

CHAPTER VI

FIRST MISSIONARY VENTURES AMONG THE INDIANS

§ I FATHER VAN QUICKENBORNE AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

The school at Florissant by no means limited the range of Father Van Quickenborne's interest in the native tribes of the West. He busied himself at intervals with plans for a systematic Christianization of the American red men by methods similar to those which had been employed by the Jesuits of Paraguay and he undertook a number of trips to the Indians of the Missouri border, chiefly the Osage. It is the purpose of this chapter to sketch these activities of his on behalf of the Indians up to the period when he was able to realize his plans in a fashion by the establishment of the Kickapoo Mission.

Ways and means of ameliorating the condition of the red men were a frequent topic of discussion between Father Van Quickenborne and General William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs in the West. To his superior in the East Van Quickenborne wrote July 26, 1824:

I visited the Governor [William Clark] before I saw yr. [your] rev's [Reverence's] letter. He told me yr. rev. had visited him together with Mr. Richard [Father Gabriel Richard]. If what is said here be true, and I think it is, he is not to be Superintendent. Gen. Clark will continue in his office, but Mr. McNair, together with Gen. Clark are appointed Commissioners to act with all the power the president can give, with the Indians in all that country that is beyond the limits of this State and the Arkansas Territory. The natives of Ohio, Kentucky etc. intend to make a settlement on the Missouri after the manner of civilized nations (something like in Paraguay). They may by and by form a state and send their representatives and Senators to Congress. The President is inclined to adopt this plan and Gen. Clark will endeavor to execute it. He has communicated to me all his sentiments on the subject and has recommended us to these natives to take us for their missionaries and fathers. I think that the time is not far off when great things will be performed in behalf of the civilization and spiritual welfare of our truly miserable Indians. Now is the moment, believe me, Rev. Father, to furnish our Seminary with duly qualified fathers. If they are not here when the establishments will commence, Protestants will trust [thrust] themselves in. Give what you can and write to R[ight] R[ev.] F[ather] Gen[eral] to send us

a supply of 12 fathers I will pay all the expenses of their journey He has only to indicate to me the name of the person to whom I shall send the money and to begin I will put 2000 francs in the hands of Madame Barat, Superior of the Dames du S Coeur at Paris, to be employed for the fathers that are to come to this mission Pray R father, do not fail in using all yr exertions in obtaining this favour from R[ight] R[everend] F[ather] Gen¹

Clark's own plan for the systematic civilizing of the Indian tribes was outlined by Van Quickenborne in a letter to the Maryland superior A tract of land, presumably west of the Missouri state-line in the present Kansas (but according to Van Quickenborne only two hundred miles distant from Florissant) was to be set aside for the Indian tribes. The tract was to be divided into districts and in each district four or five tribes were to be allowed to settle down A school house with resident missionary was to be provided for each district, while outside the limits of the entire region there was to be a sort of central Indian school to which about six boys and as many girls from each district were to be sent The St Regis Seminary, with a department for girls to be conducted by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, was considered as likely to answer all the requirements of this central school "But," Clark observed to Van Quickenborne, "if I put a Methodist in one district, a Presbyterian in another, a Quaker in a third and a Catholic in a fourth, you will be constantly at war, and instead of giving them peace will only create confusion in the minds of the Indians. I should like to give the districts to one Society and I think that yours is more competent for the work than any of the others" Van Quickenborne replied to Clark that he thought his order had men sufficient for all the districts To the eagerly apostolic superior the superintendent's scheme appeared indeed to be a dispensation of Providence for renewing the missionary glories of the older line of Jesuits "Who does not see here," he writes with enthusiasm to Dzierozynski, "the beginning of another Paraguay? It would indeed be a miracle if the other missionaries were displaced and ours substituted in their stead But this is the age of miracles Oh! if our Very Rev. Fr General were to send us a Xavier, a Lallemand, a John Francis [Regis] and you, Father, four or five well-formed brothers *Sed quid ego miser!*"²

Some weeks later Clark returned to the subject of Catholic missionaries He informed Van Quickenborne that the Catholics were not

¹ (B) In the opinion of one of his superiors Father Van Quickenborne was more successful in initiating plans than in carrying them out "[*Aptus*] *ad excolendas missiones et ad inchoandas res fere quascumque non tamen perficiendas*" *Catalogus secundus* (A)

² Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, Florissant, April 29, 1825 (B)

asking for missionary posts and that these were now nearly all assigned, the Methodists having been particularly insistent in their demands.³ Finally, in the fall of 1825 he invited the father to visit the Kansa Indians, promising to pay for the boys the latter should obtain from that tribe. The land formerly held by the Kansa Indians within the limits of Missouri had been ceded to the United States government in 1825. One township was reserved to be sold for twenty thousand dollars and this sum was to constitute an education fund to be applied by the President to the maintenance of a school in the Kansa village. At five per cent the capital would yield an annual income of a thousand dollars. Clark urged Van Quickenborne to apply for the Kansa school with the accompanying appropriation. The treaty, so the General informed him, awaited confirmation by the Senate, but, that obtained, immediate application for the new school would be made by some Protestant denomination. Van Quickenborne wrote to his superior reporting Clark's offer and suggesting that the affair could be negotiated in Washington by Father Dzierozynski himself, or else by Father Dubusson S. J. or Father Matthews, the pastor of St. Patrick's Church. But nothing came of this attempt of the superintendent to engage Jesuit missionaries for the Kansa Indians.⁴

In the course of the year 1825 Van Quickenborne, at Clark's solicitation, drew up and submitted a plan for a general systematic civilization of the Indian tribes. "The Superintendent of Indian Affairs," the father wrote to Bishop Du Bourg, "has had me put in writing my ideas on the best way of civilizing the Indians. He previously laid before me his own plans as well as his good intentions in our regard. It is only two days since he broached the subject and I have not found time to perfect my plan. I send it to you, however, such as I have been able to make

³ Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, Florissant, June 30, 1825 (B) "Wishing to stir me to action, he [Clark] deprecated politely the fact that Catholics do not sufficiently exert themselves to obtain those places" Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, April 30, 1825 (B)

⁴ Van Quickenborne to (?) Dzierozynski, Florissant, December 19, 1825 (B) In 1828 Father Joseph Lutz, a diocesan priest of St. Louis, with authorization from Bishop Rosati and General Clark, resided for three months in the Kansas village on the banks of the Kaw River some sixty-five miles above its mouth. He was the first Catholic priest to attempt resident missionary work in the territory which is now the state of Kansas. For a letter of his on this episode cf. *Ann Prop.*, 3, 556. The *SLCHR*, 5, 183 *et seq.*, has a well-documented sketch of Lutz by F. G. Holweck. Cf. also Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri* (Chicago, 1919), p. 30. Rosati's Diary has this entry, July 23, 1828: "Mr. Lutz arrives, having been requested by Mr. Clark to betake himself without delay to the Kansas Indians not only because they eagerly desire to have him but also because a Methodist pseudominister has offered himself for that mission, the establishment of which can be delayed no longer." Kenrick Seminary Archives.

it in so short a time, hoping that your Lordship will make whatever changes you may deem advisable”⁵ The plan was as follows

1. Our little Indian Seminary should continue to support the present number of boys from eight to twelve years of age, while the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in our neighborhood should bring up about as many girls of the same tribe. They should be taken young, from eight to twelve, to habituate them more easily to the customs and industry of civil life and impress more deeply on their hearts the principles of religion.

2 After five or six years' education, it would be good that each youth should choose a wife among the pupils of the Sacred Heart before returning to his tribe.

3 Within two or three years two missionaries should go to reside in that nation to gain their confidence and esteem, and gradually persuade a number to settle together on a tract of land to be set apart by government Agricultural implements and other necessary tools for the new establishment to be furnished.

4 Soon as this new town was formed, some of the couples formed in our establishments should be sent there with one of the said missionaries, who should be immediately replaced, so that two should always be left with the body of the tribe, till it was gradually absorbed in the civilized colony.

