterman 1914: 26).

On the last day of December, 1840, Beach sent the Commissioner of
Indian Affairs copies of the advertisement for the repair of Soap
Creek Mills, a summary of the proposals received, and the contract
negotiated with the successful bidder (National Archives 1964a:
Beach to Crawford, 31 December 1840).

John Tolman had won the bid. As required in the advertisement,
two men had secured his bid by posting bond. These men were William
Phelps, trader with the Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company, and Harvey
Sturdevant, agency gunsmith.

The repairs were to consist of moving the remaining mill works
"to the low bank above the break caused by the freshet" and
constructing a house for a grist mill. This was to be an 18 X 20
foot frame structure (National Archives 1964a: Beach to Crawford, 31
December 1840). An excerpt from the contract between Tolman and Beach is included in Appendix A. This document gives a detailed description of the proposed work. Also included in Appendix A is an excerpt of a letter from Beach to Crawford in which Beach describes the several deviations from the contract which were necessary during the course of construction.

On June 5th, 1841, Beach notified John Chambers that the finished work had been inspected and found to be satisfactory (National Archives 1964a: Beach to Chambers, 5 June 1841). The repairs were extensive, essentially amounting to a complete reconstruction. The mill was relocated, the new mill being upstream from the old.

Soon after completion of the reconstruction, Peter Wood was hired as miller. He and his family moved to the millsite. Their home was "just over the mill, and but a few yards from it" (National Archives 1964a: Beach to Chambers 28 August 1842).

It is not known what arrangements were ultimately made for the operation of the saw mill. The grist mill operated successfully. In his annual report for 1841, Beach wrote that much of the wheat raised in the Indians' fields the previous season had been taken to the mill (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1841).

In October 1841 treaty negotiations were held. The United States failed in its attempt to obtain an additional land cession from the Sauk and Mesquakie. This irritated many of the would-be settlers who were crowding along the old boundary line.

Beginning that fall, Beach spent much of his time trying to remove intruders from the Indian lands. By the summer of 1842, Beach
and Chambers had been burned in effigy by Euro-American settlers at Iowaville, and threats were made against agency property. Because of these threats, Peter Wood’s family moved away in early July, leaving him alone at the mill.

In late summer, Beach traveled to St. Louis to pick up the Sauk and Mesquakie annuities. Upon his return, he learned that the Soap Creek Mills had been destroyed by fire. This disaster occurred between 10:00 pm and 11:00 pm on the night of August 27, 1842 (National Archives 1964a: Beach to Chambers, 28 August 1842).

Beach had prepared a portion of his 1842 annual report prior to his trip to St. Louis. Although the mills had burned four days before Beach filed the report, he left the description of the mills "as originally sketched, that the full extent of this injury may be comprehended". He wrote, in part:

From want of a fund, and from the reason that there is now little or no demand for lumber in the neighborhood, the saw mill which can with ease cut over 2,000 feet per day usually lies idle. The Grist mill, when the water is high, is kept employed during a great portion of the time. It can grind about 8 bushels per hour. It will now be of much service to the Indians in manufacturing their flour and having a good bolt attached, it makes as good flour and as much from the grain as is made at any mill upon the Des Moines. A Race with suitable gates has been lately added at an expense of $210, which places the mill out of danger except in extraordinary cases where as before it was opened the dam was in danger of being swept away at every freshet. The toll which has been collected, except what was used for the cattle, has been given out to the Indians...(National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1842).

Wood reported that the mills were completely destroyed, except for the dam, which was not injured (National Archives 1964a: Wood to Beach, 30 August 1842).
It appears that the mills were not rebuilt a second time. Treaty negotiations held in October 1842 resulted in the Sauk and Mesquakie ceding their remaining lands and agreeing to remove from the eastern portion of those lands by May 1843; thus the government did not bother with rebuilding the mills.

These lands, newly acquired by the United States, were known as the 'New Purchase.' A series of articles describing these lands appeared in the Burlington Hawk-Eye during the summer of 1843. Soap Creek, or 'Se-pa-he-kon,' was said to have enough water to run a mill nearly the whole year (L.W.B. 1843a).

An August 10, 1843 article stated:

There are several good mill seats upon this stream, one of which has been improved by the U.S. government for the benefit of the Sac and Fox nation of Indians, but unfortunately the mills (a saw and grist mill) were destroyed by fire in the fore part of last winter (L.W.B. 1843b).

Alvie Harding, a southeast Iowa native with a long term interest in the area's history, stated that the Soap Creek Mills were probably in T. 70 N., R. 12 W., Section 4 (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d. (i)).

Ewings' Trading House (T6), Wapello County

George Hunt applied for a trading license on behalf of George and William Ewing in November 1840. Beach granted the firm a license, specifying that the post should be at the mouth of Appanoose Creek (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1842). Hunt
soon left the firm's employ, and John D. Parmalee became manager of the post (Trennert 1981: 94).

Records of this post's location are scant. If the Ewings positioned the trading house as Beach directed, then it would have been on the left bank of the Des Moines River, adjacent to the mouth of Appanoose Creek (present-day Sugar Creek). Sugar Creek enters the Des Moines River from the north in T. 72 N., R. 13 W. No other locational information has been found.

Wishecomaque's Village (V14), Monroe County

Dissatisfaction over the distribution of annuities led to the establishment of a new village in the spring of 1840. Wishecomaque headed this village. Many of Black Hawk's followers, including the Prophet, resided here (Beach 1976: 24 June 1840; Waterman 1914: 32).

Beach reported that this village was on the right bank of the Des Moines River, about twenty miles from the villages of Appanoose (V6), Wapello (V12), and Keokuk (V11) (Beach 1976: 24 June 1840).

Fremont's map notes "Winnebago Prophet" on the right bank of the Des Moines River, just above where "Muchekianoe Creek" enters the Des Moines (National Archives 1841). "Muchekianoe Creek" is the present-day Muchakinock Creek. Fremont's map places the village in T. 73 N., R. 16 W., Section 1 (Figure 10).

The village cemetery was apparently on the opposite side of the Des Moines River, in present-day Eddyville, Iowa (Anonymous 1915; Seifert 1906). Burials in the cemetery were reportedly disturbed in the late 19th century. This information comes from a 1915 newspaper
article on prehistoric mounds. In speaking of some burial mounds containing only flint tools and pottery, the reporter wrote:

...if any of these were the graves of our latter day Indians, there would be found traces of iron or steel weapons, medals, buttons or glass beads, as there were in the old Indian cemetery uncovered in Eddyville proper in 1878...(Anonymous 1915).

The extent of the cemetery's disturbance is not known.

Governor Lucas arrived at Wishecomaque's village on the last day of September, 1840. He collected information on the community's population from the village leaders. He reported 27 lodges, containing 124 families. The village's total population was 527 (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(c): Lucas to Crawford, 23 October 1840).

Lucas stated that the village was in a prairie adjacent to the Des Moines River, but in contradiction to other sources, he placed the village on the north bank of the river" (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(c): Lucas to Crawford, 23 October 1840).

Eddy's Trading House (T7), Wapello County

Jabbish P. Eddy entered the trade in 1840. His license authorized him to trade at two locations: Hardfish's [Wishecomaque's] village and Kishkekosh's village on the Skunk River (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1842).

One historian placed Eddy's post "at the end of the bend of the river, about a quarter of a mile below the present site of Eddyville" (Seifert 1906). This description would place Eddy's post in T. 73 N., R. 15 W., Section 6 or Section 7. The post consisted of "a
double log house of round logs for the trading post and a one room log house for a house" (Seifert 1906). Beach stated that the Chouteau firm’s trading house was about one-quarter of a mile below the Eddy post (Waterman 1914: 35).

Vessar’s Trading House (T8), Wapello County

The Chouteau firm was licensed to trade at Wishecomaque’s village (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1842). In his reminiscences Beach related:

About the time that Eddy moved out his stock of goods from Burlington to his licensed point at the Hardfish village, P. Chouteau, Jr., & Company also obtained an addition to their license for a post at the same place, and put up a small establishment some fourth of a mile below Eddy, on the river bank (Waterman 1914: 35).

Simpson Vessar (Vassar) worked for the Chouteau firm in the early 1840s (Waterman 1914: 33), and very likely manned the post near Wishecomaque’s village. John C. Fremont plotted the location of Vessar’s trading house on his 1841 map of the Des Moines River (National Archives 1841). Fremont located Vessar’s post in the timber flanking the left bank of the Des Moines River.

Phelps’ Trading House (T9), Wapello County

A trading house owned by Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company, and occupied by William Phelps was constructed in the spring of 1839 (Phelps 1930: 233). The layout and location of this post is known because of an historical event. Fire destroyed this store in the
early morning hours of February 23, 1841 (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Crawford, 5 March 1841).

Upon discovering the fire, the occupants of the post attempted to remove the supplies. First, gun powder, stored in the building's loft was removed, then furs and trade goods. Shortly after this effort was begun, an individual recalled that other barrels of gunpowder were stored on the main floor. Realizing the danger, the retrieval efforts were halted. Before everyone could escape the store, there was an explosion and two individuals were killed.

Members of the Sauk and Mesquakie tribes were accused of setting the fire, and the traders pleaded with the United States government for restitution. Agent Beach visited the establishment immediately after the fire and took depositions from a number of witnesses. In his report to his superiors, he included a plan of the trading post (Figure 18).

This plan shows not only the trader's store, but also the Phelps' dwelling, the servants' quarters, a carriage shed, an unoccupied Indian house, a hen house and a corn crib. It also indicates that the post was on the left bank of the Des Moines River.

Caroline Phelps described the layout of this post as well. Her journal records:

Where we lived now on the banks of the Demoin river we have 3 buildings facing each other, the store is next to the river joining is the storage room for dry goods, next is also a storage room but for meat and flour, opposite those are three of the same kind of buildings, one was a kitchen, next rooms for the men, my room was joined like a well between those rows (Phelps 1930: 234-235).
Beach’s letter and the accompanying depositions record other physical features of the post. Beach states that "the part of the building where the fire first begun [that is, the carriage shed] was the most concealed from the other houses, there being no window in the end of the house 'C', or in front of 'D'" (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Crawford, 5 March 1841) (see Figure 18).

James Wells, a visitor spending the night at the post, remarked that the side of the house adjacent to the carriage shed was "of hewed logs, about the usual thickness of eight inches" (National Archives 1956b: Wells deposition, Beach to Crawford, 5 March 1841).

Stephen Phelps, who normally resided in Oquawka, Illinois, hurried to the post upon learning of the fire. From his statement we learn that "the trading post was situated on the Des Moines River about ten miles within the Indian country, in accordance with a license to that effect, granted by the Agent October 1st, 1839" (National Archives 1956b: S. Phelps deposition, Beach to Crawford, 5 March 1841).

Stephen Phelps’ estimate of the damage included $8,000 for:

Indian goods, embracing cloths, calicoes, blankets, trinkets, and ornaments, guns, powder, and other implements of hunting, tin and copper ware and cooking utensils, saddlery and groceries (National Archives 1956b: S. Phelps deposition, Beach to Crawford, 5 March 1841).

Another $6,000 loss was incurred in furs and peltries. Phelps added $1,000 for the destruction and damage of "buildings, corn, provisions, and carriage," bringing the total loss to $15,000 (National Archives 1956b: S. Phelps deposition, Beach to Crawford, 5 March 1841).
Figure 18. Plan of the Phelps' post which was burned in 1841
(National Archives 1956b: Beach to Crawford, 5 March 1841)


Rejoined A. Place and Carriages.
B. Trapping House.
C. Latched Dwellings.
D. Servants' Cottages.
E. Smaller Beast (unoccupied)
1. New House
d. Corn Loft.
It is unclear whether the entire post was consumed by the fire. None of the depositions taken by Beach mention the destruction of household property. Caroline Phelps gave a vivid account of the fire in her journal (Phelps 1930: 234-237). She implied that much of the property was destroyed, but indicated that the post continued to be occupied. She wrote:

The men repaired our room so that we were pretty comfortable. We had to borrow from the agent some victuals, our pickled pork was scattered for two miles, goods were thrown upon the river on the ice and piles of calico were burning next day and the flour and meat that was not scattered burned eleven days (Phelps 1930: 236).

Phelps did not record any later events in her journal, so it is not known whether other structures were rebuilt. There is little evidence to confirm or deny whether the location continued to be occupied as a trading post. Presently, this researcher believes that the location continued to be occupied.

Fremont’s map, drawn in July 1841, depicts Phelps’ trading house on the left bank of the Des Moines River, and approximately ten miles above the 1837 treaty boundary. Thus, it is in the same general location as the post that burned a few months earlier, and may, in fact, be the same post.

Fort Sanford (F2), Wapello County

This trading house may have been put to another use in the fall of 1842. In September of that year, a detachment of dragoons was ordered to take up quarters near the Sac and Fox Agency. By the middle of October, the dragoons had been invited by John F. A.
Sanford, Pierre Chouteau's son-in-law, to establish the post in one of the company's abandoned trading stations. The dragoons moved into these cabins on November 12, 1842 (Van der Zee 1916: 511-512). James Allen, the commander of the dragoons, designated the post Fort Sanford in recognition of this kindness.

Captain Allen stated that the post was:

...on the left bank of Des Moines River, sixty-five miles west from Fort Madison on the Mississippi, four miles west of second [sic] Fox agency and about twenty-five miles north of the upper disputed boundary of Missouri (United States War Department 1900: 291-292).

He reported the nearest post office was Fairfield, some twenty-one miles away (United States War Department 1900: 292).

Allen described the post as consisting of "eight rooms of huts or rude log cabins" (United States War Department 1900: 291). He reported that the cabins would:

...make quarters for the men of my company and the requisite store-room, and a single cabin for one officer. I am building huts for two officers, and stables for my complement of horses, all of which I hope to have completed by the end of next month (United States War Department 1900: 291).

Fort Sanford was occupied for only seven months, for in May 1843, the dragoons headed upriver to establish Fort Des Moines #2.

