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PART IV
THE INDIAN MISSIONS

CHAPTER XXIII

THE POTAWATOMI OF SUGAR CREEK

§ I. THE RESTORED MISSION OF THE ST JOSEPH

The Potawatomi Mission of Sugar Creek, maintained by the middle-western Jesuits during the decade 1838-1848 near the present Centerville, Linn County, Kansas, was a revival after the lapse of many years of the eighteenth-century Jesuit Miami-Potawatomi Mission on the St Joseph River near the site of Niles in Michigan.¹ Children and grandchildren of the Indians who had received the gospel-message from the latter center were to be found in numbers at Sugar Creek, where the devoted zeal of Allouez, Mermet, Chardon and their Jesuit associates lived again in worthy successors. For the historical background of Sugar Creek one must therefore go back to the mission on the St Joseph. "Here," says Parkman, "among the forests, swamps and ocean-like waters, at an unmeasured distance from any abode of civilized man, the indefatigable Jesuits had labored more than half a century for the spiritual good of the Potawatomi, who lived in great numbers along the margin of the lake [Michigan]. As early as the year 1712, as Father Marest informs us, the mission was in a thriving state and around it had gathered a little colony of the forest-loving Canadians."² Here, then, in the valley of the St Joseph was going forward on behalf of the Potawatomi an evangelical enterprise of promise when the suppression of the Society of Jesus supervened and the mission went down in the general ruin of the Jesuit establishments in the West. Yet it was not to perish altogether. The early thirties of the nineteenth century saw its restoration at the hands of diocesan priests.

With the passing of the Jesuit missionaries the Christian Potawatomi of the St. Joseph became demoralized though they preserved the memory of the black-robos as a precious heirloom far into the nineteenth century. If we except Father Edmund Burke, one-time professor in the

¹ George A. Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 17:24-54 (1930), on the restored Potawatomi mission of William McNamara, C.S.C., *The Catholic Church on the Northern Frontier, 1789-1844* (Washington, 1931).

² Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1882), I:273.

seminary of Quebec and later Bishop of Sion and Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia, who from his post in southeastern Michigan is said to have attempted to revive the Catholic Indian missions of the West, the first missionary to be associated with the restored Potawatomi mission was Father Gabriel Richard, the well-known pioneer priest of Michigan.³ Though he was a visitor at the Ottawa mission of Arbre Croche on Lake Michigan as early as 1799, it is not clear that he visited in person the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph. But he was known to these Indians as a friend of the red men. Evidence of the esteem in which they held him is found in the circumstance that in 1821 they commissioned him to act as their agent in a projected treaty at Chicago between the federal government and the Potawatomi of Illinois and Michigan. Contrary winds delayed him on his lake journey from Detroit, whence he set out July 4, 1821, and he arrived in Chicago only in September to learn that the treaty negotiations were over.⁴ Shortly after this Dr. Isaac McCoy, taking advantage of the educational provisions of the treaty, opened a Baptist mission among the Indians of the St. Joseph. This was the Carey Mission, which, after maintaining itself for about a decade, closed its doors on the very eve of the return of the Catholic missionaries to the St. Joseph.

In July, 1830, Rev. Frederick Rese, while making an official visitation of the diocese of Cincinnati, of which he was vicar-general and which included in its territory all of Ohio and what was then Michigan Territory, arrived among the Potawatomi. He was probably the first Catholic priest to appear on the old mission-site since the passing of the Jesuits. The Indians were delighted to have a black-robe in their midst and pitched their wigwams in great numbers around the visitor's cabin. They were eager for instruction in the faith which their forbears had professed and many asked to be baptized on the spot. Rese, however, contented himself with baptizing the few on whose perseverance he could prudently rely, among the number being the chief, Leopold Pokegan, and his wife. The question of a Catholic chapel having been raised, it was decided by the chiefs to ask the proprietors of the Carey Mission to turn over to the Catholic priest whom Rese promised to send them the buildings which the Protestants were about to abandon. A party of chiefs, accompanied by the vicar-general, thereupon presented themselves at the Carey Mission and preferred this request. The clergy-

³ Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 2: 475, 491. There is no direct evidence that Father Burke ever visited the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph.

⁴ *Ann Prop*, 3: 342. Some, however, of the Potawatomi are said to have asked for a Baptist mission.

man in charge answered by engaging to surrender the buildings at the expiration of a month ⁵

Prior to Father Rese's visit to the St. Joseph, Pokegan, the Potawatomi chief, with a party of five Indians, had appeared, July 1, 1830, at Detroit, to press the petition of his people for a resident pastor with the vicar-general, Father Gabriel Richard. Pokegan had the red man's native gift of eloquence and his address on this occasion was a pathetic plea for a priest to break the bread of life to his famishing tribesmen. His address finished, the chief fell upon his knees before Richard and recited the Our Father, Hail Mary and Credo in his own language in token of his sincerity in seeking the truth for himself and his people. The vicar-general had engaged on a previous occasion to send the Potawatomi a priest. This time he renewed his promise, assuring the Indians of his intention to send them Father Vincent Badin, nephew of the better-known Father Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States. But by a chance Stephen Badin himself arrived in Detroit on July 2, the day following Pokegan's visit to the vicar-general. Richard having offered him the Potawatomi mission, Father Stephen Badin eagerly accepted it. Then followed Father Rese's passing visit to the Potawatomi. On July 30 he was back in Detroit and on August 4 Father Badin, now appointed their regular pastor, was with the Indians on the St. Joseph. He was accompanied by Miss Catherine Campau, an elderly lady of Detroit, who was to act as interpreter ⁶

Father Badin had no expectation of being installed forthwith in the Protestant mission-buildings. Moreover, he knew the American government was determined to transport all the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi, and so made up his mind to purchase a tract of land and thus make the establishment of the Church on the St. Joseph independent of all contingencies. "Arriving on the scene, I felt at once that my apprehensions were justified, and so with the aid of divine providence I have purchased 1, a house, which I have blessed so as to make it into a chapel, 2, a tract of fifty acres two miles from the chapel and adjoining the territory of the Indians and Pokegan's village" ⁷ In the interval between Father Rese's visit to the Potawatomi and Badin's arrival among them representations appear to have been made to the local Indian agent in consequence of which he received orders to take possession of the mission-buildings on the departure of the ministers. To the Catholic resident with whom Father Badin lodged at St.

⁵ *Ann. Prop.*, 6 147

⁶ Letter of Father Badin, September 1, 1830, in *Ann. Prop.*, 4 546. It is written from "*Territoire du Michigan, à l'ancienne Mission des Jésuites sur la Rivière St. Joseph chez les Potuatomies*"

⁷ *Ann. Prop.*, 6 160

Joseph's the agent was at pains to write a sharp letter in which he threatened dire penalties against all who should attempt to obtain possession of the buildings or even advise the Indians on the subject. But a rejoinder, at once courteous and courageous, from Badin's pen had the effect of mollifying the agent, who thereupon began to treat the priest with much consideration, going so far as to share with him his budget of newspapers, a very welcome courtesy, one may well believe, in such an out-of-the-way corner as Pokegan's Village ⁸

On the feast of the Presentation of Our Lady, November 21, 1830, Father Badin dedicated his little chapel on the St Joseph. It topped an eminence which rose prettily by the side of the river and close to the Niles road, at a point about a mile north of the Indiana-Michigan state-line. It was built of logs, measured twenty-five feet by eighteen and cost one hundred and eighty-five dollars. An unexpected circumstance lent color to the dedication ceremony. A party of Ottawa Indians, ten in number, from the mission of Arbre Croche on Lake Michigan, had been hunting in the neighborhood of St Joseph's. Two hundred miles away from home, they readily availed themselves of the opportunity to attend Mass in the new chapel of their Potawatomi kinsmen. They had been trained to sing by the mission-teachers and so Badin's choir at the High Mass with which he solemnly opened his modest little church turned out to be none other than this wandering band of Ottawa hunters. "Thank the Lord for me," he exclaims, "for the consolation He affords of seeing gathered around me in the new chapel, which resembles not a little the stable of Bethlehem, a slender congregation of French Canadians and Indians of two allied tribes in this far corner of the United States, where Recollects and Jesuits labored of old to preach the Gospel." ⁹

The eagerness of the Potawatomi to embrace the Faith taxed the missionary's strength. At his arrival he found scarcely twenty of them baptized. In December, 1832, little more than two years after his taking up the work, three hundred of the tribe had become members of the Church. In another year the number of Catholics in the various Potawatomi villages of the Indiana-Michigan frontier had risen to six hundred. In September, 1831, seven of the neophytes, Chief Pokegan among them, were admitted for the first time to holy communion. The first communicants, some of them children of ten, fasted for several days in preparation for the great event. "They show so much simplicity and good will," Father Badin records, "that argument is unnecessary to convince them of the truth of our holy religion. Besides, the Jesuits, who instructed their fathers or rather their grandfathers,

⁸ *Idem*, 6 159

⁹ *Idem*, 6 161

have left behind them so good a repute that they are called 'the holy fathers' " ¹⁰

As the Potawatomi were settled north and south of the Indiana-Michigan state-line, Badin's field of labor lay in two dioceses, Bardstown, which included Kentucky and Indiana, and Cincinnati, which took in Michigan Territory. There was no difficulty over jurisdiction, however, for the missionary long before his arrival at the St. Joseph had received from Bishops Flaget and Fenwick the powers of vicar-general for their respective dioceses ¹¹. Towards the close of 1830 Father Carabin was sent to assist Badin, who remained with the Potawatomi until some time in the course of 1834 when he apparently took up residence on the site of the future Notre Dame University ¹². In 1835 Father Deseille, a Belgian, assisted for a while by Father Böheme, was in charge of the mission. When Bishop Bruté in the summer of 1835 visited the Potawatomi villages for the first time as head of the newly erected diocese of Vincennes, he was accompanied on his rounds by Deseille ¹³. There were at this time at least two

¹⁰ *Idem*, 6:168. Father Verreydt records in his memoirs that Wiwosay (or Wewesa), the Potawatomi chief at Sugar Creek, treasured as "a relic of a saint," a letter of a Jesuit missionary on the St. Joseph which he had received from his father, also a Potawatomi chief. "This shows in what great veneration our ancient Fathers were held by the Pottowatomic nation. Would to God we had followed their example."

¹¹ Father Badin signed himself in letters of this period "Vicar General of Cincinnati and Bardstown."

¹² "On Thursday evening we arrived at South Bend, a little town beautifully situated on the high banks of the St. Joseph river. It is growing rapidly, owing to its many advantages. Crossing the river we visited 'St. Mary of the Lake,' the mission-house of the excellent Mr. Badin who had lately removed to Cincinnati. He had a school there kept by two Sisters, who have also gone away, leaving the place vacant. The 625 acres of land attached to it and the small lake named St. Mary's make it a most desirable spot and one soon I hope to be occupied by some prosperous institution. Rev. Mr. Badin has transferred it to the Bishop on the condition of his assuming the debts, a trifling consideration compared with the importance of the place." Letter of Bishop Bruté to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna in McGovern, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 9.

¹³ Of Father Deseille and his successor among the Potawatomi, Petit, there are interesting glimpses in the letters of Father Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame. The site of that great institution formed part of one of the Potawatomi reserves and was at one time in possession of Father S. T. Badin. Subsequently it passed to Bishop Bruté of Vincennes, by whose successor, Bishop de la Hailandière, it was in turn transferred to Father Sorin. *Infra*, Chap. XXXI, § 1. "It was situated," wrote Father Sorin, "in the Northern part of the state on the banks of the river [St. Joseph] beside which had labored an Allouez, a Marquette, a Hennepin and a La Salle, to be followed in the pioneer settlement days by a Badin, a Deseille and a Petit." *A Story of Fifty Years from the Annals of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, 1845-1905* (Notre Dame, Ind., n.d.)

Potawatomi settlements of size, Pokegan's Village, situated just north of the Indiana state-line, though a number of this chief's followers lived south of the line, and Chichako's Village on or near the Tippecanoe River and about seventy-five miles to the south of Pokegan's Village¹⁴ Badin's ministry seems to have been confined chiefly to the Indians of the last-named settlement, but Deseille worked in the southern villages also, especially in Chichako's. The latter dying in 1837, an ardent successor to his apostolate among the Potawatomi of Indiana was found in the person of Father Benjamin-Marie Petit.

§ 2 THE FORCED EMIGRATION OF THE POTAWATOMI OF INDIANA

Born at Rennes in Brittany April 8, 1811, Father Petit followed at first the career of a barrister but abandoned it in 1835 to devote himself to the ministry. Bishop Bruté of Vincennes, while on a visit to Rennes, which he also claimed as his native town, met the young seminarian and received him into his diocese. Petit embarked in June, 1836, for New York, whence he proceeded to Vincennes to continue his theological studies. On October 15, 1837, he wrote to his mother

I am a priest and the hand which writes to you has this day borne Jesus Christ. I had been a deacon since September 24 when one evening there came a letter sealed in black announcing the death of Mr Deseilles, for seven years a missionary among the Indians. He had sent word in good season to his two nearest neighbors, at Chicago and Logansport, but one of the two was very ill while the other, confined to bed for several weeks, was too exhausted to attempt a journey of sixty-five miles. Mr Deseilles had to die all alone. A priest yesterday, I said my first Mass today and in two days am to go to South Bend to bring comfort to a settlement of Indians who have addressed to Monseigneur a touching petition for a new priest. I have always longed for a mission among the Indians. We have only one such in Indiana and it is I whom the Indians call their black-robe Father.¹⁵

The diocese of Vincennes was to enjoy the services of this extraordinarily zealous priest only some sixteen months. During this time he divided his attention between the Indian villages and the white settlements, in particular, Logansport and South Bend in Indiana and Bertrand in Michigan. But it was the Potawatomi who enjoyed the

¹⁴ Petit makes no mention of Chichako's Village in his letters. His own mission at Chichipi-Outipe on the Yellow River, a fork of the Tippecanoe, was sixty miles south of Pokegan's Village (*Ann Prop*, II 391). Chichipi-Outipe is apparently to be identified with Twin Lakes in Marshall County. According to Esarey, *History of Indiana*, p 337, Petit had a chapel at Chippewa, twenty-five miles south of Twin Lakes.

¹⁵ *Ann Prop*, II 383

major share of his attention Chichipi-Outipe, their most considerable village, situated on the Yellow River in Marshall County, some sixty miles south of the Michigan-Indiana state-line, was the chief center of his apostolate. In letters from his pen to be found in the early issues of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, he dwells with enthusiasm on the piety of his Indian neophytes and their preparedness for the ways of Christian virtue. The passionate zeal for souls of St. Francis Xavier and other canonized apostles of the Faith lived again in the heart of Benjamin-Marie Petit. One thing alone cast a shadow over the fruitful ministry of the young clergyman and this was the impending removal of the Potawatomi to the West.

