

PART IV (*Continued*)
THE INDIAN MISSIONS

CHAPTER XXIX

ST. MARY'S OF THE POTAWATOMI, II

§ I. THE SLAVERY AGITATION

In April, 1853, Bishop Miége, still a member of the Society of Jesus though in episcopal orders, set out from St. Mary's to represent the vice-province of Missouri in a general congregation of the order to be held in Rome. Father De Smet was his companion on the journey. On the return voyage the pair met with a thrilling experience. The *Humboldt*, on which they took passage at Havre, was wrecked, December 6, 1853, a few miles off the coast of Nova Scotia. A fisherman, who represented himself to be a pilot, maliciously, so at least it was reported, directed the steamer onto some hidden rocks known as the "Sisters." The *Humboldt* took water heavily and as the pumps proved ineffective the captain determined to run her ashore. The steamer struck the rocks a second time, this time sticking fast but happily in shallow water. The passengers were promptly rescued and conveyed to Halifax, where Bishop Miége and Father De Smet enjoyed the hospitality of the local prelate, Bishop Walsh. The two Jesuits saved all their boxes from the wreck with the exception of one, which contained five chalices and two ostensoria.

On reaching St. Mary's in March, 1854, Bishop Miége was given a demonstrative welcome by his flock. He brought with him chalices, vestments and relics of the saints for his cathedral, together with a great quantity of precious articles including rosary-beads blessed by Pius IX. One thing in particular amazed the Indian parishioners. This was an organ, of which Father Gailland wrote. "This instrument has been so contrived by Father Lambillote that merely by touching it with the fingers one produces with ease the most agreeable music." Another of the Bishop's gifts to his log cathedral was a painting of the Immaculate Conception of more than ordinary artistic merit, reputed to be by an Italian painter, Benito. It still adorns the walls of the parish church of St. Marys.

A few months after the return of the prelate to his vicariate in the wilderness an event occurred that quickly converted the peaceful valley of the Kansas into a seething cauldron of political passion culminating in civil war. On May 30, 1854, President Pierce put his signature to

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the Kansas-Nebraska bill of Senator Douglas, which provided for the erection of the country between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains into two territorial units, to be thrown open to white settlers and, when a specified population had been reached, to be admitted as states into the Union. Prior to this date that splendid stretch of country had been closed to slavery by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820, now, as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the Missouri Compromise was repealed and the question whether the new territories were to be slave or free was to be decided by a majority vote of their inhabitants. The principle which Douglas invoked in his historic measure was that of popular sovereignty, or, as it was styled in the political lingo of the day, "squatter sovereignty," the right, to wit, of the settlers in the new territories to decide for themselves by an exercise of the ballot and without dictation from Congress whether the commonwealths now in process of formation were to authorize or to prohibit slavery within their borders. The pro-slavery and the free-soil forces in political life at once joined issue on the burning question and "bleeding Kansas" became the storm-center of a conflict that hung in the balance down to the last year of the Civil War.

In Nebraska no attempt was made to force the issue either way, it was in Kansas that the battle was to be fought out. Here was a great stretch of the finest farming land in the world, dotted here and there with Indian reserves, mission-centers and government forts, but otherwise altogether unsettled. In width it measured two hundred and eight miles and in length it ran from the Missouri to the Rockies. No sooner had the Douglas bill become law than thousands of immigrants, not only from the border states, but from localities as remote as Massachusetts and Connecticut, poured into Kansas to stake out claims, build homes and lend their votes to the settling of the momentous issue of freedom or slavery in the new territory. On August 1, 1854, Kansas could claim three government forts, a half-dozen mission centers and two or three stopping-places on the Santa Fe trail, as Elm Grove and Council Grove, but there was nothing within its four sides that deserved to be called a town.¹ Before the year had run out, thirty or forty towns had been platted and the incoming throngs of immigrants were quickly clustering into settlements of importance. In the beginning of 1858 a roster of Kansas towns, all sprung up as by a stroke of magic, included Wyandotte, Delaware, Douglas, Maryville, Iola, Atchison, Fort Scott, Pawnee, Lecompton, Neosho, Richmond, Lawrence, Doniphan, Paola, Indianola, Easton, Leavenworth and others.² The

¹ E. E. Hale, *Kansas and Nebraska* (Boston, 1854), p. 128.

² CR, *De Smet*, 3: 1192.

majority of the settlers proved to be free-soilers and were insistent in their demands for a free constitution, but it was not until 1861, when the pro-slavery party ceased to dominate Congress, that Kansas was admitted as a free state into the Union.

Events of such far-reaching importance could not but react on the fortunes of St. Mary's Mission. In April, 1853, Bishop Miége wrote to the Jesuit vicar-general in Rome "The United States Government voted before the adjournment of Congress the sum of \$50,000 for making a treaty with the Indians of Nebraska [Territory]. This treaty would take in all the tribes between the 36th and 43rd degrees of latitude and would have as its object to purchase from the Indians all their lands with the exception of the portions the Government would grant to such among them as should wish to live peacefully in the midst of the whites. Your Reverence sees already that this is the death-sentence of the greater part of my poor diocese, a sentence, however, that was feared for a long time and hence astonishes nobody. What will become of the two established Missions?"³ As to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, De Smet was of the opinion that it "virtually destroyed all the Indian nationalities." He graphically describes the Indians as surrounded on all sides by the immigrant whites, "their reserves forming little more than islets amid the ocean." Formerly they could wander on their hunts over boundless tracts of unsettled land; now they were to be pent up in reserves, of which their tenure was most uncertain. Soon they would be called upon to divide and sell their lands or else be forcibly dispossessed of them. "It is not difficult to descry from afar that grand event which must engulf in one common wreck all the Indian tribes. The storm which has just burst forth over their heads was long preparing, it could not escape the observing eye. We saw the American Republic soaring, with the rapidity of the eagle's flight, toward the plenitude of her power. Every year she adds new countries to her limits. . . . Her object is obtained. All bend to her sceptre; all Indian nationality is at her feet."⁴

Father Gaillard, commenting on the territorial bill of 1854, consoled himself with the reflection that what looked so portentous might perhaps be the very thing needed to promote the welfare of the Indian. Hitherto the missionaries could scarcely reach the more distant tribes on account of the difficulties of travel. Now that American colonists were everywhere occupying the land, access to the Indians would become easier. Moreover, the example of the white farmers would have a stimulating effect upon the Indians and rouse them to activity and to

³ Miége au Vicaire-General, April 15, 1853 (AA).

⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 3 1196-1198.

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an effectual desire to make the fertile earth yield its fruits. The civil war that blazed out all over Kansas in 1855 over the question of slavery furnished Gailland food for pious reflection.

But as all these things have already become public and are foreign to our vocation, there is no reason why we should stop to narrate them. This only we wish to observe that we embrace with equal charity in our Lord all parties and were greatly astonished to see men at the entire neglect and even hazard of their eternal salvation and life itself devote themselves so ardently to perishable things. Would that the sons of light labored as eagerly to obtain a never-fading crown! Would that we members of the sacred army devoted ourselves with equal courage to our own perfection and the salvation of our neighbor.⁵

Father Duerinck's opinion of the territorial changes of 1854 was expressed in his report for that year to Major G. W. Clarke. "We have hailed with pleasure the organization of the territories, anarchy and arbitrary power will be proscribed, and salutary laws and the fear of punishment will restrain the wicked and lawless offenders. Peace, order and justice will prevail and reign in the land."⁶ It is unnecessary to say that peace and order were not the outcome, at least immediate, of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The Potawatomi reserve, though legally immune from all trespassing on the part of the whites, did not pass unscathed through the Kansas civil war of 1855. General Lane's so-called "northern army" invaded the reserve, committing depredations on the property of the Indians and plundering the trading-house of A. G. Boone at Uniontown as also the residence of the Potawatomi Agent, Clarke, a pro-slavery sympathizer, who was robbed of his household effects and official papers. But the mission property was left unharmed. "The civil war of Kansas," Father Duerinck was able to say in a report to government, "with all its acts of violence and bloodshed, has not caused us to relax our efforts in the cause of education."⁷

⁵ Gailland, *History of St Mary's Mission*. (Ms) (F)

⁶ *RCIA*, 1854, no 40

⁷ Duerinck to Clarke, October 20, 1856 (H) A postscript to a letter of Duerinck's, June 25, 1855, addressed probably to Major Clarke, touches on conditions at the moment west of St Mary's "The little town of Pawnee said to be on the Military reserve of Fort Riley, is not blown up yet. Everybody tells me that Generals Churchill and Clarke and Col. Montgomery repaired to the Fort [Riley] some 4 weeks ago—examined the case, investigating the claims, etc,—it is said that it has been spared. Perhaps Generals Churchill and Clarke have reported to the President, awaiting the answer. The legislature is to meet at Pawnee on July 1st, next. It is said that the 4 Dixons, Brothers, who have claims below Pawnee (160 acres each) had their houses pulled down and destroyed by the military last week, under the pretext that they were on the military reserve. Pawnee is losing ground, buildings

A picture of St. Marys, as it appeared at the time the Kansas troubles were at their height, is presented in a letter of Gaillard's to the vice-provincial, Father Murphy

St. Mary is no more in a desert, as it used to be, actually it is a place much frequented by all kind[s] of people, red, black, white Through its streets there is a continual going and coming of carriages and wagons, of gentlemen and farmers, of Southern and Northern men, of pro-slavery and anti-slavery men, of freesoilers, of abolitionists, of fusionists, of Dis-unionists, etc. They are all well disposed, all devoted to the welfare of the country, all coming out with a better plan to make of Kansas one of the most flourishing States of the Union. . . . It is no trifling annoyance to us to hear continually the wild cries of ox drivers, those American oxen are so slow in understanding the orders of their masters, unless they receive on the head a shower of curses they could not go right. We are now surrounded but unmolested by the Whites, people are not as wicked here as in England Let the Indians behave well and the new settlers will deal fairly with them The present administration is very favorable to the Indians As far as it depends on themselves, they cause the rights of all the Indian tribes to be respected, although we fear, in some instances they will be bound to yield to the multitude. The squatter wishes to play sovereign and follow that maxim of constitutional France *le Roi regne mais il ne gouverne pas*.⁸

Owing to the disorders incident on the Kansas war Bishop Miége was unable to undertake the journey which he had long contemplated

going up are suspended in some cases" (H) An entry in Duerinck's Diary II the following year (September 2, 1856) reveals that trouble was still abroad "Sent [Brother (?)] McNamara to Grasshopper Falls to buy some cattle, but owing to the troubles of the times he returned the same day at noon deterred by rumors of robberies, horse stealing, etc."

From the beginning of territorial organization St Marys and the neighboring district were strongly anti-slavery. In the first election held in Kansas Territory, November 29, 1854, to choose a delegate to Congress, Lawrence and Big Blue Crossing, in the latter of which St Marys was included, were the only two precincts of the state that did not go for Whitfield, the pro-slavery candidate. One-half of Whitfield's vote, however, is accounted to have been illegal. The second election in the state, which was for members of the territorial legislature, was held March 30, 1855. A voting booth was installed at St Marys in the house of R C. Miller. Of the eleven votes cast here, seven went to M F Conway, anti-slavery councilman, and four to John Donaldson, his opponent. The *Times* (St Marys, Kansas), July 14, 1876, gives E P McCartney as the name of the free-state candidate. The poll-list of the election of October 5, 1857, held at Louisville, includes the name of Father Duerinck, who cast his vote for Parrott, the anti-slavery candidate. Louisville township declared August 2, 1858, against the Lecompton (slavery) constitution by a vote of 37 to 1

⁸ Gaillard to Murphy, November 12, 1855 (A)

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to the Indian tribes of the upper Missouri. Early in 1857 he wrote to the Father General

In our part of the country some sort of peace seems to be reigning just now, but what the future is to be no one says or can say. Our fears and anxieties are far in excess of our hopes. This one thing is certain, that we have seen pretty hard times especially in August and September when thieves, robbers and murderers were able to perpetrate with impunity whatever they pleased. It became entirely impossible for me to visit the various parts of the vicariate, as I wished to do, owing to imminent dangers from thieves or from armed gangs who held almost the entire territory in their grip. For a while I didn't even know what was before us in Leavenworth City. God and His most Blessed Mother saved us. We also, if it be allowed to say so, played our little part by procuring on the advice of friends all sorts of weapons and using them as necessity dictated but "with the moderation of legitimate self-defense" (*moderamine inculpatae tutelae*) as the following instance proves. One night following a very exciting day in consequence of murders committed publicly in the city, as I was fast asleep, I was awakened by an unusual sound under my window. Proceeding at once with caution to a spot where I could make out the cause of the noise, I saw part of an object which I took at the moment for a thief. Immediately grabbing my revolver and aiming at the object in sight, I fired. But what was my surprise to see a hog scurrying off on all fours, minus however his tail, which with a grunt he left behind for me as a trophy. Though always prepared, I have never after this egregious exploit made use of weapons and hope I never shall.⁹

In the changed conditions that ensued in the valley of the Kansas by reason of the Territorial Act of 1854 the mission-village of St. Marys lost the importance that once attached to it. There were new settlements, Leavenworth in particular, that could show a more substantial claim than the Catholic Potawatomi mission to be the headquarters of the vicariate. Accordingly, on August 9, 1855, Bishop Miége, accompanied by Brother Francis Roig, left St. Marys to take up his residence in Leavenworth. On his arrival in the town he found only seven Catholic families. He began without delay the erection at the southwest corner of Kickapoo and Fifth Streets of a church twenty-four by forty feet, which soon proved inadequate for the rapidly growing population. Two years later, in 1857, he built a larger church, in size forty by eighty feet. These edifices were apparently of frame, modest forerunners of the imposing Romanesque cathedral which the Bishop was to erect later on.¹⁰

⁹ Miége ad Beckx, January 12, 1857 (AA)

¹⁰ *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9 155. The date of the first Mass in Leavenworth is in dispute. "The first Mass in Leavenworth was said in 1854 by Bishop Miége at

§ 2. A STRUGGLING VICARIATE

For five years, from his arrival in Kansas in 1851 until he took up his residence in Leavenworth in 1855, Bishop Miége was superior of the Jesuits residing in his vicariate and this even in their strictly domestic concerns. "Although a bishop," so Father Roothaan advised the vice-provincial, Father Murphy, "he [Miége] remains a religious of the Society and as regards the direction of Ours in his Mission ought to come to an understanding with the Vice-Provincial. However, the direction of the Mission in as far as it is a Mission, belongs to him and for this he depends only on Propaganda. There is nothing then to do but to get along with one another in harmony."¹¹ In 1853 and again in the following year Miége himself proposed that the office of superior of the Jesuits be disassociated from that of vicar-apostolic, but this change was effected only on his removal to Leavenworth. Meanwhile it was incumbent upon him to secure the needed personnel and the material means for the upkeep of the Osage and Potawatomi missions and the extension of missionary service to other tribes of his jurisdiction. He petitioned St. Louis to send him Fathers Coosemans, De Coen, Eysvogels, Baltus, none of these were assigned to him, but Fathers Van Hulst and Schultz, excellent men both, were among those sent to Kansas. The good Bishop, like Father De Smet, was inclined to make it a grievance that certain subjects who had a particular aptitude and desire for the Indian missions were detained in the colleges. He pointed out to the General the case of Father Baltus, who had petitioned to come to America solely with a view to the Indians, but was now for the third successive year being employed in the class-room. The Bishop himself was an instance of the policy in question as Father Roothaan recalled to Father Murphy. "Father Miége was sent to Missouri for the Oregon Missions. They kept him at St. Louis, they

the house of a Mrs Quinn" Cutler, *History of Kansas*, p 431. "The first Catholic church was built and the first Mass said (as I remember) by Rev Fr Fisch of Weston, Mo, in the early summer of 1855 at the house of Andy Quinn on the south side of Shawnee Street in the middle of the block on lot 29, block 23, city proper. A bureau was used as an altar for the service" H Miles Moore, *Early History of Leavenworth City and County* (Leavenworth, 1906), p 187. An unpublished letter, May 25, 1884, of Father Defouri, associated with Miége in his first years at Leavenworth, states that the Bishop said his first Mass in that city August 15 (1855?) "in the house of Andrew Quinn, having an audience of nine persons, all that was Catholic in the town" (A) Miége in a letter of July 4, 1855, reproduced in this chapter, speaks of his intention to put up a frame chapel in Leavenworth, hence, there was apparently no Catholic house of worship in the town at the date of the letter

¹¹ Roothaan à Murphy, October 30, 1851 (AA)

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employed him there and see now what has happened. [He is available] neither for Oregon nor for the Vice-Province, but in a manner for both.”¹² The needs of the colleges were undoubtedly pressing and available workers were all too few. It is therefore not easy to see in the policy pursued by the superiors a lack of broad and generous treatment of the missions. On the other hand praiseworthy zeal for the foreign missions has often led Jesuit superiors to staff them with men whose services according to merely human calculation could be ill dispensed with in the educational work of the order.

Not only priests, but coadjutor-brothers were eagerly sought for by the vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory. The first request he made to the newly appointed vice-provincial, Father Druyts, was for two brothers, a cook and a school-teacher, neither of whom it was possible to supply. When Father Roothaan, alarmed at the defection from the order of certain coadjutor-brothers in Oregon, had informed Bishop Miége that no more members of this grade would be sent on the missions, the latter wrote to express the anxious hope that his Paternity would revoke this “terrible proposition.” “Where shall we get our carpenters, our farriers? There is less danger for a Brother in the two Missions [Osage and Potawatom] than in the colleges or other houses of America.”¹³ When Brother Toelle in a fit of mental aberration lost his life at the Osage Mission by drowning, he was replaced by a hired carpenter at a dollar a day, which outlay Miége apparently considered a rather heavy drain on the resources of the mission.

As long as the Bishop remained at St. Mary's the finances both of the mission and of the vicariate were under his control, being administered jointly and not under separate accounts. The Lyons Association of the Propagation of the Faith, the providential Lady Bountiful to the struggling pioneer Catholic Church of the United States, came to his aid on more than one occasion with contributions. In 1852 Father Roothaan allotted him twenty-six hundred and thirty dollars out of the funds of the association placed at his disposal. That same year the Bishop petitioned the association for an extra grant in view of the universal drought that had prevailed in Kansas. Being in Lyons the following year, he again ventured to petition the association for an appropriation in excess of the usual one, but without result, whereupon he appealed to the General. “The wooden churches or chapels which we have in the Indian Territory cannot protect us against the snow, rain and wind. In winter time it is scarcely possible to say Mass. Moreover, the cathedral is threatened with ruin.”¹⁴ In 1856 the association began

¹² Roothaan à Murphy, October 30, 1851 (AA).