White Breast Village (V15), Marion County

A village in the vicinity of White Breast Creek formed in 1841 or 1842. Unlike most of the other Sauk and Mesquakie villages of the 1832 to 1845 period, this community has been named after its location rather than its village leader.
Its locale is referred to both as Lake Prairie and White Breast. White Breast Creek enters the Des Moines River in T. 76 N., R. 19 W. in present-day Marion County. The township northeast of this confluence is named Lake Prairie township.

Keokuk probably led this community, as Beach mentioned that Keokuk’s village was "near the White Breast" (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 25 October 1842). The Chouteau firm must have had a post nearby, for Beach reported that it was licensed to trade at "Lake prairie on the Des Moines" (National Archives 1956b: Beach to Chambers, 1 September 1842).

Donnel recorded the early history of Marion County. He spoke of Lake Prairie township:

This name was taken from the long lake extending two miles below Amsterdam, between which and the river lies an extensive and beautiful prairie. This lake, judging from its size and appearance, was at some remote period, the channel of the river, and extended so as to intersect with it at each end; but since, by the accumulation of ice or other drift at the upper end, the water was forced to cut a new channel, a large part of the old one has been gradually filling up... and forest trees are now growing over the abandoned channel (Donnel 1872: 140).

Donnel also noted the presence of some springs on this prairie "...that were resorted to by the Indians of the village nearby..." (Donnel 1872: 140). He named Keokuk as the village headman (Donnel 1872: 142, 146).

Sources do not state when this village was abandoned, but it must have been in the spring of 1843 when new communities were established west of the Red Rock Line.
Totokonock's Village (V16), Johnson County

In addition to the numerous historical locations on the Des Moines and Skunk rivers, several positions on the Iowa River were occupied. One source describes Totokonock's village:

[A]...chief named Totokonock had a village in what is now Fremont township, near where Chas. Fernstrom now resides (1882). These were the Musquaka branch of the Sac and Fox tribe. Totokonock was Black Hawk's prophet... (Anonymous 1883: 290).

Totokonock's village was "...opposite the mouth of the English river... (Anonymous 1883: 293).

Totokonock is said to have been a "minor civil chief"; however, this researcher has not found his name preserved in any of the primary sources examined."

Despite the lack of information concerning this individual, the village location mentioned cannot be disregarded. DeWard's 1835 map (Figure 9) depicts a trail leading from Poweshiek's village on the Cedar River to a village along the Iowa River several miles below the mouth of the English River (National Archives 1835). Symbols on the map denote a village on the east bank of the Iowa River. The leader of the village is not identified on the map; however, DeWard's field notes state that this was a Mesquakie village containing six lodges (State Historical Society of Iowa 1941: DeWard (1) 12-13).

The original land surveys, conducted in 1841, made no mention of a village in this location, but did record the presence of an "Indian grave" on the east side of the Iowa River in Section 12, T. 77 N., R. 6 W. (Secretary of State 1938: (54) 142). This position is directly opposite the mouth of the English River.
As noted above, Totokonock's village was reported to have been on land owned by Charles Fernstrom in 1882. An 1870 Johnson County atlas shows C. A. Fernstrom owning lands in the SW 1/4 of Section 29, the SE 1/4 of the SE 1/4 of Section 30 and the NW 1/4 of Section 32, T. 77 N., R. 5 W. (Thompson and Everts 1870: 25). Fernstrom's holdings had shifted only slightly by 1889 (Novak 1889: Plate 3). This location is several miles southeast of the placement of the Indian grave reported in the original land surveys.

Fernstrom's land was bounded on the north by a small stream, (present-day Prairie Creek), a tributary to the Iowa River. The southern boundary of Fernstrom's holdings was the Iowa River.

This village was reportedly abandoned after the 1837 treaty signing, and perhaps as late as the spring of 1839. Some members of the band joined the Poweshiek and Wapashashiek villages, while Totokonock and other members of the band joined the Winnebago (Anonymous 1883: 293).

**Poweshiek's Village (V17), Johnson County**

Poweshiek's village (V4) had relocated from the Red Cedar River by 1837. In that year, S. C. Trowbridge settled in what was to become Johnson County. Trowbridge reported to a journal editor:

Their [Poweshiek's, Wapashashiek's and Kishkekosh's] villages, in 1837, when I first settled in Iowa, were on the banks of the Iowa River, in what is now Pleasant Valley and Iowa City [East Lucas] Townships, Johnson County (Huff 1868: 64).

The 1883 *History of Johnson County* placed Poweshiek's village "...right where David B. Cox, Esq. now resides, in Pleasant Valley
Twp." (Anonymous 1883: 292). Referring to John Gilbert's nearby trading house, the county history continued:

The [Gilbert trading] house stood in what is now [1882] 'Squire David B. Cox's corn-field, just across the road east from his house--his residence, barn, stockyards, orchard, etc., being on the very ground where Poweshiek's Indian village stood at the time this new trading house was built [1838] (Anonymous 1883: 300).

David B. Cox owned the S 1/4 of Section 35, T. 79 N., R. 6 W. in 1870; by 1889 he had sold his holdings (Thompson and Everts 1870: 18; Novak 1889: Plate 10). A stream (present-day Snyder Creek) flowed southwestward through his property, while a road paralleling the Iowa River cut south across his land. Three structures are shown on the 1870 map: all three are between the river and the road (Thompson and Everts 1870: 18).

The General Land Office surveyed and subdivided the lands south of the City of Iowa City in 1839. While charting the meanders of the Iowa River in T. 79 N., R. 6 W., surveyor John Frierson noted the remains of two deserted Indian villages on the left bank of the river: one in Section 27, and another in Section 35 (Secretary of State 1938: (54) 296, 298).

Jack T. Johnson published an article about the early Euro-American settlers near Iowa City in 1939. Using an array of historical documents and reminiscences, he described the Napoleon townsite, the first county seat in Johnson County. His article is illustrated by a sketch map entitled "The Vicinity of Napoleon 1839" (Johnson 1939). The sketch shows the relative positions of three trading posts, an Indian village, and the townsites of Napoleon and
Iowa City (Johnson 1939: facing page 118). Text accompanying the sketch indicates that the village depicted was governed by Poweshiek.

In many respects the sketch and article appear quite reliable. Unfortunately, Johnson did not specifically cite any of the references he used, so it is not possible to corroborate his research findings.

Comparing the sketch to a modern county topographic map, one finds that the meanders of the Iowa River were drawn quite accurately. According to the placement on this sketch map, Poweshiek's village was south of an unnamed tributary joining the Iowa River from the east.

This village location along the Iowa River was right at the northwestern boundary of Keokuk's Reserve. It is difficult to determine whether the village was within the reserve or immediately west of its bounds.

Keokuk's Reserve was to have been vacated by November 1836. This village was occupied for two and one half years beyond that date, suggesting that the village was west of the 1832 treaty line and Keokuk's Reserve.

The 1837 treaty ceded an additional 1.25 million acres west of the Black Hawk Purchase. This treaty required the Indians to remove within eight months of its ratification. The United States Senate ratified the treaty on February 21, 1838, requiring the Indians removal by late October 1838 (Kappler 1904: 495-496).

In accord with the treaty, village residents did not return in the spring of 1839. Instead, Poweshiek moved his band some sixteen
miles farther up the Iowa River, to an area known as the Dupont Settlement or the Town of Monroe.

Wapashashiek’s Village (V18), Johnson County

There are several references to Wapashashiek’s village but none give detailed information (Anonymous 1883; Huff 1868; Johnson 1939; Aurner 1912). All agree that his village was on the left bank of the Iowa River, approximately one mile upstream from Poweshiek’s village. Wapashashiek was a subordinate of Poweshiek.

The deserted village in T. 79 N., R. 6 W., Section 27, noted in the original land survey, may well have been the remains of Wapashashiek’s village. The placement of the village on the land survey map is about one and one-eighth mile north and west of the village attributed to Poweshiek (Secretary of State 1938: (54) 298).

F. M. Irish, a Johnson County pioneer, testified that the largest Indian town in the county -- with a population of 1000 -- was governed by Poweshiek and was located about two miles below Iowa City.” Irish referred to the location as "...on the Clark Farm, now [1868] owned by Jas. McCallester..." (Irish 1868: 24).

A later historian, C. Ray Aurner, compiled biographical information on James McCollister. Aurner reported that McCollister purchased the Philip Clark farm, "...situated one and one-half miles south of Iowa City on the River Road..." in 1864. McCollister was still residing there when Aurner’s book was published in 1912 (Aurner 1912: (2) 49-50). This farm was the only one McCollister ever owned in Johnson County. In 1912, it comprised nearly 1000 acres.
Irish’s recollections attributing this village to Poweshiek seem to be in conflict with those of Trowbridge, who placed Poweshiek’s village farther south. Poweshiek’s village could not have been both on the McCollister farm two miles below Iowa City and on the Cox farm in Pleasant Valley Township. This researcher suspects that Irish’s comments concerning the village "governed by Poweshiek" are actually references to Wapashashiek’s village. That village was reported to be approximately one mile upstream from that of Poweshiek. In support of this interpretation, it should be noted that the southern edge of the land owned by McCollister in 1870 was one mile north and slightly west of Cox’s 1870 holdings (Thompson and Everts 1870: 18).

The locational information Irish gave conforms to the site of Wapashashiek’s village as given by other authors. Technically, Irish’s statement is valid, since Wapashashiek’s village comprised a sub-band of Poweshiek. The village was, therefore, governed by Poweshiek.

Wapashashiek and the residents of his village moved west in the spring of 1839, establishing a village near present-day South Amana (V21). Here the United States government had plowed and fenced a section of land for the Mesquakie (Anonymous 1883: 291).

Gilbert’s Trading House (T10), Johnson County

John Gilbert was prominent in the trade along the Iowa River in the late 1830s. S. C. Trowbridge, a friend and confidante of Gilbert, recalled his friend’s activities, but did not indicate when
Gilbert entered the trade, nor did he state precisely when Gilbert established his post adjacent to Poweshiek's village (V17).

The 1883 History of Johnson County reported that Gilbert’s post in Pleasant Valley Township, Johnson County, "...was established by the American Fur Company..." about 1830, or before the Black Hawk war..." (Anonymous 1883: 300). If this date is correct, it suggests that the villages along the Iowa River, as depicted by DeWard, must have been established prior to 1832 (National Archives 1835).

It is certain that Gilbert’s trading house was established sometime previous to the fall of 1836, when Gilbert met two men from Indiana while on a trip to Rock Island. These two men, Philip Clark and Eli Myers, were searching for good lands to improve and purchase. They accompanied Gilbert to the Iowa River, where they staked claims. They returned to Indiana, packed their belongings, and arrived back in present-day Johnson County early in the spring of 1837, being among the first Euro-American settlers in the area.

Both the Clark and Myers claims were situated southeast of Gilbert’s trading house (Aurner 1912: (1) 19, 22). Myers’ claim was about a mile from the trading house and Clark’s claim, comprising 480 acres, was apparently between Myers and Gilbert (Aurner 1912: (1) 19, 22).

In 1837, Clark and Gilbert determined to plat a town, Napoleon, in hopes it would become the county seat. They selected a site in Section 22, T. 79 N., R. 6 W., which at the time was Indian land. They built a cabin and had John Morford hold the claim until Indian title expired in 1838 (Aurner 1912: (1) 12, 19-20).
After the relinquishment of Indian title to the lands, Philip Clark traded his claim southeast of Gilbert's 1836 trading house (T10) for the claim held by Morford. Clark retained ownership of these lands until 1864, when he sold them to James McCollister (Aurner 1912: (1) 22; (2) 49-50). (See V18, above.) These land exchanges have caused considerable confusion, as researchers have tried to interpret the statements of the early settlers. It is necessary to trace these land transfers.

Clark's original claim -- the one southeast of Gilbert's trading house -- belonged to John Morford after 1838. This farm was later subdivided, becoming known as the Morford and Burge farms. Both were in Pleasant Valley Township (Aurner 1912: (1) 19).

A late nineteenth-century county atlas provides support for these statements. According to the 1870 atlas, the Myers farm was in the E 1/2 of the SW 1/4 of Section 14, T. 78 N., R. 6 W., and in the SE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of Section 13. J. I. Burge owned approximately 480 acres in the northern halves of Sections 23 and 24, while J. Morford -- and the Town of Morfordsville -- occupied the S 1/4 of Section 23. Other Morford property was immediately south of the Myers' holdings in Section 13 (Thompson and Everts 1870: 23-24).

Gilbert moved from this cabin early in 1837. The specific location of Gilbert's first trading house (T10) was given in the 1883 History of Johnson County. It stood on the NE 1/4 of Section 10, T. 78 N., R. 6 W. It was on the bank of the Iowa River, "...just below the mouth of Snyder Creek [originally called Gilbert Creek], on land now [1883] owned by James Stevens (Anonymous 1883: 300).
James Stevens filled in the cellar of the trading house in 1880. In 1882 there was still visible evidence of the house's location, even though the land was under cultivation (Anonymous 1883: 300).

A general description of the post has survived:

The buildings consisted of the storehouse proper, and sundry outside cribs for storage of produce, surplus goods, etc.; and a stockade enclosure for protection of the stock from wolves and other depredators by night (Anonymous 1883: 300).

Just south of this trading house was a raised ring of earth, reportedly used by the Sauk and Mesquakie in ritual dances. It too was under cultivation, but still visible in 1882. This ring was at the lower border of the field containing Gilbert's trading house (Anonymous 1883: 300).

James Stevens was not listed as a landowner in Pleasant Valley Township on the 1889 atlas. An E. Stevens, however, owned some land in the N 1/2 of Section 11, T. 78 N., R. 6 W. His holdings extended slightly to the west into Section 10. A small stream (present-day Snyder Creek) served as the northern boundary of his holdings. He also owned about 60 acres farther south in Section 10 (Novak 1889: Plate 8).

The 1870 atlas showed the Stevens' lands being owned by Charles McCollister. Just south of the mouth of present-day Snyder Creek the cartographer noted "where stood first Indian trading house" (Thompson and Everts 1870: 23).
Gilbert's Trading House (T11), Johnson County


S. C. Trowbridge assisted in the construction of this post. The house consisted of two 20 x 20 foot log cabins, with a 20-foot roofed interspace between them (Aurner 1912: 300).

