

CHAPTER XXVIII

ST MARY'S OF THE POTAWATOMI, I

§ I A NEW HOME FOR THE POTAWATOMI

The Jesuit missionaries resident since 1838 among the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs found their ministry in that quarter impeded and in fact rendered nugatory by chronic drunkenness among the natives. As a result they withdrew in 1841 from so unpromising a field of labor. Four years later the impending opening up to white settlers of the Sauk and Fox reserve, which adjoined the Potawatomi tract on the east, threatened to provide fresh opportunities for indulgence in the same vice. "As the Sacs and Foxes must soon remove," reported Richard S. Elliott, Indian sub-agent at Council Bluffs in 1845, "the Pottawatomies will soon be exposed to a frontier of whites on the east, which will, in all probability, like that of Missouri on the South, contain many individuals who will devote themselves, by illicit traffic, to the destruction of the red race, while their acts of cruel fraud, meanness and plunder, will disgrace our own. This state of things will constitute another strong reason for the removal of these Indians to a better home, where the beneficial policy of the government may be carried out towards them, without so many circumstances to thwart and frustrate it" ¹

The Potawatomi of Sugar Creek seemed also about to go the way of their kinsman of the North. The Indian passion for strong drink was bringing the Jesuit missionary enterprise among them to the brink of ruin. Father Maurice Gailland, who as a chronicler did for the Potawatomi what Father Ponziglione did for the Osage though with smaller literary output, put on record the conditions that obtained in the last days at Sugar Creek.

As weeds will spring up in the best cultivated garden, so will vice sometimes make its appearance in places where virtue seems to reign supreme. This was the case at Sugar Creek especially during the past years. Among the Christians of the mission were a band of drunkards, who, not satisfied with causing a great deal of trouble to the missionaries, determined to take a bolder and more menacing stand. Drunkenness, it must be said, is the most fatal means of corruption among the Indians, and there is not virtue sufficient

¹ *RCIA*, 1845, no. 25

left in them to withstand the temptation of the fire-water. Moreover, when once an Indian has drunk to excess, rage and despair seize on his soul—he persuades himself that salvation does not regard him—he flies from the minister of God—casts aside his prayer of religion and dies impenitent. The drunkards of Sugar Creek have alas! given too many awful and deplorable examples. This band increased every day, and notwithstanding the active vigilance of our Fathers, its power and influence became so great that in fine it threatened the entire destruction of the mission. The evils increased—the good Indians built a prison again and again to confine those who were found drunk and the dealers in fire-water and as often were the prisons reduced to ashes. There were no more means left and but little hope of opposing this torrent of wickedness—the Fathers wept in silence and trembled for the safety of their little flock.²

The proximity of the Osage River and Council Bluffs Potawatomi to Missouri, where the fatal liquor could be obtained from unprincipled whites, was thus a motive to lead the government to remove the Indians to lands more remote where they would be protected at least from this source of infection. Besides, the so-called “United Nation of the Chippewas, Ottawas and Potawatomes” settled at Council Bluffs, and the Potawatomi of the Osage River agency were racially one and the same tribe, whose interests, it was believed, would be greatly promoted if the two component parts could be fused together. Elliott, the Indian sub-agent at Council Bluffs, observed in the report already cited

In my report for 1843 I stated that no distinction is recognized or observed among these Indians on account of their origin from different nations, but that they all describe themselves as “Pottawatomes,” by which name they are known among their Indian neighbors. Though there are individuals here of Ottawa as well as Chippewa ancestry, yet they are so few in number that the official designation of the band, as fixed by the treaties of July 29, 1829, and September 26, 1833, is now little better than a misnomer. There are also individuals among them of Sioux, Menominee and Sac blood, but they are all classed here as “Pottawatomes.” This is the name which the bands here and those south of Missouri ought to bear, and I

² Gailland à De Smet, St Mary's among the Pottawatomes, September 25, 1850, October 1, 1850. This relation, written originally in French by Gailland at De Smet's request, appeared in translation in the *Catholic Mission* of Baltimore, November, 1850. De Smet to Duerinck, September 7, 1850 (A). Gailland's relation is the earliest detailed account extant of the foundation of St Mary's Mission. Obviously the father could not have written of conditions at Sugar Creek from first-hand knowledge, as he arrived among the Potawatomi only in 1848, after the removal of the bulk of the tribe at least to the Kaw River reserve had been effected. But he spent a short time at Sugar Creek on his way to the Kaw River in 1848, and drew no doubt on the reliable data which Fathers Verreydt and Hoecken were able to furnish.

presume that measures will be pursued to effect their union into one nation, at least as far as their name, the possession of their domain and the distribution of their funds are concerned. These fragments constitute all that is left of what was formerly the Pottawatomie tribe. It has in course of time become thus divided and broken up by the policy of the government (necessarily pursued) in making treaties at different times with different portions of the tribe. Considerable jealousy and distrust have grown up between the bands here and those south of Missouri, and I think it will be difficult to effect their harmonious reunion without some concessions to the feelings or prejudices of the people here, but if they be gratified in some respects, it may possibly be accomplished. They object strongly to the country in the Osage river sub-agency, but would be satisfied to meet and join their brethren in a country on the Kansas, if the price of their lands should afford what they would consider an adequate support for the entire body of Pottawatomies.³

The lands on the Kansas River which the government proposed to set aside as a new Potawatomie reserve were at first objected to by the Indians on the ground that they were timberless and otherwise ill-suited for the purpose intended. This circumstance, together with the desire of the Indians to drive a good bargain, prolonged the negotiations for the purchase by the government of the Council Bluffs and Osage River reserves. Finally the Potawatomie of both reserves agreed by treaty, the Council Bluffs group on June 5, and the Osage River group on June 17, 1846, to dispose of their lands and remove to the new tract assigned to them in common on the Kansas River.⁴ This tract was part of the lands of the Kansas Indians acquired by the government by treaty January 14, 1846.⁵ With regard to the character of the tract, Major Thomas Harvey, the most active of the three United States commissioners who negotiated the treaty, wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill

I have the honor herewith to endorse an extract of a letter received from Major Cummins reporting the result of his visit to the new country of the Potawatomies on the Kansas, from which it will be seen that it contains everything necessary for the comfort of its future occupants and completely upsets the unfounded reports that at one time prevailed among the Potawatomies of the Osage, that there was an insufficient supply of timber for their wants. I am much pleased that Father Verreydt (who superintends the school and mission at Sugar Creek) visited the country, as it will enable him to disabuse the Indians over whom he deservedly has great influence

³ *RCIA*, 1845. Elliott's report includes an account of economic and moral conditions among the Potawatomie of Council Bluffs at the period just prior to their removal to the Kaw River.

⁴ Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2: 557.

⁵ *Idem*, 2: 552.

Joseph Lafromboise, Perish Leclerc and Half a Day were the three chiefs who manifested the greatest zeal in inducing these people to emigrate from the Bluffs. I would respectfully recommend that their good conduct on the occasion be noticed by the Department by some public document approving their conduct.⁶

The Sugar Creek Indians were particularly reluctant to accept the terms of the treaty and they seem to have acquiesced in them chiefly through the influence of Father Verreydt, their pastor. The incidents connected with their final acceptance of the government offer are recorded by Father Gaillard.

This treaty seemed to be very advantageous to the Indians, for it not only removed them from the poisoned springs of the fire-water, but also assured to each individual an annual pension for several years. Besides, the government offered to furnish them with a sufficient sum to support a school of 90 boys and 90 girls, and to erect mills, forges, etc. The Indians of Missouri [Iowa] had already concluded the treaty on these terms, and it only remained to be accepted by the Pottowatomies of Sugar Creek. Some declared in favor of the treaty, but the greater number were opposed to it. They wished to convoke a general assembly to deliberate on the subject. They met and sent for Rev. F. Verreydt, praying him to come and aid them by his advice. He appeared in their midst and being pressed to give his opinion on the subject he spoke as follows: "The Blackgown came here to teach you how to pray—the selling or exchanging your present lands is your affair, not mine—but as you wish me to tell you what I think of this matter, when I shall have expressed to you my thoughts, you will still be at liberty either to follow or reject them—but pray, should you enter into this treaty, I beg you never to say that you were induced to do so, because I engaged you to it. Examine then my words—meditate them in your hearts—judge whether they are favorable and for your own interest, or not, and then decide. I think that the treaty offered to you is good, and I believe that it will be to your advantage to accept it. These are my reasons: 1st Sugar Creek is an unhealthy country—in the space of seven years, seven hundred have died—a frightful number when compared to the small population of the place. 2nd The ground is not very fertile, you work a great deal and the reward of your labour is small—the soil is so full of rocks and so near to the surface, that you cannot dig graves deep enough to receive the dead. 3d You are here too near the whites—their neighborhood is becoming daily more dangerous to you—the fire-water is constantly tempting you, and favored by the darkness of night, you issue forth and procure it—your children will soon follow in your footsteps—you cannot prevent them from doing what you do—and they will be what you were before the Blackgowns appeared in your midst. 4th The annuities which you have been receiving are almost at an end, and in a short time you will be unable to

⁶ Harvey to Medill, November 2, 1847. Records of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs. Library of the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

purchase the first necessaries, as food and blankets 5th It is absolutely necessary that you should have saws and planks, mills to grind your corn and wheat, forges to mend your guns and your wagons, and how can you obtain all these with your scanty means, unless you agree to the treaty You say that you wish to see your children grow up under the eyes of the Blackgown that they may learn how to read, to write, to work and to pray, the Blackgowns wish the same, but they are as poor as you and cannot feed and dress your children Your brothers of Missouri [Iowa] have signed the contract, they are now taking possession of the new lands, several of you have parents and relatives among them—many are weary of cultivating an ungenerous soil and will leave it to go and join their friends—your numbers must diminish, you must soon become a feeble branch of a great and flourishing nation and in a little time you will find all around you gone The condition of the contract which you are asked to sign can alone remedy all these evils This is my opinion on the matter now under your consideration I have spoken all I wished to say and will now retire It is for you to judge whether you will or will not sign the contract, for you alone are the judges” On leaving the assembly the Rev Father did not think that there would be much importance given to the few words he had spoken, but in this he was mistaken, for his opinion was listened to and received as an oracle—the voices were taken and the treaty immediately accepted At the moment of the acceptance a murmur arose and a report was spread that the new country was woodless Some were sent thither to examine, and they returned with a confirmation of the report A gang of the discontented and wicked commenced immediately to clamour against the Fathers, crying out that the Blackgowns had sold them to the Americans How shall we, they asked, build our wigwams in the new country or enclose our fields and gardens with strong fences? Some even among the well disposed exclaimed “And when we shall be there, will we not be mixed up with those who do not know or who never say their prayers? Shall not our children every day witness their lascivious dances? hear the medicine and drums beating? and will they not see their debaucheries? what then must become of their faith?” These serious complaints were in the mouths of almost every one and deeply affected the future prospects of the mission However, the time for deliberation was over—the treaty was signed and the land must be given up at a stated period Nevertheless no one seemed willing or ready to start for their new home, except the missionaries, who determined to emigrate to avoid all responsibility of delay ⁷

The emigration of both groups of Potawatomi to their new home was accomplished quietly and within the time-limit of two years stipulated by the treaty The success of the movement was due in large measure to Thomas H Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, who on behalf of the government had conducted the negotiations which terminated successfully in the treaty Richard W

⁷ *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), November 9, 1850

Cummins of the Fort Leavenworth agency reported to Harvey September 26, 1848

Pottawatomies—This large tribe, formerly divided into several district bands—each antagonistical to the other—each claiming interests denied by the other—the dire cause of jealousies and alienation—are, in virtue of their last favorable treaty, happily brought to assemble around one council fire and to speak with one tongue. To your untiring exertions and fatherly interest in the future welfare of this people is this result mainly to be attributed. It affords me much pleasure to state that the last spring semi-payment, made in May, terminated in the most quiet and orderly manner. I had the satisfaction of seeing the two bands, viz that from the Council Bluffs and that from the Osage River mingle with each other on the most friendly terms. I could discover no signs of a desire by either party to domineer or dictate. They sat promiscuously together and exchanged their opinions with urbanity and good will. You will remember that immediately before payment and in your presence the head man of the upper band or Council Bluffs party made an effort to revive those jealousies that have for so many years alienated the upper and lower people. Your firmness and decision alone and the just censure with which you met the scurrilous speech of the old chief frustrated his unworthy design. It had a most beneficial effect and, I am free to say, that there was not one Indian but was glad in his heart that this matter was put to rest so auspiciously.⁸

§ 2 MISSION CREEK, WAKARUSA, ST MARY'S ON THE KAW

From Sugar Creek Mission near the present Centerville in Linn County, Kansas, to the new Catholic Potawatomi mission about to be

⁸ Cummins to Harvey, September 26, 1848, in *RCIA*, 1848. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill in his report for 1848 speaks in terms of great satisfaction of the new status of the Potawatomi.

“Within the past year, the Pottawatomies, who have heretofore been separated (the larger portion being in Iowa, and the others on the Osage River), have completed their removal to their new country on the Kansas river, between the Delawares and Shawnees, where they are now comfortably settled. Thus happily reunited, not only among themselves, but in means and interests, and free from those adverse influences arising out of contact with a white population, to which those in Iowa were subjected, it is confidently expected, that under the measures and influences which may now be favorably brought to bear upon them for the purpose, they will enter upon a course of improvement, which, in a few years, will result in at least their comparative civilization. Much credit is due to them, not only for their prompt self-removal, but for the peaceable and orderly manner in which it was conducted. It was a new feature in our Indian system, to see an entire tribe of Indians quietly organize and leave their old homes, and peacefully and without disorder of any kind, remove themselves to a new country, nearly two-hundred miles distant from most of them, in conformity with a stipulation to that effect in a treaty which they had made with the government, and bearing their own expenses out of funds set apart for that purpose.”

begun on the north bank of the Kansas River was a distance of some ninety miles. Yet it was only after months of reconnoitering, painful wanderings and tentative settlements on the way that the transfer of the Sugar Creek Indians from south to north was finally effected. On November 21, 1847, Father Hoecken recorded his last ministerial act at Sugar Creek, a baptism. Between that date and the end of the month he set out with Brother Andrew Mazella and the main body of the Potawatomi towards the Kaw Valley, the mission buildings having been burned to save them from desecration.⁹ On leaving Sugar Creek, Indians and missionaries moved northwest to a spot about seventeen miles due south of the present town of St. Marys, Kansas. Here, on the banks of a small stream called Mission Creek, they halted and made preparations for a protracted stay. In January, 1848, the Indians were engaged here on a church and a residence for the missionaries. Brothers Miles and Ragan were sent for from Sugar Creek to put the buildings in readiness for use and Hoecken began to occupy his new residence on February 26. In this new-born Indian village occurred on Sunday, January 23, the marriage of Pierre Droyard and Angelique Wawiatinokwe. Scarcely settled down on Mission Creek, the restless Indians were looking for another home. "The Indians have selected another place to camp in, at least during the spring and summer," is an item recorded in Father Hoecken's diary. "I went to see the place on the 18th of February." The new camping place was on the Wakarusa, a stream which flows through the present Waubensee, Shawnee and Douglas Counties, emptying into the Kansas River eight miles east of Lawrence. The first mention of this stream in Hoecken's diary occurs under date of March 13, when the missionary sent the chiefs Wewesa and Chapikug to confer with the Potawatomi settled on Wakarusa Creek.¹⁰ Mission Creek did not appear to suffer much in consequence of the new settlement on the Wakarusa. In March at the former station fields were being ploughed and houses built. In April and May it was found necessary to enlarge the church, as new bands were pouring in from Sugar Creek, while not a few Indians who had given the Wakarusa locality a trial or had even ventured north

⁹ The ashes of the destroyed buildings are said to have been visible as late as 1920. The spot, marked by a granite block bearing the inscription, "St. Mary's Mission, 1839," is on the Michael Zimmerman farm four miles directly northeast of Centerville in Linn County, Kansas. Kinsella, *History of our Cradle Land* (Kansas City, 1921), pp. 12, 30.

¹⁰ In Hoecken's Latin Diary, (F), March, 1848, occurs the entry "*duo obiere, ut audivi, ad flumen Wakarusam*" ("two have died, so I have heard, at the Wakarusa river"). "Father Paul Ponziglione, S. J., Osage missionary, saw the little shanties put up by the Indians along the Wakarusa." *Dial* (St. Marys, Kans.), February, 1891.

of the Kansas River, returned to Mission Creek While Father Hoecken seems to have maintained headquarters at Mission Creek, he went frequently on sick calls to the Wakarusa ¹¹

In the meantime Father Verreydt, as superior of the Catholic Potawatomi Mission, was searching for a suitable mission-site on the new reserve As early as November 1, 1847, he went up from Sugar Creek with a party of Indians to explore the new Potawatomi lands Later, in March, 1848, he was again on the north side of the Kansas, still prospecting for a site on which to locate the mission Once again, on May 29, he crossed with an Indian escort to the north bank He returned three days later to Mission Creek, but on June 2, with Michael Nadeau for a companion, made a fresh crossing to the north side, this time on a sick call He put his stay across the river to good account, for, when he returned to the south bank on June 6, he had his mind definitely made up on the question of a mission-site Some days later in company with Joseph Bertrand, a Potawatomi mixed-blood, he visited the Indian agent, Major Cummins, and acquainted him with his intention to establish the mission on the north bank of the river on the site of the present St Mary's College. The vexed problem of a suitable location being thus finally settled, Verreydt sent the two lay brothers, Miles and Ragan, from Mission Creek to Sugar Creek to make preparations for definitely abandoning the latter place, while he himself left on July 16 for St Louis to obtain the approval of his superior for the step he was about to take ¹²

¹¹ According to Gaillard's account cited later in this chapter Hoecken had a house and chapel on the Wakarusa, where Gaillard visited him in the course of his journey from Sugar Creek to St Mary's in August, 1848 "A mission was established by the Catholics in the fall of 1847 [February, 1848] for the Potawatomie Indians at the juncture of the East, Middle and West branches of the Wakarusa river The mission was under the charge of Father Hoecken About twenty log-cabins were built here by them In the spring following the Indians found that they had located by mistake on the Shawnee lands, and as they could not draw their annuity until they were on their own lands, they moved to the North side of the Kaw river near the centre of the reservation and established a mission there [Inaccurate] The Shawnees immediately moved into the deserted cabins and remained there six years On the 12th day of August, 1854, Mr J M Brown purchased of the Shawnees some of these cabins and their right to a part of the lands" W W Cone, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Auburn Township* (Topeka, 1877)

¹² Father Verreydt was to meet with difficulty in persuading the Catholic Indians to settle on the north side, which promised a better supply of timber than the south side Whether through fear of the Pawnee or because they judged the site chosen by Verreydt too low, it being only a mile from the river, they held out against the advice of the father to settle north of the Kansas They finally crossed in large numbers in the early summer of 1848, but again went over to the other bank in consequence of the Pawnee episode of July, 1848

After a short stay in St. Louis, Father Verreydt set out once again for the West, having secured the approval of Father Elet for the new location of the Potawatomi mission. As was customary with Jesuit missionaries journeying to the Indian country, the father did not travel alone. With him was a party of fellow-Jesuits, bound like himself, for the Indian missions and including Father Maurice Gaillard, assigned to the Potawatomi, Father Van Mierlo, who was to labor among the Miami, and Brother Thomas O'Donnell, who was to be employed as a teacher in the Osage Mission school.

Father Gaillard, a native of Switzerland, was now only thirty-two. An unusually efficient missionary, he also wielded a facile pen and, as already noted, became chief chronicler of the Catholic Potawatomi of Kansas. His account of the journey from Missouri to Sugar Creek and thence to the new mission-center on the Kansas River, is packed with vivid detail.

Shortly after his [Verreydt's] arrival, whilst in St. Charles, I received the news that I was appointed by my superiors as missionary among the Potawatomes and would soon leave for the Indian territory. Need I tell you, Dear Father, [De Smet] that my heart leaped with joy at these glad tidings, and that I longed with impatience for the hour of departure? It came at last. One morning whilst I was walking in the garden, musing with delight on the condition of the far-off flock that was committed to my care, the steamboat arrived and rang the signal for us to come on board. Bidding a hasty farewell to the good Fathers of St. Charles [Missouri], who with the greatest kindness and generosity had extended to me the most bountiful hospitality during two months, I embarked. Our boat went rapidly and in five days we arrived at Kansas, a pretty little town on the banks of the Missouri. If we may judge from its present growth and its advantageous position it must one day become a place of considerable importance. From there I made the remainder of my journey in a wagon, not having yet learned to ride on horseback. When I arrived at Sugar Creek, I was in a burning fever, which had commenced in Kansas and continued for some time to prostrate me more and more every second day. For a while, I was almost entirely confined to bed, and my delirious imagination, in place of resting then on the beauty and grandeur of the Indian country, would carry me back in thought to the mountains of Switzerland from whose rocky bosoms sprang the clear, pure, cold streams, that went murmuring on to the lakes below, and sometimes when the burning thirst was come, I would bend down to allay it in their sweet waters, but their shadow alone was there.

Eight days after our arrival at Sugar Creek we started for our final destination, in company with the Ladies of the Sacred Heart [Mother Lucille Mathevon, Mother O'Connor and Sister Mary]. I journeyed as before in a wagon, but this time we commenced to live à l'Indienne. Towards evening we halted near a wood, made a large fire and prepared our simple supper.

When this was over we fixed our tents and stretched buffalo robes for beds, but before lying down we had the precaution to add fuel to our fire to prevent the coming of oil to drive away the mosquitoes. Next morning we were on foot at break of day and started across the prairies, without knowing in what direction we were going, unless by what little we could guess by the position of the sun in the horizon. These plains present a strange and wild, but at the same time, a grand and beautiful appearance. Stretching out and away in the distance, they seem, like the ocean, to have naught but the blue sky for limit, where the eye loses itself in their immensity. Everything about them reminds you of the sea, their silent death-like stillness, their dull monotony and wild solitary air. To complete the resemblance in our case, we saw not far from the road a kind of sailing boat ready to commence its trip on this new ocean. It was a kind of cylinder ingeniously contrived and placed on four large iron wheels, it contained seats for four or five persons and two masts with sails, which were hoisted up and down. I learned later that the inventor and constructor of this machine had made several voyages in it, but that sometimes the violence of the wind drove his bark so fast that he was not unfrequently in imminent danger. From the top of the wagon, which went slowly, I could observe at leisure the wild lands we were traversing.

The Ottawas country was the first that we passed, and we stopped in one of their villages to visit a Catholic family, in whose lodge our Fathers said Mass, when they came to preach the gospel to this nation. We entered next the country of the Sacks [Sauk], a brave and warlike people, celebrated for the battles which they have fought and their profound hatred for the Americans. Having made a short stay in the country of the Shewanous [Shawnee], we at length arrived at the Waggeousse [Wakarusa], a little river, on whose banks Rev. F[ather] Hoecken had built his temporary dwelling. We entered a wood where we saw several Indian wigwams. The inmates had no sooner recognized the Father Superior and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart when all pressed forward to them and gave them a most hearty welcome in their own simple way. Father Hoecken's house being a mile farther, we continued penetrating the wood and soon found ourselves in a village containing over 100 lodges, surrounded by fields and gardens. The missionary's house was in the centre, and could be distinguished from the rest by the cross, which was placed over that portion that was used for a church. I immediately descended from the wagon, and hastened to see the Rev. Father, for I was impatient to look on a man in long missionary labors. When I entered he was standing in the middle of the floor, dressed in his surplice and stole, to hear the confessions of his flock. His body bending to the ground, his white silvery hair, and thin pale face told me enough of his privations, his sufferings and arduous labour. I embraced him with a deep feeling of respect and veneration, and then said, "My Father, if you want assistance, I come to offer you my services for the benefit of your dear Indians, and I shall think myself happy, if I shall be of any use." "With all my heart," he replied, "I accept your offer, for during many days past, I have been praying to God to send us some companions to come out

and share our labors” These words filled me with joy and consolation, and now banished from Switzerland, where I was about to enter on the mission of the Gospel, I was more than contented to exercise the duties of my ministry among the unhappy forsaken savages of the great American desert¹³ The next day, when I had offered up the holy sacrifice of the altar, in the humble little chapel, I was witness to a ceremony which made the tears come to my eyes All the Indians, men, women and children came and knelt at my feet and asked for my blessing I would have gladly prolonged my stay among the good people, but after three weeks I was obliged to proceed to the other side of the river to our new missionary establishment

During my short stay with Rev F Hoecken, I applied myself to learn the first rudiments of the Indian language, and attended the daily instructions he gave to his little flock At first the sounds of the words appeared to me very strange and difficult, but by degrees, and as I commenced understanding it a little, it became daily easier and smoother to my mind, and I found it to my great astonishment a rich and expressive though an uncultivated language Its great defect is its paucity of words to express abstract ideas But I must not forget to mention a visit which was paid me by the Kansas One day whilst I was earnestly tasking my memory for a few Indian words, a fine looking native came to the door armed with a dagger, a gun and a kind of war-club He looked at me for a moment, and then giving a cry that a savage alone could imitate, he leaped into the centre of my lodge, he was followed by six others, all well armed and almost naked I motioned to them to sit down, and they kept their eyes fixed on me Wishing to know whether they belonged to a band of Pottowatomies, I addressed to them a few appropriate words I had already learned, but they replied in a different language I showed to them every mark of friendship, and on their part, having recognized me as a blackgown, they returned the greatest respect and love Their cries and gestures, at entering, were only intended as common-mode [*sic*] salutations¹⁴

Father Gailland’s party, consisting of the superior of the mission, Father Verreydt, Brother George Miles and the three Religious of the Sacred Heart with Joseph Bertrand as guide, had left Sugar Creek August 16 and arrived at Father Hoecken’s place of residence on the Wakarusa, August 19 Sister Louise came in from Westport on September 1 On September 7 the travellers bade adieu to the Wakarusa to begin the last stage of their journey to the new St Mary’s¹⁵

¹³ Gailland came to the United States in consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland in the revolutionary troubles of 1847-1848 Cf *supra*, Chap XVI, § 4

¹⁴ *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), November 16, 1850 The punctuation of the printed text has been slightly altered

¹⁵ Gailland makes no mention in his narrative of having stopped at Mission Creek The route followed by his party would scarcely have brought them in that direction

Gaillard's diary records briefly the particulars of the trip

We begin the journey to the new mission September 7, 1848, Father Superior, Father Gaillard, the lay brother, Patrick Ragan, and a boarder named Charlot High water keeps us detained a whole day at a trading post Next morning, the water having fallen, we ford the river at a place called Uniontown, some on horseback, others in wagons¹⁶ At noon we stop for dinner at a creek¹⁷ Continuing our way we arrive at our new home about four o'clock in the afternoon of September 9, 1848 We were accompanied the whole way by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and Mr Joseph Bertrand Two log houses were prepared for us on the prairie, but they were only half finished, without windows or doors or floors or any conveniences We begin to work at them, to provide a shelter against the night air and the winds We miss sorely the skilled labor of the Brother whom we call the doctor [Mazzella] and who is sick with fever and obliged to remain behind at Sugar Creek¹⁸

Such, told in simple language by one of the chief participants in the event, was the founding of St Mary's Mission on the Kansas River Later years were to see their humble venture develop into a well-spring of civilization and religion up and down the Kansas Valley

APPENDIX

Some twenty-five years after these incidents occurred Father Verreydt set them down in writing (Memoirs [A]), probably wholly from recollection, his account being in substantial accord with the data as set forth in contemporary records At the risk of some repetition the account is here reproduced

"They all rose and the treaty was signed by them They agreed to receive the \$40,000 and to move that year to their new country The land assigned, as I have already observed, was 30 miles square The greatest part of the land was situated on the north side of the River Kansas and a portion of about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile was on the south side of the River A small band of our Indians with Father C Hoecken at the head went to see their promised land before their removal from Sugar Creek Arriving at the small fraction south of the River, a hilly and barren country, and supposing that was the country set apart for them, they all got a bad case of blues Downcast and utterly discouraged they returned home as quick as possible F C Hoecken with a broken heart told me that the country was not fit even for

¹⁶ Uniontown, "site of a government trading-post, established in 1848 and abandoned about 1855, was located on the northwest quarter of section 23, township 11, range 13 east (Shiwoonee County), on the California trail, a short distance from where it crossed the Kansas river, on the only rock ford on the river" It was fourteen miles above Topeka, Kansas *Kans Hist Coll*, 9 573

¹⁷ Cross Creek, at the site of the present Rossville

¹⁸ (F) Original text of the diary is in Latin

dogs to live in Wicwosay [Wewesa], the chief, and others went on the same errand, saw the same desolate place, and told the same doleful story. One of our traders, a Frenchman, who was of course interested in the affair, went to examine the country and came back under the same illusion. Addressing the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, he said, '*Mes Dames, ce pays est l'enfer même*.' This expression completely discouraged the poor Ladies. The whole village was in the dumps."

Father Verreydt now decided to make a personal inspection of the new reserve at Sugar Creek. There was universal dejection as a result of the unfavorable reports about it that had come in. But the Father could not believe that he and his Indian flock had been so egregiously imposed upon. With a party of two or three he visited the section south of the Kaw only to find it quite as unattractive as it had been painted. He urged his companions to accompany him further north, but they demurred, being apparently of the opinion, in Verreydt's words, that "they could judge how dreary it [the reserve] was by looking only at the worst place of it." Verreydt accordingly went on alone. "I went farther into the country till I came to an elevated place where I had a fine view of the country designated on both sides of the river for the Pottowatomies. As I had taken the precaution of taking a chart, which gave me all the information I needed to know exactly the situation of that part of the country, all my fears disappeared at once when I saw plenty of timber, which then truly was the case, but [the timber] being all on the other side of the river, I was satisfied that I had not been deceived by the Agent and that, as he had said, it was a fine country."

Relieved of all anxiety as to the true character of the new reserve, Father Verreydt returned to Sugar Creek where on the following Sunday he gave an account of his visit to the Indians assembled in church. "They opened their eyes and could scarcely believe that words of such assurance could possibly proceed from the lips of a blackgown and that at the altar of God. Their appearance convinced one that it was useless to say anything more on the subject. I left the whole affair to their discretion. They knew that the contract which they had made with the government could not be broken and that it had been made by their own free will and could not be attributed to me, for I had given them my opinion only according [to] their request and I had told them plainly that I would not be answerable for their proceedings in this matter.