5 Our missionaries should then pass to another tribe and proceed successively with each in the same manner as the first

6 As the number of missionaries and our resources increased, the civilization of two or more tribes might be undertaken at once The expense of carrying out this plan might be estimated thus

The support of 16 to 24 children in the two establishments	\$1,900
Three Missionaries	600
Total	<u>\$2,500</u> ⁶

Ingenious and promising though Van Quickenborne's plan appeared to be, it was never carried into execution. General Clark promised to lay it before Secretary of War Calhoun on the occasion of a visit he was to pay to Washington but failed to do so, alleging in explanation that the secretary, who was soon to relinquish his office, was unwilling to discuss measures the execution of which would devolve upon his successor⁷ From this time on, the plan recurs repeatedly in Van Quickenborne's correspondence as in this letter of June 29, 1825, to his General

A matter of the highest importance is about to be taken in hand by our government A region will be designated near the Missouri River where

⁵ *Ann Prop*, 2 396

⁶ J G Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States* (New York, 1854), p 406 The original document is in the files of the Indian Office, Washington, D C

⁷ Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, January 10, 1825 (B)

such of the Indians as agree to it will be brought together to live under laws made for them by the government, practice farming and live after the manner of civilized nations. This region will be divided into districts and each family will be given a portion of land to be cultivated. In every district there will be missionaries or a school of some kind. All these missionaries live on government money. The superintendent of Indian affairs [William Clark] told me that he wished the missionaries to be all of the same religion and that he preferred us to all others, but it is necessary that we offer our services to the Government. In any event we shall have one district, which we can organize in the following manner. As soon as any of our youths are ready to marry girls who have been educated here, they will be settled in that district, where a farm will be given them by the Government, also farming implements and stock. Two of Ours will go along to live and work with them and these Indians will be joined by others from the tribes still roaming in the woods. It is by all means necessary that some such plan be tried. For why educate youths in our Seminary if after two or three years they must return to their tribesmen, who are still sunk in barbarism? And how can they otherwise practice the religion they have been taught while with us? Or how, in fine, shall the barbarous tribes be won over unless by seeing that such are the effects of Christian education. This we have to do or else give up altogether our work for the Indians. The Society has always had at heart the conversion of the Indians. Then, too, how your Very Rev. Paternity spurred me on to that work when I was still at White Marsh with the novices, of whom you said, the words are your Paternity's own "I hope those young lads, after being educated in this fashion, will become in turn the teachers of great numbers of Indians." ⁷

Four years later, in the spring of 1829, Father Van Quickenborne called on President Jackson in Washington and laid before him substantially the same plan for the civilization of the Indians as that outlined above. The President gave his verbal approval. The plan is sketched in a letter which Van Quickenborne addressed to Secretary of War Eaton in October, 1829.

In the latter part of last Spring I had the honor of proposing to our venerable President, General Jackson, the plan for the civilization of the Indians, which I now take the liberty of laying before your excellency. Should Government approve of it, I would buy in this state six or seven thousand acres of land. The Indian boys and girls educated in our institution, after being married would go thither to settle upon a tract of 25 acres, which I would give to each of them in fee simple, with some restrictions, however. All of them could make application as foreigners do for citizenship. I would be inclined to receive into our Seminary only such youths as declare through their parents, their willingness and desire to become citizens of the United States, and of living according to the laws of the country. Upon

⁷ Van Quickenborne ad Fortis, June 29, 1824 (AA)

making such declaration such grown Indians as would be willing to be married according to our laws and begin immediately a farm would also be received. The new settlers would adopt the English language. Two reverend gentlemen of our Society would reside with them, be their pastor and officiate in the church to be built. If any assistance should be given by Government, it would be most gratefully received. The President has verbally approved the plan.⁸

The government's decision in regard to Van Quickenborne's plan was communicated to him by Commissioner of Indian Affairs McKenney.

Your views in relation to the Indians and especially the Indian children educated at your school, are considered highly commendable, and it is very gratifying to find that you are disposed to engage so earnestly in the cause of Indian improvement. Your plan, as far as it goes, is considered good, but as the subject will be taken up by the Executive and a general plan for the civilization and improvement of the Indians submitted to Congress at the next session, it is not deemed advisable, in the meantime, to extend the aid of the Government to any partial plan for the same object.⁹

Though Van Quickenborne could not, in view of the policy thus announced from Washington, rely upon any financial assistance from that quarter in the prosecution of his plan, he did not by any means give up the hope of seeing it realized, especially as the Father General now gave it his formal approval. Father Roothaan addressed him November 21, 1829.

I very gladly agree to your beginning the education of the Indians according to the plan you described and to this end I shall send some alms at my disposal, I hope a thousand dollars. Only let nothing be done inconsiderately and hastily, but use such foresight as will assure you a well-grounded hope of finishing and perpetuating the work. I think you should be particularly at pains to keep out of the settlement of Indian converts persons who would feign conversion and eventually wreck the whole affair. It behooves your Reverence to ascertain and follow as far as possible the methods employed of old by our Fathers in Paraguay, for these have been tried and found most successful.¹⁰

⁸ Van Quickenborne to Eaton, Florissant, October 4, 1829 (H)

⁹ M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, Washington, October 27, 1829 (A). President Jackson in his first message to Congress (1829) proposed the removal of the Indians to lands west of the Mississippi. In May, 1830, Congress passed an act authorizing the necessary exchanges and purchases of lands from the indigenous tribes west of the Mississippi. Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 6 430.

¹⁰ *WL*, 25 354. A detailed exposition of Van Quickenborne's program of cultural and religious work among the Indians is contained in a letter addressed by

§ 2. THE FIRST CATHOLIC MISSIONARY TO THE OSAGE

The story of the Osage sums up the fate that has overtaken the one-time Indian occupants of the territory that is now the United States.¹¹ Once a powerful and influential nation, they had been gradually pushed backward by warring tribes until one finds them occupying lands in the western part of what is now Missouri. In 1808, by the terms of a treaty against which they later protested as fraudulent, they ceded to the United States government forty-eight million acres of land, which included all their holdings in what is now the state of Missouri with the exception of a strip of territory included within the western boundary of the state and a line running from Fort Clark, thirty-five miles below the mouth of the Kansas River, due south to the Arkansas River. Nor was this last fragment of their former vast possessions to remain long in their hands. In 1825 General Clark negotiated with the Great and Little Osage a treaty which extinguished their title to the remnant of their Missouri lands and sent them south-

him to Father Rozaven, March 10, 1829. Published in the *Ann Prop*, it was obviously meant to stimulate the generosity of European Catholics in behalf of his favorite project. Referring to his ideas on the civilization of the Indians, Van Quickenborne wrote on a later occasion (about 1832) "It is this plan that was proposed to the President of the United States in a conversation and verbally approved by him, and he at the same time assured me that the Indians could become citizens. He promised his support to the plan and gave me leave to propose it in his name to the Indians. I have done it in two full councils in two different villages and it was unanimously pronounced to be the thing they wanted, and great anxiety was exhibited to see it commenced immediately." *WL*, 25 354

¹¹ Osage is a corruption by the French traders of *Waxhazie*, the tribe's name in their own language. The Osage are of Siouan stock and have been classed in the same group with the Omaha, Ponca, Kansa and Quapaw, with whom they are supposed to have originally constituted one body. See Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1912), 2 156. Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, who visited the Osage in 1806, found them separated into three bands, the Grand Osage, the Little Osage and those of the Arkansas. "The Arkansas schism was effected by Mr. Pierre Chouteau, ten or twelve years ago as a revenge on Mr. Manuel De Sezie [Liza or Lisa], who had obtained from the Spanish government the exclusive trade of all the Osage nation, by way of the Osage river, after it had been in the hands of Mr. Chouteau for nearly twenty years. The latter, having the trade of the Arkansas, thereby nearly rendered abortive the exclusive privilege of his rival." Elliot Coues (ed.), *Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike's Journal of Travels*, p. 529. Pike found the Grand Osage occupying as their principal village a site on the Little Osage just below the mouth of the Marmiton. Six miles above on the opposite or west side of the Little Osage, the Marmiton coming in between, on the site of the present Ballstown, was the village of the Little Osage Indians. Both villages were within the limits of what is now Vernon County, Missouri.

west, where they found new homes on the banks of the Neosho and other tributaries of the Arkansas¹²

The Osage were distinguished among the other tribes for their splendid physical appearance. Washington Irving in his *Tour on the Prairies* records the impression made upon him by a group of Osage warriors whom he met on the banks of the Neosho in the fall of 1832.