As mentioned in the discussion of V17, above, this trading house was in David B. Cox's cornfield, east of and across the road from Cox's residence in 1882.

Gilbert died in March 1839 and was buried near his post. Several years later his remains were removed and re-interred in an Iowa City cemetery (Huff 1868: 66). William Dupont and Elizabeth Skinner operated this trading post after Gilbert's death (Mansheim 1989: 113).

Chase's Trading House (T12), Johnson County

When Gilbert became an independent trader in 1837, Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company immediately sent a new company representative to the area. When Wheten Chase arrived, he erected a cabin (T12) about one-half mile south of Gilbert's new post (T11).

This cabin replicated the dimensions of the new Gilbert post (Anonymous 1883: 300). Again, the specific location of this post has been recorded. It is said to have stood on the NE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of Section 2, T. 78 N., R. 6 W. (Anonymous 1883: 300).
Stephen Sumner Phelps was married to Phebe Chase, and so was Wheten Chase's brother-in-law (Patterson 1919: 254). S. S. Phelps, in his position with Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company, routinely visited company posts to oversee operations. These relationships have resulted in substantial confusion. Several county histories refer to the "Phelps trading house," as if it were a separate operation. The 1883 Johnson County history asserted -- correctly -- that the Phelps and Chase cabins were one and the same (Anonymous 1883: 301).

F. M. Irish reported that the Phelps' trading house was on the Byington farm, and that the building was still standing in 1868 (Irish 1868: 26). The History of Johnson County stated that the Chase (a.k.a. Phelps) post was on the NE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of Section 2, T. 78 N., R. 6 W. (Anonymous 1883: 301). In 1870, the Byington heirs held this 40-acre parcel (Thompson and Everts 1870: 23).

C. W. Irish, speaking in 1886, also referred to a trading post, whose remains were still visible, on the Byington farm. C. W. Irish gave the location of this post as "just below the mouth of a small creek in Section ten in Pleasant Valley township, on the east side of the Iowa river. I believe the creek is called Byington's creek, but however that may be I should like to see the name of that pioneer given to it." (Aurner 1912: (1) 44).

It is likely that the above statement is a reference to the first Gilbert post. Part of the confusion between these statements may stem from the fact that the Byington heirs owned parcels in both Section 2 and Section 10 in 1870 (Thompson and Everts 1870: 23).
Gilbert, working for Pierre Chouteau and Company, would have been visited routinely by S. S. Phelps. Since Phelps would have visited Gilbert in the trading seasons prior to 1837, and would have checked in with Chase after that date, it is possible that both Gilbert's first post and Chase's post became known to the settler's as Phelps' post.

Poweshiek's Village (V19), Johnson County

Poweshiek moved his band approximately sixteen miles upriver in the spring of 1839, establishing a new village (V19) on the left bank of the Iowa River in T. 81 N., R. 8 W. (Irish 1868: 112). This new village was still within the lands ceded by the treaty of 1837, which may explain why the village was occupied for only a short time. A more compelling reason for abandoning the village may have been the sickness of many village residents that year (Anonymous 1883: 291).

Surveyor George Delaplaine surveyed and subdivided this township (T 81 N., R. 8 W.) in 1841. As he traveled north between Sections 25 and 26 he set the quarter section post and noted "East about 15 chains Old Indian Village now laid off in lots & called 'Monroe'" (Secretary of State 1938: (64) 390). He also noted the presence of this village while mapping the meanders of the Iowa River (Secretary of State 1938: (64) 466).

The Town of Monroe was laid out by William Dupont and Elizabeth Skinner (Mansheim 1989: 113). Dupont and Skinner had managed Gilbert's trading house after his death. It is likely that they
followed Poweshiek’s band upriver and established a trading house at this village.

Dupont and Skinner sold their interests in the Town of Monroe to Leander Judson and Frederick M. Irish in the summer of 1839. The deed recorded that the town was:

...situated on their claim and embracing the site of the civil Indian chief Poweshiek’s village on the east bank of the Iowa river...(Aurner 1912: (1) 157-158).

Poweshiek’s Village (V20), Iowa County

Spring 1840 brought another relocation of Poweshiek’s people. They moved west, joining Wapashashiek’s village (V21), which had been formed in 1839 (Anonymous 1883: 291).

Wapashashiek’s Village (V21), Iowa County

About the time Poweshiek moved his people to the Dupont Settlement (V19), Wapashashiek and his followers relocated farther west on the Iowa River, near present-day South Amana (V21). The exact location of this village is unknown. Several county histories report that the United States government had established a farm for the Mesquakie near the village (Anonymous 1883: 291; Dinwiddie 1915: 257-258; Irish 1868: 112). This farm consisted of a section of prairie, broken and fenced (Irish 1868: 112; United States Congressional Documents 1838: 493).

The farm was created to fulfill a requirement of the 1837 treaty, calling for the promotion of agriculture among the Sauk and Mesquakie (Kappler 1904: 495). In addition to the establishment of the pattern
farm near the Sac and Fox Agency, the United States government broke
and fenced a large agricultural field adjacent to each village (Kurtz

Dinwiddie reported the location of this "Indian Farm" as being in
the southern portion of Amana Township, Iowa County (Dinwiddie 1915:
(1) 257). He derived this location from entries in the original land
survey notes and maps. These documents, prepared in 1843, show the
Indian farm and a house, but do not mention Wapashashiek's village
(Secretary of State 1938: (78) 224-225, 236).

Poweshiek abandoned his village at the Dupont settlement and
relocated to the village established by Wapashashiek in the spring of
1840. From that date forward, sources refer to this as Poweshiek's
village.

This village was occupied until May 1843, when Poweshiek's band
moved west of the Red Rock Line, in accordance with the requirements
of the 1842 treaty (V25). At that time, the village was estimated to
have a population of five or six hundred (Anonymous 1843). This
population estimate is probably quite accurate. Beach had prepared a
census of the Sauk and Mesquakie in 1842. The census enumerated 484
followers of Poweshiek: 219 males and 265 females.

The village area (V21) was re-occupied by Poweshiek's band in the
winter of 1843-44 (National Archives 1956c: Chambers to Allen, 4
December 1843; Chambers to Allen, 12 December 1843). Chambers
lamented that about 500 of Poweshiek's people (i.e., the entire band)
were scattered and encamped among the Euro-American settlements
"...all over the inhabited country from his old village to the
Mississippi on both sides of the Iowa..." (National Archives 1956c: Chambers to Allen, 12 December 1843).

Patterson's Trading House (T13), Iowa County

Adjacent to Poweshiek's and Wapashashiek's 1839-1843 village (V21) was a trading house managed by a man named Patterson (T13) (Dinwiddie 1915: 34). Chambers stated that Patterson was a clerk of Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company (National Archives 1956c: Chambers to Allen, 12 December 1843).

Chambers also wrote that S. S. Phelps (as a representative of the Chouteau firm) had charge of a trading establishment at the Mesquakie village on the Iowa. Patterson presumably occupied the cabin continuously, while Phelps made regular visits to this post, as he did for the other Chouteau establishments.33

The specific location of the trading house is unknown. Dinwiddie concluded that the house noted by J. E. Whitcher during his township survey was a trading cabin. Whitcher, however, recorded only that the structure was a house: he did not mention its function. He located the house in the SW 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of Section 35, T. 81 N., R. 10 W. (Secretary of State 1938: (78) 224-225, 236).

When Poweshiek and his band returned to their village in the winter of 1843-44, Patterson accompanied them. Patterson informed Governor Chambers that he had been sent from the Des Moines River post with goods to supply the Mesquakie on the Iowa River. He had four or five persons employed in packing goods to the various camps. He further reported that the Ewing firm had an establishment on the
Iowa River for the same purpose (National Archives 1956c: Chambers to Allen, 12 December 1843).

It is doubtful that Patterson actually re-occupied his former cabin, since a county history reports that William Downard opened a store in the cabin after Indian removal (Dinwiddie 1915: 34).

Fort Des Moines #2 (F3), Polk County

The treaty of 1842 stipulated that the Sauk and Mesquakie would move west of the "Red Rocks," a line running north-south near the confluence of White Breast Creek and the Des Moines River in present-day Marion County, Iowa by May 1, 1843. They retained the right to live on this western tract for two and one-half years, until October 11, 1845.

Although not a treaty stipulation, the United States determined to establish a military post within the area retained by the Sauk and Mesquakie during the 1843 to 1845 period.

In preparation for the 1843 move upriver, Captain James Allen, a detachment of dragoons, Agent John Beach, Keokuk, Keokuk’s son, and three hunters made a trip up the Des Moines River in late October 1842. The purpose of the journey was to find a suitable location to live during the 1843 to 1845 interim. Beach gave this account of their journey:

At a distance of about 35 miles above the Red rock, we entered upon a bottom prairie said by the Indians to be 30 miles in length. About one mile from its lower extremity, we found a point adapted for a site for a village, this Keokuk by authority from Powsheik, selected for the Foxes, and a short distance above assigned a location to the Sacs. Still above I fixed a point for the trading house of Messrs
Ewing, and farther, about 3/4 of a mile, one for Chouteau & Co. which last is about one mile below the junction of Raccoon and three miles up the prairie. Proceeding we crossed the Des Moines at the junction and Capt Allen appeared to consider the point between the two streams to be well adapted for a military position (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 25 October 1842).

In December 1842, Allen recommended that a temporary military post be established at the confluence of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers (United States War Department 1899: 164). Because the post would be needed for only a few years, Allen suggested that the post be erected with a view toward economy. He wrote:

I would build but common log cabins, or huts, for both men and officers, giving them good floors, windows and doors, stables, very common, but close and roomy, pickets, blockhouses and such like, not at all. The buildings to be placed in relations of comfort, convenience and good taste; and of defense, so far as the same may comply with the first rule (United States War Department 1899: 165).

The recommendation for a temporary fort at the Raccoon Forks was accepted by the War Department, and on February 20, 1843, orders to establish the post were issued (United States War Department 1899: 166).

Allen and a military contingent arrived at the junction of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers in May 1843 and construction of the post commenced (United States War Department 1899: 167).

Accounts describing the number and location of fort structures vary somewhat, but most agree that Fort Des Moines #2 included a row of five officer’s quarters along the bank of the Des Moines River and a row of seven to ten barracks for enlisted men along the bank of the Raccoon River. Additional structures included a hospital, guardhouse, commissary, adjutant’s office, flagstaff, public well,
parade grounds, corrals, stables, and at least one blacksmith’s shop. The sutler’s store and sutler’s residence were also within the boundaries of the fort (Brice, Petrides and Associates, Inc. 1985: xii).

Most of the military personnel departed Fort Des Moines #2 in September 1845 and headed for Jefferson Barracks (United States War Department 1899: 175). A contingent of 52 dragoons remained until March 10, 1846. On that date, all military personnel except one non-commissioned officer and two privates left. These three soldiers remained to care for the public property until it was sold on May 1, 1846 (United States War Department 1899: 176-177). Upon sale of the property, civilians moved into the fort buildings, converting them to stores and residences.

Archival and archaeological investigations to locate the remains of Fort Des Moines #2 were undertaken in 1982 and 1985 (Henning et al. 1982; Brice, Petrides and Associates, Inc. 1985). These studies generated maps showing the predicted locations of fort structures and revealed that large portions of the ground surface upon which Fort Des Moines was erected remain intact beneath layers of fill (Henning et al. 1982: 2.3; Brice, Petrides and Associates, Inc. 1985: 5.31, 6.1).

A hearth from one fort building, the southernmost officer’s quarters, has been excavated. Artifacts found in association with this hearth include coins, buttons, kaoline pipe fragments, a percussion cap, nails, burned and corroded iron fragments, bottle
glass, window glass, and ceramic sherds (Brice, Petrides and Associates, Inc. 1985: 5.14).

Investigations revealed prehistoric and later historic-archaeological deposits as well as materials associated with the fort. These three components, taken together, have been designated archaeological site 13PK61 (Brice, Petrides and Associates, Inc. 1985: 6.1). Archival evidence concerning the spatial extent of the fort was used to establish the boundaries of the archaeological site. In 1986, site 13PK61 was determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (National Park Service 1986a).

**Raccoon River Agency**

According to the terms of the 1842 treaty, the United States was to establish an Indian agency, and two gunsmith and blacksmith shops -- one set for each tribe -- within the tract retained by the Indians until 1845. This post was named the Raccoon River Agency (A5, A6), in recognition of its proximity to the mouth of that river.

**Smiths’ Shops (A5), Polk County**

The smiths’ shops were the first of the government agency buildings erected. In early September 1843, Beach reported:

The iron and steel, smiths tools & c have been removed from the old shops in pursuance of the late treaty, and the Contractor is now busily at work with a large force in erecting the new shops, on [sic] set of them being up, floored and roofed, and the other partly raised .... These buildings are situated about three eighths of a mile distant from the left bank of the Des Moines and a mile and a fourth below the mouth of the Raccoon [sic] River...(Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 4 September 1843).
The contractor to whom Beach referred was John R. Wright of Van Buren County, Iowa Territory. On August 3, Beach had contracted with Wright for the construction of the shops and the other agency buildings. Excerpts from these contracts are included in Appendices B and C.

The contracts are quite detailed. The one for the smiths' shops specified that one building would be constructed for each tribe. Each structure was to be 34 X 16 feet, with an interior wall separating the blacksmith shop from that of the gunsmith. The blacksmith shop was to be two feet longer than the gunsmith shop. The buildings were to be constructed of round logs with an oak clapboard roof. Each room was to contain a forge, topped with a brick chimney. The gunsmiths' shops were also to have a fireplace with a chimney of brick or stone. Each room was to have a door along the front of the building, and each was to have one multi-pane window (National Archives 1967b: Contract, Beach and Wright, 3 August 1843). Because no descriptions of the completed smiths' shops have been found, it is not known whether any deviations from the contract occurred.