"As they had agreed to move that year [1847], the greater part of the nation departed for their new home with F. C. Hoecken as their leader in whom they had confidence and respect and he as a true shepherd was determined, whatever might happen, never to abandon them. Br. Mazzelli accompanied him. I let them go ahead to follow soon after them. It was of no use to go along (with) them, I had lost my credit! Those Indians that remained still at Sugar Creek did not know what to do. Some would have liked to remain where they were, others to join their friends of some other nation. A few days after F. C. Hoecken with his faithful band had left, I arrived at the same barren spot [Mission Creek] and found them in the

*Diarium Sotavalimica Missionis
est Marie ad-lacum*

*Annus Diei, mox
1848*

- 7^o 1848 *Ita ingredi mur ad novam missionis regionem S. Superior, S. Gallianici, cum uno Coadj, S. Regon, et uno Convictore, Charlot Dite.*
- 8^o *Tota die commoramus in Mercatorum pago, propter alle-
tudinem fluminis, impediti quominus prosegueremus iter.*
- 9^o *Tragissimus fluvium vulgo Kansas nuncupatum, alu qui-
dem equeis, alii vero curibus Horo curiter h^{ic} pomeridiani tem-
poris ad novas habitations late pervenimus. Totius itineris cemi-
tes habuimus domos a 1^o Erice et 9^o Josephum Bernhards. Nova
quidem regio talum undique prebet aspectum, sed non ita nova
domus, quippe que, semi-construata, liberum omni vento pemit.
tant editum Quest nobis unius operatus huic malo qui possit
occurrere, Coadjuter delibet, quem Doctorem Diamus hic scribi la-
borans cogitur suam commemorationem in Suger. Creek proba huc.*

Arrival of the pioneer party of Jesuits and Religious of the Sacred Heart at the site of the Catholic Potawatomi Mission, Kansas River, September 9, 1848 Entry in Latin diary of Maurice Gailland, S J Archives of St Mary's College, St Marys, Kansas

most dejected condition John Tipton, my friend and interpreter said, 'I think, Father, you came from a country where there was no timber' Persuasion was useless, they did not want to cross the river Just at that time a young man who had been sent out to look for timber somewhere arrived and announced that there was fine timber and plenty of it about eight miles south of Kansas river Off they went to the Wakarusa and soon commenced a new settlement Trees were felled in every direction, rails to fence then fields were soon ready, cabins were erected for their dwellings, a little log-church was soon provided for Divine Service and a cabin that joined it for the habitation of Father C Hoecken and Br Mazzelli, and a kitchen joining their cabin about six feet long by four feet wide All this great labor had been done in the beginning of the fall of that year without my knowing anything about it, for whilst they were going to examine the place where there was such fine timber, as the young man mentioned before had told them, I crossed the Kansas River, which often is very low and can easily be forded I was astonished to find such a fertile plain covered with large timber I soon met some Indians and half-breeds with whom I was well acquainted at Council Bluffs Old friendship was renewed and I saw I was perfectly welcome I met other Indians and the same friendly 'how do you do' was repeated All, even those Indians at Council Bluffs who had never visited our church, wanted me to stay in that part of the country where they were already established They did not want me to go to the south side at all, they wanted me to remain with them In a few words, to mention the truth, I was their friend I travelled up and down the country to find a suitable location for the intended mission Wherever I travelled, I found the soil excellent for cultivation As to the timber, there was an abundance of it at the Big Blue This River flows through a fertile plain which was then covered with timber This would have been sufficient for a fine settlement for our Catholic Indians and would have been at a reasonable distance from the Council Bluffs Indians, who were then already settled far below St Mary's The Council Bluffs Indians desired that I should reside among them, but I knew that our Catholic Indians would never have consented to live among them Therefore I promised nothing but merely told them that I was going to look out for a good location Moreover, I had heard that the whole country below St Mary's had been inundated after the Caw Indians had been already removed from that country Some of their half-breeds came in possession of a beautiful tract of the country joining that of the Pottowatomies It was a beautiful place reserved for them but by the overflow of the Kansas River, the flood had carried away their houses, etc The water, as I discerned by the driftwood, which was still hanging on the trees, when I was there, must have been about sixteen feet above the ground and I further discovered, by some rails and other driftwood which I saw on the ground, that the overflow reached as far back as to be only six miles from St Mary's This overflow, however, was to be attributed to an almost constant rain of one month Still I did not like, I must own, to settle in a place which had once been under water

"As I always dearly loved the Blessed Virgin Mary, though unworthy,

I wanted the place which I had selected for our mission to be called St Mary's. I needed her assistance for I did not know where I should establish our mission, to settle at the Big Blue would have been too far away from the Council Bluffs Indians, and as to our Catholic Indians, they might have remained where they were, for they needed the consent only of the Shawnees, to whom the land belonged, and as they were always on friendly terms with the Shawnees, the latter might have had no objection, as they had plenty of land. Moreover, I could not hope to get them to settle so far away as to be at the very limits of their country. I had lost their confidence. To settle among the Bluffs Indians would have precluded our Catholic Indians from their country, for then they never would have crossed the River to live among Indians who were known to be addicted to liquor. I knew very well that St Mary's locality was not suited for a town, but as the Kansas River flows through a very fertile plain, generally covered with large timber as walnut and oak trees, a great many of our Catholic Indians might have settled along the River (where an Indian likes to live) or might have found some other suitable place back of St Mary's. N. B. When I went to see that country, there was a plenty of timber and we used a great deal of timber for our church, buildings and fences, etc. As to the prairie, it is the best grazing place in the West. As to the timber at this present time, I know it is scarce, but necessity compelled me to settle at St Mary's.

"After all, it was truly Providential that I did not settle at the Big Blue, for I had scarcely commenced preparations for erecting a little cabin for our habitation than a brave half-breed of the Council Bluffs Indians having selected a place there [the Big Blue] and built a house, etc., but a few days after all his labor had his horses stolen, perhaps by the Pawnees or some other wild Indians, as it was supposed. As he had no protection to expect from the Council Bluffs Indians (who were afraid to settle down at St Mary's), our brave half-breed thought it prudent to move back to his old place. Since that time no Indian would have dared to live there. Knowing *how brave* our Catholic Indians were, I came to the conclusion to establish a permanent location for our mission, at hazard, at St Mary's."

§ 3 EARLY STRUGGLES THE WINTER OF 1848-1849

The Potawatomi reserve was a square, thirty miles to the side, the Kansas River flowing through it from the west a few miles above the southern boundary. Its east line ran two miles west of the site of the future Topeka, its west line passed through what is now Wamego. The mission buildings stood some six miles above the southern limits of the reserve, and five miles closer to the western than to the eastern boundary, forming a hub around which was to revolve the little Potawatomi world that had been conjured up by governmental agency on the banks of the Kaw.¹⁹

¹⁹ " a tract or parcel of land containing five hundred and seventy-six thousand acres, being thirty miles square and being the eastern part of the lands

At almost a mile's distance north of the Kaw the fertile bottomlands terminate in a line of equally fertile and gracefully undulating hillocks, which form the background of the picture as one gazes to the north from the valley below. Here, between spurs of the crenelated ridge, rose the buildings, work on which had been in progress for weeks before the arrival of the missionaries. There were two main structures, both of hewed logs and mates in every respect, lying on parallel axes at a distance of about one-hundred and ten yards apart. The west log-house, sixty-one by twenty-one feet and twenty-one feet high, was of two stories and contained five rooms. This building, which was assigned to the nuns, occupied the site of the infirmary building of St. Mary's College, near it, a hundred yards to the west, ran a small creek. Additions were later made to this log house on the north end while on the south it received, at the hands of Brother Mazzella, who arrived at the mission September 26, an annex forty by twenty-one feet, which was used as an assembly-hall. The log-section and additions of frame made together a building a hundred feet in length, which did service as school-house and residence for the sisters up to the construction by the latter in 1870 of a substantial building of brick, now the administration building of St. Mary's College. The log house occupied by the fathers stood about one hundred and ten yards east of the sisters' dwelling. It also received (1865) a frame annex at the south end, so that the building measured in later years one hundred by twenty-one feet in floor space and twenty-one feet in height to the ridge of the roof. In 1849 a school-house of logs was put up some five or six yards east of the fathers' residence. Midway between the fathers' and the sisters' dwellings, at a distance of about fifty yards from each, was located the church, originally a poor frame house put up by Brother Mazzella and first used for divine service on November 12, 1848. The spring of 1849

ceded to the United States by the Kansas tribe of Indians, by treaty concluded on the 14th day of January and ratified on the 15th of April of the present year, lying adjoining the Shawnees on the south and the Delawares and Shawnees on the east, on both sides of the Kansas river." Article four of Potawatomi treaty of 1846. Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 558. "The Pottowatomie Reserve is located in the choicest part of Kansas, 30 miles square, its eastern boundary line running two miles west of Topeka and sixty-two miles west of the Missouri river and embraces within its limits every variety of farming land, rich creek and river bottoms, level table-lands, undulating slopes and rolling prairies and even rocky bluffs in some localities that seem almost majestic from their great height. Also timber of all kinds (except pine) fringing the smaller creeks throughout their length and skirting the larger streams in mimic forest, many of the trees measuring from four to six feet in diameter, oak, walnut, sycamore, elm, locust and cottonwood predominating." *Times* (St. Marys, Kans.), October 25, 1877. Citations in this and the following chapter from Kansas newspapers are from clippings in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

saw the construction on approximately the same site of a more substantial sacred edifice, built of logs, which was to acquire distinction as the first cathedral church in the vast region flanked by the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains ²⁰

The physical environment of the mission left nothing to be desired Gaillard's description of it touches off all salient features

We found the country around our establishment charming and beautiful The houses are built on an elevated spot, near a stream of pure, fresh water, in front extends a vast green prairie, dotted with trees, its soil is exceedingly rich, for the fields belonging to the Indians, though indifferently cultivated, will yield a very fine harvest at the coming season As for timber, we have an abundance for many years to come, even should all the arable lands be occupied Oaks of different kinds and various other trees of hard and substantial wood abound in the forests The Indians only regretted not to find here their much esteemed and cherished maple or sugar-tree, which grew so luxuriously in the old Mission The Kanza river flows majestically through the lands of the nation and is bordered on both sides, especially on the north by two forest belts or thick woods At some distance from the river a range of hills rises in the north and south from which smaller streams and rivulets are flowing and traversing the plains, and are bordered with a great variety of trees Early in the spring these streams are frequently so high that they cannot be crossed without much danger whereas in the fall of the year they are almost dry In autumn the Kanza river itself is so low that it may be crossed on horseback or in a wagon, in the winter the river is generally icebound ²¹

Attractive as were the environs of the mission, the Jesuits at the time of their arrival found them a solitude Only three Indian families were settled in the neighborhood A much larger number could have been found there earlier in the year, but an incident which occurred in July, 1848, had sent them flying in panic to the south side of the river A small party of Potawatomi of the family of Paid, together with a handful of Kickapoo and Sauk, had gone out west of the reserve to hunt buffalo ²² On the way the hunters fell in with the main body of the Kansa Indians, who were also in search of the same game, and

²⁰ The site of the log-church is marked today by a large red boulder The first baptism registered after the arrival of the Jesuits at the Kaw River was that of Jean Paschal Miller, three-months old son of Paschal Miller and Victoire Mauchte, Father Gaillard being the officiating priest Date, October 15, 1848 (F)

²¹ *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), November 9, 1850 For the numerous variants of the name Kansas, cf. *Kans Hist Coll*, 9 521

²² As late as the end of the fifties the buffalo was hunted by the settlers a day's march above Manhattan in the Republican Valley *Recorder* (Westmoreland, Kans.), January 13, 1887 Even in the late sixties the Potawatomi were hunting buffalo in western Kansas, though by that time the game had become very scarce

smoked with them a friendly pipe of peace. Meanwhile a band of Pawnee came up to the four allied camps, but deterred presumably by the rather formidable strength of the latter from making an attack, they sent a messenger to the Potawatomi and their friends with pledges of good will and an invitation to join them on the hunt. The messenger was well received and dismissed in peace, but on his way back was fired upon and killed by a Kansa Indian. Enraged by the murder, the Pawnee attacked the four camps. In the engagement that ensued five Pawnee were killed and their scalps carried off by the Potawatomi and Kickapoo.²³ Major Cummins of the Fort Leavenworth Agency, to whose jurisdiction the Potawatomi belonged, thus concludes his report of the incident: "I am inclined to think that blame in this matter ought not to be attached to the Pottawatomies or Kickapoos, that they fought in self-defense is evident. But it is in every way unfortunate, as it has led to reprisals, and may end in further bloodshed, for, since the above collision took place, the Pawnees have lifted forty horses from the Pottawatomie settlements on Kansas river."²⁴ At the time the missionaries arrived the Indians had not yet summoned up courage enough to return from across the river and settle around the mission-house. "Not an Indian," Gaillard notes in his diary, "wishes or dares to share the danger with us."

But there were other circumstances besides the absence of the Indians to make the position of the Jesuits a distressing one. For some weeks subsequent to their arrival the buildings remained in an unfinished condition and could afford no shelter against wind and rain. On September 17 they erected a cross on the hill overlooking the houses. Presently they were taken down with fever and the ruin of all hopes for the mission stared them in the face. A measure of sunshine broke through the gloom with the arrival from Sugar Creek on September 26 of Brother Mazzella, not a well man by any means, but strong enough to set to work on the unfinished buildings. The situation was still further relieved when Father Hoecken arrived October 12, having closed his station on Mission Creek. By the beginning of October he gathered in all the available produce of his field and garden, then, whatever household effects he had were transported across the river

²³ "The first engagement between the warriors of the two tribes was on east side of Blue river near the Rocky Ford and on territory now included within the limits of Potawatomi County." Address of Hon. J. S. Merritt in *Tribune* (Wamego, Kans.), June 6, 1879.

²⁴ *RCIA*, 1848. The Potawatomi ambush is said to have been planned by Kack-kack, chief of the Prairie Band, who died at about eighty-eight at his home five miles west of Mayetta, Jackson County, Kans., February 16, 1907. He was born near Chicago and was a brother of the well-known Indian chief Shab-nee or Shabaunee, who participated in the Black Hawk War. *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 14: 545.

to St. Mary's with the help of Brother Ragan and the never-failing Michael Nadeau and Joseph Bertrand. Together with Hoecken came a number of Indians to plant their tepees around the mission-site. The missionaries had now every reason to hope that the Indians still remaining south of the river would shortly follow the example of the group brought in by Father Hoecken. Meantime, a few Indian boys were already at the mission and with them an attempt was made to continue the school begun at Sugar Creek.

Brother Mazzella having made the log-buildings inhabitable built a frame annex to the fathers' residence to be used as a chapel pending the erection of a church. In this temporary chapel Hoecken spoke regularly in Potawatomi at Mass and evening Benediction up to November 12, when he left the mission in company with a party of Indians who were going to the Miami country to hunt and make sugar. After his departure Verreydt, who does not seem ever to have mastered Potawatomi, preached Sunday mornings in English with the aid of either Joseph Bertrand or John Tipton as interpreter, while at the evening service Gaillard spoke in French for the benefit of the mixed-blood and Canadian families, of whom a number had settled around the mission.²⁵

The winter of 1848-1849 was extraordinarily severe. For eighty days, from December 6 to February 24, the ice-bound Kaw became a wagon-road. December 22 the ink froze on Gaillard's pen. On the 24th, Christmas Eve and a Sunday, there was no sermon "on account of the cold." But the priests were not idle. They buried an Indian boy, Pemowetuk, whose death is the first recorded in the annals of the new St. Mary's, besides hearing the confessions of not a few Indians, who had come over in numbers from the south bank to celebrate Christmas with the missionaries. A brief entry in Gaillard's Latin diary under date of this Christmas eve of 1848 records the pathos of the situation—"desiderium ingens P. Hoecken" ("a great longing for Father Hoecken"). On Christmas Day there was no midnight Mass, the intense cold forbade, Verreydt and Gaillard having each to content himself with a single celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. Out over the reserve dogs and horses were perishing in the freezing weather. On the 26th a messenger sent to Tremblé's for the mail was forced to return, unable to make his way through the piling snow-drifts.²⁶ New Year's day saw a great crowd of Indians at the mission, who had come from across the river to give the fathers the customary hand-

²⁵ John Tipton, mixed-blood Potawatomi, was especially efficient as an interpreter.

²⁶ Tremblé or Tremblay, a French mixed-blood. The name is of common occurrence among the French pioneers of the West.

shake The diarist notes that their faces were bright and cheerful despite the distressing conditions in which they had perforce to live, moreover, they brought the missionaries a timely New Year's gift in the shape of a quantity of venison The latter soon made a painful discovery, many of the Indian families around them were without the barest necessities of life And still the fierce winter held on Leaden skies and low temperatures were the order of the day Father Gaillard's Latin vocabulary was put to a severe test for synonyms "*Coelum summe obscurum ad tristitiam invitans*," he wrote on January 3²⁷ Again on the 5th, "*tempestas summe tenebricosa frigoreque asperrima*", on the 6th, "*tempestas admodum densa*"²⁸ Then on later days, "*coelum admodum lugubre, frigus acerrimum*," "*coelum serenum sed frigidissimum*," "*hyems iterum asperrima*"²⁹ When conditions were at the worst, Charlot, the Indian boy, was sent out to hunt for game but returned with nothing more than two prairie-hens One cheering incident of the gloomy season is recorded On January 5 Father Hoecken, "*tandem omnium votis exoptatus*," ("the object of everyone's longings"), returned with two Indians from his Miami excursion, much the worse for cold and hunger The party he had accompanied to the Miami country was still there as late as April and rumors began to reach the mission that grave disorders had broken out among them

The winter was beginning to moderate when a more unwelcome visitant than even freezing weather made its appearance in the neighborhood of the mission On February 9, 1849, the first tidings of the approach of the Asiatic cholera reached St Mary's Its advent was hastened by the parties of California emigrants passing in continual procession in wagons and on horseback along the western trail On June 1 six cases of cholera were reported in Uniontown, the trading-post of the Potawatomi, a few miles below St Mary's on the right bank of the Kaw On June 6 only one Indian family was left at the Wakarusa, the rest of the village having fled before the scourge It was impossible amid the prevailing terror to conduct school at the mission and so the Indian boarders were dismissed to their homes During the six weeks that the epidemic was at its height the three fathers of St Mary's were constantly riding back and forth between the various settlements on the reserve, administering remedies to soul and body About the middle of July the cholera began to abate³⁰

²⁷ "A very heavy and depressing sky"

²⁸ "Very cloudy and bitterly cold weather" "Extremely heavy weather"

²⁹ "Sky very gloomy, cold intense" "Sky clear, but freezing cold" "More very biting winter weather"

³⁰ In the absence of professional doctors, who seem to have been unknown at this time on the Potawatomi reserve, the missionaries, especially Father Hoecken

The task before the missionaries would have been a lighter one if their flock had gathered into one great settlement around the mission-house. As it was, the Indians were scattered in villages up and down the reserve. February 17, 1849, the Indians south of the river petitioned for Mass every Sunday, but their wishes could not be met. In April Father Gailland started to pay monthly visits to Uniontown, Mechgamunak and Sugar Creek, the three stations south of the river.³¹ In August at the special request of the Indians Father Hoecken began to spend a week in turn at each of these villages, baptizing, assisting at marriages and instructing the children. Thereafter all ministerial work south of the river devolved upon Hoecken. The Indians indeed could never be brought to settle as a body on the north side of the river. When Hoecken first joined the other missionaries at St. Mary's October 12, 1848, it was expected that the Indians would be induced by his presence to cross the river after him. "His accession to us," notes Gailland in his diary for that day, "will induce many Indians to come here after their Father and Leader." Later he writes "In October the Indians began to move near the mission in large numbers." But a large number still kept to the south side, alleging the scarcity of timber on the other side or the fact that a change of settlement would mean for them a loss of the improvements made in their first homes. In Gailland's opinion the real reason why they refused to move was fear of the Pawnee and Sioux, who were not likely to continue their depredations south of the Kaw. In 1850 the situation as summed up by Gailland was this: "Nearly half of our neophytes have refused to cross the Kansas."

The visit to St. Mary's in September, 1849, of the vice-provincial, Father Elet, resulted in several wise provisions for the advancement of the mission. Elet, accompanied by his assistant, De Smet, came up from the Osage Mission by way of Mission Creek, where Hoecken chanced to be on one of his ministerial visits. The Indians, many of whom had crossed from the north side of the river for the occasion, formed an escort to conduct the three fathers, the march being enlivened by beating of drums and volleys of musketry in honor of the distinguished visitors. To return the compliment, Elet ordered a barbecue on October 10, to which all the Catholic Indians on the reserve, the school-boys

(as also Brother Mazzella) gave the Indians the benefit of their medical knowledge, which was not inconsiderable. A claim for compensation for medicines and medical services rendered the Indians during the cholera of 1849 was put in by Hoecken. "I presume no doubt can be entertained of the importance of the services rendered and consequently of the justice of the claim." Haverly to Mitchell, Feb. 5, 1850. Records of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs. Library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

³¹ There were apparently some Potawatomi still around the old mission-site on Sugar Creek.

included, were invited. The instructions left by the superior at the close of his visitation covered matters ranging from the building of chapels to the domestic economy of the mission-house. Hoecken, as principal pastor of the Indians, was charged with the erection of two chapels south of the river and was also to try to induce the Kansa Indians to build a chapel for their own needs. The Jesuit community were to be provided with a refectory distinct from the one used by the boys as also with a dwelling-house separate from the school.

On September 29 Fathers Elet and De Smet took leave of St Mary's in company with Father Verreydt, who, after eleven years of continuous service as superior at Council Bluffs, Sugar Creek and St Mary's, was now relieved of office, his career as Indian missionary being at the same time definitely brought to a close.

In compliance with the vice-provincial's directions, Father Hoecken crossed the river, October 12, to make preparations for the building of two chapels, one at Mission Creek, the other at Mechgamunak³². Men were at once hired to hew the timber and haul the lumber for the new structures, which were erected under the superintendence of Thomas MacDonnell and made ready for divine service, one in July, and the other in August, 1850. The church at Mission Creek was named for Our Lady of Sorrows, the one at Mechgamunak for St. Joseph.

In the summer of 1850 Father Hoecken reported to Father Elet that the order given by the latter for the construction of two additional churches had been carried out. "I did not forget the two churches *ex parte australi fluminis* [on the south side of the river] and consequently am enabled to state to you that next Sunday we shall be able to celebrate the sacred mysteries in both of them. It was highly necessary, for a great many were running very fast headlong into dissipation, vice and destruction. I would be glad if your Reverence could send another Father early this fall, it might be better for me to wait till that time to absent myself—*salvo meliori judicio*—please let me know your sentiments on the subject. I have been sick and am still—I caught a bad cold in working on the churches."³³

§ 4 CHRISTIAN HOECKEN AND THE KAW INDIANS

Among the matters that engaged Elet's attention during his stay at the mission was that of extending the ministry of the fathers to the Kaw or Kansa Indians. This tribe, according to instructions he left be-

³² Mechgamunak was about six miles from the site of Topeka and in the immediate vicinity of the Baptist Potawatomi school conducted by the Reverend Johnston Lykins.

³³ Hoecken to Elet, July 21, 1850 (A).

hind, were to be visited by Father Hoecken, who was to endeavor to secure their children for the mission-school and also to build a chapel on the Kansa reserve. The Kansa, a Siouan tribe, are closely allied in blood, language and manners to the Osage, with whom they have the distinction of being named on Marquette's map illustrating his journey of 1673. As early as 1826 General William Clark had made overtures to Van Quickenborne for a Catholic mission among the Kansa (*supra*, Chap VI, § 1). An attempt to open such a mission was made by Father Joseph Lutz, a young priest of the diocese of St. Louis, who in 1828 resided for a short time in the Kansa village on the Kaw River near the site of Lawrence. Subsequently the Kansa came into occasional contact with Jesuit missionaries in the West. A party of them visited Father Point's little chapel at Kawsmouth and they were to be found at intervals at the Kickapoo Catholic Mission begging provisions from the fathers. De Smet on his way to Oregon in 1841 was entertained royally in Fool Chief's camp, on the north bank of the Kaw, six miles distant from Soldier Creek. His impressions of the Kansa found expression in one of the most informing accounts of the tribe that we possess.³⁴

The Kansa seemed to be particularly unfitted to cope with the difficulties that everywhere beset the Indian tribes before the advancing tide of white civilization. They were economically most destitute and without decent means of subsistence. Wherever we meet them in written accounts of the Indian country, they seem to be engaged in a search for food. They beg provisions at the Kickapoo Mission, they cross the path of Parkman, the historian, on his way up the Oregon Trail, who describes them as a sorry-looking lot with starved and repulsive faces, the last act of Hoecken on closing his station at Mission Creek was to distribute a quantity of bacon which he had on hand to some Kansa visitors. Though the picture which De Smet drew of the tribe as he found it in 1841 is not an altogether unfavorable one, Major Handy, of the Osage River agency, portrayed them in uncomplimentary terms. "The Kansas tribe of Indians are located on the head waters of the Neosho, a tributary of the Arkansas, they have a lovely country, their number is in all about thirteen hundred, they are a poor, miserable race of beings who make their living entirely by hunting and stealing, indeed, stealing seems to be a part of their tuition, they drink but

³⁴ CR, *De Smet*, I 180 *et seq.* Cf. also Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, pp. 30-32. As early as May 17, 1827, White Plume, the Kansa chief, made an appeal to General William Clark for Catholic missionaries. "My Father Another thing I want to say. The American Ministers among us are married men I don't like that. I want Catholic priests to teach my children." (H)

little (I presume only for the reason that they are too remote from the States to obtain it) and are respectful and obedient to the agent" ³⁵

The Kansa Indians were probably not as degraded morally as the picture of them drawn by Major Handy would seem to indicate. At all events, they expressed on various occasions a desire to have Catholic missionaries. Gaillard's diary chronicles a visit they paid to St. Mary's on February 19, 1849, when they took occasion, one may presume, to urge the fathers to send them a Catholic pastor. In accordance with Flet's instructions Hoecken visited the Kansa Indians in the August of 1850.

Although poor in health, I paid a visit to the Kansas village commonly known as Council Grove. It is a most beautiful place, healthy, well provided with timber of every kind and water, excellent water at that, and distant about 125 miles from Westport on the Santa Fe trail. I was well received. I asked the chiefs in council whether they had made any contracts with individuals. They all answered me in the negative. ^{2°} (I asked) whether they had petitioned for the Methodists. Their answer was again in the negative. ^{3°} They declared they could do nothing, they had often remonstrated against sundry matters, but these continue to remain as they were. ^{4°} They avowed it to be their wish and desire to have black robes and none others, but they were at a loss to know how to get their petition heard. I explained everything to them and on my finishing they at once asked me to write a letter for them to Washington and also one to St. Louis, which I did. In the letter to the President they beg him to send them black-robes and absolutely no others. They go on to say they have heard that the Methodists intend to settle among them, but this also is against their wish and desire. ³⁶

The petition of the Kansa Indians, dated August 8, 1850, and addressed to Major Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, was forwarded by the latter to Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs, with the comment that, as it was not witnessed, it was valueless. ³⁷ In the end, nothing was done for the Kansa though the half-breeds of the nation, who had been assigned tracts on the north bank of the Kansas River at the time of the cession in 1846 of the old Kansas reserve, found the ministry of the Jesuits brought within their reach by the erection in 1850 of the chapel of the Sacred Heart on Soldier Creek, twenty miles distant from St. Mary's. It was built by the fathers chiefly for the Potawatomi settled around Soldier Creek, but also for the French-speaking Kansa half-breeds. It was a modest

³⁵ *RCIA*, 1849

³⁶ C. Hoecken to Flet, August 10, 1850 (A)

³⁷ The Kansa petition is in the files of the Indian Office, Washington (cited as H)

structure, eighteen by twenty-two feet, costing only one hundred and six dollars, and its builder was Moise Belmaire Mass was said here every other Sunday and the preaching was in English, Potawatomi and French.³⁸

An effort was made in 1862 by H B Branch, of the superintendency of Indian affairs at St Joseph, Missouri, to secure Jesuit missionaries for the Kansa Indians He wrote on December 30 of that year to De Smet

In accordance with the request of the Kansas Tribe of Indians I address you on the subject of the establishment of a Catholic Mission School among that tribe

These Indians are mostly Catholic and are anxious that their religious and educational interests should be looked after by some Jesuit Fathers, rather than by the Baptists and Quaker Societies, who are now making efforts to get control of their school

They desire a school established among them on the plan of the St Mary's Mission among the Potawatomes to be conducted by such persons as have the management of that institution The request of these Indians appears to me to be just and proper, being Catholic and expending their own money in support of schools, they should certainly have a voice in the selection of Teachers for their children

In this connection I beg leave to remark that I am in favor of the establishment of schools or Missions on the above plan in every agency under my charge, for I am well convinced that the Jesuit Fathers have been and are evidently successful in their efforts to civilize and refine the Indians, because, they are generally educated for that purpose, are zealous and earnest in their efforts, devoting their whole time to the interests of education and religion, without pay and with the devout self-sacrificing spirit which the hope of future reward, the love of God and the labor of educating the human race, should inspire in every heart

In behalf of these poor Kansas Indians I appeal to you to make an effort to get control of the Kansas Mission and I pledge you my hearty cooperation for the accomplishment of the object in view ^{38a}

With their meagre personnel the Jesuit group represented by De Smet were in no position to take on additional missionary work In an

³⁸ Account-book, St Mary's Mission (F) Helen Papin, mother of Vice-President Charles Curtis, was a Kansa mixed-blood belonging to the group settled around Soldier Creek Curtis, born January 5, 1860, was baptized April 15, 1860, by Father Dumortier of St Mary's, as attested by the mission register "Pappan's Ferry" at the Oregon Trail crossing over the Kaw, where is now Topeka, was a well-known institution in the emigrant period Father Schultz baptized "Arthur Lefefure [Lefevre?], born 25 December, 1854, in the place called Soldiers Creek at Papin's Ferry" (F)

^{38a} (H)

address delivered December 4, 1906, before the Kansas Historical Society, George P. Morehouse summed up briefly the subsequent fate of the Kansa

The Kansa neglected by state and church fell before an unfair contest with the white man's civilization, while the Osages, who since 1827 have been the favored ones in business bargains with the government and the special charge of a devoted and continued missionary effort on the part of such devoted teachers as Fathers Van Quickenborne, Schoenmakers, Ponzi-glione, Mother Superior Bridget Hayden and others, are now amongst the most prosperous of western tribes

What a different tale to relate regarding the Kansa [Indians] had they been treated honestly, their imperial home ground from Manhattan to Topeka and eastward been preserved for their use and had they been given the same wise and continuous educational and moral advantages as were given the Osages. Instead of being the sorry remnant destined to obliteration, they might have been filling the same important part in Kansas affairs now occupied by the Osages in Oklahoma.^{38b}

§ 5 STARTING THE INDIAN SCHOOLS

The most remarkable feature of St. Mary's Mission on the Kaw was the schools for Potawatomi boys and girls. At Sugar Creek the Jesuits had conducted a day-school only, the lack of a government appropriation making one for boarders impossible. At St. Mary's, on the other hand, boarding-schools, one for boys and one for girls, were opened from the very beginning of the mission and maintained successfully down to the breaking-up of the Potawatomi reserve.

In the spring of 1848 the question of schools on the new reserve was debated in lively fashion in the Potawatomi councils. According to an official census taken at this time, the tribe now numbered 3,235 members.³⁹ Of these, not quite one half were Catholics, the rest, apart from small knots of Baptist and Methodist converts, being still pagans, or, as they were called, Prairie Indians.⁴⁰ The civilized portion of the tribe was predominantly Catholic. The attitude of the Indians on the school question was summed up by Major Cummins, government agent for the Potawatomi, in a report under date of June 7, 1848, to Major Harvey of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs. According to the agent the Indians were divided on the question into four parties—the Catholics, who were unanimously in favor of a school on the

^{38b} *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 10:365

³⁹ *RCIA*, 1848, no. 2

⁴⁰ "The Potawatomi tribe is still more than half-pagan. The Catholics among them number from 1500 to 1600." Gaillard in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, November, 1851

north side of the river, the Baptists, with chief Topenebee at their head, who asked for a Baptist school on the south side of the river, the Methodists, who did not ask for anything, and a fourth party, inconsiderable in point of numbers, who were in favor of the government's erecting schools and appointing teachers without reference to religious views, the schools to be entirely under government control "I think," continued Cummins, "a large portion of the Potawatomies, particularly those from the Bluffs, incline to the Catholics I would, therefore, recommend that their wishes be complied with and that a school and mission be placed under their charge on the north side of the river. Some of them stated in council that this was the unanimous wish of all on the north side of the river and it was not contradicted I would also recommend that the wishes of the Baptist party be complied with and that a school or mission under their charge be established on the south side of the river" ⁴¹

As a protest apparently to Agent Cummins's recommendation that a Baptist as well as a Catholic school be given to the Potawatomí, a petition signed by nineteen chiefs and braves, including Joseph Lafromboise, Perish Leclerc, Charles Beaubien and Half Day, and dated Soldier Creek, May 30, 1848, was sent to Superintendent Harvey at St. Louis

We wish that the two schools should be under the direction of the Catholic priests or Fathers. As it is your wish that all your Indian children should be united, we think that is the only way, by having only one denomination. If we have two, we will always be divided. It is the wish of our Grandfather, the President, that we should live like brothers in peace and happiness. In order to live that way, according to our fathers' wishes, you will please grant us our wish. It is the opinion of all our chiefs. Give us the Catholics for the two schools. If this does not meet with your views, forward this to the President and beg of him to bid hear to our request in this small instance ⁴²

It would seem to be likely, in view of this document, that the predominant demand among the Potawatomí was for Catholic schools

⁴¹ (H) Cummins in his report to Harvey observed that the Baptists were the first to open a school for the Potawatomí. "I think the Baptists were the first to establish a Mission and School among the tribe in 1822 [Carey Mission near Niles, Michigan] the existence of a partiality for them by many of the Potawatomí, they being the first to open a school now being taught in their new country on the Kansas River, their unabated interest in their welfare and their strong desire to continue their labors among them are all considerations in favor of assigning the management of one of the Manual Labor Schools to that Society." Cf. LeClair Barnes, "Isaac McCoy and the Treaty of 1821," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 5: 122-142

⁴² (F)

only Harvey, however, indorsed Cummins's report in favor of a Baptist and a Catholic school and transmitted it June 16, 1848, to Washington, forwarding also at the same time the petition of the Catholic Indians, of which no account was taken in the arrangements subsequently made.⁴³ In accordance with the recommendations thus made by Cummins and Harvey, the Indian Office gave out in the fall of 1848 two contracts, one dated September 30, in favor of the Baptist Board of the American Indian Mission Association of Louisville, Kentucky, and another dated October 4 in favor of Father Van de Velde, procurator of the Jesuit Vice-province of Missouri.