¹³ Miége à Roothaan, August 17, 1852 (AA)

¹⁴ Miége à Beckx, September 30, 1853 (AA)



John Baptist Miége, S J (1815-1884), Vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains and Bishop of Messenia *in partibus*

Felix Livinus Verreydt, S J (1798-1883), first superior of St Mary's Potawatomi Mission, the site of which he selected





Maurice Gaillard, S J (1815-1877), historiographer of St Mary's Potawatomi Mission and adept in Potawatomi, of which language he compiled a dictionary

John Francis Diels, S J (1821-1878), superior of St Mary's Potawatomi Mission during the sixties.



to remit its subsidies direct to Bishop Miége and not through the Father General. "The Lyons Association," he wrote to Beckx in January, 1857, "assigned me 20,000 francs [\$4,000] for the past year, but this will scarcely enable me to pay the debts contracted during the year."¹⁵ In such manner was the old world with edifying generosity coming to the relief of the new. At the same time domestic relief bodies similar in scope to the Catholic Church Extension Society and the Catholic Indian Bureau of later days were projected on occasion but never actually set on foot. Thus in 1849 Father De Smet proposed the creation in the United States of an association for the sole purpose of aiding the Indians. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis approved the plan, which it was proposed to set before the bishops at the impending Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore. Nothing apparently came of the proposal. A suggestion made in the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1852, that the Lyons Association of the Propagation of the Faith be established in the United States, the money thus collected to be distributed by the American bishops, was objected to by Bishop Miége, probably because he felt his vicariate would fare better if the money were distributed from the general headquarters of the association.¹⁶

In general, the Osage and Potawatomi Missions managed to maintain themselves on a sound financial basis. In 1850 they were reported to be without debts. In 1854 their financial status was declared satisfactory. In 1855 a report of De Smet credited them with sixteen thousand, nine hundred dollars on deposit in St. Louis, of which sum nine thousand dollars belonged to Miége. As was already seen, in addition to the grants made in their favor by the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, the missions were dependent for their support on government school-money, on the revenue from surplus live-stock and farm-products and on occasional aid from the vice-province, the General, or other benefactors in Europe and America. Shortly after his arrival at St. Mary's Bishop Miége wrote to the Father General: "Rev. Father Provincial [Murphy], who seems admirably disposed towards the Indian missions, advised me in his last letter to ask your Paternity to allow him to have 4 [?] Masses said by the Fathers of the Vice-Province, the money [offerings] for the same to be applied to the missions. The thing is easy to suggest, but I doubt if it be as easy to obtain."¹⁷ In another connection Father Roothaan had occasion to manifest in a practical way his interest in Bishop Miége's missions. The creditor's claim to twenty thousand dollars, which had been borrowed by the vice-province from the generous Belgian benefactor, M. De Boey, had been

¹⁵ Miége à Beckx, January 12, 1857 (AA)

¹⁶ Miége à Roothaan, July 9, 1852 (AA)

¹⁷ Miége à Roothaan, October 24, 1851 (AA)

conveyed by the latter in his will to the Father General (Chap. XV, § 2). Roothaan in his turn relieved the vice-province of any obligation to pay the principal, but required that a sum equivalent to the interest on the amount involved be annually applied to the Indian missions. "You will employ the equivalent income of this sum in favor of the Indians," he instructed Father Elet, "either by sending them effective aid or by training subjects for these missions. . . . The Vice-Province can make use of [this money] for the Novitiate and Scholasticate, which furnish subjects to these missions." Beginning with April 1, 1852, one-half the income of the De Boey loan went at the instance of Father Roothaan to Bishop Miége. This meant an annual subsidy to him of five hundred dollars.¹⁸

In the early rush of immigrants to Kansas in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska bill Catholics participated scarcely at all. Later their numbers increased. "I should wish to be able to count on numerous Catholics among them [the immigrants]," Miége comments in 1854, "but in numbers they amount to nothing. The really small number of them that come to us are scattered in every direction and at such distances one from the other that it is almost impossible to find them, or at least to visit them regularly. Here is the chief reason for the large number of defections in America, especially in the new States."¹⁹ The Indians were being adequately looked after by the Jesuits; but the spiritual care of the immigrant white Catholics, especially when their numbers began to grow in the mid-fifties, presented a serious problem, the only solution of which was the recruiting of a diocesan clergy. Here precisely was the difficulty. The Jesuits, to repeat, could be relied upon to serve the Indian population of the vicariate; but they were not in a position to meet at the same time the spiritual needs of the growing white population of the country. Miége appealed to the General for priests "for the salvation of the German and Irish population which is

¹⁸ Roothaan à Elet, July 30, 1850 (AA) In 1859, by which time Miége had been residing in Leavenworth some four years, Druyts, the vice-provincial, requested that this subsidy be no longer paid to the prelate as it was originally allotted to him as superior of the Indian Missions and not as bishop. At Leavenworth Miége's interest lay with the whites, not the Indians, while he annually received a liberal appropriation from the Lyons Association, from which quarter no help whatever was now being received by the vice-province. It was finally agreed between the Bishop and the vice-provincial (1859) that the yearly subsidy in question of five hundred dollars be assigned to St. Mary's until a loan of three thousand dollars obtained by the Bishop from Duerinck be paid off, after which time the disposition of the money was to be determined by the Father General. Finally, in 1863, Father Beckx applied this subsidy to the so-called *arca seminaru* or seminary fund for the support of the novices and scholastics of the vice-province.

¹⁹ Miége à Beckx, October 28, 1854. (AA)

coming in among us", and he appealed likewise for clerical recruits to Propaganda, which on June 30, 1856, requested from Father Beckx an expression of opinion on the Bishop's petition. In the event there were always one or more Jesuit priests residing with the Bishop as long as he remained in Leavenworth, to say nothing of the direct ministerial service rendered to the settlers by St. Mary's through Father Dumortier and others. But in the first years of the vicariate there was not over-much, so it would appear, to engage the time and energy of a young and enterprising bishop. In fact, Miége when in Rome in 1853 represented that the outlook for the vicariate was so unpromising that it ought to be suppressed. "The Archbishop of St. Louis," he informed the Father General in February, 1854, "has made me a proposition, namely, that he give me the half of his diocese and that I establish my see at St. Joseph and administer [from there] the Vicariate, in which there will not be much to do for some years to come. I answered him that having myself asked him for St. Joseph in order to have some occupation during the winter time, I would willingly accept it if he should agree to cede it to me as part of the Vicariate, but that I should not desire either St. Joseph as a see or the half of his diocese, which he had offered to me. As the holy Archbishop renewed his overtures on the question, I thought I ought to say a word to your Paternity about it."²⁰ One may be confident that the Father General was not any more ready than the Vicar-apostolic to see the Society assume charge of a regularly organized diocese among the whites. As a matter of fact, when in 1855 the Second Diocesan Synod of St. Louis petitioned the Holy See to erect the vicariate-apostolic of the Indian country into a titular diocese with Miége as Ordinary, Father Beckx intervened successfully to have the measure postponed. A letter written by the Bishop to the Father General a few weeks before his removal to Leavenworth is illuminating on conditions in the vicariate at this juncture

St. Mary's of the Potawatomes
July 4, 1855.

Here I am just back from a long trip to Nebraska, [which I undertook] to obtain more or less exact information regarding the Catholic population of this new Territory. I found Catholics almost everywhere but not in sufficient numbers to provide for the support of a resident priest among them. As the population goes on growing every day, I have accepted or bought lots in the principal little towns begun since last Autumn. These towns in Nebraska are Omaha City, Bellevue, Platteville, Kearney [Kearney] City, Nebraska City. I gave \$500 towards a church in Omaha City, where there is already a good number of Catholics, and I paid

²⁰ Miége à Beckx, February 8, 1854 (AA)

two hundred dollars for 8 lots in Karney [Kearney] City. In the other places there were liberal donations of the necessary ground for church and schools

The Omaha tribe, which last year occupied the lands on which these towns are being built, has reserved for itself 50 miles further into the interior a rich portion of land on which they wish to have schools kept by black-robbers, so they say They no longer want the Presbyterians, who have been with them for several years The fund appropriated for their school is 14,000 dollars a year irrespective of the number of pupils I have written to Father Murphy begging him to accept this offer for two reasons principally. 1° The school having a good income will give little trouble on the temporal side. 2° The Fathers being only 50 miles from the principal points where the whites are settling will easily be able to visit them and give them at least the strictly necessary instruction Many Catholics are settling in the two new territories and I have no priests to give them I have written to Ireland, France and Savoy for help No answer yet If the Society does not come to my aid, I see no other way than to take my gun and a mule and go and hide myself in some corner of the Rocky Mountains where it will be impossible for me to hear any more about the wants of Kansas and Nebraska I have journeyed or run rather, by mule-steamer, you will of course understand, almost without interruption from mid-March to the end of June, visiting a good part of the two territories. Trouble, fatigue, embarrassment are never wanting in this sort of expedition, but all this would assuredly be nothing if the heart did not overflow with pain in consequence of the isolation and miseries of so many poor souls to whom the Vicar-Apostolic solely by himself can afford no relief.

The Vice-Province of Missouri, so I believe, has scarcely done for many years what it might have, but it is poor in subjects and cannot possibly assist me according to my needs May I be permitted, Very Reverend Father, to ask you whether some of our flourishing provinces of Europe could not supply Kansas and Nebraska with a few missionaries for the salvation of the German and Irish population which is arriving among us? Such a proposition, however, must not be made to Reverend Father Ponza for he seems firmly resolved to take away from me Father Ponzighone, who has now been four years with the Osage. I have asked Reverend Father Murphy to answer him that if I am unfortunate enough not to be able to obtain either [Jesuit] Fathers or secular priests, I shall have to hold the five that I have to labor up and down the 14 degrees of latitude, to say nothing of the longitude He can cry, make a fuss, do and say anything he pleases, I am more than determined to hear neither with the right ear nor the left, and I have with all that the firm hope that your Paternity will have the goodness to pardon me this whimsical sally, really pardonable only in a poor Vicar-Apostolic who allows himself to indulge it.

The excitement caused in Kansas Territory by the slavery question makes the Territory an object of attention on the part of the United States The two parties are in contention over it and each is sending its contingent of immigrants Everything sold by the Indians has been occupied a long

time back All our plains and forests are now occupied by farms or new-born towns. The principal ones are Leavenworth, Delaware, Atchison, Doniphan on the Missouri, Laurence [Lawrence], Franklin, Lecompton, Benicia, Topeka, Fremont, Whitfield, Indianola, St. George, Manahatan [Manhattan], Pawnee, Reeder, Montgomery on the river of the Kants [Kansas], Awsakee, Osawatome, Iola, Nemaha, Jacksonville, Fort Scott on various small rivers of the territory²¹ At Doniphan they are building a church, for which I have given 300 dollars At Pawnee I paid 150 dollars for a few lots and gave out a contract for a small house and chapel of stone, which will cost 1300 dollars At Leavenworth, which is and will be the best town of the whole territory, I have bought 23 lots for which I paid 1675 dollars Moreover, at one mile from the town I bought 40 acres for 255 dollars A house is in course of construction Though of frame it will cost me 1100 dollars, a frame chapel which I am going to put up there as soon as the house is finished will come to 800 dollars and the stable will be an extra 300 dollars As your Paternity sees, it is a good deal of money for a town which still counts only 900 inhabitants and six months of existence There will be further embarrassments to face in order to obtain titles to the lots and claims purchased, for everything happens to be on prohibited land, that is to say, land on which the Government has forbidden the whites to settle People to the number of 4000 or 5000 have squatted on it, the Government has strongly remonstrated, but has taken no effective measures to drive them off. This has encouraged others and I have been of the number, following the advice of the Fathers of the Mission and of numerous well-informed persons who have done the same as myself²² We shall probably be given a quit-claim on payment of a little additional sum, which will satisfy the Government and leave us with the advantages of the first purchase.

Very Reverend Father Roothaan allowed me 500 dollars a year from the interest on a sum which a Belgian gentleman made over to him and which he [Roothaan] had allocated to the Vice-Province of Missouri. . . . These 500 dollars have always been and always will be applied to the missions of the Society in the Vicariate My expenses this year will be at least 8000 dollars and verily I am frightened over the coming year Everything is yet to be done, to be created, so to speak, and if by the strictest economy of four years I had not succeeded in getting together a few thousand dollars which now draw me out of embarrassment, the post would not be

²¹ Many of these towns are now extinct Cf "Some Lost Town of Kansas," *Kans Hist Coll*, 12 472-490

²² For an account of the Delaware trust lands on which the city of Leavenworth was laid out in violation of a treaty with the Delaware tribe reserving them from preemption, cf Andreas (ed), *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p 421 Squatters on the trust lands were eventually allowed to purchase their claims at a price fixed by the government Evidently Bishop Miége realized that Indian tenure of the land had become impossible and that there was nothing unethical in securing an inchoate land-title which would according to every probability be later recognized as a valid one in law.

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tenable at all. A letter I wrote in April, if I am not mistaken, must have given the information your Paternity might wish to have in this matter. I hope that the allowance for last year, of which I have so far heard nothing, will make it possible for me to provide for the interests of the Vicariate. I am hardly preaching for myself when I speak in this manner. I am an ox or a horse which is merely breaking ground, nothing more. I wish to try to do good in order that my successor may have better days and more time to work for the salvation of souls.²³

Prior to Bishop Miége's arrival in Leavenworth the spiritual needs of the few Catholic whites settled in what is now the state of Kansas had been attended to from the Jesuit mission-centers. The Catholic soldiers at Fort Leavenworth were visited as early as 1836 from the Kickapoo Mission, those at Fort Scott were visited first from Sugar Creek and afterwards from the Osage Mission. In 1854 at the invitation of the commandant, Major Ogden, a father from St. Mary's began to hold services once a month at Fort Riley, where a number of German and Irish soldiers were stationed. In 1855, when cholera broke out at the fort among the soldiers and the workmen engaged there in building a new barracks, the visiting priest, probably Father Duerinck, was indefatigable in charitable attentions to the sick. The cholera was of a particularly virulent type, claiming in the short space of ten days a hundred victims, among them Major Ogden himself. When the scourge had passed away, the soldiers made up a purse of two hundred and sixty dollars which they presented in token of gratitude to the visiting

²³ Miége à Beckx, July 4, 1855 (AA). An important feature of Bishop Miége's episcopal ministry was his confirmations. Confirmations administered by him at St. Mary's numbered as follows: 1851, 175, 1854, 94, 1859, 184, 1862, 121, 1866, 138, 1867, 39, 1868, 50, 1871, 109, 1872, 50, 1873, 50, 1874, 48. The names of those receiving the sacrament reveal the varied complexion of the population in and around St. Mary's. The list for 1859 includes the names of Juliana Bruneau (residing with J. Lassely), Aloysius Chochkikabat, a Kickapoo, William, a Sioux, adopted son of Basil Grimard, Alexander Rencontre, a Sioux, Mathilda Pratt, Archangela Allen, Emilia Beaubien, Maria Burnett, one-time adopted daughter of Charles Beaubien, Josephine and Maria Higbee, David, Peter and Theresa Hardin, Maria Wilmet, Julia Beaubien, Maria Joanna Burnett, Aloysius Wabansi. The group confirmed at St. Mary's, May 4, 1862, included the following students at the mission school: Francis Palmer, Dionysius Riordan, Theodore David,—Loughton, Francis Vuillemet, Louis Oliver,—Darling, Peter Mousse (Kwokitchis) and John Baptist Leclerc. Two Negro girls, servants of Francis Bourbonnais, made their first communion at St. Mary's, January 6, 1861. Marianna, "a free negress," made her first communion also at St. Mary's, February 3, 1861. On June 27, 1854, twenty were confirmed in the Church of the Sacred Heart at Soldier Creek, among them Peter Mann, John B. Letendre, James Ayot, David Vieu and Anthony Delaurier. *First Communion and Confirmation Register, 1851-1887* (F).

priest from St. Mary's. Subsequent to Bishop Miége's departure from St. Mary's the country along the upper Kansas, Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers began to receive small knots of Catholic settlers, who were to form the nuclei of future parishes. The Catholic ministry in central Kansas may be said to have been put on an organized basis about 1859 with the arrival at St. Mary's of Father Louis Dumortier, who was to identify himself with itinerant missionary service among the whites as Gailland identified himself with a similar service on behalf of the Indians.

In eastern Kansas the task of ministering to the Catholic immigrants fell to the diocesan priests and to the Benedictines. In 1858 Fathers Heimann and Defouri, with a Jesuit, Father Converse, were stationed at the Leavenworth cathedral. In the spring of 1855 the Benedictines began to attend the Catholics settled in and around Doniphan on the Missouri above Leavenworth. They built St. John's Church at Doniphan in 1856 and a church at Atchison in 1860, where in later years they were to erect a splendid abbey and college. Lecompton, Wyandotte and Lawrence had their resident priests before 1860 while in Leavenworth a second parish, St. Joseph's, was organized for the German population.

The visitation of his immense vicariate led Bishop Miége north into Nebraska Territory and west into what is now Colorado. In 1860, with Brother John Kilcullin as companion, he travelled in his own conveyance over the plains to Denver. "Our Right Rev. Bishop is expected back here about the 27th inst.," wrote the diocesan priest, Father Theodore Heimann, to De Smet, June 18, 1860. "One of his mules died on the road—he fears that his carriage—so famous for age and journeys will not be strong enough to bring him back here [Leavenworth City]. He has visited the Gregory diggings. On the 4th he met the Catholics of Denver City to devise means for the building of a church in that place. Matters look very bright, says the Bishop, who intended to start for Colorado City on the 6th inst. and to be back in Denver in about twelve days." ^{23a}

^{23a} (A). According to Defouri, Miége was in Colorado again in 1865, visiting on this occasion the gold diggings of Pike's Peak. The same author relates the following incident which apparently occurred when Miége was in Colorado. "One day they were surprised by the arrival in the camp of a lonely stranger, with beard unshaven, wearing a summer linen coat and carrying a gun upon his shoulder. The stranger was tall and muscular and there is no denying that they felt ill at ease. He spoke French to them and they were glad to find an American with whom they could converse. He asked them who they were, whither they were going, why they were camping there instead of being on their journey while the weather was fine. He asked them many more questions and thus rendered them uneasy. They told him all. He finally smiled and told them he was acquainted

Five years before, in 1855, Bishop Miége had administered confirmation in Omaha, apparently the only occasion on which he visited the future metropolis of Nebraska. The Second Provincial Council of St. Louis, which convened in 1855, proposed to the Holy See the separation of the two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, the former to be erected into a diocese with Miége as Ordinary, the latter to be erected into a vicariate-apostolic with De Smet as incumbent. Neither recommendation was acted upon except that two years later Nebraska Territory was organized into a vicariate though not under De Smet. This measure was executed in deference to the wishes not only of the Second Provincial Council of St. Louis but also of Miége. In 1856 he represented to the Propaganda that it was impracticable for him to attend to Nebraska Territory, which needed absolutely its own vicar-apostolic. Later, in January, 1857, he wrote: "I was able to send only one priest to Nebraska, I haven't another one to send and yet there are many thousands of Catholics in those parts." In 1858 Nebraska City was being attended from Doniphan in Kansas Territory and Omaha from St. John's Settlement in Nebraska, where Reverend Jeremiah Treacy, the only resident priest in the upper territory, had built St. Patrick's Church. How anxious Bishop Miége was to have Nebraska Territory detached from his vicariate appears from a letter which he addressed early in 1857 to the General

I wrote last year to the Propaganda that it was utterly impossible for me to attend to the other part of the Vicariate, which is called Nebraska, and I ended the letter by saying "Since the necessity of assigning a vicar-apostolic to these parts has been made known at Rome, I am not bound before God to answer for the souls who reside there, the responsibility is on those who fail to afford relief though they are able to do so" So far I have received no answer to this letter nor do I hear that a vicar apostolic has been appointed. If they only realized or could realize at Rome the pressing need of the situation as I know it to be, I do not doubt that they would apply an immediate and effective remedy. If your Paternity could say a good word for me and Nebraska to his Eminence Cardinal Barnabo, he would perform a most meritorious and merciful deed.²⁴

with their bishop, etc" The visitor turned out to be Bishop Miége himself. James H. Defour, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887), p. 47. Miége, as vicar-apostolic of territory subsequently taken over by Bishop Lamy, figures in Willa Cather, *Death Comes to the Archbishop*. For a letter of De Smet to Governor Gilpin of Colorado, who had asked for Catholic priests to care for Mexicans settled on a large estate of his in the San Luis Valley, Colorado, cf. CR, *De Smet*, 4, 1523. For Miége's own account of his visitation of Colorado in 1860 cf. *Mid-America*, 18, 266 *et seq.* (1936).

²⁴ Miége à Beckx, January 12, 1857 (AA). In 1855 Bishop Miége confirmed in Omaha, this being apparently his first and only visit to the town. He was in-

The representations made by Miége to Propaganda had their effect. Early in 1857 Nebraska Territory was erected into a separate vicariate-apostolic, which Miége was directed to administer pending the appointment of a vicar. Two years later, in May, 1859, the Right Reverend James O'Gorman, formerly prior of the Trappist abbey of New Melleray, was consecrated the first Vicar-apostolic of Nebraska. The upper portion of the Indian Territory, since organized into the states of Nebraska, Wyoming, the two Dakotas and Montana (east of the Rockies), was thus withdrawn from Bishop Miége's jurisdiction.