Near by there was a group of Osages stately fellows, stern and simple in garb and aspect. They wore no ornaments, their dress consisted merely of blankets, leggings and moccasins. Their heads were bare, their hair was cropped close, except a bristling ridge on the top, like the crest of a helmet, with a long scalp-lock hanging behind. They had fine Roman countenances and broad, deep chests, and, as they generally wore their blankets wrapped around their loins, so as to leave the bust and arms bare, they looked like so many bronze figures. The Osages are the finest looking Indians I have ever seen in the West. They have not yielded sufficiently as yet to the influence of civilization to lay by their simple Indian garb, or to lose the habits of the hunter and the warrior, and their poverty prevents them indulging in such luxury of apparel.¹³

The Osage were the first of the western tribes after the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States to apply for Catholic missionaries. The tradition of the earlier Jesuit workers in the Mississippi Valley persisted far into the nineteenth century. Father Van Quickenborne relates that he and his men after their arrival at Florissant met Indians who had known these predecessors of theirs in this western field.¹⁴ Father Odin, the future first Bishop of Galveston, tells in a letter of 1823 of an Indian woman, more than a centenarian in years, who remembered being present at services conducted by eighteenth-century Jesuits. It may, therefore, have been the recollection of the earlier Catholic missionaries which led the Osage to prefer their petition for spiritual aid to Bishop Du Bourg. In the very first issue of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* that prelate relates a visit which he received in 1820 from seven Osage chiefs. At the head of the deputation was

¹² Best short account of the Osage is in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, sub voce. Cf. also *Kansas Historical Collections* 9: 26, 27, 245 et seq.; Return Ira Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1887); William O. Atkeson, *History of Bates County, Missouri* (Topeka, 1918); Elliott Coues (ed.), *Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike's Journal of Travels*, Tixier, *Voyages aux Prairies Osages, Louisiane et Missouri, 1839-1840* (Paris, 1844); Cortambert, *Voyage aux Pays Des Osages* (1837); Lucien Carr, *Missouri* (Boston, 1888), pp. 100-106.

¹³ "They [the Osage] are the tallest and best proportioned Indians in America, few being less than six feet." *Kansas Historical Collections*, 9: 246.

¹⁴ Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, July 25, 1823 (B). For French contacts with the Osage, cf. Grant Foreman, "Our Indian Ambassadors to Europe," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, 5: 109-128 (1928).

the orator, Sans-Nerf Proud in the possession of a medal and a crucifix which the Bishop presented to each of them, the chiefs departed, after having obtained from their host a promise to visit their villages in the following fall¹⁵

Not finding it possible to carry out his engagement to visit the Osage in person, Bishop Du Bourg, who in the meantime had changed his residence from St. Louis to New Orleans, deputed Father Charles De La Croix, the parish-priest of Florissant, to discharge the mission in his stead. Mounted on horseback, this devoted clergyman had met Mother Duchesne and her sisters on the crest of the Charbonniere bluff on their arrival from St. Charles in 1819 and had conducted them thence to their temporary lodgings on the Bishop's Farm, four years later he had welcomed Van Quickenborne and his party to St. Ferdinand's, subsequently delivering his parish to the Jesuits to retire to another field of labor. Father De La Croix's first visit to the Osage took place in May, 1822¹⁶. At that time the tribe was still occupying

¹⁵ *Ann Prop*, I 438, 482

¹⁶ For De La Croix's Osage visits cf. G. J. Garraghan, S. J., *St. Ferdinand de Florissant the Story of an Ancient Parish* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 171-183. Contemporary notices of these visits appeared in *Ann Prop*, I 450, 484. The date 1821 in Father Michaud's account of De La Croix's first visit (I 484) is an error for 1822. These visits took place, the first in May, the second in August of the same year, 1822, as the missionary's letters to Father Rosati and his baptismal records clearly indicate (De La Croix à Rosati, June 18, 1822, November 4, 1822. C.) De La Croix's baptisms were transcribed from his ms. memoranda into a large folio volume that afterwards served as the first baptismal and marriage register of the Catholic Osage Mission on the Neosho River. The transcript was made about 1839, apparently by Father Herman Aelen (Allen), Jesuit missionary resident at the Catholic Potawatomi Mission of Sugar Creek. This Osage baptismal register is now in the archives of the Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas. It bears the title, *Liber Baptismalis necnon Matrimonialis Nationis Osagiae*, and will be referred to subsequently as the *Osage Register*.

Father De La Croix's Osage baptisms, nearly all of French half-breeds, are dated May 5, 1822 (15), May 7 (3), May 12 (2)—first visit—and August 11 (12), August 16 (1)—second visit. The total number of baptisms was thirty-three. The first name in the list of the baptized is that of Antoine Chouteau, born in 1817. "Le 5 Mai, j'ai baptisé Antoine Chouteau, né en 1817. Le parrain Liguette P. Chouteau (Signé) Chs de la Croix." It has been asserted, erroneously, as will appear, that these baptisms of May 5, 1822, took place on the site of St. Paul, Neosho Co., Kansas. Thus, L. Wallace Duncan (publisher), *History of Neosho County, Kansas*, 1902. "On May 5, 1822, Father De La Croix baptized Antoine Chouteau (born 1811 [1817]) at St. Paul, Kansas. This is the first known baptism within the limits of the County [Neosho] and probably the first within the limits of the country now occupied by the state." For the names of the children baptized by De La Croix in the Osage country, cf. *infra*, Chap. XXVII, note 1.

De La Croix's own letters indicate clearly that on the occasion of his first visit

its lands along the Osage River in Missouri, its chief village being near the present town of Papinville in Bates County¹⁷ De La Croix was

to the Osage he did not go beyond the Chouteau trading-post or the principal village of the tribe, both of which were located east of the Missouri state-line "But as they [the other Osage chiefs] were three days' journey from Mr Liguete Chouteau's, I was unable to go and see them" De La Croix à Rosati, June 18, 1822 Liguete P Chouteau (in the *Osage Register*, Paul L Chouteau) was United States sub-agent for the Osage and also Indian trader, apparently in the employ of the American Fur Company His trading-post was on the left bank of the Osage about two miles below its junction with the Marais des Cygnes (U S surveyor's map of Prairie Township, Bates County, Missouri, in Atkeson's *History of Bates County, Missouri*) See, however, the statement in the *Journal* (Atkinson, *op cit*) of the Harmony missionaries that they came to the Chouteau establishment on their way up the Marais des Cygnes after passing the Little Osage According to De La Croix's own statement (De La Croix à De Smet, June 25, 1855) his baptisms of May, 1822, were performed at the Chouteau post and therefore within the limits of Missouri No evidence is available that they took place on the site of St Paul, Kansas, or anywhere along the Neosho Antoine Chouteau's baptism by Father De La Croix, May 5, 1822, is rather the earliest administration of the sacrament on record for western Missouri, beyond Cote-sans-dessein in Callaway County, where baptisms were performed by De La Croix in 1821 (Cf *Baptismal Register*, St Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Mo)

As to Father De La Croix's baptisms of August, 1822, on occasion of his second visit to the Osage, no evidence is at hand to determine definitely the place where they were administered This time he visited "all the Osage villages," spending ten days in making the circuit, and even, according to one account, probably an exaggeration, extending his journey three hundred miles beyond the Osage country into the lands of other Indian tribes (*Ann Prop*, I 450, 484) "This time I have seen the whole nation" (De La Croix à Rosati, November 4, 1822) A careful study of the entries in the *Osage Register* seems to indicate that De La Croix's eleven baptisms of August 12 were performed at or not far from the same place where he performed those of the preceding May Paul Liguete Chouteau and Pierre Melicour Papin figure as sponsors in both series of baptisms The record of De La Croix's baptisms in the *Osage Register* is introduced by the statement that he visited the Osage while they were still living in the state of Missouri (*invisu Nationem Osagiam etiamnum in Statu Missouriiano degentem*)