The party of pioneers that arrived at St. Mary's on September 9, 1848, included an Indian boy, probably of mixed blood, Charlot by name, whom Gailland describes in his diary as a *convictor* or boarder. With him the long line of Catholic youths to be educated by the Jesuits at St. Mary's may be said to have begun. The first pupils formally registered in the school were the mixed-bloods, Bernard Bertrand, November 25, Ezechiel Pelletier and William and Francis Darling, November 30, and Francis La Flamboise, December 11, 1848. Approximately the same number of girls were admitted about this time into the school conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart. There was no special teacher for the boys until the arrival in November, 1849, of the layman, Mr. Ryan. During the interval classes were conducted twice a day by Father Verreydt, the superior, who could ill afford to spare time for this occupation, busy as he was with superintending the erection of the new school buildings. On October 23, 1849, Father Gailland started to make the rounds of the reserve to notify parents that classes were about to be resumed and to urge them to send the children. On November 2 the boy boarders moved into their new building and on the 12th classes were begun under the direction Mr. Ryan.⁴⁴ De Smet, who was procurator or agent for the Jesuit missions in succession to Van de Velde, notes in a financial report to the government that the five thousand dollars allowed by the latter for the construction of the new building and for the farm improvements did not altogether meet the expense incurred, the fathers being obliged to draw on their own

⁴³ Major Cummins was not considered unfriendly to Catholics. "From what I heard Mr. Haverty say, Major Cummins is very much in your favor. He told me he would add his name to anything bearing your signature." De Smet to Verreydt, June 25, 1849 (A). In 1855 Cummins indorsed Father Duerinck's petition for an increase of the government allowance for pupils from fifty dollars to seventy-five dollars. At a later period De Smet gave testimony to Cummins's friendly attitude to the Catholic Indian missions.

⁴⁴ Hoecken's Diary (F).

private funds to the extent of \$465 32⁴⁵ The first official report on the schools was addressed by Father Verreydt to Major Cummins from "Pottawatomie Station, Kansas River," September 5, 1849

A beautiful site for a settlement and a location for our mission has been selected one mile north of Kansas river, 38° 15', the two dwelling-houses for the boys and girls stand at a suitable distance from one another, so as to separate the male from the female scholars, which is so requisite and proper Said buildings are substantial log-houses, two stories high, 22 by 58 feet in front The rooms are well arranged for ventilation, having windows so situated as to admit the air on all sides Eie long I hope we will be ready to accommodate comfortably the number of scholars specified in the contract, and many more It appears that nearly all our Pottawatomies are determined to send their children to our manual labor school, and to no other school whatsoever If we receive them, will the government defray our expenses which we will necessarily incur to educate and board them?

The number of boarders, both male and female, already registered, is 57, in addition to which there are ten day scholars, as you will find in the tabular statement They are all well supplied with wholesome food, and are suitably clothed, order and cheerfulness are apparent throughout the establishments

The male portion of the school is under the immediate charge of the Rev M Gaillant [Gaillant] and myself

I do not wish to make it appear as if we had given all that strict attention which we intend to give to our scholars when our manual-labor school will be in full operation You know the embarrassing circumstances in which we were placed during the time of the cholera, by almost a constant avocation to attend the sick It is, however, highly gratifying to me to be able to state, that our pupils of both schools have made more progress than I really anticipated, notwithstanding all the difficulties that were thrown in our way Indeed, almost all our scholars promise much for the future They have five hours' attendance each day, viz three in the morning, and two in the afternoon, so as to conciliate, as much as possible, the obligation of attending school with agriculture or manual labor, which the department requires⁴⁶

Some miles below St Mary's on the south side of the Kaw was the Baptist Potawatomie school Rev. Johnston Lykins, superintendent of the school in 1849, described the site as "half a mile south of the Kansas, nine miles below Uniontown, the trading post of the nation, and a half mile west of the great California road from Kansas, Westport and Independence" The Baptist school previously conducted at

⁴⁵ De Smet to Orlando Brown, January 5, 1850 (A) The five thousand dollars were paid to De Smet in two instalments, one of two thousand, January 23, 1849, and the other of three thousand dollars, October 20, 1849

⁴⁶ War Department Congressional Documents, 550, p 1091

Pottawatomie Creek on the old reserve was reopened on the new site March 20, 1848, with Miss E. McCoy in charge. It was in operation, therefore, before the arrival of the Jesuits at St. Mary's. In September, 1849, forty pupils, male and female, were in attendance, under the direction of the Rev. J. Ashburn, A. M., as principal teacher. One may read between the following lines with which Dr. Lykins, as he was generally known, concludes his school report of September 30, 1849: "It is a leading motive with us to Americanize the Indians and attach them to our country and institutions, as, in our estimation, upon success in this depends much in regard to their future well being. A foreign influence must ever engender prejudice and produce a want of confidence in our government and people."⁴⁷ Owing to lack of patronage and other difficulties the Baptist Potawatomie school was suspended in the mid-fifties, reopened about 1858 and again suspended at the beginning of the Civil War, its management being at this juncture in the hands of the Southern Baptist Convention of Louisville. It was recommenced in April, 1866, this time by the Baptist Missionary Association of Boston, but was again suspended after a brief trial.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *RCIA*, 1849, p. 151. Dr. Johnston Lykins, son-in-law of Rev. Isaac McCoy, translated the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Acts of the Apostles into Potawatomie. Lykins County, Kansas, is named for him. The following contemporary commendation of him is by Duke W. Simpson: "Dr. Lykins is a physician, a man of talent, firm and decided in his course, is a good democrat, was the friend of General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Polk, although he was appointed to that station by Mr. Wilkins under Mr. Tyler's administration." (H)

⁴⁸ The Baptist school drew chiefly from the Prairie Potawatomie, at least so Agent Murphy reported. Dr. Lykins's report of 1850 classifies the pupils as six Chippewa, ten Ottawa and thirty-four Potawatomie. The school-register for this or a closely subsequent year carries the names Bourassa, Beaubien and Darling (Ottawa), Petelle (Chippewa), Bertrand, Burnet, Lafromboise and Wilmet (Potawatomie). Four Wilmets, Esther, Charlotte, Mary and Archange are entered. The name, a phonetic spelling for Ouilmette, is perpetuated in the north-shore Chicago suburb, Wilmette, laid out on a claim of Archange, wife of Antoine Ouilmette, pioneer Chicago settler and progenitor of the Kansas Wilmets. Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 25, note 22.

Miss McCoy, a niece of Isaac McCoy and teacher at the Baptist school in 1849, was anxious to secure a half-a-dozen French Bibles. "If the Board, or other benevolent person will not bear the expense, tell Mr. Dyer to take that much of my salary. There are a number of half-French and Indian Catholics who read French and have expressed a wish, indeed they appear anxious to have Bibles and say they want to know the truth and would believe the Bible. They were asked if the priest would allow them to read, they replied they would not ask him. . . . Our congregations are good, and notwithstanding the fierce array of enemies, we have many devoted friends, among whom are the chief and his counselors. But his life has been threatened by these Jesuits if he does not consent to their plans [!]" Calvin McCormick, *The Memoirs of Miss Eliza McCoy* (Dallas, Texas, 1892), p. 74. Mrs. M. A. Lykins, appealing to Manypenny, February 27,

Far away in Rome John Roothaan, the Jesuit General, was not left uninformed as to the fortunes of the struggling little mission which his men had set up on the banks of the Kaw. To a communication from Father Verreydt, who in keeping with Jesuit custom had sent him a *Relation* of the mission, he replied appreciatively: "I have read with the liveliest interest the *Relation* which you addressed to me May 22 last on the Mission of St. Mary of the Lake on the Kansas River. I cannot tell you how interesting I found it. It is indeed just that a Mission which has endured so many trials should have none to suffer on our part. I shall lend you every aid as far as depends on me. Do not let yourself be discouraged, my dear Father, this mission, I hope, will not be ruined—like the others. Establish there solidly the devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, it will be an effective preservative. I wish you to continue giving me from time to time details of your experiences and the results of your labors."⁴⁹

On September 29, 1849, Father Verreydt accompanied Fathers Elet and De Smet on their departure from St. Mary's at the close of the visitation made by the vice-provincial. He was assigned to parochial work in St. Louis and never afterwards returned to the Indian mission-field. His ministry among the red men had begun in 1837 when he relieved Van Quickenborne at the Kickapoo Mission. From the Kickapoo he went to the Potawatomi, among whom he opened the station at Council Bluffs, remaining there as superior during the few years the residence was maintained. From Council Bluffs he was transferred to Sugar Creek, still in the capacity of superior, and from the latter place made the chief preliminary arrangements for the opening of the Osage Mission. Finally, on the removal of the Potawatomi to their new

1855, for payment of a claim made by her husband, Dr. Lykins, for expenses incurred in allowing medicines to the Indians, maintains that earlier liquidation of the claim had been "suspended at the instance of base and corrupt men, the Ewings and foreign Jesuits" (F). The writer has met with no evidence, either in the files of the Indian Office or elsewhere, that the missionaries at St. Mary's protested against Dr. Lykins's claim. Apparently a heavy atmosphere of Jesuitophobia hung at all times over the Baptist Potawatomi Mission. The files of the Indian Office contain a copy of a spurious Jesuit oath forwarded by Dr. J. Lykins from Pottawatomie Creek, October 1, 1843, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, S. Hartley Crawford, "that you may judge for yourself of the motives which govern certain men now located in this section of the Indian country."

⁴⁹ Roothaan à Verreydt, August 20, 1849 (AA). The Potawatomi Mission, both on the Sugar Creek and Kaw River sites, was at times designated as "St. Mary's of the Lake" (*du Lac*). The significance of the name is not clear, unless it be an echo of "*Notre Dame du Lac*," a sometime name of Notre Dame University. The lake on the university grounds was a familiar spot to the Potawatomi of Northern Indiana. Roothaan's allusion to certain missions as having been ruined is apparently to the Kickapoo, Council Bluffs and Sugar Creek missions.

reserve, he followed them to open the Mission of St Mary's on the Kaw. His residence among the Potawatomi lasted eleven years, during which time his efforts were directed to organizing and advancing the missions in a material way rather than to direct apostolic work among the tribe. Unlike Hoecken and Gailland, he never mastered the language of the Potawatomi, these were missionaries, *in proprio sensu*, meeting the Indians in their own wigwams and conversing with them in their own tongue. But Father Verreydt had an equally difficult, if less striking, task to discharge. It devolved upon him to manage successively the temporal concerns of three Potawatomi missions, a duty which had few consolations to relieve its tedium and which, with the pitifully slender resources at his command, called for patience at every step.

On November 3, 1849, Verreydt's successor arrived at the mission in the person of Father John Baptist Duerinck, who was accompanied by the lay brother, Daniel Doneen, and a lay teacher, Ryan by name. Father Duerinck came from St Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky, where he had filled the office of procurator or treasurer, after having held similar posts in the colleges of his order in St Louis and Cincinnati. He was now forty years of age, gifted with excellent health and splendid energy and in the designs of Providence was to give his remaining years to the upbuilding of St Mary's Mission. When a young professor he had achieved distinction as a botanist and his herbaria at St Louis University and St Xavier's College, Cincinnati, evoked appreciative comment from men of science. In Cincinnati particularly his work in scientific botany brought him to the notice of the Botanical Society of that city which not only conferred upon him a life-membership, but offered him a chair of physiological botany, a distinction which circumstances compelled him to decline. In his honor a newly discovered plant received the name *Prunus Duerinckiana*. Of more direct utility to his order was his talent for business management and this talent he was now to have ample opportunities to exercise as head of the important Mission of St Mary's.

§ 6. CHRISTIAN HOECKEN'S LAST DAYS

In the spring of 1850 Father Christian Hoecken was busily engaged in carrying out his superior's instructions that two chapels be built for the convenience of the Indians living south of the Kansas River. In June of the same year he set out on a missionary trip to the Sioux country, from which he did not return to St Mary's until January, 1851. To Father De Smet he sent a vivid narrative of this trip, which

was replete with hardship and almost had a tragic issue⁵⁰ He had scarcely returned to St. Mary's from the Sioux country when he was unexpectedly called upon to make another journey, this time to Indiana, on a mission the nature of which appears from a letter addressed to Father Elet by Father Sorin, the founder of Notre Dame University

Mr A Coquillard of South Bend has this day handed me a letter of the Rev T. Hockan [C Hoecken] dated December last from Bellevue and stating that he will likely go thence to St Louis Mr Coquillard requests me to beg of your Reverence in behalf of the excellent above missionary, leave to come and assist him to gather and move down to the far West a number of Indians scattered around here and with whom he is well acquainted already Mr Coquillard has now a regular contract with the Government and will only wait for an answer to him in order to commence I need not add how glad we should all feel in seeing again this good father, but I must not conceal from you that unless he comes and speaks himself to those good Indians, many will not move, and when I consider the extreme dangers to which they are just at this time exposed, I cannot hesitate in saying that his visit here must be attended by truly important results If then in any way possible, I would entreat your Reverence to grant him and all of us the present favor⁵¹

The Sugar Creek Potawatomi, at this moment settled around St Mary's, had formerly occupied lands in northern and central Indiana. A remnant of the tribe was still to be found in their old haunts and an attempt to remove them thence to the Indian Territory was now to be made De Smet being of opinion that the spiritual no less than temporal well-being of the Indians would be served by the proposed removal, an order was sent to Hoecken to repair at once to South Bend in answer to Sorin's appeal⁵² Within some weeks the missionary was on the ground to lend his services to Mr Coquillard, whose plan how-

⁵⁰ CR, *De Smet*, 4 1250 Other letters of Hoecken relative to the same journey are in the Mission Province Archives Cf also John F O'Connor, S J, *The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley an Account of the Missionary and Educational Work of the Jesuits of St Mary's, Kansas* (ms), Chap V, "The Last Days of Father Hoecken" Copy in St Louis University Library "You know, Rev father my dispositions, dispose of me according to your good will and wish—I wish to work, to toil, to suffer as much as I can and as long as I live—I hope and trust in God to give me rest and repose, not in this side, but beyond the grave" C Hoccken to Flet, Bellevue, December 23, 1856 (A)

⁵¹ Sorin to Elet, University of N D du Lac, January 20, 1851 (A) Alexis Coquillard, Indian trader and founder of South Bend, Indiana Elmore Barce, *The Land of the Potawatomie* (Fowler, Indiana, 1919), p 59

⁵² "We all rejoiced to hear of this movement in favor of these Indians, fully assured that it will be for their happiness in this world and hereafter" De Smet to Sorin, January 30, 1851 (A)

ever for the removal of the Indians proved in the end to be abortive, either for lack of proper authorization from the government, as De Smet's correspondence seems to intimate, or for other reasons⁵³ At all events, Hoecken, in answer to an urgent summons from Father Elet, returned to St. Louis in May, 1851, without having achieved the object of his mission. An incident of his visit to Indiana has been preserved. On the Sunday before Ascension Day he preached in the church of Notre Dame University in Potawatomi for the benefit of a group of Indians who sat before him, many of them having travelled a long distance on foot to listen to his words. "It was the first sermon in an Indian tongue that had ever been preached in Northern Indiana," wrote one who was present on the occasion. "Father Hoecken speaks the idiom of the Pottowatomies with surprising facility and rapidity. There was from beginning to end an uninterrupted torrent of speech that reminded the listeners of the eloquence of Ulysses whose hurrying words Homer compares to the rapid and countless flakes of snow in the wintry storm. It was interesting to watch the swarthy faces of the Indians beaming with an intelligence and enthusiasm seldom revealed by their apathetic and passionless features, as their sweetly flowing tongue, as mellifluous and liquid as the softest Greek or Italian, fell upon their eager and delighted ears."⁵⁴

Returning to St. Louis, Hoecken found De Smet preparing to leave for the Great Council of all the Indian tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, which was to be held in the neighborhood of Fort Laramie on the upper Platte. The government had enlisted the services of De Smet as intermediary with the natives, over whom he possessed acknowledged influence, and much good was expected from his presence at the council. Hoecken having been appointed by his superiors to accompany De Smet on the expedition, the pair took passage June 7 on board the steamer *St. Ange*, Captain La Barge, bound for Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, eighteen hundred miles northwest of St. Louis. A few days out from St. Louis cholera broke out among the passengers.

⁵³ "I have arrived here safe, *Deo adjuvante et sic disponente*. May His name be honored and glorified by all. Since my arrival I have been continually at work, *ad majorem Dei Gloriam* in instructing, preaching, hearing confessions, etc. he [Alexis Coquillard] gets 55 doll per head—he has dragoons at his disposal if necessary (he will not make use of them)—he has not the contract exclusively, he has a share in it. he has made a great many expenses already in buying horses and wagons, etc." Hoecken to Elet, April 13, 1851 (A).

⁵⁴ *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), May, 1851. That Hoecken delivered on this occasion the first sermon in Potawatomi ever heard in northern Indiana is very probably a misstatement of fact. The eighteenth-century Jesuits attached to the old Potawatomi mission close to the Indiana-Michigan line no doubt knew the language of their Indian flock.

of the *St Ange*, many of whom fell victims to the epidemic, Father Hoecken among the number. The circumstances of his death were graphically recorded by Father De Smet.

The inundations of the rivers, the continual rains of the spring and the sudden transitions from heat to cold are, in this climate, sure precursors of malignant fevers. The cholera appears to assume an epidemic type in these regions. Disease in many forms soon appeared on board the *St Ange*. From the moment of its advent a mournful silence took the place of the rude shouts and boisterous conversations of our travellers. Six days had hardly elapsed from our departure, when the boat resembled a floating hospital. We were 500 miles from St. Louis when the cholera broke out in the steamer. On the tenth a clerk [Louis Willcocks of New York] of the American Fur Company, vigorous and in the prime of manhood, was suddenly seized with all the symptoms of cholera, and expired after a few hours' illness. The following days several others were attacked with the same malady, and in a short time thirteen fell victims to the epidemic.

A bilious attack confined me to my bed nearly ten days. Good Father Hoecken devoted himself to the sick night and day, with a zeal at once heroic and indefatigable. He visited them, he assisted them in their sufferings, he prepared and administered remedies, he rubbed the cholera patients with camphor, he heard the confessions of the dying, and lavished upon them the consolations of religion. He then went and blessed their graves on the bank of the river, and buried them with the prayers and ceremonies prescribed by the Roman ritual. This beloved brother had naturally a hardy constitution, and was habituated to a life of privation, but the journeys and continued labors of the mission among the Indians had greatly weakened it, and his assiduous and fatiguing attentions to the sick completely exhausted him. In vain I warned him, begging him to spare himself, his zeal silenced every other consideration, instead of taking precautions against exposure, he seemed to delight in it. It gave me pain to see him fulfilling this heroic work of charity alone, but I was in such a state of debility that I was incapable of offering him the least help. On the 18th fears were entertained that my illness was assuming the form of cholera. I requested Father Hoecken to hear my confession and give me extreme unction, but at the very moment he was called to another sick person, who was in extremity. He replied, going, "I see no immediate danger for you, to-morrow we will see." He had assisted three dying ones that day. Alas! never shall I forget the scene that occurred some hours later. Father Hoecken's cabin was next to mine.

Between one and two o'clock at night when all on board were calm and silent, and the sick in their wakefulness heard naught but the sighs and moans of their fellow-sufferers, the voice of Father Hoecken was suddenly heard. He was calling me to his assistance. Awaking from a deep sleep, I recognized his voice, and dragged myself to his pillow. I found him ill, and even in extremity. He asked me to hear his confession, I at once acquiesced in his desire. Dr. Evans, a physician of great experience and of remarkable charity, endeavored to relieve him, and watched by him, but his cares and

remedies proved fruitless I administered extreme unction, he responded to all the prayers with a self-possession and piety which increased the esteem that all on board had conceived for him I could see him sinking As I was myself in so alarming a state, and fearing that I might be taken away at any moment, and thus share his last abode in this land of pilgrimage and exile, I besought him to hear my confession if he were yet capable of listening to me I knelt, bathed in tears, by the dying couch of my brother in Christ—of my faithful friend—of my sole companion in the lonely desert To him in his agony, I, sick and almost dying, made my confession Strength forsook him, soon also he lost the power of speech, although he remained sensible to what was passing around him Resigning myself to God's holy will, I recited the prayers of the agonizing with the formula of the plenary indulgence, which the Church grants at the hour of death Father Hoecken, ripe for heaven, surrendered his pure soul into the hands of his Divine Redeemer on the 19th of June, 1851, twelve days after our departure from St. Louis

The passengers were deeply moved at the sight of the lifeless corpse of him who had so lately been "all to all," according to the language of the apostle Their kind father quitted them at the moment in which his services seemed to be the most necessary I shall always remember with deep gratitude the solicitude evinced by the passengers to the reverend father in his dying moments My resolution not to leave the body of the pious missionary in the desert was unanimously approved A decent coffin, very thick, and tarred within, was prepared to receive his mortal remains a temporary grave was dug in a beautiful forest, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Little Sioux, and the burial was performed with all the ceremonies of the Church, in the evening of the 19th of June, all on board assisting

About a month after, on her return, as the *St. Ange* passed near the venerated tomb, the coffin was exhumed, put on board of the boat, and transported to the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Florissant There repose the mortal remains of Father Hoecken, with those of his brethren His death, so precious in the sight of God, saddened the hearts of the passengers, but for many it was a salutary sorrow A great number had not approached the tribunal of penance during long years, immediately after the funeral they repaired one after another to my cabin to confess⁵⁵

None of the Jesuits engaged among the Potawatomi since they came to Kansas had a firmer hold on their affections than Father Hoecken The truth of the adage, *si vis amari, ama*, found obvious illustration in his career He gave himself up wholeheartedly to the service of his Indian flock and they reciprocated by affectionate regard for and loyalty to his person Mastery of Potawatomi was a factor, too, that made for the success of his ministry It evoked the admiration of the Indians and won a hearing for the truths which he was able to

⁵⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 2 640-643

bring home to them with effective eloquence. A sometime Indian pupil of St Mary's, Joseph Moose, portrayed Father Hoecken in these words

Without interfering with the duties of his mission and [his duties] to God, he was among the Indians in their sports and hunts, and in the spring, when the Indians helped one another to plant corn, the most industrious figure in the crowd was the Jesuit Father, with a large plantation hoe, an apron sack full of seed corn and a big Dutch pipe in his mouth. He came, indeed, to teach the Indians civilization. He owned one yoke of oxen, poorly kept, going the rounds from one family to another to do the breaking. It is said that he was charitable to an excessive degree. Being in the company of Indians so much, he spoke their language with the fluent ease of a native.⁵⁶

Of the Jesuit Indian missionaries of the day no one was more intimately associated with Father Hoecken than Father Verreydt, the two being fellow-laborers at Council Bluffs, Sugar Creek and St Mary's. In his memoirs Verreydt penned this tribute to his colleague

As I well knew the good and zealous character of Father C. Hoecken, I was glad to be with him and he with me for we always did perfectly agree with one another. I cannot but admire his ardent zeal. He was of a zealous disposition, not by fits and starts, but by a regular uninterrupted inclination to forward the glory of God as much as lay in his power. He had gained the confidence of the Indians. They dearly loved and respected him. Humble and simple in his manners, but vigorous and animated in his delivery in the pulpit, it was then that he truly appeared what he was, a man of God. His words flowed from his lips as if he were endued with inspiration. Truly, if he had had the chance our young scholastics have at present to further his education, he would have been an ornament to our Society. For I never knew one who surpassed him as to his memory. He would say the little hours of his Breviary almost without looking at them. The Pottowatomie and Kickapoo languages he spoke in a short time with ease, though not as well, as I understood, as Father M. Gailland. He knew the French and English languages well. He surely wrote Latin with ease, for, as I witnessed on a certain occasion, when we were in trouble and were obliged to answer a letter which we received from the general, he answered it in Latin with not the least trouble. During Mass on Sundays F. C. Ho[e]cken, whilst he was preaching, exhibited all the true zeal of a missionary. He was truly a zealous Father, constantly occupied from morning till night with the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indians. The sick were never neglected by him. It appeared to have been his glory to attend the sick, not only as a doctor for the maladies of the soul, but as a physician for body.

⁵⁶ *The Indian Advocate*, July, 1890, cited in *Dial* (St Marys, Kans.), March, 1891.

We had some medical books which he now and then would consult and it appears that he had some knowledge of the medical art. Anyhow he was often occupied in preparing medicine for the sick since we had received from the government about \$300 worth of medicine for the sick.

Father Hoecken's position of influence in the missionary activities that centered around St. Mary's was destined to be filled by Father Maurice Gailland, the Swiss priest who had accompanied Father Verreydt up the left bank of the Kaw on the day that saw the founding of the mission. Presaging the fact that the mantle of the deceased missionary was to fall upon Gailland's shoulders was an incident that occurred during the first circuit of the Indian villages made by the latter after tidings of Hoecken's death had reached the mission. In one of the villages Gailland had announced to the assembled Indians the news of their pastor's death, but as he was fatigued with travel he called upon an Indian catechist to address the congregation in his place. The catechist, having delivered a eulogy on Father Hoecken, added by way of exhortation: "Our Father is dead—but another one has taken his place. Now you ought to look upon him as also your Father, we should have for him the same respect that we had for the other. He is deputed by the same Master, Jesus Christ, who has deputed both one and the other. The deputy has changed, not so the one who sent him or the prayers they taught us." Gailland's residence at St. Mary's was uninterrupted down to his death in 1877. His diaries, historical sketches and letters are a capital source of information for the history of the mission, while his Potawatomi dictionary, still unpublished, attests the mastery he acquired over the language of his spiritual children.⁵⁷

A letter of Gailland's written in the fall of 1852 describes condi-

⁵⁷ "The work which I undertook at the request of good Father De Smet will take time and will scarcely be finished before six or eight months. metaphysical words are difficult to render in Potawatomi, seeing that our good Indians have not yet gone to school in philosophy, already I have needed two weeks of reflection to find the expression corresponding to the didactic term, *to abstract*. But if I succeed in completing my work as I intend to do and in thus satisfying the excellent Father to whom the Indian missions owe so much and to whom I myself have a thousand obligations, I shall neither regret my time nor labor. It is not necessary to send me Father Hoecken's Grammar and Dictionary, it is too superficial a work and besides most of the rules given there are supposititious." Gailland à Druyts, October 11, 1857. (A) Gailland's English-Potawatomi dictionary (unpublished) is in the possession of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. According to a letter, April 4, 1916, from F. W. Hodge to Rev. Charles Worpelberg, archivist of St. Mary's College, it appears that Dunbar did not collaborate with Father Gailland in the compilation of his dictionary, as stated in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 10:105 (F).

tions among the Catholic Potawatomi at this period. It was addressed to the directors of the French Association of the Propagation of the Faith.

Our neophytes show themselves more and more docile to our advice, their assiduity in attending church, in spite of the severest cold weather, their pious attitude in the house of God, their exactitude in approaching the sacraments, continue to afford us the greatest consolation. Their piety is so much the more praiseworthy as they have constantly before their eyes the sad example of some of the whites, whose whole study seems to be to pervert them by their perfidious advice and an unbounded laxity of morals. A certain number of families, to our great joy, not content with having cultivated good fields, are beginning to breed domestic animals for their own use and are already arrived at a state of comparatively easy circumstances, which makes them prefer their present life to that of hunting. One of the principal objects of our solicitude is to inspire them with a taste for labor and domestic life, at all times infinitely more advantageous than the precarious means to be derived from hunting, as well in a temporal as in a spiritual sense. When once you have carried this point, you have made a great advance and have obtained everything from the savage. This is the object of all our endeavors at the present moment, in the exhortations that we make to them from the pulpit, we always revert to these main points, that the Great Spirit made labour a law, that He expects from them an absolute renunciation of their savage customs, that unless they show themselves obedient unto His voice, their lot will still remain deplorable, that the American government will refuse them the right of citizenship and continue to drive them back from their states, until at length their race will become entirely extinct. The respect which they show to the Black-robe, in conjunction with past experience, enables them to understand that these lessons are not a mere display of words, but are averred truth, attested by their preceding misfortunes, hence, those who manifest dispositions of obedience are unable to find terms in which to express their joy at having adopted this new system of life which we recommend to them. "How foolish," they continually exclaim, "are those who live under tents and obtain a livelihood by such arduous toils. They might have hunting-grounds around their houses and lead a much more happy life in the bosom of their families."

To give you some idea of their docility in this respect, I will merely instance one example. In the Spring of 1851, while I was visiting the Indians of a village to the south of the Kansas, where we have a small church, one of them returned from his hunting expedition after an absence of nearly five months. Knowing him to be firm in his faith, I thought I might speak to him in more severe terms than I usually employ. I said to him, "How can you imagine that you serve the Great Spirit when you spend half of the year without once entering the house of prayer, you have now been five months without seeing the Black-robe, without hearing his word, making your confession, or receiving holy communion. Is this taking care of your soul and attending to the salvation of your wife and children? Is this the

fulfillment of your promises made at baptism? If death had surprised you in the distant forests, what would have become of your soul? Is it proper for a servant of the Great Spirit to associate with those who do not adore him? If all the Christians acted as you do, the Black-robe would have no business to remain among people who absented themselves almost entirely from his direction." "Father," he said, "all this is very true, but we have here only a few gounds and a little maize, would you have us die of hunger?" "On the contrary," I replied, "I want to see you in abundance. Let the red man follow the example of the white man and his house will never see want. Fence out a large field, sow plenty of maize, plant potatoes, and wheat if possible. Sell some of your horses, buy some cows and pigs, keep hens, and you will not need to have recourse to hunting for your livelihood." With these words I left him, resolving to await the result of the lesson I just gave him. About a month after this, as I visited this village, he sent to me one of his daughters to present me with some milk and butter as an announcement that he had already profited by my advice. He had watched the troops of emigrants on their way to establish themselves in Oregon, taking with them immense herds of cows. He had obtained three pair of oxen and several milk cows, by exchanging his horses for them. I expressed to him my great satisfaction for having done what every sensible Indian ought to do. Several others have followed his example. The village of St. Mary, in particular, has already acquired a name among the Americans, who speak highly of the progress our Indians have made in civilization.

I feel bound to admit, Gentlemen, that the situation of our Mission wonderfully facilitates the progress of our neophytes. The soil is exceedingly fertile along the rivers, and the immense prairies by which we are surrounded would supply abundant pasturage to thousands of cattle, if they would take the trouble to rear them. Moreover, we are situated on the road to Oregon and California, every spring crowds of emigrants pass through our territory, whoever has provisions or horses to sell, may easily procure the means of supporting a family. It is, indeed, morally certain that a military road will be formed through the middle of our village, which will afford to the Indians still greater facilities for trading with their horses and the produce of their fields. The advantage of our position, in this respect, is so well understood, that it excites the envy even of the white population, and gives us no little apprehensions for the future. It is proposed, even now, to sell the land to the government of the United States. Should this course be adopted, we are not sure that we may remain in possession of the locality. We may be compelled to seek an asylum among the savage tribes of the Rocky Mountains.

Whatever may be the impenetrable designs of Providence, we are determined to wander from desert to desert with our neophytes, and devote to them even the last drop of our blood, for we cannot abandon to the designs of the devil so many innocent victims. We trust they will continue to edify us in their misfortunes, as they have done in their prosperity. As a pledge of their future good conduct, we have the liveliness of their faith, which has enabled them but recently to undergo a rigid ordeal, to which

it pleased the Lord to subject them, I mean the ravages committed by the small-pox. This fatal disease declared itself, in the first instance, in the village of the infidels, about the end of the summer of 1851. We tried to prevent it by vaccinating all those who had not yet been operated upon, on two occasions we sent for vaccine matter from the United States, but the vaccination had no effect. At length, about the middle of December, the disease broke out in the village of St. Mary, precisely at the time when the cold is most severe. For two months it raged with the greatest virulence, five persons in one house were sometimes all attacked at once, scarcely a day passed without a funeral, often three or four. The dead and the sick were so numerous that we had difficulty in finding persons to dig the graves. Death has carried off the elite of the village. One thing, however, afforded us consolation in our affliction, and that was the patience and heroic resignation with which our neophytes endured their sufferings and met their death.

During the whole time that the disease continued among us, those who escaped attended the church with redoubled assiduity. Some who had been accustomed to go hunting were unwilling to leave the village for fear of carrying away with them a germ of the disease and dying at a distance from the priest. We were apprehensive that after so fatal a blow to our village, it would be left deserted, but thanks to God, others have come to fill up the depleted ranks. Several pagans have embraced the faith, and our church is even better filled than before. The sacred hymns, religious ceremonies, the ornaments added to the church of St. Mary, have attracted several families to our village. The strangers who come here are delighted with the good dispositions of the Indians and at the order that prevails among them. This spring two or three young men had secretly introduced some spirits, and for two nights in succession had abandoned themselves to drunkenness and other shameful irregularities. On the following Sunday the chief held a council with the principal persons of the village of St. Mary, when it was unanimously agreed and enacted by a sort of penal code, that corporal punishment should be inflicted upon anyone who should be found in future introducing liquor into the village, who should be found drunk, playing cards, or carrying on criminal intercourse. These rules having been accepted, the chief resolved to give an example of vigor. "Although," said he, "we cannot inflict punishment for past faults, yet in order to intimidate those who will not submit to the measures which we have just adopted, as the chief, I order that an exemplary punishment be inflicted on my daughter, who has committed a serious act of immorality." The chastisement was at once inflicted. This law had the effect of reducing everything to a state of order, and drunkenness, by which we are, as it were, surrounded (for it prevails among all the neighboring pagans) has disappeared from our village.