**Agency House (A6), Polk County**

Substantial information is available regarding the Raccoon River Agency house. In June 1843, Beach described his plans for the new agency to John Chambers:

The Agency house will be about such a building as the pattern farm house near here with the addition of a kitchen, and appears as small as practicable for the comfortable
accommodation of a family, and the suitable entertainment of
any officer of the Dept. whom business may call there. The
enclosures and outbuildings specified appear also absolutely
necessary; the smoke house generally in lieu of a cellar
being cheaper, and one or the other indispensible and the
enclosure of 20 acres being needed more as a pasture for
horses, of which the Agent will always require one or more
on hand in transacting his business. The fences are of the
plainest and cheapest kind (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers,
28 June 1843).

The pattern farm house to which Beach referred was located near
the Sac and Fox Agency (see A2, above). According to Beach, the
pattern farm house was a hewed log cabin of one and one-half stories,
46 X 18 feet, with two brick chimneys (Beach 1976: Statement of all
fixed property in charge of John Beach, U. S. Indian Agent at the Sac
and Fox Agency, 1 September 1841).

Again, Beach contracted with John R. Wright for construction of
the agency house and appurtenant features. The contract specified
that the house would be a double hewed log house, with each block 18
feet square and separated by an 8-foot passage. A kitchen, 15 X 18
feet, was to be attached to one end of the structure. The main part
of the house was to be one and one-half stories, while the contract
called for the kitchen area to be a single story. The roof was to be
shingled and the interior of the house to be lathed and plastered.
Plank floors were to be topped with base boards (National Archives
1967b: Contract, Beach and Wright, 3 August 1843).

The contract specified the number and placement of closets,
doors, and fireplaces; the types of hardware; and the configuration
of windows in both the upper and lower stories.
In addition to the house proper, Wright was to construct a smokehouse, stable, and fences. The contract was amended in October to allow for the excavation of a well. On the first of December 1843, Beach notified Chambers that the well was completed, and was twenty-two feet deep (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 12 October 1843; Beach to Chambers, 1 December 1843).

Subsequent correspondence by the agent indicated that the structures probably were built according to plan. Beach’s annual report of 1845 stated that the agent’s dwelling was a one-and-one-half story hewed log building, measuring 59 feet by 18 feet. His report also noted the well, 22 feet deep; the smokehouse and stable, constructed of round logs; and 20 acres of pasture enclosed with a rail fence (National Archives 1956a: Statement of all Fixed Property in charge of John Beach, 1 September 1845).

The contract for the construction of the agency house and ancillary structures indicates that the "...buildings shall be finished according to a ground plan, and chimneys erected according to a schedule of dimensions, which plan and schedule are furnished herewith" (National Archives 1967b: Contract, Beach and Wright, 3 August 1843). Unfortunately, the only copy of the contract that has been located by this researcher does not include this plan and schedule.

Data concerning the precise location of the agency structures are lacking as well. Beach provided a general description of the location and layout:
...the agency house will be erected a few yards from the shops and the smiths and Interpreter are building their residences so that none of them will exceed 250 yards from the same point. The place selected is also in regard to beauty of appearance, quality of soil and general position of the ground far superior to any other in the vicinity[,] a consideration of some importance in the final sale of the property .... The distance of the new Agency from this place [the old Sac and Fox Agency] will not exceed 90 miles, over a very good road, following the ridge which divides the Des Moines and Skunk Rivers, crossing the new line about 28 miles below the Agency. I designate it the Racoon [sic] River Agency to avoid confusion with this, which yet is and probably will continue to be known as the Sac and Fox Agency (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 4 September 1843).

Long after the Sauk and Mesquakie had been removed from Iowa Territory, another description of the agency house and its setting were given. In January 1861 a Des Moines resident, concerned over the impending demolition of the house, wrote to Harper's Weekly:

I send you, as a historical relic peculiar to the West, an ambrotype, by M. H. Bishard, of the old Indian Agency building which is about to be torn down because it comes in the way of the extension of one of our streets. This building is a log-cabin of a 'story and a half' high, weather-boarded, and containing two rooms below and one above. Here all the business with the Indians was transacted during the three years intervening between the time of the treaty at Agency (which was near the western line of the first cession of land made by the Sac and Fox Indians after the Black Hawk war), when their remaining lands in Iowa were ceded to the general government, till their title expired.

The house is now within the corporate limits of Des Moines, and stands about a mile from the city, at the southeastern limit of the grove in which it (the city) is located. It is situated on elevated ground, on the south side of the road leading to Iowa City, the former capital of the State, and faces northwest. The ground falls abruptly, just back of the building, a short distance, and then slopes to the shore of Spring Lake, beyond which the prairie extends eastward three miles to a belt of timber (the extreme background of the picture), known as Four-Mile Timber, from a stream of that name along which it grows. The white streaks across the picture back of the house show the snow on the places where the fire last fall burned off the weeds and grass,
whereby the snow is permitted to be seen in all its undecked whiteness (Anonymous 1861).

The image which appeared in Harper's Weekly is shown in Figure 19.

Numerous late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Polk County histories provide clues to the locations of the agency buildings. In 1876, Dixon recorded the reminiscences of Byron Rice, who arrived at the Town of Fort Des Moines in September 1849. Rice located the government buildings on Agency Prairie, lying between the timber of Capitol Hill (the bluff on the left bank of the Des Moines River) and the forested area flanking Four Mile Creek. He placed it "a short distance from the present residence of Wesley Redhead" (Dixon 1876: 31). Redhead's mansion, constructed in 1868, stood for nearly 100 years at 1757 Dean Avenue (Hollingsworth c.1921).

The best clue to the agency house's location rests on tracing the whereabouts of its subsequent occupant. Thomas K. Brooks moved into the agency house in the fall of 1845 (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 11 October 1845; Dixon 1876: 21). Local histories report, however, that Brooks soon moved to the Phelps' trading post (Turrill 1857: 12-13; Sanford 1874: 11). Both Porter and Andrews indicated that this move occurred early in 1846 (Porter 1896: 131; Andrews 1908: 73). Andrews, who published a short biography of Dr. Brooks, made several statements which are useful in locating the agency house. He reported that:

[Brooks] came to The Fort in September, 1845, and for a time made his home with John Beach, the Indian Agent, about half a mile east of Capitol Hill, on what was known as the 'Four Mile' or 'State Road.'
The next year was a busy one. He purchased the claim rights of Phelps & Company, the fur traders, near where the packing houses are, and in the Spring began to cultivate a farm. He also floated brick down the 'Coon during high water, and in the Fall erected, not far from Beach’s residence, the first brick dwelling-house on the East Side, in which he lived several years.” Near it was a pretty little body of water known as Brooks’ Lake (Andrews 1908: 73).

Dr. Brooks had high hopes for the east side, trying repeatedly to establish a town separate from the village of Fort Des Moines to the west. One of his initial efforts is encapsulated in an 1856 map of "Brooks & Co’s. Addition to Demoine City" (Millar 1856). This map shows Brooks’ house, Spring Lake and the road to Iowa City (Figure 20). The house shown on the map is probably not that of the Indian agency. The house placement corresponds fairly well to the description on the Harper’s Weekly article cited above, with one major discrepancy: the article indicates the agency house is south of the road to Iowa City; the map shows that Brooks’ house is north of the road. The house depicted on the 1856 map may be the brick house to which Andrews refers, although by 1853, Brooks is reported to have built a frame house on the northeast corner of East 6th and Walnut Street (Anonymous 1909).

The location of Spring Lake on the 1856 map is instructive. The configuration of the lake is quite similar to the present-day Dean’s Lake -- a configuration which has been retained although Dean’s Lake has been significantly altered by urban and industrial expansion. Since there are few other lakes in the vicinity and none with a remotely similar configuration, one can surmise that Spring Lake and Dean’s Lake are the same body of water. Given Andrew’s statement
Figure 19. Photograph of the Raccoon River Agency house (Anonymous 1861). (This image probably dates between 1856 and 1861)
THE OLD INDIAN AGENCY AT PIGEON, IOWA. (From a Photo.)
Figure 20. Map of Brooks' and Co's Addition to Demoine City (Millar 1856). (Arrow denotes locality of Dr. Brooks' house, Spring Lake, and the road to Iowa City)
above, one can also assume that, for a time, this same body of water was known as Brooks' Lake.

The road to Iowa City, as recorded on Millar's 1856 map, can be traced on the 1847 survey map; when these maps are compared to the modern 7.5 minute U.S.G.S. topographic map, one can see that the present day Dean Avenue follows these older roads (Millar 1856; Secretary of State 1938: (166); United States Geological Survey 1976). Significantly, Dean Avenue was formerly named Brooks Street (Bushnell 1890: 421).

Brooks was appointed postmaster in 1846 (Union Historical Company 1880: 322). This post office was on East Court Avenue, on lot 8, in the I.N. Thomas subdivision of Brooks and Co's Addition (Hussey c. 1898; Polk County Auditor's Office n.d.: 215). This lot is south of Court Avenue and east of East 16th Court. This location suggests that the post office may well have been established in the agency house, or perhaps in one of the other government buildings.

Piecing all of the above clues together, the most likely position of the agency house is south of the intersection of Dean Avenue and East 18th Street. The house itself may be under one of the streets (possibly East Court Avenue) since it was demolished as a consequence of a street improvement project (Anonymous 1861).

Trading Houses

Four trading firms were licensed to operate at the Raccoon River Agency. Beach granted licenses to J.B. and W.A. Scott; John H. Whistler; Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Co.; and W.G. and G.W. Ewing
Scotts' Farm and Trading House (T14), Polk County

John B. and Willson A. Scott established a farm across the Des Moines River from Fort Des Moines #2. In April 1843, they had contracted with Allen, agreeing to provide forage for the fort. Some fifteen months after securing this contract Agent Beach granted them a license to trade with the Indians as well.

The exact locations of the Scotts' farm and trading house are not known. The only known map showing their residence and farm is a sketch map which accompanies the United States War Department's article on Fort Des Moines #2 (United States War Department 1899: facing page 161). This map shows their residence on the east side of the Des Moines River, north of its junction with the Raccoon River (Figure 21). It is depicted directly across the river from the flagstaff of Fort Des Moines #2.

The reliability of this map is difficult to judge. It is clearly only a sketch, for its North-South dimension is greatly exaggerated in comparison with its East-West dimension.

During the 1985 work on Fort Des Moines #2, researchers concluded that the map was most likely produced during the time that Fort Des Moines #2 was occupied as a military installation (Brice, Petrides and Associates, Inc. 1985: 2.2). Research now shows this conclusion to be incorrect. National Archives records examined during the
present research project demonstrate that the map dates to the late 1880s or early 1890s. The original, hand-colored map is included among the pages of a draft typescript of the article published by the War Department in 1899 (National Archives n.d.(a)). It is still possible that information on this map is derived from reports produced during the time the fort was occupied.

The location of the Scotts' residence and farm, as shown on the War Department map, is supported by Beach's correspondence. On March 15, 1845 he reported a feud between Alexander Street and a man named Baker on one side, and the Scotts on the other. Beach commented that:

[Street and Baker] ... whose trading houses are each on the River, made a road between the two, building a bridge, clearing out timber, & c. passing between the farm house and field, (say 30 or 40 yards apart) of the Messrs Scotts, no enclosure then existing....

...Capt Allen claims to be bound by contract to protect the enclosures of Messrs Scott. Whether any contract exists of subsequent date I do not know but I suppose that in some office of the military branch of the War Department will be found a contract or copy of one, signed by J. Allen, Capt. & c and W. A. Scott, witness J. Haley, at Fairfield, Iowa, 18th April 1843 in which the U. S. agree to permit Scott to cultivate 640 acres of land, provided he comes no nearer that a mile of the Fort. The Fort is on one bank, the farm house on the other of the Des Moines, not 1/8 mile apart, nor do I believe the most distant corner of the farm will reach the distance named.

Close in rear of said farm house, the road in question was laid out between the two trading houses, both which were I think begun to be built before the Scott's [sic] obtained foot hold in the country. There was a way of getting around either side of said farm, but so dangerous that it seemed an imposition not to be submitted to (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 15 March 1845).
According to the map, the Scotts’ residence was at the northwest corner of their farm (United States War Department 1899: facing page 161). Other documents indicate that the trading post constructed by them was approximately one-half mile from their residence, and was probably to the south of their house (United States War Department 1899: 171; Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 6 March 1845).

One historian put the Scott trading post just south of the Keokuk & Des Moines Railroad bridge, on the east side of the river. This railroad followed the centerline of present-day Market Street. The trading post was of log construction and was still visible in 1849 (Dixon 1876: 25, 31; Zease c.1890; Tate 1906; Bennett 1886).

**Whistler’s Trading House (T15), Polk County**

The position of Whistler’s trading house is unknown. His license stated that he would be allowed to trade at a point opposite the mouth of the Raccoon River, but it did not list a specific place (National Archives 1956a: Annual Report of Licenses to trade within the Agency for the Sacs and Foxes in the year ending on the first day of September 1845).

The date the post was established also remains unknown. John Whistler’s brother-in-law, Robert Kinzie, was the sutler at Fort Des Moines #2. Kinzie had made several unsuccessful attempts to secure a license to trade with the Indians inside the fort (Gourley 1985: 12). In the summer of 1844 Beach notified Kinzie that sutlers could not engage in the Indian trade. Soon after, in March 1845, Whistler
applied for and received a trading license. Kinzie and Captain Allen, commander at Fort Des Moines #2 posted Whistler’s bond.

Ewings’ Trading House (T16), Polk County

There are few strong clues to the location of the Ewing trading house. Late in 1842 Beach selected positions for the new trading posts to be established west of the Red Rock boundary line. The Ewing post was to be along the Des Moines River, approximately one and three-quarter miles below the mouth of the Raccoon River (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 25 October 1842). Beach’s statements are difficult to interpret; however, it is probable that the location selected for the Ewing post was in Section 11, T. 78 N., R. 24 W (Gourley 1985: 14-15).

The Ewings must have had an objection to the location selected by Beach, because evidence suggests that they built their post farther upriver. Beach reported a feud between the various trading houses. His correspondence suggests that the Scotts’ farm was located between the Ewing and Phelps posts (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 15 March 1845; Gourley 1985: 13, 15-16).