At all events, it does not seem likely that the baptisms of August 16, 1822, took place among the Osage of the Neosho Father Van Quickenborne states distinctly that his Mass of St Louis's day, August 25, 1827, was the first ever celebrated among the Osage of the Neosho (*Infra*, § 3) The inference would seem to be warranted that De La Croix had never visited that part of the Indian territory or at least had never performed there any solemn rites of the Church, as those of public baptism In any case, Van Quickenborne's seventeen baptisms of August 27, September 2, 1827, administered "*à Neosho (fluvius in Territorio Indico) chez Mr Liguete Chouteau*" are the earliest actually recorded for the territory which has since become the state of Kansas

¹⁷ Papinville, named for Pierre Melicour Papin, pioneer Indian trader, is seventy-seven and a half miles south in a straight line from old Fort Osage, now Sibley, Mo, and two miles above the Marais des Cygnes, where it enters the Osage Harmony Mission, established by the Presbyterians in 1821, was on the left

received with enthusiasm Years after the event he wrote to Father De Smet from Ghent in Belgium, where he spent his last days, describing this first recorded visit in the nineteenth century of a Catholic priest to a trans-Mississippi Indian tribe

The opening of the mission among the Osages in 1822 in the name of Mgr. Du Bourg and on behalf of the Jesuit Fathers was an event which has always made me rejoice in the Lord In the second trip I surely expected to leave my bones in that country I am always interested in news from that mission Has the son of White Hair succeeded his father? ¹⁸ White Hair, who became chief shortly before my arrival, showed me every honor and accompanied me everywhere He gave me a grand reception as the first envoy from the great Bishop The day after my arrival he called the chiefs together in council A place of honor was reserved for the black-robe, while

bank of the Marais des Cygnes about one and a half miles northwest from the site of Papinville and about three miles from the junction of the Marais des Cygnes with the Marmiton As to the location of the principal village of the Great Osage before the body of the tribe moved west of the Missouri state-line in the 'twenties, it was apparently on the east side of Little Osage River, near the mouth of the Marmiton in Vernon County, Missouri, at a distance of eight or nine miles in a straight line from Harmony Mission (Letter of Francis La Fleche, Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of Ethnology, in Atkeson, *History of Bates County, Missouri*, 1918, p 977) This location, the one indicated by Maj Pike, who visited the Great Osage in 1806 (Coues, *Pike*, p 529), is accepted by Holcombe in his *History of Vernon County* and is vouched for by Van Quickenborne "Four years ago the great village of the Osages was but eight miles from this establishment [Harmony Mission]" Van Quickenborne to Dziezozynski, October 21, 1827 (B) On the other hand, W O Atkeson contends in his *History of Bates County, Missouri*, p 62, that "everything points to its site about a mile down the Marais des Cygnes from Harmony Station or practically right where the village of Papinville is now situated So, whatever may be thought of Pike's maps or wherever the principal village may have been in 1806, it is certain that the main body of the Grand Osage dwelt about a quarter-mile north of the present village of Papinville and about three-quarters from the Mission school and other buildings on the Marais des Cygnes river at least three miles north of the head of the Osage river in Bates County in 1821 and thereafter until they moved to their new country further west"

¹⁸ Pahaska, (White Hair, *Cheveux Blancs*), chief of the Great Osage, figures in Pike's *Journal* and other early records and books of travel According to one account he died a Catholic (Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri*) His successor, Young White Hair, who died in 1833, was chief at the time of De La Croix's visit (Cf Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers the Story of the American Southwest* [New Haven, Conn, 1930], p 22) According to the treaty of 1825 the Osage reserve was laid out as a strip fifty miles wide extending westward from White Hair's village, which was situated on the west bank of the Neosho about six miles below the present town of St Paul *Kansas Hist Coll*, 8 77 George White Hair, son and successor of White Hair II as chief of the Grand Osage, was baptized by Father Bax, S J, on May 29, 1851, and died January 22, 1852 (*Infra*, Chap XXVII, § 3)

Mr Chouteau, U S sub-agent, was at my side¹⁹ After thanking the great chief and all the other chiefs, among whom was the famous Sans-Nerf, for the extraordinary reception accorded me and assuring them that I would inform our great father at St Louis of all this enthusiasm, I proceeded to explain the object of my visit They consulted with one another for a space and then the great chief White Hair rises, comes toward me, grasps my hand, draws me in among the group of chiefs and pronounces with great dignity the following words "My Father, I am delighted to see you here, I am sorry that you did not come sooner, but come and you will speak the truth" He gave me his hand again and then withdrew to his place Mr Chouteau and the interpreters told me that they had never heard an answer of that kind, "you will speak the truth," that is to say, "everything that you say will be done" After conveying our thanks we invited them to come the next day to Mr Chouteau's place, where I had prepared a pretty altar, so that they might assist at the Divine Sacrifice and at the baptism of a number of persons I began by explaining in French for the benefit of the many persons present who understood that language, the ceremonies of the Mass and afterwards those of Baptism, I told the chiefs through an interpreter that I was going to speak to the Master of Life and that I would speak to Him for them "Ouai, Ouai," they all answered The services were performed without interruption After Mass I baptized fifteen or twenty persons with all the ceremonies Then Mr Chouteau called the great chief and all the others according to rank I placed around their necks a beautiful medal and ribbon and also presented each with a fine ivory crucifix When all had returned to their places, I told them that the whites held these objects in great veneration and that I hoped they would also be satisfied "Ouai, Ouai!" So astonished were they and eager to go and show these articles to their wives and children that they forgot all about dinner²⁰

¹⁹ The Chouteaus became identified at a very early date with the Osage Indian trade Jean Pierre Chouteau, Sr, enjoyed a monopoly of the Osage trade under special license from the Spanish government, but subsequently lost it in large measure to Manuel Lisa Auguste P Chouteau, oldest son of Jean Pierre Chouteau, Sr, was an Osage trader and also U S agent to the tribe in the thirties, dying in 1839 at his trading post on the Verdigris branch of the Arkansas, five miles from Fort Gibson, in what is now Oklahoma His brother, Liguete P Chouteau (*al* Paul Liguete) was sub-agent and trader among the Osage at the period of Father De La Croix's first visit of 1822, the principal government agent for the tribe at that time being Maj Richard Graham Associated with Auguste P Chouteau in the Osage trade was his cousin, Aristide A Chouteau, eldest son of Auguste Chouteau, Sr All three, Auguste P, Liguete and Aristide Chouteau are named as sponsors in the De La Croix and Van Quickenborne baptismal records Half-brothers to Auguste P and Liguete P Chouteau were the trio, Francis Gesseau, Cyprian, and Frederick Chouteau, pioneer Indian traders in the Kaw Valley, the trading post of Francis G Chouteau at the mouth of the Kaw having been the starting-point of Kansas City, Missouri

²⁰ De La Croix à De Smet, June 25, 1855 (A) Though the point remains a little obscure, the incidents narrated in this letter are probably to be referred to De La Croix's first Osage visit rather than to his second Though written more than

Such, in the words of Father De La Croix, was the inauguration by him of Catholic missionary enterprise among the western Indian tribes in the nineteenth century. In the following August he made a second visit to the Osage. Leaving Florissant July 22, he journeyed for twelve days by forest and stream. According to Father Michaud, a priest of the St. Louis diocese, who obtained his information direct from Father De La Croix himself, the Osage "were delighted to see him again. All the horsemen turned out to meet him . . . The head chief and six of his principal officers offered to conduct the missionary to the other villages. Ten days were thus spent, the missionary being everywhere received with the same enthusiasm. In one of these villages more than two hundred horsemen, all covered from head to foot with their favorite ornaments, came out a great distance to meet him."²¹ Although this second visit was of short duration, the missionary succeeded in making the rounds of all the villages. According to a contemporary account from Father Odin, the Lazarist, De La Croix pursued his second missionary excursion of 1822 to a distance of a hundred "leagues" (from two hundred and fifty to three hundred miles) beyond the Osage country and into the territory of other Indian tribes.²²

§ 3. VAN QUICKENBORNE'S VISITS TO THE OSAGE

Five years after the opening of the Osage Mission by the parish-priest of Florissant, Father Van Quickenborne, following in his footsteps, undertook in the summer of 1827 his first missionary visit to the people of White Hair and Sans Nerf, who had in the meantime moved from Missouri into what is now southeastern Kansas. The chief object of this visit was to secure Osage boys for the Indian school at Florissant. Van Quickenborne had been assured by General Clark that the only way of supplying the school with the desired number of pupils was

thirty years after the incidents recorded, the account appears to be trustworthy and supplements the meagre notice of the visit of May, 1822, contained in De La Croix's letter of June, 1822, to Father Rosati.