By the thirties the removal of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River to unoccupied lands in the Indian Territory was in full process of operation as the recognized policy of the federal government. As far back as the administration of Washington the Indian title to possession (though not to absolute ownership) of lands claimed by the various tribes within the United States was considered a sound one in law and equity. As a consequence, the Indian title could not ordinarily be extinguished except by voluntary cession on the part of the natives. Hence the long series of treaties of cession between the federal authorities and Indian tribes in various parts of the United States. In Indiana alone fifty-four transfers of land held by Indian title were recorded between the years 1795 and 1838. As the line of white settlement moved steadily westward, the position of the Indians in the middle-western states became increasingly difficult. The disappearance of game incident upon the extension of civilized and settled life deprived them of a capital means of support while the attempted maintenance of tribal relations and autonomy within the limits of the organized state governments and the unwillingness or inability of the natives to conform to state laws brought them into frequent collision with the civil authorities. Most telling circumstance of all, their boundless acres were coveted by the hardy race of western pioneers and backwoodsmen and every form of pressure, not excepting in cases the most palpable fraud, was brought to bear upon the defenceless Indians to make them deed away their interest in the soil. At the same time, many friends of the Indians, among them ministers of the Gospel, were of opinion that the material and moral betterment of the natives could be secured only by isolating them from the corrupting influence of the whites. Hence, partly from selfish, partly from humanitarian motives, a government policy was elaborated looking to the ultimate transfer of all the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi to the vast, unorganized district known as the Indian Territory, where they were to be settled on reserves allotted to them in exchange for their ceded possessions in the East. Projected first by

Monroe and his secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, and indorsed by John Quincy Adams, the policy found an ardent supporter in Jackson, who dwelt upon it in great detail in his messages to Congress. The law of May 28, 1830, authorized any Indian tribe at its option to trade its actual lands for lands beyond the Mississippi while the law of July 9, 1832, appropriated twenty thousand dollars for the holding of councils among the Indians with a view to induce them to migrate thither.¹⁶

Through the operation of this governmental policy the Potawatomi of Indiana found themselves gradually dispossessed of their holdings. By the treaty of October 26, 1832, they ceded extensive tribal lands in the state, only reserving a few tracts for their chiefs. To Men-o-minee was given a reservation lying around Twin Lakes and as far north as the present Plymouth in Marshall County, while to Chief Aub-be-naub-bee was assigned a large reservation around Maxinkuckee.¹⁷ With the exception of a mile-wide strip running north and south through Plymouth, which was given for the Michigan Road, the Indians were left in possession of all of Marshall County. In 1836 Abel Pepper, Indian agent on behalf of the government, succeeded in buying Men-o-mi-nee's reserve at a dollar an acre, the Indians agreeing to give possession of the land at the expiration of two years. Meantime, squatters had settled here and there on the reserve to secure the benefits of a proposed preemption law. With the expiration on August 6, 1838, of the two-year limit, the whites demanded that the Indians vacate the reserve. This the Indians refused to do, having planted corn on assurance given them by officers of the government that they would not be required to give possession of the reserve until the land had been surveyed. The act of an Indian in battering down the door of a white settler, Watts, and threatening his life was met with reprisals by the whites, who burned twelve Indian cabins on the Yellow River. Pepper, fearing that bloodshed might ensue, appealed to Governor Wallace for a force of a hundred soldiers. The governor ordered John Tipton to muster the military of Miami and Cass Counties and proceed to Twin Lakes. Here on August 29, the Indians, to the number of two hundred, were called together in council by Pepper and while thus assembled were surrounded by the military, disarmed and taken into custody. By September 1 over eight hundred Indians had been rounded up and on September 4 they set out from Twin Lakes under military escort with Tipton in

¹⁶ "Various missionaries and other friends of the Indians soon began to plead for help. Most of them agreed that it would be better to get the Indians beyond the frontier. It was a policy of the Jacksonian Democrats to get them out of the way of the white settlers." Esarey, *op cit*, p. 333.

¹⁷ Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 2. 367.

command Their destination was the new reserve along the Osage River in what is now eastern Kansas, which had been given them by the treaty of February 11, 1837. Father Petit had left his mission at Twin Lakes shortly before the seizure of his parishioners¹⁸

I said Mass there one morning, after which my dear little church was stripped of all its ornaments On leaving I called my children together and addressed them for the last time. I wept, my hearers sobbed, it was enough to rend one's soul We, a mission at the point of death, prayed for the success of other missions and sang together, "I put my trust, O Virgin, in thy help" The voice of the leader was choked with sobbing and few indeed were the voices that lasted to the end I took my leave It is sad, I assure you, for a missionary to see so young and vigorous an enterprise perish in his arms Some days later I learned that the Indians, despite their peaceable intentions, had been surprised and made prisoners of war Under pretext that a council was to be held, they had been collected together and then carried off by a military force to the number of eight hundred¹⁹

The forced emigration in September, 1838, of eight hundred Potawatomi from their Indiana reserve to the Indian Territory remains to this day a little known episode in American history The official report of the affair, compiled by General John Tipton, who was in charge of the emigrants as far as Danville, Illinois, declares that the measures employed against the Indians were resorted to in the interests of public peace and security and to forestall a probable outbreak on their part Bishop Bruté, on the other hand, witnesses that the intentions of the Indians were peaceable and that the authorities alleged

¹⁸ For an account (with bibliography) of the expulsion of the Potawatomi from Marshall County, Indiana, in September, 1838, cf Esarey, *op cit* Cf also for correspondence of Bishop Bruté and the Catholic missionaries in regard to the Potawatomi of Indiana, Mary Salesia Godecker, O S B, *Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes* (St Meinrad, Indiana, 1931), "Correspondence on Indian Removal," in *Mid-America*, 15 177-192 (1933) The official report of General John Tipton, who was in charge of the troops that arrested the Indians and conducted them forcibly out of the state, is in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (hereinafter cited as *RCIA*), No 10, 1838 The report is addressed to said commissioner and is a defense of the government's action "It may be the opinion of those not well informed upon the subject that the expedition was uncalled for, but I feel confident that nothing but the presence of an armed force for the protection of the citizens of the State and to punish the insolence of the Indians could have prevented bloodshed" Esarey, on the contrary, sees in the incident only an illustration of "the hatred which the Indiana settlers bore towards the Indians"

¹⁹ *Ann Prop*, 11 393 The actual number of Indians in the party when it reached Sandusky Point, Illinois, September 18, was eight hundred and fifty-nine, as given by General Tipton in his report of that date

against them a treaty which they had never signed²⁰ The view taken of the occurrence in later days by the people of Indiana has found expression in the statue of Men-o-mi-nee, erected in 1905 at Twin Lakes, Marshall County, in token of regret for what they feel to have been a measure of inhumanity perpetrated on the defenceless Indians.²¹

The invitation extended by General Tipton to Father Petit to accompany the prisoners was at first declined, as Bishop Bruté wished to avert any suspicion of connivance on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities in the drastic measures of the government Later the Bishop changed his mind and to the missionary's great satisfaction allowed him to accompany the expedition on condition that he return to his diocese at the first summons On September 9 the Bishop, assisted by Petit, administered confirmation to twenty of the Indians at their camp about a mile outside of Logansport The priest then returned to South Bend to procure his baggage and on September 16 overtook the emigrants at Danville²² From there the line of march was across Illinois to Quincy and thence southwest to the upper reaches of the Osage River

Nine days after reaching his destination Father Petit dispatched to his bishop a detailed account of the march from Indiana

I had scarcely arrived [at Danville] when a colonel came up looking for a suitable place to camp, a little later I saw my poor Christians marching in line and surrounded by soldiers, who hurried them along under a burning midday sun and amid clouds of dust Then came the transport wagons, in which were huddled together numbers of the sick as well as women and children too weak to march The party encamped about a half-mile from town and I was soon in their midst I found the camp such as you saw it, Monseigneur, at Logansport, a scene of desolation with sick and dying on all sides Nearly all the children, overcome by the heat, had dropped down in a state of utter weakness and exhaustion I baptized some newly-born babies, happy Christians, whose first step was from the land of exile to the bliss of heaven The General [Tipton], before whom I presented myself, expressed

²⁰ "You will only have been informed, respected Sir, that as a treaty which they had not signed was unhappily presented to them as a further inducement to leave, they could but at first represent that it could not be the real motive for them to depart" Bruté to Harris, November 3, 1838 (H)

²¹ Daniel M. McDonald, author of *Removal of the Potawatomi Indians from Northern Indiana* (Plymouth, 1899), delivered an address in the Indiana House of Representatives, February 3, 1905, in support of a bill to erect a monument to Men-o-mi-nee and his tribesmen at Twin Lakes, Marshall County

²² *Ann Prop.*, II 401 "By this time [i.e. at Logansport] the Indian children and old people were completely worn out The children especially were dying in great numbers, not being used to such fare Physicians from Logansport reached them on the 9th and reported 300 unfit for travel" Esarey, *op cit.*, p. 337

his satisfaction at seeing me and with a condescension that was quite unexpected rose from his chair, the only one in the place, and offered it to me. This was the first night I spent under a tent, early next morning the Indians were piled into the transport wagons and the cavalcade proceeded on its way. Just as we were about to set out, Judge Polk, conductor-in-chief, came to offer me a horse which the Government had hired from an Indian for my use the whole length of the journey.²³ At the same time the Indian himself came up to me and said, "Father, I give it to you, saddle, bridle and all." We made for our next camping ground where a few days of rest were to be allowed. The six chiefs, hitherto treated as prisoners of war, were released on my parole and given the same liberty as the rest of the tribe. The order of march was as follows: the United States flag carried by a dragoon, next, one of the chief officers, next, the quartermaster's baggage, next, the wagons reserved all the way for the use of the Indian chiefs. Then one or two chiefs on horseback headed a line of some 250 or 300 horses on which were mounted men, women and children, following one by one, as is the fashion of the savages. The flanks of the line were covered at intervals by dragoons and volunteers, who hurried on the stragglers, often with harsh gestures and abuse. Following this cavalcade came a string of forty transport wagons filled with baggage and Indians. The sick stretched out in the wagons were jolted about roughly under a canvas cover, which, far from protecting them from the dust and heat, only deprived them of air. They were in a manner buried under this broiling canvas with the result that several of them died. We camped only six miles from Danville, where on two successive days I had the happiness of celebrating holy Mass in the midst of my Indian children. I administered the sacraments to several who were dying, and baptized a few more infants. When we struck camp two days later, we left behind us six in their graves under the shadow of the cross. There the General [Tipton] took leave of his little army and left us, he had announced his intentions of doing so immediately on my arrival.

We soon found ourselves amid the great prairies of Illinois under a devouring sun and without the least shelter from one camp to another. These prairies are as vast as the Ocean, the eye grows weary looking for a tree. Not a drop of water on the way, it was a veritable torture for our poor sick, among whom there were deaths every day from exhaustion and fatigue. We soon resumed evening prayers in common and the Americans, attracted by curiosity, were astonished to find so much piety in the midst of so many trials. Our evening exercises consisted of a chapter of the Catechism, prayer and the hymn, "I put my Trust," which I intoned in the Indian language and which was repeated by the whole congregation with the *élan* which these new Christians display in all their religious practices.

²³ Judge William Polk, appointed to conduct the Indians west of the Mississippi, took them in charge at Sandusky Point, near Danville, on September 18. The military escort consisted of only fifteen men. Polk's journal of the emigration is in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI (1925). Another English version of Pett's letter is in Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, 2: 681 *et seq.*

Permission had been given to the Indians to hunt along the way, and so from the Illinois River almost up to the line of the Indian Territory, they made great havoc among the squirrels, turkeys and pheasants of this magnificent hunting county. But we were taken back on seeing, as we came up to the district assigned to them, that game became scarcer while the woods dwindled into petty thickets along the margins of the streams that irrigate the vast prairies far and near. At a day's journey from the river of the Osages we were met by Father Hoecken of the Company of Jesus. This Father, who spoke Potawatomi and Kickapoo, declared his intention of quitting the Kickapoo country where he at present resides and settling down among my Christians. Amid the pains of exile and the ravages of disease the infant Christian community has received all the aids of religion, the sick have received the sacraments, the grounds which encloses the ashes of the dead is blessed ground, faith, together with the practice of religious duties, has been fostered, and even in their temporal distresses the Father of these poor creatures, as they name him, has often had the consolation of coming to their aid. In fine, committed now to the skilful hands of the Jesuit Fathers, they need no longer deplore the violence which wrested them from our midst, from the country, to use their own expression, where their fathers lie, only to entrust them anew to these same Religious who more than a century ago imprinted on the hearts of these tribes lasting impressions so favorable to Catholicity. You, Monseigneur, looked only to the glory of God and the salvation of these Christians, I, for my part, desired nothing else. Let us hope that our intentions will be realized.²⁴

The Indians reached their journey's end November 4, 1838, two months to a day since their departure from Twin Lakes. Of the eight hundred and more who had left Indiana, about six hundred and fifty survived the journey. Of the remaining number, some thirty died while the rest deserted.²⁵

During the six weeks that he spent with the Potawatomi in their new home Father Petit lay stretched out on a mat in the grip of a devouring fever, with no shelter save a tent though it was in the heart of winter. Father Christian Hoecken, who had some knowledge of medicine, did his best to relieve the sufferings of the courageous priest though not much could be done with the slender means at his disposal. The sick man, however, was somewhat restored when he received orders from Bishop Bruté to return to Indiana. He set out January 2, 1839, making the first one hundred and fifty miles on horseback and then taking the stage to Jefferson City. After a day's stay in the Missouri capital he travelled with an Indian companion in a

²⁴ *Ann Prop*, II 400-405

²⁵ This is Father Petit's estimate, which apparently does not bear out Esarey's statement that the journey "cost the lives of one-fifth of the tribe."

covered wagon to St. Louis, the roads being wretched and rain frequent. With three great open sores draining his strength, he reached St. Louis University in a state of exhaustion and was there given every attention which the fathers could bestow. He still hoped to be able, on the opening of navigation on the Wabash, to take a steamboat for that river, by which route he could reach his bishop in Vincennes, but his condition grew steadily worse and on February 10, three weeks after his arrival in St. Louis, he passed away. The circumstances of his death were reported by Father Elet, president of St. Louis University, to Bishop Bruté.