I ought, also, Gentlemen, to speak to you of our schools, but that I may avoid a repetition of what I said of them last year, I will simply add that that of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart excites the admiration of all, it is of the greatest service to the mission. The girls brought up therein are models of piety, when they return to their homes, the majority of them

are equal to the white women in point of intelligence, and the management of domestic affairs. Two of the oldest pupils of their establishment have been so much edified by the examples of humility, patience and devotedness of their mistresses that they also have expressed a wish to become Religious of the Sacred Heart, this favor has been granted them, and last spring they went down to St. Louis to go through their novitiate.

I cannot either refrain from expressing to you the pleasure which we experienced at a visit of the Rev. Father [De] Smet, the founder of the Oregon Missions. After having ascended the Missouri as far as the Yellowstone and visited Fort Laramie, baptizing on his way hundreds of little children, he arrived at St. Mary, in the beginning of October, 1851. He had with him a numerous suite of Indians of different nations, Sioux, Crows, Cheyenne and Arapahoes. These savages remained three days at our Mission, during which they gave us a representation of their favourite dances, that of war and that of the hair. In preparation for these ceremonies, they painted their faces in various colours, which gave them a frightful appearance. They then visited and exhorted us, each in his own language, to come to their tribes, and to do for them what we have done for the Potowatomies. "*Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis*" ("The little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it to them"). May it please heaven to send some zealous missionaries to enlighten these people seated for so many centuries in the shadow of death! ⁵⁸

§ 7 THE VICARIATE EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

In 1851 an event occurred that was to advance the modest little mission-post of St. Mary's at a bound to something like a place of importance in the ecclesiastical world. This was its selection as residential headquarters of a Catholic bishop.

The Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1842, brought about the erection of the American territory west of the Rocky Mountains, the so-called "Oregon country," into an ecclesiastical province with archbishop and suffragans. The Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1849, undertook the supplementary task of organizing the "Indian country," as it was called, the far-flung stretch of plain and prairie that lay between the Missouri River and the Rockies. Pius IX. was accordingly petitioned by the council to erect all the territory flanked by the mountains and the western limits of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, into a vicariate-apostolic. Moreover, the names of three Missouri Jesuits, Fathers Bax, De Coen and Miége, were proposed to the Holy Father that a choice of one of them might be made to head the new vicariate, the incumbent of which was to be consecrated bishop. Miége's name, so it appears, was the first on the *terna*. "The Bishops

⁵⁸ *Ann. Prop.*, XIV, September 6, 1852. The translation of Gaillard's letter is from a London edition (14 274) of selections from the French *Annales*.

in council," Father Elet informed the General, "have resolved to propose one of our Fathers to the Holy See as a future vicar-apostolic. Father De Smet was proposed, but I answered that he would not suit. The Archbishop of St. Louis [Kenrick] then spoke to me of Father Miége and I answered that he would suit, but that I thought it my duty to refrain from pronouncing for or against the measure" ⁵⁹

On August 1, 1849, the Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Fransoni, wrote to Father Roothaan "I am already aware of the sentiments of your Paternity in regard to the promotion of subjects of the Society to ecclesiastical dignities, but there is question here not of an episcopal see, but merely of a vicariate-apostolic and a mission among savage tribes" ⁶⁰ The prefect was thus at pains to point out the real character of the distinction which it was now proposed to bestow on a Jesuit, and he did so, it would appear, because only two days before he had received from Father Roothaan a protest against the reported nomination of Fathers Accolti and Mengarini to bishoprics. But the General had no objection to their appointment as vicars-apostolic, "in missionary countries in the strict sense and particularly in our Rocky Mountain missions" ⁶¹ However, the proposed vicariate east of the Rocky Mountains did not appear to fall in this latter category, so Roothaan made known to Fransoni, September 5, 1849 "It does not seem to me that the same can equally be said of the new vicariate for the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, for it will not be long before this territory is invaded by the Americans [whites] and it will not differ from the other civilized dioceses. I say nothing of the scarcity of means in these missions, one of which [St. Mary's among the Flatheads] after flourishing for five years has been almost destroyed by the proximity of the whites and by the introduction of whisky and other liquors which are so deadly to the savages." Nevertheless, Roothaan concludes his letter to the Prefect of the Propaganda, if a Jesuit must be chosen for the new vicariate, then Miége may well be recommended for the post ⁶² De Smet, at this time socius or assistant to the vice-provincial, hastened to reassure the General that no harm could possibly befall the Society from its accepting a forlorn vicariate in the wilderness of the American West "As to the Vicariate-Apostolic of Reverend Father Miége, he would in my opinion fill this post with considerable success. I know not whether I deceive myself, but I am firmly convinced that this dignity has nothing about it for the person invested therewith that

⁵⁹ Elet à Roothaan, June 13, 1849 (AA)

⁶⁰ Fransoni à Roothaan, August 1, 1849 (AA)

⁶¹ Roothaan à Fransoni, July 30, 1849 (AA)

⁶² Roothaan à Fransoni, September 5, 1849 (AA)

would not under every respect be in perfect conformity with the spirit of abnegation, mortification and sacrifice which the Society professes, for his life in short would be the life of the Indian with all its miseries and all its privations " ⁶³

John Baptist Miège, a native of La Forêt in Savoy, now only thirty-six years of age, had arrived in America in June, 1848, with Father Behrens's party of exiled Jesuits of the province of Upper Germany. He was himself a member of the province of Turin and his object in coming to the new world was to labor among the Indians of the Oregon Mission. But his hopes in this direction were not to be realized though he was assigned in 1849 to a projected Sioux mission that was never set on foot ⁶⁴. As things turned out, his actual duties in the vice-province became those of professor of moral theology in the seminary opened at Florissant to meet the needs of the refugee German scholastics domiciled in the Missouri vice-province in 1848. Later he was at St. Louis University where he took his turn with other members of the staff as prefect or supervisor of the large study-hall of the institution. Here in St. Louis on October 20, 1850, he received the brief of Pius IX under date of July 23 of the same year appointing him Vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory. Father Roothaan, on being assured that the Holy Father was to insist on Miège's appointment, had inquired of Cardinal Barnabo, secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda, whether in place of a vicariate-apostolic with the episcopal character a prefecture-apostolic would not suffice, but he was answered by the secretary that, the Pope having approved the recommendation of the Propaganda, the matter would have to stand as it was ⁶⁵. The papal document which Miège now held in his hands constituted him vicar-apostolic "for the territory lying to the east of the Rocky Mountains and not included within the limits of the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota," and made him bishop-elect "with the title of a church *in partibus infidelium*" Moreover, it released him "from the obligation of not accepting any prelacy outside of the Society" and from "the law of not declining the counsel of the General", and it said in express terms, "we inform you that while being Vicar Apostolic, you

⁶³ De Smet à Roothaan, June 10, 1849 (AA)

⁶⁴ Cf. Chap. XXVI, § 3. Though the form Miège is a common one, the Bishop usually signed his name Miège. For a scholarly account of Bishop Miège's career, cf. Mary Paul Fitzgerald, Sister of Charity of Leavenworth, *John Baptist Miège, S. J., 1815-1884, First Vicar Apostolic of the Indian Territory a Study in Frontier History*, in *Historical Records and Studies* (United States Catholic Historical Society, New York), 24 (1934). Cf. also J. C. Garin, *Notices Biographiques sur Mgr J. B. Miège, Premier Apostolique du Kansas* (Moutiers, 1886).

⁶⁵ Barnabo à Roothaan, August 20, 1850 (AA)

are also a Regular and the chief Superior of the priests of your Society in the Mission”⁶⁶

As Father Miége had not at this time taken his final vows as a Jesuit, he was not under the obligation incumbent on the professed members of the Society to refuse ecclesiastical dignities unless imposed upon them by the Holy See. Young, inexperienced, and honestly diffident of his own ability to measure up to the requirements of the episcopal office, he was minded to decline the proffered dignity if it could possibly be done. He therefore straightway returned the brief to Rome, addressing it to the Father General and writing at the same time to the Prefect of the Propaganda. To Father Roothaan he declared that he was unwilling to be released from his vow of obedience and he blamed Father Elet for having proposed him, a thing, however, which the vice-provincial on his own witness had not actually done. “Did he have your approval? He should first have asked me. After all the vow is a thing which concerns me. Father Elet does not know me, having up to that time spoken to me only once or twice and then *en passant*”⁶⁷ Evidently Miége was much distressed over the situation and the Father General hastened to tender him what consolation he could.

I have received your letter with the larger package for the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda. You would have done much better had you sent it direct to the Cardinal. How could I have added to or made any change in your letter to the Cardinal?

I sympathize with you, my dear Father. I knew for quite a while with what you were threatened, but I could not say anything to you. It was for your conscience to decide. If there was nothing in your brief except the *dispensation*, it is clear that it imposed no obligation. If there was a *precept* of his Holiness, and I fear that such may come for you, as for Father Van de Velde, there was nothing, there will be nothing to do except to obey. You understand that I shall not fail to defend you as far as I can.

I was under the impression, mistakenly, that there was question of the territory of Oregon, where missions of ours have been going on for several years, and that the erection of such a Vicariate was for the purpose of detaching these missions from the dioceses which have since been erected in that quarter. If such were the case, it was the only means of preserving these missions and the Society could not only agree to it, but even desire it, as was done in Madera. But on the east of the Mountains, what is there in a Vicariate Apostolic that a Father of the Society ought to be invested with it? I could wish you had pointed this out in your letter to the Cardinal.

⁶⁶ The text of the brief is in Donald C. Shearer, O.M. Cap., *Pontificia Americana a Documentary History of the Catholic Church, 1784-1884* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.), p. 266.

⁶⁷ Miége à Roothaan, October 23, 1850 (AA).

For the rest, my dear Father, await the issue *in peace* and pray, with confidence in our Lord

Though you have not yet made the profession and consequently are not bound by the law [not to accept ecclesiastical dignities], it was equally in the spirit of your vocation to *refuse*, since there was no precept which obliged you to accept⁶⁸

To Cardinal Barnabo Father Roothaan wrote without delay acquainting him with Miége's unwillingness to accept the brief of appointment The Cardinal's answer of December 11, 1850, made known that Pius IX "ordered [Miége] to be given an absolute precept of obedience to accept the charge laid upon him"⁶⁹ A communication from the General to the Bishop-elect followed immediately

What I gave you grounds for suspecting has actually happened The Holy Father has expressed his formal, absolute wish that you accept the vicariate-apostolic with the episcopal character Here, then, is the precept, the will of God The Briefs which you sent back are returning to you—there is nothing for you to say Submit and pray and think only of the manner in which you must conduct yourself in this new charge *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*

Still there is a consoling side 1 You continue to remain a member of the Society 2 Perhaps we have a means now of keeping up and continuing our Oregon missions west of the Mountains, which missions might be annexed to your Vicariate of the East, perhaps the only means of avoiding the extreme measure of having to abandon them definitely after so many sacrifices and such happy beginnings Courage, then, my dear Father, and confidence in God and His holy Mother! I sincerely hope you will succeed in keeping clear of a pitfall which has been the ruin of so many missions on the occasion of their receiving a bishop The latter, namely, instead of setting himself before everything else to the shaping of living temples, begins by building a cathedral and episcopal palace, plunging into debts which one is at a loss later on to pay off, and creating an abyss that swallows up the resources which ought to serve all the first and urgent needs and, lacking which, God's work can absolutely neither advance nor even remain where it is I am sure, too, that you will avoid the *dommans in cleris* ["lording it over the clergy"], that you will rather be *forma factus gregis ex animo* ["made a pattern of the flock from the heart"] You will think not only of the mission, but also and above everything else, of the missionaries, so as to preserve them *in utroque homine* [i.e. spiritually and materially] You will be also their religious Superior See to it that your government be spiritual, mild, exact, *suaviter et fortiter* Happily I can dispose in your favor of 5000 francs which I have placed to your account with Father Coué, our Procurator in Paris, recommending him to forward them to you as soon

⁶⁸ Roothaan à Miége, November 30, 1850 (AA)

⁶⁹ Barnabo à Roothaan, December 11, 1850 (AA)

as possible Kindly let me know what are the missions of your Vicariate as I have no exact knowledge on this point

Go slowly—*festina lente—chi va piano, va sano* Enough for today Once more, courage and confidence *Domine da quod jubes et jube quod vis* ["Lord, enable us to do what Thou commandest and command what Thou wilt"]⁷⁰

On March 25, 1851, Father Miége received episcopal consecration as Bishop of Messenia *in partibus infidelium* in St Francis Xavier Church, St Louis, at the hands of Archbishop Kenrick, assisted by Bishops Van de Velde and St Palais No one could have taken upon himself the plenitude of the priesthood with more reluctance "The 25th of March," he had written to Father Roothaan, "has been fixed as the day of my execution"⁷¹ To De Smet, on the other hand, the event was a most auspicious one, presaging as it did in his eyes the dawn of an era of prosperity for the Indians of the West "About eight days ago," he wrote to Gailland, "the Bulls of Reverend Fr. Miége were received by him with a mandate from Rev F[ather] General—his consecration will probably take place on the 25th of next month—please offer up the Holy Sacrifice for him on that day and to draw down the blessings of God on the whole Indian Territory—it will indeed be a great day for all those benighted tribes, seated for ages in the shadows of death—the divine light, I hope, will soon dawn upon them and the true worship of the living God shall replace their dark and profound superstitions You may expect Rev F[athe]r Miége during the month of next May and use meanwhile all your endeavors in preparing the people of St Mary's to receive the sacrament of Confirmation—he will hence proceed to the Osage nation, after which he will penetrate the desert on his first visit to his flock I shall in all probability accompany him and introduce him to the Upper Tribes"⁷² De Smet's thoughts were all taken up with the affair In a letter to Father Di Maria he said "The Bulls of good Fr Miége have left Rome again, determined to reach the far western plains and to fatten on the far-famed Buffalo-grass I shall have the happiness, the pleasure and honor to accompany his Jesuitical Lordship, either in quality of guide—perhaps as a Secretary, the Lord knows! perhaps as a Grand Vicar [vicar-general] *Quidquid sit*, I will be happy under every circumstance to find myself once more in the midst of my beloved children of the Plains"⁷³ In the event De Smet did not accompany

⁷⁰ Roothaan à Miége, December 14, 1850 (AA)

⁷¹ Miége à Roothaan, March 1, 1851 (AA)

⁷² De Smet to Gailland, February 26, 1851 (A)

⁷³ De Smet to Di Maria, February 12, 1851 (A)

Bishop Miége on his journey west. The government had secured his services for an impending council of the plains Indians and he left St. Louis for the upper Missouri Country in June, 1851, not, however, before discharging the duty that devolved upon him as procurator of the Indian missions to furnish Miége with the material equipment of his new office. "We are now scraping and begging," he informed Father Schoenmakers of the Osage Mission, "to procure a decent outfit to his Lordship" ⁷⁴

At St. Mary's the news of the erection of the new vicariate-apostolic, with Bishop Miége as its first incumbent, brought joy to the mission-staff. A most cordial congratulatory letter from Father Gailland to the Bishop-elect enlarged upon the advantages offered by St. Mary's as headquarters for the newly appointed Vicar-apostolic ⁷⁵

It is with a sentiment of profound joy that we have just learned of your nomination to the Vicariate Apostolic of the Indian Territory on this side of the Rocky Mountains. Father De Smet had conveyed to us this happy news and the American newspapers have already reproduced it in their columns. Although Reverend Father De Smet informs us at the same time of your intention to send the bulls back, we have no misgivings on that score. The Roman Curia, accustomed to these timid humilities, will find therein only a new reason for adhering to its choice and carrying out its plan. The rejected bulls, so we are convinced, will recross the spacious seas without delay, accompanied by an order in due and proper form to accept. Moreover, the Society of Jesus, so solicitous in interdicting honors to her children, is not alarmed to see their heads crowned with a glory which very few persons would have the courage to ambition. St. Ignatius himself, who exacts of his children a complete aversion for the honors which the world seeks after, made no difficulty about exhorting his own Nugnez to submit to the decrees which raised him to the Patriarchate of Ethiopia. The reason was that he saw there a burden rather than a dignity and truly it is in such circumstances if ever that one must say "*qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat*" ["he who desires a bishopric, desires a good work"]. To accept a bishopric among the Indians is to accept a life of sacrifice and abnegation.

I have announced to our Indians that the greatest of all the Black Robes was going to depute a great Black Robe to provide for the salvation of all the Indians on this side of the Great Mountain, and that this great Black Robe would probably not be long in coming to visit them. This news filled their hearts with joy. They look for his first appearance at the beginning of next spring on their return from the big hunt. A number of them have not been confirmed, they await with impatience the reception of the fullness of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. We shall profit at the same

⁷⁴ De Smet to Schoenmakers, March 7, 1851 (A)

⁷⁵ Gailland à Miége, December 1, 1850 (A).

time by this circumstance to have the blessing of the three churches built by us and of a fourth which perhaps we shall shortly build at another point.

The Potawatomes as well as our Fathers and Brothers are strongly of the persuasion that the see of the Vicar Apostolic will be here. What inspires this persuasion is [that] the nation of the Potawatomes counts in its bosom a numerous and fervent community of Christians. Being the first Indians of the Territory to embrace the Gospel, they are tempted to believe that they have a right to this preference. There is here a small community of Ouis and a community of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Jesus with two school buildings, one for boys, the other for girls. At the headquarters of the Mission is found the church, which, without being comparable to the fine churches of Europe, nevertheless deserves mention among the churches which are built or going to be built later on in the Indian Territory. One of our coadjutor-brothers here [Mazzella] has made an altar of marked beauty in the Indian country. This church deserves to be raised to the rank of a Cathedral.

Furthermore, this point is, so to speak, the center of the Vicariate, from here it will be easy to make apostolic excursions to all the savages of the Vicariate. On one side are placed the numerous nations of the Sioux, Pawnees, the Iowa, the Kickapoux, the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Sacs, the Foxes, the Kansas, the Miamies, the Peorias, the Courte-oreilles [Ottawa], the Osages, etc. Many of these people can be reached in a day's journey on horseback, in three or four days one can get to the flourishing mission of the Osages. Add to this that once acquainted with the language of the Potawatomes, one can easily understand the Sacs, the Foxes, the Kickapoux, the Courte-oreilles, and after some little labor the Miamies, the Peorias and the Piankishaws, with a little study the Pastor would then have the advantage of being able to deal directly with his flocks among the different tribes. Now there are in many of these neighboring nations numerous Christians entirely abandoned by reason of the small number of workers. The little tribe of the Peorias, for example, which is entirely Catholic, for want of assistance is going to fall back into infidelity. Now if the Bishop resided in their vicinity, he might the more easily lend them a helping hand, at first by the priests whom he would assign to these nations, and then by his frequent visits, which, I am sure, would soon restore life to these dying Christian groups. The nation of the Kansas, who are only sixty miles from our residence, has repeatedly urged a petition for French black robes. The [Indian] Agents have imposed Methodist preachers upon them and the Kansas have sent them off with disdain, adding that they wished the prayers of the French and none other. Moreover, if the Vicar Apostolic resides in this nation, he will be at once in the midst of the Indians and near enough to the whites to procure with ease from Europe and the United States the things which a thousand different needs might demand, a matter of no small importance in the Indian country. Finally, Father Hoecken, who has grown gray on the Indian missions and who, to use an expression glorious for an apostle, in his tastes, affections, ideas, and at need in his very manners, has made himself a savage to gain the savages to Jesus Christ,

would be of no small service to the Vicar-Apostolic in a land so strange to a man coming from civilized society. He would like to accompany him to the different tribes where his name is in benediction. He has just now left for the Sioux, a new precursor who is going to prepare the ways of the Lord and announce to that barbarous people the approaching visit of the great black robe, probably not before the beginning of Spring will he be back.

These blessings which God designs to grant to our labors, very Reverend Father, fills us with the sweetest consolations. He who contemns the Indian missions has not meditated the sweetness of those words, "*evangelizare pauperibus misit me*" ["he has sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor"]. Perhaps one will say we are enthusiasts. Well, yes, we have an enthusiasm for the Indian missions, but God far from condemning this enthusiasm wishes rather to cover it with his blessings. "Taste and see," *gustate et videte*. To those who claim we can do almost no good among the Indians we will answer before pronouncing judgment, "taste and see," *gustate et videte*, meditate that saying of St. Ignatius inscribed on every page of the Institute, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, and then say if our Holy Founder did not embrace in his zeal savage as well as civilized peoples.

Gaillard's fervent hopes of seeing St. Mary's the headquarters of the newly erected vicariate were not to be disappointed. In the May of 1850 Bishop Miége was on his way thither in company with Father Paul Ponziglione, who like the Bishop himself was about to make his first acquaintance with the Indian country. Some incidents of the journey to the West were recorded by Ponziglione.

On the 17th of May under the auspices of the Mother of God, to whom Father J. B. Miége was most tenderly devout, we left St. Louis in a steamboat for St. Joseph, Missouri, which we reached on the 24th and, having passed four days in that town, we started for St. Mary's Mission amongst the Potawatomie Indians.

Our party consisted of six persons, viz. Father John B. Miége, myself, Brother Sebastian Schlienger, Bro. Patrick Phelan, who was yet a novice, and two Creoles with a wagon, each one carrying furniture and provisions for St. Mary's Mission. At noon of the 28th of May we crossed the Missouri river and started for the western plains. Father Miége and myself were leading the march on horseback, the Brothers were following with the two teamsters.

About two o'clock p. m. the clouds began to gather over our heads, the wind began to blow a tempest, lightning and thunder-claps succeeded rapidly and at three p. m. a heavy rain began to pour down. As there was no way to reach any shelter, we kept on taking matters as easy as we could, yet the prospect was very gloomy and we thought better to recite some prayers. At the suggestion of Father Miége we said the Memorare and hardly had got through with it when lightning struck the ground so close to us that we

felt as if a log had struck us in a slanting way over the head. Our horses seemed affected by it more than we were, for both stumbled to the ground. But, as they soon got up, we continued our journey apparently with a stoical indifference. But I assure you that in our hearts we felt a little uneasy not knowing what might come next and so we went on repeating the Memorare more fervently than ever.

Spite of the storm roaring around us we kept advancing on our way till about one hour before dark, when we halted for the night. We chose for our camping-place a very high plain where neither a tree nor a bush nor a stump could be found to which to hitch our horses. So we turned them out on the grass, which was plenty, and tried to make ourselves as comfortable as we could under the circumstances. There was no question of making fire for we could not see a stick of wood in the vicinity, so we took out what bread and dry meat we had and like the Jews of old, standing with staffs in our hand and hats on our head, eat our supper, the dark clouds supplying us plenty of fresh water for drink. The coming of the night did not put an end to the rain or improve any way our situation. That night we made a beginning in the life of a Kansas missionary. It was a long and sleepless night. But, thanks be to God! at day-break the rain stopped, the morning star made a brilliant show between the receding clouds and by sunrise the sky was bright and radiant.

We were now congratulating one another on the nice day which was rising when we noticed a good deal of perplexity on the countenance of Father Miége. "What is the matter?" said I to him. "Do you feel unwell?" "Oh, no," he replied, "but do you not hear?" said he looking around in a very suspicious way. We did not know what might be the cause of his trouble, when the two Creoles that were with us burst into a big laugh and told the Father in good French, "Monsieur, do not be afraid for the noise you hear is made by the prairie chickens grazing about this place." Good Father Miége had taken the cooing of these fowls for the voices of Indians coming, as he supposed, to attack us. Now that he found out how the matter stood, he quickly took up his double-barrelled gun and went for them. In about twenty minutes he returned with four heavy chickens and we had a very nice breakfast which soon made us forget all the inconveniences of the past night. We were two days on the road and at noon of the 31st of May we reached St. Mary's Mission.⁷⁶

The Potawatomie Indians were expecting us and had posted their sentries on different points to find out our approaching and having discovered us they quickly ran to bring the news to the Mission. A large crowd was soon at hand headed by Fathers J. B. Duerinck and Morris [Maurice] Gailland. At the arrival of the expected Bishop all knelt down to get his blessing. Next they accompanied us to the church. Bishop Miége prayed for a while and as soon as he came out all cheered him and followed him

⁷⁶ This is also the date of the arrival of the party at St. Mary's as stated by Gailland in his letter of November 13, 1851, in the *Ann Prop*. The St. Mary's House History (*Historia Domus*) has May 24 (F).

to his episcopal palace, which consisted of a poor log-cabin, a little larger than a very common shanty ⁷⁷

On Sunday, June 1, the Indians marched in procession to the Bishop's house to pay their respects to the great black robe and receive his blessing. There were Indian horsemen in line and braves on foot and the little boys and girls of the schools, even the Indian mothers blanketed and with their papooses strapped to their backs marched with the others. The Bishop, on making his appearance, was saluted with a triple volley of musketry. Mass followed, after which the Indians came up one by one to kiss the prelate's ring. "It is here at St. Mary's," wrote Father Gaillard, "that the Bishop has fixed his place of residence, our little church is filled with pride and astonishment, to see itself raised at a bound to the rank of a cathedral. A wooden house which in Europe would perhaps be called a cabin serves as palace for the bishop of the Indians" ⁷⁸

In the January following his arrival at St. Mary's Bishop Miège in a letter addressed to the Father General entered into particulars about the mission.

One of these missions is located on the Kansas river (*Rivière des Kants*) in a pleasant enough situation and on highly fertile soil. Cholera, fevers of every kind, and small-pox, which have made great ravages among our Indians this year, deprive this site of a good part of the advantages which nature seems to have lavished upon it. It is feared, perhaps with reason, that malignant fevers abide here permanently. If these fears are verified, our Indians will sell their lands again and, after having built houses, made farms, and incurred expense for three years, shall be obliged to go and begin the same work over again elsewhere until some other displacement, voluntary or forced, should come to renew all these toils and disagreeable circumstances. Henceforth, this is the necessary condition of all the savages whose lands border the United States on the west. The Potowatomie tribe comprises 3500 Indians dispersed in small villages over thirty square miles of land. We count among them 1500 converted Indians distributed between three villages, the first and largest of which is considered to be the headquarters of the reserve and is called St. Mary's. Here are found the schools, the farm, and the big folk of the countryside, namely the doctor, the horse-shoer, a few traders and a certain number of mixed-blood families who know a little of reading and writing. The Indian families who surround us have each their log house (this is the style of the country), their little herd of live-stock and a field sufficient for their support. They hear Mass,

⁷⁷ Ponziglione, *Memoirs* (A)

⁷⁸ Gaillard aux MM. etc., November 13, 1851, in *Ann. Prop. Tr.* from the English (London) edition of the *Annales*.

most of them, every day, approach the sacraments regularly at least once a month and practice with admirable fervor all the other exercises of piety which the Church has established to increase the devotion of her children. Quarrels, theft, family dissensions are completely unknown among them and no one would want to leave the village before having asked permission of the missionary and told him where he was going and how long he would remain away. It is a real and substantial good which has been done and is being done every day in the midst of these 600 or 700 simple and truly pious savages.

In the two other villages which are located only three miles from one another and twenty miles from St. Mary's, there is also a good number of zealous and fervent Christians, but, as up to the present the missionary has been able to visit them only once a month, there is a lack of instruction among them and so cases of drunkenness are frequent. The arrival of Father Schulz, whom Father Provincial has had the kindness to send us, will soon afford a remedy, as I hope, for these miseries. These poor Indians are precisely like children. They fear the priest as much as they respect him, as long as he is not in their midst to watch, reprimand, encourage and console them, their good resolutions soon fail before a bottle of whisky or other pitfall more dangerous still. When they have taken one of these false steps, it is not rare to see them leave their village and go to intermingle with the heathens so as to avoid meeting the priest, then they give themselves up to all their primitive excesses. For these scandals, which fortunately are not very numerous, the most effective remedy would be to put a father among them with a brother to help him, but this cannot be done until Father Schulz knows enough of the language to relieve him of embarrassment. He is at the work now with all the ardor of a good apostle.

At Soldier River [Creek], twenty-five miles from St. Mary's on the confines of the Delaware [Indians], we have another village, which can also be called Catholic. It is composed of half-breeds, nearly all of them Canadians, rangers of the mountains and plains, who have ended by marrying one or more Indian women. With the exception of one or two families who lead a good life, the rest are a perfect *canaille* in the matter of immorality, drunkenness, bad faith, stupid ignorance, indifference to all instruction and of that gross impiety which must necessarily arise from this singular amalgam of all the worst passions. Happily those of our Indians who are good Catholics have nothing but contempt for these wretched individuals, but it is to them that the bad and the heathen [Indians] go to renew their supply of liquor at enormous prices and so reduce themselves and their families to the most frightful misery. I truly believe one cannot realize the extent of this [abuse] except by seeing its sad effect. It has been impossible so far to do anything for these poor half-breeds. As we are rich in one man more a chapel is going to be built for them and one of us will go at least every month to say Mass for them and give them catechism.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Miége à Roothaan, January 1, 1852 (AA)

In another letter of 1852 Bishop Miége gives additional particulars about the Christian Indians of St. Mary's

Our Catholic Indians, without doubt, still have room for improvement, but such as they now are, they appear to me to be noble characters, when compared with those of their tribe who still remain infidels. A Pottowatomie idolator is, like the great mass of the savage nations, haughty, independent, proud, licentious and deceitful, thinking of nothing but hunting and sporting, paying no attention to anything but the colours with which he smears his face, the eagle feathers which serve as an ornament to his turban, the four or five red silk handkerchiefs which hang from his head or his shoulders, his blanket, his horse and gun. This to him is life, the height of his ambition, and is considered by him as an ideal perfection.

Our people have been rendered, by the favour of Divine Providence, of a somewhat whiter nature, as the Americans term it, they are submissive, peaceful, sober, they cultivate their little fields, which supply them with their provision of maize, potatoes, gourds, beans and melons, provide wood for the winter's fire, and divide their time between God and the care of their families. Peace and tranquility are the objects of such paramount importance to the Pottowatomie, that, if his neighbour takes it into his head to subject him to annoyance, he will abandon or sell his field and house, and seek another place of abode, where he may live in undisturbed repose.

The piety of my dear Christians is displayed in every circumstance attending them, but their conduct is most particularly edifying at the procession of Corpus Christi. This is a day of jubilee for the whole country, and on no other festival is there so rich a display of silks, ribbons, moccasins, guns and horses. At the hour announced by the bell of my rural cathedral, cavalry and infantry are at their post, powder and flags are distributed and the officers equipped with the best military habiliments that our depot can supply. The horsemen, not less than two hundred, each wears an oriflamme, with a cross in the centre. Our foot-soldiers carry their guns on their left arm and the rosary in the right hand. When everything is ready, the procession advances, the cavalry moving at the head, followed by the little girls, and after them, the boys of our schools, singing as they move along. Then follows the military band (a tambour accompanying a fiddle). The children forming the choir precede the Holy Sacrament, carried between the two lines of infantry under a sort of canopy, the four corners of which are borne by the principal persons of the country. The rear-guard is composed of the whole of our good Indian women, carrying on their backs the little children, wrapped in the blanket which forms the dress of their mothers, and making a considerable addition to our music. The removal of the Sacred Host from the church is announced by three discharges of musketry, and the procession then advances towards the declivity of a hill, situated at the extremity of the village, where a poor, but decent and clean altar, has been erected for the solemn benediction. During the march of the procession, which occupies nearly an hour, we have alternately singing, prayers, and discharges of musketry, but everything is conducted with the greatest

order and reverential decorum, that do honour to the faith of our humble Pottowatomies. The black robes, on their part, cannot help experiencing a lively emotion at the reflection that St. Mary is the only place in this immense desert where anything is done in reparation of the insults offered to our Divine Master in the sacrament of His love.⁸⁰

§ 8 FINANCING THE MISSION

The finances of St. Mary's Mission during the period 1851-1855 were in the hands of Bishop Miége in his capacity of superior of the Jesuit missionaries working east of the Rocky Mountains. At the same time a concurrent control of the finances, with dependence on the Bishop, was exercised by the Jesuit father in immediate charge of the mission. The question of material support was a teasing one always and never quite satisfactorily settled as long as the mission lasted. The sources of revenue were, in the rough, threefold: government subsidies, private contributions and the mission-farm. During the period 1838-1855 the money spent on the Catholic Potawatomi mission amounted to \$58,577.⁸³ Of this sum, \$43,837.⁵² was furnished by the Indian Office, while the remainder or \$14,740.³¹ came from private funds. For every child educated in the mission-school the government annually allowed fifty and after 1855 seventy-five dollars. This money was paid in quarterly installments to the procurator of the vice-province of Missouri, as general superintendent of the Catholic Indian schools, who kept it on deposit in St. Louis as a fund upon which the superior of the mission was entitled to draw for the purchase of supplies and other needs. For school-buildings and farm improvements at St. Mary's the government in 1849 made a special grant of five thousand dollars. A detailed account of the expenditure of the money thus granted had to be rendered by the mission authorities to the Indian Office. For this purpose vouchers signed by the superintendent of the school and the resident Indian agent were required to be forwarded to Washington.