²¹ *Ann Prop*, I 484 (Louvain ed.)

²² *Idem*, I 450. That Father De La Croix extended his missionary trip of the summer of 1822 three hundred miles beyond the Osage country is improbable. The missionary's own brief contemporary account (De La Croix à Rosati, November 4, 1822, in Garraghan, *St Ferdinand de Florissant*, p. 182), does not indicate that he journeyed west such a considerable distance. It has been asserted that in the course of one of his Osage trips he visited the French settlers at the mouth of the Kaw on the site of Kansas City, Mo., the assertion cannot be substantiated by any evidence, contemporary or otherwise. Cf. Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, p. 26.

to visit the Indian villages and negotiate in person with chiefs and parents for the education of their children

This visit [of the Ioway chiefs] and other circumstances have made me see much better than before how little we can rely on Indians or on the efforts of Indian agents in behalf of our Seminary. You must remember what the Secretary of War said to Bishop Du Bourg, viz that he wanted Jesuits. Now, Rev. Father Superior, we must go out and make a choice of Indian boys. Let the Indians know us. Agents have told me this and General Clarke is dubious of the success of the undertaking unless we do it.²³

Writing to the Father General in June, 1825, Van Quickenborne emphasizes as the chief advantage of a personal visit to the Indians the opportunity it would afford, not of recruiting the Indian school, but of baptizing a number of native children.

It is now going on four years since I have been in the neighborhood of the Indian villages without being allowed to go and bring them spiritual aid. There are three tribes really friendly to us. Every year 120 children die among them and these children we could, by visiting the tribes once a year, regenerate in baptism and so secure for heaven. Two of those tribes are only a four days' journey away from us, the third an eight days' journey. The secular priest who had charge of this parish before we came paid an annual [?] visit to one of these tribes. On the last occasion he baptized 76 persons. We have had to forego all this by obedience and we obeyed.

And now, though most unworthy to be called your son, suppliant and prostrate at the feet of your Paternity, and in the names of the Saints, Ignatius, our Father, and Xavier the apostle of the Indians, I ask and beseech you, Very Reverend Father, to grant me permission to go myself or send some one of Ours once a year to these three tribes. It is impossible to keep up our Seminary unless we meet these tribes at least occasionally in their villages. We shall in this manner obtain every year the salvation of 120 little ones and sometimes more. Not seldom, too, old people, sick or dying might be brought over to Christ and so disposed for a pious death.

But to accomplish this, at least in part, we need to be helped by your Very Rev. Paternity. The government is now considering what we are going to do. If we are left to ourselves, there is great reason to fear that we shall spoil everything. There would have to be one father to visit the Indian tribes, cultivate their friendship, conduct the boys to our seminary, attend the councils which are held in St. Louis in presence of the General Superintendent and cultivate our friends in the Indian country. Moreover, one [father] at least would have to be sent to hold command in a district. It will be his duty to govern all the Indians living in the district, not only in spirituals but also in temporals since his support will come from the Government and since the Indians will be governed by American laws and will be

²³ Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, Florissant, January 10, 1825 (A)

aided considerably by the Government in temporals He will have to deal with government officials and will accordingly have to stay sometime in our Seminary to learn the laws and language of this country There will also be need of two lay-brothers up in farming to teach the Indians to work In all these things he will meet with many difficulties Your Very Rev Paternity sees, therefore, what kind of men are desired here I think it would be rash to expose our young men to such serious danger without some grave man of God²⁴

It was not until the visit of the Maryland superior to Florissant in the fall of 1827 that Van Quickenborne's petition to be allowed to visit the Indians in person was granted On August 7 of that year he set out from Florissant on his first excursion to the Osage Indians This visit had its significance, marking as it did the formal opening of the missionary activity of the Missouri Jesuits among the Indian tribes of the West For details concerning it we shall reproduce Father Van Quickenborne's own narratives, contained in two letters, one of them addressed to Father Dzierozynski and the other to Madame Xavier, a religious of the Sacred Heart The letter to his superior, which is in English, is taken up largely with his experiences at the Harmony Presbyterian mission near Papinville, Bates Co., Missouri, through which he passed on his way to the Osage villages on the Neosho

I started, as your Reverence knows, on the octave of our holy Father St Ignatius [August 7] in company with Mr Hamtramck, who has been always very kind and obliging to me²⁵ The first night after my departure from home, I lodged at St Charles, where Mr McKay, the mason who built part of the church, came to see me, threw himself on his knees and said that he would stick to the articles of agreement Of course the business is settled with him and I paid him what I [had] offered to him He was very glad to come off so easy I travel as a missionary, having with me my chapel I had to take moreover my tent, mosquito bar and blankets for my bed and some little presents, which made my burden rather heavy The distance is about 350 miles, which we travel in 16 days. In those parts of the country, this is the way of travelling At night the horses are let loose, hobbled however, and they must look out for themselves, for all the way from Jefferson City to the Neosho, there is no corn to be had In the morning, the first thing

²⁴ Van Quickenborne ad Fortis, June 29, 1825 (AA)

²⁵ John F Hamtramck, son of Col John Francis Hamtramck, the latter a distinguished soldier in the American Revolution Col Hamtramck died in Detroit, of which place he had been military commandant Hamtramck, a Detroit suburb, is named for him and he figures in a bit of Detroit romance (Hamlin, *Legends of Detroit*) General William H Harrison was guardian of Col Hamtramck's children Billon, *Annals of St Louis in its Territorial Days*, p 172 A daughter of John F Hamtramck, Jr., Mary Rebecca, was baptized in St Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Mo., by Bishop Du Bourg, July 19, 1822

is to catch the horses. Saddling and packing being done, the day's journey begins, and this always before sunrise. Betwixt ten and eleven o'clock the march stops, the horses are unsaddled, unpacked and permitted to feed. At this hour breakfast and dinner is taken. About three o'clock you start for your place of encampment, which is always taken about rivers or woods with springs, water has always been a plenty. The bed consists of a skin which covers the ground (and) two or three blankets, the whole is covered by the mosquito bar, and I can assure you that I slept as comfortably as I ever did on a bed of down. Until the Neosho we had no river to swim. Harmony is a place on the Osage river.²⁶ Here the Society of Presbyterians of Boston have a missionary establishment called by them Harmony. It is about 120 miles from the City of Jefferson (seat of government of this State) and as many from Lexington on the Missouri. Four years ago the great village of the Osages was but eight miles from this establishment. Two or three years ago the Indian title to this land has been extinguished and now Harmony and the old site of the Osage village are within the limits of the state.

In consequence of the sale of their lands, the Indians [Osage] have removed their village to the banks of the Neosho river about 70 or 68 miles further in a southwest direction.²⁷ Here (on the Neosho within 20 miles) the whole nation is gathered in four villages, one called the great village (to this Clairmont's band must join itself next spring), another called the village of the Little Osage. There are besides two small ones of little importance. The site of these villages is not likely to be removed,

1st, because the government with a view of preventing it, has built them

²⁶ For location of Harmony Mission see *supra*, note 17.