What a great loss your diocese has just sustained in the person of Mr. Petit. He arrived in St. Louis January 15 pitifully reduced with fever. No doubt God gave him strength beyond the natural strength of his body that he might have the consolation of coming here to finish his days in the midst of brethren and that we might have the happiness of being edified by his virtues. What patience and resignation! What gratitude towards those who waited on him! but above all what a tender piety towards the Mother of the Savior! He begged me on the eve of the Purification for permission to celebrate holy Mass in honor of the good Mother who had protected him from his tenderest years and whom he had never ceased to cherish. So intense was his desire that, despite the anxiety I felt on account of his extreme weakness, I acceded to his request. I had an altar arranged in a room adjoining his own, a fire was lit early in the morning and there he said his last Mass assisted by one of Ours. From that time on he suffered less, slept soundly during three nights and on the whole felt much relieved. But on the 6th all indications were that his case was hopeless. On the 8th Mr. Petit received the last sacraments with angelic piety. Towards evening on the 10th word was brought to me that the end was coming. I hastened at once to his bedside. When he saw me he raised his head and bowed with a sweet smile upon his dying lips. I asked him if he suffered much. His only answer was an expressive glance at the crucifix that hung by his bed. "You mean," I put in at once, "that He has suffered more for you?" "Oh, yes!" came the reply. I put the crucifix to his lips and twice did he kiss it tenderly. I disposed him anew for absolution, which I gave him. Summoned back at ten at night, I found him in his agony. We recited the prayers of the agonizing, which he followed, his eyes steadily fixed upon us. He expired calmly twenty minutes before midnight, having lived twenty-seven years and ten months. According to the custom of our Society, I had the body laid out in sacerdotal vestments. On the 11th at 5 o'clock in the evening the whole community assembled in the chapel to recite the Office of the Dead. On the 12th the solemn obsequies took place. Our Fathers, the priests of the Cathedral and two Bishops assisted. I sang the Mass, Mgr. Loras pronounced the absolution. A great number of Catholics on horseback or in carriages accompanied the remains to the cemetery. I conclude, Monseigneur, by praying the Father of Mercies to try you in some other way than by carrying off from your diocese men of such useful-

ness as him whose death we deplore, however much we may comfort ourselves with the memory of his edifying life ²⁶

A correspondence of Bishop Bruté with Father Elet reveals the grief he felt over the young priest's premature death "My heart is so full that tears start to my eyes as I write his name" He thanked the fathers of St. Louis University as also Father Hoecken for the charity shown by them to "our dear Mr. Petit" He sent Petit's forty-dollar watch to Hoecken and an extra watch belonging to the dead priest to another Indian missionary "to mark the hours of doing them [the Indians] good" (*pour marquer les heures de leur faire du bien*) He thanked the fathers in St. Louis for gathering together Petit's papers, books and other effects, among them a chalice, adding a request that the chalice be returned as he had need of it, being obliged to tolerate one of tin in a certain parish of his diocese There was an inquiry, too, from the Bishop as to whether anything was known of a claim of two hundred dollars, this being money lent by Petit to an old Potawatomi chief to defray the expenses of his trip to Washington The missionary had made his will two months before his ordination "His will leaves me all his belongings in America," wrote the Bishop to Elet. "On opening it I found in four or five lines a disposal of his property in my favor as also a commission to send his crucifix to his brother, but there were in addition five or six lines of so edifying a character that I transcribe them here 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost If it should please God to send me death I accept it in all love and submission to his amiable Providence and I hope that his mercy will have pity on me at the last moment—I commend myself to Mary now and at the hour of my death Vincennes, Aug. 17, 1837'" ²⁷

§ 3 BEGINNINGS AT SUGAR CREEK

The Potawatomi of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois emigrated westward in successive bands or detachments. Sometimes they settled, at least temporarily, on lands not belonging to them and even mingled with other tribes so that their movements in the Indian country are not always easy to trace ²⁸ By the summer of 1838 the emigrant Potawatomi

²⁶ Tr. from contemporary copy (A) Cf. also *Ann. Prop.*, II 397,408

²⁷ Bruté à Elet, Feb. 28, March 19, April 6, 1839 (A) Father Petit's remains were removed in the fifties to Notre Dame University where they are held in honor

²⁸ The government plan of establishing the Indians on new lands in the West was evolved through successive stages Jefferson's idea was to allot the entire Louisiana Purchase for an Indian reserve This idea was abandoned for that of three great Indian reservations in the West, which plan was also never realized, the

were grouped into two chief divisions, known respectively as those of the Council Bluffs and Osage River sub-agencies.²⁹ The Council Bluffs Potawatomi, also known as the Prairie band, but more correctly styled the "United Nation of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi" had come chiefly from northeastern Illinois, many of them from Chicago or its immediate vicinity.³⁰ In 1840 the Potawatomi of the Osage River district numbered 2,153. Up to that date five distinct parties of them had settled in what is now southeastern Kansas. They were divided into three bands. The St. Joseph band was located in part on Pottawatomie Creek, one of the main tributaries of the Marais des

system ultimately adopted being that of separate reservations for the separate tribes, which system has in turn been gradually disappearing before the policy of allotting the Indians their lands in severalty. Isaac McCoy, *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian (or Western) Territory* (Shawnee Baptist Mission House, Indian Territory, 1838). In 1838 the whole vast stretch of unorganized and, as far as the whites were concerned, uninhabited territory west of the Arkansas and Missouri state-lines was described vaguely as the "Indian country" or territory. An act of Congress of June 30, 1834, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians, declared that "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana or the Territory of Arkansas shall for the purpose of that Act be considered the Indian country." "By Indian Territory is meant the country within the following limits: Beginning on Red River on the Mexican boundary and as far west of Arkansas Territory as the country is habitable. Then down Red River eastwardly along the Mexican boundary to Arkansas Territory, thence northward along the line of Arkansas Territory to the State of Missouri, thence north along its west line to the Missouri River, thence up Missouri River to Puncah River, thence westward as far as the country is habitable, thence southward to the beginning." McCoy, *Register of Indian Affairs, its History, Activities and Organization* (Baltimore, 1927).

²⁹ In 1838 the federal administration of Indian affairs was operating according to the following system. An Indian Bureau in Washington, an appanage of the War Department, was presided over by a commissioner of Indian affairs. Subordinate to him were four superintendents, each charged with one of the four superintendencies, namely, Michigan, Wisconsin, St. Louis and the Western Territory into which the country as far as inhabited by Indians was divided. The superintendencies were in turn organized into agencies and sub-agencies. The St. Louis superintendency, which had jurisdiction over all the tribes north of the Osage River, embraced the following agencies and sub-agencies: (1) agency of Fort Leavenworth (Delaware, Kansa, Shawnee, Kickapoo), (2) agency of Council Bluffs (Oto, Missouri, Omaha, Pawnee), (3) agency of upper Missouri (Sioux of Missouri River, Cheyenne, Ponca), (4) sub-agency of Missouri River (Mandan, Assiniboin, Blackfeet, Crows, Aricara, and Gros Ventres), (5) sub-agency of Council Bluffs (Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi), (6) sub-agency of Great Nemahaw (Iowa and Sauk of Missouri), (7) sub-agency of Osage River (Potawatomi, Ottawa, Peoria, Kaskaskia, Piankashaw, Wea). The Osage sub-agency (Osage River) was attached to the superintendency of the Western Territory, to which also belonged the Choctaw, Creeks, Cherokee and Seminole.

³⁰ Cf. *supra*, Chap. XIII, "The Potawatomi Mission of Council Bluffs."

Cygnés or upper Osage River. The Potawatomi of the Wabash resided about fifteen miles south of the former between the north and south forks of Big Sugar Creek, likewise a tributary of the Marais des Cygnés and so named because the sugar-maple was abundant along its banks. The Potawatomi of the Prairie were dispersed among their kinsmen at both creeks, while some of them were living with their friends, the Kickapoo, in the Fort Leavenworth agency.³¹

In the summer of 1835 Father Van Quickenborne in the course of a prospecting trip to the Indian country met a band of Potawatomi Indians, of the so-called Prairie band, who petitioned for the favor of a Catholic missionary.³² Later the Indiana Potawatomi began to arrive, in 1837 about one hundred and fifty of them, many of whom had been baptized by Fathers Badin and Deselle, were settled on lands allotted to them along the course of Pottawatomie Creek. Sometimes before the close of that year a chief of these Christian Potawatomi, Nesfwawke by name, communicated with Father Christian Hoecken, superior of the Kickapoo Mission, earnestly entreating him to minister to the spiritual needs of his people. This the missionary did in January, 1838, staying two weeks at Pottawatomie Creek and favoring the delighted Indians with the celebration of Mass. On January 30, in the course of this visit, he united in marriage Wawiakachi and Josette,

³¹ *RCIA*, 1840, gives the total number of Potawatomi in the Osage River sub-agency as 2153, the result of five distinct emigrations. The first emigration took place in 1834 or somewhat earlier, the participants being apparently Potawatomi of the so-called Prairie Band ("United Nation" or Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi). Their number, originally 441, had risen in July, 1837, to 658. Two minor emigrations, one of 160, the other of 50, followed. In November, 1838, Polk's party arrived, followed in 1840 by a contingent of 526. All the Osage River Potawatomi, except the first 658, were from Indiana and Michigan. There still remained in Indiana around the lower end of Lake Michigan about two hundred Potawatomi, who had eluded the search of the government agents charged with their removal to the West. The 1840 contingent was accompanied by a secular priest, Reverend S. A. Bernier, who presented to the Indian Office, January 14, 1844, a bill for six hundred and fifty dollars, for expenses, alleging that without his intervention the Indians would not have migrated. (H)

The Potawatomi reserve was laid out by Isaac McCoy in accordance with the treaty of 1837. "This treaty was negotiated, as treaties so often were, to our national discredit, in a rather questionable manner, for instead of dealing with the tribe in its authorized council, the federal agents conferred with individual chiefs." (Anne Heloise Abel in *Kansas Historical Collections*, 8:82)

The reserve comprised a tract now within the limits of Linn and Miami Counties, and, except for an outlet on the west, was completely surrounded by other Indian reserves, the New York Indians being on the south, the Miami on the east, the Peoria and Kaskaskia, Ottawa, Chippewa and Sauk and Foxes of the Mississippi on the north.

³² *Ann Prop*, 9:102. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XIII, § 2.

a daughter of Nesfwawke, as also Chachāpākī and Wawasemokwe, the last-named also a daughter of the same chief. These are the earliest recorded marriages among the Potawatomi of the Osage River.³³ In May of the same year he again visited Pottawatomie Creek, this time in company with Father Verhaegen, superior of the midwestern Jesuits. Verhaegen's account of this trip reveals the difficulties of missionary travel in eastern Kansas at this early date.

After settling the affairs of this mission [Kickapoo] I took leave of my brethren and, taking Father Hoecken along with me for companion, set out on a visit to the Potawatomi, who dwell on the banks of the Osage River. The Father had been in that locality before and felt sure of the way. The first day out we passed through the lands of the Delaware and Shawnee. We counted on spending the night in a cabin of the last-named tribe, but lost our way in a vast prairie and had to wait for day-break. A missionary setting out on a trip of this kind must provide against such contingencies. Each of us was accordingly furnished with a woolen blanket and some eatables. We hastily set up a little hut at the edge of a thicket. A few poles planted in the ground and then tied at the ends to form a little bower and covered with brushwood and hay made up the outer framework. The interior was soon put in order. Some handfuls of hay thrown on the grass was our bed and our valises served as pillows. Then we started a big fire some distance from the opening and tied our horses in a way that left them free to graze. This work done, we partook of a supper, which was indeed a frugal one for we were without even water. The night was cold and pitch dark and, though well covered up in our blankets and near the fire, we found difficulty in getting to sleep. The patches of woodland found at intervals on this immense prairie are haunted by wild beasts. Wolves, wild-cats, foxes and many other animals have their lairs therein. They come out at night and make a noise which would frighten the inexperienced traveller. We felt at ease in our quarters, but being stiff with cold welcomed the first gleams of dawn.

We set out at day-break, taking a beaten path that led us into a woods. Presently the sky became overcast, it began to hail, then to snow and finally to rain in torrents. We were attired Indian-fashion, that is, wrapt up in our blankets, which protected us pretty well against the rain. On coming out of the woods we saw two cabins and a fire before the door of the nearer one. What a consolation for men that had lost their way! We made thither with eagerness and found there two Indian women preparing their breakfast. The Father addressed them in Kickapoo, but they showed by signs that they did not understand. He then spoke to them in Potawatomi. Joy at once lit up their faces and they answered. The two women had come from the same

³³ Diary of Father Hoecken, Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. For translation of this document (the original is in Latin) of the *Dial* (1890), a student publication of St. Mary's College. The translation, by Rev. James O'Meara, S.J., is reproduced in Thomas H. Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle Land* (Kansas City, 1921).

place as ourselves and like us also were on their way to the Osage River. They were to resume their journey immediately after breakfast. We gave them a portion of our victuals and on their part they allowed us to partake of some boiled corn. Breakfast finished, they rose up, seized their horses which were grazing about, saddled them, loaded them with their modest baggage and started off before us to show us the way.³⁴

That day, at seven in the evening, the missionaries arrived at the cabin of Napoleon Bourassa, a Potawatomi headman, who, on behalf of the other chiefs, had written to Verhaegen imploring him to send them a priest. Bourassa spoke both English and French with facility, having been educated in a Catholic school in Kentucky. He was a devout and practical Catholic and used his deservedly great influence over his fellow-tribesmen to keep them in the ways of Christian living. To the missionaries on the occasion of this visit he showed every attention, sending a messenger to the principal chief Nesfwawke to invite him to meet the missionaries on the following day, which he did. Nesfwawke in his speech on the occasion expressed his regret that Father Hoecken had not returned sooner after his first visit as he had engaged to do. Many of the Indians, under the impression that the black-robos had quite abandoned them, had given themselves over to excesses of every sort. Hard drinking was prevalent and the tribe was thinning out under its ravages. Within two or three months, as Nesfwawke had been informed by letter, the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph would be here. "Convinced that you would come to our assistance, I had assurance given them that on their arrival they would only have to come to my abode and from my lodge they would behold the cabins of our brothers and the house of God. Have pity on us, then, and suffer not that my Catholic brothers, to the number of more than a thousand, should give themselves up to despair on not finding you here." Father Hoecken answered the chief that evil conditions among the Kickapoo and the hope he entertained of having Father Verhaegen accompany him on the present visit had led him to delay it until the spring. Then the chief asked Verhaegen what he proposed to do for the Indians of Pottawatomie Creek, to which the superior answered that they would not be abandoned, that Father Hoecken would have a care of them and that he hoped to see a church and school built for them in a year's time. He himself was to leave for St. Louis the next day, but Hoecken would remain with the Indians for some time to relieve their needs. In the afternoon some of the Indian women gathered in Bourassa's cabin to sing from printed hymn-books in their possession. "I was delighted with their tuneful singing," relates Ver-

³⁴ *Ann Prop*, 11 472

haegen, "and tears came to my eyes as I thought of the happiness enjoyed by those people while so many of their neighbors were still plunged in the darkness of paganism" ³⁵

The Jesuit superior, having thus held out to the Indians the hope of receiving a resident priest, left them to go to Westport while Father Hoecken continued his ministry among them for three weeks. After consultation with his official advisers in St. Louis September 6, 1838, Verhaegen determined to open a permanent mission among the Potawatomi. In pursuance of this plan Christian Hoecken was directed to take up his residence among those of the tribe who were living on Pottawatomie Creek. Once a month, at a point half-way between the two missions, he was to meet Father Eysvogels, who was to remain with the Kickapoo, opportunity being thereby offered each of the priests to make his confession. Hoecken arrived at his new post on October 2 in time to welcome Petit and his expatriated Indians, who reached Pottawatomie Creek November 4 of the same year.

One could have no misgivings of the spiritual success of a mission recruited from the Potawatomi converts of Indiana. From its first setting up at the hands of Christian Hoecken it was an illustration in the concrete of the efficacy of the Gospel message in taming the heart of the savage and moulding him to the ways of orderly and upright living. Verhaegen wrote in 1839

This is the most flourishing of all the Indian missions and realizes the accounts which we read of the missions of Paraguay. A letter of the missionary received in January last states that on Christmas one hundred and fifty approached the sacred table and all who could be spared from domestic duties assisted with great devotion at the three solemn Masses, the first at mid-night, the second at day-break and the third at 10 30 o'clock. There is but one Father at present at the station and as his presence is almost always required among his six hundred Catholics, he cannot make frequent excursions to the neighboring tribes. The catechists, however, perform this duty for him and often return with several adults ready to receive baptism.

To Father Hoecken, with his disappointing labors among the Kickapoo to look back upon, the piety of his new flock was a source of the deepest consolation. He wrote to Father Roothaan, the General

Never does a day pass without our seeing some one receive the sacraments. On feast days the participants increase to twenty or thirty. One very striking trait of theirs is a blind obedience not merely to the orders of the priest, but to his least desire, and with a strange sort of childish indecision they refuse to undertake anything without his counsel.

³⁵ *Ann Prop*, II 476. Napoleon Bourassa was married to Memetekosikwe, December 10, 1838, by Father Hoecken, Father Petit being witness.

Without affection for the things of earth, they look for no result from their labors beyond the supply of their actual needs. Elsewhere the cultivation of the soil devolves upon the men as the stronger sex, here it becomes the duty of the women. With a view to setting right this perverted order of occupation and of instilling a love of agriculture in the very class that can pursue it with more profit, I got together all the men of the tribe one spring day and gave them some lessons in farming. There was amazement as well as gratification on all hands at my instructions. From the exposition of theory to its application the step was quickly taken, and for the double purpose of directing the labors of my Indians and stirring their emulation, I put myself at their head, handling the farming implements myself and teaching them to use them as I did. This toil practiced in common has not been without results, greater care in cultivation has filled the furrows with more abundant crops and never have the Indians harvested more grain than in the past autumn. I hope this will encourage them. The future will see them develop under the impulse of their first success that science of agriculture of which I have imparted to them the elementary notions.