Ever since Miége fixed his residence at Leavenworth he had ceased to concern himself with the Indians, giving all his attention to the rapidly growing white population of the vicariate "It was Father Duerinck's duty," he wrote to Father Beckx in July, 1858, "to make known to superiors the real state of his affairs, not my duty, whose interests for two years back have been entirely separated from those of the Mission" ²⁵ In fact the Bishop, "ever since he fixed his see at Leavenworth," so Father Druyts informed the General in 1859, had "done nothing for the Indian Missions, neither for those depending on the Vice-Province, nor any other." ²⁶ Apparently the Bishop was of the mind that with the Indians, at least the Osage and Potawatomi, cared for by the Jesuits, his own services and those of whatever priests he could summon to his aid were necessarily to be bestowed on the groups of Catholic immigrants now beginning to take shape in various parts of Kansas. Meanwhile, one or other Jesuit father was associated with Miége in pastoral duties at the Leavenworth cathedral. His episcopal house in that city was in fact regarded as at least a quasi-Jesuit residence, and as such was regularly entered in the official register of the Missouri Vice-province beginning with the issue of 1857. In that year Father Beshor or Bouchard was residing in Leavenworth, he was followed the succeeding year by Father James Converse. In 1859-1860 there was no Jesuit father with the Bishop, but in 1861 he was having the services of Father Francis X. De Coen and, in 1862, those, also, of Brother John Lawless. Stationed at Leavenworth in subsequent years were the Jesuit fathers Laignel, De Meester, Coghlan, Corbett and Schultz, the last named being withdrawn in 1873. "Ours in Leavenworth," wrote

formed by the territorial governor, Cummings, that two lots had been offered for a Catholic church and that more could be procured if necessary "Being well pleased with the site of Omaha, I promised to send them a priest as soon as possible and meanwhile I requested Father Tracy of St John's [now Jackson] opposite Sioux City to do what he could in Omaha" Cited in J Sterling Morton, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1913), 2 458

²⁵ Miége ad Beckx, July 26, 1858 (AA)

²⁶ Druyts à Beckx, January 17, 1859 (AA).

Father Druyts in 1861, "are not in a normal position. Fortunately, Father De Coen and Brother Lawless are excellent religious." The point was that the Leavenworth residence, being primarily a bishop's headquarters, did not afford its Jesuit occupants adequate facilities for the observance of their rule. "Bishop Miége has often asked me," said Father Coosemans in 1869, "to establish at Leavenworth a permanent residence, which would be independent of his own. But the consultors, to whom I submitted his request on two different occasions, showed themselves opposed to the project. This is why I have given it up altogether."²⁷

§ 3. BISHOP MIÉGE'S RESIGNATION

Within two years of his consecration Bishop Miége was making efforts to resign his vicariate. "What is to be done," he wrote to the Jesuit vicar-general in April, 1853, apropos of the impending opening up of Kansas to the whites, "with this horde of persons of all nationalities who are going to fling themselves on this territory? Surely civilized folk would never have thought of me as a vicar-apostolic. I believe God is permitting all this to put me back in my place. I feel within me a very sincere desire to profit by this permission, the more so as the Vice-Province will scarcely be willing or able to furnish priests for places where they will be needed. And I am so poorly made to command Jesuits. What would be the situation if I had to get along with secular priests? I am hoping that all these considerations, without taking other things into account, will smooth the way."²⁸

Ten years later, in 1863, Miége again expressed his desire to be relieved of his episcopal charge "on account of the impossibility, physical and moral," in which he found himself "of doing justice to the duties of this high position."²⁹ In 1866 and again in 1868 he renewed his efforts in the same direction. "I take advantage of the occasion of good Father Keller's journey [to Rome]," he addressed Father Beckx in September, 1868, "to commend anew to your Paternity the humble petition which I submitted to you now nearly two years ago. I no longer have either strength or courage and the good cause must necessarily suffer from the incompetence of the bishop in a country where the greatest vigor and the most ardent zeal are absolutely necessary"³⁰

²⁷ Coosemans à Beckx, May 4, 1869 (AA).

²⁸ Miége au Vicaire-General, April 15, 1853 (AA)

²⁹ Miége à Beckx, May 10, 1863 (AA)

³⁰ Miége à Beckx, September 20, 1868 (AA) Father Keller, writing to Bishop Miége from Rome December 31, 1868, informed him that he had delivered his letters to the Father General and made the desired representations as to the state of the prelate's health "If indeed it were in my power to do so, I would deliver your Reverence from the burden at once. But, as I wrote back to you on another

Coosemans expressed himself to the General as being in favor of the Bishop's petition. "He is very anxious to be relieved of this charge. I am convinced that his resignation would make not only for his own happiness, but also for the good of the Society and perhaps even for the good of religion in these parts. For the Catholic population is growing daily and requires secular priests for its spiritual needs. Religious alone cannot suffice for the work."

The following undated petition appears to have been addressed by Miége to the Congregation of the Propaganda

1. The Sacred Congregation is perfectly aware with what reluctance he [the petitioner] undertook the episcopal office unexpectedly imposed upon him and with what prayerful insistence he attempted to decline it. He finally undertook it through a motive of obedience as there was question at the time only of the aborigines, who were to be brought from the worship of idols to the Catholic faith. But now this territory, which was bought by the Government in 1854, begins to be occupied by new settlers from every quarter of the globe, who daily grow in numbers and, with numerous cities and towns already built, have increased now to 500,000. The aborigines, on the other hand, who number 8000 at the most, are so falling away by degrees that they will apparently disappear altogether in a short time. There is no reason therefore why the Vicariate among the heathen should still be retained. Rather should there be erected, in the judgment of the Sacred Congregation, an episcopal see with a diocese of definite limits assigned to it.

2. But whether it be decided to maintain the Vicariate as it now is or to erect a diocese, either charge appears to be an excessive burden on our shoulders and must be resigned. As the result of continual labors of almost twenty years we are now broken down in health and with the ailments we have already contracted aggravating with old age, our health must continue to deteriorate day by day. Moreover, so broad are the limits of the Vicariate that they extend 600 miles from east to west and 300 from north to south, hence it seems impossible [for us] in this state of feeble health to make the customary visitations, undertake painfully long journeys and do whatever else is necessary *ex officio*, these things all requiring good, sound health⁸¹

3. In addition to all this, the secular priests engaged in the Vicariate are all young in years and well minded to discharge their ministry faithfully, but they need a Pastor to set them an example and at the same time labor strenuously with them in everything, a thing not to be hoped for except from a bishop still in the prime of life and physical strength.

occasion, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda does not seem at all inclined to allow this and hence there is further need of patience until it shall please Divine Providence to arrange otherwise"

⁸¹ Miége's vicariate extended west to the mountains until the erection in 1868 of the Vicariate-apostolic of Denver

4 Finally, there seems to be no necessity for the head of this Vicariate to belong to the Society of Jesus. The Society has only two missions among the natives, one among the Potawatomes and the other among the Osage, and these missions will soon be reduced to the level of the normal civil life [of the country]. Members of other religious families in number greater than the Jesuits are exercising the sacred ministry. Hence no inconvenience can ensue, especially as the assent of the [Jesuit] General will be obtained, should one who is not a member of the Society succeed [the petitioner] in the charge of the Vicariate or Diocese.³²

Meantime, in 1859, Bishop Miége had represented to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, the possibility of his obtaining financial aid in France toward building a new cathedral. "The Abbé Pillon, editor of the *Rosier de Marie*, encouraged me in the hope that he will obtain from his subscribers enough money for building a fine sanctuary in honor of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. He suggests that I visit France, where I should obtain considerable alms. I leave the decision to you." The prefect, after conferring on the matter with Father Beckx, declined to sanction the proposed visit to Europe. Some years later the Bishop was enabled to begin an imposing cathedral of Romanesque design on the southwest corner of Fifth and Kiowa Streets. James F. Meline, a visitor to Leavenworth in 1866, saw the church in process of construction. "On a high and commanding site a Catholic cathedral of substantial brick is now going up and is almost ready for roofing. Judging by the eye I would say its size was one hundred and eighty feet by ninety."³³ Excavations for the edifice were begun in the spring of 1864, the corner-stone was laid in September of the same year, and the finished cathedral was dedicated December 8, 1868, under the title of the Immaculate Conception. The cost was between one hundred and fifty thousand and one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. The contractor was James McGonigle, who arrived in Leavenworth in 1857 from his birth-place in the immediate vicinity of the Giants' Causeway in Ireland. He went to work at once at three dollars a day of ten hours, and in a few months had risen to be a builder and contractor on his own account.

I arrived in Leavenworth May 6, 1857, where I made the acquaintance of Bishop Miego, whose friendship was given to me and which is one of the most pleasant memories of my life. My business association, con-

³² A copy of the document, in Latin and without address or date, is in the Missouri Province Archives

³³ James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback, Santa Fe and back, A Summer Tour through Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and New Mexico, in the year 1866* (New York, 1867), p. 2

sisting in the construction of the cathedral from the foundation to its entire completion, was mutually satisfactory. I had a strong affection for him when living and his memory is cherished with great appreciation . . . The Bishop possessed an artistic and architectural mind, which the great work he accomplished shows. The architectural proportions of the cathedral are perfect. The sanctuary is the largest of any cathedral in this country. He often remarked that he wanted a large one so that the largest ceremonies of the church could be held with comfort. Bishop Miege secured the best fresco artist in the United States, Leon Pomarède. The figures in fresco are perfect and even today the expressions and colors are good. The stained glass figures show that they were made by a first-class artist, as the colors are as fresh and clear today as when executed thirty-seven years ago. The cathedral is of the Romanesque style of architecture and has no superior of that style in this country. The size of the cathedral is 94 feet front, and 200 feet long and about 65 feet high to square of building. The towers when completed will be about 190 feet high.³⁴

Meline visiting Leavenworth in 1866 saw the town in the heyday of its prosperity. "Of hotels there is no lack and Leavenworth, too, has its Tremont, Everett, Planters and Astor. . . . Immense numbers of teams and wagons for transportation of merchandise from government stores in Utah, New Mexico, Nebraska and Montana are fitted out here, giving employment to a small army of drivers, merchants and contractors."³⁵ Leavenworth in 1866 was claiming a population of twenty-five thousand. Then came the collapse of its short-lived boom, the town being outstripped by Kansas City in the race for commercial ascendancy in the region marked by the big bend of the Missouri. But in the sixties Leavenworth promised to develop into metropolitan proportions. Bishop Miége had unbounded faith in it as he showed by building his cathedral on so imposing a scale. The unexpected turn of tide in the fortunes of the town was a heavy reverse for the prelate, who soon found a crushing debt of some hundred thousand dollars weighing on the cathedral.³⁶ As there were no prospects of paying it off without help from outside, he asked in the fall of 1868 to be excused from attendance at the impending Vatican Council in order that he might solicit aid in person from the Catholics in Europe. "I consider this absolutely necessary in the circumstances in which I find myself and I hope that our Divine Master will inspire you [Father Beckx] as also Cardinal Barnabo to grant me this favor which duty alone constrains me to ask." Though Miége was not excused from attendance at the Vatican Council, he was permitted on its dissolution to visit South

³⁴ *Kans Hist. Coll.*, 9 156, 159

³⁵ Meline, *op cit.*, p. 2

³⁶ This is the figure given by McGonigle, *Kans Hist. Coll.*, 9 156

America, where he spent two years appealing to the generosity of the Latin-Americans and with noteworthy result. He brought back with him, according to report, some fifty thousand dollars. His travels were not without risk to life, on crossing the Andes he was blindfolded as was also the mule which he rode and which was led by a guide.³⁷

Before leaving the United States in the summer of 1869 Bishop Miége had named Father Michael Corbett, a Jesuit member of his household in Leavenworth, temporary administrator of the vicariate with the understanding that, if his own resignation were accepted, he would relieve Father Corbett of the charge and appoint another administrator not of the Society. Father Coosemans, the provincial, would have wished another arrangement. "Bishop Miége, who thinks of sailing for Europe in September or October, wishes to make Father Corbett the administrator of his Vicariate during his absence. I offered my objections and suggested that he name rather a secular priest or the Superior of the Benedictines, for apart from the fact that this nomination seems to be contrary to the spirit of the Society, I am afraid that the evil of a Jesuit Vicar-Apostolic in our Province may be perpetuated if Bishop Miége should happen to be shipwrecked or succeed in ridding himself of his charge."³⁸ Father Corbett, unaccustomed to executive tasks, found his position as administrator a trying one. "It is useless to tell you," he wrote to Coosemans, "how much I desire to be withdrawn from here."³⁹ Father Coosemans in turn informed the General in July, 1870, that the dogma of papal infallibility having been proclaimed, as he had just read in the papers, Bishop Miége ought to return at once to his vicariate where his presence was sorely needed.⁴⁰ The problem was solved by the appointment of a coadjutor to Miége in the person of the Benedictine, Father Louis M. Fink, a Bavarian, who on June 4, 1871, was consecrated Bishop of Eucarpia *in partibus* in the Benedictine church of St. Joseph in Chicago. It was the first episcopal consecration to take place in that city. Four months later the

³⁷ Miége à Beckx, September 20, 1868 (AA) *Kans Hist. Coll.*, 9 158.

³⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, 1868 (AA).

³⁹ Coosemans on returning from a visitation of St. Mary's in 1869 stopped at Leavenworth, where he found Corbett in great distress over Bishop Miége's finances. There were heavy obligations and no money at hand to meet them or pay off depositors. Coosemans hoped the Bishop would secure aid in Europe, "otherwise the sooner he returned the better it will be for his own credit and also, I believe, that of Religion." Coosemans à Beckx, October 19, 1869 (AA) "During Father Corbett's administration of the diocese he exercised great ability and sound judgment and retired from his responsibility having given satisfaction to the priests and people of the diocese." James McGonigle in *Kans Hist. Coll.*, 9 159

⁴⁰ Coosemans à Beckx, July 9, 1870 (AA)

church which witnessed it was swept away in the Great Fire that became historic in the annals of Chicago.

The idea of securing a coadjutor to Bishop Miége with a view to relieving the situation in the vicariate would appear to have originated with Father Beckx. At any rate, in a communication to the prelate under date of July 1, 1869, he expressed a desire to aid him in his difficulties by resorting to this expedient. He was unwilling to see a Jesuit appointed to the dignity, but he counseled the Bishop to gather data concerning some competent priest outside of the Society and propose him to the Sacred Congregation.⁴¹ When Bishop Fink's appointment was announced, the General expressed to Miége his keen satisfaction over the news

I received your letter with great interior joy on the very day on which a year ago the decree of Infallibility was confirmed. But how things have changed since that time! First of all, I rejoice with you and sincerely congratulate you on having at last got a Coadjutor such as you have desired, a man religious, prudent, pious, full of apostolic zeal, knowing the country, eager to go ahead with the good works you have taken in hand and able to bring them to a happy issue I hope that with your joint efforts you will devise means for gradually relieving the necessities which render you so anxious. But I do not think it proper for you to contemplate giving up your place before the debts have been paid or at least so provided for that they will not seem to be a burden upon your successor. . . I should like to learn at some opportune time to what Province or house you would prefer to retire after you have given up your position and this I should wish to know in order that I may meet your wishes as far as in me lies⁴²

The funds collected by Miége in his South American trip enabled him to meet a large part of his obligations. In a document signed at Leavenworth, June 5, 1874, by Bishop Fink at the request of Bishop Miége, the former, after witnessing that a considerable part (*partem notabilem*) of the debt on the cathedral had been discharged, engaged himself to make every effort to pay off the remainder. A few months later, November 8, 1874, Pius IX in an audience granted to Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, accepted Miége's resignation. The decree was forwarded to him at Leavenworth on the 16th of the same month and was received in December of the same year, 1874. Immediately on its receipt he bade farewell to his episcopal city and resumed the long sought for status of a simple member of the Jesuit province of Missouri. No one could have managed his relinquishment of a high ecclesiastical office with more effective secrecy. The Coadjutor-bishop

⁴¹ Beckx ad Miége, July 1, 1869 (AA)

⁴² Beckx ad Miége, 1871 (AA)

was absent and no one at the episcopal residence was aware of what had occurred until Bishop Miége was on his way to St. Louis. Father Defouri, the diocesan priest stationed at the Leavenworth cathedral in its early years, ever afterwards preserved with jealous care the simple written message which he received from Bishop Miége on this occasion. "Dear friend, when you will receive this letter I will be far away. Thank you for your kindness to me and pray for me. J. B. Miége."⁴³ The episcopal cross was missing from the signature.

At a meeting of the Catholics of Leavenworth held on January 10, 1875, resolutions were adopted expressing their deep regret over the departure of their beloved Bishop "from a diocese which has so richly reaped the benefit of his untiring zeal, his fervent piety and his keen penetrating sagacity exercised during more than twenty years of arduous duty which had brought out of a chaotic wilderness a living tangible spiritual power." The resolutions declared that esteem and regard for him were by no means confined to his coreligionists "Our love and respect for him as Catholics is shared by the people of Kansas generally, who in the past twenty years have learned to love him for his sterling worth and energy in the upbuilding of the material interests of the State, his devotion to its people and to their interest and honor during the many struggles that have marked the history of our growing commonwealth."⁴⁴ Miége's long years of untiring labor for the upbuilding of the Catholic Church in Kansas had indeed made a deep impression on the laity. The clergy associated with him were not behindhand in recognition of his worth as a man and his achievement as a bishop. "He is a business man," wrote Father Defouri, "with the highest attainments of the heart and mind. . . . Everything he left behind him was a monument; but he never referred to anything that might flatter him. He worked for God and from God he expected the reward." In view of his long years of intimacy with the Bishop, the testimony of Father Paul Ponziglione, the Jesuit Osage missionary, is of particular significance.

It was my lot to accompany Father Miego in many of his travels, especially when he went to give confirmation, and I always found him kind, amiable and in all respects edifying. At that time we generally traveled in parties of three or four together and he would always show himself as sociable and accomodating as one could be. Once we had picked up a place for camping he would go out with his double-barreled gun and look around for some game and as he was a good hunter he always would supply us

⁴³ Cited in Defouri to Ponziglione, May 25, 1884 (A)

⁴⁴ The resolutions were signed by D. W. Thomas as president, and P. Geraughty as secretary of the meeting. Twelve other signatures, including that of James McGonigle, are affixed to the document. (A).

with fresh venison. Ostentation he had none and far from claiming any distinction on account of his high character he would help us in cooking the meals and would go through all the drudgery of camp life. In spite of all the distractions indispensable with those who are bound to be so much out of doors, he was always very careful to give due time to mental prayer and to the recital of his breviary. Charity, the characteristic virtue of a bishop, was eminent in him. The poor knew it and were very familiar with him. At home as well as abroad he was always willing to listen to them, to give them advice and to divide with them whatever he had, so that the calls he used to receive from such people were very frequent, for they knew they were welcome at his house. Kansas will remember him for years to come. The Cathedral, the Academy, the Hospital and the schools he put up are standing monuments that speak for him more brilliantly than any tongue can do. But of all the monuments he leaves the Christianity which he established in Kansas will be that which more eloquently than any other [thing] shall speak of him to future generations ⁴⁵

Bishop Miége on retiring from Leavenworth doffed all his episcopal insignia and became known merely as Father Miége. His first assignment was to the office of spiritual director of the Jesuit seminary opened a few years previously at Woodstock in Maryland. From there he was called back in 1877 to the West to become the first president of Detroit College, later Detroit University. In 1880 he returned to his former post of spiritual director at Woodstock College, where he died in his eightieth year, January 21, 1884.