²⁷ Though the body of the Great Osage had removed to the Neosho Valley before 1827, many of the tribe were at this time still living in Bates and Vernon Counties, Missouri. "Four years ago the great Osage village was only eight miles distant from this establishment [Harmony], but at present it is seventy miles, the Indians having sold their lands to the United States. Still, many among them have been unable to make up their minds to quit the locality which has seen their birth and where they have been reared. They continue living in the neighborhood, and in their midst it is that I began my mission." Van Quickenborne à Madame Xavier, Nov 6, 1827, in *Ann Prop*, 3 512. Osage bands were living on the Neosho before the main body of the Great Osage moved there from Missouri in the twenties. G. C. Sibley, factor at Fort Osage (now Sibley, Mo.) in a letter to Thomas L. McKenney, October 1, 1820, distinguishes three divisions of the Osage, exclusive of those of the Arkansas or Verdigris: (1) the Great Osage of the Osage River, living in one village on the Osage River, seventy-eight miles due south of Fort Osage and numbering about twelve hundred souls, three hundred and fifty of them warriors and hunters, fifty or sixty superannuated, the rest women and children, (2) the Great Osage of the Neosho, and numbering about four hundred souls, about one hundred of them warriors and hunters, the rest aged persons, women and children, (3) the Little Osage living in three villages on the Neosho and numbering about a thousand souls, about three hundred of them warriors and hunters, twenty or thirty superannuated, the rest women and children. *Kansas Hist Coll*, 9 26.

three houses and very good and large houses, too, for the three principal chiefs,

2d, in consequence of this expense (\$6000), the agent will not be permitted to let them move elsewhere,

3d, here the government has also fixed two blacksmiths and one farmer and is now building for each a house,

4th, the site and country is beautiful, healthy, well-watered and extremely liked by the Osage,

5th, the nation has now only fifty miles in width left them

Where lines are run, other nations join them south The State line is northeast [east] and thus they may not approach within 25 miles²⁸ West are very strong nations with whom the United States have had as yet no intercourse, so that, although they could wish to move, they cannot The Agent, Superintendent and Secretary of War think there are 20,000 Osages Some think they are not so numerous The principal chiefs have invited me to their lodges, have been very kind towards me and promised to send me their boys They are, I believe, good Indians You will have an opportunity to see them next winter at the college, if you choose I would be glad of it

Metifs or half-breed Indians Some fifty years ago two or three Canadian Frenchmen from Canada, came to this nation, married Indian women, had children, and their children have remained with the nation and have also married Indian women (*Inter nos* most of the traders have also such women) Some of these children have lived for a few years, some at St Charles, some at Cote Sans Dessein and some at Florissant, where they have been instructed in the true religion Most of these metifs have been baptized by Catholic priests and all of them have an aversion for the Protestant religion They neglect, however, the practice of their own religion with few exceptions They all wish to have a Catholic priest and if they could give their children to our school, they would take them from the missionary school at Harmony To twenty-three of these metifs Government has given a tract of land²⁹

²⁸ The east line of the Osage reserve ran parallel to the Missouri state-line and twenty-five miles west of it "The reserve was fifty miles wide and extended westward from White Hair's village, an Indian encampment which is supposed to have been situated on the Neosho river about six miles below the present city of St Paul" The treaty provided that the western boundary should be a line "running from the head source of the Arkansas river southwardly through the rich Saline—probably as far West as the Osages had ever dared to assert an occupancy claim" Annie Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title" in *Kansas Hist Coll*, 8 77 With a view to prevent hostile contact between Indians and whites, the treaty of 1825 creating the Osage reserve set up a "buffer state" twenty-five miles in width between the east boundary of the Osage reserve and the Missouri state-line This narrow strip, acquired by the Cherokee from the federal government in 1836 after the extinction of the Osage half-breed title, became known as the Cherokee Neutral Lands

²⁹ The names of these metifs or mixed-bloods are listed in the text of the Osage treaty of June 2, 1825 Cf Kappler, *Indian Laws and Treaties*, 2 219 The names occur *passim* in the De La Croix and Van Quickenborne baptismal

The establishment at Harmony

The establishment is governed as to the general concerns by a board of Commissioners. The Reverend gentlemen at Harmony are of the Presbyterian persuasion. They have an establishment at Harmony, a station on the Neosho and another at Union on the Arkansas river near Clairmont's band. Each receives from Government \$600.³⁰ The Superintendent at Harmony is called Dodge. This gentleman of very common abilities has a pretty numerous family. A certain Mr. Hasten with his numerous family makes out another part of the establishment. By the Indians, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, General Clark, agents and traders they are despised and ill-spoken of to excess, and represented as self seeking people, seeking for nothing but money. The Indians call Mr. Dodge Tabosca, a name they gave also to me. It signifies a man with a white neck, they gave this name because the first priest that went to them appeared in a white surplice. No metif or Indian would listen to their doctrine or join them, so that they have not made as yet a single convert. Their reprehensions and accusations made out of season to and about the traders and agents render them odious. Towards me they have been extremely kind. At Harmony I was invited by Mr. Dodge to lodge in his house, (of) which offer I accepted, since Mr. Hamtramck lodged there too and intended to make a stay of two days. Previous notice

records. Early in the thirties Van Quickenborne projected a sort of "reduction" or model settlement on the Marmiton River, to which he was willing to admit such among the half-breeds as promised to live in a Christian way. "Several metifs and Frenchmen living with Indian women expressed an ardent wish to come to the new establishment, promising to lead there a Christian life." Commenting on this Father Paul Ponziglione, S. J., resident missionary at the Catholic Osage Mission for forty years, writes "In regard to this point, I feel proud to be able to say, that having personally known many of these people when I was living at the Osage Mission, the majority kept the promise they had made, and not only did they show themselves good Christians, but were of great assistance to us in bringing the full-blooded Osages to embrace Christianity." *WL*, 25 359.

³⁰ The first missionary post established among the Osage of the Neosho was Union Mission, begun in 1820 on the west bank of the Grand or Neosho by the United Foreign Missionary Society (Associate Reformed and Reformed Presbyterian Dutch Churches in the United States). In 1824 another station (Presbyterian) was established on the west bank of the Neosho north of Shaw. A third mission, "Boudinot" (also Presbyterian) was opened by Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge in 1831. It was located on the east bank of the Neosho River near Four Mile Creek. (The above dates differ from those indicated in *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, 9 571.) These early missionaries did not make a success of their ventures among the Osage and withdrew from the field. The records left by them are of importance for the pioneer history of "the Osage country" (Cf. Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, p. 92 et seq.) As regards Harmony Mission, Atkeson writes in his *History of Bates County, Missouri*, p. 75 "All the evidence obtainable of results at Harmony Mission school in this county goes to show that the ten years' earnest effort that was put forth in their behalf was poorly rewarded. Indeed, it may be said that the school was a flat failure."

was given me that they attacked every one that came to their house on the score of religion. After supper the whole family was pleased to be in the unusual company of a priest and as a matter of course Mr. Dodge, having his brother minister, the Rev. Mr. Jones at his side, broached the subject of religion. After he had put me some questions, among others this, "what sect are the Jesuits?"—which I answered to his satisfaction, I observed that our faith ought to be reasonable, that to be so, sufficient motives for believing were required and that to captivate our understanding and believe a mystery nothing short of the authority of God could be a sufficient motive and that in order to be obliged to believe that mystery an infallible witness was necessary which with infallible certainty should assure us that God had revealed that mystery. The gentlemen agreed to all this, for I had spoken of the Unitarians and I applied these things to them. We all agreed that the Unitarians had no reasonable faith. As the gentleman had put me some questions, I used the same liberty, and asked whether he believed in the Trinity? R[eply] Yes.

Q[uestion] Can you give me sufficient reason for believing in the Trinity?

R The Bible

Q But we have seen that the Unitarian proves from his Bible that there is no Trinity. What reason have you to prefer your bible to his bible?

R The spirit.

Q In Holy Scripture mention is made of two kinds of spirit, the spirit of lies and the spirit of truth. What reason have you to believe that you have the spirit of truth and not the spirit of lies?

R The spirit

Q I observed that since he had no reason why he should believe his spirit to be the spirit of truth, he had no sufficient reason to believe in the Trinity.