The Indians, I repeat, whom grace has converted through my ministry, are holy souls, generous towards God and edifying to their brethren. Their piety, earnest and courageous in regard to our Divine Lord, takes on a filial tenderness towards Mary. After our example they call her their dear Mother. Every day their love finds an outlet in the canticles which they sing in her honor. They are faithful in the practice of the Rosary and in their walks and expeditions are happy in fingering their beads and reciting the accompanying prayers.

Permit me in conclusion, Reverend Father, to repeat what I said before here among the savages the harvest is abundant and ripe, but hands are wanting to gather it in. A hundred tribes cry aloud for missionaries to teach them the principles of Catholic faith, the nature of their duties and the laws of morality. As far as I am personally concerned, I have only one desire, and that is to live among the Indians and to find the place of my last sleep somewhere beyond the Rocky Mountains.³⁶

On March 10, 1839, the Catholic Indians shifted their position from Pottawatomie Creek (near Osawatome) to Sugar Creek, fifteen miles south, both streams being tributaries of the Osage River. The new mission-site was situated "about 15 miles directly west from the point where the military road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott crosses the Osage River." This location is nearly twenty-five miles northwest of Fort Scott and in the immediate vicinity of the present Centerville, Linn County, Kansas.³⁷

³⁶ *Ann Prop*, 13 61-65. The hymn-books in the Indians' possession were very likely Father Baraga's edition in Ottawa. "They [Sugar Creek catechists] followed for their instructions the Ottawa catechism published by the Rev. Mr. Baraga, who had converted to the faith many of the Ottawas." Verreydt, *Memoirs* (A).

³⁷ Verreydt's school-report for year ending September 30, 1843 (H). The St

The work of evangelizing the Indians went on apace. Before July, 1839, Hoecken's converts numbered a hundred. But his health broke under the strain. While Father Verhaegen was on his way in the summer of 1839 from the Kickapoo to Sugar Creek, he was met by Hoecken, who informed him that the streams were swollen and that further travel in the direction of the mission was impracticable. At this intelligence the superior at once turned back on the road by which he had come, but had not proceeded far when word was brought him that Father Hoecken had been suddenly stricken with a serious illness. The superior hastened at once to the relief of his fellow-Jesuit and did what he could to restore him. The sick man rallied, but Verhaegen, alarmed at his weakened condition, determined to recall him. Father Herman Aelen, who had recently filled the office of treasurer of St. Louis University, arrived at Sugar Creek on April 26, 1839, with Brother Francis Van der Borgh. The following July Christian Hoecken left the Indian country to retire to the novitiate in Florissant. Aelen himself was recalled from the mission in August, 1841, but did not actually relinquish his post until June, 1842. To him, it would appear,

Louis Archdiocesan Archives contain a report of Father Aelen dated May 14, 1839, "*Ex oppido Potowatomiensum prope flumen Osage*." According to Aelen the missionaries had given the name "St. Mary's Creek" to Sugar Creek. Thus, Hoecken's name for it was "Riviere Ste. Marie" (*Baptismal Register*, April-June, 1839). Aelen immediately on his arrival began to write Sugar Creek in the records (July, 1839, "*a la riviere de Sacre*"). The first recorded baptisms among the Osage River Potawatomis were by Father Petit, who towards the end of September, 1838, baptized a child named Marie, daughter of Penneche, as also Angelique, daughter of Mengosse, John Tipton being god-father. The following October Hoecken baptized nine persons "near [or at] the river commonly called Putawatomie Creek," J. N. Bourassa being god-father for seven. All the fourteen baptisms in 1838, except two, were by Hoecken. The baptisms by Hoecken and Aelen in 1839 were distributed thus: Potawatomis, 63; Ottawa, 12; Peoria, 11; Wea, 3; Piankeshaw, 2; Sioux, 1; Iroquois, 1; Americans, 15. Of the 125 baptized in 1840, 102 were Potawatomis, 11 Ottawa, 1 Chippewa and 11 Americans. The first marriage entered in the records (January 30, 1838) is that of Josette, daughter of Nesfawke, "living at that time on the Osage River." Father Hoecken performed the ceremony. The same father also married J. N. Bourassa and Memetekosikwe "before Rev. Mr. Petit and Mesgami [?]" on December 10, 1838; Pierre Moose and Marguerite Maneto, daughter of Tchisaken "at St. Mary's River," on June 6, 1839, and Ignace Nekwoishuk (usually known as Andrew Jackson) and Marie Anne N-gokwe on September 15, 1839. (A son of this Pierre Moose, Paschal Baylon Moose, was born May 15, 1843.) Joseph Wiwisse, chief, was married to Marie Otukwoi (Otelkwoe), March 25, 1839. (Variants in the spelling of the name, Wiwisse, e g, We-wesa, occur in the records.) The Ottawa village is indicated as place of residence of William Phelps and his wife Angelique Roi. (F)

According to Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle Land*, p. 12, the site of the Sugar Creek mission was "five and a half miles northeast on the Michael Zimmerman farm, but almost four miles in a direct line from Centerville."

belongs the distinction of having named the mission for the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God "If it please your Grace," he wrote to Bishop Rosati May 14, 1839, "I would call this mission—*Conceptio Beatae Mariae Virginis*" Aelen was succeeded as superior of the mission by Father Felix Verreydt, who with Father Christian Hoecken and Brothers Andrew Mazzella and George Miles arrived at Sugar Creek on August 29, 1841. Father Anthony Eysvogels had preceded them in May or June of the same year. In 1842 the mission-staff consisted of Fathers Verreydt, Christian Hoecken, Adrian Hoecken and Eysvogels, together with the coadjutor-brothers, Mazella, Miles and Van der Borgh. The names of Fathers Francis Xavier De Coen and Charles Truyens, John F. Diels, a scholastic, and Brother Patrick Ragan complete the list of Jesuits who labored at Sugar Creek. Verreydt remained in charge of the mission from his arrival in August, 1841, until its transfer to the Kaw River in 1848. De Coen left in October, 1846, his place being taken in 1847 by Truyens. Francis Van der Borgh, the first lay brother at the mission, arrived with Aelen in 1839 and remained until June, 1845, when Father Van de Velde, on making the visitation of Sugar Creek, detached him from the mission-staff and took him to St. Louis.

§ 4. GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES AND THE MISSION CHURCHES

Besides obtaining a grant of money for the building of a church, the mission at Sugar Creek was the recipient of an annual subsidy of three hundred dollars appropriated out of the so-called Civilization Fund. The subsidy was originally allotted to Father Petit's Potawatomi mission on the Yellow River in Marshall County, Indiana, but was continued in favor of the Sugar Creek mission on the removal of the Indians to the latter in the autumn of 1838. Reports that Petit had used his influence with the Indians to prevail upon them to resist the deportation at first led government to withhold for a while the money due to the missionary, it was only after much correspondence, in which the true attitude of Petit was brought to light, that it was decided to continue the appropriation. Three hundred dollars a year may appear a paltry sum for the support of an Indian mission, but it seemed important enough to Bishop Bruté to engage him in earnest correspondence with Washington over its payment to Petit. He wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Harris in November, 1838:

I was starting for the North, when Hon. Mr. Law communicated to me your letter stating that according to the reports of the agents, it would be "improper" to allow the claim of the Bishop of Vincennes for the missionaries employed in the civilization of the Potawatomi Indians of this state,

\$300 for the year expiring on the 19th of April, 1838 Said reports insinuated that the missionaries, both Rev Mr DeSeilles, who died after seven years consumed in that humane work, uninterruptedly living among the Indians and having never received from Government but a first year of the \$300

and his successor, Rev Mr Petit, now accompanying Judge Polk for the leading of the Indians to the Mississippi, had exerted their influence "to oppose the intentions of Government for the benefit of these Indians" I respectfully observe to you that the success of both M DeSeilles and M Petit in fulfilling the great object of ameliorating the morals, social temper and habits and whole condition of the portion of the Indians who obeyed their wholesome directions and cares, was on the contrary so remarkable as to excite the most uniform and lively appreciation of the whole country and our most enlightened and benevolent citizens in South Bend and Logansport They rendered their Christian Indians as worthy to be granted some exception to remain and live under the laws of our state, as those who have long enjoyed the same in other states, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, etc To solicit in their behalf in the most orderly and legal manner, not meddling besides with the Indians at large, whether Potawatomi or Miami, was my only fault—and as for opposition, the very fact of their so peaceable departure as well as the manner in which General Tipton and Hon Judge Polk have appreciated the conduct of the Rev Mr Petit, are the best answers to any incorrect report that may have been sent in relation to myself and my friend ³⁸

Father Petit himself in a letter to General Tipton dated Pottawatomie Creek, Indian Country, November 26, 1838, asked him to use his influence to obtain the payment of the three hundred dollars due to his abandoned mission on the Yellow River After mentioning the charges alleged against him, on the ground of which Bruté's first application for the sum was refused, he continued

³⁸ Bruté to Crawford, November 3, 1839 (H) On November 8 Bruté wrote again to the Indian Bureau expressing his satisfaction that the Bureau had been set right in regard to the complaints made against himself and Petit General Tipton in his official report of the deportation (*RCIA*, 1838) renders the following testimony in favor of Petit "Three of their principal men, however, expressed a wish to be governed by the advice of their priest, Mr Petit, a Catholic gentleman, who had resided with them up to the commencement of the quarrel between the Indians and the whites, when he left Twin Lakes and retired to South Bend I addressed a letter, inviting him to join the emigration and go west He accepted the invitation and I am happy to inform you that he joined us two days ago and is going west with the Indians It is but justice to him that I should say that he has, both by precept and example, produced a very favorable change in the morals and industry of the Indians, that his untiring zeal in the cause of civilization has been and will continue to be eminently beneficial to these unfortunate Potawatomes when they reach their new abode All are now satisfied and appear anxious to proceed on their journey to their new home, where they anticipate peace, security and happiness"

I am happy to inform you, General, that I met here a Jesuit Father sent by the Society who is especially intrusted with the care of these Indian Missions. He will make his residence among these Indians. The Society has the intention to put up a school and to spare nothing for the improvement of these good Indians. For any person who is a little acquainted with the Jesuits, it is no doubt that they will be successful in their mission here as well as anywhere else. Their preceding success in anything of that kind is a sure guarantee for the future. It is in their hands that I will commit with confidence these Christians, whose pastor God called me to be, and it is to them and for them as my successors that I claim the execution of the Government's engagements and the allocation for the support of the priest.³⁹

This letter of Petit's was forwarded by Tipton to the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the recommendation that the allowance in question be raised to four hundred dollars. "I know not," he commented, "what grounds there may have been to justify the opinion given to your Department that Mr. Petit opposed the removal of the Indians from Indiana. I am happy to inform you that his conduct at the time and since I was engaged in the emigration has been such as to convince every one that he entered heartily into the removal and was very useful in reconciling the Indians and in administering to the sick and afflicted on their journey West."⁴⁰ The charges against Petit were finally dropped by the Indian Bureau as groundless. General Tipton's letter to Commissioner Crawford bears the following indorsement of the Bureau: "If there were no other motive for withholding the \$300 than the one herein alleged, Mr. Petit's conduct subsequently when under General Tipton sufficiently disproves the accusation and he ought to be paid the amount out of the education fund. The sum of \$300 may be continued to this mission and be paid through Bishop Bruté, and the buildings promised by General Tipton may be erected and paid for out of the civilization fund."⁴¹ Finally, General Tipton wrote to Father Petit January 25, 1839: "With this I have the honor to enclose for your information a copy of my letter of 29—to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And in reply to your letter on that subject I have to inform you that \$300 of the civilization fund has been transmitted to the Rev. Bishop Bruté and steps have been taken here to comply with my promises to you and to our Potawatomi friends for erecting a house for your residence, a chapel and twelve cabins in lieu of those burnt by the whites on Yellow River."⁴²

³⁹ Petit to Tipton, November 26, 1838. Potawatomi files (H). Petit in his letter to Tipton makes bold to remark: "Operations when left to themselves go on very slow in the Department of Indian Affairs."

⁴⁰ Tipton to Crawford, December 29, 1838 (H).

⁴¹ *Idem*

⁴² (H).

Bishop Bruté had recommended to the Bureau that the allowance for the Potawatomi Mission be paid through Bishop Rosati of St. Louis as the ecclesiastical head of the district in which the mission was located. In the event it was paid to Father Verhaegen as superior of the missionaries. The father in a letter of December 15, 1839, to Commissioner Crawford, acknowledging a payment in favor of the Kickapoo Mission, added.

I need not tell you, Honorable Sir, that the Potawatomi who resided in Indiana within the diocese of the late Bishop Bruté, have recently removed to the diocese of St. Louis. This is a fact with which you are acquainted. But I doubt whether you have been officially informed that said Indians are now entrusted to my spiritual care as Superior of the Missionary Catholic Association and that the Rev. H. G. Aelen, a member of the association, is now stationed among them, having succeeded the late Mr. Petit. With the removal of this band of the Potawatomi tribe, I conceive the allowance made in their behalf while in Indiana to have been transferred to our Association. If I mistake not, the grant made for the pension of the clergyman residing among them commenced in favor of our Association on the 1st of February, 1839. It is immaterial whether the money which has become due since that date be paid to the Rev. Mr. Aelen or to me, though I deem it more expedient that I should be the only agent acknowledged by the Department in the transaction of business with those Indians. . . . I understand from the Rev. Mr. Aelen that the Potawatomi among whom he resides are very desirous of having a school for the instruction of their children and that everything required for this purpose can be procured in a short time. I am very willing to contribute towards the formation of the school, but I can neither commence nor conduct it without the aid of the Department. Can I rely on some assistance? ⁴³

The Indian Bureau redeemed its pledges. On arriving in St. Louis from Sugar Creek in August, 1839, Father Hoecken had in his possession the letters addressed to Father Petit from Washington in which assurance was given of government aid towards building a church and "priest's house" on the Potawatomi reservation. He presented them to the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, Major Joshua Pilcher, from whom a few days subsequently he received two thousand dollars towards the erection of a church and other buildings. ⁴⁴

⁴³ Verhaegen to Crawford, December 15, 1839 (H)

⁴⁴ Verreydt wrote to Major Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, apropos of this appropriation: "Revd. Father Hoecken took charge of these Indians after Revd. B. Petit left this place. When he saw that the government did not comply with those promises at the appointed time, he addressed Major Pilcher, that time Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and gave him a copy of Gen. J. Tipton's letter, he consequently wrote and stated the whole matter to the government and shortly after \$2200 were appropriated to defray the expenses of chapel, residence

The Potawatomi church thus to be constructed at government expense was the third the Indians put up since their coming to the West. The first, a structure forty by twenty feet, was built on the site of their first stopping-place on Pottawatomie Creek.⁴⁵ The second log church was constructed by the Indians in the space of three days at Sugar Creek immediately after they settled there in March, 1839.⁴⁶ For the accommodation of the Potawatomi bands who arrived from Indiana towards the end of 1840, a third church was begun in the summer of that year, a neat and spacious structure situated on a bluff about a hundred feet above the level of the bottom land. Under the title of "The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin" it was blessed by Father Aelen on Christmas Day, 1840. A contemporary account of the ceremony is extant.