Other records indicate that it was the Ewing post which was to the north of the Scott residence. The map of Fort Des Moines #2 produced by the War Department (Figure 21) shows the Ewing establishment north of the Scott claim, and the accompanying article states that the Ewings occupied a half section of land adjoining the northern boundary of the Scotts’ farm (United States War Department
1899: facing page 161, 171). This would place the Ewing claim along the eastern boundary line of Section 4, T. 78 N., R. 24 W.

The Ewing post was abandoned when the Sauk and Mesquakie moved to their reservation in the fall of 1845. County histories record information about the settlers who moved into the region at the expiration of the Indians' title to the land. These histories have been analyzed previously; they support this location of the Ewing post (Gourley 1985: 16-17).

Phelps' Trading House (T17), Polk County

In late 1842, Beach selected a location in Section 11, T. 78 N., R. 24 W. for the Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Co. post. This position is now within the Des Moines city limits. William Phelps appears to have followed his wishes. In August 1843, Beach, who was still living at the Sac and Fox Agency, traveled to the Raccoon Forks to pay the Indians their annuities. He notified Captain Allen of his arrival, stating that he had pitched his tent "on the Spring Branch below Phelps' trading house" (Beach 1976: Beach to Allen, 26 August 1843).

There is no stream called Spring Branch in the east Des Moines vicinity today. A plausible explanation is that Spring Branch is the outlet of Spring Lake (i.e., the present-day Dean's Lake). Beach's statement would then place the Phelps' post upriver from the mouth of that stream. The lands in this area were surveyed and subdivided in 1847. The survey map shows this stream entering the Des Moines River
Figure 21. Map of Fort Des Moines #2, showing locations of the Ewings' trading house and the Scotts' farm (United States War Department 1899: facing page 161)
near the center of Section 12, T. 78 N. R. 24 W. (Secretary of State 1938: (166)).

Beach provided only one other clue to the location of the Phelps post. In a letter in which he reported granting Kinzie a license to trade, Beach stated that he filled out Kinzie’s license "designating a permit for his trading house establishment about two or three hundred yards from the Agency on a line, or nearly, with it and Messrs Chouteau and Co’s house, about midway between" (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 4 September 1843). Beach’s statement put the Phelps’ post 400 to 600 yards from the agency structures, but did not specify in which direction it lay. The Phelps’ post must have been to the south of the Agency house since any other direction would put it quite far from the river. If the Phelps’ trading establishment was 600 yards south of the agency house, it would have been in the northern portion of Section 11, T. 78 N., R. 24 W., north of the apex of the large meander of the Des Moines River (Secretary of State 1938: (166)).

The 1847 survey map depicts a cabin immediately north of the river in this position, but the accompanying notes do not give any information concerning the occupants (Secretary of State 1938: (166) 73). The Phelps family had left the region in the fall of 1845.

One nineteenth-century historian recounted that "the American Fur Company [i.e., Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Co.] had established a trading post on the east side of the river, on what is now known as the "Hazen Farm". Several of their buildings yet remain, greatly dilapidated, on the banks of the Des Moines, a mile below the town"
(Turrill 1857: 12-13). No other references to the position of the Hazen farm have been located.

Another early history reported that "adjoining the southern boundary of the Scott farm was a thick growth of timber, some two miles in width, at the eastern edge of which was the residence and farm of the Phelps brothers..." (United States War Department 1899: 171-172).

Porter recorded an interview with Isaac Cooper, an early resident of the county. Cooper reported: "Dr. T. Brooks came late in 1845, settled in the agents house, and early in 1846 laid out the town of Brooklyn on the ground occupied by Phelps as a trading post, and where Tuttle built his pork house" (Porter 1896: 131). In a patent recorded on March 4, 1850, Thomas K. Brooks purchased lots 2, 3, and 4 and the NE 1/4 of the NE 1/4 and the NW 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of Section 11, T. 78 N., R. 24 W. (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(d): Tract T. 78 N., R. 24 W.; n.d.(g): Book A (507, Certificate #969)). Other histories confirm that Tuttles' packing house, mentioned by Cooper, was in this area (Dixon 1876: 167; Long 1983: 69; Gourley 1985: 19).

All of the evidence points to the Phelps establishment being near the apex of the Des Moines River meander in Section 11, T. 78 N., R. 24 W. Exact proveniences are not contained in any of the records searched, however.
Wishecomaque’s Village (V22), Polk County

Beach attempted to persuade the tribes to establish only two villages -- one Sauk, one Mesquakie -- on the tract they retained from 1843 to 1845 (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 25 October 1842). Beach hoped these villages would be in close proximity to the agency. His efforts did not yield the result he desired. In September 1843 he wrote:

In this object I have partially succeeded, though not thus far, to the extent I had hoped. Near half the Sacs and one band of the Foxes having built their villages within sight of the Agency, while the rest of the Sacs, are within eight miles of it. But the great majority of the Foxes, comprising the bands who heretofore resided upon the Iowa and Skunk Rivers, entertaining some jealousy of the other portion of the nation, as well as an aversion to the Des Moines country, have fixed themselves about fifteen miles distant upon Skunk River, a position which would be of little moment were it not for their troublesome nearness to the new line (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 4 September 1843).

J. Haydn Potter, an officer at Fort Des Moines, mapped an expedition the dragoons made in the summer of 1844. He located four villages on his map (Figure 22). Three of the villages were along the Des Moines River: of these, Wishecomaque’s was the farthest upstream. Documents give some clues to the position of Wishecomaque’s village, although the exact location remains unknown.

Captain J. R. B. Gardenier, reporting the circumstances of the 1843 annuity payment, stated, "A tent--representing the Agency pro tem was pitched upon the margin of a rivulet, dividing Wish-e-emaukquays (or Hardfish’s) bark town from Choteau’s [sic], somewhat less than a mile south of the latter" (National Archives 1956a: Gardenier to Allen, 29 October 1843). Beach, referring to the same
Figure 22. Potter’s map, showing the locations of four Sauk and Mesquakie villages in relation to Fort Des Moines #2 (National Archives 1844)
episode, said that his tent was on Spring Branch (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 2 September 1843).

If the assumption that Spring Branch is the outlet of present-day Dean's lake is correct, then this village was near the center of Section 12, T. 78 N., R. 24 W (Secretary of State 1938: 166).

In addition to helping establish the location of Wishecomaque's village, Gardenier's report lends credence to the predicted locations of the Phelps and Ewing posts. The annuity payment Gardenier was to witness in August 1843 was aborted when Poweshiek refused to attend the council. Gardenier described the political situation:

The Ewings seem to me, to be chiefs of Pow-a-sheeks bands, the Phelps (Choteau's [sic] partners) of Keokuk's--thus the traders were not only at open war, but the indians themselves were divided into cliques antagonistical [sic] to each other, and the Ewings at enmity with Mr. Beach, the Agent, who was supposed by them, to favor the Phelp's [sic] and Keokuk, to the prejudice of themselves and Pow a shuk.... Now the secret motive of Pow a sheek's conduct [i.e., his refusal to attend the council] was, doubtless, to have the payment in his (or the Ewing's rather) own way--viz. to Chiefs, or if it were made to families, the Ewings were averse to its being made at that place; and with justice too, in this last particular, for each individual would be compelled to walk nearly a mile with his money, ere he reached the Phelps and then more than a mile and a half ere he arrived at Ewings... (National Archives 1956a: Gardenier to Allen, 29 October 1843).

A biographical sketch of Newton Lamb, who arrived in the area during the winter of 1844-1845, provides further support for this interpretation of the village's position:

[Newton] then (1845) lived between two Indian villages, one the Fox village, about one mile below on the river, and the Hardfish village, where the noted Bennett Spring now is [Section 12, T. 78 N., R. 24 W.]. Mr. Lamb's father [William Lamb] came to this county at an early day, and farmed for the government on the land where the pork houses now stand in Des Moines. Lived here for about four years
and moved to Lee county, leaving his son (our subject) here. The latter was here for about two years, marketing to the soldiers at Fort Des Moines before he made it his home... He owns 160 acres of land [in Section 17., T. 78 N., R. 23 W.], the same that he entered when he came (Union Historical Company 1880: 916).

Wishecomaque’s village was vacated shortly before the Indians’ title to the land was extinguished in October 1845.

Beach reported considerable sickness and a large number of deaths within the Indian community in 1844 and 1845. Sixty-eight deaths occurred in 1844; another 79 were reported in 1845 (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 2 September 1844; 1 September 1845). The agent’s figures can be considered quite accurate since, in keeping with the 1842 treaty, the government had to provide for the burial of these people (Kappler 1904: 547; Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 2 September 1844; Beach to Harvey, 10 October 1846).

A cemetery discovered in 1904 may represent the burial ground associated with Wishecomaque’s village. In November of that year a local resident, A. A. Bennett, notified Thompson Van Hyning of the Iowa State Historical Department that he had unearthed fourteen graves during sand quarrying operations (Anonymous 1904). Van Hyning accompanied Bennett to the site, and after a casual survey, made arrangements for excavation.

Van Hyning’s fieldnotes have not been located; fortunately, he was interviewed extensively by a local news reporter. In the news article, Van Hyning stated that the site:

...is on the A. A. Bennett farm (B. F. Cammack being the renter and occupant), one block east and one-fourth of a mile south of the Chesterfield school house. Our spot on the farm is situated right on the confluence of the Des
Moines river and the outlet of Brook's lake (Anonymous 1905).

Early twentieth-century maps of the City of Des Moines delineate a residential area in the north half of Section 12, T. 78 N., R. 24 W., as Chesterfield (Zease and Co. c.1890; Tate 1906; Mills and Co. n.d.; Ross n.d.). The exact location of the Chesterfield schoolhouse can be confirmed because the building is still in use, having been renamed Scott school. Etched in the stone lintel over the main entryway of the school is the word "Chesterfield".

Given Van Hyning's description of the location, one can assume that the burial site was between East 25th and East 26th Streets, and south of the railroad tracks that traverse the area. The 1904 plat of the City of Des Moines showed A. A. Bennett owning 1.8 acres in the center of the SE 1/4 of Section 12, T. 78 N., R. 24 W. His land was bordered by the Des Moines River on the south and the railroad tracks on the north (Polk County Auditor's Office n.d.: Official Plat of Section 12, T. 78 N., R. 24 W.; 1904). The Union Historical Company provided a short biography of William S. Bennett, A. A. Bennett's father. He came to Des Moines in 1856 and by 1880 he owned 125 acres in Section 12, "upon which are the noted mineral springs known as Deep Rock Springs, a favorite resort for invalids" (Union Historical Company 1880: 912). In 1904, the outlet of Dean's Lake traversed this land. This outlet has since been artificially rerouted to the west.

An archaeological reconnaissance of this area was undertaken in the spring of 1989. The land owned by A. A. Bennett in 1904 has been
totally disturbed by construction of the City of Des Moines' sewage treatment plant in the 1930s.

In his examination of the burial site in 1904, Van Hyning excavated nine graves in addition to the fourteen destroyed by the quarrying operation (Anonymous 1905). He noted that additional graves probably existed to the south and east. All of the graves had been in two parallel lines oriented north and south, with the graves lying at right angles to the lines. The lines were six feet apart, and the same distance separated the graves within each row. The bodies had been wrapped in coarsely woven wool blankets and placed in wooden coffins, nailed together with both hand-wrought and machine-cut iron nails. Some of the skeletons were well enough preserved to show that each individual had been laid flat on the back with the head to the west, legs extended, and arms close by the side.

Associated grave goods included smooth and faceted glass beads of various colors and sizes, shell wampum, tubular shell beads, a shell gorget, copper bracelets, hair ornaments, and ear tinklers, bronze bells, metal (silver?) brooches, a bronze-handled knife, a glass bottle, papier-mache snuff boxes, fragments of silk and wool cloth, a chunk of dried water lily root, and vermillion. The human remains from the site were transferred to the Office of the State Archaeologist for analysis and reburial in the early 1980s. Most of the associated grave goods are still retained in the collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Bureau of the Museum. They have not been fully analyzed.
A fragment of silk cloth in the collection displays a series of very fine stitches. Visually, this stitchery compares closely with pieces of Mesquakie needlework contained in the Society’s collections (Thompson 1985).

Only one of the artifacts from this site, the bronze-handled knife, has been dated. The handle of the knife is distinctive, and is identical to one recovered in Minnesota. The Minnesota knife, found at Fort Charlotte, bears a distinctive "Cross-and-L" maker’s mark. Metal works bearing this stamp apparently originated in Sheffield, England, and may have been traded by competing fur companies in the Northwest territories from 1780 to the 1830s (Wheeler et al. 1975: 93).

The blade of the knife found by Van Hyning is heavily corroded. Additionally, a layer of shellac was applied to the specimen, apparently as a conservation measure. No maker’s mark is visible on the object, although one may well be hidden by the corrosion and shellac.

No attempt has yet been made to date the other objects recovered from the site. Van Hyning concluded that the people represented at the site were Sioux, but did not present a convincing argument. European and Euro-American traders are known to have established posts for the Sioux, Sauk and Mesquakie, and Ioway in the Des Moines River valley at least as early as 1799, although the exact locations of these posts are unknown (Sibley 1880: 171). Until a more precise date can be assigned to one or more items recovered from this site, its possible association with a pre-1843 trading post cannot be ruled
out completely. Given this site's proximity to the predicted location of Wishecomaque's village, however, a more plausible explanation seems to be that these remains represent some of the residents of the Sauk village.

Keokuk's Village (V23), Polk County

Another Sauk village, headed by Keokuk, was on the right bank of the Des Moines River, just above the mouth of North River. Potter placed it in this location on his 1844 map (Figure 22), although he called North River "Mollocco Creek" (National Archives 1844). Likewise, surveyor Samuel Durham labeled the bottomland at the confluence of North River and the Des Moines River "Keokuk's Prairie," suggesting that the Sauk headman was in the vicinity (Secretary of State 1938: (160)).

Beach stated that one of the Sauk villages was about eight miles from the Raccoon River agency house (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 4 September 1843). This mileage estimate approximates the distance from the reported location of the agency house to the mouth of North River.