§ 4. THE POTAWATOMI TREATIES AND THE MISSION

The movement for the breaking up of the Potawatomi reserve on the lines indicated above (Chap. XXVIII, § 10) culminated in a treaty made at the agency, November 15, 1861, between the "chiefs, braves and headmen of the Potawatomi nation" and William W. Ross, acting as commissioner on the part of the United States. The treaty was ratified by the senate April 15, 1862 and a few days later, April 19, was proclaimed by President Lincoln. Each chief was to receive a section of land; each headman, a half-section, each other head of a family, a quarter section; and each person not included under the foregoing categories, eighty acres of land. Undivided quantities were to be set out for such among the Indians as still desired to hold their land in common while the unallotted portion of the reserve was to be sold for the benefit of the tribe. Moreover, the treaty provided that St. Mary's Catholic Mission and the Baptist Mission be each allotted a half-section or three hundred and twenty acres of land. Said article six:

⁴⁵ Ponziglione to Bushart, May 7, 1884 (A)

There shall be selected by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs three hundred and twenty acres of land, including the church, school-houses and fields of the St Mary's Catholic Mission, but not including the buildings and enclosures occupied and used by persons other than those connected with the Mission, without the consent of such persons, which shall be conveyed by the Secretary of the Interior to John F Diel [Diels], John Summacker [Schoenmakers], and M. Gerillain [Gailland] as trustees for the use of the society under whose patronage and control the church and school have been conducted within the last fourteen years, on condition, however, that so long as the Pottawatomie Nation shall continue to occupy its present reservation or any portion thereof, the said land shall be used and its products devoted exclusively to the maintenance of a school and church for their benefit And there shall be reserved and conveyed in like manner and upon like conditions, three hundred and twenty acres of land, including the Baptist Mission buildings and enclosures, such conveyance to be made to such persons as may be designated by the Baptist Board of Missions " 46

The treaty, though acceptable to the majority of the tribe, had not gone through without protest, especially on the part of the Prairie Band. Opposition to it was led by the eloquent Shawguee. Yet the name of this Indian orator and chief was the first signed to the treaty as it was also signed to the subsequent treaty of 1867. Father Gailland's account of Shawguee's stirring invective against the alleged injustice of the government's requiring the Indians to sell their lands and move to another reserve deserves reproduction. He seems to have been present at the council, which was held at the agency.

On the day appointed for the meeting, all the Indians were at the Agency, sitting on the sod After the preliminary preparation, Commissioner Dole arose, and said "My friends, by order of the President I have called you to this meeting to induce you to sectionize your land and come under the law as citizens of the United States, or to sell out here entirely, and take in exchange another reservation, which shall be assigned to you farther

⁴⁶ Kappler, *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties*, 2 827 The treaty was amended in 1866 so as to extend its provisions to all heads of families and adults without distinction of sex. Kappler, *op cit*, 2 916 A Potawatomi delegation was in Washington at the time the treaty of 1861 was ratified "1862, April 2 Today six of the Potawatomes in company with Major Ross started for Washington to have the treaty ratified in Congress They were the chief Mionio, Hygie, Ben Bertrand, John Tipton, George Young, Wiwasy, Medard Beaubien, Louis Ogee, J Bourassa" Duerinck's Diary I (F) According to Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p 1338, the treaty of 1861 was concluded at the Potawatomi agency on Cross Creek near Rossville For a while the agency was at St Marys, certainly so in 1869, when George W Fisher attended a payment there. *Kans Hist Coll.*, 14 552 A small stone building still occupied and standing near the college buildings on the west continues to be pointed out as the old agency house

west." Hereupon Shahgwee [Shawguee] came to greet the delegates all eyes were on him He is painted, wears a feather cap, he has broad shoulders and high breast, that gives his lungs and the magnitude of his heart free and easy play His full Indian attire adds solemnity to the circumstances. Then standing in front of the delegation our speaker said "Gentlemen of the delegation, I too come before you to speak in the name of my fellow Pottowattomies I tell you, Messrs Commissioners, we cannot accept either of these propositions, we are not prepared to sectionize our land and come under the law, it is only now we begin to see into the habits of the white men Were I to make that step now, the whites would immediately surround me by the hundreds, and by a thousand artifices get hold of my property, like so many leeches they would suck my blood, until I should be dead of exhaustion. No, we are not advanced enough in civilization to become citizens." "But then the laws will protect you," said Mr. Dole "Ah, the law protect me!" answered Shahgwee, "the law protects him that understands it, but to the poor and ignorant like the Indians it is not a shield of protection, on the contrary it is a cloak to cover the lawgiver's malice" The Commissioner replied "If you do not think proper to become citizens, then choose the other alternative given you, sell out to the Government this reservation and purchase another farther west, where you will be unmolested by the whites, we will pay you well" "You will pay me well! Ah, not all your gold can buy from us this our sweet home, the nearest to the graves of our ancestors. Here we have been born, here we have grown up and reached manhood, here we shall die But ye white men, why are you so covetous, so ravenous of this my poor limited home? Behold with what liberality I treated thee I was once the undisputed owner of that vast region, which lies around the lakes and between the great rivers, I ceded them to thee for this paltry reservation in the barren west I gave to thee Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and thou begrudgest me this little spot, on which I am allowed to rest and labor! Is this thy return to my beneficence? Is this the character of thy mercy? Thou hast driven my forefathers from the shores of the Atlantic, are you going to pursue me until I disappear in the waters of the Pacific? Oh! for God's sake have mercy on me; cease to hunt me from desert to desert like a wild beast Show us barbarians that civilization has softened your hearts as well as enlightened your minds." Hereupon Commissioner Dole reminded the speaker that the President wished them for their own good either to sectionize the land or move away from Kansas Shahgwee [Shawguee] answered "I do not thank the President for such a desire, I think we know our interests as well as the President when he is enjoying himself with his friends, what does he care about us poor, benighted, forlorn Indians? One thing I wonder at, that the President, who should be like a rock, immovable in his mind and convictions, changes so often and so quickly To-day he thinks and says the contrary of yesterday. On the same subject he speaks one thing to me and another to you The President told me, when he assigned me this reservation, I remember it well, he told me that this land should be my last and permanent home What business has he to tell me to change my abode? This place

is mine: I can leave it or keep it as I please” Thereupon one of the delegates remarked that this country being settled by the whites as well as by the Indians, “it is but right that in our regulation we consult their wishes, otherwise there will be no peace, no harmony between the two races” Shahgwee [Shawguee] replied “A pretty thing this is Suppose a stranger comes into your home, and declares himself dissatisfied with the way your domestic affairs are managed, would you listen to his whims? What have we to do with the whites that are settling among us? If our manner of acting displeases them, why do they come in our way? Let them allow us to manage our own affairs, and we will let them manage their own” Here Com Dole called the speaker’s attention to the division of parties that were among them. “You were once,” said he, “a great nation, formidable to your enemies The name of Pottowattomy was a terror to the Sioux and the Osages, unite once more, reconcile the different parties for your common interests, and you will be again a great and happy people” Shahgwee [Shawguee] quickly retorted “You have the brass to exhort us to peace and union, whilst at home you take up arms against each other and fight to the knife The South is arrayed against the North, the son fights against the father; the brother against the brother Your country is turned into one vast battlefield, and those rich plains that once produced so abundant crops are laid waste and reddened with the blood of American citizens Sir, restore peace and union among yourselves, before you come and preach it to us.” These words provoked Com Dole, who betrayed his emotion He quickly arose and said “Whether you like it or no, you *must* sign the treaty” The orator, no less excited and indignant, several times repeated the words, “you *must*, you *must*,” adding, “this is an imperious command,” then in a doleful tone he said to the Commissioner “Ah! thou art the strongest, I am the weakest” After which, turning himself and casting an angry look at the young men seated on the sod, in a thundering voice he said “Ye braves of the Pottowattomy nation, why do you not rise; but no, the braves are all dead, you are but mere children.”⁴⁷

By the authorities of St. Mary’s Mission the wording of article six of the treaty of 1861 was felt to be unsatisfactory, as not definitely guaranteeing to them a title in fee-simple to the allotted half-section. “This [the grant of the half-section],” wrote Father Coosemans August 21, 1862, “is so worded in the treaty that our Fathers might be subject in the future to many quibblings and perhaps to the loss of lands,

⁴⁷ *WL*, 6 78 Commissioner Dole was in Kansas in 1860 and apparently attended one of the Indian councils which preceded the signing of the treaty However, Shawguee’s reference to the Civil War as then in progress dates his “talk” sometime between the spring of 1861 and November 15 of the same year, when the treaty was signed Whether or not Dole was in Kansas in 1861 has not been ascertained Possibly Dole is mistakenly named in Gaillard’s account for some other official Gaillard’s version of Shawguee’s “talk” probably amplifies freely the orator’s actual words

improvements, buildings etc.”⁴⁸ Gailland in his ms *History of St. Mary's Mission* ventures the opinion that the article in its actual form was probably inserted in bad faith to the prejudice of the mission and this view appears to have been shared by De Smet writing in 1862 “St. Mary's Mission is placed in danger by conditions and quibbles which the Government Agent caused to be put in the last treaty.”⁴⁹

In his anxiety to secure an interpretation of the article in question Father Diels addressed a communication to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dole

1st It is admitted, I believe, on all hands that our Mission has done much, very much, towards improving the condition of the Pottawatomies

2nd In endeavoring to effect this good, we have expended much money and labor, in building a church without any assistance from the Government, and in erecting, at our own cost, several buildings, enclosing fields, setting out orchards etc. without any compensation, except the scanty allowance of \$50 00 and of late years of \$75.00 per annum, for clothing, boarding and educating, throughout the year, each boy and girl sent to our schools.

3rd. This we have done voluntarily and cheerfully, and this we should gladly continue to do if we are not prevented by untoward circumstances. But to be able to do this well, we should have to expend before long several thousand dollars, in addition to the expenses already made, since our fences are mostly worn out and our housing for dormitories and school purpose[s] is insufficient. Now, to be justified to incur these necessary expenses, we should be sure that either the land and improvements are to be our own, or at least, that we shall be duly paid for the improvements made, in concurrence with the views of the U S. Government, for the benefit of the Indians. For these considerations we should deem it a great favor to be allowed, with the consent of the Government, instead of accepting the grant as a gift with a title that might be disputed or give rise to difficulties, rather to purchase it at the rate of \$1 25 per acre from the Indians, who at the first signing of the Treaty had expressly given it to us *in fee-simple* and who even now, together with their agent, understand the present Article 6th, as intended not to check but to encourage our operations⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, August 21, 1862 (AA) “1862 April 29 The Washington delegation returned Article 6 sounds quite unfavorably for the Mission, so May 8, Diels leaves for St. Louis to buy provisions for the Mission, but particularly to consult with Provincial about the treaty May 9 Ben Bertrand comes to speak about the treaty June 18 On this day the Commissioner of the Indians assembled [the Indians] at the Agency to speak about the article of the treaty Was said to have been their intention to give ½ section in fee simple Asked by writing from the Secretary of the Interior whether he would convey it under such title, yet it was still worded ambiguously.” Duerinck's Diary I. (F)

⁴⁹ De Smet à Beckx, August, 1862. (AA). Cf , however, *infra*, Father Diels's petition and Ross's indorsement of the same.

⁵⁰ Diels to Dole, June 13, 1862. (H)

Father Diels then proposed a series of six questions touching the interpretation of the article. He asked in question three, "are the words, 'the said land shall be used and its products devoted exclusively to the maintenance of a school and church for their benefit,' so to be understood that in future we should no longer, as heretofore, be allowed to labor, by means of our school and church on the land in question, for the benefit of the whole population, though that mutual intercourse should evidently be rather an advantage than an injury to the Pottawatomies?" The last statement is an interesting one in view of the usual contention of the missionaries that the Indians were almost inevitably demoralized by contact with the whites. Diels's communication to Dole was indorsed by Agent W. W. Ross

He [Diels] has said correctly that this Mission has done much towards elevating the character and alleviating the condition of the Pottawatomies. It has become in fact one of those established institutions of the country which the Nation would be very loath to part with at any time, much less at the present. But it is thought by the Superiors that they would not be justified in making the necessary outlays of money in rebuilding and enlarging their buildings and fences unless they can have a title in fee-simple of the 320 acres of land granted to them by the 6th section of the treaty of November 15, 1861. And if in your judgement the proper construction of that section will give them a warranty deed, it will be very gratifying to the Indians, who without doubt desire to give the land for past services. If this cannot be done, it would be but a mere act of justice to provide if possible a way by which they can purchase the land upon which their improvements are made.⁵¹

Six years were to elapse before the desired warranty-deed to the half-section was in the possession of the mission. In the interval the attitude of the Potawatomi on the question at issue had found expression in a petition to the government signed October, 1862, by eighty-seven of their leading men, including Chiefs Joseph Laflamboise (Lafromboise), MaShee, Joseph Wewesa, Peter Chawee and the mixed-bloods, Peter Moose, J. H. Bertrand, Samuel L. Bertrand, Thomas Evans, Thomas Bourassa, Amable Toupin and Napoleon Bertrand. The petition also bore the indorsement of the business committee of the nation, Joseph N. Bourassa (president), George L. Young, B. H. Bertrand, Louis Vieux, M. B. Beaubien and John Tipton

Whereas we, Chiefs, Braves and Headmen of the Pottawatomie Nation of Indians acknowledge that the St. Mary's Catholic Mission established in our midst has for at least 14 years, with great labor and expense, maintained a church and school amongst us, to our great benefit, and whereas it was

⁵¹ Ross to Dole, June 17, 1862 (H)

our desire and intention in giving to the representatives of said Mission a grant of 320 acres of land (according to the 6th article of a treaty concluded with the United States, November 15, 1861) that the said representatives of the St Mary's Mission should acquire full possession of and an in-fee-simple title to the said 320 acres of land, and whereas we now desire to remove certain conditions and restrictions found in the said 6th article, which render it difficult for the Mission to make new improvements on land not held with an absolute title, We hereby petition the United States and our great Father, the President and the United States officers, to convey to the said representatives John F Diels, John Schoenmaker and M Gailland, the said 320 acres of land, including the church, school-houses and fields of said Mission, with an absolute and unconditional title, so that the said representatives may receive, as soon as possible, an in-fee-simple warranty deed of said land, to be acquired either as a gift or to be purchased by them at the rate of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, according as it will seem best ⁵²

On representations presumably made by the newly appointed Potawatomi agent, Dr Luther R. Palmer, that the rights of the mission were after all sufficiently safeguarded under the treaty, the Jesuit Mission Board at St Louis gave article six their unanimous approval February 27, 1863 "for it is plainly gathered therefrom that the property in question will revert in full right to the Society if at any time the Pottowatomie should disappear as a nation and mingle with other citizens in regular enjoyment of a civilized status."⁵³ At the same time, however, it was not by any means assumed by the missionaries that the treaty would prove a blessing to the Potawatomi. In May, 1862, Father Coosemans reported to the General

Father Gailland continues to work with much patience and with his usual tact for the conversion of the heathen and the perfection of the converted Indians. But the future is dark enough and can afford him little courage. The treaty made by the Potowatomies with the Government on the subject of their lands will probably prove the ruin of the tribe. Those who lived around the church and went there every day for mass and several times a month for the sacraments have already moved off several miles so that they cannot attend divine services as regularly as before. It is to be feared that they will soon lose their fervor and regularity ⁵⁴

To the interval between the two Potawatomi treaties belongs an appeal made by the nation through their delegates Joseph Bourassa, B

⁵² (A) The petition was indorsed by Ross in a letter to the Indian Office, October 9, 1862. (H).

⁵³ *Liber Consultationum* (A)

⁵⁴ Coosemans à Beckx, May 16, 1862 (AA).

H. Bertrand, and Anthony Navarre, to the Congress of the United States for money and supplies alleged to be due to them from the government. The claim was made by the Indians that the government owed them \$160,540.48 and, in addition, 11,000 pounds of tobacco, 567 of iron, 855 of steel, and 672 of salt. Moreover, they made complaint that the commissioner of Indian affairs in his report to the secretary of the interior had thrown up to them the part they took in the War of 1812, and they quoted against the commissioner the first article of the treaty of 1815. "Every injury or act of hostility by one or other of the contracting parties against the other shall be mutually forgiven and forgotten." They admitted that they had fought against the Americans in 1812, but pleaded in explanation that they were deceived "Men from Canada came and told us lies and gave us presents. Some, but not all of our people, fought against you" The appeal continued

Look over the treaties under which we claim this amount and you will find that we have by them given you millions of acres of the best lands in the country, and that, again and again, we have been removed from our rich hunting grounds, our fertile fields and our pleasant homes. Lands have been given us and taken away again. Under the treaty of 1846 we bought the lands where we now live and they were guaranteed to us a "home forever" But even now you are asking us to go away and leave them, to go to a new and strange country, buy other lands and begin again.

In the treaty of 1846 you gave us "promise of all proper care and parental protection" Yet you have made our lands a highway. Multitudes of your people have been crossing our reservation ever since we went upon it. They have taken our horses and cattle, they have destroyed our fences and crops and cut down our lumber, and in no way has your "care and parental protection" been extended to us. We have borne it all patiently, and while bearing it, we have given you "assurance of our fidelity and friendship" by shedding our blood to save your country.

But afterwards we made peace, and for more than fifty years no one of our people has lifted his hands against the white man. We have not only been at peace with the United States ever since, but when wicked men tried to break up your Government our young men went with your army and fought for you. And before that time our young men fought for you in the Sac and Fox war. This was over a quarter of a century ago. All the white men who fought in that war were long ago rewarded with land—They have chosen their land—rich and beautiful as any in the world—all around our reservation. What has been our reward? Nothing⁵⁵

Certain influences hostile to the mission appear to have been frequently at work during the sixties necessitating on the part of its man-

⁵⁵ A copy of the appeal, in pamphlet form, is in the Congressional Library, Washington.

agers an attitude of ceaseless vigilance. Father Gailland declared that most of the United States agents for the Potawatomi were unfriendly to the mission, often commending it outwardly but secretly working against it. He is particularly severe on Agent Ross, affirming that the latter made an attempt, which his own friends frustrated, to organize a delegation of chiefs to go to Washington to make some or other additions to the treaty, presumably to the prejudice of the mission. "He is very much opposed to our mission and to our schools especially. More than once he tried to have us migrate with the Indians as if we were a nuisance to him here."⁵⁶

Ross was succeeded in 1863 by Dr. Luther R. Palmer. During the six years that the latter presided over the agency the Catholic schools reached their highest level of prosperity. "Many people in high stations passing by ask to be allowed to see them and bestow high praises on them." So Father Gailland in his chronicle for 1865.⁵⁷ "But," he adds, "we have enemies even in the city of Washington, who would fain see them suppressed. Senator Pomeroy was obliged to take up their defence. He did it nobly." Senator James Lane also finds mention in Gailland's account as having come to the defence of the schools. In opposition to them was said to stand Secretary of Interior Harlan, who, however, soon disappeared from office in some political shake-up at Washington. Intrigue against the schools was apparently renewed at intervals, efforts being made to supplant Palmer as agent by a Protestant clergyman. In 1865 the doctor was in Washington in the interest of the schools.⁵⁸ In 1866 he was at the head of a delegation of chiefs who visited the national capital to arrange some minor matters concerning the treaty of 1861. The following year, 1867, he was again in Washington, this time to participate as United States commissioner in negotiating a second treaty with the Potawatomi. This treaty was signed at the capital on February 27 of that year, the United States being represented by "Louis G. Bogy, commissioner of Indian Affairs, W. H. Watson, special commissioner, Thos. Murphy, supt of Indian Affairs for Kansas, and Luther R. Palmer, U. S. Indian Agent, duly authorized," and the Potawatomi by "their chiefs, braves and headmen, to wit Mazhee, Mianeo, Shawgue, B. H. Bertrand, J. N. Bourassa, M. B. Beaubien, L. H. Ogee

⁵⁶ Gailland, *History of St. Mary's Mission* (Ms) (F). There is no evidence in Ross's correspondence with the Indian Office as far as examined of any unfriendly attitude on his part towards St. Mary's Mission. Petitions to the office from Father Diels and the Indians on behalf of the mission were readily endorsed by him.