The gentleman replied, "but what reason have you?" I answered that I would give my reason after we should have settled the first point. He began then again to attempt to prove that he had a reason to believe in the Trinity. But a sufficient reason was required—he could not give it. I was again asked why I believed in the Trinity. I promised again to give my reasons after the first point would be settled. He tried for a third time to give a sufficient reason for believing in the Trinity but could not. The conclusions brought in against him were [1] that he had no reasonable faith, 2, that since he had no sufficient reason to believe in the doctrines of his church, he was not allowed to preach these doctrines, 3, that under pain of eternal damnation he was required to inquire into the matter. The gentleman could make no objection to this. I then gave my reasons. His only objection was that our church had changed its doctrines, but when proofs of this objection were asked he was stopped short. Before we retired, I told him that I knew what Indian children he had in his school, for I was their pastor, "for" I said, "they are members of our church and I have charge over them." Consequently I hoped he would have no objection that the next day they would attend the divine service I was to give at the United States factory, a pretty large

building a few hundred steps from Mr Dodge's and the use of which was given me by the agent ³¹

R I have no objection

Q Mr Dodge, there are several others whom I know that have not as yet been baptized but wish to be baptized Will you be so kind as to let them also come?

R No, sir

Q Mr Dodge, I know the parents of these children and have spoken to them on the subject If in any wise you prevent them from following the religion of their choice, they will surely withdraw their children

R I will let them go if their parents come for them

Of course I went to their parents and the next day they all came with their children to my chapel The church vestments which Mr De La Croix had used there had been given to the care of Mr Dodge and were found in good order They are nicer and richer than any we have at home Instead of an altar piece, I had a banner of fine silk elegantly embroidered and bearing a fine engraving of the Blessed Virgin ³² I can say that my altar was well fixed Early in the morning the place was crowded with Indians The first that came to confession was an Osage of twenty-one years old, who knew a little of the French language I was extremely pleased with his modest behavior About the hour appointed for Mass I began to baptize those whom I had prepared. Mr Dodge and Mrs Dodge, with the Rev Mr Jones and Mr Hasten with all their families came to Mass, sermon and the ceremony of baptism. In their presence I baptized about one-third of their school, in all eighteen, but of these eighteen, several, perhaps six were not of their school ³³ The families of these gentlemen seemed to be pleased with the explanation of the ceremonies and some even of the ladies offered themselves to be god-mothers After Mass there remained as yet six grown boys and girls to whom I wished to give some more instruction before I began with them Rev. Mr Dodge begged leave of me to address the congregation. Although his intentions were very good, no doubt, I did not think proper to grant it, giving for reason that it was against the rules of our church The building could not by far contain the

³¹ The authority cited in Atkeson, *History of Bates County, Missouri*, is seemingly in error in locating the United States factory a mile away from Harmony Mission

³² "The day for baptizing having come, I fixed up my altar as well as I could The chief ornament was a handsome banner from Madame Duchesne, showing a beautiful picture of the Blessed Virgin, embroidered by the young ladies of the Sacred Heart boarding-school It was an object of delight to the Indian women" *Ann Prop*, 3 513

³³ The record of these eighteen baptisms performed by Van Quickenborne at Harmony Mission, August 21, 1827, is entered in French in the missionary's own handwriting in the baptismal register of St Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Mo (*Baptême des Osages à harmony le 21 aout 1827*) For the names of the children baptized on this occasion, nearly all Osage half-breeds, cf *infra*, Chap XXVII, note 1

Indians who wished to be present. All the time of divine service, they behaved remarkably well. To all those whom I baptized I gave a medal or a crucifix. I told the grown boys and girls of Mr. Dodge's school that they were not allowed by their religion to join him in religious worship and that if they should preach to them, they should not listen to their preaching. Nothing more was necessary to make a talk. Children cannot keep a secret and in fact there was none. No sooner had they returned home but they told their teachers 'the priest has said that we should not listen to you.' Mr. Hasten to my great satisfaction came to me and asked whether I had really said so. After he had heard my explanation, in which I remarked that it was my duty to tell them so, he was satisfied as were also the reverend gentlemen whom I called to be witnesses of my explanation. The next day Mr. Dodge invited me to visit his school and there I saw my little and big fellows whom I had baptized, with their medals and crosses on their necks.

On my return I was again received most kindly and they even went so far as to prepare provisions and comforts for my travelling. They appeared to me to be moral, industrious, peaceable and good-natured people. They related to me how much they had to suffer in the beginning, what privations they had to undergo, how many days they had been without bread and corn, how many days they had to live in tents³⁴. On my return I met several Americans [ms ?] the Osage village, some hunting after their strayed horses and some after bees. Among the Osages lives a farmer to teach them how to make a farm, and two blacksmiths to mend their guns and hoes. When will the time come that we will have at least as much courage as these men? If your Reverence cannot give me a Superior or companion, I am willing to go alone.

Miserculus tuus

C. F. Van Quickenborne³⁵

From Harmony Mission Father Van Quickenborne travelled southwest to the Osage villages on the Neosho. What befell him in the Osage country is told in a letter of his to Madame Xavier³⁶.

From there [Harmony] I set out for the great village situated on the bank of the Neosho river, two days' journey from Harmony. About a hundred Indians came out to meet the agent in whose company I was. We put up at Mr. Chouteau's place. I had the happiness of saying on the feast of St. Louis, August 25, the first Mass ever said in this country. It was a Saturday and the following day I proclaimed a jubilee for the few Creoles living among the Osage. Three days after our arrival, I was invited

³⁴ Details of these distressing experiences are recorded in the journal of the Harmony missionaries reproduced in Atkeson's history.

³⁵ Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, Florissant, October 21, 1827 (B). The Latin *miserculus tuus* may be freely rendered, "yours in great misery."

³⁶ A nun of the Society of the Sacred Heart.

to dinner by the chief of the great village, and two days later by the chief of a village of the Osage twenty miles farther up the Neosho. I was delighted with the reception they gave me as well as with the dispositions they manifested. I remained with them two weeks and baptized seventeen persons³⁷. The three principal chiefs have said that they would send their children to the Seminary and I am inclined to think that they will do so. When I walked through the village, my religious garb easily marked me off from others, and a troop of youngsters followed me. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure, but as soon as I turned around to say something to them, off they would scamper and hide behind the first house on the way. However, two little fellows, sons of the chief, having each received a medal from me ran off at once to show themselves (with their new decoration suspended around their neck by a pretty ribbon) to their companions, who thereupon were ready enough to approach me. How gladly I should have taught them some catechism! But not knowing their language, I could only give them the little presents I carried with me, while praying their guardian angels to obtain for them soon the favor of becoming members of the Church of Jesus Christ. I was strongly urged to build a church among them and I have hopes of seeing soon a parish composed of Indians. Sixteen square miles of land have been given to the metifs at a distance of fifty miles from the great village, besides twenty-three square miles at a distance of seventy miles. They are anxious to settle on these lands provided they can have a priest to instruct them and their children. Let us pray the Lord of the harvest to send good workers³⁸.

Father Van Quickenborne's visit to the Osage in 1827 was followed by a report to Father Dzierozynski on the difficulties of missionary work on behalf of that tribe.

Obstacles to the conversion of the savages

1. To make Christians of them you ought first to make them men. They must abandon their savage manner of living which, as practiced by them, is one continuation of mortal sins [i.e. objectively, without raising the

³⁷ These baptisms, "à Neosho chez M^r Liguete Chouteau," the earliest of explicit record as having taken place within the limits of Kansas, were entered by Van Quickenborne in the register of St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Mo., immediately after his return from the Neosho. The names of the baptized, nearly all of them Osage half-breed children, are: Henry Mongrain (son of Noel père and of Tonpapai, aged two years, sponsor, Mr. Liguete P. Chouteau), Julie Mongrain, daughter of Noel, Antoine [Vasseur], Basile Vasseur, François Mongrain, Pierre Mongrain, Louis Alexander Chouteau, John Francis Chouteau, Pelagie Chouteau, Angelique Quenville, Joseph Mongrain, Pelagie Mongrain, Alexandre Liguete Chouteau, Clemence Williams, Paul Mongrain, Julie Mongrain, daughter of Basile, Christophe Mongrain. Sponsors in these baptisms were Liguete Chouteau, P. M. Papin, Major Hamtramck, Louis Peltier, Alexander Peter, P. L. Mongrain and Christophe Sanguinet.