The post of procurator of the vice-province of Missouri and superintendent of the Indian missions, filled for many years by Father Van de Velde, became vacant in 1849 on the latter's appointment to the episcopal see of Chicago. Father De Smet was immediately assigned to the vacant post. The appointment was intended to be a temporary one only, as a matter of fact, it proved to be permanent, and the duties thus laid upon him he discharged with occasional temporary interruptions to his death in 1873. As procurator of the Indian missions De Smet was brought into constant communication in matters of a financial and busi-

⁸⁰ Miége, St. Mary of the Potawatomes, November 6, 1852, in *Ann. Prop. Tr.* from the English (London) edition (14-285 *et seq.*) of the *Annales*.

ness nature with their local superiors. As a result his correspondence with them is replete with minute and authentic data regarding the Jesuit Indian missions of the West for the period 1849-1873. A career of adventurous missionary travel among the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains, such as he had previously followed, would not seem to have been the best preparation for a successful keeper of accounts. As a matter of fact De Smet displayed in the discharge of his new office an industry, accuracy and minute attention to details which are remarkable in one whose previous occupation appeared to offer no adequate preparation for the work in hand. He was a conscientious stickler for the observance of government regulations in all that pertained to monies settled on the mission schools and was zealous in reminding superiors of their duties in this regard. Thus he wrote to Father Verreydt at St. Mary's:

Let us avoid the difficulties in which Bishop Van de Velde finds himself at present of being called upon to refund 4491 dollars to Government—all the vouchers sent to Government in the name of Father Truyens and others have been rejected. Father Van de Velde having received the monies and being alone recognized by Government as Superintendent of our Indian Schools should have signed the vouchers—from this neglect proceeds the difficulty. Whilst I hold his place (which I sincerely hope will not be long) let us endeavor to observe the little rules and regulations prescribed by Government.

The difficulty over Van de Velde's vouchers, it may be added, was satisfactorily adjusted through the courtesy of John Haverty, chief clerk of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs, who succeeded in remedying the technical shortcomings of the papers.⁸¹

If De Smet was a faithful observer of government regulations in regard to appropriations made to the mission, he was likewise a faithful observer of instructions received from his superiors with regard to the mission-funds. He was particularly insistent on the prohibition against going into debt. "I am preparing the objects you asked for," runs a letter of his to Verreydt, "guessing at same the best way I can. I am paying down cash for every article I buy and I will soon let you know the full bill of the expenditures and of the monies remaining in your favor. Your Reverence will then know exactly how high your drafts may go. Beyond it, dear Father, I must acquaint you again and counsel you not to go, for Father Provincial, in my opinion, will not remain responsible for debts contracted without his permission and against his orders, and I most assuredly will not and cannot remain responsible."⁸² Another letter of De Smet's to the same superior touches on the subject

⁸¹ De Smet to Verreydt, July 2, 1849 (A)

⁸² Same to same, ———, 1849 (A)

of credit "Your Reverence had expressed his desire to buy the goods on a long credit I believe I have written already on this subject, to acquaint you that the credit system has been condemned by high Superiors and that on entering on my present office I was requested not to allow anyone to go beyond his actual deposit" ⁸³ At the same time De Smet showed no disposition to be narrow "I am glad to see that you are proceeding prudently and according to your means," he says in a letter to Father Duerinck, "we on our part have stretched things in your favor as much as we could, and we intend to continue the same as far as we shall be able" ⁸⁴

A considerable part of the supplies for St Mary's as also for the Osage Mission was obtained in the St Louis market The duty of purchasing and paying for these supplies and directing them to their proper destination fell upon De Smet, who discharged it with never-failing good humor and conscientious attention to details The goods were shipped by steamer to Kansas, as Kansas City was known at the time, or Leavenworth, whence they were transported overland by ox or mule-team to the mission Thus, in August, 1849, a consignment of goods for St Mary's was sent by the steamer *St. Ange*, Captain La Barge, to Kansas, where they were to be stored in Menard Chouteau's warehouse until sent for from the mission.⁸⁵ Supplies, at least in certain lines, could be obtained even at this early date in Kansas itself. De Smet inquired on one occasion of Father Schoenmakers of the Osage Mission whether, in view of the money saved on transportation and storage, it would not be cheaper for him to obtain his supplies in the nearer market than in St. Louis No item of the orders, sometimes formidably long, sent to De Smet in St. Louis, was overlooked by him though the vague terms in which the orders were sometimes couched might have served a less zealous agent with an excuse for discharging only a part of his commission

From these [letters] I gathered that you [Father Verreydt] stand in need of Mass wine (how much?), that you asked for music (church music, I suppose, please to name the Masses and other kind) You wish to have a cannon, (of what calibre?), *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, (I will subscribe for your Reverence) and *Emerson's Arithmetic* I see on the Ledger of Vice-Province that your Mission is credited for a sum of about two thousand dollars received from Government Please to let me know, as soon as possible, what you want in the provision line, in clothing, tools, etc I am requested by Rev. Father Provincial to caution your Reverence against exceeding, by draft or otherwise, the sum in your favour, as we would have

⁸³ De Smet to Verreydt, Aug 18, 1849 (A)

⁸⁴ Same to Duerinck, January 12, 1851 (A)

⁸⁵ Same to Verreydt, August 18, 1849 (A)

no means of paying beyond Truly these are hard times—the Vice Province has been drained to the very dregs—it has to maintain a great number of Swiss and Italians, and has no prospect of obtaining anything from the French Association for this and perhaps the following years on account of the disturbed state of Europe ⁸⁶

Father Verreydt was written to again

I am sorry indeed that your list is not more positive and clear—it is hard for me to guess exactly what you may require or wish, with regard to the amount you may need and the objects you may require—for instance, *sugar and rice* is mentioned—*how much do you wish?* ^{2^{ly}} *Stuff to make coats—what stuff and for whom are the coats intended?* ^{3^{ly}} *How many shoes of No 11, 8 and 7?* ^{4^{ly}} *How many straw hats? Are they for the F F. [Fathers] and Brothers or for the boys?* ^{5^{ly}} *How much shall I send?* ^{6^{ly}} *What kind of books must I send you? Please to specify them and the number you may require* ^{7^{ly}} *How many boxes of wine shall I send? To whose care shall I consign the things either in Kansas or at St Joseph's? All I have sent to Fr Schoenmakers I send to Kansas, care of Menard Chouteau Whilst I am expecting a speedy answer to the above queries, I will send you all the specified articles in your list and do my best with regard to the other not specified articles* ⁸⁷

Father De Smet sometimes took advantage of the market and bought without a direct commission “I bought over two thousand pounds of fine sugar in N Orl. [New Orleans] for the use of your mission and which I shall send early in the spring,” he informs Father Duerinck. “Sugar will rise high this year.” ⁸⁸

The government subsidies did not by any means suffice for the support of the mission. Alms were solicited with some degree of success from generous benefactors in Europe and America The Lyons Association of the Propagation of the Faith, “a second Providence for the needy church in America,” as Bishop Rosati described it, contributed in 1849 six hundred dollars to the Potawatomi Mission ⁸⁹ De Smet appealed to the association again in January, 1851, on behalf both of St Mary's and the Osage Mission, where there was great distress among the Indians on account of the drought of the preceding year “The slender allowance granted by the American Government for the support of four schools, two for boys under the direction of our Fathers and two for girls under the direction of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and the Loretto Sisters, is inadequate of itself to meet our needs You

⁸⁶ Same to same, March 16, 1849 (A)

⁸⁷ Same to same, June 25, 1849 (A)

⁸⁸ Same to Duerinck, January 12, 1851 (A)

⁸⁹ De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, p 330

realize, then, the painful extremity to which these poor missions find themselves reduced. The Vice-Province of Missouri has disposed in their favor of the slight surplus of its meagre resources—but this is far from relieving the pressure.”⁹⁰ The Association of the Propagation of the Faith was particularly anxious to secure for the *Annales*, its official organ, accounts of the progress of Catholic missionary work throughout the world. As a consequence De Smet often urged the Indian missionaries to send on readable reports from their respective fields, intimating on one occasion that the allowances made to the Jesuit Indian missions of America were to be reduced as a penalty for the meagre news about them that reached the central bureau of the association in France. “Please tell Father Gailland,” he appealed to Father Duerinck, “to send on some interesting items regarding the nation and Indians. I translated his long and interesting account which will soon be published. Encourage him greatly to it as it may be the means to obtain alms for your mission.”⁹¹ Some noteworthy subsidies were received by St. Mary’s from the Lyons association through Bishop Miége.

Contributions from the laity to the Jesuit Indian missions were generally addressed to De Smet, whose relation to these missions as promoter and official solicitor of funds was generally understood by the Catholic public. The alms thus collected were apportioned by him between the various missions in which he was interested. “I just now received an alms of a Lady,” he wrote to Duerinck, “just the amount you ask towards the building of the little chapel at Soldier’s Creek (\$50.00), which I place to your credit.”⁹² Again, “I expect daily a box from Philadelphia from Miss Gartland, left at my disposition, of which I intend a good share for you.”⁹³

Though supplies for St. Mary’s were frequently ordered from St. Louis, it was possible even in the early fifties, as already noted, to secure them from points nearer to the mission. Among the firms

⁹⁰ De Smet aux MM. de l’Association de la Propagation de la Foi, January 31, 1851 (A)

⁹¹ De Smet to Duerinck, September 7, 1850 (A) “His Paternity desires me to send him as soon as possible a statement of the Indian Missions (Potawatomi and Osages) . . . it is the means to obtain something from the Association of Lyons

so please to induce F. F. Hoecken and Gailland, Mme. Lucille [Mathevon], etc. to send in some interesting accounts regarding the Mission and Indians.” De Smet to Verreydt, May 21, 1849 (A) “The Association of Lyons needs information and letters and begs for them in order to obtain support for that great and noble institution which appears at present to be fast failing from a general neglect of missionaries all over the world, who have almost ceased corresponding . . . they promise that they will cooperate with you by sending monies.” De Smet to Schoenmakers, May 25, 1849 (A)

⁹² De Smet to Duerinck, September 7, 1850 (A)

⁹³ *Loc. cit.* (A)

patronized at this period by Father Duerinck were M L Young, D. Macmiecken and Cody and Baker, all of Weston, Mo., Waldo & McCoy, Independence, Mo., J B Martin, Platte City, Mo., and Boone and Bernard, Westport, Mo.⁹⁴ Goods purchased in these places had to be freighted by ox- or mule-team to the mission. Brother McNamara is recorded as having gone on one occasion to Weston with an ox-team to bring a load of flour from M. L. Young's mill. More often the hauling was done by freighters, as when Francis Bourbonnais hauled for the mission from Weston at ninety cents a hundred pounds, paying his own drayage and ferrying over the Missouri. This appears to have been the usual rate, as indicated in Duerinck's diary, August 20, 1851. "Sold to Thaddeus E. Robbin of Weston, \$145 00 of cattle. Robbin is to pay either in hauling from Weston at 90c per 100 lbs. or in breaking prairie land at \$2 75 per acre." On October 6, 1858, eight wagons with five ox and three horse-teams started from the mission for Leavenworth to obtain flour. A particularly interesting item finds mention in the records. March 10, 1852. Cody & Baker of Weston received an order from St. Mary's for a "grass-mowing machine, propelled by horse-power, said to cost \$100 00. It is manufactured in Chicago." With this McCormick mower Father Duerinck cut his sixty acres of oats in five days. "This implement," he comments, "is the wonder of the country—the Indians are lost in admiration when they see it work."⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Duerinck's Diary I (F)

⁹⁵ Duerinck's Diary I. There are two Duerinck diaries in the St. Mary's College Archives: (I) an account-book with incidental entries about the day's happenings and (II) a formal diary (July 5, 1834—January 23, 1863). There are entries in the latter regarding the mower: "1855 January 4. Informed C. H. McCormick, Chicago, Illinois, that I want one of his mowing machines for 1855 for which I will pay cash on delivery. Will use it with 4 horses. Want the fingers and bearings. Could wish to have no less than three sickles, three drivers and plenty of sickle segments to repair. Advised him to send at least 12 dozen mowers to his agent in Weston, F. Cody." "1855 April 6 [?] Requested Mr. Cox, Soldier Creek to order two mowing machines (mowers only) of the Patent recommended and approved by him last summer as operating in Missouri etc. One for S. D. Dyer at the Bridge of Blue [River], the other for Mr. Henry Rodrique Rock Creek. Have them shipped to Kansas [City] or up the Kansas River St. Mary's Landing."

"1857 March 30. Informed Mr. C. H. McCormick that we did not know whether any house in Leavenworth such as Major and Russell, Rees and Keith, J. Moll and Co. would take the agency for his machine. Recommended Mr. Manning R. Roll to C. H. McCormick and tried to prevail on Mr. Roll to take the agency. Written to M. R. Roll through Th. Ryan, St. Louis." (Duerinck's Diary II)

In the McCormick Historical Association Library, Chicago, are a number of letters written by Father Duerinck to Cyrus H. McCormick. "I claim a slight acquaintance with you, having been introduced to you several years ago in Cincinnati. I happened to be in the office of the Ploughboy and the Editor, Mr

The transportation of supplies to the mission was obviously a big drain on its meagre funds. The Kaw River would have solved the problem of excessive freight charges if navigation on it had proved a success. As a matter of fact, steamers carrying both freight and passengers were plying the Kaw during the years 1854-1864 and as far upstream as Fort Riley, fifty-one miles above St. Mary's.⁹⁶ The first steamer to ascend the Kaw was the *Excel*, which in April, 1854, made a run up to the Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers, where Major E. A. Ogden, U.S.A., was engaged under instructions from the war department in building the new military-post of Fort Riley. The *Excel* carried a cargo of eleven hundred barrels of flour for the fort. It was a staunch little stern-wheeler, drawing about two feet of water, with a cargo of a hundred tons and had remarkably strong engines. "We were two days on the trip from Weston to Fort Riley," wrote one of its passengers in later years, "and found no more difficulty in navigating the Kansas than we did the Missouri. Our pilot ran by surface indications altogether, and never ran the boat on a snag or a sand-bar. We were obliged to land several times a day to get wood, and as we had to fell trees and chop them up, we were considerably delayed. We occasionally

Randall, an honest Quaker, presented Mr. McCormick the inventor of the Virginia reaper to Professor Duerinck of St. Xavier College. I believe that I have been the first man that has introduced your mowing machine in these prairies. We have met with success. One of your machines of 1852 used to be the wonder of this country. People have come 25 miles to see it in operation. Last year I bought one of your machines for 1853 which has done a fine business after we had received the new castings which you have sent to your customers. A good number of your machines have been purchased by my friends and acquaintances, who were induced to buy your machines at my recommendation. They have generally given great satisfaction. One of your machines of 1854 has cut at Fort Riley this season 700 tons of hay. My own of 1853 has cut at least 500 tons of hay and oats during the present season without any material break." Duerinck to C. H. McCormick, October 10, 1854. McCormick asked Duerinck, November, 1854, to take the agency of his machine for Kansas Territory, an employment which the father declined. "I feel willing to recommend your machine and to bear you the best testimony in my power, but the multiplicity of my weighty and responsible duties would prevent from taking an agency." Duerinck to C. H. McCormick, January 5, 1856 (1855?). Father Duerinck in his correspondence with McCormick made a number of apparently worth-while suggestions for the improvement of the mower.

⁹⁶ "Our Kansas river has proved to be a fine navigable stream in the rainy season, May and June. The facilities for steamboat navigation up to Fort Riley will benefit the settlers in the Kansas Valley and adjacent districts." Duerinck's report in *RCIA*, 1854. St. Mary's took advantage of this water service for the hauling of supplies. In 1855 Father Duerinck, ordering two mowing machines, directed that they be shipped "to Kansas [City] or up the Kansas River, St. Marys Landing." Later, June 23, 1859, Father Schultz noted in his diary "Steamer Col. Gus Linn arrives at St. Marys from Kansas City. Freight from St. Louis to M[ission] \$460 00" (F).

<p>↓ 1856 March 1st</p>	<p>News from Mr. J. I. have arrived to let him be a mark of the day at Wildcat at Colt reported him to Sam Gorman to both that matter Requested J. I. to let Sam Gorman has the time granted with a copy, supposed to belong to Mr. Francisco Nelson. As the bear is spotted & white, poor condition not over old not long & in</p>
<p>1856 March 2nd +</p>	<p>One of Mr. Byers men lost, at Dixon has been taken up by a Mr. Martin on Wildcat 2 miles above Exharts & Allen requested Mr. W. Byers to send me an order for the man</p>
<p>1856 March 2nd X</p>	<p>Major G. W. Clark sends me to deliver to him at LeCompton two hundred and fifty dollars worth of stock say, 3 good mules Pair, 3 Common cows and calves = \$25 each \$ 75 00 Common cows & calves = \$ 30 dollars each \$ 90 00 Bute young cattle - say young \$ 85 00 \$ 250 00</p> <p>The Expenses of delivering the cattle to be paid by Major Clark</p>
<p>1856 March 3rd X</p>	<p>Major G. W. Clark finished the carrying his payment on the Mojave. The subject the Indians on the necessity of buying stock of W. H. Hough, and being unanimous in their movements they speak also of the Mojave they expressed their dissatisfaction with the Mojave on both side of the Kansas river and gave credit to St. George Brown, and stated that they would be sorry if the merchants should ever leave them. The Perry is given up. A Master farmer who is proposed as not accepted yet. A wagon maker attached to St. George Brown shops as a seller for and given granted</p>

Page of diary of John B Duerinck, S J, superior of St Mary's Potawatomi Mis-
sion Archives of St Mary's College, St Marys, Kansas.

Now, see, your friend, if you will consider him as
such resides in Kansas Territory, at the Potawatomi Catholic
mission, where he presides over a Manual Labor school
for Indian boys and girls. He lives 75 miles west of
Fort Leavenworth on the Kansas River.
I believe that I have been the first man that has introduced
your mowing machines in this process. We have met with
success. One of your machines of 1852 used to be the wonder of
the country. People have come 25 miles to see it in operation.
Last year I bought one of your machines for 1853 which has
done a fine business after it had 2 or 3 of the new castings which
you had sent to your customers. A good number of your machines
have been purchased by my friends and acquaintances who
were induced to buy your machines at my recommendation.
They have generally given great satisfaction. One of your machines
of 1854 has cut at Fort Riley this season 7000 lbs of hay.
My own of 1853 has cut at least 5000 tons of hay & oats during
the present season without any material break.
We admire your machines they are plain and strong and easy

Part of letter of John B Duerinck, S J, to Cyrus H McCormick, October 10,
1854 McCormick Historical Association Library, Chicago

appropriated rails from the Indians' truck-patches, but most always cut down trees for our fuel At St Mary's Mission, Father Duerinck heard that we were coming, and hauled up two loads of rails and had them chopped up, ready for our use on our arrival" ⁹⁷ On April 26, 1855, the year after the *Excel* ascended the Kansas for the first time, the *Hartford*, a flat-bottomed stern wheel steamboat, left Cincinnati, Ohio, "for the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers" On June 3 she ran aground at the mouth of the Big Blue, some miles above St Mary's Here she lay for a month, until the river having risen high enough for her to move, she was headed downstream At a point opposite St Mary's Mission, she ran aground again and while lying here undergoing repairs was set on fire by some Potawatomi Indians and totally destroyed The crew of the *Hartford* as it passed through the Potawatomi reserve was guilty of selling liquor to the Indians ⁹⁸ Steamboating on the Kaw received its death-blow in 1864 when, through the influence of the railroads, the Kansas legislature declared that river and its tributaries to be non-navigable streams and accordingly authorized the railroads to bridge them

St Mary's Mission was largely dependent for its upkeep on the farm

We have raised this season [1855] sixty acres oats, forty corn, six potatoes, the oats very heavy The corn and potatoes bid fair to yield a good crop Our horned stock consists of two hundred and fifty head, say, eighty cows, fifteen yoke of oxen, forty two-year old steers,—the balance is young cattle of our own raising We derive no inconsiderable part of our support from our stock ⁹⁹ There is also a good demand for corn, potatoes, oats, which the mission as well as the Indians can sell at fair prices The Government is establishing a new military post, Fort Riley, on the Upper Kansas, fifty-one miles above the mission, the Pottowatomie settlement is the nearest point from which the fort can draw its supplies If our Indians were thrifty and enterprising, they would find a ready market for all the produce they can raise, but, unfortunately, the greater part of our people are glad when they have enough to supply their own wants The Indians in

⁹⁷ Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—its Navigation" in *Kans Hist Coll*, 9 322

⁹⁸ The incident is referred to by G. W. Clarke, Potawatomi Indian agent, in his report for 1855 Cf. also *Kans Hist Coll*, 9 329

⁹⁹ "We have raised this season forty acres of oats, seventy of corn, and seven of potatoes, which have all produced a good average crop Corn sells at seventy-five cents per bushel, potatoes, one dollar We have on hand some 280 head of cattle, fair stock, for which we have cut some 230 tons of prairie hay to carry them through the winter We have killed thirty for beef, and sold eighty-five, mostly cows, for which the institution has received \$2,173 50, which is purely the fruit of our labor and industry" Duerinck in *RCIA*, 1856

our immediate vicinity are not in want, they have raised good crops of corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and beans, without giving themselves much pains to do it ¹⁰⁰

Such was Father Duerinck's report on the condition of the mission farm in 1855, it was cited as an example of the success which attended farming operations in Kansas by Edward Everett Hale in his *Kansas and Nebraska*, which he compiled as a guide to the emigrant aid companies that helped to colonize Kansas from the New England states ¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *RCIA*, 1855

¹⁰¹ Edward E. Hale, *Kansas and Nebraska* (Boston, 1854), p. 101. According to Cora Dolbee, "The First Book in Kansas the Story of E. E. Hale's 'Kansas and Nebraska,'" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 2: 150, the data on St. Mary's Mission in Hale's book were furnished directly to the author by Father Duerinck. The surplus products of the farm were disposed of for the benefit of the mission. California emigrants, government explorers and army officials frequently obtained supplies from this source. "October 29, 1852. Delivered to order of Major E. E. Ogden, now at the mouth of the Republican, the following articles: 60 bushels shelled corn, 45 bushels in ear, etc. etc. J. B. D. [Duerinck] furnished 41 sacks for the corn and potatoes. Major E. E. Ogden, 10 sacks." "October 27, 1853, Col. John C. Frémont, the 'Pathfinder,' while on his way west to survey a route for the Pacific Railroad, bought at the mission twenty-five dollars worth of provisions in corn, flour, sugar and beef, which he paid for in cash on the same day. The marketing of the mission produce was greatly facilitated by the new military road laid out in 1852 between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley. This road ran only about one hundred and fifty feet south of the mission buildings. "On September 6, 1852, Lieutenant Woodruff, escorted by Captain Buckner with a party of six soldiers and some teamsters and wagons, reconnoitered the new road from the Mission to Rock Creek. Menard Beaubien and [Brother] Thomas McNamara acted as guides." "Lieutenant Woodruff, U. S. A. returns today from his reconnoitering expedition to mouth of Republican river and Fort Atkinson. From the Mission to mouth of Republican river, forty miles, to mouth of Clarke Creek, which will be recommended for the location of a new depot, 38 miles." (Duerinck's Diary I.)

It happened at times that government mules broke their traces or in other ways got free of their drivers and wandered over the prairies. In this connection Duerinck's Diary I has some interesting items. "Advised Captain Martin, Leavenworth, that the following is my account for delivering two public mules at the fort

1852	Oct 23	To apprehending and redeeming two mules	32 00
	Dec 24	" wintering the same at 3 00 each	6 00
		" delivering same at fort	15 00
			53 00

Paid an Indian two dollars for apprehending a second time and bringing mules back. Delay in delivering on account of incessant rains, high water, intense cold weather. Two men on horse-back deliver the two mules 5 days @ \$1.50 each, \$15.00." A similar entry regards the reclaiming of cattle lost on the California trail. "1851, Messrs Colcord, Dutton & Co., of Sibley, Jackson Co., Mo., have left me a written instrument to claim any cattle they have lost on the Upper

It was an ambition of Father Duerinck, as he declared more than once in his reports to government, to make the mission farm a "model farm" so that the Indians might have before their eyes a never-failing object lesson in the ways and means of successful farming. In pursuance of this policy he gave great attention to the live stock, which he sought constantly to improve and raise to a high standard of quality. The "mission herd," as the cattle belonging to St. Mary's came to be known, acquired in the course of time a reputation for superior breeding. It was built up gradually and largely from what would seem to have been unpromising material, namely, the weak and disabled cattle left behind on the California Trail by outgoing emigrants and convoys. "1851 Bought also of Russel and Jones' train, Oct. 25, '51, eight broken down oxen @ \$5 00 per head." "1852, June—Bought bacon, flour, steers from Californians." "1854—the first Californians passed here on 22nd April." "1854, May 12 The Californians are driving a great deal of stock. We have bought of them some forty-five head of cattle." Cattle was also bought from Col. G. Douglas, Fort Scott and Col. Arnett, Westport. "Requested Col. Thomas B. Arnett, Westport, Mo., to let me know what kind of stock he intends to drive up this way and to deliver it when the grass is up."¹⁰²

The day of the packing-houses had not arrived at the period when Duerinck presided over the destinies of St. Mary's Mission. The mission had to kill and prepare the meat required for table and this explains in part the numerous purchases of cattle which have been noted. The nature of Duerinck's commercial transactions was on one occasion misunderstood. Charges were preferred against him of bartering with the Indians in contravention of federal laws. The matter was referred to John Haverty, chief clerk of the superintendency of Indian affairs in St. Louis, who, on hearing Father Duerinck's explanation decided there had been nothing irregular in his proceedings.¹⁰³

Kansas about this neighborhood and remit proceeds of sale of two cows and calves supposed to have been lost by Messrs. Colcord, Dutton & Co., while on their way to California last August." Father Duerinck in partnership with others was under contract to supply Fort Riley with dressed meat. For extracts from his Diary II pertinent to these transactions cf. Donohoe, "A Western Catholic College" in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11 291 *et seq.* "The mission teams and Fort Riley wagons were used in the transportation. As many as ten wagons formed these freight trains, each wagon carrying from five hundred to six hundred pounds of fodder (p. 294)."

¹⁰² Duerinck's Diary I. In 1858 the mission-herd numbered two hundred and fifty-eight head.

¹⁰³ Duerinck's intentions in his absorbing business affairs were of the best, to make the mission self-supporting. At the same time Bishop Miége thought he was taken up beyond measure with the temporal concerns of the mission.

§ 9 PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN SCHOOLS

The most remarkable feature of St Mary's Potawatomi Mission was undoubtedly the schools. But it required a man of Father Duerinck's energy and general resourcefulness to maintain them with the scanty resources available for their support. "At no period," he wrote in September, 1854, "has the institution been more popular and prosperous, though we are free to confess that our prosperity is dearly bought with toil and hardships, with temperance and economy. But we deem it cheap even at that price, we thank our stars for our good fortune. We see around us Indian Missions and schools broken up or in a failing condition, whilst others have their ship all the time in such stormy seas that escape appears impossible"¹⁰⁴. The winter of 1854-1855 bore heavily on the mission. The crop failure of the preceding season together with the uncommonly high price of provisions put it in so uncomfortable a position that Duerinck was on the point of closing the schools. The subsidy of fifty dollars per annum allowed by the government contract for each pupil was such an obviously inadequate allowance for what was expected from the mission in return that he felt justified in petitioning Commissioner of Indian Affairs Manypenny to raise the subsidy.

The undersigned begs leave to state that there exists a contract for the education of Pottawatomie boys and girls between the Indian Department and the Rev. James Van de Velde on the part of the Catholic Association and that he has presided over that institution in Kansas Territory during the last six years.

The Department is acquainted with our efforts and our success, as may be seen from the annual reports. The school receives the small consideration of fifty dollars (50) per annum for every boy and girl we educate, which is only at the rate of fourteen cents (14) per day for board, tuition, clothing, lodging, washing and mending, stationery and the use of school-books. Now fourteen cents per day would not pay for a breakfast! We keep a decent school and respectable people to aid us, we have competent teachers, our pupils, male and female, are well dressed and comfortably lodged and have plenty to eat and drink. We are well acquainted with our business and enjoy many advantages which would enable us to sustain ourselves if there were any possibility of doing it.

The general failure of crops last year and the consequent scarcity and high prices of all kinds of produce and provisions, joined to the continual increase of wages and transportation of freight, have not only seriously embarrassed the establishment, but have brought it into distress and a failing condition. We have met with no reverse of fortune, we have not engaged in any speculation that has proved disastrous, everything at the Mission

¹⁰⁴ *RCIA*, 1854, no. 40

appears to work right. The whole secret of our embarrassment lies in this we are engaged in a sinking business. The crisis has come in our camp and here it must be met. We must give up the ship or receive an increased compensation for our services. Under the present pressure of high prices, toil and labor, industry and economy cannot make up the deficiency, the exigencies of the time place it beyond our control to continue the Manual Labor School on the old terms. We therefore respectfully submit it to your sense of justice to agree to a change in the contract and to allow us seventy-five dollars per annum instead of fifty dollars, taking effect from April 1, 1855, or soon after. This petition for relief, when gratified, will enable us to continue our schools and will free us from our present embarrassment and anxiety. The school is yet in full operation and when the pupils in my absence learned that the schools probably would be suspended, the good children went almost distracted, they said to one another, what will become of us, we have nothing to eat at home and our black-gowns and mistresses who have done so much for us and for our people are going to abandon us. St. Mary's Mission, the home of our childhood and where the priests teach the people to plough the land is going, it is feared, to be shut up. All these yards, buildings, etc. will be overgrown with bad weeds and will soon be a heap of ruins.

If we should be suffered to sink, we will endeavor to meet our fate with resignation, although we have spent several thousand dollars for additional buildings without aid from government, we shall not deem ourselves particularly unfortunate if we meet with no favor. Our toils and labors are incessant, our task is so difficult, our burden so oppressive and our remuneration for all our trouble so inadequate, that the best of men are inadequate to the task. Your humble petitioner, who is in the strength of manhood, could wish almost to see the end of it. At times we are overwhelmed with troubles and sorrows and feel like giving up the ship, but as our claims to your sympathy are reasonable and fair, we will cheer up our spirits and resume our work with fresh vigor, hoping that you will lend a favorable ear to our request.¹⁰⁵

This petition of the superior of the Catholic Potawatomi Mission was clearly a reasonable one and needed, one would suppose, only the most casual presentation to the Indian Office to elicit a favorable answer. As a matter of fact Father Duerinck was put to the necessity of traveling to Washington to urge his petition in person. On his way through St. Louis he met the former Potawatomi agent, Colonel Cummins, now at the head of the central superintendency of Indian affairs. Cummins gave Duerinck every encouragement and indorsed his petition in a letter to Commissioner Manypenny. "It is manifest that the compensation now allowed is wholly inadequate and I am of opinion that not less than \$75 per annum will save them from loss." If the increase of sub-

¹⁰⁵ Duerinck to Manypenny, undated but belonging to 1855 (H)

sidey is not granted, so Cummins urged, the school will be closed, and that would work mischief to the Indians, as it is at present the only school among them ¹⁰⁶ It was only in September, 1855, two or three months after Duerinck's return from Washington, that action was at length taken by government on his petition. The case having been referred to Secretary of the Interior McClelland, that official allowed the increased allowance asked for with the qualification, however, that the new rate would be subject to recall April 1, 1856 ¹⁰⁷

The difficulties which Duerinck had met with in the upkeep of the mission-schools did not by any means disappear with the little additional help he was now to receive from Washington. He reported to Major Clarke, the Potawatomi agent, October 1, 1855

We have an extensive establishment to support, we are every day in the year about 140 persons in family, which we have to provide with butter and bread. Our means are limited and bear no proportion to our expenses. Our school is a real paradox, the more scholars we have the harder times we see, for the simple reason that we are engaged in a losing business, a sinking concern. If we only had four scholars we could make money, whereas 120 keep us constantly in hot water. We illustrate our position and assume the fact that we lost \$25 on every scholar, then the loss on four would be \$100 and on 120 \$3000. Now, if a man can make up losses at all, it is an easy matter to make up \$100, but when he has to make up \$3000, then his energy and financiering may be taxed beyond endurance. It is at all times a hard thing to manage a numerous boarding-school, but when the pressure of the times, failure of crops, high prices of provisions came upon us last winter, we found ourselves so much straightened in our circumstances that we had at one time resolved to dismiss the school. (H)

¹⁰⁶ Cummins to Manypenny, May 25, 1855 (H). Cummins, on being advanced to the higher position, was entitled, according to custom, to a titular colonelcy.