⁵⁷ *WL*, 6 79

⁵⁸ There is probably some confusion of dates in Gailland's chronicle. Palmer may have been in Washington only once during the period 1866-67.

and G. L. Young." According to the terms of this agreement the Indians were authorized to purchase out of the proceeds of the sale of their surplus or unallotted lands in Kansas a reservation south of the state. Moreover, provisions were embodied touching such important matters as the admission of the Indians to citizenship, tribal funds, annuities, subsequent sale of unallotted lands etc. The half-sections allotted in the treaty of 1861 to the Catholic and Baptist missions were to be conveyed to them in fee-simple. "Moreover," reads article eleven, "the said John F. Deils [Diels], John Schoemaker and M. Gaillaud [Gaillard] shall have the right to purchase in a compact body ten hundred and thirteen 54-100 acres of the unallotted lands at the price of one dollar per acre, to be paid to the Secretary of the Interior, for the use of said tribe, and when the consideration shall be paid as aforesaid the President shall issue patents to said purchasers therefor, and in selecting said ten hundred and thirteen 54-100 acres, said purchasers shall have the preference over all other parties"⁵⁹ The words "in a compact body," occurring in this article were alleged to have been interpolated without the knowledge of the chiefs by some unauthorized person, with a view to forcing the mission to pick up its thousand acres on hilly ground as all the land around St. Mary's was supposed to be preempted. Happily there were left in the elbow of the Kaw about seventy acres unpreempted, which enabled the mission to take up a thousand acres in "a compact body," from the mission buildings down to a big bend in the river.⁶⁰

The article authorizing the mission to purchase a thousand and more acres of the reserve land had not appeared in the treaty of 1861, though at its signing the Indians had already expressed their desire to have this land conveyed to the mission and even, so it appears, as an outright gift. The St. Mary's house diary, 1862, records, as evidence of Indian gratitude, that twelve hundred acres had been granted in open council to the mission and in absolutely fee-simple. Only a month before the treaty of 1867 was signed at Washington the mission, anxious to secure its title both to the half-section and to the additional thousand acres, memorialized the government to this effect. That the appeal was successful was very probably due to the fact that Dr. Palmer was among the negotiators of the treaty

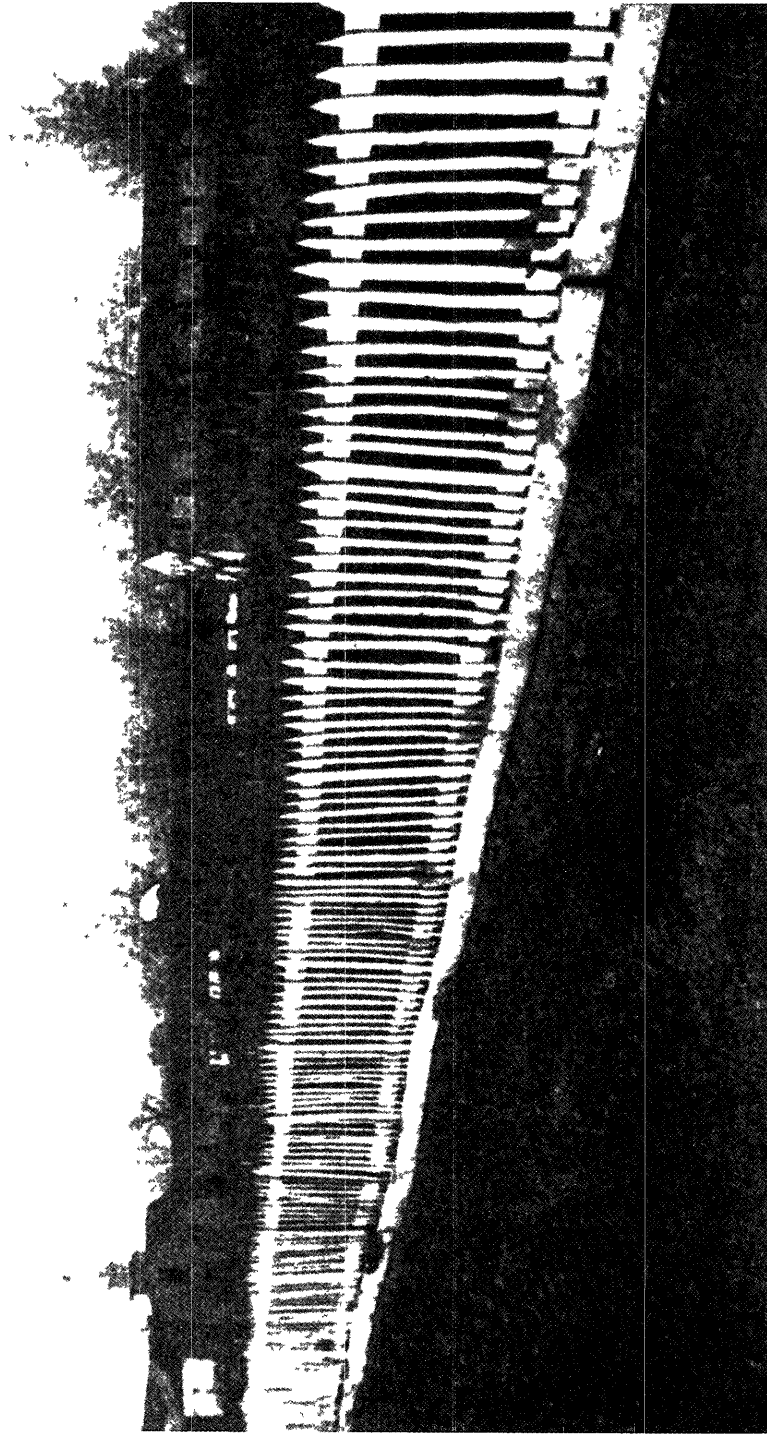
January 19, 1867

In behalf of St. Mary's Mission we beg leave to petition the government for the following favors

1—to obtain a patent or deed in fee simple to the 320 acres of land granted by treaty to John Schoemaker, Maurice Gaillard and John F

⁵⁹ Kappler, *op cit.*, 2 973.

⁶⁰ *WL*, 6 81



St Mary's Potawatomi Mission, St Marys, Kansas One of a series of photographs of Kansas scenes taken in 1868 by Alexander Gardner of Washington, D. C Library of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas



Group of Potawatomi Indians, St Mary's Potawatomi Mission, St Marys, Kansas One of a series of photographs of Kansas scenes taken in 1868 by Alexander Gardner of Washington, D C Library of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas

Diels (the names are misspelt in the printed copies of the treaty) as representatives of the Society under whose charge the Mission is

2—to acquire in fee simple deed to other lands convenient to said Mission amounting to upwards of 1000 acres, part of which are improved land of the Mission, all which lands were likewise promised to the aforesaid John Schoenmaker, Maurice Gaillard and John F. Diels at the making of the above alluded to treaty of 1860 [1861], as same represent and receive for the Mission [ms. ?], with the understanding that as this grant was not expressed in the treaty, the R. R. Company that would have a right to acquire the Pottowatomie lands not otherwise allotted would lease these lands for the St. Mary's Mission. Now to avoid all delay and future misunderstanding, if there should be any difficulty in acquiring now the desired titles to those lands, the St. Mary's Mission would consider it a favor to be able to purchase said lands at the same price at which they are offered to the R. R. Company, viz \$1 25 per acre

3—that the St. Mary's Mission may continue to be useful in any event and benefit the Indians even at a distance, we should suggest that the government would make such arrangements in behalf of St. Mary's Mission that all such Indians as should wish to send their children could send them to St. Mary's to have them educated out of the Indian educational fund ⁶¹

Though the treaty of 1867 met with the wishes of the Indians, difficulties appear to have been thrown in the way of its ratification by the senate. This did not take place until July 25, 1868, almost a year and a half after the treaty had been concluded at Washington. With a view to having it carried through Dr. Palmer in the course of 1867 led a Potawatomi delegation to the capital. The step was not taken without difficulties. A clique unfriendly to the mission had won over the principal chief Wewesa and with his backing had contrived to bring about a choice of delegates favorable to their designs. In view of this development it was felt at St. Mary's that the interests of the mission would fare badly at Washington. The main body of the Indians resented the trickery that had foisted upon them an unrepresentative delegation and one of the St. Mary's priests personally appealed to the chief, but without success, to withhold his approval. Thereupon the Indians were summoned in council, on which occasion John Pomnie (Pamah-mee), a secondary chief, sharply rebuked the head-chief, Wewesa, for having played into the hands of the enemies of the mission. "You are not," said he, "invested with the authority of chief to act according to your notions, but to promote the welfare of the community over which you have been placed. Now, what interest is dearer to us than to possess in our midst the Fathers to watch us and direct us, the Catholic schools

⁶¹ (H) The 1014 13 acres, all in township 10, range 12, comprised eighteen different lots

to educate our children, and you would take as our representatives at Washington men of such description?" John Pomnie then pleaded that at least Mr. "Beny" Bertrand be allowed to join the delegation as the representative of the Catholic party.⁶² The latter's name was accordingly proposed to the council with the result that he was chosen a delegate by acclamation. At Washington Dr. Palmer made known to the Department of the Interior that Bertrand truly represented the great majority of the sectionized Potawatomi while all the other delegates together represented only a small minority of the tribe. As a result Bertrand's views on all measures affecting the mission prevailed with the department. The senate having ratified the treaty on July 25, 1868, President Johnson proclaimed it the following August 7. On September 1, 1868, Father Diels telegraphed from Topeka to Father Maguire, rector of Gonzaga College, Washington: "Please acquaint at once Secretary Interior that we claim and purchase for St. Mary's Mission the land that the Pottawatomie Treaty entitles us to. We are notified too late."⁶³ In the course of the following year, 1869, President Johnson put his signature to the patent securing to St. Mary's Mission both the half-section granted by the treaty of 1867 and the thousand odd acres purchased by the mission in accordance with the terms of the same treaty.

§ 5 SPIRITUAL MINISTRY AMONG THE WHITES

Together with the Indians the few white Catholics settled here and there on the Potawatomi reserve, most of them government employees, shared the spiritual ministry of the Jesuits of St. Mary's. White settlers who arrived prior to 1853 include Dr. Luther R. Palmer, Alexander Peltier, Basil Grimore, William Martell, Francis Bergeron, Antoine Tescier, J. B. Frappe, Robert Wilson, Joseph Truckey, Alvah Higbee, P. Polk, Baptiste Ogee, Mrs. Zoe Ducharme, later Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. E. A. Bertrand, A. P. Bertrand, Clara Bertrand, and Mrs. Amable Bertrand, later Mrs. Luther R. Palmer.⁶⁴ Some of these, the Bertrands, for instance, had a strain of Indian blood.

Most conspicuous perhaps among the white settlers was Dr. Luther R. Palmer, who arrived from his native state, New York, at St. Marys on September 20, 1850, in quest of health. "During the fifties and early part of the sixties he was recognized as Pottawatomie County's most distinguished citizen."⁶⁵ Shortly after his arrival on the reservation

⁶² *WL*, 6 81

⁶³ (H)

⁶⁴ *Tribune* (Wamego, Kans.), June 6, 1879. The list has not been verified. Most of the persons named were Catholics. Citations from Kansas newspapers are from clippings in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

⁶⁵ *Times* (St. Marys, Kans.), July 14, 1876

the Potawatomi drew up and submitted to the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, Major Mitchell, a petition for the removal of Dr. Johnston Lykins and the substitution in his place of Dr. Palmer as government physician to the tribe. Mitchell having transmitted the petition with his indorsement to Luke R. Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs, Palmer received the appointment of physician to the tribe and was subsequently advanced to the post of agent.⁶⁶ He was a member of the first free state territorial council from the district of which Pottawatomie County afterwards formed a part and also had a seat in the Wyandotte constitutional convention, which drafted the Kansas state constitution. He was the author of the petition for the erection of a separate county to be known as Pottawatomie out of the territory embraced in Riley County, which had been organized by the Pawnee legislature in 1855. The petition was granted by the Lecompton legislature in 1857, the seat of the new county being first fixed at St. George. Dr. Palmer's son, Francis Xavier, born March 17, 1851, was, by report, the first white child born in Pottawatomie County. Some time after his arrival at St. Marys the doctor married the relict of Amable Bertrand, one of the group of mixed-bloods who had moved up with the Indians from Sugar Creek. Dr. Palmer was a convert to the Catholic Church.⁶⁷

Prominent also among the pioneer white settlers of Pottawatomie County was Robert Wilson, who with his family migrated with the Indians from Sugar Creek, where he had been government blacksmith. On August 12, 1853, he entered the first government land in the county, s. e. quarter of section 20, township 9, range 10. His log house at Louisville on the Fort Riley Military Road, said to have been the first dwelling in the county built outside the reserve, was a favorite stopping place for travellers and was reputed to be the first hotel opened in Pottawatomie County.⁶⁸

St. Mary's in the mind of its founders and pioneer promoters was an Indian mission and nothing else. The Jesuit mission board at St. Louis declared in 1864 "We have no mission on behalf of the whites in Kansas." And yet by the pressure of circumstances St. Mary's was called upon to extend its beneficent hand no less to the whites that

⁶⁶ Mitchell to Lea, April 3, 1851 Records of St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka

⁶⁷ *Tribune* (Wamego, Kans.), June 6, 1879.

⁶⁸ *Recorder* (Westmoreland, Kans.), July 12, 1906 Francis Xavier Wilson, third son of Robert Wilson, was reputed the first white child born in Pottawatomie County, a similar claim having been made for Francis Xavier Palmer. The St. Mary's *Baptismal Register* (p. 240), records Francis Xavier Wilson's date of birth as June 22, 1846, at which time Robert Wilson was still residing at Sugar Creek. Mrs. Wilson was a Catholic, but not, it would appear, her husband.

came within its reach than to the Indians. Already in the fifties the building of Fort Riley had attracted a number of Catholics in that direction. They were employed in the construction of the new fort and on its completion took advantage of the offers made by the government to turn homesteaders and preempt tracts of land in the highly fertile valley of the upper Kaw. At first without the necessary money to improve their claims, they sought employment with the government or government contractors, or wherever else there was an opening, even at points as far distant as Kansas City and Leavenworth. Only once or twice in a twelve-month would they return to look after their isolated homesteads.

To travellers and immigrants as they made their way west during these years over the California and Pike's Peak Trails, St. Mary's was showing itself a friendly hospice. A St. Mary's Jesuit, writing at the beginning of the seventies, stresses the fact that the mission won the lasting good-will and gratitude of numbers of settlers, especially in northwestern Kansas, by kindly services in their regard.

Father Duerinck has done more for the conversion of many a family by his prudence and liberality than many would now admit. Many a heart in the far West beats warm today for the Fathers at St. Mary's on account of the kindness of the generous old [?] priest. They know what it is to meet a kind and liberal friend in a wild and desert place, far from friends and home, without shelter and protection against the elements. The settlers in the neighboring counties were liberally assisted by St. Mary's. Seeds were furnished, cattle of a superior stock given on credit, besides many a munificent present. All this exercised a powerful influence on the Northwest [of Kansas] and prepared a heartfelt welcome for the later missionaries. Both Catholics and Protestants for months would watch the coming of the priest on his gray mustang to invite him to their cheerful hearth and to repay him the kindness received in former days at St. Mary's.⁶⁹

While the building of Fort Riley had already drawn numerous white settlers towards its locality, with the construction in the sixties of the Kansas Pacific Railroad from Kansas City to Denver a really considerable tide of immigration began to flow towards central Kansas. In 1864 the Kansas Pacific ran its first train from Wyandotte (Kansas City, Kansas) to Lawrence. In 1865 it had reached St. Marys. In 1867 it was at Rome in Ellis County about half way across the state. Among the immigrants following in the wake of the railroad were to be found Catholics in no inconsiderable number, their presence on the prairies in

⁶⁹ (F)

small groups scattered here and there at wide intervals added much to the difficulty of the ministry undertaken on behalf of the Kansas settlers by St. Mary's Mission. The Jesuit especially identified with the spiritual care of the Catholic pioneer families settled in the Kansas counties above St. Mary's was the Frenchman, Father Louis Dumortier. He was born near Lille in 1810, entered the Society of Jesus in Belgium, finished his novitiate at Florissant and was engaged as professor in the Jesuit colleges of Cincinnati, Bardstown and St. Louis, his favorite subjects of instruction being physics, chemistry and mathematics. He was portrayed by one who knew him as of cheerful temper, alert and witty in conversation and altogether companionable. But he suffered from a weakness of the nerves, which at one time became so acute as to issue in temporary mental derangement. Towards the end of the fifties he returned to his native France in search of health, which as a result of this change of environment was greatly restored. On his return to America he was at once assigned to St. Mary's Mission. "His nervous temperament," wrote De Smet, "needed corporal exercise and fatigue, which by weakening the body, might allow the mind more liberty and vigour. He could not support the sedentary life of the colleges, nothing was more hurtful to his health. Providence, always wonderful in its designs, had formed Father Louis for the life, a wandering, but pious one, of the Prairies" ⁷⁰

In the seven years that he spent at St. Mary's Father Dumortier filled out a noteworthy apostolic career. Wherever he could find two or three Catholic families, he formed them into a little congregation, converting some shabby cabin into a chapel in which he baptized, heard confessions, gave instructions and celebrated Mass. The limits of his parish expanded more and more until it comprised an area some two hundred miles in length and fifty in width. "As his parish increased," so it appeared to Father Gailland, "the soul of the Father seemed also to grow larger." "So ardently did he desire the salvation of souls," recorded the same chronicler, "that the acutest cold or the intense heat of summer was no impediment to his labors. Even when the coldest blasts of winter were blowing on all sides, when huge snow drifts obstructed the roads, or when the fields were inundated with continued rains, Father Louis was found at his designated place on the day appointed, nay, I might almost say on the very hour." ⁷¹ Almost every

⁷⁰ Sketch by De Smet in the Linton Album (A)

⁷¹ Gailland, *Hist St Mary's Mission* (Ms) (F) Dumortier's baptisms for 1859 and 1860 were at McDowell's Creek, Lyon Creek, Chapman's Creek, Reily City (*sic*), Fort Reily (*sic*), Black Jack, St. George, Rock Creek, Louisville, William's Creek, Clark's Creek, Black Vermilion. At Fort Riley nine baptisms were

day saw him on horseback covering thirty, forty, fifty, sometimes sixty miles. Arriving at the place where he was to lodge for the night, instead of taking at once a well-earned rest, he mounted his horse again and scoured the countryside to announce to the scattered settlers the next day's services. For lack of shelter he often took his night's rest in the open, while the sheer physical discomfort of protracted hours in the saddle must have been extreme. More than once was his life in peril as he forded swollen creeks and rivers or crossed them on the ice or made his way alone over the snows of the prairies with frozen ears or feet. The issue of his strenuous ministry was that hundreds of Catholic families were saved to the Faith and the foundations of the Church in central Kansas laid on firm and enduring ground.