At eleven o'clock of the night previous to the feast the discharge of a gun in the front of the new building was the signal for the beginning of the ceremony, which was responded to by a salute of three hundred guns fired from the doors of their respective lodges by as many Indian braves. Three hundred lights, borne by as many women, now approached the new Temple of God at the birth-hour of the world's Redeemer, and seemed to proclaim, through the pitchy darkness of that winter night, that this was the hour when light came to illuminate those who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. At midnight, when the church-bell tolled, the Indians intoned a beautiful canticle in honor of the ever Virgin Mary, Mother of God. The blessing of the new church took place and afterwards the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up to the Most High amidst the sounds of music and harmonious singing, well-executed by our good Indians, of whom about two hundred received Holy Communion on the occasion and about five hundred assisted at High Mass and Solemn Vespers. In the course of the day a beautiful statue of the Immaculate Virgin was carried in procession by Indian virgins all over the settlement, as a token of the particular devotion of the people of Sugar Creek to the Mother of God. The greatest regularity marked the conduct of the hundreds who accompanied the procession. At night all retired to their bark lodges with joy and satisfaction depicted on their countenances.⁴⁷

and 12 cabins. After the money arrived, the Indians perceived that the chapel would not have been spacious enough, which they would have built with that amount of money, they agreed therefore to do rather without cabins than church, and appropriated the whole amount \$2200 to the church exclusively, made cabins for themselves and a house for the Blackgown." (H)

⁴⁵ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis* (F)

⁴⁶ *Idem* (F)

⁴⁷ *Catholic Cabinet* (St. Louis) 1:471. General conditions at the mission in 1841 were pictured by Father Aelen in a letter to the Father General. The Potawatomi received the sacraments every four or five weeks, and assisted daily at Mass. On the eve of the Assumption, August 15, Aelen heard confessions in Potawatomi for eighteen hours, Holy Communions on the festival numbering two hundred and fifty. "*Ex uno dulce omnes*, for here under the shadow of the cross

1839 Ann. Mente emigrantur Indiani omnes ad flumen Sugar B. R. 10^o
tempore Quadragesimali. Habent ad huc abstrusos, Caprimus capiti
et hinc Echidna et Equus Extinctus, Converteo Indiam de Domo
et circa IV quadragesimalia, videlicet eo, ut veniant de Linceo et
Echidna copiosius, propterea obtinuerunt, et hinc tractus 100,
et hinc, de Linceo post domum IV quadragesimalia. Propter
et celebrare. eo quo tempore habet Angula Dei Dominica
ad numerum 30 Communiorem, Confessiones consequentes placent
quidem Angula de Calchumendum, quorum Curator 100 Linceo
Baphemidius forte regenerari, tempore hinc hinc fuit usque ad
medium mensis Julii 1839.

The Catholic Potawatomi move to Sugar Creek, March, 1839 Entry by Father Christian Hoccken in the Sugar Creek Liber Parochialis
Archives of St Mary's Mission, St Marys, Kans

Sugar Creek 25th Feb: 1847

Major Thom: H. Harvey

Dear Sir—

In consideration of our peculiar situation I hope you will pardon the freedom I take, of calling your attention so frequently to the concerns of our Indians I therefore lay frankly before you, as before the eyes of our Father the present condition of our affairs, not with intent of pouring forth complaints or feelings of dissatisfaction, but in order to inform you, how matters stand, that you may have it the better in your power as a Father to do Justice to your Children, as a government officer to comply with all the agreements made with the Indians as nothing is more important for preserving the respect of the Indians for the government, than a prompt compliance on its part with all the treaty stipulations and promises.

Our Indians Sir, are determined to move to their new homes this Spring, this year they want to make their crops at the Kansas River if possible they are anxiously desirous not only to get speedily the means necessary for emigrating, but also to see their future homes in a state of getting ready for habitation now build houses and fields for the wants of individuals, they as a people live in community, and much more as they are, need a community establishment, I mean a church for worship, with dwellings houses for their Pastors and tutors with their houses and other things, this is the object of the government known at the close of the treaty it was only upon promise of the establishment of a church the Indians agreed to the treaty, and it was likewise therefore (as you write me)

Felix L Verreydt, S J, superior of the Sugar Creek Mission, to Thomas H Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs at St Louis, February 24, 1847 Files of the Indian Office, Department of the Interior, Washington

Like its predecessors the third Potawatomi church was to prove too small for the number of worshippers. As early as April 1, 1844, Father Verreydt set the Indians hewing and preparing timber for a fourth church, for which a new and eligible site had been selected. In August of the following year the Indians were still engaged with preparations for the new structure, some digging for the foundations, others getting rock and hauling materials⁴⁸. The fourth Potawatomi church was still unfinished at the time the Indians left Sugar Creek for the Kaw River. Oddly enough, the fathers were unable to obtain compensation for the improvements they had made at Sugar Creek. In September, 1847, they were officially informed that in the payment for the Potawatomi reserve, "no compensation can be allowed for the Catholic church and priest's residence and improvements," the reason assigned being "that no mention was made of them in the Secretary's report when the land was sold by the Indians." Advised to negotiate privately with the Indians for reimbursement of their losses, they did so, and successfully, to the great credit of the natives. The Indians, moreover, in October, 1847, generously set aside out of the annuities they had just received seventeen hundred dollars for the erection of a new church and presbytery on the Kaw River reserve⁴⁹.

similar prodigies of fervor are being manifested by the faithful nearly all the year round." Father Aelen was of opinion, however, that the system under which the missions were being operated, i.e. with immediate dependence on the vice-provincial and his consultors in St. Louis, was defective, inasmuch as the latter had no knowledge of Indian ways, language and other circumstances of the mission. The missions east as those west of the Rockies should have a separate superior and consultors, a central seminary for the children of the various tribes and a special fund, say "of 8000 French francs." Aelen also wrote that a serious mistake had been made in recalling from the Kickapoo "that immortal pattern of missionaries, Father Van Quickenborne." "It was done for the sake of a young Father [Christian Hoecken], who even now is judged by all to be unfit for the Indian missions." Aelen ad Roothaan, August 22, 1841 (AA). This opinion of Hoecken is manifestly not the one which prevailed at a later period when he was generally regarded as the most successful of all the Potawatomi missionaries. However, Hoecken, when among the Kickapoo, had shown traits which did not augur well for his future success as a missionary.

⁴⁸ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis* (F)

⁴⁹ Verreydt wrote February 24, 1847 to Major Hurvey, St. Louis "Our Indians, Sir, are determined to move to their new homes this Spring, this year they want to make their crops at the Kansas River. Of course they are anxiously desirous not only to get speedily the means necessary for emigrating, but also to see their future homes. They as a people living in community and much more as Christians, need a community establishment, I mean a church for worship, with dwelling-houses for their pastors and tutors. This they know and asked for, this the officers of the government knew at the close of the treaty. It was only upon promise of the establishment of a church the Indians agreed to the treaty, and it was likewise therefore (as you with me and all our Indians must recollect) that

§ 5. THE RELIGIOUS OF THE SACRED HEART AT SUGAR CREEK

The Catholic Indian school for boys opened at Sugar Creek July 7, 1840, was the third of its kind established by the St. Louis Jesuits. It was destined to reap a larger measure of success than the two that had preceded it, St. Regis Seminary at Florissant and the Kickapoo mission school. The Florissant institution was suspended in 1832, the Kickapoo, in 1839. In the establishment of Indian schools the Catholics found themselves anticipated on all hands by the Protestant denominations. Of fifty-two Indian schools in the United States in 1836, nearly all being under denominational control, only three were Catholic. In the Indian country particularly, Protestant mission-stations and schools had sprung up with rapidity. Prior to the advent of the Jesuits to Sugar Creek at least seventeen Protestant missions, most of them supporting schools, had been started west of the Missouri state-line. The Osage river sub-agency was especially well provided with these centers of non-Catholic missionary effort. It counted two schools among the Potawatomis, one of them Baptist and the other Methodist, one, Methodist, among the Peoria and Kaskaskia, and one, Baptist, among the Ottawa. These, however, had all been discontinued by 1842 and Colonel Davis in his report for that year notes that the Sugar Creek school was the only

the Commissioners so willingly consented to make this promise etc." Father Verreydt added that the improvements of the Indians had been appraised the preceding week by the sub-agent J. Bourassa, and J. Jones, but not those of the fathers or the nuns. However, for labor expended in the construction of the mission buildings and the making of rails, the Indians were allowed five hundred dollars and this sum they had agreed to turn over to the missionaries "in consideration of the benefits derived to them from our mission and of the many expenses we shall be obliged to incur in moving etc." Major Harvey in forwarding Verreydt's petition to Commissioner Medill commented "You will observe that he asks for the erection of a church for the Potawatomis on the Kansas as promised by the Commissioners at the treaty, I am not able to say whether the promises thus made and referred to by Mr. V. are on the Journal or not. Col. Matlock, who acted as clerk, thinks they are. The promises that he speaks of were made and were deemed necessary by the Commissioners to ensure the adoption of the treaty by the Indians on the Osage. The Catholic Church numbers from ten to twelve hundred members on the Osage, very few belong to any other church. The Revd. Gentleman has so [ms?] and forcibly urged the necessity of building a church that it is scarcely necessary for me to add anything. I would however say that I consider it exceedingly important that a church should be built as early as practicable. Judging from the manner in which the church spoken of by Mr. V. in his postscript was built, if the building could be entrusted to the Missionaries it would be better and more economically done." Harvey to Medill, September 27, 1847, (H). It does not appear that government appropriated money for a church on the Kansas River unless such appropriation was included in the five thousand dollars granted St. Mary's in 1849 for buildings on the new mission site.

Indian school then in operation in his agency.⁵⁰ But in 1847 the Baptists were again in the field, conducting three separate schools among the Ottawa, Wea, and Potawatomi respectively. The accounts given of non-Catholic schools in the Indian Territory by agents and superintendents are in general commendatory. Major Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, said in his annual report for 1844

I conceive that the missionary or teacher of the Christian religion is an indispensable agent in the civilization of the Indians. No one who is not steeled in prejudice can travel through the Indian country where they have missionaries without observing their beneficial influence. I take pleasure in stating that I have not *visited* a single missionary in this superintendency whom I did not look upon as exemplary in his deportment and highly beneficial to the Indians, many of them have schools under their charge which promise to do much good.⁵¹

Working hand in hand with the Jesuits for the spiritual and material uplift of the Potawatomi was the Society of the Sacred Heart. That congregation of religious women had been associated with the Missouri Jesuits in their earliest efforts for the Christian education of the Indians. As counterpart to St. Regis Seminary, the Jesuit school for Indian boys at Florissant, there was Mother Duchesne's school for Indian girls. Both institutions were suspended in 1832, having reaped only a meagre measure of success. Within a decade both Jesuits and Religious of the Sacred Heart were to take up again in cooperation the education of Indian youth, this time on the borders of Sugar Creek.

The story of Father Petit and his Potawatomi flock thrilled the soul of Mother Duchesne as she heard it from the lips of Father Hoecken himself on his return to Florissant from the Indian country to recover his broken health. She conceived at once the idea of a house of her society among the Potawatomi, who seemed predestined to enjoy all the blessings of the Faith, and appealed to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, then visiting in France, to intercede with the Mother General, St. Madeleine Sophie Barat, in favor of such a venture. On Epiphany day, January 6, 1841, Father De Smet, but a few months back from his first trip to the Rocky Mountains, in the course of a conversation with Mother Duchesne advised her to present a formal application on the subject to her superior. To Mother Galitzin, then discharging the duties of Visitatrix to the American houses of her society, the missionary had already said "Believe me, you will never succeed in this country till you draw down on your work the blessing of God by founding an establishment amongst the Indians." "That is exactly our Mother

⁵⁰ *RCIA*, 1836, 1842. McCoy, *Register*, 1838.

⁵¹ *RCIA*, 1844.

General's greatest wish," the Visitatrix replied, "but we have neither subjects nor money." "Still, you must do it," De Smet insisted, and they both undertook to pray for the realization of the plan. "Yesterday, the feast of the Three Kings," Mother Duchesne made known to Mother Galitzin, "the visit of the Father who has just returned from the Rocky Mountains has reawakened to such a degree my desires and my zeal that they seem to give me new life, and I have every hope of joining the mission which offers itself at this moment under such favorable circumstances." And she added "The missionary [De Smet] whom I saw yesterday tells us of many things which will facilitate this establishment, the neighborhood of several small settlements and the security of the place, which is protected from all invasion. He says it is a positive duty for us to take possession of the place before it is occupied by Presbyterians or Methodists. I showed him Mgr Rosati's letter, so like an inspiration, in which he says, 'Follow that call.' I now think that it was the voice of God speaking, especially as the desire so often expressed by our Mother General concurs with it and I hope that God will permit that you carry it out."⁵²

A fortnight later De Smet was *en route* to the South to collect funds for his Rocky Mountain mission and incidentally to urge upon Mother Galitzin the necessity of acting promptly in the matter of the Potawatomi girls' school. In the letter which he bore to the Visitatrix from Mother Duchesne, the latter wrote "The Father who is the bearer of this letter is the one at the head of the great mission in the Mountains. I hope he will strongly support my petition. . . . Subjects will be easily found. I hope God will permit that I be chosen. . . . If we had only four hundred dollars to begin with, we could go in the spring."⁵³

Shortly after his return to St. Louis from a begging-trip to the South De Smet received a communication from Mother Galitzin, written from St. Michel in Louisiana.

After taking due counsel with the Lord and considering over and over again all the interests of the Province, and after weighing the last letter of our Reverend Mother General, which gives me a little opening and enables

⁵² Baunard, *Life of Mother Duchesne* (tr. by Fullerton), p. 360. Verhaegen wanted to see the school well conducted from the start for he built great hopes on it as he informed Bishop Rosati: "It seems certain that all the nations would send their children there and that in a short time there would be from 100 to 150 children. These children, solidly instructed in the principles of our holy religion and accustomed to practice its duties would spread the faith more efficaciously perhaps than a large number of missionaries. We shall speak of this enterprise upon your return and shall try to find means to begin it and to make it prosper." Verhaegen à Rosati, December 10, 1840 (C).