¹⁰⁷ Col. Manypenny was on friendly terms with Father Duerinck and was, besides, acquainted from personal observation with conditions at St. Mary's, having visited the mission in the autumn of 1853. "St. Mary's Mission is under many obligations to you for the interest you have taken in our behalf." Duerinck to Manypenny May 12, 1856 (H). Manypenny was a severe critic of government policy in its dealings with the Indians. Thus in his book *Our Indian Wars* (Cincinnati, 1880), pp. 133-134: "The precipitate legislation by which the country was thrown open to the occupation of the white race in the face of the plighted faith of the government was a crime and the whole country has suffered the penalty. It is believed that there are but few instances in which perfect good faith in all respects has governed in the removal of a tribe from an old to a new home. In numberless instances removals have been brought about, not because there was a necessity for them, but with a view to the plunder and profit that was expected to result from the operation." T. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, criticizes Manypenny's views on the Indian question as extreme.

Within a month or two of the date of his report to Major Clarke, Duerinck made a proposal to his superior in St Louis to conduct the mission schools for day-scholars only. He wrote November 28, 1855, to De Smet

St Mary's Mission, thanks be to Heaven, is in a flourishing condition but we cannot expect to keep it so for many years. We must effect a change, a radical change, a permanent change in our terms with the Government. The country has changed and we must change with it or be involved in ruin.

The Baptist Mission is overboard and St Mary's Mission is in possession of the field, but we will go down too, unless we know how to rescue our concern. We have been paid at the rate of \$50 per annum since last April and up to April 1, 1856, our allowance has been \$75 per annum. Now this is all patchwork and will not save our skin. We cannot continue the Manual Labor School as a boarding school on any terms, i.e. on any reasonable terms which the Government would be willing to pay. Here are my reasons.

1st The Mission is a large establishment and we cannot get in winter the firewood we want. The timber fails for rails etc.

2nd Provisions are too high, wages too high, freight too high.

3rd As the country settles up competition increases and our farming does not pay. We get our work done by hired hands and it is almost a business. Crops were bad last year and they are far from being good this season.

If we must stay in this country at all, it must be on the footing of a day-school with a certain annual allowance for our support. This would require a good deal of electioneering, log-rolling, council holding etc. I could wish Very Rev. Father Provincial to give me *carte blanche* to settle this matter and to bring it home in a right position. But I declare beforehand that I will soon try to bring things to a crisis, as soon as next April, 1856. I would suspend the school, etc. I would get the chiefs and headmen to sign my petition and would take it to Washington, let the Department know our circumstances and endeavor to obtain my object.

Please favor me with a line for answer.

Duerinck's proposal failed to commend itself to the vice-provincial, Father Murphy, or to De Smet, the latter of whom wrote on the subject to Fathers Schultz and Gaillard jointly.

I wish you both a most happy New Year. Some time ago Revd F[ather] Provincial received a letter from Duerinck dated November 28 in which he expressed his apprehensions for the continuation of the schools among the Potawatomes on the old plan—his reasons no doubt are very weighty, for a great change has come over the Indian country. My answer to him was rather vague. Revd F. Provincial is of opinion that no steps are to be taken, by the Superior and his Consultors, except after having

previously consulted the Bishop [Miége] and with his consent and approbation The month of April is yet far distant—there is of course time enough to refer the result of your consultations to the Provincial and to await his answer This business of breaking up the schools is a serious matter and requires great reflection The schools may not be as prosperous as heretofore, however, much good may be obtained from them The Baptists and other enemies of the church would certainly rejoice at their being closed The continuation of the schools for one or two years longer may probably obtain grants of land for their continuation—such is the opinion here of Mr Haverty, Secretary of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in St. Louis.¹⁰⁸

The advance of the school subsidy from fifty to seventy-five dollars had been granted by the Indian Bureau only for one year. There was a possibility that the old rate would be resumed April 1, 1856. The prospect alarmed Duerinck and he pleaded with Colonel Manypenny for a continuance of the rate temporarily allowed

No change has taken place in our favor and appearances seem to indicate that low prices have fled from the land forever. The Pottowatomie Manual Labor School is the largest school in the Indian country. We carry it on *bona fide* and in earnest and mean to benefit the Pottowatomie tribe Our people have good board, we furnish them good clothes, lodging and competent teachers We are one-hundred miles from the river and our expenses for provisions and freight are enormous . We could wish you to take the trouble of looking into this business and see what the institution receives

<i>Estimates</i>	
For clothes, tuition, washing, stationery, school-books, lodging and bedding, per day, say,	For clothes, washing, teaching, etc per day .05
04	Breakfast, coffee, meat, bread, etc 05
For dinner 05	Dinner, meat, vegetables, fruit and bread 06
For breakfast 02	Supper, tea, milk, meat and bread 05
For supper 03	<hr/>
<hr/>	21
.14 a day	per day or \$75 per annum
or \$50 per annum	

Now these calculations are based on fact and they show how unreasonable a burden the mission has to bear We try to get along in the world, we work hard to support ourselves and our friends assist us too, but we sink under the difficulty We have seen the time when we could manage to make out, not because \$50 per annum for every scholar was ever adequate

¹⁰⁸ De Smet to Gaillard and Schultz, January 2, 1856 (A).

pay, but because the material aid of our friends joined to our unceasing exertions prevented us from becoming insolvent ¹⁰⁹

The petition of Father Duerinck eventually met with a favorable answer and the seventy-five dollar rate was thenceforth maintained as long as the mission schools continued to be subsidized by the government.

One thing greatly encouraged the mission-staff at St Mary's in the midst of the adverse financial conditions against which the schools had to struggle from first to last, this was the success in an educational way which attended them. Father Duerinck wrote in reference to the crisis of the winter of 1854-1855, which almost forced him to suspend the schools

A ray of hope made us continue the work. We have made great sacrifices to make our pupils comfortable, and we now see several signs to encourage us. May Heaven bless the Pottowatomie boys and girls, their gentle manners, their cheerful countenances and contented looks have won them our approbation, we no longer observe in them that uncouth behavior, that haughty temper, that fondness for their Indian ways which used to mortify us and cut us to the quick, they are now content to stay at school and withal willing to please us. The girls, especially, are remarkable for their industry and personal cleanliness. Distinguished visitors who have on several occasions been shown through the establishment never fail to admire that part of the house and pay the ladies in charge a compliment to that effect. There is also a marked improvement on the score of going and coming, leaving and returning to the school. At present the parents bring their children to the school, and leave them to their studies, without paying them those incessant visits that used to cause us a great deal of annoyance and expense ¹¹⁰

Though the mission school was officially known as the Pottowatomie Manual Labor School, circumstances made it impracticable to introduce manual labor on any considerable scale, at least into the boys' department.

But, although we have facts to state that win us the applause of our friends, we cannot conceal from you that we stand in a false position before the Government. Ours is a manual-labor school for boys. Now the supposition is, or at least ought to be, that the scholars will spend part of the day in the field and part in the school-room, or, as it is practiced in the States, work in summer and study in winter.

When our lads grow up and bid fair to render us some assistance in the

¹⁰⁹ Duerinck to Manypenny, February 22, 1856 (H). On February 9, 1857, Duerinck pleaded with Col. Cummins of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs for a continuance of the seventy-five dollar rate (H).

¹¹⁰ Duerinck to Clarke, October 1, 1855 (H).

field, they are taken home to work and return no more, we only get raw recruits, undisciplined Philistines, hardly willing to learn to work and unable to handle a tool. There lies the difficulty. It is some trouble to make an Indian fall in love with work, who deems labor a disgrace and who looks to his squaw to hoe the corn. The old and the young, the father and the son, are all equally averse to work. An Indian is frequently heard to utter this foolish complaint, that it is a pity he cannot plough his corn in winter when the weather is cool, he says it is too hot to work in summer. There are many exceptions to this rule, but the generality of Prairie Indians live up to it. But if we cannot carry out our plan to its full extent, we are not idle. We have set up our mark, and the little Indians must have their bow and arrow and shoot at it. If they cannot help us to raise corn and pumpkins, they must peel potatoes, mind the gap and be somewhere *in pomorum custodiam* ["on watch over the apples"]¹¹¹

The success of the girls' school is again commented on by Duerinck in his report for 1856

This branch of our manual labor school has more attraction than any other institution of a similar character in the country, the premises have an air of neatness and comfort that strikes the beholder with surprise. If you enter the house during the work hours, you will find the inmates all at work with order and regularity, detailed in small parties under a mistress—some sew or knit, some spin, some cook and eat, others wash, clean up the rooms, milk the cows in the yard, or work in the garden, &c. If you meet them all in one of the rooms, you wonder at their number, as frequently eighty of them will rise at once to greet you. If you happen amongst them during their playtime, you will see them all merry and happy, full of innocent sport and mischief, which on account of their sweet humor is never taken amiss. These girls are of a tame and modest turn while at school, but when they grow up and return to their people, the young men find them very sociable, talkative, fond of dress, and yet of a stern character when they foolishly presume to take undue liberties with them. We train these good children and these young maids to do all sorts of housework, because, whilst we do our own work, we show them every day how work is to be done. At the end of the year there is an examination and a distribution of premiums both for the boys and for the girls, when perhaps some twenty-five of them receive each a new book for their distinguished merit and unwearied application. It would do you good to attend this ceremony, and to witness the joy and exultation they manifest on that occasion. It is considered a favor to be allowed to come to school to the ladies, a great many have made application for admission, but could not immediately be received for want of room.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Duerinck to Clarke, September 25, 1854, in *RCIA*, 1854. The Douay (Catholic) version renders the Latin "*in pomorum custodiam*," as "a place to keep fruit." The expression is from Psalm LXXVIII, v. 1.

¹¹² Duerinck to Clarke, October 20, 1856, in *RCIA*, 1856.

§ 10. FATHER DUERINCK AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

Aversion to manual toil is ingrained in Indian nature. The Potawatomi displayed this trait in ample measure. The "Prairie" or pagan portion of the tribe shrank from labor as a disgrace to their nation and denounced the Mission Indians for tilling the soil. The Mission Indians themselves had constantly to be encouraged to keep them from slipping back into their native indolence. Father Duerinck was remorseless in his efforts to bring the Indians to a better point of view with regard to the need and the dignity of honest toil. The whole tribe, according to William E. Murphy, the Potawatomi agent, was the beneficiary of the lessons of thrift, industry and hard work which he steadily inculcated. "The principal of the school at St. Mary's Mission, Rev. Mr. Duerinck, appears to be the man for the times and the place, possessed as he is of the most unbounded energy, indomitable perseverance and a desire at heart to advance the interests of the Pottowatomie Indians. In truth, the intelligent portion of them know full well that, apart from his admirable management of the school, it would be hard to estimate the benefit he has been to the whole tribe, by instilling into their minds the importance of industry and cultivating the soil."¹¹³

The views of Duerinck on the Indian's supreme need of hard labor and the methods he employed in bringing the lesson home to his Potawatomi charges are set forth with characteristic vigor in his report for 1856. The sturdy Fleming expresses himself with trenchancy, despite the colloquialisms, improprieties of diction and mixed or otherwise infelicitous metaphors that clog his pen:

We are very anxious of [*sic*] showing up our St Mary's Mission farm as a model establishment, and we spare neither exertions nor expense in order to produce the desired effect upon the Indians. We could wish them to follow our example, to work for their living and not to lead a life of starvation, when they can have plenty if they would only bestir themselves. We avoid inconsistency in this matter.

We have no right to scold an Indian for having a weedy cornfield when ours is no better, but when our farm is clear and trim and his smothered with weeds and brambles, then we feel warranted in throwing cold water on his farming. If we show him a large field full of fine growing crops, stacks of oats and hay, herds of cattle, lots of poultry and garden stuff, and defy him to show the like in a spirit of emulation, he seems to be satisfied that he is an Indian and that we are white people, as if he could not aspire to possess what labor can procure, and what every farmer ought to have to make his family comfortable. If we express the delight we feel in possessing labor-saving machines, such as corn shellers,

¹¹³ Murphy to Haverty, September 15, 1857 (A).

cultivators, rollers, horse hay-rakes, mowing machines, corn crushers, &c, &c, and expatiate on the wonderful utility of these implements, they wind up by begging us to come and do their work. This invitation is, of course, declined, on the plea that we do not profess to hire ourselves to work, but that we show them practically how work can be done to advantage when a fellow is up to the tricks.

It would be worse than folly to work for a man who is too lazy to work, and too poor to pay for it when it is done. We lay down the principle that labor is honorable and that it is a shame for a man to let his family starve with hunger when moderate labor would keep them in easy circumstances. We frequently tell some of the poorer sort, that it is with them as with the "starved pig," either root or die. Plant corn and pumpkins, raise potatoes and beans, cease to beg, cease to be idle, cease to be a burden to others, make a garden and eat the fruit thereof, &c. Suppose it makes you sweat, well, what of it? A poor devil ought not to be so nice, a little sweat would not kill you. Some of our gentry have a grudge against us for boldly telling them these things, but in spite of the members of this lazy club, our flag waves in the breeze, and we insist on their making a field and a garden, facilitating them in the way of obtaining a cow or other domestic animals—helping the poor of good will, stimulating the sluggish, rebuking the vicious, reproving the improvident, praising the meritorious, and encouraging the industrious amongst them. We care not for the opinion of those red rovers, and we mean to keep up the fire from the walls of our fort as long as there is a man in arms against us. Their demonstrations and alarms give us but little trouble. We must have patience with them, watch our opportunities, and try it again, we are, all of us, people of good humor, little accustomed to complain, and we believe ourselves the happiest mission in the country. It is a source of unfeigned gratification to us to see so many of our "mission Indians" improve in their temporal condition, advance in civilization, and bid fair to become an agricultural people. Some of these had lived from time immemorial in poverty and destitution, but at the present day they live in ease and plenty, with moderate work. The march of the Pottowatomies, except the prairie bands, is onward, and we will soon have great results. A large number of boys and girls, young men and young women, are growing up in our schools, who are now kept in reserve, but who will soon join in the busy scenes of life and help to promote the good cause. We deem it no small favor to be continued so long in charge of this mission, with the personal aid and advice of so many good persons, who had proved themselves ever true to their vocation and engagements. Verily, we can bear testimony to the truth of the proverb, that "a brother helped by a brother is like a strong city." Although our days are made up of toil and labor, of care and solicitude, yet we are in love with our position—not because things work so well, but because our friends commend our exertions and approve of our management. It is true that our friends who watch over and pray for us, have no great interest at stake, for we have none that pour money into our lap, and give us any material aid. As we are rather hard-shelled fellows, we tell them plainly that as long as we

have nails to our fingers, we shall endeavor to earn our bread in the sweat of our brow, but we liked, of late years, to repent of our cavalier-like independence, for times have been so hard and provisions so high that we found it necessary to implore their assistance or else give up the ship¹¹⁴

All during Duerinck's administration at St. Mary's the sectionizing of the Potawatomi reserve was a living and warmly debated issue. The Mission Indians favored the division of the lands among the individual members of the tribe, while the Prairie or unconverted Indians held for the most part to the existing system of joint proprietorship by the collective tribe. In the autumn of 1853 Colonel Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs, met the Potawatomi in council and proposed to them on the part of the government the purchase of their superfluous lands, at the same time authorizing them to sectionize the unsold portion. The Potawatomi rejected the proposals made by the commissioner, declaring themselves unwilling to sell or divide their lands or exchange them for other lands. Manypenny readily acquiesced in the stand taken by the Indians as he had no intention of urging them to an acceptance of what was distasteful to them, and, in their judgment at least, prejudicial to their interests. "He is a man of great integrity," noted Father Gaillard, "and would not in any way trifle with the rights of the savages. He even defends them boldly in spite of obloquy and censure." Notwithstanding the failure of the Potawatomi on this occasion to take any step away from their traditional status, the better portion of the tribe were eagerly looking forward to the day when they should be able to live under the laws of the United States and enjoy their protection. "We entirely concur," concluded Gaillard, "in these views and only long for their speedy fulfillment."¹¹⁵

The views of the fathers of the mission with regard to Indian land-tenure are ably set forth by Duerinck in his report for 1855

We beg leave to say a word on the Indian policy. The system of possessing lands in common, one hundred and twenty individuals claiming an acre as their own property, is replete with evil and bad consequences that will frustrate the best hopes that the friends of the Indians have conceived. I am bold to maintain that no Indian, no half-breed, no white man living amongst them, will ever feel encouraged to make his premises a comfortable home as long as he labors under the fear that his improvements

¹¹⁴ Duerinck to Clarke, October 20, 1856, in *RCIA*, 1856 "1858 January 2 We have seventy boys on the school list and as many girls. Half-breeds more than ever. Widow Jude Bourassa has sent her three boys and two girls because urged by her brother-in-law." Duerinck's Diary II (F)

¹¹⁵ Gaillard, *History of St. Mary's Mission* (ms.) Original in Latin, English translation by some unknown hand (A)

are liable to be sold for the benefit of the nation at large Give them a title to the land, and you will soon see them vie with each other in their improvements Interest, emulation, and a laudable degree of pride, which are innate in everyone of us, will do more to carry them honorably through the world than all the penalties and coercions now in force amongst them At the present time the industrious, frugal, good-natured Indian is to be pitied, he is the scape-goat in every tribe. When Bonnehomie has, during the summer, summoned his wife and family to share with him the toils and labors of the field, when he has secured his crops, and might expect to enjoy the fruits of his industry, then, day after day, week after week, you will see a gang of lazy neighbors, relatives and acquaintances, all indiscreet intruders, visit that family, eat and drink with them to their heart's content, and eat that poor man out of house and home We tell the Indians that the first step towards civilization is to give up their wandering life, to settle down, and to till the soil When they go to work and raise good crops they say it does them no good, because their hungry, half-starved neighbors hang round them and eat them up This miserable custom, this aversion to work, this eternal begging, disheartens the willing Indian, and he becomes at last so reckless that he feels disposed to abandon our advice, and he concludes that it is far better for him to live and to die as an Indian after having vainly endeavored to live like a white man

After supporting his "proposition," namely, "that the great measure which the emergency of the times seems to require is the division of the land," with what he calls "a string of reasons," fourteen in number, Father Duerinck concludes

The subject under consideration is one of weighty importance, if my zeal for the welfare of the red man has carried me beyond the boundaries of discretion, you are at liberty to disregard my views, and to hold them for the spontaneous effusions of a heart that feels their misfortunes We have lived seven years amongst them, and have observed their manners and customs, their strong and their weak points, and we feel as if our advice could benefit them The best part of our Indians, and especially our mission Indians, have learned to make their living by cultivating the soil, and they are impatient to see the day of emancipation dawn upon them Help them out of Egypt, and guide them to the land of promise, where everyone can build on his own land, and enjoy, without envy or molestation, the fruits of his labor It would be impolitic to discourage them in their aspirations, for it is seldom you find a body of Indians so well disposed as they are, and they ought to be met with the cheer of, God speed the work ¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Duerinck to Clarke, October 1, 1855, in *RCIA*, 1855 Duerinck's contention that the Potawatomi lands should be divided up among the Indians is also set forth in an article entitled "Indian Politics," which seems to be from his pen It appeared in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 21, 1857, and is reproduced in *Mid-America* (Chicago), 17 88-93 William E Connelly, "The Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians," in *Kans Hist Coll*, 14 499 *et seq*, takes Father Duerinck

The granting of the Potawatomi reserve in severalty to the Indians was desired by the Christian Indians generally, including the little group attached to the Baptist Mission Dr. Johnston Lykins, as repre-

to task for his efforts to have the Potawatomi reserve allotted in severalty to the Indians "The report of the Superintendent, J B Duerinck, was somewhat harsh and was evidently written to correspond with the demands of the political powers then in the ascendancy demanding the extinction, according to custom, of Indian titles through allotment of lands in severalty . . . His [Duerinck's] plans would have afforded temporary relief In fact his plans were, in effect, adopted by the treaty of 1861 and resulted in making every Potawatomi except the Prairie Band a homeless outcast . . . Superintendent Duerinck was a vigorous, competent man and a good director of the school He was only mistaken as to how to get the Indian to help himself He was influenced by those conditions most in evidence about him every day He did not reflect deeply on what produced those conditions He had no patience with them He did not see clearly that the Indian was incapable of competition with the white man . . . They [the Prairie Band] have the true conception of what is the best form of Indian life . . . Community life is the only life by which the Indian survives as a people He is an enemy of the Indian who advocates any other mode or form of society for him (pp 504, 506, 511, 515) "

While Father Duerinck may have overrated the Indian's capacity for self-support, it can be said in explanation of his policy that it was the one generally advocated not only by federal officials but also by the missionaries, Catholic and non-Catholic alike Cf letter *infra* of Doctor J Lykins of the Baptist Potawatomi School near Uniontown The unfortunate result of the policy as it affected the Potawatomi was not due to an inherent defect in the policy itself, but to the circumstance that the government did not surround its application with the necessary safeguards Such safeguards have since been devised with the result that the principle of allotting Indian lands in severalty continues to find favor with religious and missionary bodies generally Thus G E Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States* (New York, 1923), which embodies the results of an inter-church survey concluded in 1922 " . . . the Dawes Act [1887], whereby reservations were to be broken up and the land allotted in severalty to be held for a period of 25 years as non-taxable, following which a patent in fee simple was to be issued and the surplus sold and opened up to white people for settlement This was a far-sighted and benevolent policy, the purpose of which was to prepare the Indian for full citizenship during the period of probation and insure him economic independence and self-support (p 36) " Cf also Warren K Moorehead, *The American Indian in the United States* "The Indian must ultimately be merged into the body politic, as has been affirmed (p 434) " Francis E Leupp, *The Indian and his Problem* (New York, 1910) "The system of common property was fatal to all legitimate enterprise on the part of any individual Indian (p 27) " James McLaughlin, *My Friend The Indian* (Boston, 1910) "So soon as the proper official declares that an Indian is competent to administer his own affairs, let that Indian have his portion of the fund, also a patent in fee for his allotment and let him shift for himself (p 403) " But without proper safeguards in its application the policy of individual ownership, as experience proves, works to the detriment of the Indian "When the government adopted the policy of individual ownership of the land on the reservations, the expectation was that the Indians would become farmers Part of the plan was to instruct and aid them in agriculture,

senting the latter, wrote as follows to Commissioner Manypenny in 1854

Mr Jude Boursissa [Bourassa], a half-breed Putawatomi, arrived here on the same day of the decease of Major Brown, the late agent for that tribe. The object of his visit was to have their agent inform you that a majority of their tribe now wishes to cede their country to the United States.

In the absence of an agent and at his earnest solicitations I communicate their wishes. The request for an opportunity to enter into a treaty is presented by J. W. Bourissa [Bourassa] (a reliable man), Pategoskik[?] and various other chiefs.

They represent that the whites are now pressing on their lines and in some instances perhaps crossing them—that steamboats are now running to Ft Riley, requiring warehouses and other accommodations along the river and which can only be obviated by a treaty etc. From my own knowledge of the Putawatomies I am satisfied a majority of them are desirous to sell their country and adapt their conditions to the new order of things. And I would suggest that it is the only means of preventing serious difficulties between them and their white neighbors. Their lines in the main cannot now be ascertained by either whites or Indians without a survey and will be crossed by settlers.¹¹⁷

The views thus expressed by Father Duerinck and Dr. Lykins on what was by all odds the most vital issue confronting government in its dealings with the Potawatomi met with ready indorsement from all concerned in the welfare of the tribe. The Potawatomi agent, W. E. Murphy, insisted in all his reports on the sectionizing of the reserve as a measure imperatively demanded in the best interests of the Indians. His report for 1857 throws light on the status of the land-question at that date.

It is a pleasure to me to be able to report that a large majority, probably two-thirds, of the Pottawatomies are engaged in the cultivation of the soil, they have a rich and beautiful country, the soil well adapted to the

but this vital part was not pressed with vigor and intelligence. It almost seems as if the government assumed that some magic in individual ownership of property would in itself prove an educational civilizing factor, but unfortunately this policy has for the most part operated in the opposite direction." *The Problem of Indian Administration Summary of Findings and Recommendations*. From the report of a survey made at the request of the Honorable Hubert Work, secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him February 21, 1928 (Washington, 1928), p. 7.

¹¹⁷ Lykins to Manypenny, July 1 (H). For contemporary press-notice of the movement in favor of sectionizing the Potawatomi reserve, cf. E. Harold Young, "Some Contemporary References to St. Mary's Mission," in *Mid-America*, 17: 84-103 (1935).

cultivation of corn, oats, potatoes, wheat, tobacco, &c , and all that is required to make them a prosperous and a happy people, with the benign influence that the United States Government exerts in behalf of their education, is to avail themselves of that advantage, which nature has placed in their hands, in the cultivation of the soil I shall continue my exertions to stimulate them in their laudable ambition to excel in this art, by directing their attention to the advantages the farmer has over all other professions

The Pottawatomies have held several councils within the last two months in regard to sectionizing their land, but it seems that, notwithstanding this once powerful and mighty tribe have dwindled down to the insignificant number of about three thousand, it is composed of such discordant elements that they cannot unite upon a plan to save themselves from that destruction which will inevitably befall them if they fail to have their land sectionized, and thereby rendered to them permanent homes The industrious and intelligent portion of this tribe, composed of the "Wabash" and "St Joseph's" bands, see the importance of getting the government to adopt such measures as will protect them in the enjoyment of their homes, and save them from being driven before the tide of emigration which is rapidly flowing into Kansas The "Prairie band" appear to despise the principles of civilization, look upon work as a disgrace, and when they hear those Indians who cultivate the soil speak of sectionizing they immediately denounce them, and charge them with endeavoring to swindle them out of their land The "Prairie band" constitutes about one-third of the Indians within this agency When I see the industrious portion of this tribe show such uneasiness of mind in regard to holding their land, see them manifest a disposition to earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, and hear them express the wish to have permanent homesteads for themselves and their children, I am induced to appeal to the Indian department in their behalf to sectionize their land, give each one a homestead of one-hundred and sixty acres, and let them sell the balance of their land, and with the proceeds build stone fences and make other permanent improvements ¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Murphy to Haverty, September 15, 1857 An able address of Murphy to "my Potawatomi friends," dated Potawatomi Agency, K T , November 1857, urging them to unite in petitioning the government to sectionize their land is in the files of the Indian Office He advised against sending two delegations to Washington, one for and one against sectionizing, as the Indians were proposing to do, and suggested their selling the part of their reserve south of the Kaw "In advising you to give up a part of your land, my children, you may rest assured that I have kept steadily in view your true interests You must remember that your number is a great deal less now than it was in 1846, when you obtained by treaty this country, that your land is situated in the center of a territory rapidly settling up with a white population, which will in a short time be admitted as a State into the Union, that from the fact of your reserve being so large, containing as it does 576,000 acres, public sentiment is against your retaining it all, and I am of the opinion that if you can effect an arrangement by which you can hold in peace and security two-thirds of it, you ought to do so" Murphy appears to have conducted the business of the agency with efficiency though there was long-continued opposition against him on various grounds, among others, that of alleged favoritism to the Catholic

The movement for the breaking up the Potawatomi reserve was to come to a head in the treaties finally negotiated between the Indians

Indians Andrew Jackson to Acting Commissioner Wise, Uniontown, March 6, 1858 (H) Jackson, evidently a non-Catholic, suggested that the Catholic and Baptist schools be allowed each a half-section, as was subsequently done in the treaty of 1861 Supporting Murphy were Chief Joseph Lafromboise, Madore M Beaubien, Topenebee and John Tipton, against him and petitioning Washington for his removal were Amable A Bertrand, Joseph N Bourassa, Anthony F Navarre, Louis Ogee, and William M Rice, all Potawatomi half-breeds, with the possible exception of the last In a letter of December 11, 1857, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Denver, (H), Murphy again discloses his views on the sectionizing issue "Having just received information that a Delegation of the Bluff or 'Prairie Indians' of this Agency, are congregated at the Baptist Mission School, for the purpose of starting on tomorrow morning to Washington City, I deem it my duty to address you a few lines in order to let you know the true position of said delegation 1st, In their opposition to sectionizing the reservation they represent the views of only about six hundred members of the nation, and that number composed of that class of the Pottawatomies who are opposed to Educating their Children, and to cultivating the soil 2ndly, Said delegation after agreeing with the intelligent and industrious portion of the Pottawatomies to decline going to Washington, as you will perceive from the inclosed note, were induced to forfeit their word and thus unexpectedly start off, by one Anthony Navarre a half-breed Pottawatomie, who has for two years past, preceding last summer, been living in Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, and whom I was forced to have arrested, and confined in jail several days, to prevent his preaching mormonism, and advising the Indians to go to Utah Said Navarre has a Father living in Indiana, and in order to obtain his release, promised me that he would go to Indiana, instead of doing which he took up his residence entirely amongst the poor, unfortunate band of 'Prairie Indians,' to whom he has been a great injury, by instilling into their minds his foolish mormon doctrine, and prejudicing them still more against the intelligent and Christian portion of the Pottawatomies I have laboured with the most untiring energy to get the 'Prairie band' of this Agency, friendly and united with their brethren, and to follow the example of those who were tilling the ground, and Educating their Children God knows that I felt an interest in their welfare and had a great desire to accomplish with them, what all former Agents had failed to do, but so far I have only succeeded in getting a promise from them, to send their Children to school The delegation now enroute for Washington go there contrary to the wish of four fifths of the Indians under my charge, and consequently have no right to propose, or make any arrangement with your honor, for the Pottawatomie nation, hence it is, that I felt it due to myself, and due to the Intelligent, Christian and Civilized portion of my Children, to take the liberty of making to your honor the statements which I have thus made The Mission Indians contemplated sending on a delegation, but in accordance with my advice have deferred it until spring Congress being now in session, I was of the opinion that it would better suit your convenience then, to talk with them, than at this time" Murphy to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Gen J W Denver, Potawatomi Agency, K T, December 11, 1857 (H)

A letter of P H Waterman, Mill Creek, Potawatomi Reserve, July 26, 1859, has this item "Again, there are a few agitators in the nation who are continually running to St Louis or Washington on pretended business for the nation, but

and the federal government. Meantime, amid the rapidly changing conditions around it, St Mary's Mission went steadily on. The impression made by it on competent and impartial observers is freely expressed in the annual reports of the Potawatomi Indian agents, who as residents on the reserve had ample opportunities to study at close range the practical workings of the mission. A few extracts follow.

G W. Clarke, October 17, 1855. By the school report of Mr. Duerinck, it will be seen that the missionary labors at St Mary's are divided into two establishments. The boys are under the charge of the "fathers" of the institution, whilst the girls are under the kind care of the "Ladies of the Sacred Heart." I cannot speak in terms too highly of the condition of these establishments. Besides the ordinary literary course, the girls are taught sewing, knitting, embroidery, and the various other branches of house-keeping. In connexion with the institution is a manual labor school, where the boys are taught the practical and useful departments of farming, gardening, &c. Mr. Duerinck is a man of great energy and business habits, united with a devotion to the welfare of the Pottawatomie Indians, to whom he has proved a father and friend, and by whom he is highly esteemed. I have no hesitancy in expressing my conviction that this institution is of great service to these Indians. This influence is seen in the neat cottages and little fields of the "Mission Indians," and the air of comfort and good order apparent throughout the neighborhood.¹¹⁹

G W. Clarke, September 25, 1856. The annual report of the St Mary's mission establishment has not been sent in. It has doubtless been sent direct to the Indian Office. This institution is of the highest order of mission schools and merits my warmest commendation. The labors of the reverend gentlemen and the ladies conducting it are not only improving the rising generation and preparing them for civilized society, but the influence of their example and counsels is manifestly to the advantage of the adults.¹²⁰

W E. Murphy, September 15, 1857. The neatness and cleanliness of the school yard and buildings at St Mary's give to it an air of comfort that is the admiration of all passers by. The female department of this school is under the management of nine Sisters of the Sacred Heart, with Madame Lucille as superior, and is frequently visited by distinguished strangers, who, after seeing the amiable manners, cleanly appearance, and cheerful looks of the Pottawatomie girls, and the fine order, system, and regularity with which the school is conducted, not only express their appro-

whose action the nation knows nothing about and who draw money from the national fund to pay their time and expenses, besides running the nation into debt. Our excellent agent [William F. Murphy] is doing his best for the nation. I hope he will be sustained. I understand there is a petition out got up by these agitators." (H)

¹¹⁹ *RCIA*, 1855, no. 38

¹²⁰ *Idem*, 1856, no. 34

bation, but wonder at seeing so fine an institution of learning within an Indian reservation.¹²¹

No little success had thus attended the efforts of Father Duerinck to build up the Catholic Potawatomi Mission. Materially it was on a solid basis, despite the difficulties that its upkeep entailed, morally and educationally it was rendering undoubted service to the tribe. Having lived long enough to see his work prosper, Duerinck was now to be carried off by a premature death. In the fall of 1857 he received instructions from the vice-provincial, Father Druyts, to repair to the

¹²¹ *Idem*, 1857 Side-lights on Duerinck's activities in his frontier environment are afforded by his Diary II. Extracts additional to those cited in the text follow "Received July 5, 1854 a letter from Francis Arenz, Arenzville, Illinois, enquiring about the Kansas Territory. Answered him July 15, 1854."