In the summer of 1866 De Smet while on a visit to St. Mary's requested Father Dumortier to furnish him a brief account of the work he was doing on behalf of the Kansas settlers. Reluctantly, for the modest missionary was always reticent on the subject of his ministry, he penned the following lines in the form of a letter, dated St. Mary's Mission, July 1, 1866

You ask me to send you some details of our apostolic labors I think I cannot better satisfy your request than by sending you a little geographical sketch which will put you *au courant* with our Kansas missions You will see from it our successes and our difficulties. The bank of the Kansas and its tributaries offer scarcely anything else but forests and virgin soil A number of small missions have now been established. The faithful gather around them, here they come with their families to make their permanent residence so that even now these missions form so many Catholic centers The great difficulty that presents itself is the lack of missionaries Our labors here are beyond the strength of a single missionary The great distance separating the different stations, the heavy snows of winter, the thaws of springtime, the river floods, bad roads and the absence of bridges are so many handicaps of my journeys I cannot visit my good Catholics except every five or six weeks In the course of my ordinary rounds I have succeeded in building four little churches of stone . . . each of the churches costs pretty near two thousand dollars The liberality of our poor settlers is our only resource, so that, my Reverend Father, I think I may recommend myself to the generosity of your acquaintances and benefactors, hoping that our good Catholics, who have so often by their liberality shown you the interest which they

administered by Father Schultz, 1854-1856 At Louisville, he baptized October 25, 1857, Helen Genett (Jeanette), daughter of John Palmer and Helene Perkins, born August 25, 1857, witnesses being Robert and Mary Elizabeth Wilson At Fort Riley, April 12, 1854, Thomas Simpson White and Mary Joanna Riordan were married by Father Duerinck, the following July 2 John Welsh and Marie Hore (Hoar?) were married by Father Schultz.

take in our Indians of the North, will once more stretch out a charitable hand to the poor missions of Kansas⁷²

The region covered by Dumortier in his missionary rounds included at least fourteen counties, Pottawatomie, Jackson, Marshall, Washington, Nemaha, Riley, Clay, Ottawa, Saline, Davis, Lyon, Morris, Chase and Waubensee. This section of central Kansas lay roughly between St. Mary's and Fort Harker, the Verdigris and the Otoe Mission. Numerous small congregations, some twenty-five in all, were organized in these counties. In the space of two years five churches were erected, each costing about two thousand dollars except the last built by Dumortier, that in Junction City, which cost four thousand. Both Catholics and non-Catholics lent him substantial aid. Subscription lists were opened and the money readily came in. The churches which he built, most of them on or near the railroad, where the larger groups of Catholics had settled, were St. Joseph's in Rockingham, St. Patrick's at the Elbow, Pottawatomie County, the Assumption in Ogden, Riley County, St. Francis Xavier in Junction City, Geary County, St. Michael's at Chapman's Creek, Davis County, and the Immaculate Conception in Solomon, Dickinson County. Congregations without churches were organized in Holton, Jackson County, on the Black Vermilion, Nemaha County, in Marysville, Marshall County, in Salina, Saline County, at McDowells Creek, Davis County, in Alma, Waubensee County, and in Council Grove, Morris County. These parishes and stations were eventually taken over by diocesan priests, Ogden in 1876 and Alma in 1878. The only points served from St. Mary's in the early nineties were Silver Lake and Rossville, both of them Union Pacific stations east of St. Mary's.

In the summer of 1867 Asiatic cholera made its appearance in the western counties of Kansas. Among the troops of the Eighteenth Kansas Volunteer Battalion organized to protect the western settlements against Indian depredations it was particularly destructive. In their camp at Fort Harker Company C alone lost thirteen men in two weeks from the dreadful scourge. Father Dumortier was prompt to lend his services to the stricken members of his scattered flock. Through a number of days he heard the confessions of the Catholics whom he could reach and answered every call from the dying. Worn with hunger and fatigue he contracted the cholera himself and died of it at the midnight of July 25, 1867, at Ellsworth in the immediate vicinity of

⁷² Dumortier à De Smet, July 28, 1866, in Linton Album (A). Of the four stone churches (Elbow, Chapman's Creek, Ogden City, Rock Creek), the one at Elbow Creek, finished in 1865, was not yet plastered.

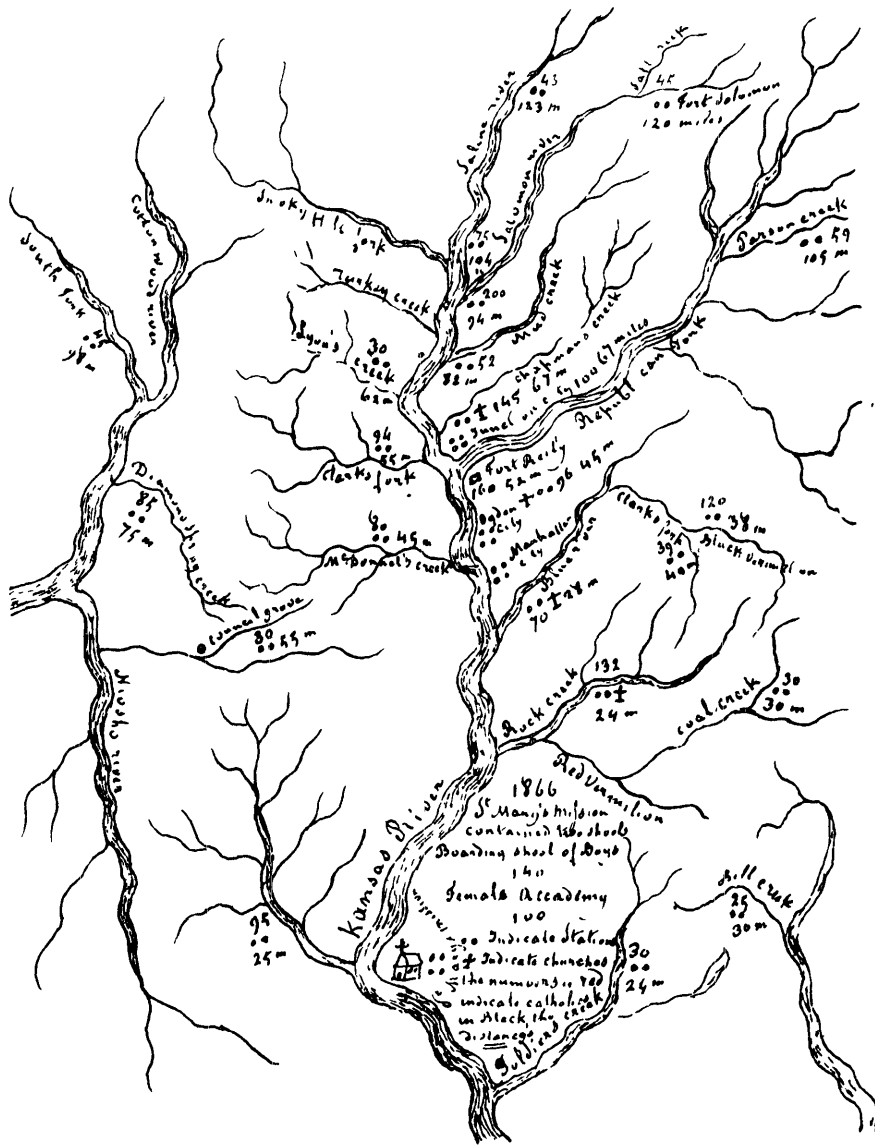
Fort Harker ⁷³ As to the shelter he found in his dying moments, accounts vary, one saying it was a tent, another a workmen's hut, and still another an abandoned water-tank by the road-side. But all accounts agree that he met death with characteristic courage. The circumstance is stressed that he died unattended for he had made signs to warn off anyone from approaching him, probably through fear of passing on the contagion to others. Father Dumortier had made the supreme sacrifice, having measured up to the Gospel standard of perfect love by laying down his life for his friends in Christ.⁷⁴

The passing of the devoted priest who more than any one else had planted the Cross in the upper Kansas Valley by no means brought a summary end to the work which he had inaugurated. One by one successors followed in his footsteps. The names of Fathers Colleton, Sweere, Schmidt, Van den Bergh and Rimmele are especially mentioned. Father Philip Colleton, Dumortier's immediate successor, was later to distinguish himself as founder of numerous pioneer parishes in southeastern Kansas. On May 31, 1868, Bishop Miége confirmed fourteen Catholic soldiers stationed at Fort Harker. On the same day there were twenty-seven confirmations at Rock Creek, on June 2 following, thirty-five at Ogden, and on June 7, fifty at St. Mary's.

Father Joseph Rimmele, who was cultivating Dumortier's ministerial field with energy and zeal in 1869 and at the beginning of the seventies, was at this time a secular priest. A petition he made to be admitted into the Society of Jesus was at first rejected on the ground of a mental infirmity under which he labored and which it was feared might impair his usefulness, but it was proposed to allow him to take what are called "vows of devotion," which in no way place the order under obligations toward the person taking them. Later, however, in 1872, he was admitted definitely as a novice at Florissant, returning thence to St. Mary's to become prefect of studies in the growing school and later discharge other important duties with success. Of his previous work as itinerant missionary in the mid-western Kansas counties we get passing glimpses in letters of his to De Smet, who with characteristic benevolence had offered to obtain Mass vestments for Rimmele's needy parishes. "There is an immense influx into Kansas from all directions and more than a proportionate share of Catholics," Rimmele wrote in December, 1869. "We need a large supply of priests. If succor were sent, Kansas might be the first Catholic state in less than fifty years, because we have the start and everything else is for us. If you can do

⁷³ In Père Vivier's *Jesuit Necrology, 1814-1894* (Paris, 1897), Dumortier's death is recorded for July 26, which is also the date occurring in the *Jesuit Menology, Missouri Province supplement* (St Louis, 1893), p 13

⁷⁴ *Précis Historiques*, 18 450 et seq.



Sketch-map of his Kansas Valley missionary-circuit by Louis Dumortier, S J, 1866. A copy by De Smet in the Linton Album from the original in the Archives of the Missouri Province, S J., St Louis.

anything for the country you worked for in the prime of life, do it." Again, he wrote in February, 1870

This will be a great Catholic state if help of [in] priests will arrive in due time, they are more needed than vestments Now as you are acquainted with and descended from a generous people, the Belgians, try to obtain succor from your native land, more laborers than anything else. In three short trips of about three weeks, I baptized seven Protestants or modern heathens Besides, I heard a great many confessions of 8, 10, 15, and 20 years standing I instructed children and grown up people for confession, paid debts, begged money, built churches, attended the sick and dying, prepared some for baptism and others for the reception of other sacraments I travel alone over 3600 square miles and say Mass in more than twenty places I cannot see all of them every month, not even every six months Do therefore, dear Father, what you can for this state of Kansas, the Heart of the United States ⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Rimmelé to De Smet, December 2, 1869, February 8, 1870 (A) A letter of Rimmelé's to De Smet affords the following particulars about stations in his circuit "I asked vestments for eight places only, where arrangement has been made to build churches which surely will be built

1 Marysville, church of St Mary's, 60 ft long by 30 ft wide, almost one hundred families. Local resources but nominal, actually none

2 Parson's Creek (on the Republican), Church of St Henry, 60 by 36, almost 70 families, local resources \$100 per annum

3 Hanover (on the Little Blue), Church of the Seven Sorrows of the Holy Virgin, 45 by 30 ft, about 30 families, local resources none.

4 Rock Creek, Rockingham, Pott Co, Church of St Joseph, 40 by 25, about 70 families, local resources \$100 per annum.

5 Ogden, Reily [Riley] Co, Church of the Immaculate Conception, 30 by 18, about 25 families, local resources \$50 per annum

6 McDowell's Creek, Church of St Ann, 36 by 25, about 30 families, resources \$50 per annum

7 Mill Creek, Church of St Agatha, 60 by 36 ft, about 80 families, local resources none so far

8. Wamego, Church of the Holy Family, 60 by 36, about 30 families, local resources none Only two of the above churches are finished, the churches in Rockingham and Ogden The income of the places is for the support of the poor priest who is traveling over thousands of square miles on horseback "

The following is a contemporary list (A) of the stations visited by Father Rimmelé in the seventies with the number of families in each Waubensee County-Newbury (8), Alma (50), Davis County-McDowell's Creek (25); Clark's Creek, at mouth (7), Pottawatomie County-Vienna, Vermilion (8), Adams Creek (10), Louisville (12), Wamego (24), St. George (3), Elbow (30), Rock Creek (45), Spring Creek (8), Marshall County-Ewing (7), Marysville (40), Washington County-Hanover (9), French Settlement (12), Parson's Creek (30), Republic County-Erin (6), Belleville (10), Jewell County, White Rock (10), Cloud County-Clyde (16), French Settlement (60), Pipe Creek (10), Concordia (16), Clay County-Mulberry Creek (20), Clay Centre (10), Fancy Creek, head (6), Riley County-Ogden (27), Fancy Creek (10), Wild Cat (10), Manhattan (6)

§ 6. FROM INDIAN SCHOOL TO COLLEGE

With the sectionizing of the reserve, the gradual loss by the Potawatomi of their tribal status and the influx of white settlers, the transformation of the Potawatomi Manual Labor School into a school for white boys was inevitable. Already in November, 1861, Thomas Riordan of Solomon Creek, aged sixteen, and Francis Xavier Palmer, aged ten, a son of Dr. Palmer, Potawatomi agent, were being educated alongside of the Indian boys. Young Palmer's schooling was paid for by the government, while the rate charged Riordan was five dollars a month. James Conway, subsequently a St. Louis Jesuit of note, was entered December 18, 1863, he was followed July 24, 1864, by his brother, John, and September 24 of the succeeding year by another brother, Thomas.⁷⁶ "The Americans realize so keenly the value of the religious education which we give to the young," wrote De Smet from St. Mary's in the summer of 1866, "that they are constantly imploring the Directors of the schools to admit their children, but all the places are taken and were we to double the capacity of our houses they would soon be filled."⁷⁷

The idea, however, of working for the whites of Kansas either in the ministry or in education after the disappearance of the Indians was by no means steadily taken for granted by the Jesuits of St. Mary's or at least by the mission board in St. Louis. At a meeting of the board September 10, 1863, the matter came under discussion. "Among the Pottawatomies there is question of a school for the sons of whites living in the neighborhood, such schools to be maintained even after the departure of the Indians. The plan does not commend itself to the Consultants as the Mission is for the Indians." In October of the same year, so Father Coosemans informed the General, the Jesuits were already confronted with the problem. "Shall we stay here and work for the whites or follow the Indians. Opinions are divided."⁷⁸ Later, March

Total number of families in these stations, 545. "There are several more families scattered up in Jewell, Smith, Marshall, Washington and Reily [Riley] Counties, which are seen once in a long while." Holton and James Crossing appear on later lists. An interesting study in the complex character of Kansas immigration at this period is suggested by Rimmelle's distribution of his stations according to nationality. Germans were predominant in Alma, Rock Creek, Fancy Creek, Parsons Creek, Mulberry Creek, Newbury and Vermilion, Irish in Ogden, Elbow, McDowell's Creek, Washington and Pipe Creek, French in Clyde and Concordia, Poles and Bohemians in Hanover and Belleville.

⁷⁶ Account-books, St. Mary's College (F). The first white boy to attend the Indian school at St. Mary's appears to have been James Graham, 1856. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 173 (*supra*, Chap. XXVIII, note 50).

⁷⁷ De Smet à Père —, August 30, 1866, in Linton Album (A).

⁷⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, October 20, 1863 (AA).

28, 1864, the board went on record against undertaking any permanent work for the Kansas settlers. "News comes from the Osage Mission that the Indians will soon leave for their new home What shall we do? Shall we follow the Indians or remain with the whites on the old site? There were various answers, but finally all seemed to settle on the view that we should wait and see what is to become of them [the Osage] and the other Indians, if any hope is offered of a flourishing mission in the new place, one central mission might be established there for all the Indians from Kansas. But as to the whites in Kansas, we have no mission on their behalf."

No law in human affairs realizes itself with greater frequency than that circumstances alter plans. Though at St. Louis in the mid-sixties a decision seemed to have been reached to restrict Jesuit enterprise on the Kansas prairies to missionary work among the Indians with no prospect of expansion into other fields, the sixties were not to run their course before the Jesuits, with the Indian populations melting away on all sides, were to commit themselves, both at St. Mary's and at the Osage Mission, to the venture of higher education for the whites. As early as 1864 the missionaries at St. Mary's, as the house diary records, were considering the "project of a college since the Indian schools cannot last."⁷⁹

Meanwhile Indian education at St. Mary's went on prospering all through the sixties. In 1861 an additional building to provide for the increased registration of over a hundred boys was deemed to be necessary. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dole having visited St. Mary's and manifested a cordial interest in the schools, Father Diels appealed to him November 4, 1861, for a government subsidy toward meeting the expense of the projected building

The fact is we have done what we could to make the Mission and the schools prosper, and success, exceeding our most sanguine expectations, has crowned our labors. The consequence is that children are pouring in from all quarters and new applications continue to be made. I have already fitted up some more rooms for school purposes. Still, we cannot accommodate the number of applicants. I hate to refuse admittance to poor, untutored Indian children craving for means of education. I think it is likewise the wish of the Government that as many children should be educated as are desirous of receiving instruction. With this view I intend to put up forthwith a building capable of supplying the present want in the hope that your Honor being acquainted with our circumstances will let us draw the arrears due to the Mission for past educational services. May I confidently hope that, as you are aware that we ourselves have put up at our own expense about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Mission buildings, your powerful influence will obtain for us from

⁷⁹ St. Mary's House Diary, p. 69 (F).

the Government, ever generous and liberal in promoting the extension of knowledge and civilization, a due compensation of the expenses we are going to incur to favor the views of Government and the well-being of the poor Indian.⁸⁰

Father Diels's appeal to the commissioner was indorsed by Agent Ross under the same date as that borne by the missionary's letter "It gives me pleasure to recommend again to your favorable consideration the St. Mary's Mission School whose existence in our midst has done much, very much, towards bringing about the state of civilization which it has always been the aim of our beneficent government to encourage. . . . They now desire to increase their accommodations so as to keep pace with the thirst for knowledge which is gradually taking possession of the better portion of the Indian nation and as surely undermining their heathenish practices and customs."⁸¹ The new building was erected in 1862 but, it would seem, without federal aid.

By an outcome curious enough, the education of Indian youths at St. Mary's touched its high-water mark, both in the number enrolled and in results obtained, at the very time the reserve was breaking up and the Christian Potawatomi of Kansas were disappearing as a nation. The nearer they approached their doom, the more eager they seemed to secure for their children the benefit of an education. Diels's report for 1866, though perhaps somewhat overrating the capabilities of the Potawatomi children, presents a picture of things which is not without corroboration from other sources.⁸² In 1865 Senators Foster and Doolittle were visitors at the school, examined the pupils and forwarded to Washington appreciative accounts of what they witnessed.⁸³ The precincts of the schools, so Brother De Vriendt avers, were cleanliness itself. Not a scrap of paper, not a splinter of wood could be seen lying around in the well-kept playgrounds. Discipline among the pupils was well-nigh perfect. The brother records the astonishment, not to say scandal of the boys as they saw travellers from the East pick up from the ground the apples which the boys had been taught not to appropriate without formal permission. Dr. Palmer reported in 1866

The St. Mary's Mission School is still in successful operation. The teachers of this school seem ready at all times to astonish visitors by exhibiting the little Pottawatomies, showing their advancement in the studies taught in school and the facility with which Indian children are made to comprehend

⁸⁰ Diels to Dole, November 4, 1861 (H)

⁸¹ Ross to Dole, November 4, 1861 (H)

⁸² *RCIA*, 1866, no. 129

⁸³ St. Mary's House Diary (F) The author has found no mention in government reports of Foster and Doolittle's visit to St. Mary's. Very probably they did not visit the mission in any official capacity.

the difficult problems which stand in the way of the advancement of all children in the study of the natural sciences and the higher mathematics. The efforts of teachers in this school have been directed mainly to the instruction of Indian children, first in their knowledge of their obligations to their Creator as accountable beings, then in such necessary branches of common school education as it is thought will be found most useful to them in after life and conducive to their success in the world, but in teaching the more common branches there has been an aptness shown by Indian children which argues so well of success in the higher branches, that they have been encouraged at this Mission to prosecute their studies while they are permitted to remain in school, so far as their time and opportunities will allow. If the Pottawatomies today are in the enjoyment of any advantages of civilization or material prosperity beyond what is enjoyed by some other tribes in Kansas, they are indebted in a great measure for such advantages to the unceasing devotion and labors in their interest of the St. Mary's Catholic Mission, and the devoted religious who accompanied the Pottawatomies in their emigration to this reserve. The Mission school has been kept in operation, it may be said, through war, pestilence, and famine, never having been discontinued for a day on account of the discouraging circumstances which have at times rendered the carrying on of such an institution an exceedingly laborious and difficult matter.⁸⁴

From Atchison, October 6, 1866, Major Thomas Murphy, superintendent of Indian affairs for the central superintendency, reported to Washington "The Pottawatomies are in a more prosperous condition than any other tribe in Kansas. They cultivate large farms and encourage education and religion. They have an institution of learning, called St. Mary's Mission, which is the most excellent in the State, and would be an ornament and a credit to any State, [and] which I think has tended largely to advance this people in all that leads to moral and social improvement."⁸⁵ By this time the success of the St. Mary's Mission schools was apparently taken as a matter of course at Washington, as E. E. Taylor implies in his report of July 5, 1866, to Commissioner Cooley. Taylor, a Baptist clergyman, who was later corresponding secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Society of New York, had just completed a round of inspection of western Indian schools in the capacity of special agent of the government. "The St. Mary's Mission School is, I need not say, admirably conducted, and in the matter of secular education probably accomplishes all that the friends of the red man could desire. I was much interested in the exercises of the children and youth in both the male and the female departments and regard their

⁸⁴ *RCIA*, 1866 p. 264. Palmer's statement that the mission schools were never discontinued "for a day" is not literally correct. They were suspended during the cholera visitation of 1849.