⁵³ Baunard-Fullerton, *op cit*, pp. 360, 361.

me to conceive a ray of hope for this mission among the Indians, this is what I think, I will make the sacrifice of M[other] Bajin, formerly Superior at Grand Coteau, whom I wished to take for the foundation of New York, I will give up Mother Lucille, whom I was anxious to give to one of the three houses which are begging for her, they have done without her up to this time, they will continue to do without her, in addition to these two I will give Mother Duchesne If Father Verhaegen approves my plan, the foundation will be made with these three subjects, I can do no more As to money, I haven't a copper I leave here for New York with no more money than is absolutely necessary for the journey Our two houses of Louisiana are drained after relieving the needs of the Province and meeting the expenses of buildings now in course of erection If you could interest the Ursuline Ladies in our favor, they might perhaps make a little contribution to this good work We shall see whether it will be possible to raise a little at St Louis by subscription If the good God wishes this foundation, he will level all obstacles in order to finance it, if he does not wish it, who shall resist him? I am waiting for the boat to leave this evening for St Louis I cannot accordingly receive your answer here, but I hope to see you in St Louis and acquaint you with final decisions and arrangements ⁵⁴

A fund of five hundred dollars having been collected by De Smet for the proposed mission, Mother Galitzin finally decided to put her hand to the venture. A party of three nuns was told off without delay for service at Sugar Creek Mother Lucille Mathevon, who presided over the St Charles convent, all eagerness for the conversion of the Indian, was named superior She was to have for helpers Mother O'Connor, who had served an apprenticeship in the training of Indian children at Florissant, and the lay sister, Louise Amyot, of Canadian birth Edmund, a trusty and resourceful Negro, was to lend his services to the party. As to Mother Duchesne, it was doubtful up to the last moment whether her health would permit her to undertake the journey She was seventy-two years of age, enfeebled with infirmities and seemingly at no great distance from the grave Under the circumstances her departure for the mission appeared an obvious folly. But she was eager to go, while Father Verhaegen, who in company with Father Smedts was to conduct the group to its destination, wished her to be included among the personnel. "If she cannot work," he said, "she will forward the success of the mission by her prayers" The father's wish proved decisive and Mother Duchesne was one of the four Religious of the Sacred Heart that left St Louis for the Indian country on board a Missouri river steamer, SS Peter and Paul's day, June 29, 1841 ⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Galitzin à De Smet, March 10, 1841 (A)

⁵⁵ Baunard-Fullerton, *op cit*, p 363

An incident of the voyage up the Missouri is recorded by Mother Mathevon in her journal. "On the 4th of July, the festival of Independence, Father Verhaegen preached to the passengers. When the sermon was ended great applause ensued, with clapping of hands and stamping of feet. Then everybody, ourselves included, drank iced sherry. We are all very well. Mother Duchesne walks up and down the deck as if she were young again." Six days after its departure from St. Louis the steamer put in at Westport Landing, now Kansas City, and the missionary party proceeded in wagons along the Fort Scott military road to Sugar Creek, distant some seventy-five miles to the south-west⁵⁶

It was rough travel at the best and Mother Duchesne, jostled about with the other passengers over the uneven road-bed, suffered keenly. Having put up at the house of a French trader on the banks of the Osage about eighteen miles from their journey's end, they were met there by two Potawatomi who, coming up to Father Verhaegen, fell on their knees before him and begged his blessing. Then they told how on the evening before all the tribesmen had come together to await till nightfall the arrival of the women of the Great Spirit only to meet with disappointment. "Go and tell them," was Verhaegen's answer, "that tomorrow by the first light of the sun we shall be with them."⁵⁷

The next morning the party was again in motion. At every few miles were posted Indians to show the way. Of a sudden, as the travellers turned into a great stretch of prairie-land, there appeared a band of some hundred and fifty Indians, mounted on horseback and decked out in feathers and all the finery of Indian attire. At their head rode Father Aelen, the superior of Sugar Creek, and his assistant, Father Eysvogels. With this impressive escort the visitors had now to proceed on their way while the Indians performed their best dances and rent the air with volleys of musketry. The procession halted in front of the Jesuit residence. What followed Mother Mathevon relates in her journal:

There the four religious and the five Jesuit Fathers were invited to alight and take seats on some benches, the savages standing in four lines on each side of them. Father Verhaegen began by presenting to them Madame Duchesne. "My children," he said, "here is a lady who for thirty-five years has been asking God to let her come to you." Upon this the Chief of the tribe addressed us a compliment. His wife then did the same with these

⁵⁶ *Idem*, p. 364.

⁵⁷ *Idem*, p. 365. The trading-post referred to in the text was very probably the one established in 1834 by Giraud and Chouteau at the crossing of the upper Osage (Marais des Cygnes) and the Fort Scott-Fort Leavenworth military road.

words "To show you our joy, all the women of our tribe, married and unmarried, will now embrace you" Then speeches were translated by an interpreter called Bourassa, son of a French father and an Indian mother. The nuns went bravely through the ceremony, and then had to shake hands with all the men, who, with their chief at their head, marched before them. Even one old man, quite blind, insisted on giving the newcomers this greeting. These tokens of welcome were repeated seven hundred times. Mother Duchesne in spite of excessive fatigue gladly went through it all.⁵⁸

Pending the construction of a house, the nuns took up their residence in an Indian cabin, the owner of which withdrew with his family to live in a tent. Despite the poor accommodations a school for Indian girls was opened on July 15, 1841. The school house as well as residence for the nuns, planned and built for them before the end of August by their devoted Negro servant, Edmund, stood close to the mission-church on a bluff or eminence that commanded a view of the surrounding country. The charity shown the Jesuits by the Religious of the Sacred Heart in the pioneer days at St. Ferdinand's was now reciprocated, Father Aelen giving them two cows, a horse and a pair of oxen.

Fifty girls were soon in attendance at the school while the Indian mothers themselves frequented it to learn the secrets of housekeeping. At the end of two weeks, the nuns, as fruit of the instruction they had received from two of the Indians, were able to sing some hymns in Potawatomi. "As soon as we could," records Mother Mathevon, "we taught our Indians the prayers of the church, and especially the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, as it is sung on Sundays after Vespers. Soon our cabin could not hold all our scholars and we made a large room with green branches. Our children are very intelligent and understand easily all we teach them. They are as handy as possible with their fingers."

In the immediate conduct of the school Mother Duchesne could be of little service. The difficulties of Potawatomi staggered her and she gave up all hope of mastering it. To one ministry alone was she fully equal, that of prayer and good example. "The woman who prays always," was the name the Indians soon invented for her. Though the stimulus of the first days at Sugar Creek and the realization of her long-cherished dream had resulted in a momentary improvement of her health, the unusually severe winter of 1841-1842 reduced her visibly. "She is much aged and often very ill," wrote Mother Mathevon in February, 1842. "The life here is too hard for a person of her advanced age." In this condition of shattered health she was found by Mother

⁵⁸ *Idem*, p. 366

Galitzin, the Visitatrix, on her arrival at Sugar Creek on March 19, 1842, as also by Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis when he administered confirmation at the mission in June of the same year. Both agreed that to allow her to remain longer at the mission would only hasten her death. Instructions were finally given Mother Duchesne to leave Sugar Creek and repair to St. Charles in Missouri. This she did on July 19, 1842, being accompanied on her return journey by Father Verhaegen, who had escorted her to Sugar Creek but a year before and who was destined to know her still more intimately in St. Charles and to minister to her in her last moments.⁵⁹

§ 6 EDUCATING THE POTAWATOMI

The progress of the boys' and girls' schools at Sugar Creek is recorded in the annual reports, beginning with 1842, submitted by Father Verreydt to the Indian Bureau. The boys' school was opened July 7, 1840, the girls, July 15 (17th), 1841. The expenses of the mission were estimated by Verreydt at about eighteen hundred dollars per annum. This sum included the living expenses of the three priests and three lay brothers and the money spent on medicines for the Indians, two hundred dollars annually. Father Hoecken, who had some knowledge of medicine, discharged the duties of doctor to the tribe. The expenses of the girls' school, including the support of the three nuns in charge, amounted to about six hundred dollars annually.⁶⁰

Father Verreydt's second report is dated from "Sugar Creek Catholic Mission," September 30, 1843.

⁵⁹ *Idem*, p. 372. For a remarkable letter of Mother Duchesne on her desire for the Indian missions, cf. Marjory Erskine, *Mother Philippine Duchesne*, New York, 1926, pp. 346-353. An excellent account of the activities of the Religious of the Sacred Heart at Sugar Creek may be found in Louise Callan, R. S. C. J., *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America*, New York, 1937.

⁶⁰ *RCIA*, 1842. Verreydt's report, Sept. 1843-Sept. 18, 1844, lists the following as a portion of the work done by the girls: embroidered pieces, 12, stockings, 32, hdfs. hemmed, 139, dresses made, 160, coats made, 4, pantaloons, 3, shirts, 60, aprons, 94, samplers worked, 3. The Indian girls were especially skilful at embroidery, their fondness for it being turned to good account by their Catholic teachers, as the Rev. N. Sayres Harris, inspector in 1844 of Episcopalian mission-schools in the Indian country, observed: "At one of the Roman Catholic Schools I afterwards learned the fondness of the Indians for embroidery is cultivated with success, by this one interest, so to speak, they may be led on to perfection. In some instances we have felt pained by a well-meant but most unwise crushing and quenching of Indian tendencies. Better to train and direct and make use of them for good." N. Sayres Harris, *Journal of a Tour in the "Indian Territory"* (New York, 1844), p. 24.

I have the pleasure to state that there is this year a decided improvement, although both schools are under my superintendence, yet they are differently conducted. I have secured the services of Messrs Thomas Watkins and John Tipton as school-masters, the former teaches the English language and the accessory branches in the forenoon, and the latter the English and the Potawatomi languages conjointly in the afternoon, both belonging to the nation and very popular. They are also well calculated to impart instruction with greater facility on account of their knowledge of both languages. The boys' school numbers 61 scholars, of whom forty-five attend regularly, if you except a short period early last spring when they accompanied their parents to the sugar camps. They are daily instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic and geography.

The female academy is conducted by five Ladies of the Sacred Heart (a religious community), who devote all their attention to the moral and mental improvement of sixty-one pupils, forty of whom may be called regular. Besides spelling, reading, writing and ciphering, they have taught their scholars carding, spinning, sewing, knitting, making, embroidering and even some of the accomplishments which are only taught in some of the most fashionable boarding-schools in the States, such as fancy-work and artificial flower making, although the more important and more useful objects relating to domestic economy have not been neglected on that account. The girls have been instructed how to cut and make every article of dress and apparel, to bake good bread, make butter and do every kind of housework, as the circumstances may require. Six pupils are boarded by the institution.⁶¹

I am of opinion that this nation would be greatly benefited if some of the older boys attending the school could be instructed in some of the mechanical arts. This, however, our means do not allow us to begin at present. We have also been prevented from setting the looms in operation in the female academy for want of necessary buildings. I would respectfully solicit

⁶¹ *RCIA*, 1843. Thomas Watkins is very probably to be identified with the individual of the same name who taught school in Chicago in the early thirties and was later chief clerk in the Chicago post-office under J. S. C. Hogan, first post-master of the village. Watkins's marriage to a daughter of the Potawatomi chief, Joseph Lafromboise, was a social event of the first importance according to the Hon. John Wentworth, Chicago mayor, who participated in the festivities. Watkins's Indian wife was afterwards divorced from him, marrying Menard Beaubien, son of Jean Baptiste Beaubien of Chicago and later a resident of Silver Creek, Kansas. A letter of Thomas Watkins in explanation of an incident that occurred on a Lake Michigan steamer appeared in the St. Louis *Shepherd of the Valley*, November 15, 1834. Cf. Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871*, p. 83.

A supplementary school-report from Verreydt for the year ending September 30, 1843, furnishes additional data. The school was under the management of the "Catholic Board of Missions of the St. Louis University, Mo." Two Indian boys were boarded in the missionaries' house. School-hours ran from 9 to 12 A.M. and from 2 to 4.30 P.M. The boys and girls in regular attendance were sixty-one for each group. Many of the children refusing to study English were instructed in their own language. The nearest post-office was Westport, Jackson County, Missouri. (H)

the attention of the department on these two subjects, and when it is considered that the allowance made by government last year did not exceed \$300, and that the aggregate number of children educated in both schools amounts to 122, I trust you will come to the conclusion that the same appropriation is inadequate to our wants

The three hundred dollars annually appropriated by government to the Sugar Creek Mission was a pittance with which the fathers could scarcely be expected to remain content. Even this small sum was not always paid promptly. "I find it rather strange," wrote Father Van de Velde to Major Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "that every year since I have been in office I should have been put to the trouble of calling for the paltry sum (\$300) which hitherto seems to have been paid with a kind of reluctance."⁶² A manual labor school for the boys and a boarding-school for the girls were outside the range of possibility so long as further aid from the government was denied. Father Verreydt's report for 1844 dwells upon the need of a larger appropriation.

The looms provided by the government have not yet been put in operation. On examination, they are all, with the exception of one, found to be incomplete, a number of pieces are wanting to each one. The cotton and wool to manufacture are also wanting. These reasons and the one assigned in my last report, *viz* the want of means to put up the necessary building, is the cause that the Ladies have not been able to teach their scholars to weave.

These ladies have now been three years in the Indian country, devoting their whole attention to the instruction of Indian children, and have never received any aid from the general government. Their expenses cannot be less than from \$700 to \$800 annually. This is a great expense, and I really think that the department should take their case into consideration and allow them something annually to defray it.

We are about removing our church to a more eligible situation and also to make an addition to it, as it is entirely too small for our congregation. All the logs have been hewed and hauled by the Indians, who are very willing to do anything to assist us in this undertaking, but still the expense of nails, shingles, and the putting up and finishing of the building, falls upon us, and will be heavy indeed, unless the department should render us some assistance. When is taken into consideration the great good that has been done and may still be done by the civilization of these Indians, I do not think that our appeal will be considered improper. Missionaries of any denomination in the Indian country receive aid either from their own societies or from the general government, it is not so with us. Our society is totally unable to render us any further assistance than to send us, at times, provisions, and, as to aid from the department, we never have received anything but what

⁶² Van de Velde to Harvey, January 8, 1846 (H)

was immediately paid to the teachers of the school at this mission I hope that the department will consider this subject, and render us that assistance which is denied from all other quarters ⁶³

Major Harvey, head of the western superintendency, in his report of October 8, 1844, to the commissioner of Indian affairs spoke approvingly of the mission schools

The Catholics have male and female schools attached to their missions at Sugar Creek, among the Pottawatomies, under the care of the Rev Mr Verreydt The female school is conducted by five ladies of the society of the "Sacred Heart", they have under instruction between sixty and seventy girls The progress of the girls is exceedingly flattering, they are taught the useful branches of female education, at the same time fashionable accomplishments are not neglected A number of girls are supported and brought up in the family of the ladies This school is supported entirely by the ladies and their friends It is to be regretted that they have not the means to enable them to enlarge their operations, they are extremely anxious to have house room enough to enable them to put up looms Too much praise cannot be given to these accomplished ladies, for the sacrifices they have made in alienating themselves from society to ameliorate the condition of the Indians The number of boys taught is about sixty, they are said to succeed well ⁶⁴

In February, 1845, Major Harvey again brought the needs of the girls' school at Sugar Creek to the attention of the Indian Bureau He wrote to Commissioner Crawford

⁶³ RCIA, 1844

⁶⁴ *Idem* Harvey had previously written to Crawford, commissioner of Indian affairs, about the girls' school "I visited today the female school under the charge of five Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus The weather had been extremely wet for sometime and as the scholars are with a few exceptions dry scholars, that is, board with their parents, they are not as attentive as it is desirable they should be Notwithstanding the unfavorableness of the day I think I counted thirty-nine present I examined a considerable quantity of their needlework both fancy and for practical purposes, all of which would have been creditable to girls of their age in any society The shirts, vests, stockings and spinning was well done, their fancy needlework was very pretty Their recitations were highly creditable, their singing was very fine, nearly the whole school joining Their singing was in four languages, the native, English, French and Latin

"It is much to be regretted that these ladies cannot carry on their works of charity on a more extended scale It is only necessary to see them and their school to be convinced of their zeal and the happy effect which they are producing among the Indians at Sugar Creek The single fact of teaching the girls to make the common articles of clothing will do much in civilizing the Indians Induce the Indians to throw off the blanket, the leggings and breech cloth and his civilization is half effected I will enclose an address from a little full blood Indian girl about twelve years old delivered to me on visiting their school which very clearly sets forth their necessitous condition Can the Government give them no aid?" Harvey to Crawford, May 29, 1844 (H)