"Lawyer Branscom from Massachusetts came up on his way to Fort Riley, July 24, 1854 to examine the country."

"Requested, July 28, 1854, Bishop Loras to make a claim opposite Bluff City on the Half Breed land near Sarpy's at Bellevue for Bishop Miege" [Probably a question of securing a church-site.]

"Bishop [Miege] has contracted May 8, 1855, with Mr James Dixon for the stonework of a building of the following dimensions at Pawnee 32 feet 16 feet wide 22 feet high the front to be of cut stone as well furnished as the best work at Fort Riley. The other sides to be rubble stone work. The building is to have the necessary openings, all work, material, sand, limestone, etc. to be furnished by said Dixon and to be finished by 15th Sept. next for the consideration of 600 dollars which is to be full [free?] of all account."

"1856 Informed Father Druyts, Provincial, that St. Mary's Mission, will subscribe 1000 francs to the monument of St. Ignatius at Rome."

"1856 October 27 Forwarded also to the Editor Ohio Cultivator a golden dollar for my subscription for 1856."

"1857 February 4 Forwarded to Col S. D. Harris, Columbus, Ohio, six dollars to pay in full for a club of ten to subscribe for the Ohio Cultivator from February 1857-1858. Henry Rodierke, Louis Vieux, Francis Bergeron, Doctor L. R. Palmer (Louisville P. O. Rock Creek), Ferryman Smith, J. B. Duerinck, Mrs. Joseph Bertrand, Joseph Laframboise, Medard Beaubien, L. R. Darling (St. Marys Mission P. O.) Requested to send the copies put up in good wrappers."

"1857 March 30 Col Isaac Winston, Mitchell's Station Culpeper Co. Virginia leaves today for Washington. He will take a copy of Indian Politics to the Indian Office at Washington and recommend our plans to the Dept."

"1857 July 18 Today July 18, 1857 is the hottest day we have ever experienced on the Kaw River. The thermometer stands at 112° at ¼ before 5 o'clock P. M. in the shade."

"1859 April 20 Today John Riffel on his way to Pike's Peak left with me [Schultz] some deeds enclosed in a portfolio which he intends to take back on his return. Should he not come back he wishes that the whole should be forwarded to Mrs. Jane Riffel living in Summit, Cambry [Cambria] County, Pennsylvania (It has been returned in summer of 1860)."

Duerinck's Diary II was continued after him by Fathers Schultz and Diels. It will continue to be cited under the same name.

novitiate at Florissant and there make his tertianship or third year of probation as a preparation for his final vows as a Jesuit. A letter from him dated November 24, 1857, announced to Druyts his intention of complying at once with the order. "I intend to go to Leavenworth and thence to St Louis in the course of this week. The chiefs of the tribe, the warriors, the medicine-man, and old men and young have agreed to send a deputation to Washington, or rather two deputations, one composed of Prairie Indians, unconverted Potawatomi, and the other of Mission Indians. These last have me on their list to accompany them to Washington with a view to advancing the interests of the Mission and helping them to attain more surely the object of their negotiations with Government. It will belong to the Superior, to decide what I shall have to do, whatever be his decision, whether I am to go or remain behind, I shall be equally satisfied."¹²²

This was the last word from Father Duerinck to reach St Louis. On December 14 De Smet was visited at St. Louis University by an old acquaintance of his Rocky Mountain days, Captain Mullan, U.S.A., who brought him the sad intelligence that Father Duerinck had in all probability been drowned in the Missouri on his way to St Louis. The circumstances, as narrated by the captain, are embodied in a letter which De Smet dispatched on the following day to Bishop Miége in Leavenworth

I write in a great hurry and am most uneasy in mind. Yesterday late in the afternoon Captain Mullan paid me a visit and stated the following to me,—“he met Father Duerinck at your Reverence’s house—he saw him leave Leavenworth by stage for Kansas City and on his way to Liberty—when below Wyandotte City, the Captain heard it stated, that the day previous, the 8th or 9th, a flatboat had left Wyandotte ferry with six gentlemen, one of them a priest—above Independence Landing the flatboat struck a snag, was upset, three out of the six were drowned, the priest being one of them” The Captain fears that the priest, whose name was not mentioned, might be Duerinck. Knowing from a letter received that he was on his way down, we are all in the greatest uneasiness of mind. I said Mass for him this morning. I hasten to communicate this melancholy and sad news to your Reverence, however, with as yet, a little glimmering of hope. May the Lord have saved him—his loss will be severely felt indeed. We will immediately institute inquiries—please do what you can in this regard¹²³

¹²² Duerinck à Druyts, November 24, 1857, in *Précis Historiques* (Brussels), 7 102

¹²³ De Smet to Miége, December 15, 1857 (A) “Nov 30 [1857] Fr Duerinck has left the Mission to make his tertianship—he took along for traveling expenses fifty-eight (58) dollars”

Dec 18 Sad news of Fr Duerinck’s death received at 8 P M by a letter

Letters similar to the above were sent by De Smet to Father Bernard Donnelly, the Catholic pastor at Kansas City, and to William Jarboe, a merchant of the same city, asking them to make inquiries and, if Father Duerinck had really perished, to endeavor to recover the body and have it sent to Florissant. The story told by Captain Mullan appears to have been confirmed in a few days and by December 21 De Smet had written to Duerinck's parents in Belgium acquainting them with their son's untimely death. As the river was too low for steamboats to ascend beyond Kansas City, Duerinck had started off in a small skiff with five or six other passengers with the intention of going downstream as far as Liberty, where they expected to find a steamer for St. Louis. A short distance below Independence the skiff struck a snag and upset. Two of the men were saved by clinging to the sides of the boat until it ran on a sand-bar, the others, including Duerinck, fell into the water and were drowned. The priest's body was never recovered, though De Smet undertook a trip up the Missouri as far as Kansas City in the hope of finding it. "A few days after this unfortunate accident, a steamboat captain had seen a corpse upon a sand-bar near the place of the shipwreck and had caused it to be buried. At the news I set out to visit this solitary grave dug on the banks of the Missouri, in the vicinity of the town of Liberty. The occupant of the grave was not my confrere and dear friend, for whom I was searching. His accoutrement indicated a deckhand from some boat. I felt sad over the outcome."¹²⁴ De Smet notes that his prayers on this occasion to St. Anthony were left unanswered.

The death of Father Duerinck was a stunning blow to St. Mary's Mission. It was in great measure owing to his successful business management amid peculiarly trying circumstances that the mission had grown to its existing prosperous condition, while his persevering efforts to teach the Indians sobriety and thrift had met with visible success. Agent Murphy in his report for 1858 rendered testimony on the point "It is due to the Pottawatomies as a tribe that I should state a large majority of them are sober people, and that many of them have used every exertion in their power, to aid me in keeping liquor out of their

from Bishop Miége care of Mr Clark, U S Army. He got drowned between Kansas City and Liberty. He had bought in Wyandott [Kansas City, Kansas] a skiff in company with four other gentlemen. They struck a snag. Three got drowned and two saved. Dr Smith of Leavenworth City, one of these two, wrote his wife who told it to the Bishop. Next day Col Murphy started to Leavenworth.

Dec 23 Requiem Mass sung for F D. A letter read by Mr Stinson in presence of Jos Bourassa and Med Beaubien relates differently the Father's death. A traveller tells Mrs Jos Bertrand, Fr Duer had been seen in St Louis. Hence doubts and suspicions." Duerinck's Diary II (continued by Schultz) (F)

¹²⁴ De Smet to Parmentier, February 24, 1858 (A)

reserve. The credit for sobriety and industry which a portion of the Pottawatomies are entitled to is in a great measure due to the late Rev. John B. Duerinck, former Superintendent of St Mary's Mission, whose melancholy death cast a gloom over the entire reservation, the poor, honest Indians looked to him as children to an affectionate father, he warned them continually of the great change which would soon take place amongst them, the nature of the elements with which they would soon be surrounded and the great necessity on their part of honesty, industry and sobriety to counteract the dangerous influences to which they would be exposed Truly may it be said that in his death they lost a friend and a benefactor"¹²⁵

At De Smet's request, Fathers Gaillard and Schultz, the remaining priests at St Mary's, drew up a joint tribute to the memory of Father Duerinck After noting that the father was put to the necessity for many years of maintaining the schools on the pittance of fifty dollars annually for each pupil, the document goes on to say

Thanks to the intelligence and activity of Father Duerinck the Mission met all expenses and triumphed over all obstacles But how much pain and trouble it cost him to put his big family, his dear Indian children, under cover from indigence? To traverse great deserts in order to purchase animals at a low price and bring them to St Mary's, to go many hundred miles up and down the Mission, to be continually on the alert to find a favorable occasion for getting together and disposing of the products of the farm, to make every possible exertion to find the means of subsistence, to be constantly thinking out new resources, forming new plans and executing new projects to provide for the needs of the large family committed to his care, all this is what Father Duerinck so nobly undertook to do in favor of the Mission and with perfect success

The Father had a strongly tempered character, rather had he a soul

¹²⁵ Murphy to Robinson, August 13, 1858 *RCIA*, 1858 "There has been during the month of December an increase in the number of the scholars at both of the schools within the agency and notwithstanding the model school at St Mary's Mission moves on with its usual system and regularity, without intermission or interruption under the management of the former teachers, there is at present a melancholy gloom surrounding the mission and neighborhood caused by the sudden and unexpected death of the Superior Rev Father Duerinck, whose mortal remains are still in the Missouri River and whose irreparable loss I regard as among the greatest calamities that could have befallen the Potawatomi Indians, for he was to them truly a friend and a father It is one of the decrees of an all-wise Providence to which we must humbly bow and fortunately for the school at St Mary's Mission the place of Father Duerinck may be filled, for it is the full grown Indians who will miss his advice and example, more than the little boys and girls at school, for they will continue to receive from the Rev gentlemen over them the same kindness and instruction" W E Murphy to John Haverly, December 21, 1857 (A)

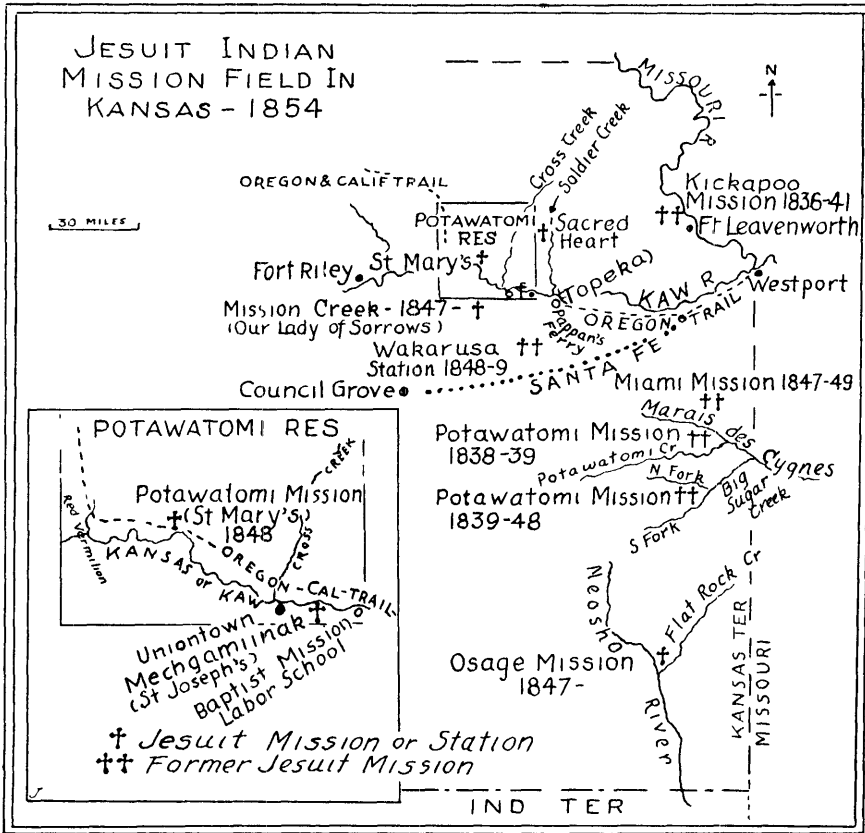
that was virtuously courageous. The infirmities to which he was subject never forced any complaint from him nor produced the least alteration in his manner. For him the winter seemed to have lost its icy rigors and summer its stifling heat. Without respite he braved the inclemencies of the seasons. We have seen him start out on a long journey in the coldest weather and continue it in the face of a freezing north wind, with the result that on arriving at the house where he intended to lodge, he found some of his members to be as hard as stone, having been stiffened by the cold, not to lose the use of them altogether he had to bathe them in ice-cold water. He neglected his sleep, he forgot his meals, he was ready for every sacrifice in the interests of his savage children. Amid so much labor and fatigue he was ever of an even temper, ever of untroubled countenance, ever patient, ever affable. Neither the pecuniary difficulties nor the embarrassments of every kind which beset him at all moments could trouble his peace of soul. The practice of humility was, so to speak, natural to him, never was pretence or affectation remarked in his manner, never did he speak a word which smacked even remotely of vanity. He knew nothing at all of those subtle allusions by which self-love seeks at times to lend importance to its personality. Although a Superior and held in high esteem by all who knew how to appreciate nice manners, he found his greatest pleasure in setting himself as the least of the domestics to the most menial tasks.¹²⁶

§ II THE MISSION UNDER FATHER SCHULTZ

As a substitute for Father Duerinck during his expected temporary stay at Florissant, the vice-provincial had made choice of Father John Schultz, a native of Alsace, who had in his favor as a qualification for his new post a missionary experience of some six years among the Potawatomi.¹²⁷ Immediately after Duerinck's untimely death in De-

¹²⁶ *Précis Historiques* (Brussels), 7 189

¹²⁷ John Schultz, born at Niedermorschwiller, Upper Rhine, February 2, 1816, entered the Society of Jesus, October 7, 1837, died in St. Louis, August 25, 1887. Though Father Schultz at first experienced difficulty in learning Potawatomi, he eventually mastered the language, compiling even a grammar of it, which is preserved in the Missouri Province Archives. "It looks also as though my brave Father Schultz is discouraged before the difficulties of the Potawatomic language, and verily if I were not obliged to put on a good face and inspire in him a courage which sometimes forsakes myself, I should long ago have cast to the winds any hope of learning that hopeless Potawatomic. This is altogether an occupation for the winter when we can do but little. Most of the time it is impossible to go out on account of the icy wind, which is almost constantly blowing across our prairies, moreover, the Indians for the most part are gone away, scattered in all directions on the hunt. So the rest of us during this time study, read a bit of everything, try our hands a little at all trades, mason, teacher of penmanship, arithmetic, plain-chant, each has his share and sometimes the whole business together." Miège à Beckx (undated) (AA). "The sad news of F. Duerinck's death reached us on Friday last, 18th inst. The Lord has sent a hard trial to St. Mary's



In the fifties and sixties the Jesuit Indian missionaries of Kansas operated at and from two centers, St Mary's Potawatomi Mission and the Osage Mission. Compiled by G J Garraghan, drawn by J V Jacobsen

ember, 1858, Father Schultz was duly constituted superior of the Potawatomi Mission His first report to Father Beckx on conditions at St Mary's, which is dated March 1, 1859, revealed the fact that Duerinck's business methods, though on the whole successful, left something to be desired Father Schultz begins his report by declaring himself a novice in the art of managing a farm There was much confusion as a result of Duerinck's sudden demise, as he died without a will The most serious embarrassment was that resulting from the bankruptcy of a merchant with whom he had placed eight thousand dollars on deposit, money received from the government for live stock sold to the commissary department of Fort Riley Of this sum he had withdrawn only twenty-one hundred dollars and this not in cash, but in provisions bought at prices far above their value Another source of trouble was a steam-mill installed by Duerinck at an outlay of thirty-seven hundred dollars. Running expenses being in excess of the receipts, his successor disposed of the mill on credit, as nothing else could be done with it The rash purchaser was now in straits and it was impossible to say when he would be able to pay for it. Father Duerinck had sold considerably to men of little or no business credit or honesty with the result that Father Schultz had to resort to law-suits to recover sums due to the Mission

These embarrassments have led me to follow a different course from that followed by my predecessor, namely, to sell nothing on credit unless to perfectly reliable persons Moreover, it seems to me that the money furnished by Government ought to suffice Last year my bill to the Bureau of Indian Affairs was \$10,453 62, a modest sum when one considers that the children must be fed, clothed and instructed at the expense of the house, and yet sufficient with the resources which we derive from our live-stock, three hundred horned cattle These are raised at little expense thanks to the great prairies which furnish rich pasturage in abundance for three seasons of the year and hay enough to keep the animals for the winter But are we to enjoy this advantage long? Probably not The Indians will soon have to divide part of their land and sell the surplus Then we shall have to maintain the cattle on our own land, if we are given any, and reduce them to a number insufficient for our support. When we shall have to buy meat, the money furnished by Government will not suffice This made my predecessor think that we should be unable to continue the schools, which are as it were the life of the Mission, unless we are given \$100 instead of

Mission I asked Bishop Miège to send up Fr Converse to take F D's place until your Reverence sends another Superior I feel entirely unqualified for the task—unknown to me are money and farm concerns—I am too much a foreigner to write to the Gentlemen of Washington as Superintendent of an American school—my accent is too french or german to please native ears etc” Schultz to Druyts, December 21, 1857 (A)

\$75 a year [for each pupil] Shall we get this? It is difficult to say If the Indians were united in our favor, yes Unfortunately, they are neither united nor all in our favor Some, under the influence of a Mormon minister, favor the Baptist school, others favor district-schools, as in the United States And yet it is just that the Government accede to the demands of *our* Indians, who form the civilized and industrious part of the nation It is not likely that the Mission will last many years The Potawatomi are only three thousand and their number decreases yearly The future has nothing promising for them Hemmed in closely by the whites, they must perforce choose one of two evils, either retire to the Rocky Mountains or become farmers In the one case they will fall in with the Sioux and Arapahoes, their enemies, and be exterminated, in the other, they will remain where they are and so be among scoundrels, who in exchange for trifles will buy their houses and farms and so reduce them to beggary

The schools were on excellent footing. The nuns, nine in number, were doing a distinct measure of good, not only to the children, but to other persons of their sex. To find young girls neat and clean and quick to learn how to read, write, sew, crochet and embroider was not such a marvel in itself, but to find them among a people accustomed to idleness and squalor was a thing that astounded even the non-Catholic clergymen that came from time to time to visit the mission. The boys were taught to read, write and cipher A good number of them learned to read and write well and some were able to answer rather satisfactorily questions put to them in history, geography, grammar and arithmetic The chief obstacle to their progress was that their parents, who were exceedingly attached to their children, took them from school for weeks and months at a time. Most of the boys were too small for manual labor To cut wood and assist the cook in winter and in summer to help the brothers who have charge of the garden and live-stock, was about all they could do. The mission-staff numbered eleven, three being priests and the rest brothers. One priest served the Indians and one the whites, who were the Americans, Irish, French and Germans residing around the mission. The third priest, the superior, helped the other two in their ministry and directed the work of the brothers. "If the good we do is modest," concludes Father Schultz, "we console ourselves with the thought that we are members of a Society whose labors are appreciated by the Vicar of Jesus Christ."¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Schultz à Beckx, March 1, 1859 (AA) "Good Father Duerinck was considered a clever man in temporal concerns—and as such he acted pretty much on his own hook, keeping his plans to himself—no doubt he has managed well,—but under the circumstances his death will bring along much trouble in the settlement of his affairs We would like to be informed whether he had a last will? Whether you know of any payments he had to make for monies collected for others? What arrangement had he made in regard to the steam-mill? From the very start I

Somewhat over a year later, May 12, 1860, Father Schultz again reported on conditions in the mission. The Indians were fast diminishing in numbers. Game, formerly their chief means of subsistence, was lacking in the reserve and the resultant change of diet to which they were now subjected was perhaps one of the causes of the malignant fevers that decimated them. Another cause was drink. "How right were our Fathers of old in trying to forbid the whites all access to the Indian lands. Drunkenness had made frightful progress among the Indians, especially the young, since the whites had surrounded the Mission. At the same time an appreciable number of the Indians were proof against temptation and remained fervent. The church was frequented, but less than formerly, especially on week-days, since the Indians were living more scattered than ever as a result of the scarcity of food. The dispersal of the Indians also led to a reduction in the number of communions. Last year only about seventy-five hundred were counted. The baptisms of children fell in a year from two hundred and thirteen to one hundred and thirty-five. The government continued its kindly attitude towards the mission. Supplemented by a successful harvest and the revenue from the herd, the subsidy of seventy-five dollars per pupil was sufficient to meet expenses. "We try as far as possible to conform to the customs of the Society. Last fall I introduced reading and penances in the [Jesuit] refectory, previously quite neglected owing to the presence at table of strangers." Father Schultz concludes by saying that the position of the Potawatomi is after all less critical than that in which Providence has placed the Father General, reference being made

have looked upon that steam-mill speculation as out of the usual way of the Society—my candid opinion on the subject is,—sell it as quick as possible and to the best advantage to the Mission—you may find it necessary, perhaps, to bring the mill to the Mission and watch an opportunity to sell it." De Smet to Schultz, January 9, 1858 (A)

"1858, January. Trip to the saw mill on Rock Creek (Louisville). The saw put up in a wrong way and place. Cannot work. The miller has left. The engineer can but grind few bushels of corn meal to support himself. New expenses to be made." "February 9. Mill sold to Louis Vicux for \$3,378." Duerinck's Diary II. Louis Vieux (November 3, 1809—May 3, 1872), of French-Potawatomi blood, born probably near Chicago. Moved with the Prairie Potawatomi to Council Bluffs, thence to Indianola (North Topeka) and finally settled in 1847 or 1848 about fifteen miles northwest of St. Mary's on the Oregon Trail a short distance east of where it crossed the Vermilion River. Here he operated a toll bridge, furnished hay and grain to travellers, and had a stable for passing stage-coaches. He was employed as business agent and interpreter for the Potawatomi and made several trips to Washington on behalf of the tribe. He owned nearly the whole town-site of Louisville, which was named for him. On his tombstone in the old Indian cemetery about a hundred yards north of his log-cabin near the Vermilion is the inscription: "For many years one of the leaders of the Potawatomes, influential in their councils." Smith, "The Oregon Trail through Potawatomi County" in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 17:454.

to the contemporary persecution of the Holy See by the Italians of the Risorgimento "May the Lord keep away the storm which threatens the city of our Holy Father We do not cease to pray to this effect and our Indians pray with us" ¹²⁹

From all accounts Father Schultz appears to have acquitted himself with more than ordinary credit as head of the mission, which continued to maintain a high level of efficiency and success "At no former period since my connection with this Agency," reported Murphy in 1859, "has St Mary's mission given more favorable indications of growing prosperity and future usefulness to the Indians than the present The Superintendent, Rev. Mr Schultz, has been connected with this mission for the last eight years, he is a gentleman possessed of energy and business habits, united with a great devotion to the true interests of the Indians, and is unremitting in his exertions to advance their spiritual and temporal welfare" ¹³⁰

In April, 1861, Father John Diels, a Belgian, then in his fortieth year, took up his duties as superior of St Mary's in succession to Father Schultz, who in July of the same year was called to the presidency of St Xavier College, Cincinnati.¹³¹ In his scholastic days Diels had seen service at Sugar Creek and he came to his new charge direct from Florissant where, being in feeble health, he was carrying some light duties as instructor to the scholastics Writing to Father Beckx, January 28, 1862, he expressed the satisfaction he felt to find the status of the mission, both spiritual and economic, *satis bonus*, a description which indicates probably a more satisfactory condition of things that the literal equivalent of the Latin terms might suggest There were few Potawatomi around the Mission, most of the tribe being settled from seven to twenty-five miles away Hence a difficulty in visiting and instructing them Additional tasks had to be imposed on the coadjutor-brothers The mission without the schools would be impossible, but these unhappily were now in danger, as the Indians in the treaty they recently made with government did not properly safeguard them ¹³²

¹²⁹ Schultz à Beckx, May 12, 1860 (AA)

¹³⁰ Murphy to Robinson, September 10, 1859, in *RCIA*, 1859

¹³¹ John F Diels, born at Turnhout in Belgium, October 10, 1821, entered the Society of Jesus, October 30, 1842, died at Milwaukee, Wis, December 17, 1878

¹³² Diels ad Beckx, January 28, 1862 (AA) "1862 April 20 Easter Sunday Today there was an unusually large congregation It was thought there were between 2 and 300 communions and more than 500 people at High Mass They said there never had been a larger crowd in the church than on this happy day" "1862 July 4 Today all our school boys went on a picnic in grand style bearing the stripes and stars with drums and trumpets They were all in good spirits and seemed to assume [*sic*] themselves perfectly well" Duerinck's Diary II (F)

§ 12 THE COADJUTOR-BROTHERS

As in other Jesuit missions among the aborigines the successes achieved at St Mary's were due in a considerable degree to the services rendered by zealous and devoted coadjutor-brothers. From the opening of the mission down to the seventies their roll-call includes among others the names of Andrew Mazzella, Daniel Doneen, John Duggan, Peter Karleskind, Sebastian Schlienger, Louis de Vriendt, Henry Dickneite, John Murphy, John Patton, Martin Corcoran and Peter Goodwin. Father Diels observed in his initial report to the Father General, January, 1862, that the brothers were carrying a rather excessive load of work, and yet, he added, "their great readiness for labor and prompt obedience have been no slight consolation to us." There was no tailor, shoemaker, baker, butcher, gardener, and scarcely a blacksmith in the vicinity of the mission, i.e. within a radius of twenty miles. The government subsidy was not adequate to the upkeep of the mission and many things had to be provided by the labor of the mission-staff. Hired help, especially for the farm and herd, was difficult to obtain, the Civil War being in progress at the period of Father Diels's letter, and an undue measure of labor was consequently thrown upon the brothers. "Brother Dickneite almost single-handed has to cook and bake for Ours and the domestics and the boys and all that in one and the same place and a highly uncomfortable one at that, especially in the summer time. Brothers Karleskind and Murphy superintend and watch over a large number of boys day and night besides combing and cleaning them and teaching them in school. They give the boys lessons in manual labor, generally accompany them to their tasks, and take care of their clothing and beds. And all these duties the [two] Brothers discharge with such an amount of zeal as to put our schools under great obligations to them."¹³³

Peter Karleskind, whose important services to the mission Diels thus commended to the General, was personally known to Father De Smet, who wrote that to this fervent brother could be fittingly applied the words spoken of St John Berchmans by his superior, "*omnia bene fecit*," "he did everything well."¹³⁴ Whether employed as gardener, baker, refectorian, sacristan or teacher, he threw himself without reserve into the duties assigned him. He began his career as a teacher in St. Joseph's parish school in St. Louis, and continued it at St. Mary's, where for fourteen years he was prefect and teacher of the Indian boys.

¹³³ Diels ad Beckx, January 28, 1862 (AA)

¹³⁴ Peter Karleskind, born in the diocese of Nancy, France, July 10, 1803, entered the Society of Jesus, March 18, 1837, died at St. Mary's, Kansas, September 3, 1862

He was acquainted with Latin, but was at pains to conceal the fact from others. He taught the boys during the day and took his rest near them during the night. Father Gailland, who knew Brother Karleskind intimately from long-continued association with him at St. Mary's portrayed him in a letter to De Smet

From the class-room he accompanied them [the boys] to the playground, then to the refectory, then on their walk. Next he followed them to the dormitory. His bed-room was a little closet set in between the two children's dormitories and so narrow that he could scarcely move about in it, moreover, it was so cleverly placed that, more often than not, instead of fresh air he breathed effluvia which a squeamish person would not have endured. Further, his sleep was frequently interrupted by the cries of sick children, to whom he promptly went to bestow on them all the cares of a tender mother. He combed them, washed them, tidied their beds, rendered them services the most repugnant to nature. In his position as schoolmaster what did he not have to suffer? He was a German by origin and had to teach English and this to lads who for the most part desired nothing less than to learn.¹³⁵ How many humiliating remarks made by Ours as well as strangers on the bad pronunciation of the lads did he not have to swallow! And yet the good Brother suffered it all with patience. Not a sharp word, not a reply by way of excuse ever escaped his lips. His face wore always an expression of unalterable serenity. Asked by his superior if he were not tired of teaching, if he did not desire a change of place or office, "my only desire," he replied, "is to live and die in the place and employment to which it pleases holy obedience to assign me." His only complaint, if indeed he had any to make, was that he scarcely found time for his spiritual exercises. In conversation he never let slip a word that smacked of self-love. He received the sharpest reprimands not only without showing the least agitation, but with the liveliest sentiments of humility. Recollected, modest, mild, affable to all, the good Brother gained the esteem and affection of all who knew him. At table his moderation was extraordinary, so that one marvelled how he could keep his strength with so small an amount of nourishment. Following the counsel of St. Ignatius, he always loved poverty as his mother, one might say that he died in its arms in that little closet, which had no other ornament than the poverty of Jesus Christ.¹³⁶

Peter Karleskind was in his sixty-first year when he died at St. Mary's in the fall of 1862

¹³⁵ The official registers of the Society enter Brother Karleskind as "a native of Lorraine."

¹³⁶ Gailland à De Smet, February 20, 1863 (A). For many years Brother Karleskind was the only teacher of the Indian boys. "Br. Peter Karleskind is an excellent man and religious, but he cannot give what he has not himself—an accurate pronunciation." Schultz to Druyts, January 4, 1858 (A).

Four years later, in 1866, death claimed two of the mission's most devoted brothers, Daniel Doneen and Sebastian Schlienger.¹³⁷ Brother Doneen, born in Ireland, was the efficient superintendent of the mission farm. He was without education, but, according to Gaillard, "was endowed with a superior mind" His manners were affable to a degree and all that made his acquaintance gave him their friendship After languishing under a protracted illness he passed away on June 7, 1866, with great peace of mind and a serene countenance

Brother Sebastian, as he was familiarly known to his Jesuit brethren, was a Swiss who had seen service in the French army and had also been under arms in defence of his beloved Switzerland He carried into the Society of Jesus the same ready and unquestioning obedience to which he had been trained in his military days Father Gaillard seizes upon the analogy between his career under the banner of Mars and his career under the banner of Loyola "As formerly in his soldier life the tap of the drum found him at his post, so here at the sound of the bell he was ready for his task The voice of the Superior stirred in him the same spirit and strength as formerly did the trumpet calling him to battle." For years Brother Sebastian was charged with the duty of giving the signals for the various community exercises So meticulous was he in discharging this duty that he was said never to have rung the bell a minute too late. Even in his death agony he made the usual responses to the evening prayers, not forgetting to admonish the attending brother when it was time to sound the bell for one of the common exercises of the day. He lay on his deathbed, a detail that seemed significant to Gaillard, not as a man about to pass away, but rather as one merely taking a casual rest¹³⁸

Of the brothers serving St Mary's during the mission days Andrew Mazzella was the most remarkable From his arrival in the West in 1836 up to his death thirty-one years later, he was stationed uninterruptedly among the Indians, first among the Kickapoo and then among the Potawatomi in their successive homes at Council Bluffs, Sugar Creek and St Mary's He was a native of Procida, a small island in the Mediterranean, where he was born November 30, 1802 He entered the Neapolitan province of the Society in his twenty-first year and in 1833 was assigned by Father Roothaan to Maryland.