⁸⁵ *RCIA*, 1866, p. 246.

progress as alike commendable to both teacher and pupil. I do not see any reason why they should be required to keep their children at the old price of \$75 per annum, though with all their present appliances it probably costs them much less than it would any other Society to conduct their schools”⁸⁶

Though the government annual allowance of fifty dollars per pupil had been increased in Duerinck’s time to seventy-five, with the increased cost of living incident on the Civil War this sum by no means represented an adequate compensation for the expenses involved. In September, 1864, Father De Smet appealed to Commissioner Dole on behalf of the Osage and Potawatami schools. He asked that the allowance be raised to one hundred and ten or one hundred and twenty dollars. “This is hardly an equivalent of what they used to receive. They labor arduously and with zeal to keep up their respective establishments and do their utmost to keep the nations loyal to the Government.”⁸⁷ E. E. Taylor, who inspected St Mary’s in 1866, reported, as was said, in favor of an increase allowance for the school, while Major Murphy recommended to Commissioner Mix in 1868 that the subsidy per pupil

⁸⁶ Taylor to Cooley, July 5, 1866 (H) E. E. Taylor, in charge of the Baptist Potawatami School, wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Bogy, December 5, 1866 “It is not true as Agent Palmer states that the Pottawatomies do not desire the [Baptist] school building to be put in good repair The Catholic population of the immediate vicinity of the St Mary’s Mission very likely would prefer that the only school among their tribe should be their own I know, however, from personal knowledge—if the Honorable Commissioner wishes the evidence, it shall be forth coming—in direct contradiction to Agent Palmer’s statement—that a very large *minority*, to say the least, of the Pottawatomies (many Catholics included among their number) are dissatisfied with St Mary’s School and have been most importunate in their calls upon me personally and upon our teachers to open a school for the benefit of their children I beg leave also in this connection to most respectfully protest against the representations made to your department that the Pottawatomies are all Roman Catholics and wish their school-money to be all expended under their direction at St Mary’s I know such representations to be untrue” (H) Cf also E. E. Taylor to Bogy, December 4, 1866 “We ask simply from your Department this small appropriation, which has been so long unjustly withheld by Agent Palmer (to the very serious detriment of our school and mission), in no sense as a favor to the Baptists, but as the just right of the largest denomination of Christians in the country It is neither just nor Catholic [*sic*] that this Government appropriation should be withheld from us who are engaged in the same work side by side with the St Mary’s Mission while to them has been annually paid thousands of dollars for their benevolent services I am sorry that opposition to such an appropriation should have come to the Department from such a quarter They are certainly the last to complain of the pittance to the Baptist Board who have been so long and so liberally aided in their work by the Government” (H) In the absence of documentary evidence bearing on the point, it is difficult to evaluate the merits of Taylor’s complaints

⁸⁷ De Smet to Dole, September 21, 1864 (AA)

for the St. Mary's school be fixed at one hundred dollars.⁸⁸ Nothing, however, it would appear, came of these recommendations. As long as the education of the Indian children at St. Mary's was paid for by government money, the appropriation made for them never went beyond the seventy-five dollar rate.

The first decisive step making for the metamorphosis of St. Mary's from Indian school to college came as a surprise to Father Gaillard and his associates as he records with a not unhappy venture into prophecy

When on May 12, 1869, the Reverend Joseph Keller, Socius of Father Provincial, arrived here and told us that it was the settled purpose of Superiors to build a college at St. Mary's, we were all astonished and considered the thing to be a dream. But soon we learned by the arrival of Father Provincial [Coosemans] that the thing was decided upon by the Provincial Board of Consultors, it was even urged upon us by the orders of Superiors to make all necessary preparations for the erection of a college in the following Spring. We indeed, who are already far advanced in years, shall not see the splendor and the glory of the college to be erected, for nothing of any moment is finished in a hurry. That this place is suited in every way for the building of a college every one will allow. For the State of Kansas, located at the very center of the great Republic, is rich in resources and within a few years will stand out in population and wealth among the leading states of the Union. Further, the Mission lies on the railroad which reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and, besides, the house possesses more than 2000 acres of highly fertile land. Hence boarders can be admitted here at a far lower price than in any other place, in which event a large number of students will flock hither to go through their studies. These boys, the sons of farmers, will be stronger in body and more innocent in morals than those who are educated more delicately in the cities, and so a far greater number than elsewhere following higher and purer aspirations will enlist among the members of the Society or of the secular clergy. Wherefore Mary Immaculate, through the medium of the college which is to be built and the patronage of which she has undertaken, will undoubtedly through a long succession of years be the glory of the region and the honor of the Christian people, an issue which is the object of our prayers and hopes in God.⁸⁹

In September, 1869, Father Walter Hill, pioneer American writer of text-books on scholastic philosophy, who had just retired from the presidency of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, was appointed to the post of socius or assistant to the provincial, Father Coosemans. He had a hand in the first organizing of St. Mary's College.

⁸⁸ Murphy to Mix, June 6, 1868 (H)

⁸⁹ Gaillard, *History St. Mary's Mission* (F)

In December, 1869, I accompanied Father Diels to Kansas, being sent there to procure a charter for the proposed college at St Mary's Mission. We went from St Louis to Leavenworth, where I preached on the Sunday before Christmas. Before leaving St Louis I wrote down what I thought the charter should in substance be. On reaching Leavenworth we got a lawyer, a Mr Carroll, to put the charter in due technical form. We then went over to St Mary's. I found that the main portion of the Pottowatomy tribe still remained around the mission. On Christmas day and on the following Sunday I listened to a sermon in the Pottowatomy language, spoken by Father Gailland. I found that language peculiarly sweet to the ear, Father Gailland told me that it possesses peculiar power and richness. During Christmas Father Diels and myself went to Topeka to get our charter out in due form. We stopped at a hotel and then applied to Judge Morton, to counsel us as to whether it was in due form. He was then on the bench trying a criminal case, but said he would come to our hotel at night and examine the charter. He came after supper and examined it thoroughly. The clause in it exempting all property owned by the college from taxation, he said, "will be litigated some day, and the case may come before me, is most likely to do so. I cannot now see what my decision of it will be, but you must by all means leave that clause in your charter, so that if the decision be given in favor of its validity or the constitutionality of such exemptions, you may have the benefit of it." It so happened that a few years later that law under which the charter claimed exemption from taxes for all property of St Mary's College, Kansas, was actually contested before Judge Morton, he decided adversely to the exemption. After Judge Morton examined our charter, and he was engaged in it till eleven o'clock at night, we left it at the state-house the next day for record and returned to St Mary's where we at once organized the first faculty. Father Diels would have me be first president, I submitted to his judgment as otherwise there would not be members enough there to organize legally. I then at once resigned my position and came home to St Louis. This charter was the model on which charters were then formed for the Sacred Heart Academy at St Mary's Mission, and also for the boys' school and the Loretto Academy at Osage Mission.⁹⁰

On December 4, 1869, Father John Francis Diels was succeeded as superior at St. Mary's, which he had successfully managed for nearly ten years, by Father Patrick Ward. Diels remained at the mission for some time after being relieved of the superiorship as procurator and superintendent of the farm. Later Father John Tehan was assigned to St. Mary's to give the benefit of his ability in economic and financial affairs to Father Ward, who was without experience in this regard though on him was now to devolve the responsibility of erecting the college building that had been planned. Father Diels was withdrawn

⁹⁰ *Reminiscences of Walter Hill, S J (A)*

definitely from St. Mary's towards the end of 1870. After being engaged in the interval in the parochial ministry he died in Milwaukee December 17, 1878, at the age of fifty-seven. He had seen St. Mary's through the most critical period of its history, including the Civil War days, the treaties and consequent breaking up of the Potawatomi reserve, and the birth of the college. He knew Potawatomi thoroughly and had collaborated with Gailland in the latter's dictionary of that difficult Indian tongue. With government agents and public officials, with whom he was brought into contact in the management of the mission and especially the schools, his relations were uniformly pleasant, his affable manners and unfailing tact gaining for him an entry into all hearts. In the latter years of his administration the duties he attempted to carry single-handed were too many and varied to be discharged with satisfaction by a single individual. It was an idiosyncrasy of his, so it was alleged, to attempt to manage everything directly and in person and not through the medium of his subordinates. But all in all he made a capital head of the mission. In 1866 Coosemans, the provincial, was assured by Gailland that, account being taken of the difficulties of his position and the multiplicity of business details on his hands, Diels was the most efficient superior St. Mary's ever had. "Some of his predecessors were better in certain respects, but for the needs of the Mission generally, the mission-staff, school, farm, outside folk, Father Diels surpassed them all."⁹¹ Father Coosemans wrote of him in 1869 that he was "loved by Ours and respected by outsiders."⁹² The most significant chapter in the history of St. Mary's Mission is written around his name.⁹³

⁹¹ Coosemans à Beckx, January 10, 1867 (AA)

⁹² Coosemans à Beckx, January 6, 1869 (AA)

⁹³ An anonymous unpublished sketch of Father Diels written probably by a coadjutor-brother who knew of his work at first hand, credits him with having been the real maker of St. Mary's "True, when Father Duerinck became Superior of the Mission in 1849, a start towards improvement seems to have taken place, but he being a man little acquainted with the business world [?] and [being] besides of a simple and confiding disposition, was often taken advantage of by the crafty to the great pecuniary loss of the Mission, which at that time stood in need of almost the necessaries of life. From the time of his lamented and untimely death in 1857 until 1861 things at best stood still. During this year Father Diels was placed at the head of the Mission. Then burst forth the dawn of its prosperity, a new life animating and enlivening every department. A man of broad and comprehensive views he saw at a glance the needs of the place and at once set to work to supply them. Surrounding himself with competent men he gave full scope and encouragement to the development of the natural resources of the soil. . . . No industry that was thought to be useful towards the enlightenment of the Indians or the advantage of the then undeveloped country but received his attention. Cereals and other products that before his time were thought impossible of

With the issuing of a college charter to St. Mary's in 1869 the Indian stage in the history of the mission schools may be said to have come to an end though a number of Potawatomi boys continued to attend them. Steps toward the erection of a college building were immediately taken. On January 3, 1870, in view of the circumstance that the registration of students at St. Mary's was already good and would be better if a suitable building were available, it was agreed at St. Louis that such building should be erected, especially as approval of the step had already been obtained from the General, Father Beckx.⁹⁴ Father Keller, when assistant-provincial, had sketched a rough plan which provided for a central structure, sixty-eight feet square, with extensions on either side. As means were lacking for putting up the entire edifice at once, it was decided to begin with the central unit, which represented almost one-fifth of the entire design. The services of a professional architect, De Bonnes, were then secured. On February 7, 1870, Father Coosemans and De Bonnes arrived at St. Mary's, the provincial to acquaint himself with the financial standing of the house and the architect to inspect the site of the proposed building and give directions for the necessary excavations. On February 18, James McGonigle, who had done the construction work on the Leavenworth cathedral, was engaged as contractor. On April 22 Father Coosemans was again at St. Mary's to determine on the actual site of the new college, a question still in abeyance at this date. He first favored the hill, on which in later years was to rise St. Mary's college dormitory, Loyola Hall. But lack of an

growth in Kansas soil were by him generously experimented with successfully to the greatly appreciated benefit of the country as reference to the press of Kansas in those days will amply prove. For it was no uncommon thing for the editors to call the attention of their readers to the advancement in agriculture and other industries on the mission farm, which did no little service in drawing the attention of the homeseekers and banishing from the minds of the people far and near mistaken notions that Kansas was unproductive. Then with that statesmanlike foresight which he possessed he saw the change at hand of 'the wild west into the great new west' and began preparations to meet the future needs of the country.

His great aim was to establish an educational institution on the site of the mission as soon as the Indians would disappear. This thought of erecting a college at St. Mary's was ever uppermost in his mind, not only, as he often said, would it become a center of Catholic education in the West, but it would also perpetuate the work of the first apostles of the faith in Kansas on the spot hallowed by their labors and sweat. Thus we see that with Father Diels first originated the idea of a college at St. Mary's and (he) was the first to admit white children as regular students. The bleak surroundings with nothing but the log huts to rest the eye upon, he set out with trees and shrubs in the shade of which the students of today delight to revel ignorant of his name who anticipated their needs. Hardly a fruit or shade tree on the place that is not due to his direction and many of them were planted with his own hand" (F)

⁹⁴ *Liber Consultationum.* (F).

adequate water supply made the choice inadvisable. On his return to St. Louis he telegraphed April 26 that the college should be erected at the foot of the hill a little to the east of the old buildings.⁹⁵

On May 31 the foundations of the structure were begun and on June 8 the corner-stone was blessed. The building measured eighty by sixty feet, had a stone basement with superstructure of brick four stories high and when completed was to show a frontage of four hundred feet. On January 26, 1872, the ninety-four boarders moved into their new quarters, which were solemnly blessed some two weeks later, February 8, with accompanying solemn high Mass and a procession from the old log church to the college. Seven years later, February 3, 1879, the new structure, which marked the entry of the one-time Indian mission of St. Mary's into the field of college education, was completely destroyed by fire.

In the interim the infant institution had been beset with difficulties, chief among which was the lack of an adequate faculty. Though it bore the name, St. Mary's College, to which it was entitled by its charter, all during the seventies it scarcely rose above the status of an academy or high school. A few weeks before the students moved from the old log buildings into the new structure, the provincial and his advisers were engaged in St. Louis with the problem of the most fitting designation for the new school. "As it is inexpedient that colleges be multiplied in our Province, a situation which would prove indeed no slight obstacle to the training of our scholastics, let the school, though it be a sort of inchoate college [*collegium inchoatum*], be called St. Mary's Academy. Let Latin and Greek be taught but only up to Poetry exclusive, and let it be clearly understood out there that only one Father and two scholastics are to be set aside for the Academy. The rest of the teachers will have to be coadjutor-brothers and lay teachers hired at a salary." This proposed designation of the aspiring institution by the less pretentious name of academy promptly elicited protest from the faculty. The protest was well received at St. Louis and the provincial board, February 27, 1872, reversed its former stand on the question and agreed to the designation "college," reiterating, however, its previous caution that for some years to come the school should not attempt a more ambitious curriculum than what is comprised in the so-called grammar classes of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. This restriction on the educational program of the newly founded institution likewise elicited protest on the part of its president, Father Ward, who the following month was enjoined from issuing the prospectus of the new school until the

⁹⁵ St. Mary's College, House Diary (F) "This site [the foot of the hill] commends itself for many reasons, while other reasons more obvious, but in my opinion less solid, militate against it." Coosemans à Beckx, May 15, 1870 (AA).

question of its plan of studies could be further discussed at St. Louis. Eventually the restriction was upheld by the Father General, who in July, 1872, decided that temporarily at least St. Mary's was to be merely what is called in Jesuit parlance "a simple school" (*schola simplex*). As a matter of fact, the institution continued as late as 1873 to be entered in the official register of the Jesuit province of Missouri as St. Mary's Pottawatomie Mission. Thereafter for four years it was technically known as a residence and not until 1877 was it entered as a college in Jesuit officials registers. During all these years it led a precarious existence and the question of definitely discontinuing it was once at least under advisement at St. Louis. This was in the spring of 1872 when word had come from the Jesuit General that one boarding-college was as much as the Missouri Province could conveniently maintain. What was to be done with St. Mary's? The town of St. Marys was too undeveloped, it was felt, to support a day-college. Should the boarding-school be suspended and the property sold? Two at least of the consultants recommended this course. Another was in favor of maintaining a grammar school, but nothing more, while a fourth voiced the opinion that the college could not be closed without seriously compromising the interests of religion. For lack of agreement on the important issue it was concluded to have recourse to the General, the college to be left *in statu quo*. When the General's decision arrived in July, 1872, it was for continuing the school, but in no sense as an institution of college grade. Later years were to see the school gradually equip itself for a broad program of education, collegiate as well as secondary.

No account of the mission-schools at St. Mary's is adequate which does not leave the reader with an impression of the important share of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in making them a success. In their hands ever since the days of Mother Duchesne at Sugar Creek was the education of the Potawatomi girls, that they acquitted themselves with distinction of this phase of the missionary program of St. Mary's is a fact written large in the story of the mission. Even more so than the boys' department, the girls' department of the Pottawatomie Manual Labor School elicited repeated and almost fulsome commendation from Indian agents and other federal officials. The self-effacement of the nuns was complete. The names of scarcely any of their number found their way into contemporary records. It was enough for them that they gave themselves unreservedly to the task in hand, that they spared neither time nor energy nor available means of whatsoever kind to compass a perfect work in the metamorphosis of an Indian child into a self-respecting and well-trained Christian woman. One regrets the absence of published data from their own community historical sources concerning this happy experiment in Indian education which

they worked out through some three decades of years on the Kansas prairies. Results, at any rate, were achieved, and these have happily been put on record in numerous testimonies from disinterested sources.⁹⁶

Of the Religious of the Sacred Heart thus identified with Indian education at St. Mary's the names of two at least occur in the mission annals. Mother Lucille Mathevon was called by death in the same year, 1857, that saw the mission suffer another heavy loss in the premature passing of Father Duerinck. She had been one of the pioneer nuns that came up the Mississippi with Mother Duchesne in 1818 to open at St. Charles in Missouri the first house of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in the New World, and she had gone out with the same venerable mother to Sugar Creek in 1842 to make the venture of a school for the little women of the Potawatomi. Both at Sugar Creek and at St. Mary's she discharged the duties of superior, that the nuns' school met with such a measure of success was largely due to her intelligent sympathy and administrative skill. Associated with Mother Lucille in her educational work was Mother Mary Anne O'Connor, whose death at St. Mary's occurred December 9, 1863. She, too, had seen service at Sugar Creek and altogether spent twenty years and more as instructor of the Indian girls. Father Gailland wrote of her that she was conspicuous for a whole series of virtues, as gravity, wisdom, humility, assiduity in labor however menial and a burning zeal for the salvation of souls. Women-folk often came to the convent to seek her advice and never left without gain to their souls while through her inspiring zeal entire families were converted to the Catholic faith.

Up to the end of the sixties the two departments, male and female, of the Indian school were administered as a financial unit by the Jesuit superior of the mission. The mission could be said to have owned the buildings and other improvements but not the property on which they stood, which was Indian land and incapable as such of alienation. As to the expenses of the two schools, including board and lodging for the teachers, they were met out of a common fund provided in part by the annual per capita subsidy granted by the government, in part by the sale of the surplus stock and produce of the farm. This fund was administered by the head of the mission. The changed conditions brought about by the treaties and especially the acquisition by the mission of large tracts of land with absolute title thereto in fee-simple made it desirable to arrange some equitable division of the mission property between the missionaries and the nuns. With this purpose in view a meeting was held on May 25, 1869, at the residence of Bishop Miége at Leavenworth, there being present besides the prelate himself,

⁹⁶ Cf agents' reports cited in Chap XXVIII Cf also *supra*, Chap. XXIII, note 59.