³⁸ *Ann. Prop.*, 3: 513

question of subjective guilt] A change of the whole nation would have to take place either by the influence of the chiefs or agent or missionary, but neither of these can do it separately, but to do it in concordance is impossible (morally speaking) Several most influential individuals find it to their interest to keep the Indians in the state in which they are The chiefs by themselves have not power to make laws or regulations binding on the nation, to forbid, for instance, things essentially contrary to a civilized life, neither has the agent The American eye could never behold a Catholic priest directing or influencing both agent and chiefs and superintendent and secretary of war to make laws of his own liking However, without some laws it is impossible to live with them.

2 The fickleness of agents These like the traders, are mostly keeping Indian women To my certain knowledge, Mr Hamtramck has none, yet since some time he has left off the practice of his religion. A missionary living in the nation would easily offend them Once offended they have it in their power to make the situation of the missionary so cruel that he could not stand it The Protestant missionary who lives at the Indian village gets nearly every week a good flogging from some or other Indian fellow.

3 The plurality of wives and the barbarous custom relating to them The riches of an Osage consists in having many wives, many girls and many horses. If he has many wives, he has many slaves, if he has many girls, he has many objects which he can sell very dear, for every wife must be bought. When a father thinks his daughter has not a good husband, he takes her away to his lodge and sells her.

Plan to be pursued in conversion of the Osage nation.

Begin an establishment near Harmony on the land of the metifs. Buy one quarter section of land of some of them and build a church and house for two missionaries and one or two brothers One might keep a school, but only a day-school. Good families (Indians whom I know) may be found where the boys and girls, separately however, shall be kept, that would not have their parents near the establishment The expense would be \$3,000

Advantages 1) The land belonging to the metifs is an object of attraction to them 2) Attraction of church and school 3) Site of old village—hence many Indians go there 4) From this establishment missionaries can ride in one day to the great Osage village 5) A whole township of late Osage land is to be sold for school fund, we would receive a part of the fund for our school, as General Clark told us.

Disadvantages The place is rather nigh to the Protestant missionary establishment If we should destroy their school by drawing their children to ours, we would incur their indignation

I most earnestly wish that your Reverence explicitly approve of this establishment and name the two Fathers and brothers whom you destine for it I offer myself, not to be Superior but as one that will carry their baggage and be his whole life time their servant Father De Smet would be proper

to go and I am very willing to take him as my Superior Next year it should be commenced ³⁹

In the settlements along the Mississippi the adventurous trip of the Jesuit superior to the Osage in their homes beyond the Missouri state-line stirred a more than ordinary interest. Father Odin wrote from the Barrens to his parents in France relating the incidents, while Father Boullier in a letter from New Orleans containing a brief account of the excursion commented "At the present writing Father Van Quickenborne is on the point of going to the Osage for the second time, his zeal is indefatigable." ⁴⁰ In the spring of 1828 the latter found the opportunity for a second excursion to the Indian country. Early in that year the recently ordained priests at St. Ferdinand had begun the exercises of the tertianship under the direction of Father Van Quickenborne. At the close, on February 7, of the retreat of thirty days, they were assigned to various missionary and ministerial duties which necessitated their absence from the Seminary The superior, thus left free to pursue missionary work of his own, set out from Florissant for the Osage country in the spring of 1828.

Visiting first the Harmony Mission on the Marais des Cygnes, where he renewed acquaintance with the Osage children he had baptized the preceding year, he continued his journey thence to the Great Osage village on the Neosho Here and in other Indian villages in the vicinity he discharged his ministry, preaching and administering the sacraments. He performed seventeen baptisms in the course of this second Osage excursion, of which, however, no record has survived Many adult Indians were eager to be baptized, but of the number he found only five or six worthy of the grace, the loose, savage ways of the average Osage adult being an effectual barrier to the practice of a Christian life When Van Quickenborne set out on his return journey from the Neosho, he had in his company a little Osage "prince," who, with some display of Indian ceremony, had been delivered to his charge to be educated in the Indian school at Florissant.⁴¹

In 1830 Father Van Quickenborne paid a third visit to the Osage His route brought him first to their villages along the Marmiton River in what is now Bourbon County, Kansas, not far from the present Fort Scott From the Marmiton he turned to the southwest, it has been said, visiting on his way all the Indian lodges on the Neosho as far as its junction with the Saline, about forty miles north of Fort Gibson and establishing missionary stations in the Osage settlements on the Chou-

³⁹ Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, Florissant, October 11, 1827 (B)

⁴⁰ *Ann Prop*, 3 519, 535

⁴¹ *Ann Prop*, 4 572

teau, Pryor and Cabin creeks This would have led him far within the limits of what is now Oklahoma and made him probably the first priest to exercise the ministry in that part of the West.⁴²

⁴² The *Osage Register* throws no light on Van Quickenborne's itinerary of 1830 except to indicate that he was near the Marmiton and Marais des Cygnes Rivers on the Missouri border The particulars of this itinerary as given in the text are supplied by Father Paul Ponziglione, S J, veteran Osage missionary, from what source is not known, they cannot be verified *WL*, 13 19 Van Quickenborne's Osage baptisms of 1830, as entered in the *Osage Register*, comprise three on June 8, "Done at the house of Francis D'Aybeau near the banks of the Marmiton river, opposite the place where formerly was the village of the *grand Soldat*," and six on June 9, "Done at the house of Joseph Entaya near the Marais des Cygnes" Moreover, there is a record in the same register of three marriage ceremonies which the missionary performed at the house of Francis D'Aybeau on June 8 These nine baptisms and three marriages are the only rites recorded for the trip of 1830 The marriage entries are as follows "1830, Juin 8, the 3 Publications having been dispensed with, I have received the mutual consent of and given the nuptial blessing according to the rites of our holy Mother, the Catholic Church, to the three following couples

- 1 Francis D'Aybeau, *alias* Brugière, a Frenchman, and Mary, an Osage woman
- 2 Joseph Brown, *alias* Equêsne, a Frenchman, son of Stephen Brown and Acile Giguere, and Josette D'Aybeau, daughter of Francis D'Aybeau, a Metif girl of the Osage nation
- 3 Basile Vasseur, son of a Basil[e], who was a half-breed of the Osage nation, and Mary, an Osage woman, daughter of Kanza Shinga

The witnesses have been Christophe Sanguinet and Louis Peltier Done at the house of Francis D'Aybeau near the banks of the Marmiton river, 8 Juin, 1830
(Signed) Chs F Van Quickenborne, S J"

Particulars about the three above named couples are contained in a report of Van Quickenborne's dated *c* 1833 relative to his plans for a "reduction" or Christian settlement among the Osage half-breeds of the Missouri border "When I was last time in that country, June, 1830, three good families, by my advice, had removed from the villages and had actually commenced a life of civilized persons and good Christians as far as they knew One more family was expected every day The heads of two of these families were metifs, or three quarters Indian blood, the third is a Canadian, a truly well disposed man, fit to be an interpreter, the fourth is a half-metif the place where these four families live is called Le Village du Grand Soldat on the banks of the Marmiton river, about 300 miles from St Charles in a southwest direction These should be visited immediately and made acquainted with our final resolution of remaining among them The place where the four families live is not proper for the new establishment—they wish to remove and therefore should have timely notice—the fathers must absolutely live where these families are, not only to instruct them, but to learn the Indian language" *WL*, 25 354 The location of Big Soldier Village has not been identified by the writer If west of the Missouri state-line near the site of Fort Scott in Bourbon County, Kansas, as Father Ponziglione seems to intimate, then Van Quickenborne's three marriages of June 8, 1830, are the earliest certified church marriages in the state of Kansas