I regret to see from your report that the Indians of this superintendency are so much behind other Indians in moral and intelligent improvement. Is it not to be mainly attributed to the want of well regulated schools and missions among them? I observe from the report that nearly 9000 dollars of the Potawatomi funds were expended at the Chocktaw Academy last year, while the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, who are conducting a large school for the Potawatomi at Sugar Creek, cannot receive one dollar.⁶⁵ It is with deep regret that I learn that this school will be discontinued. I consider the discontinuance of the School at Sugar Creek as a most calamitous circumstance to those Indians. The female school, which is under the immediate charge of four or five accomplished ladies of the "Sacred Heart of Jesus," is a most valuable institution and is no doubt calculated to exercise a most beneficial influence upon the Indian character.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ The Chocktaw Academy near Sulphur Springs, Kentucky, was under the management of Col. R. M. Johnson. The Indian Office made efforts to have boys sent to it from the various agencies, but apparently without success, at least as far as the Catholic Indians were concerned. Cooper, the sub-agent at Council Bluffs, complained in 1840 to Major Pilcher that the Potawatomi parents refused to send their children to the Academy, "being all Roman Catholics and determined absolutely not to patronize anything that is not of that persuasion" (*Supra*, Chap. XIII, note 27). Major Harvey's testimony in this connection is significant. "I find the Indians every where are very much opposed to sending their children out of the nation to school." Harvey to Crawford, May 29, 1844 (H). The government policy of sending Indian children away from their tribes to be educated is severely arraigned by N. Sayres Harris, secretary of the board of missions of the Episcopal Church. "It is not a little mortifying that a gentleman of Col. Johnson's standing and aspirations should have permitted himself for so long a time to stand in the way of the Indian's desire to have his children educated among themselves. I could but blush for him at hearing the remarks of some intelligent Indians upon himself and his institution and for the Government that could barter the best interests of its unfortunate wards for a mess of political pottage." Harris, *op cit*, p. 20. The money provided for the education of Potawatomi children (\$5000 for the Osage River bands and \$3,825 for those of Council Bluffs) was all expended at the Chocktaw Academy. When it is considered that the Potawatomi refused on reasonable grounds to patronize the aforesaid institution, the justice of Major Harvey's appeal in favor of the nuns' school becomes obvious. Father Verreydt in his *Memoirs* (A) describes some of the methods employed to recruit boys for the Kentucky Indian school. A bonus, apparently as high as two or three hundred dollars, was offered anyone who succeeded in obtaining a certain number of boys for the school. A young man of Westport, who had often visited Sugar Creek, showing himself on these occasions friendly to the missionaries, made an attempt to secure the bonus. He appeared in the village and began to plead with the Indian parents to entrust their sons to Mr. Johnson's care. But all to no purpose. "They had their school and were satisfied. They were right for they knew that some young Indians who had been educated there did not return home, except one or two, who were naturally good fellows, with any religious education, besides, the trade some had learned profited them nothing. The Potawatomes were determined not to send any of their children."

⁶⁶ Harvey to Crawford, February 24, 1845 (H).

The major's appeal was successful. In June, 1845, the nuns were advised that the Indian Bureau had decided to grant them an annual appropriation of five hundred dollars, payable from July 1. Delay on the part of the Bureau in making the promised payment elicited a protest from Major Harvey to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill.

The late commissioner, Mr Crawford, on the 15th May last, advised this office that the sum of \$500 per annum would be allowed the female school among the Potawatomi in the Osage River Sub-Agency from and after the 1st of July last. It is presumed from the allotments received under cover of your letter of the 3rd inst. that it has been overlooked. I presume it is only necessary to call your attention to the fact, but I would take occasion to remark that this school has been kept up for a number of years at the entire expense of the religious society under whose immediate management it is, "The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus." Five ladies who would be creditable to a school in any country devote their entire lives to the education of the females of this vicinity, boarding a number and teaching them all the useful arts of housewifery, their school numbers about 60 and occasionally upwards. The happy moral influence which they have exerted among the Indians cannot be mistaken by the most casual observer (I speak from frequent personal observation). The Society, as I understand from those who know, cannot longer bear the entire expense of the school. I would view the removal or discontinuance of the school as a serious calamity to the Potawatomi in the Osage River sub-agency. I trust that I may be authorized to assure the ladies that the allowance will be continued.⁶⁷

The allowance for the first year was paid to the nuns January 11, 1846. With the help thus afforded them they were able to maintain the girls' school up to the dissolution of the Sugar Creek Mission.⁶⁸

The Sugar Creek schools being annually subsidized by the government only to the extent of three hundred dollars for the boys' school and five hundred for the girls' (1846-1848) were unable unless in a few exceptional cases to receive the Indian children as boarders. But a boarding-school with a manual labor department for the boys was felt by the fathers to be necessary if the Indian youth were to receive the education that best suited their needs. "If we had the means," declared Father Verreydt in his report for 1846, "of establishing at our mission a boarding-school, in which we could combine literary instructions with the teaching of manual and mechanical arts, I feel confident that not only the greater number of those who are now the most irregular, but that many others, besides, would be constant in attending,

⁶⁷ Harvey to Medill, November 17, 1845 (H)

⁶⁸ Transferred to the new Potawatomi reserve on the Kaw River in 1848, the boys' and girls' schools continued their interesting career *Infra*, Chaps XXVIII, XXIX

and their progress would not fail to be far more considerable" ⁶⁹ Verreydt's representation of his needs to the Indian officials met with consideration and before the final occupation by the Potawatomi of their new reserve on the Kaw River was carried out he had been authorized by Major Harvey to board and educate as many children of the tribe as he could accommodate, pending the opening with government support of a Catholic manual labor school.

While the civilizing process at Sugar Creek was exercised upon children and adults alike, the agencies employed in the process, apart from the direct influences of religion in both cases, were not identical. With the children the schools were the paramount factor, with the adults, apart from education in industry and the practical arts, church services and parish organization were the outstanding influences. As regarded pious confraternities and public devotions the Sugar Creek parish could challenge comparison with the best organized congregations of the whites. The Archconfraternity of the Most Pure Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners was introduced in May, 1843, by Father Verreydt ⁷⁰ In November of the same year the Society of Jesus and Mary was first organized and soon included in its membership several hundred heads of families. Again, on June 14, 1844, was established the Association of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

Toward the close of 1843 an eight-day mission, "according to the method of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius," as the contemporary record expresses it, was conducted for the Indians with abundant visible fruit. In April of the succeeding year a *triduum* or three days' revival, was preached by Father Verreydt in English, as also, with the aid of an interpreter, in Potawatomi. The month of May was dedicated according to Catholic custom to the Mother of God and every day the Litany of Loretto was sung or recited in her honor. Christmas was celebrated with more than usual pomp. During the Christmas holidays of 1845 Bishop Edward Barron, Vicar-apostolic of the Two Guianas, was a guest at the mission where he administered baptism to more than eighty Indians. That year a crib was set up in the church to bring the Savior's birth in concrete fashion before the eyes of the natives. The Potawatomi celebrated their tribal feast on Easter Sunday. Father Hoecken's diary for March, 1845, notes that some of the Indians had gone on a hunting expedition to secure game for the approaching national feast and that the fathers contributed flour and coffee. The guest of honor on the occasion was Colonel Vaughn, chief officer of the Osage River sub-agency.

"Novenas" or special public prayers continued through nine days were frequent. On May 18, 1847, one was begun in honor of St. Francis

⁶⁹ *RCIA*, 1846.

⁷⁰ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F).

Hieronymo to secure God's blessing on the mission Two weeks later came another novena, this one preparatory to the feast of Corpus Christi, with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament every day of the devotion Religious processions were especially calculated to stimulate the piety of the Indians Of such there were several in the course of the year. On St. Mark's day, April 25, there was a procession through the fields for the blessing of the crops The feast of the Most Pure Heart of Mary, August 25, had its annual procession conducted with much pomp and ceremony But the most elaborate of all these pious functions was that of Corpus Christi In 1847 crowds flocked in from the neighboring reserves to take part in the procession "They behaved with edifying devotion and the day was orderly throughout" Father Verheyden, who was attached to the Sugar Creek mission during the summer of 1843, left a graphic account of the Corpus Christi services of that year.⁷¹

⁷¹ *Catholic Cabinet* (St Louis), 1 251 The visit of Bishop Kenrick to Sugar Creek in June, 1842, was also a noteworthy occasion An account of it was written by Father Hoecken to his parents in Holland "The Bishop of St Louis came here last month People came from a distance of 15 miles to meet him He was given a solemn reception All were on horseback and nearly everybody had his lance trimmed with little flags I went in surplice in front of the guard of honor of 80 men At my side went two acolytes also in surplice, one with the holy-water, the other with incense When the Bishop came up, I put incense into the vessel and incensed him Then the commander of the troops went up to the Bishop and after ordering his men to salute him, turned to the prelate and declared the great joy felt by his brethren at seeing him in their country They then accompanied him to our village where all the men, women and children were assembled to receive him and give him the honor due to his high office The Bishop stayed here for some days and administered Confirmation to some 300 of our Indians At his departure they accompanied him a distance of more than 20 miles" In this same letter Hoecken asked his parents to send him four hundred dollars for a mill "But they have no mills and this is the greatest reason for our poverty We are obliged to buy all our provisions from the Americans, flour, bacon, maize, etc" This letter (original in French) dated July 2, 1842, was published in a Dutch periodical, *De Godsdienstverriend*, 1842, pp 316-321 Tr by Fr Martin M Bronsgeest, S J

A memorandum by Father Van de Velde in the files of the Indian Office dated St Louis University, February 8, 1844, gives particulars of an alleged plot against the Sugar Creek Mission

"It appears that since the commencement of last summer (1843) a kind of secret conspiracy has been formed against our missionaries on Sugar Creek by five or six reckless persons who use all their exertions to excite the Indians, chiefly those of the St Joseph's band on the Potawatomi Creek against the Missionaries and to destroy all the good these Missionaries have already done and still continue to do among the various tribes on or near Sugar Creek

"This conspiracy seems to have been set on foot by one Jude Bourassa, a half-breed, who, for publicly maintaining irreligious principles that necessarily lead to immorality, was reprehended at church by the missionaries (sometime in the spring of 1843) and cautioned against holding any further communication with the

Idleness and a passion for strong drink were the Indians' typical vices. It especially became necessary to teach them the material and moral advantages of honest, persevering toil. With a view to mutual encouragement and support in manual labor, they organized themselves under the direction of the missionaries into working-guilds. In each guild an overseer assigned the tasks, gave all necessary directions to the workers, and also presided at certain prayers which were said in common. At the call of a bugle, the Indians, headed by the overseers, marched out to the fields, where they learned the age-old secrets of tilling the soil and, again preceded by the overseers, marched back to their homes when the day's work was done.⁷²

Father Verreydt in his memoirs stresses the poor quality of the land around the mission.

The selection was one of the worst places that could have been chosen. If they had gone some miles further west of Sugar Creek, they would have found a much better place for a settlement. But as the church was built at Sugar Creek, besides our house and that of the Ladies and the neatly constructed log houses of the Indians, it was too late to make a new establishment. The deep bottom land of Sugar Creek was the only soil, with a few exceptions, fit to raise corn. There was scarcely any air stirring in that bottom. I saw an Indian working there almost naked so as to be able to continue his work. Corn is the only grain the Indians will raise and the prairie in general all around Sugar Creek was not rich enough to raise good corn. Said prairies have a light soil about two feet deep, not much deeper

peaceful Indians, unless he should abandon those principles and retract what he had said. In consequence of this reprimand he conceived a deadly hatred against the Missionaries and used his utmost efforts to thwart and annoy them. The other Indians and his brother Jos. Bourassa blamed and avoided him.

"During the course of last summer the former chief of the St. Joseph's Indians on Sugar Creek, called *Gagodamua Chebis*, who had been elected six years before, because the lawful chief Magic was then too young to command, was unanimously put out of office (the Indians having been long displeased with him on account of his arbitrary way of acting) and the rightful chief chosen to succeed him. Though this was done during the absence of the Missionaries and by the common consent of all the St. Joseph's Indians, still he suspected that the Missionaries had advised the latter to put him out of office and conceived a hatred both against them and against the Indians of his own nation. He left Sugar Creek and went to live in the neighborhood of Potawatomi Creek, where he joined Jude Bourassa and with him began to plot against the Missionaries."

Father Van de Velde also names as parties to the alleged plot M. Scott, Dr. J. Lykins, Wilson, the U. S. blacksmith to the Potawatomi, and A. Burnet (Abraham Burnett). Wilson he describes as "an upright and honest man," who became prejudiced against the missionaries on an unfounded suspicion that they had preferred complaints against him with the government on the ground that he had employed his own son as "striker" or assistant to him in violation of treaty-stipulations. Burnett is called by Van de Velde "the soul of the whole conspiracy" (H).

⁷² Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis* (F)

and all is rock. The Indians themselves acknowledged this. One of them remarked that if one put a knife in the ground, he might touch rock. There were a great many sugar maple trees skirting the Creek and hence it was called Sugar Creek. As the Indians are very fond of sugar, they bore the maple trees and thus tapping them let the juice of the tree run into a trough, pour the juice into a kettle and let it boil until it has the consistence of hard sugar, then it is formed into cakes and may be thus kept for years. But as it is the best kind of sugar, it is soon consumed by the Indians and all their labor has been of little if any profit to them. If they had employed their time in more useful pursuits as in enlarging their little fields of corn or raising at least some wheat in some parts of their prairies or planting some potatoes in their bottom lands, etc., they would have been scarcely any poor people among them. Their thirty dollars per head which they received of the government for their annuities could not with their little industry support them. There was no game in their country and for them to go on a buffalo hunt to the Rocky Mountains was too dangerous an undertaking. They dreaded the scalping-knife of the wild Indians of those regions. To ameliorate their pitiful condition, F. C. Hoecken, who was heart and soul for the welfare of the Indians, gathered them into bands, consisting of about 30 persons in each band. He selected a suitable place for each family where they might raise corn or potatoes, etc. These 30 Indians were to split rails and fence and plow the field for each family belonging to their band. It was truly a pleasant sight to see them at work. Their natural indolent nature was there truly exhibited. One would plow for a little while, staggering as if he were drunk. Having never had a plough in his hands, no wonder he was laughed at by the few who knew better. As soon as he gave out, another commenced and thus [as they worked] by turns, laughing and joking, the field was made ready for cultivation. They soon began to see the advantages of industry and some of them by and by raised an abundance of corn and their little cabins began to be neatly fixed and some of them erected fine log-houses. One of them in particular had become so industrious that he himself planed all the logs for his house which was erected as smooth as a brick wall. (A)

But to instruct the Indians in farming was futile unless the most deadly of all their enemies, brandy, was kept at a safe distance. In 1843 Father Verreydt organized a party of Indians under the leadership of Brother Van der Borcht into an anti-liquor brigade. The members were instructed to keep watch that no liquor was brought into the village, and if any one was reported to have such in his possession, they were to go at once to his house, surround it, search for the prohibited article, break the bottles and spill the contents. The anti-liquor brigade was something more than a Potawatomi jest and not a few luckless Indians found themselves summarily dispossessed of the contraband they had smuggled in.⁷³ Yet, as time went on, something more was needed

⁷³ *Idem* (F)

to bar the entrance of "ardent spirits" into the settlement In August, 1844, the Indians drew up regulations dealing with the abuse, which were unanimously agreed to and embodied in writing They furthermore elected eleven constables to insure the observance of the new regulations In July, 1845, they deliberated in council on the all-important liquor question and a year later, July 22, 1846, they met again in council to devise more stringent measures against the evil Agent Vaughn was invited to attend and at his suggestion it was determined that any one thereafter caught bringing liquor into the mission should be locked up in the guard-house at Fort Scott In August of the same year still another council was held with the result that three laws directed against drunkenness, immorality and card-playing, (by which no doubt was meant gambling), were unanimously passed These laws were committed to writing and duly promulgated It was something more than a momentary reform-wave that now swept over Sugar Creek, before the year was out the Indians had their own jail for the due punishment of law-breakers Finally, in July, 1847, the Indians of Pottawatomie Creek, the non-Catholic section of the tribe, came to Sugar Creek to hold common council with their fellow-tribesmen It was decreed on this occasion that whosoever should bring intoxicating liquor into the reserve should forfeit for his first offense half his government annuity and for the second offense, the whole annuity It was a drastic measure but a wise one and it met with the warm commendation of Agent Vaughn "I said the Pottawatomies have been more than usually unsteady," he reported in September, 1847, to Superintendent Harvey, "drunkenness and its dire companion, murder, have prevailed to a greater extent this year than for years previous, even the hitherto exemplary Indians on Sugar Creek have not escaped the infection I am, however, happy to state that a reaction is taking place Some of the old and steady denizens of Sugar Creek have taken the matter in hand. They have called councils, invited the attendance of their brethren on Pottawatomie Creek and mutually have pledged themselves to adopt rules, fines and penalties for the introduction of spirituous liquors within their limits It is pleasing to see the energies with which the movers of this truly desirable object press onward to suppress the use and abuse of ardent spirits amongst their people" ⁷⁴ The liquor evil was never thoroughly rooted out at Sugar Creek, where it continued to hamper seriously the work of the missionaries down to the transfer of the Indians to the North.