Pasheshemone's Village (V24), Polk County

About midway between the Sauk villages of Wishecomaque and Keokuk was the Mesquakie village led by Pasheshemone. Potter located this village on the left bank of the Des Moines River (Figure 22), near the mouth of Four Mile Creek (National Archives 1844).
The earliest land survey records an "Old Fox Village" straddling the boundary line between Sections 16 and 17, T. 78 N., R. 23 W (Secretary of State 1938: (160) 43). Four Mile Creek empties into the Des Moines River in Section 16, T. 78 N., R. 23 W., so these land survey records clearly refer to the same village as that shown on Potter's map. The village depicted on the land survey map is on a terrace adjoining the left bank of the Des Moines River. When the map was drawn in the 1840s, the mouth of Four Mile Creek was approximately three-quarters of a mile east of the village. The mouth of Four Mile Creek was in the about the same location in the 1930s (Perry 1990), but has since changed.

Numerous local histories report that, on the expiration of the Indian title at midnight on October 11, 1845, hordes of Euro-American settlers rushed into the area to stake their claims (Dixon 1876: 35; Union Historical Company 1880: 304-305; Sanford 1874: 8-9). Sanford stated that on that night:

Jeremiah Church set fire to some of the old Indian houses for a light to mark out his new possessions...Not far from here Mr. Church laid out the town of Liberty in 1846, but the jealous people of Des Moines satisfied the proprietor that his possessions covered school lands", so the project of the future city was abandoned by him...(Sanford 1874: 8).

Jeremiah Church purchased several parcels of land in T. 78 N., R. 23 W. (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(d): Tract T. 78 N., R. 23 W.; n.d.(g): Book B (440, Certificate #1499), (441, Certificate #1500); Book C (39, Certificate #1680). Church may have been able to stake his claim "assisted by the light of a blazing wigwam" (Dixon
1876: 35) because he was occupying the site of Pasheshemone’s recently abandoned village.

Based on archival evidence, this location was assigned an archaeological site number, 13PK92, in 1989 (Mehrer and Perry 1989: 17-19). A reconnaissance-level archaeological survey of the reported village area was conducted in the fall of 1989 (Perry 1990). Two leather scraps and three ceramic fragments recovered during the field investigation may be associated with the occupation of the village. Unfortunately, the majority of the terrace upon which the village is thought to have been situated was destroyed by borrowing activities in the months preceding the survey. The recovery of some artifacts, however, suggests that portions of the site may remain undisturbed (Perry 1990: 17-18).

Another archaeological site, 13PK60, had been designated in this area. Human remains were discovered at the mouth of Four Mile Creek about 1933 and were donated to the State Museum. The museum sent them to the Smithsonian Institution that year for analysis by Ales Hrdlicka. Hrdlicka determined that the remains were of Algonquin type (A. Fisher 1986:1).

The museum forwarded the skeletal remains to the Office of the State Archaeologist in the mid-1980s for analysis and reburial. Alton K. Fisher re-analyzed these remains, issuing his report in 1986 (A. Fisher 1986). Fisher concluded that the remains were of the Lakotid type. This type has been linked to the Plains Sioux (A. Fisher 1986: 5). Fisher also reported that the remains exhibited a Caucasian trait, suggesting the individual had mixed ancestry. He
concluded, therefore, that the skull was of historic, rather than prehistoric origin (A. Fisher 1986: 5). The recent date of these human remains, and their close proximity to Pasheshemone’s village suggest that the remains may be associated with this Mesquakie village (Perry 1990: 16).

Poweshiek’s Village (V25), Jasper County

Poweshiek had little choice but to leave the Iowa River in May 1843. Upstream, the Iowa River turned northward so that a point on that river west of the Red Rock Line would have been less than twenty miles from the Neutral Ground. Such a position would have been dangerously close to their enemies, the Dakota.

Agent Beach reported that Poweshiek did not settle near the other Sauk and Mesquakie bands on the Des Moines River; instead, he chose to reside on the Skunk River. According to Beach, Poweshiek’s village was about fifteen miles from the Raccoon River Agency (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 4 September 1843).

Several maps were drawn either while Poweshiek’s village was occupied or shortly after it was abandoned. These maps provide evidence for locating the village; however, the Skunk River channel has been artificially modified since the mid-nineteenth century so comparisons between historic maps and the modern base map are difficult.

The surveyor who laid out the 1842 treaty boundary line noted the "supposed position of Powasheek’s Village" (National Archives c.1843). He placed the village on the Skunk River, about five miles
west of the treaty line. This map shows Poweshiek's village on the
right bank of the river, at a point where the river bends markedly.
This bend appears to correspond to a curve in the modern river.
Indian Creek empties into the Skunk River along this stretch of the river.

Potter showed the location of Poweshiek's village on his 1844
map. He placed it on the Skunk River, a short distance above the
mouth of Indian Creek (National Archives 1844).

Indian Creek joins the Skunk River in T. 80 N., R. 20 W. When
surveyor John D. Evans subdivided this township in 1846, he noted an
abandoned Indian village in the southwest quarter of Section 19
(Secretary of State 1938: (142) 416). This location is on the right
bank of Indian Creek, a short distance above its mouth. This
position indicates the village was north of the Skunk River, rather
than to its south, as the other historic maps indicate.

Jasper County histories report that Poweshiek's village was
Indian Creek, a few miles above its confluence with the Skunk River
(Weaver 1912: 40; Western Historical Company 1878: 347).

The evidence, then, suggests two distinct locations for
Poweshiek's village. The first is on the right bank of the Skunk
River, opposite the mouth of Indian Creek, in T. 80 N., R. 20 W.,
Section 32. The second is on the right bank of Indian Creek,
approximately two miles above its mouth in T. 80 N., R. 20 W.,
Section 19. This researcher suspects that Poweshiek's band
maintained multiple villages, as it had done along the Iowa River.
Another possibility is that one of these Mesquakie villages may have
been headed by Kishkekosh. Some sources suggest that he resided in Jasper County, but none mention the location of his village.

Poweshiek's band left the Skunk River in mid October 1845. The band was reluctant to move to the reservation along the Missouri River, and so tarried along the Raccoon River and along the rivers to the south.
This research project was designed to identify the specific geographical positions of Sauk and Mesquakie villages, and associated trading houses, Indian agencies, and United States military posts of the 1832 to 1845 period. Locational information was extracted from a variety of historic records. The project documented the existence of 25 Sauk or Mesquakie villages, 17 trading houses, 3 military posts, and 2 Indian agencies. A few of these locations are along the Mississippi River in present-day Lee and Scott counties. The majority of the historical locations identified cluster on the Iowa, Des Moines, and Skunk rivers in present-day Davis, Henry, Iowa, Jasper, Johnson, Louisa, Mahaska, Marion, Monroe, Muscatine, Polk, Van Buren, Wapello, and Washington counties.

The quantity and quality of locational information available through historic documents research are illustrated in the site descriptions presented in Chapter 5. In some instances, the records give specific locations of individual sites or structures. In others, site layout is shown. Still others allude to site evolution, describing rebuilding episodes and changing uses.

Conclusions

Three questions were posed at the beginning of the research:

1. Do the historic documents record locations specifically enough to aid archaeological investigation?
2. Can patterns of site location and layout be discerned from the historic record?

3. Are there particular types of sites which largely are ignored in the written records?

Each of these questions will be examined in turn.

Do the historic documents record locations specifically enough to aid archaeological investigation? Individually, few of the records give precise locations. When the pieces of information from a variety of sources are synthesized, however, specific locational information can be derived.

The quality of the records varies. The most useful information came from the maps prepared under government contract. In particular, DeWard's map of the 1832 treaty boundary line and Fremont's map of the Des Moines River provide valuable data about village locations. Both of these maps correspond well to the modern base map. DeWard's map is made more valuable because his field notes are available. His notes provide critical information for understanding the map.

Most of the General Land Office records of township subdivisions are helpful in locating villages: the adequacy of each record depends upon the skill of the surveyor, however. In a few instances, the surveyor failed to note a village where a number of other sources document one's existence.

The land office records are much less helpful in identifying trading cabins. By the time the surveyors arrived on the scene, the
trading cabins probably were occupied by settlers and the surveyor may not have found the cabins worthy of note.

Locations of military posts and Indian agencies are less well documented than might be expected. The specific location of the Sac and Fox agency house can be determined quite well through a study of historic records. Research yields only the general placement of the Raccoon River agency house, however. Locations of smiths' shops and other appurtenant features of the agencies remain unknown.

A careful examination of the various historic documents provides essential information for designing archaeological investigations. While the exact position of many of the historical locations cannot be derived from the written records, most can be located to within a one mile area.

Historic documents also provide important data on a site's evolution. For example, records tell of the establishment, growth, decline, and eventual abandonment of Appanoose's village.

Evidence suggests that a great many of the locations documented during this research were re-used. The Euro-American towns of Florence, Iowaville, and Monroe were platted on former Indian villages, while Ottumwa and Eddyville were laid out across the river from village sites. Trading houses were also re-used: one of the Phelps' posts was subsequently occupied by the military as Fort Sanford.

Euro-American settlers took advantage of the existing structures when the military de-commissioned forts Des Moines #1 and #2. The cities of Montrose and Des Moines, respectively, were platted on the
fort sites. The barracks and other fort buildings became the first stores and residences in the new towns.

Settlers also tried to capitalize on the improvements made at the Sac and Fox Pattern Farm when the government gave up its control of this parcel. A Street family member was successful in his attempts to acquire this property.

Euro-American settlers re-occupied many of the locations immediately after the period under study. This pattern of re-use probably has obfuscated the archaeological record of the 1832 to 1845 era.

Can patterns of site location and layout be discerned from the historic record? Government correspondence files contain some data on the layout of military posts and Indian agencies, but coverage is uneven. For example, three maps contemporaneous with the occupation of Fort Des Moines #1 have been located, while no contemporary maps of Fort Sanford or Fort Des Moines #2 are known to exist.

Military posts were placed near major rivers. Fort Des Moines #1 was placed at the head of the Des Moines Rapids on the Mississippi River. Fort Des Moines #2 was on the high bank overlooking the confluence of the Des Moines and Skunk rivers. Fort Sanford stood along the banks of the Des Moines River. It should be noted, however, that its position was not selected for its military merits, but rather for its economic advantages. It was a former trading post which the Chouteau firm had offered to the government rent-free.
Fort records contain other important data on site occupation. Muster rolls provide bi-monthly accounting of those present at the fort. Such reports provide vital information on structural requirements at the post. Quartermaster records should contain information on fort construction and maintenance. The present research project did not include an examination of the quartermaster records.

Indian agencies occupied a different position on the landscape. Both agencies included in this research were placed a considerable distance from the Des Moines River. The Sac and Fox agency was on the ridge dividing the Skunk River drainage from the waters of the Des Moines River. The Raccoon River Agency was also on high ground. It overlooked a lake and the Des Moines River valley.

No map of the Raccoon River agency has been found. John Beach alluded to a ground plan of that agency, but a copy of this document remains elusive. Construction contracts for several Raccoon River agency structures exist. These contracts are remarkably detailed.

Agent Street may have prepared contracts for the building of the Sac and Fox agency, but these have not been located. If these exist, they may be filed among the Wisconsin Territorial papers. Sac and Fox agency construction began about the time that responsibility for Indian affairs was transferred from the Wisconsin Superintendency to the newly formed Iowa Superintendency, so related correspondence could logically be filed in either place.

Joseph Street’s widow, Eliza Street, was granted a 640-acre parcel of land in the 1842 treaty. The boundaries of the parcel are
indicated on the original township survey maps. The parcel contained not only the agent's house, but all the adjacent government improvements as well.

Trading houses seem to have been placed along the major rivers, near the mouths of tributary streams. They were in close proximity to Indian villages. Information concerning the layout of trading houses is scarce. The best documentation comes from the report of a fire at one of the Phelps' posts. The ground plan of this post was sketched by Agent Beach. In addition to a store and residence, he indicated the presence of a hen house, corn crib, carriage shed, and servants' quarters. Whether or not this was a typical post remains to be discovered.

The research yielded significant data on patterns of Sauk and Mesquakie village location. The positions of 14 of the 25 villages can be discerned from historic records. All 14 of these villages are located in the same topographic setting: at the edge of a broad prairie flanking a major river.

Less complete geographic descriptions are available for the remaining 11 villages. Nine of them are described as being on the banks of major rivers, but the records do not state whether they are located in prairie or forest. The two remaining villages, which cannot be located with precision, are described as being in prairies adjacent to lakes. In both cases, these lakes are former river channels.

Before Euro-American settlement, the middle and lower reaches of the Iowa, Skunk, and Des Moines rivers were forested throughout most
of their lengths. Occasionally, the timber gave way to broad
prairies adjacent to the water’s edge. The Sauk and Mesquakie seem
to have been selecting these prairie areas for their village
locations.

The placement of villages and trading houses along river banks
makes their preservation difficult to predict. Some of them have
undoubtedly been destroyed by changes in river course. Some have
been inundated as a result of the construction and filling of
Coralville Reservoir along the Iowa River and Red Rock Reservoir
along the Des Moines River. Others are surely buried by a meter or
more of alluvium which has accumulated since site abandonment.

Are there particular types of sites which largely are ignored in
the written records? Of the four property types examined in this
research, trading houses remain the least well known. The presence
of trading posts is well documented, but few individuals recorded the
positions of these structures. County histories are the sources most
likely to mention trading house locations. These sources should be
used with care, however, for they often record erroneous information
about a trader’s company affiliation.

It should be noted that the lack of information on trading houses
may reflect a bias in the collections examined. The National
Archives holds government correspondence: information related to
traders is concerned primarily with the issuance of trading licenses
and the payment of debts.
The collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa contain government records, such as superintendents' and agents' correspondence, as well as a limited amount of traders' records. It may be possible to glean better locational information from larger collections of trading records, such as those held by the Missouri Historical Society.

The layouts of Indian villages are rarely discussed in the written records. Even less frequent in the documentary sources are unbiased descriptions of the daily activities of the village inhabitants. Oral historical information from the Mesquakie could bridge this gap. The written and oral historical accounts can complement one another.