¹³⁷ Daniel Doneen, born at Carrick Well, Munster, Ireland, December 25, 1813, entered the Society of Jesus, July 31, 1841, died at St Mary's, Kansas, June 17, 1866 Sebastian Schlienger, born at Aargau in Switzerland, January 23, 1803, entered the Society of Jesus, October 27, 1838, died at St Mary's, Kansas, August 8, 1866

¹³⁸ Gaillard, *History of St Mary's Mission* (Ms). (A)

“Father Vespre,” so the General wrote September 28 of that year to Father Dubuisson of Georgetown, “will leave the day after tomorrow together with Father Gabaria and Brother Mazella, a good Neapolitan cook, who will prepare macaroni for you in a way you never saw before. He is a good religious who for a long time has been eagerly desiring the missions, especially the difficult missions. I don’t know whether Maryland will be enough for him.”¹³⁹ To McSherry, the Maryland provincial, Father Roothaan wrote on the same day, informing him that Mazzella had first been destined for the mission of Mt. Lebanon in Syria and had accordingly been put for some months to the study of medicine and surgery. “For the rest, a good cook and, what is the capital thing, an excellent religious. He is granted by me to America, where he can first lend his services in the kitchen of the college [Georgetown], for the college needs help in this regard. But afterwards, in due time, when some or other Indian mission shall have been started, it is my mind that the Brother be put at its service.”¹⁴⁰

When in 1836 Father Van Quickenborne solicited recruits from Maryland to enable him to begin his long-deferred mission among the Indians, he was fortunate enough to obtain two coadjutor-brothers, one of them being Mazzella. The dream of years thus realized, the brother gave himself up to the cause of missionary endeavor among the red men with a patience and zeal that never flagged. His knowledge of medicine now stood him in excellent stead and among his Jesuit associates he became known as the doctor. Gailland, who knew him intimately at St. Mary’s for almost twenty years and wrote his obituary, records that he passed his long period of service among the Indians without any sign of tedium. “It would scarcely be possible to find a man more suited to this manner of life. For to a robust body he joined an eager and fervent soul and one completely subdued by divine grace. This mastery over himself he did not acquire without considerable labor. That he might come off victorious he made use of the yoke of mortification and accordingly made war upon his flesh by hair-cloth, sharp disciplines and frequent fastings. Not merely frugal in the use of food, he constantly abstained from what was most palatable.” Nature had not made Andrew Mazzella mild-mannered and meek, that he became so was the result of long years of patient self-restraint. Sometimes nature got the better of him and he lapsed into faults of temper, on which occasions he would straightway break into tears and sue for pardon. “There was,” so Gailland pictures him, “a noble gravity in his countenance which was stamped with a mildness that death itself

¹³⁹ Roothaan à Vespre, September 28, 1833 (AA)

¹⁴⁰ Roothaan ad McSherry, September 28, 1833 (AA)

could not efface" And so the good brother cultivated and with conspicuous success acquired the virtues that are ordinarily taken to be the hall-marks of holiness of life, patience, humility, self-sacrifice, love of prayer, other-worldliness and union with God

As infirmarian both to the Indian boys and the mission-staff, he acquitted himself with distinction So far above the average was his prudence and composure of mind, that, so Gailland declared, he could do the work of two, and as a matter of fact did so. He nursed the sick with the utmost devotion and tenderness In critical cases he was with them day and night, his mere presence, his very countenance, which beamed always with kindly sympathy, almost alone sufficing to alleviate their sufferings He himself was not without infirmities of his own, at least in the latter years of his life, but he mentioned them to no one except to superiors and never showed himself on their account less zealous in the duties assigned him One of the brothers associated with Mazzella at St Mary's wrote in glowing terms of his unfailing charity "To requests on him for assistance or accommodation he was never heard to say 'no' He was never heard to say, 'I have no time now, could you come some other time?' or 'have you leave?'" He complied with each request as if he had nothing else to do at that time The same care and attention was given to the least Indian child as to the greatest in the house, that is, the best that could be done for anyone. To see that man of noble stature and of qualities that [would] admit him to any society, stooping with a mother's care over those little abandoned children of the forest, was touching in the extreme" ¹⁴¹

Such was Andrew Mazzella, whose virtues blossomed into fruit amid the Indian environment which he chose and persevered in through thirty years of his Jesuit career Three months before it came, he predicted his approaching end. The day before he died he earnestly besought one of the brothers to watch by his bedside the following night, insisting that it was to be his last. As the night wore on, he asked repeatedly whether the clock was not soon to strike three. And so precisely at three in the morning of May 9, 1867, he passed away. "He was," concludes Gailland, "an excellent man and time shall never dim our happy memories of him or weaken the fragrance of his virtues." ¹⁴² Even the little outside world that had grown up around the mission with the coming of the whites had caught favorable impressions of the personality of this humble coadjutor-brother When the town of St Mary was laid out, one of its streets was named Mazzella

From the early fifties up to his death in 1883 Brother Louis De

¹⁴¹ Anonymous ms accounts of Father Diels and Brother Mazzella drawn up by some unidentified coadjutor-brother at St Mary's in the early nineties (A)

¹⁴² Gailland, *op cit* (A)

Vriendt, a native of Belgium, knew no other place of residence than St. Mary's.¹⁴³ Probably none of the lay brothers identified by long years of service with the mission was in more intimate touch with the colorful life that ebbed and flowed around it as a center. In a manuscript biography of Father Gailland written by De Vriendt are to be found curious side lights on the history of St. Mary's available in no other source.¹⁴⁴ The brother was no master of the language of his adopted country and his literary output abounds in whimsicalities in spelling and syntax, but his data come fresh from the pen of one who knew pioneer conditions at St. Mary's from actual contact and not from hearsay or otherwise at second-hand. He records his opinion, probably an unduly severe one, of the half-breeds "no good to be expected of them, they turn their backs on Father Gailland and on Ours." He tells of the Potawatomi couple who had come up from Sugar Creek and spent their days in virginity after adopting an Indian child and rearing her until her first communion when she died in baptismal innocence. He tells, too, of the Indian brave, Old Wolf, who had fought with the British against the Americans in the War of 1812. He relates naively the career of Father Laigneil, who was one day seen in the library at St. Mary's (there was a library among the Potawatomi in the sixties) conning a book that bore the title, *Travels to California*. The next day the father was a fugitive from his community leaving his breviary behind him and a little note informing those whom it might concern that he had gone to Vermilion. And yet, comments De Vriendt, what other lot could be in store for a Jesuit who in an instruction to the brothers at St. Mary's had told them that if the rector came into the kitchen and gave orders to the brother-cook to prepare the dinner in this kettle and not in that, the brother-cook was under no obligation to obey him.^{144a} Then there is the story of Antemaso, the Indian woman whose services Gailland had utilized to correct his mistakes when he was learning Potawatomi. She could scarcely bring herself to discharge the painful task through reverence for the father. Antemaso had adopted a girl

¹⁴³ Louis De Vriendt, born at Ghent, Belgium, February 24, 1820, entered the Society of Jesus, November 12, 1840, died at St. Mary's, Kansas, April 8, 1883.

¹⁴⁴ The ms. is preserved at St. Mary's College. Numerous verbal alterations have been made in the passages here cited from the document.

^{144a} Father Aloysius Laigneil, born in Belgium in 1835, was sent by Father Murphy to St. Mary's, where he soon began to preach and hear confessions in Potawatomi. "He is a little Father full of zeal and good will, who, like the Fathers and Brothers of this house, manifests an excellent spirit." Coosemans à Beckx, May, 1863. Laigneil became disaffected for some or other reason and left the Society abruptly as is told by Brother De Vriendt. He later returned to Jesuit obedience and was stationed for a while at Leavenworth, but subsequently, about 1869, withdrew again from the Society.

by name Towcique or "Ottowa woman," "because she got her from an Otowo Indian to raise her." Now, when the girl in her maiden innocence lay dying, Gailland went to prepare her for the end. "Coming to the house he was received with great respect by the old woman. A table in the middle of the house with lighted candles, holy water, the table nicely dressed. And the old woman said 'Towcique is very sick, Father, and I hope she will die soon. I have done all that I could to raise her well for heaven and I would rejoice [if] she could die now.'" The day following Gailland's visit Towcique passed out of this life with a smile after exclaiming with uplifted hands, "heaven is sweet! I go to heaven!"

On July 16, 1864, Father Francis Xavier De Coen, a Belgian, died suddenly at St. Mary's in his fifty-fourth year, having arrived at the mission only a short time before.¹⁴⁵ He had begun his missionary career in the West among the Potawatomi of Sugar Creek and now in the dispensation of Providence was also to end it among the Potawatomi. From Leavenworth, where he had been in residence with Bishop Miége at the cathedral, he went to St. Mary's in broken health to see what the environment of the mission could do to restore him. Saturday, July 16, after returning from a ride over the reservation, he withdrew to the parlor, which was next to Father Diels's room, to recite the office of the day. Having asked De Vriendt to bring him his breviary and *ordo* (or calendar for the recitation of the divine office), he remarked to the brother as he opened the latter, "what a happy day, feast of our Lady of Mount Carmel!" Only in the light of the tragic happening of the following day did the significance of the words come home to De Vriendt. On the morrow, a Sunday, as Gailland came out of church after saying the half-past six o'clock Mass, he was accosted by an Indian woman, Mrs. Lasley by name, the wife of a Canadian trader. "Is there a strange priest at the mission?" she inquired of the father. "Yes," replied Gailland, "but why ask me such a question?" "Well, last night," explained Mrs. Lasley, "when my husband and I were fast asleep, little Mary, our daughter, woke us up crying out, 'look, father and mother, the American priest at St. Mary's Mission is going up to heaven.'" Father Gailland understood at once that it must be Father De Coen. Turning to De Vriendt and some other brothers who were standing by, he bade them hurry at once to the father's room. They found it unoccupied, but entering the parlor they saw that Father De Coen had fallen over a chair with his face on the ground. The features were already turning black with the rush of blood to the

¹⁴⁵ Francis Xavier De Coen, born at Ninove in East Flanders, Belgium, December 19, 1811, entered the Society of Jesus October 19, 1843, died at St. Mary's, Kansas, July 16, 1864.

head and no signs of life could be discerned. When Diels came in after his Mass and realized that the father was dead, he broke into tears, for mutual esteem and affection in Christ had bound the two very closely together. Gailland could scarcely be consoled, but "remembering the revelation of little Mary, he said, 'the Father is happy in heaven,' and then retired to his breakfast, and so did we all." The Potawatomi turned out in numbers for Father De Coen's funeral, weeping aloud in true Indian fashion for one whom they had learned to love long years before at Sugar Creek. According to De Vriendt's account, when the news reached Bishop Miége in a letter delivered to him at Leavenworth by Brother Patton, he threw the letter on the ground, so great was his emotion to hear that one whom he called his dearest friend had been called thus suddenly. When the prelate some time after visited St. Mary's, his first wish was to be shown to De Coen's grave. Little Mary Lasley, at this time only three or four, was examined closely by Gailland as to the alleged vision, according to De Vriendt she "answered everything without agitation just like she had said to her pa and ma at the first time she saw it." The child lived to be only six, dying holily at an age when most children have scarce attained to the use of reason. There is a pen-and-ink sketch by Brother De Vriendt of the Lasley cabin, which was of logs and located about a quarter of a mile south of the mission on the road to the river.¹⁴⁶

How Father Gailland saved the lives of a band of Pawnee Indians who had been taken prisoners while attempting a horse-stealing raid on the Potawatomi reserve is told by De Vriendt with graphic detail. One Sunday evening, while the Potawatomi braves were at church, the Pawnees, some twenty in number, with bows and arrows and lariats of hide with which to secure their expected booty, made their way stealthily to the vicinity of the mission. Luckily they were discovered by a stalwart six-foot Potawatomi named Enepia, whose cabin stood on the brow of a hill about a mile and a half from the mission. A Pawnee was seen to enter a stable, come out of it with a horse and then advance unsuspectingly towards Enepia's cabin. When he was about to pass it, the Potawatomi and his son, also a stout specimen of manhood, seized him, tied him fast with his own lariat and cast him into their stable. Then the rest of the Pawnee as they filed one by one at intervals in front of Enepia's cabin were captured in turn by the two Potawatomi, until the whole band was coralled in the stable, which was then securely locked. The incident became almost immediately known at the mission, probably before the Indian congregation had dispersed after the evening services. Gailland, fearing that the extreme penalty would be

¹⁴⁶ The sketch is in the brother's ms. biography of Father Gailland (F).

visited upon the captives, pleaded with the Potawatomi chief, Wewesa, to show them mercy. The chief, so De Vriendt describes him, measured only four and a half feet in height, and "about eighty pounds in weight, for I weighed him myself, . . . his little hands being nothing but skin and bones." "He was an exemplary Christian, he was every day at Mass, said his beads on the road and communicated twice a week." To Gailland's plea the chief rejoined that, if he consulted his own wishes, he would pardon the culprits, but the Pawnee had broken their treaty with the Potawatomi, if they came to steal, they might at another time come to kill. In a word, the lives of his people were not safe at their hands and his tribesmen might demand that an example be made of the captured Pawnee. He must therefore as chief be guided in the matter by the verdict of his councilmen and braves.

On Monday the culprits were arraigned before the council, which assembled directly in front of the chief's cabin. The verdict was for death. During the proceedings Father Gailland, mounted on horseback, was hiding behind the cabin, but in a position where he could hear distinctly what was going on. The death-sentence was no sooner pronounced than he quickly rode from behind the house and appeared in front exclaiming *bo jo!*, which is Potawatomi for "how do you do!," whereat the whole council broke into a laugh. Then he asked the chief, "on whom have you pronounced sentence of death?" "On these Pawnee Indians," replied the chief. "They have trespassed on our lands and property, they have stolen our horses and broken the treaty we have made with them, we have decided to pardon them no further, they must die." "Wait a while," spoke Gailland, "and listen to me. You are all my children and so are they. Who will say that I am not your Father and theirs? You shall not kill any of mine. If you take a hair from their heads, you take it from mine, if you hurt them, you hurt me. Remember you have many times broken the treaty you have made with Almighty God by offending Him much worse than by stealing a horse. Perhaps you have stolen many a soul from Almighty God by committing sin and by giving scandal. Have you not trespassed often on God's property and has He not always pardoned you?" There was a pause, after which in a loud and trembling voice Gailland made a solemn plea for mercy. "I ask you to pardon them." On the instant the council with one voice answered back, "we pardon them." "Then," continued the priest, "untie them, give them something to eat and let them go." Then addressing the Pawnee, he said "I have delivered your bodies from your enemies. Go home and tell your chiefs what I have done for your bodies, but tell them to come and see me that I may deliver their souls and yours from our enemy, the devil, and say also to your chiefs that they must come and make up with the chief and

councilmen of the Potawatomi." Having knelt and bowed their heads in token of gratitude to the father, the liberated Pawnee were off in high spirits to their homes.

Some time later the Pawnee chiefs came to the mission and were received with great hospitality by Father Gaillard. They were particularly pleased with their visit to the school and marvelled that so many children could be kept quiet under a single chief, as they called the teacher. The outcome was that some thirty Pawnee children were soon entered in the mission school, one of the number, a boy, being adopted by the Potawatomi chief, whose example was followed by other of the mission Indians. Four Pawnee chiefs and six or eight children of their tribe at the school were subsequently instructed and baptized. All in all it was a signal triumph for Father Gaillard, whose previous efforts to get into touch with the elusive Pawnee had come to nothing.

§ 13 THE MISSION IN THE LITERATURE OF TRAVEL

The oldest road through central Kansas, Indian trails apart, was probably the one laid out by John C. Frémont, "the Pathfinder," in the course of his western expedition of 1842.¹⁴⁷ He and his men crossed the Kaw at the site of the future Uniontown, below St. Mary's, on the only rock ford on the river, and passed up the north bank to the mouth of the Vermilion, where Louis Vieux, the pioneer white (or rather mixed-blood) resident of Pottawatomie County afterwards settled down. Frémont's road formed part of the Oregon Trail and when California travel started over it in 1849 it became known also as the California Trail. The military road laid out in 1852 between Forts Riley and Leavenworth followed the California Trail up to Louis Vieux's place at the Vermilion, where the government built the first bridge in Pottawatomie County. In 1856 Thomas H. Gladstone, a correspondent of the *London Times*, passed over the Fort Riley Road. "It may be, however, that the traveller wishes to strike for the West, in which case he may follow upward the course of the Kansas River by old Fort Riley Road, passing St. Mary's Catholic Mission, crossing the Vermilion and Big Blue Rivers and glancing at a few small villages founded by Free-State settlers until he reaches Pawnee and Fort Riley at the confluence of the Smoky Hill and Republican Forks"¹⁴⁸ Known successively as the Oregon Trail, the California Trail and the Fort Riley Military Road, this most historic of the western highways of middle Kansas bears today the name Bertrand Avenue as it runs through the

¹⁴⁷ *Record* (Westmoreland, Kans.), July 18, 1906. The statement has not been verified.

¹⁴⁸ Thomas H. Gladstone, *Kansas, or Squatter Life and Border Warfare in the Far West* (London, 1857), p. 164.

prosperous little town of St Marys It passes directly in front of St. Mary's College on a line parallel with the façade of the faculty building and distant only about two hundred feet from the college infirmary Its course at this point is identical with that which it took when first laid out and along its beaten path have passed explorer, trader, prospector, homesteader, gold-seeker and missionary, all contributing their measure to that vast output of human enterprise and effort that has gone to the making of the Great West¹⁴⁹

Set thus on a highly traversed trail between the Missouri River and the Far West, St. Mary's Mission came to meet with frequent notice in the literature of pioneer Kansas travel Probably the earliest mention of it by a transient was penned by an English traveller, William Kelly, who passed through the Potawatomi reserve in 1849 The "minister" referred to in his account was apparently Father Verreydt or Father Gailland "There is a French Catholic Mission at the extremity of the vale—the most advanced post of Christianity on the prairie, where the worthy minister has established a school in the little log chapel and as I entered I found him in the midst of his half-tamed scholars, laboring to impart the blessings of education with a fervid zeal emanating from the purest sources of philanthropy without any worldly incentive to feed it or any reward but the consolation of a happy conscience."¹⁵⁰ In October, 1853, John C Frémont was a visitor at St. Mary's as he records in his memoirs

¹⁴⁹ "1849 May 9 Since the beginning of this month countless wagons, horses, and men have passed by [St Mary's] on their way to new California, spreading about counterfeit money, stealing horses, etc" Gailland's Diary (Latin) (F) "On went the wagons through the present Rossville, where they were joined by those that crossed at Uniontown, and then to St Mary's where in 1847 [1848] the Catholics established a Mission Here the trail left the river, and running northwestwardly reached the Little (or Red) Vermilion, 119 miles from Independence, at [near to] the present Louisville, where in later times after Fort Riley was built the Leavenworth trail ran off to the Southwest" Ghent, *The Road to Oregon* (New York, 1929), p 125 Cf also W E Smith, "The Oregon Trail through Potawatomi County" in *Kans Hist Coll*, 17 534-464 Besides the Oregon-California-Fort Riley Road, another road known as the "Parallel" was laid out through Pottawatomie County in the early fifties It formed part of the Pike's Peak Trail

¹⁵⁰ William Kelly, J P, *An excursion to California over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains and Great Sierra Nevada with a stroll through the diggings and ranches of that country* (London, 1851), 1 62 Kelly has a description of Uniontown (1 59) "The trading-post is a small hamlet composed of some half-dozen shops and a little straggling suburb of wigwams The shops are kept by white men, licensed to supply the Indians around with the flimsy, fantastic and trumpery articles they require, liquor being specially interdicted, and properly so But the same kindly solicitude that prohibits the sale of spirits should take some measure to protect those unsophisticated people from the gross extortions, the vile impositions practiced on

In the fall of 1853 on an overland journey I spent a day at the Catholic station of St Mary's on the Kansas River among the Pottawatamie Indians Under the impression of what I saw I wrote then in my note-book as follows

October 25 Went to Uniontown and nooned This is a street of log-cabins Nothing to be had here Some corn for our animals and a piece of cheese for ourselves Lots of John Barleycorn, which the men about were consuming Uniontown is called a hundred miles from Kansas

October 26 High wind and sleet Clouds scudding across the sky About two o'clock we reached the pretty little Catholic Mission of St Mary's The well-built, white-washed houses with the cross on the spire showing out above them was already a very grateful sight On the broad bottoms immediately below are the fields and houses of the Pottawatamie Indians Met with a hospitable reception from the head of the Mission [Father Duerinck] A clear sky promises a bright day for tomorrow Learned here some of the plants which are medicinal among the Indians Among them *Asarum Canadense*—jewel weed—a narcotic, and *Oryngium Aquaticum*, the great remedy of the Pottawatamies for snakebites ¹⁵¹

October 27 White frost covers the ground this morning Sky clear and air still With bowls of good coffee and excellent bread made a good breakfast We already begin to appreciate food Prepared our luggage, threw into the wagon the provisions obtained here and at ten o'clock took leave of the hospitable priests and set out I was never more impressed by the efficiency of well-directed and permanent missionary effort than here at this far-off mission settlement, where the progress and good order strike forcibly as they stand in great contrast with the neighboring white settlement [Uniontown] ¹⁵²

Max Greene, traveller from the East, noted in the mid-fifties how the very name, St Mary's, lent a poetic charm to the wilderness "Near the last named locality stands the Catholic Mission, a not ineffective institution Its farms are in a flourishing condition This is known as St Mary the one golden word of poesy, sacred in art as in religion and beautiful wherever the beautiful is adored. It is meet that the chime of Sabbath bells should give the music of that holy name to the winds" ¹⁵³

them in those establishments, into which the whole of the Indian pension money finds its way Gaudy patterns of flimsy calico, rating as high as the richest satin, saddles, bridles and spurs of the very commonest kind fetching a higher price than padded quilted articles of the same manufacture, and beads, rings, whistles and little looking-glasses, all selling on the same rates They give them out on credit till the quarter-day comes around, when the poor Indian punctually hands over his pension to those unconscionable harpies"

¹⁵¹ Father Duerinck was an accomplished botanist

¹⁵² John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago, 1887), p 28

¹⁵³ Max Greene, *The Kansas Region* (New York, 1856), p 45 Greene has another allusion to St Mary's (p 140) "St Mary's on the Kanzas, fifty-one miles

Travellers' guide-books of the period necessarily made mention of the mission. It is enough to quote from one, Redpath and Hinton's *Handbook to Kansas Territory and The Rocky Mountain Gold Region* "St Mary's Mission is in this reserve. It is under the charge of Father Duerinck and is conducted by the Jesuits. It is a noble monument to them. The Indians whom they have instructed in the arts of agriculture and civilized life are as intelligent and have as comfortable homes as the pioneer whites. The Catholic Mission Farm in one year cultivated sixty acres of oats, forty of corn and six of potatoes. Their horned stock number 250 head—eighty cows, fifteen yoke of oxen, forty two-year old steers, the balance, young cattle raised at the Mission. The uncivilized portion of the Pottawatomies live in the rudest style, are filthy, lazy and ignorant, but they claim, as we are informed by the Indian interpreter, that they are the lineal descendants of the lost tribes of Israel [p 49]"

The Hon Grantley F. Berkeley, an Englishman who went out to shoot buffalo on the plains, was a visitor at St. Mary's in the summer of 1859. He was well equipped for the business as he had with him, according to his account, "baggage-wagon, ambulance and dog-cart." "A bed to sleep on being far preferable to a wagon and having heard from the officers' ladies at Fort Riley that there was a very nice, clean and attentive female at Pottowadomy, who kept a lodging-house on the hill," he decided to share her hospitality. He made a call on Father Schultz, presented him with some cans of preserved fish, asked his blessing, and invited him to pay him a visit at his lodging. He thought the mission a quite characteristic piece of Catholic enterprise as he noted down in his journal on reaching St. Louis "In St. Louis the Roman Catholics are numerically powerful and very rich and nothing proves more the never-failing desire of those religionists to push the interests of their faith wheresoever they can obtain a footing than the fact of their French Indian settlement on the prairies, 'Pottowaddami,' so pronounced, at which I rested one night on my return from Fort Riley" ¹⁵⁴

below Fort Riley, is the largest Catholic school in the territory and is under admirable regulations. It aims at the evangelizing of the Pottawatomies." Cf. also Duerinck in *RCIA*, 1853 "The Catholic Mission is said to be the most lovely spot in the Indian country. The mission-buildings, with the adjacent trading houses, groups of Indian improvements and extensive corn fields, all give it the appearance of a town. Some people think that if Nebraska be organized as a Territory, St. Mary's ought to be the capital. Steamboats will certainly ascend the Kansas next spring, come up to our landing, discharge freight and make us forget that we live in the Indian country."

¹⁵⁴ Grantley F. Berkeley, *The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies* (London, 1861), pp. 321, 374.

In truth, down to the end of the fifties the Potawatomi reserve, with St Mary's Mission planted at nearly its geographical center, was the most comforting stretch of country to be met with by the traveller along the entire extent of the Kansas Valley. In December, 1855, William H. Mackey, Sr. journeyed with his wife by ox-team from Fort Riley to Leavenworth County "The next day we struck the Pottawatomie reservation and to put up at those old French stopping-places was a treat We lingered all through the reserve, although it was a little expensive We had no vegetables that winter except one bushel of potatoes that were frozen harder than cobblestones, for which I paid \$2.50." The Mackeys were well received by Chief Lafromboise at Silver Lake "We remained there several days and feasted The old buck had two wives and a big family all at home. But he certainly was a good provider" ¹⁵⁵ In the same year the Mackeys made their journey over the Fort Riley road, Andrew J. Mead, westward bound from the Missouri River over the same highway, found the country a cheerless one until he entered the Potawatomi reserve "At St Mary's we were made to feel that civilization had again dawned upon us" ¹⁵⁶ Percival G. Lowe, who arrived at Fort Riley in 1853 [?] sketches the development the country had attained at that date between the Fort and the Missouri River "There was no settlement in the immediate country. There was one family at the bridge across the Little Blue nineteen miles east and the Catholic Mission and Pottawatomie village of St. Mary's fifty-two miles east, where good Father Duerinck had established a college and was gathering in the young Pottawatomies and teaching them with admirable success to become good citizens Here Mrs. Bertram [Bertrand] kept the only store worth the name between Riley and Leavenworth Captain Allen's store at Silver Lake, the Pottawatomie homes and the eating place at Hickory Point finish the list of settlements save here and there at long intervals a squatter's shanty" ¹⁵⁷ A last citation from travellers' narratives follows From Horace Greeley, who passed through St. Mary's in 1859 on an overland journey to San Francisco, the prosperous appearance of the mission elicited comment "Our road passed St. Mary's [Catholic] Mission, where there is quite an Indian village and a very large improvement, which I guess white men were paid to make. Yet, whether to their credit or otherwise, I think the truth cannot fairly be disputed that Catholic missions have been more successful in establishing a permanent influence over Indians than any others, except, perhaps, those of the Moravians" ¹⁵⁸ Greeley

¹⁵⁵ William H. Mackey, Sr., "Looking Backward" in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 10

¹⁵⁶ *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 7, 469

¹⁵⁷ Percival G. Lowe, "Recollections of Fort Riley" in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 7, 106

¹⁵⁸ Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco*

on this occasion was an occupant of the first stage to run from Leavenworth to Denver. The stage, drawn by four mules, was a Concord coach, and made the distance of 687 miles in what was considered the remarkably short time of ten days. Greeley and other journalists of the party were given free transportation, the occasion being the inauguration of the Butterfield Overland Despatch Route ¹⁵⁹

§ 14. POTAWATOMI NOTABLES

Not a few of the Indians of St. Mary's Mission could show some or other link of association with events of interest in western, and particularly Chicago history. Two main groups, as has already been indicated, made up the tribe, the Council Bluffs or the Prairie band, sometimes, even officially, designated as the Chicago Potawatomi, and the Michigan-Indiana or Wabash and St. Joseph bands. "It is an interesting reflection that the Society of Jesus, which gave Chicago its first priest in the person of Father Marquette and its first resident pastor in the person of the Miami missionary, Father Pinet, found itself for years the spiritual guardian [at St. Mary's Mission] of the Potawatomi Indians, the immediate predecessors of the whites in the occupation of the Chicago terrain and a picturesque factor in the pioneer social life of the future metropolis."¹⁶⁰ The site of Chicago had in fact been ceded by the Potawatomi to the federal government in the Treaty of Greenville, 1795. Belonging to the so-called "Chicago" group were Half Wolf, who had fought on the British side in the War of 1812 and was given the last rites of the Church by Father Gaillard, Half Day, who with Joseph Lafromboise signed the Potawatomi petition of 1848 for Catholic schools and whose name is borne by a village on the Chicago-Libertyville auto highway, the Wilmots or Wilmettes, children by his Potawatomi wife, Archange, of Antoine Oulmette, modern Chicago's reputed first white resident, whose name is perpetuated in the city's north-shore suburb, Wilmette, a one-time possession of his wife under government treaty, Medard or Madore Beaubien, son of Jean Baptiste Beaubien by the Ottawa mixed-blood, Josette Lafromboise. Beaubien's claim to a large section of "downtown" Chicago is a *cause célèbre* among American land-suits. When the case was hearing,

(New York, 1860) For contemporary press notices of St. Mary's Mission, cf. E. Harold Young, "Contemporary References to St. Mary's Mission" in *Mid-America*, 17: 84-103 (1935)

¹⁵⁹ Frank A. Root and William E. Connelly, *The Overland Stage to California: Personal Reminiscences and Authentic History of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean* (Topeka, 1901),

p. 154

¹⁶⁰ Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 89

Madore Beaubien was called upon in the little town of Silver Lake, some twelve miles east of St. Mary's, to give testimony in favor of his father's claim. Madore gave the land on which Silver Lake is laid out and was three times mayor of the town. "Long" John Wentworth, Chicago's pioneer mayor, said of Madore Beaubien that he had "the reputation of being the handsomest man that was ever in this city . . . He gave as reason for abandoning Chicago, where he was a merchant, that he would rather be a big Indian than a little white man."¹⁶¹

Another "Chicago" Potawatomi of tribal celebrity was Pierre Le Clerc (Pierish or Perish La Clair or Le Clair), who in 1833 with other Chicago Catholics petitioned the Bishop of St. Louis for a resident priest. He was present at the Fort Dearborn massacre of 1815 at Chicago and in the capacity of interpreter arranged the terms of the surrender. He was an orator and in that capacity was in Washington in 1845 to discuss the cession of the Iowa reserve to the government.¹⁶² Le Clerc died on the Kaw River reserve March 28, 1849, attended in his last moments by Father Hoecken of St. Mary's. Joseph Lafromboise or Laflomboise put his mark as a principal chief to the Potawatomi treaty of 1861. Originally from Milwaukee, he was of mixed French and Indian blood, was one of the petitioners in 1833 for a resident priest in Chicago, and took a leading part in negotiating the Potawatomi treaty of that year. "The Prairie and Lake Indians recognize Caldwell, Robinson, and [Joseph] Lafromboise as their principal men, in whom they have unlimited confidence and in whose decision in all matters relating to their people they fully acquiesce, and to use their own language they wish their Great Father, the President, and Secretary of War to permit no interference with the treaty of Chicago as far as it relates to the country ceded west of Lake Michigan."¹⁶³ Chief Lafromboise was among the petitioners in 1848 for Catholic schools for the Potawatomi and in 1862 his mark was the first affixed to the Potawatomi memorial to the government requesting for St. Mary's Mission a title in fee-simple to a half-section of land.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ *Idem*, p. 92

¹⁶² Richard Smith Elliot, *Notes Taken in Sixty Years* (St. Louis, 1883), p. 208

¹⁶³ T. J. V. Owen to Cass, November 17, 1834, cited in Garraghan, *op. cit.*,

p. 57

¹⁶⁴ A muster-roll of the "Potawatomi Indians within the Osage River Sub-Agency," dated October 14, 1842, shows the following English and French names: Laurence, Samuel, Joseph, Louis and Angelique Bertrand, Thomas Evans, Andrew Fuller, Elva Bourassa, Mary Nadeau, Peter Moose, Lazarus Winchell, Joel W. Barrow, S. A. Howard, Andrew Jackson, John S. Mason, R. M. Johnson, John Tipton, Baptiste Dutrois, Louis McNeff and Miss Burnett (H). Not all of these were Catholics.

The Michigan-Indiana band had fewer celebrities from an historical point of view than the "Chicago" band. Probably the most prominent members of the former group of Potawatomi were the Bertrands, of mixed French and Indian blood. The town of Bertrand on the Michigan-Indiana line and Bertrand Avenue in St. Marys perpetuate the name. Benjamin or "Beny" Bertrand was the chosen representative of the Catholic Indians in 1867 to defend the interests of the mission at Washington, the names of other members of the family will be found occurring at intervals in the pages of this history. John Tipton, an Indiana mixed-blood Potawatomi, rendered long-continued and important services to the mission as school-teacher and interpreter.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ The post-office spelling of the town that grew up around the mission is "St. Marys." All references by name to the mission itself follow the spelling "St. Mary's."