Mothers Galwey and Hardy on behalf of the nuns and Father Joseph Keller, assistant-provincial of Missouri, on behalf of the Jesuits. The terms of the division of goods were submitted by Father Keller to the two mothers, were approved by them, and then forwarded by the latter to their Superior General in Paris, Mother Goetz, who gave them her indorsement. According to the arrangement thus mutually agreed upon, St. Mary's Mission was to cede to the Religious of the Sacred Heart a tract of land some fifty to sixty acres in extent, so located as to include within its limits the house occupied by the nuns, and, besides, provide a site for the erection of new buildings with playgrounds, garden, orchard and pasture. The nuns, moreover, were to receive ten thousand dollars in cash, ten milk-cows or more if the needs of their community so required, some horses and other stock, and provisions for a year and a half if the convent was in need of them or desired to receive them. Finally, in case the mission was to make brick on its own account, the nuns were to be furnished with the needed brick for a building of three stories, sixty by forty feet in size. With the carrying out of these articles of agreement the Religious of the Sacred Heart thereafter administered their financial and economical affairs independently of the Jesuits.⁹⁷

On February 2, 1870, two superiors of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, one of them being Mother Galwey of Chicago, arrived at St. Mary's to confer with the local superior on the selection of a site for the academy building which the nuns were planning to erect. On April 26 following work was begun on the foundations of the new structure, which was to be of brick and four stories in height. Soon housed in their new and commodious home, the nuns there carried on, with the same devotion that had marked their labors for the Indian children, the work of the higher Christian education of women. They were thus engaged when there occurred, February 3, 1879, the complete destruction of the new St. Mary's College building by fire. The catastrophe took place in the early hours of the afternoon, the first cry of fire having been raised just at the end of the midday meal, about half after twelve o'clock. That very afternoon the nuns vacated a considerable part of their building, placing it at the disposal of the Jesuit faculty and their students. Three days later the nuns transferred their academy to a house in the adjoining town of St. Marys, leaving their entire convent to be occupied by the college faculty and students. Within a few months the Jesuits had acquired the convent by purchase from the nuns, who in July, 1879, withdrew definitely from St. Mary's leaving the sons of Loyola, with whom they had been associated in Indian instruction for several decades, to pursue alone the work of Christian education on

⁹⁷ Gaillard, *Hist. St. Mary's Mission* (F)

the banks of the Kaw. With the departure from Kansas of the Religious of the Sacred Heart was closed a chapter as interesting and impressive as any that may be read in the pioneer educational history of the West.

§ 7 THE PASSING OF THE POTAWATOMI

The question has been raised whether the two Potawatomi treaties of 1861 and 1867, providing as they did for the allotment of the tribal lands in severalty, the per capita distribution of tribal funds and the admission of the Indians, according as circumstances permitted, to the full status of naturalized American citizens, really made for the best interests of the tribe. It may be argued, as has been done, that the wiser policy would have been to secure the Indians adequate protection in the unmolested possession of their common reserve and not urge them, as was done by government officials and missionaries alike, to acquiesce in the sectionizing of the reserve.⁹⁸ In the light thrown upon the problem by subsequent events this view, it may be admitted, has something to commend it. But hindsight is easier than foresight. The advocates of the sectionizing policy included numerous undoubted friends of the Indians, who were not without suspicion of some at least of the evils that might attend its operation. Father Gaillard's stand on the question found expression in his prophetic words, "wo to you [Indians] when your lands shall be sectionized!"⁹⁹ And yet to him and other well-wishers of the Indians it seemed that the blessings which would probably accrue from individual ownership and the rights of citizenship would more than counterbalance any evils that might be expected to follow from the sectionizing process. Moreover, the invasion of the reserve by settlers appeared to be taken for granted, possibly on insufficient grounds, as inevitable, so that nothing was left for the Indians but to adjust themselves to the new situation and meet the white man on equal ground as citizens of the United States. Gaillard wrote of the treaty of 1861. "The steps they [Potawatomi] are taking forebode their final ruin as a tribe; but it is unavoidable, being brought on by the force of events."¹⁰⁰

By arrangement with the government the Potawatomi minority, most of them belonging to the Prairie Band and numbering in all some six hundred, who opposed the apportionment of the old reserve among the individual members of the tribe, were given a new reserve, some eleven miles square in extent, in the present Jackson County, Kansas. It was described in 1869 as having "valuable timber, pure water, and

⁹⁸ See *supra*, Chap XXIX, § 4

⁹⁹ De Vriendt, *Gaillard*. (F).

¹⁰⁰ *WL*, 6. 70.

rich prairie soil containing over seventy-five thousand acres within an hour's ride of the dome of our State capitol [Topeka]."¹⁰¹ This last home of the Potawatomi tribe in Kansas is still theirs. To this day they maintain within its borders the customs of their fathers, possess (or up to recent date possessed) the land in common, and in the eyes of some are a living proof of the wisdom of the choice made by the Prairie Indians of the sixties when they refused to follow their Christian fellow-tribesmen after the will-o'-the-wisp allurements of individual homes and American citizenship. Not only was a reserve in Kansas thus secured to the non-sectionizing members of the tribe, but by the terms of the treaty of 1867 the Potawatomi were to be provided with another reserve in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, not to exceed thirty miles square in extent. To this reserve, which was to be purchased for them by the government out of the proceeds of the sale of their surplus lands in Kansas to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, they were to be at liberty to migrate. Numbers of the Christian Indians of St. Mary's subsequently settled in this new home.¹⁰²

As to the fate that befell the Potawatomi who set up as individual land-owners under the treaties of 1861 and 1867, it is a melancholy story of Indian incapacity and the white man's greed. It is one of the commonplaces of American history that the Indian in any issue of justice between him and the civilized or supposedly civilized folk of the frontier generally played a losing game. Whiskey, in Dr. Palmer's words "the great hindrance to the material, moral and social advancement of the Indian," was plentiful on the Potawatomi reserve, though its sale to the Indians was strictly forbidden by government statute.¹⁰³ Teamsters passing over the reserve in every direction on the public highways had liquor in their wagons to sell to the red men. In 1866 Dr. Palmer petitioned that a marshal and a United States commissioner be stationed near the agency, which was at St. Marys, with a view to greater success in repressing the sordid traffic.¹⁰⁴ Sometimes the culprits were caught and convicted, more often they were not. Another abuse to

¹⁰¹ *RCIA*, 1869

¹⁰² According to Father Gailland, writing in 1877, about one hundred Potawatomi from Kansas had settled near Chetopa (Indian Territory) and were being attended by a Father Bonocini. About two or three hundred were settled on the Canadian River and were under the care of the Benedictines *WL*, 6 84. For the status of the citizen Potawatomi in Oklahoma, cf. G. E. E. Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States* (New York, 1923), 177 *et seq.* According to Lindquist, *op cit.*, p. 200, fifty-four Catholic families belonging to the Jackson County Potawatomi attended services in a chapel fourteen and a half miles west of Mayette.

¹⁰³ *RCIA*, 1866, p. 263

¹⁰⁴ *Idem*, *loc cit.*

which the Indians were subjected was the stealing of their timber by the settlers. "These offenders sometimes succeeded by the use of a little shrewdness," reported Dr. Palmer in 1866, "in getting summoned upon the grand jury. They seem to steal timber from an Indian with as little compunction as they manifest in receiving pay for investigating cases of theft and refusing to indict."¹⁰⁵ Three years later Palmer wrote again: "They [the timber thieves] know that the United States district court for the district of Kansas never did and probably never will convict a white man for depredating upon Indian lands. I know of no way of remedying the evil except by prevailing upon white men to be honest and just toward the Indians, or seeing that the laws are rigidly enforced against them. One other means may be tried, with perhaps a more certain prospect of success, to move the Indian to some country where he would be free from such annoyances."¹⁰⁶

In more recent allotments of Indian lands in severalty to the individual members of a tribe, the government has in general proceeded with the wisdom born of experience, taking precautions to secure the several land-owners in the possession of their property and prevent them from alienating it unwisely. But such vigilance was not exercised in the breaking up of the Potawatomi reserve. No particular obstacles were placed by the law in the way of the Indian who wished to barter his rich acres for a mess of pottage. Dr. Palmer reported in 1866

I have advised and encouraged but few to apply for their patents and to take upon themselves the duties and responsibilities of citizens. Improvidence is the peculiar characteristic of the real Indian. No sooner does he become possessed of money or property that he can dispose of, than he proceeds at once to make it available, as far as possible, for present enjoyment, seeming not to reflect that his means may become exhausted until his last dollar is gone. Thus many of our Indians would gladly apply for and receive patents to their land (without realizing at all the changed relation they assume in the community by becoming citizens of the United States) solely with a view of a sale and spending the proceeds thereof, as also their interest in the credits of the tribe held in trust by the Government for them. I have conceived it to be my duty to restrain such persons, as far as possible, from taking any of the steps necessary for becoming citizens. Many of them will doubtless find it to their advantage at no distant day to throw up their present allotments and follow their friends, who may have gone before them, to a new home. Then it would be better that they should not have squandered their share of the national wealth and been left paupers upon the Government or their Indian friends for support.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *Idem*, 1866, p. 264.

¹⁰⁶ *Idem*, 1869, p. 375.

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, 1866, p. 264.

Naively and in awkward English yet with vivid and dramatic touches of his own, Brother De Vriendt in his sketch of Father Gailland pictures the distressing scenes that were daily witnessed as the helpless Indians played into the hands of unscrupulous whites. Gailland is represented as discoursing sadly, almost despondently, before his fellow-Jesuits in the faculty recreation-room at the mission on the dark days that have overtaken his once happy Potawatomi charges

I feel very sad, because I see now that my prophecy is going to be true. I have said to the Indians "wo to you when your lands shall be sectionized! You will be lost body and soul" It is now only too true for I see the land-sharks cheating my Indians out of their land and property They took some of them, all unsuspecting, to the saloon and there they treated them to a little whiskey and then to a little brandy till they saw the Indians commencing to talk. Then the rascally land-sharks would try to make a bargain with the Indians, telling them they would give them 300 dollars and a buggy and a pair of horses for 80 acres of land, and saying it would be very nice for them to have a buggy and a pair of horses for 80 acres of land, and saying it would be very nice for them to have a buggy to drive their families to church The simple Indians concluded the bargain and gave the deed of their land to the rascals Another Indian gave 80 acres and a house for 500 dollars and a cow. Another sold his claim and his wife's and that of his four children for 1200 dollars and then set to drinking and wasting the money, and by and by had to buy a tent to live in and [had] to beg for his needs. Others sold their claims and went to Kansas [City] and then to Topeka, and spent their money on drink and trifles and then returning to St. Mary's fell victims under the locomotive. Still others, very good Indians, sold their claims for one-fourth of what they were worth and, having the money, commenced to drink and fight and some of them were killed And who is to blame for all this, but those rascals who cheated the poor Indians out of their property. Oh! if it were pleasing to Almighty God that they should all get sick and I could give them all the holy rites of the Church and they would die before getting spoiled, what a joy it would be to me to see them all going to heaven before I die! But this will not be possible We must be resigned to the will of God and I must bear my cross in seeing their misfortunes

Rap, rap! "Come in!" "Father Gailland, some white man wants to buy my claim" "I forbid you to sell it, for you will begin to drink as soon as you get the money and you will become a bad man and die unhappy and go to hell" "Well, Father, I promise you I shall not sell if that is so" "Yes, my child, believe me it will be so if you sell your claim You will be without a home and then what will your wife and children become but beggars and drunkards and thieves to be put in prison and from there to hell Go home and work and do what I have told you and you will be happy And if those white people come again, tell them that you do not want to sell an inch of your land and say nothing else and they will let you

alone." "Father, I do promise you I shall not sell it, but shall do as you told me Goodby Father, pray for me."

Rap! "Come in!" "Father Gailland, that Indian boy went to Topeka with his parents and they have been drinking and feasting and buying there, and in coming back the boy, about 20 years old, fell between the cars in stepping into the train and the cars were already moving and he was killed" "Oh my! There it is! I told them they should stay at home and now see what they got by going there to drink and to feast. Oh! must I hear more of such accidents. See, it is the money from the claim that brought them there. I told them not to sell and they had to do their own will and now they find out what they got for it. I hope they will open their eyes and stop selling the rest of their land I must go and see them as soon as they come home and correct them on their disobedience because I had forbidden them to sell They were good people and never disobeyed me, but those land rascals deceived them"

Rap! "Come in!" "Father, Nakse and Queskin sold their land Scarcely had they received the money when they went to the saloon, and drinking, because they had plenty of money, they very soon got drunk They commenced to gamble and after some misunderstanding they began to quarrel and fight and then one wounded the other, and the wounded one killed Nakse." "Oh! devil's drink! Two of our best Indians before they had sectionized. They were continually working, examples in the church, going to confession and holy communion every week and Queskin was one of our best school-boys, who went to school in 1849 at St Mary's A real Indian boy, not knowing A B C, no English whatever, and he made his confession in English after 14 months schooling He was a very good boy and for us a very good interpreter, having spent four years in school He was a good reader, writer, arithmetician After leaving school he went to live with his step-father. They worked well together, were examples in church, never drank and now at last money for their claim spent in drinking has worked their destruction. Oh! my Indians, if you had never possessed land, how happy you would be! But alas! it was too late Your destruction is the use of money Oh! my brethren, how my heart feels I cannot tell you! Almighty God is good. I hope He will not let my Indians perish I hope He will make them poor again, without land, and make them live in a common reserve I hope so Then shall I feel happy" ¹⁰⁸

This was the tragic fate that overtook the historic Potawatomi tribe. It went down in defeat in an unequal contest with inexorable conditions and events. The progressive disappearance of the Indians from the Kaw reserve is recorded in the pages of the St. Mary's house diary. In 1870 the red men were ravaged by sickness and death. In 1872 the diary reports them as "departing" and in 1873 as "scattering." In 1876 Father

¹⁰⁸ De Vriendt, *Gailland*, p. 173, *et seq.* (F). Numerous emendations have been made in the text of the brother's ms.

Gaillard estimated the sectionizing Indians still to be found within the old reserve at about six hundred, and in the same year, which was the one preceding his death, he penned what may be called the obituary of the race.

We have arrived at the gloomiest page of the Pottowatomy mission, a sudden cold wind from the northern regions has blasted the beautiful flowers, that but yesterday displayed so much freshness in its magnificent garden. Until this time the Pottowattomies had acquired to a great degree the habit of industry, were regular in attending to their religious duties, and by the purity of their morals and vivacity of their faith had been the edification of their white neighbors. But now, in accordance with the treaty stipulations, the Government begins in different instalments to pay out to them large sums of money. The whiskey comes along with the money and flows in torrents, nearly every house in St. Mary's is turned into a saloon. Sharks of all kinds follow the Indians wherever they go, and never lose sight of them night and day, they use all manner of frauds and artifices to get hold of the Indian's money and property. Seeing himself undone by those he looked upon as friends and protectors, the poor Indian in despair of ever redeeming his condition plunges still deeper into drinking and all sorts of excess. In consequence thereof many of our neophytes have become quite negligent in the practice of their religious duties. Many have sold their lands and become homeless. Many by imprudent exposure to the inclemency of the weather have met with a premature death. Some were drowned, some crushed by the cars, some fell by the hands of assassins.

What a sad spectacle it is for a missionary to see the work of so many years thus destroyed, and his flock devoured by merciless wolves. Like the prophet standing amidst the ruins, what else remains for him but to weep over the work of destruction, to bewail his sins, to implore divine mercy, and to sigh after a better home? One thing, however, in my bitter grief consoles me, that a certain number, small indeed, have remained firm, and that to my knowledge none of those that have forsaken the path of virtue have lost the faith; this revives in them sooner or later especially in times of sickness and adversity.¹⁰⁹

From the September day in 1848 when he arrived with the pioneer party to lay the foundations of the new St. Mary's up to the dark days of the debacle Father Gaillard's devotion to the forlorn Indians knew not a moment's respite. Early in 1871 he submitted to the mission board in St. Louis a memorial urging that the Jesuits accompany the Christian Indians, who were moving south, and set up a mission on

¹⁰⁹ *WL*, 6 82. William Nicholson, "A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 3 310 "These Indians [Potawatomi] show the bad effects of annuity payments. They sit and wait for their money and then use it badly."

behalf of them in their newly acquired habitat; but the board vetoed the proposal. Nobody could be spared for the suggested mission; the board could do nothing more than express the hope that "the Lord of the harvest might soon send workmen for a harvest such as this" An offer had been made at this juncture to the missionaries which was inviting enough, if indeed the terms of the offer had been correctly understood, which seems unlikely. Each of the fifteen hundred Potawatomi migrating to the Indian Territory was to receive four hundred and eighteen acres of land and of this allotment each would set aside eighteen for the mission, making the latter the possessor of some twenty-seven thousand acres¹¹⁰ No subsequent efforts were made by the Potawatomi to secure the services of Jesuit missionaries, at least none appear to be on record. The separation between the tribe and the missionary body that had ministered to it almost without interruption from the days of Marquette and Allouez was to be complete.

Meantime, Gaillard, as long as his physical condition permitted, was ever on the alert in attending to the spiritual wants of the Indians still clinging to the reserve. He went in this direction and that in all sorts of weather wherever the signal-flag of spiritual distress was raised. De Vriendt wrote of him that he seemed to have his ears always cocked to catch the words "sick," "danger," "confession." When somebody was reported to be unwell, he could not rest until he had ascertained whether or not the person was in danger, and even when such was not the case, he would often go anyway for fear a soul might pass out of this world without the ministrations of the Church. The patient attended to, he would return in high spirits to the mission. "He is ripe for heaven," was his only comment. "Let him go. I feel satisfied. I have done my duty and am ready for some one else." His duties in the mission-church he discharged with regularity and zeal. He sat for long hours in the confessional waiting for the penitents as they presented themselves in irregular succession, even when all were heard he would still return at intervals to see whether some late-coming Indian had not taken his stand before the confessional. Sometimes an Indian loitering about in the shadow of the church was accosted by Gaillard "Do you not wish to go to confession? I have a little time now. Come, come! how do you know that you will live till tomorrow?" The whites, ever growing more numerous, were welcome in the mission church, but Gaillard's first concern was for the Indians. As far as depended on him, the latter were not to suffer harm from contact with folk that sometimes bore with poor grace the name of civilized. One Sunday a party of whites for some or

¹¹⁰ St. Mary's House Diary (F)

other reason rose from their seats in church and started to walk out before the services were ended; whereupon Gailland roundly berated them from the altar as being a scandal to the Indians. If they came to church, let them conduct themselves therein with decency and decorum after the manner of his Potawatomi children.¹¹¹

A call in the winter season from a sick Indian residing twenty-three miles from St. Mary's was promptly answered by Father Gailland, but on crossing a river only a short distance from the mission he fell through the ice and had to continue on his way with clothes frozen to his body. He had perforce under the same circumstances to spend the night in the Indian's hut and return home the following day. Twenty-four hours of this physical hardship and exposure had their result, the missionary thereby contracting a paralysis from which he never fully recovered. For some time subsequently he was still able with the aid of horse and buggy, for to ride horseback was now beyond him, to go some distance on his ministerial rounds. For several years he lacked the needed services of a driver for the vehicle. "The Potawatomes have diminished greatly the last few years," he wrote to De Smet in June, 1872. "Drink has done considerable harm among them I am the only one who understands their language. I can scarcely see them for lack of a driver; this makes the matter all the worse. If I could have a driver at least twice a month I might be able to do some good. There are 20 boys who would willingly render me this service. It seems to me that if each of them were to lose one or two days of class a year, their studies would not suffer much on this account; on the contrary. But our professors will not hear of it."¹¹²

Father Gailland's last summons to the sick, occurring about June, 1877, is recorded by Brother De Vriendt with characteristic vividness. The brother's fondness for lending realistic touches to his narrative is still indulged. "Rap! rap! rap! 'Father Gailland, an Indian is sick near Topeka.' It was a little before dinner. 'Very well,' said Father Gailland, 'I will start after dinner with the cars.' So he went; but next morning a telegraph despatch came saying that Father Gailland was very sick so that the Brother Infirmarian had to get him again and come home with him." For several weeks following the valiant priest was confined to bed; then some eight days before the end of July he began to improve in quite remarkable fashion and was able to celebrate Mass on St. Ignatius day, July 31. Brother De Vriendt visiting him on this day found him in excellent spirits and received from him the Jesuit greeting of "a happy feast." But the veteran missionary was to say Mass

¹¹¹ De Vriendt, *Gailland* (F)

¹¹² Gailland to De Smet, June 11, 1872 (A).

no more. With the dawn of August he relapsed into his previous weakness and declined rapidly until he passed away on the twelfth day of that month, 1877, in the full possession of his senses to the end. With him the Jesuit attempt, lasting through four decades, to christianize and civilize the Potawatomi of Kansas passed into history.