Recommendations

As stated in the introduction, the long term goal of this research is to link historical locations to their archaeological remains. Forty-seven locations representing aspects of Indian/Euro-American contact from 1832 to 1845 have been documented in this study. Recommendations for further work fall into four categories, and are listed in order of priority.

First, maps of predicted site locations should be studied in detail to look for old river channel patterns. Surveyor's notes should be carefully analyzed. Such study will aid in assessing the likelihood that a site has been preserved. An archaeologist and a geomorphologist should work together to make this assessment.
Geomorphological testing should be undertaken at those locations where sites may be preserved.

Second, the ecological setting of each village location should be analyzed. Such analysis could provide data on the subsistence resources available within the immediate vicinity of each village. These data could add to Kurtz' assessment of changes to the Sauk and Mesquakie resource base between the 1780s and 1845.

Third, several archaeological sites relating to this period have already been discovered. These include sites 13VB24; 13MK97, 98, and 99; 13WP125; and the Chesterfield cemetery. Artifacts from these sites have not, for the most part, been analyzed. Detailed study of these collections should be undertaken, so that they may be usefully compared to one another and to materials which may be collected in the future.

Fourth, additional documentary research is needed. This work should concentrate on quartermaster records at the National Archives and on collections of trading records at various repositories.

This research project has demonstrated the utility of studying four property types—Indian villages, trading houses, government agencies, and military posts—as elements in a single community. The historic documents pertaining to these property types reflect the inter-related community which produced them. Fort records contain clues to Sauk and Mesquakie village locations; agency records identify positions of trading houses, and so forth. It is clear that studying the full range of property types simultaneously makes the available data more useful.
1. Edmunds noted that some 450 Potawatomi spent the winter of 1835 along the Skunk River, rather than remove to the Platte River (Edmunds 1978: 251).

2. The History of Johnson County (Anonymous 1883) says Poweshiek was born about 1787-1790, because he was reckoned to be the same age as Wapello.

3. Dockstader (1977: 224-225) attributes the geographic distance between Poweshiek's band and the remainder of the Sauk and Mesquakie to a long-standing disagreement over the sale of some lands in Illinois.

4. Alexander Street married Amelia Beach at the agency house on Raccoon River on Christmas day, 1844. Amelia may have been a sister or a niece of John Beach.

5. A Ewing account book, penned by Alexander Street, is not in the Indiana collection of Ewing papers, as one would expect; rather it is in the Pierre Chouteau-Maffit collection of the Missouri Historical Society (Missouri Historical Society n.d.).

6. Antoine LeClaire seems to have worked for both the American Fur Company and the United States government for much of the period under study. He served as interpreter for the Indian agent in the early 1830s, although the exact dates of his service are unknown. He was interpreter at the treaty negotiations in 1832 (Kappler 1904: 351). Street reported that he was still interpreter in September 1835. In that year, William Clark commented that there were indications that LeClaire was employed by trader George Davenport as well (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(a): List of Agency Employees, 30 September 1835, File 388). LeClaire may have continued to serve as government interpreter until the Indian agency was moved west in 1838.

Cutting Marsh, the Protestant missionary who visited the Sauk and Mesquakie in 1834, undoubtedly referred to LeClaire when he wrote: "The U.S. Interpreter at Rock Island besides being connected with the Am. F[ur] Co. is a catholic and I could never obtain any assistance from him" (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 113).

7. By the terms of the 1836 treaty McPherson was granted $1000 for the support of his child by Totoqua, a Mesquakie woman (Kappler 1904: 474).

8. Caroline Phelps does not state precisely when her husband and his brother joined the American Fur Company, but by dating other events in her journal, one can conclude that it occurred sometime between spring 1834 and fall 1834 or fall 1835 (Phelps 1930: 217-218). Kurtz suggested the union occurred around June 1835 (Kurtz 1986: 276-278). If it
occurred after August 1834, then Marsh’s statement that Phelps was trading in opposition with the American Fur Company would be true (Wight and Thwaites 1900: 154).

9. Robert A. Kinzie was the son of John Kinzie, a trader prominent in Chicago’s early history (Barry 1972: 579).

10. A report summarizing the muster rolls for the first six months of 1836 indicates that Lea deserted (National Archives 1834b). Kearny’s correspondence indicates that Lea had been granted a leave of absence and had resigned (National Archives 1834a: Kearny to Jones, 2 February 1836).

11. Walton (1895: 56) gave 1826 as the date of this move.

12. J. M. Street referred to the "higher band" of Mesquakie as Poweshiek’s followers, the "lower band" as Wapello’s people (J. M. Street n.d.: Street to Thomas P. Street, 1 September 1837).

13. This researcher supposes that Fremont’s "Antemoynok" and Marsh’s "Ah-taum-way-e-nauk" are differing spellings of the same Indian word.

14. Sweet Home was located in northeast Missouri. Jones placed it in Section 32, T. 67 N., R. 7 W. (E. Jones c.1840); but Craw, citing local tradition, reports it was approximately three-quarters of a mile further downstream, in Section 5, T. 66 N., R. 7 W. (Craw 1988).

15. When this land grant was made in 1799, the Sauk village of Cut Nose was nearby, and to the north. This village was still occupied in 1821, but had been abandoned prior to 1834 (Van der Zee 1916: 479-481).

16. One source estimates that the village had a population of 400 to 500 (E. L. Jones 1977: 85).

17. There is no record that two other traders, Peter and William Avery, participated in the purchase of the Iowaville lands. The Averys, however, had been long term traders in the area. James Jordan is said to have reported that the Averys were in the vicinity when he arrived in c.1832 (Jordan n.d.). They were representatives of the American Fur Company at that time. Since they are reported to have continued in the trade until 1842, they may have worked for the Chouteau firm.

18. Kishkekosh himself is not buried here. Beach reported that he migrated to the reservation along the Missouri River in 1845.

19. Ellis had declined the offer to run the survey lines (Bloom 1969: 1007).

20. In the summer of 1874, John Beach’s reminiscences were published as a weekly series of articles, entitled "Old Times," in the Agency Independent. These began in the July 11, 1874 issue and continued
through September 19, 1874, the last article being published posthumously.

No full copies of the Agency Independent are known to exist (Iowa State Historical Department 1979: 3); however, A. R. Fulton’s Scrapbook of Iowa History contains this entire series of Beach articles (Fulton n.d.: 33-44). Waterman reproduced a substantial segment of these articles in his 1914 History of Wapello County, Iowa (Waterman 1914: 23-42). Although Waterman attributed Chapter Three, “Indian Agency in Wapello County” to John Beach, it should be noted that this is not an exact replication of the Agency Independent articles. For example, Waterman did not reprint the first few Beach articles; he rearranged some material; he paraphrased in a few instances; and he appended material about Appanoose not found in the Beach articles.

21. Joseph Montfort Street was the first to have died at the agency, on May 5, 1840.

Wapello, a Mesquakie headman, died near the forks of the Skunk River in March 1842. At his request, he was buried near Street (J. M. Street n.d.: Receipt, Beach and Hardisty, 18 March 1842).

Lucy Frances Street Beach, John Beach’s wife, died at the Raccoon River agency on July 31, 1845. Her body was brought to the family home for burial.

John Beach closed the Raccoon River Agency on October 8, 1845 in preparation for the Sauk and Mesquakie move to lands west of the Missouri River (Beach 1976: Beach to Chambers, 11 October 1845). Beach transported his children to the Sac and Fox agency. Either en route or shortly after his arrival there, on October 12, 1845, his infant daughter Lucy Elizabeth died.

Another of Street’s grandchildren was the next to be buried in the cemetery.

John Beach Street, the infant son of Alexander and Amelia F. Beach Street, died August 15, 1846.

Joseph Montfort Street’s wife, Eliza Maria Posey Street, died February 2, 1847.

The last interment in the cemetery occurred in 1850, when Horace Pearol [Pearce?] Street, another child of Alexander and Amelia Street, was buried.

22. Little is known about Tolman. He had probably settled in present-day Lee County by 1832, for “Tolman’s” land is shown on Sprigg’s map of the Half Breed Tract. “Tolman’s” land was in T. 65 N., R. 6 W., Section 4 and extended into T. 66 N., R. 6 W., Section 33 (National Archives 1833).
23. Records at the State Historical Society of Iowa document that Harding began his efforts to protect sites in the Eldon-Selma area as a high school student in 1924 (Harlan n.d.: Harlan to Harding, 17 June 1924). In the 1970s, he was trying to have the sites nominated to the National Register of Historic Places (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(f), n.d.(h)).

24. In this same letter, Lucas gave other locational information which conflicts with other sources. For example, he indicated that Appanoose's (V6) and Wapello's (VI2) villages were on the north bank of the Des Moines River. Other sources clearly place these villages south of the river (State Historical Society of Iowa n.d.(d): Lucas to Crawford, 23 October 1840).

25. No information pertaining to Eddy's post near Kishkekosh's village has been found.

26. Caroline Phelps stated this event took place "The winter 1840 in Feb. 22 at 3 o'clock at night..." (Phelps 1930: 235).

27. Some sources report that Totokonock was Black Hawk's prophet. While he may have prophesied success for Black Hawk in 1832, he surely was not the individual known as 'the Prophet' or 'the Winnebago Prophet,' who played an instrumental part in that conflict. The Prophet's Indian name is recorded in several historical documents as Waubakeeshik or Wabokieshiek (Kappler 1904: 350; Jackson 1955: 2).

28. Newhall estimated the population of this village at 1700 to 2000. He also estimated the entire population of Sauk and Mesquakie at 7,000, a figure more than double more reliable estimates (Newhall 1841: 197).

29. Although the secondary accounts available report that Gilbert was employed by the American Fur Company, this researcher assumes that after 1834 he worked for the successor firm directed by Pierre Chouteau Jr.

30. Aurner gave Gilbert's death date as March 1838 (Aurner 1912: (1) 14).

31. C. W. Irish's account does not agree with several other records. For example, Irish attributed this cabin's construction to a brother of William Phelps (Aurner 1912: (1) 44). It was more likely the establishment of Wheten Chase. The error is understandable, however: Wheten Chase's brother-in-law was Stephen S. Phelps, William's brother. S. S. Phelps regularly visited the Chase cabin. Irish also asserted that Gilbert's post was the same one as the one he attributed to Phelps. He stated that Chase's trading cabin was nearby (Aurner 1912: (1) 45).

32. Dinwiddie indicated this house was a trading cabin, but the original land survey notes record simply "house" (Dinwiddie 1915: (1) 257; Secretary of State 1979: (78) 236).
33. Stephen S. Phelps' wife, Phebe Chase Phelps, died in 1838. His second wife was Salome Patterson, perhaps a relative of this fur trader (Patterson 1919: 257).

34. The contract specified a double log house, composed of two 18 foot-square blocks, separated by an eight-foot passageway. A 15 by 18 foot kitchen was to be attached to one end of the house. The contract thus called for a 59 by 18 foot structure (18 + 8 + 18 + 15 = 59).

35. Sanford (1874: 126) reported that Brooks' brick house was constructed in 1851.

36. In support of the hypothesis that Spring Branch is the outlet of present-day Dean's Lake, two maps (Mills and Co. n.d.; Ross n.d.) note a "deep rock spring" along the outlet of this lake. A local history refers to the "noted mineral springs known as Deep Rock Springs, a favorite resort for invalids," in Section 12, T. 78 N., R. 24 W (Union Historical Company 1880: 912).

37. Federal law required that one section in each township, Section 16, be set aside to provide for school funding (Donaldson 1884: 223-228).
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June 1, 1838: Contract between Joseph M. Street, Indian Agent, and Jeremiah Smith, Sr. of Des Moines County, Wisconsin Territory, for the construction of two mills, for the sum of $5,000 (Excerpted from National Archives 1967a: 160-163).

Smith agreed to construct two water grist mills at separate places:

...one on the waters of the Des Moines River and the other on the waters of the Iowa or Red Cedar or Des Moines at such points as shall be designated by the said Joseph M. Street, within a reasonable time. The time taken by said Street to make such selection to be deducted from the time mentioned herein for the completion of this contract. The said mills and each of them to be built as follows viz--The foundation of each dam to be dug down three [?] feet below the bottom or bed of the stream (and further should the softness of the earth seem to require it) the mud or foundation sills to be placed across the stream at the distance of six feet apart and not less than four times making the dam eighteen feet wide, the cross ties to be ten feet apart notched down close upon the other timbers so as to form pins six by ten feet to be filled with rock and if rock cannot be conveniently got to the place the pins to be filled with clay and brick well pounded in; the front or upper side of the dams to be well spiked [?] with split puncheons hewed straight to prevent the crawfish from making holes in the dams the busts [?] or lower sides of the dams to be built perpendicular to such height as will be necessary having reference to the size of the of the stream and the head required the top or sloping part of the dams to be covered over with split puncheons well pinned on to the main timbers and graved over, the apron below the dams to be made of split puncheons or sound poles well fastened down and made secure to the main dams, extending the whole length of the dams on the part over which the water tumbles.

The abutments to extend well into the Banks and to rise three feet above the tumble of the dams, The timbers to be
of the same denomination as those of the main dams all of 
good sound durable timber not less than ten inches in 
diameter at the smallest end filled in with rock or clay.

The mill house to be twenty by twenty four feet of hewed 
logs covered with oak or walnut shingles and placed on a 
firm foundation having in view their exposed situation in 
times of freshets or breaking up of ice in the spring, the 
floors to be of oak plank jointed sides to be well boarded 
or pointed with limes[e] each house to have two glass windows 
and one door with plank shutters hung with strong Iron 
hinges and a pad lock to each door.

The water wheels to be reaction or tub wheels as will best 
suit the streams Mill staves to be three and a half feet in 
diameter if the streams are sufficient + not less than 
eighteen inches through the eyes. The husk frame to be put 
together in the most substantial manner, hoppers shoes and 
meal chests and hoops for the stones to be of walnut or pine 
well seasoned and put together in a workmanlike manner, all 
the plank and timbers used in the wheels must be thoroughly 
seasoned before using, rounds and logs of dogwood or hickory 
well seasoned. The wheels and ends of the shafts to be well 
bound with Iron bands, cast Iron gudgeons upper and lower 
points of the spindles and the ink [?] or bearing upon which 
they run to be laid with cast steels and case hardened. The 
whole work to be done in a workmanlike manner and the mills 
to be finished so as to perform good work as good water 
grist mills.-- The whole to be completed by the first day 
of May [1839] one thousand eight hundred and thirty nine-- 

An endorsement states that the contractor can take a number of extra 
days equal to the number of days it takes Street to select the mill 
sites. Following the endorsement, the document reads:

One Mill located on Ferro Creek the tenth day of 
July 1838--Joseph M. Street.

One Mill located on Appanoose’s Creek the 12th of July 
1838.--Joseph M. Street.

A second endorsement reads:

I have under the letter of the 27th August 1838, agreed with 
Jeremiah Smith to add two saw Mills to the two Grist Mills 
mentioned in this contract, which are to be built and
completed in a workmanlike manner and to be delivered over at the same time as the Grist mills--1st Oct. 1838--Joseph M. Street; Jeremiah Smith, Senior.

November 28, 1840: Contract between John Beach, Indian Agent, and John Tolman of Iowa Territory, for repair of saw and grist mills on Soap Creek, for the sum of $1075 (Excerpted from National Archives 1964a: Beach to Crawford, 31 December 1840). (A second copy of this contract can be found in National Archives 1967a: 453-455).

That the buildings, machinery and timbers of the dam now remaining and such there of only as may be sound and fit for use, shall be removed to the designated point above the present site of the Mill--

That the dam shall be reconstructed at said newly designated point, to be similar in every respect, and of the same dimensions, with the original dam; except that it shall not be less than seventy five feet in length and that the back or perpendicular side of the dam shall be made from six to twelve inches lower than it now stands; and that a temporary construction, to be formed of good Oak Plank not less that two inches thick shall be made upon the edge of the dam, to retain the quantity of water lost by said cutting down of the dam; and that the upper side of the dam shall be bolted to the foundation with not less than two bolts.

That the abutment shall be reduced to the size of twelve by eighteen feet, and to be set[?] into the bank so as to make the dam eighty feet long if convenient, and to be set upon the rock if rock can be obtained at a suitable depth, in all other respects to be constructed as it now stands. That the wing shall be continued from the corner of the abutment to the high bank, and that the bank shall be leveed by throwing on rock, gravel, and brush, and well ramming the same; this levee to reach to the high ground.

That the frame of the saw mill shall be taken down, and reerected in a solid and substantial manner; that it shall be placed upon the firm rock, and the outer sill to be fastened thereto with one bolt, and that said frame shall be let [set?] into the bank, the distance of one half its width. That the machinery shall be removed, and set up as originally constructed, and that whereever any portions of the same are decayed or destroyed, they shall be remade of
their original dimensions. That a strong logway shall be made as nearly level with the carriage as circumstances will admit, and that the frame shall be covered and enclosed as originally, with good materials, say, with good oak shingles and clapboards.

That a frame house shall be constructed, to be eighteen by twenty feet, and shall be joined to the end of the saw mill, so that the upper side of each shall be on a line; that the bank is to be dug down to the solid rock, if the same is to be found at a proper depth, and that a pen shall be constructed thereon, similar to the abutment, the upper side to be made water tight of hewed logs and said pen to be raised of a proper height to suit the height of the Saw Mill. That the Grist Mill house shall be erected upon the said pen, to be covered with a continuous roof with the Saw Mill, of similar materials, and to have such a pitch, that the side next to the bank shall not be less than eight feet high; the sills to be hewed eight by twelve inches, the posts, braces, rafters, and other timbers to be of proportionate dimensions; the house to be floored with not less than inch plank, and to be walled with sound weatherboarding; the whole to be of sound oak or walnut timber. And that a meal chest shall be made, in a good workmanlike manner, of walnut boards.

That the work above designated shall be completed, the machinery connected, and all set in good running order, by the 1st day of June Eighteen hundred and Forty one ... (National Archives 1964a: Beach to Crawford, 31 December 1840).

June 5, 1841: Letter from Beach to John Chambers, reporting that the contractor had satisfactorily completed the work by June 1, 1841. Portions of the work deviated from the contract, increasing costs. Beach described the reasons for these changes and requested funds to reimburse the contractor for the additional costs (Excerpted from National Archives 1964a: 5 June 1841).

The work has been more properly a reconstruction, than a repair of the mill, owning [sic] to a change of site, now higher up the stream. From this circumstance, and the necessity of improving the old machinery in several particulars, I authorised some additional labor as its
necessity became apparent, which not being contemplated or exhibited in the original plan upon which the bids were based, I hope the Comr will perceive the justness of the same, and remit the amount without delay.

It was first supposed that the old water wheel would answer the purpose of the new works, but it became altogether inadequate in dimensions, and from the necessity for a different arrangement, on account of the direction given to the current of water in the new site. The extra work done on wheel, circle block, bulkhead, with other items specified in the bill amounts to $85.20.

The contract required the Grist Mill roof to be continuous with that of the saw mill, the sides of the house on the bank to be not less than 8 feet high as appeared practicable at first view. But the Saw mill was set so low in order to find a solid foundation (rock) that the plan had to be altered with a view to fitting in a bolt. The building is therefore much higher than contemplated, the roof pitching in two directions. The additional labor and materials amount to $21.75.

I have obtained an estimate of the expense of a bolt authorised by the Comr. The bolt was not included in the contract as I had then no means of coming at the probable cost, and thought it might as well be set up by the Miller, whereby the expense of the materials alone would be incurred. It will amount, i.e. Cloth, bolting chest, labor on fore bay and wheel, straps, elevators &c. to $102.00. I shall have it put in as soon as practicable....

As the Soap Creek is subject to heavy freshets, three of which have happened this spring to the imminent peril of this mill, and destruction of several on neighboring streams, it was the opinion of the inspectors as it appears to be generally, that some additional precaution is essential to its preservation. The plan recommended is to open a race above, whereby surplus water may be carried around when requisite. The greatest danger apprehended is from the sandy soil of the bank, tending to be washed away round the wing and abutment, these once undermined, the dam could no longer resist the force of the freshet, whence total destruction would ensue. The contractor had to dig a temporary race during a late freshet barely saving the wall which a few additional inches to the volume of water would have swept away. The estimated cost of the race is as follows: for the plank, timber, and framing for gate +c. at head of race $79.80; excavation $75.00; tamping the forebay $25.00; contingencies, say $12.00, total $191.80--still within the $1,500. As the mills have proved themselves
substantially built and are likely to prove of much benefit, I urge this addition for preserving them.

There seem to be no means of carrying on the saw mill. A miller is by treaty to carry on the grist mill, and even if he is expected and agrees to conduct the saw mill without additional compensation, there is still no method of procuring logs and the assistance he will require. When the mill was first built the late Agent authorised the procuring of tools, logs, and hands expecting to cover the expenses from the income of the mill, but as it was soon after destroyed this expectation was not realised, and a large account is yet standing [?] against it. I therefore do not feel at liberty to incur a similar risk and have in the interim only directed the miller in case he should receive an order for lumber the price of which will equal the cost of filling it[,] not to fill such order for cash on delivery. The saw will cut with ease over 2,000 feet per diem; it would be unfortunate that it remain idle; and to permit the miller to carry it on at his own cost allowing him or receiving of him a certain percentage of the profits would be preferable, should no other plan be deemed more advantageous (National Archives 1964a: Beach to Chambers, 5 June 1841).
APPENDIX B
CONSTRUCTION OF SMITHS' SHOPS AT RACCOON RIVER AGENCY

August 3, 1843: Contract between John Beach, Indian agent and John R. Wright of Van Buren County, Iowa Territory, to build smiths' shops at the Raccoon River Agency for $250.00 (Excerpted from National Archives 1967b: 298-299.)

That the said John R. Wright shall erect at the point which has been selected by the Indian Agent, near the mouth of the Raccoon river, two sets of shops for the use of the smiths employed for the Sacs + Foxes, and that he shall complete and deliver the same to the agent on or before the first day of October 1843.

That there shall be two separate buildings, each building to contain one Gunsmith's and one Blacksmith's shop, in separate apartments, the larger room or blacksmiths shop to be 18 by 16 feet inside the clear, the smaller room 16 feet square in the clear. That each building shall be built of straight sound round logs, as many rounds in height as will allow a space of not less than 9 feet between the floor and bottom of the joists of which joists there shall be three in the larger room—the logs to be suitably, neatly and securely notched and joined at the corners—the spaces between the logs to be firmly filled in with wood and to be tightly daubed upon both sides with the best earth that can be conveniently found for the purpose—that the partition between the rooms shall be similar to the outside walls above described—that the end walls and partition shall be carried up in the customary manner to give a firm support to the roof—that the whole shall be covered with good straight oak clapboards nailed on so as to make a neat tight roof, impervious to the rain, and shall be floored with puncheons so as to make a tight and level floor.

That there shall be a forge built up in each room, with a flue or chimney of brick, to extend a suitable height above the roof, and to be erected under the superintendence and direction of the smiths respectively—and that upon the end of the building in the smaller room there shall be chimney of brick or stone, with a convenient fireplace—that there shall be a door to each room upon the front of the building, and in the larger room a window opposite to the door to consist of 12 panes of 10 by 12 glass 2 panes in height—
and six in length—and in the smaller room a window of 8 panes of 10 by 12 glass to be placed in such shape and position as the gunsmith shall direct.

That the whole shall be completed in a neat, durable and workmanlike manner for the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars ....

And it is finally agreed, that the said John R. Wright shall employ and take into the Indian country such number of persons as he may deem necessary to assist him in performing his contract, but it is fully understood that the Indian agent retains the right of excluding any persons whom for sufficient causes he would not permit to remain ...(National Archives 1967b: 298-299).
APPENDIX C

CONSTRUCTION OF AGENCY HOUSE AND APPURTEENANT FEATURES

AT RACCOON RIVER AGENCY

August 3, 1843: Contract between John Beach, Indian agent, and John R. Wright of Van Buren County, Iowa, to construct agency house, smoke house, stables and other features for $550 (Excerpted from National Archives 1967b: 301-304).

That the said J.R. Wright for and in consideration of the sum herein named shall build in the country of the Sacs + Foxes at a point near the mouth of the Raccoon River, which has been selected by the Agent, an agency house, of the following description to wit, a double hewed loghouse each block to be 18 feet square on the inside, and to be separated by a passage 8 feet across, the said house to be one story and a half in height, the lower rooms to be not less than 8 feet in height--from the floor to the joists, and the upper rooms not less than four and a half feet to the top of the plate, the logs to be straight of good sound oak, walnut hickory or other equally durable timber, to be neatly and firmly notched and joined at the corners, the spaces between the logs to be chinked with stone or wood, secured in such manner as not to be in danger of displacement by any subsequent settling of the house and to be pointed inside and outside with good lime mortar--the whole building to be covered with a continuous roof of shingles, properly nailed on, said shingles to be 18 inches long, showing five inches to the weather of pine, oak or walnut, and the roof to be finished on the inside by lathing and plastering--viz one coat work of good materials. The floors of the rooms and of the passage both above and below, will be made of plank of such thickness width and material as is customarily used for such purposes in houses of this description, smoothed upon the upper side, and so laid down as to make the joints perfectly tight, and to have a base or washboard around the edges of the same. The passage to be walled up on each end by weatherboarding, having a good sized door with three panes of glass over the same in each wall--said passage to contain a flight of stairs from the lower to the upper floor having a closet extending to the end wall of the passage, with door under the stairs, and a closet in the passage above. That there shall be a kitchen 15 X 18 feet inside attached to one end of the house so as
to make one continuous front, to be one story in height and to be in every particular finished off and completed similarly to the other part of the building, its roof to be so joined to the house as to prevent leakage there will be besides the passage doors above named six doors in house and kitchen--said doors to be made of good hard wood, not subject to become warped to be smoothed on each side and these with their casings as likewise the window casings to be neatly and tightly joined together and fitted to their places--said doors to be hung on iron hinges and to have a thumb latch and common iron bolt to each, passage doors included. There will be two windows to each lower room and one in the kitchen--said windows to contain 12 panes of 10 X 12 glass, the lower sash to lift, also two windows in each room above having one sash of similar glass, said windows to slide horizontally. There will be a chimney at each end of the house, to be built of brick or stone, put together with good lime mortar, and to be carried three feet above the roof, to have a fireplace in each lower room and in the kitchen, and an aperture for a stove pipe in each room above. And that the above described buildings shall be finished according to a ground plan, and chimneys erected according to a schedule of dimensions, which plan and schedule are furnished herewith.

That the said John R. Wright shall erect 15 feet in rear of the kitchen a smoke house 16 feet square of round logs having not less than 9 feet wall--the corners to be properly notched and joined, to be neatly chinked and pointed, to be covered with a tight roof of good straight clapboards, and to have one strong, tight door, hung on stout iron hinges, and shall also erect at such spot as the Agent shall designate, a log building for a stable, 18 feet square with 10 feet wall, to be finished with doors +c as the smoke house except that there shall be a loft for hay, and shall enclose all the buildings above described with a good rail fence staked and ridered [?], so as to form a convenient [?] around the house and another around the stable, of about the size of those at the late agency in Wapello County [i.e., the Sac and Fox Agency]--to have one large gate with iron hinges on heavy posts in the stable, and a small gate in the fence dividing the two yards.

And the said J.R. Wright shall enclose 20 acres of ground in such form and place, nearby, as the agent shall designate, with a good fence of seven rails and two riders, or nine rails in height and well staked, to have one large strong gate hung with iron hinges on heavy posts.

...Also, if at any time during the progress of the above work the agent shall require it, the said J.R. Wright agrees
to dig, wall and finish a good well, convenient to the
Agency house, for which he shall be paid one dollar per foot
for 30 feet, or two dollars per foot should the (well)
exceed thirty feet (National Archives 1967b: 301-304).

The contract specified that these structures would be completed by
the 15th of November 1843.