Though economic conditions among the Potawatomi appear to have been satisfactory on the whole, there were periods of more or

⁷⁴ *RCIA*, 1847.

less general poverty and distress. Such was the winter of 1844-1845 following on the great floods of the preceding year, which ruined the crops. "We owe it to kind Providence," wrote Father Hoecken, "that the hunting this winter has been more successful than in any other year since the Indians came to this territory. Indeed, it is a mark of the special protection of God, without which the people must have suffered the greatest hardship, for provisions are now scarce and very dear." In February, 1845, the Government as a relief measure distributed about three thousand bushels of corn among the Potawatomí. The fathers at the same time made them a gift of pork and flour. Hoecken was particularly active in collecting alms for the widows, orphans and poor generally. In March, 1845, he was able to distribute some money among the Peoria and Potawatomí, and in August of the same year visited St. Louis to seek aid for the poor of Sugar Creek. In February, 1847, he returned to the mission from a second begging tour through the states. The Indians themselves made provision from their slender income for the more destitute members of the tribe, as when in September, 1844, they set aside from their annuities the sum of \$109.50 to be expended by the fathers for medicines and for the sick.⁷⁵

§ 7 NEIGHBORHOOD TRIBES

The ministry of the fathers was not confined to the Indians of Sugar Creek. It reached out to the numerous tribes whose reserves were contiguous to or at no great distance from that of the Potawatomí. And here it is interesting to reflect that the Society of Jesus was thus enabled to renew its acquaintance with not a few of the tribes among whom the Jesuits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had moved about in the discharge of their apostolic tasks. Menard and Allouez set up missions for the Ottawa on the shores of Lake Superior, Raymbault and Jogues, first of Jesuits to look upon the waters of the Great Lakes, met the Chippewa at the Sault as early as 1641, Marquette made friends with the Peoria on his famous voyage down the Mississippi while among the Kaskaskia he established, as Allouez, Rasles, and Gravier after him consolidated, the first Catholic mission

⁷⁵ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis* (F). A bit of evidence as to the attitude of the Sugar Creek missionaries towards their Indian charges is furnished by N. Sayre Harris, who visited the Indian country in the spring of 1844. He did not reach Sugar Creek, being unable to obtain a fresh horse for the journey, but heard its schools highly spoken of. "My room-mate tonight was a Canadian engagé with whom I contrived to hold a little conversation. He had no copy of the Sacred Scriptures, but told me he was a catechumen of the missionary, of whom he spoke in raptures. 'When Indian sick priest lie on the floor and give him bed, if he have no covering, he cover him, do anything for Indian.'" Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

in the Mississippi Valley, Allouez dealt with the Wea, a Miami sub-tribe, while Pinet and Bineteau wore themselves out in labor for the same Indians in their mission-post on the site of modern Chicago. And now these historic tribes, around whom is woven the story of Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Middle West during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had the gospel preached to them anew by Jesuits of the nineteenth.

Father Aelen, from his arrival at the mission in April, 1839, up to July of the same year, when Father Hoecken was withdrawn, worked chiefly among the Ottawa, Peoria, Wea and other neighboring tribes. That year he was visiting the Ottawa every second month, the congregation among them, however, numbering only twenty adults, but these were loyal and the prospect of conversions in the tribe seemed good. In March, 1844, a Potawatomi catechist was sent to the Ottawa to instruct the catechumens. In April one of the fathers was dispatched on the same mission. Finally, in January, 1845, Father Francis Xavier De Coen established a mission-post among the Ottawa and made arrangements to administer the sacraments and say Mass among them once a month. In the course of one of his monthly excursions to the Ottawa, March, 1845, he visited the Peoria and the Chippewa, who promptly evinced an interest in Christianity and before long were begging for a resident priest.⁷⁶

The chief of the Chippewa or Ojibways with his family paid a visit to Sugar Creek on April 14, 1845, to petition the fathers to establish a mission-post among his tribesmen. In answer to this request De Coen was sent the next month to the Chippewa reserve. Having held a council with the Ottawa, the Chippewa came to the conclusion that they ought

⁷⁶ Hoecken's Diary (F) Aelen ad Rosati September 25, 1839 (C) The Ottawa reserve was northwest of the Potawatomi and embraced all of the present Franklin County, Kansas. A Baptist Ottawa mission established in 1837 by Rev. Jotham Meeker near the present town of Ottawa was maintained until his death in 1854 (*Kansas Historical Collections*, 9:568). The Ottawa were of Algonkin stock and closely related to the Potawatomi. According to McCoy, *Register of Indian Affairs*, 1838, one language (presumably with modifications) was spoken by the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa, one by the Osage, Quapaw and Kansa, and one by the Oto and Iowa, while dialects of the same language were spoken by the Wea, Peoria, Piankashaw, Kaskaskia and Miami. It may here be noted that Father Van Quickenborne was the first nineteenth-century Jesuit to come in touch with the Miami, Wea, Piankashaw and Kaskaskia, at least in their trans-Mississippi habitats. Cf. *Ann Prop.*, 10:137 *et seq.* For a visit of Father Nicholas Petit, a Jesuit of St. Mary's College, Kentucky, to the Miami in 1835, when they were still living in Indiana, cf. *Ann Prop.*, 10:138. Father Francis Xavier de Coen, a native of Ninove, East Flanders, Belgium, and a blood-relative of Father De Smet, was born December 19, 1811, entered the Society of Jesus October 19, 1843, and died at St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission July 16, 1864.

to embrace Catholicism, for the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa, being close of kin, should be of the same mind in so important a matter as religion. Arrangements were accordingly completed for a Chippewa mission-station to be located in the vicinity of the Osage River.⁷⁷

For the four confederated nations, the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Wea and Piankashaw, a station called by Father Aelen "Miami's Station" and visited by him every second month was established in July, 1839, in the Peoria village on the left bank of the Marais des Cygnes in what is now Miami County, Kansas. Aelen was the first priest known to have visited this Peoria village, which was located on the site of the present Paola. With him the Catholic history of Paola begins. The station, however, was probably not maintained continuously for in 1845 the question of establishing mission-stations among these same tribes came up anew. On April 18 of that year Father De Coen, accompanied by two Indian interpreters, set out from Sugar Creek to visit the Peoria and Wea, among whom it was his intention to establish stations if he found the Indians favorably disposed. The Peoria and Wea chiefs met in council to hear De Coen and at the close of his address agreed to permit him to baptize their children. They asked him, moreover, to return after two weeks and instruct them, for they were willing to embrace the Catholic faith and bring up their children in its practice. At the expiration of two weeks two Peoria Indians appeared at Sugar Creek with a commission from their chief to make certain doctrinal inquiries. The inquiries were met with satisfactory answers and on the next day the Indians were dismissed, loaded with presents of meal and lard. Among the participants in the Christmas festivities of 1845 at Sugar Creek were a number of Peoria. On returning to their reservation, twenty-five miles distant, they were accompanied by Father Christian Hoecken, who remained with the tribe about ten days, during which time he baptized them all after due preparation and solemnized their marriages according to the Catholic rite. In March, 1847, accompanied by a Potawatomi Indian to assist him, he returned to the Peoria to

⁷⁷ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis* (F). The Chippewa reserve, very small in extent, adjoined the Potawatomi on the north. The Sugar Creek records show numerous baptisms among tribes other than the Potawatomi. Thus on June 20, 1839, "in the Wea village near Bull Creek" were baptized two Potawatomi children, the four-year old Marie, daughter of Nepetosa and Antapigwa (sponsor, Charles Chauret) and Ignace, eight days old, son of Lapenja and Petotonke. In the Peoria village "near the Osage River," was baptized May 21, 1839, Magdalene, daughter of Kirsonne and Helene Duquoigie. In the same village there were four baptisms by Verreydt, January 26, 27, 1847, and nine by Hoecken, March 3, 1847. There were forty-four baptisms of "Piyankichas" in "Piyankicha village" by Hoecken, April 25-28, 1847 and eleven baptisms of persons of the same tribe at Sugar Creek, April 4-30, 1847, by Hoecken and Verreydt.

prepare them for their first holy communion To the number of forty they received the sacrament on Trinity Sunday During all this time the tribe was in the most destitute circumstances In May, 1847, the fathers hired a carpenter to repair their mill, which had long been out of commission Later in the same year they were furnished with articles of clothing which Father Verreydt had brought from St Louis and with seed-corn for the autumn ⁷⁸

In February, 1846, Father Hoecken, in the hope of converting the Sauk Indians, visited the tribe in their new reservation along the Kaw

⁷⁸ Sugar Creek *Liber Paochtalis* (F) Aelen ad Rosati, September 25, 1839 (C) De Coen à son père, Feb 18, 1846 Archives of the Belgian Province, S J The Peoria and Wea lands lay north of the Potawatomi in the present Miami County The present Paola (Piola i e Peoria), Miami County, was a Peoria village A Baptist mission among the Wea was established a mile east of Paola by Dr David Lykins about 1840 The Wea and Piankashaw were sub-tribes or bands of the Miami The Wea or Ouaitenon had a village at Chicago at the end of the seventeenth century and a later village at Ouaitenon, the modern Lafayette, Indiana, while the Piankashaw were settled at one time on the site of Vincennes, Indiana In 1832 both tribes sold their lands in the East and agreed to move to the Osage River district as one tribe By the treaty of Castor Hill, St Louis County, Missouri, October 27, 1832, the Peoria and Kaskaskia, with whom were united the remnants of the Mitchigamea, Cahokia and Tamaroa (the five tribes of the famous Illinois confederacy) also ceded their lands in Illinois and in lieu thereof accepted a reserve in the Osage River Valley In 1854 the Wea and Piankashaw joined the remnant of the cognate Illinois, then known as the Peoria and Kaskaskia, the seven tribes then numbering together only 259, a large proportion of whom were of mixed blood The confederated tribes reside at present in Oklahoma (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, art "Wea," "Piankashaw")

A list, compiled by Jesuit missionaries, of Miami County's first Catholic Indian settlers is in Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle-Land* (Kansas City, 1921), p 27 Forty-six names occur including those of Basile Boyer and Baptiste Peoria, the last-named reputed chief of the confederated "Kaskaskia and Peoria, Piankashaw and Wea Indians" The town of Paola was laid out on a tract of land 403½ acres conveyed by Baptiste Peoria and his wife in 1864 for a consideration of five thousand dollars to the Paola Town Company, the tract being part of the two sections of land acquired by them under the treaty of 1854 The first Catholic church in Paola, a one-story stone building, was built on land donated by him and his wife in 1859 Baptiste Peoria accompanied the confederated tribes to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1868, dying there in 1874 Kinsella's book also reproduces a "*status animarum*" or census-record and a baptismal register for "the Peorias and Piyankichas, 1846," a marriage-book of the "Miami, Weas, Peorias, Piankashaws, New York Indians" and a "baptismal register of the Miami Nation," the last-named document covering the period 1848-1861 Excepting six baptisms recorded by Father Ivo Schacht and one by Father Theodore Heimann, all the entries in this register are by Jesuit missionaries The last Miami baptism recorded by a Jesuit is dated November 9, 1857, the officiating priest being Father Schoenmakers The above mentioned census-book (Latin) records that "the patron of the church of the Peorias is St Francis Xavier" and that "the title of the church of the Piyankichas is the Patronage of the Most Blessed Joseph" The Indian chapel of

River⁷⁹ In August he visited them again, as well as two other unconverted tribes, the Piankashaw and Miami. The Sauk chanced to be absent on a hunt, but he was welcomed by the other tribes, who asked him to return after some months, permitting him in the meantime to baptize their children. Before the end of August he was back among the Piankashaw, all of whom were now eager to embrace the Faith. In March, 1847, while on a missionary trip to the Peoria, he met a band of Piankashaw, who with their chief Wakochinga, had come to see him. He instructed the party, baptized them and blessed their marriages. In April the tireless missionary was again in the Piankashaw village, on this occasion remaining about ten days with the tribe and baptizing about sixty of them. After their conversion the Piankashaw took to farming, which was a new experience for them, and the missionaries, to encourage their efforts, made them presents of seed. In the fall of 1847, the Piankashaw and their neighbors, the Peoria, were being visited the first Sunday of each month by Father Charles Truyens, in pursuance of an arrangement made by the superior of the Sugar Creek Mission, Father Verreydt,⁸⁰ who wrote in his report to government for 1847

Long since, we used to visit the Peoria, a destitute, forlorn tribe of Indians, who seemed not only to need our assistance, but to be truly worthy of it. The wretched state in which we first found them was really pitiful, but thanks to Him who calls Himself the father of the poor, no sooner had they begun to embrace the doctrines of the Catholic Church, than they began to emerge from their state of wretchedness, they became models of temperance and industry, and, I may say, that their condition both in a moral and temporal point of view, has been so admirably improved that they have excited their neighboring brethren to a laudable emulation, wherefore, almost the whole tribe of Piankashaw have commenced to tread in the footsteps of the former, and, like them, to live as good, sober, industrious members of our church, others are preparing likewise to quit and change their old modes of living, and, in fact, so favorable are the dispositions of many of the Indians towards a change for the better and the habits of civilization, that, in correspondence with this general manifestation of good will, we have determined upon extending and multiplying our missions as much as our means will allow, and that, if the government and its respectable officers should lend us the hand, and bear part of our expenses, we doubt not but we shall effect,

St. Francis Xavier at the Peoria Village (Paola) erected sometime prior to 1846 is "supposed to have been at or near the famous old spring in the northwest part of the town" Kinsella, *op cit*, p. 24.

⁷⁹ The Sauk and Foxes of the Mississippi, in number over three thousand, and the largest tribe in the Osage River sub-agency, were settled on a reserve adjoining the Potawatomi reserve on the northwest. The Osage River sub-agency was at one time located on their reserve.

⁸⁰ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F)

ere long still more good amongst our Pottawatomies and their neighboring red brethren ⁸¹

Father Verreydt's account of the Peoria is borne out by the report (1847) of Agent Vaughn of the Osage River sub-agency

The Peoria have, as usual, been very industrious and exemplary. With no annuity or pecuniary aid from government, it is surprising, to those acquainted with the listless habits of Indians, to observe how well these people have managed. I read with pleasure your remarks respecting this remnant of excellent people embodied in your last year's report.

But the work of the fathers was not confined to the Indians, whether Potawatomí or other tribes, it reached out in periodical missionary trips to the white settlements then in course of formation along the Missouri border. From the closing of the Kickapoo Mission in 1841 until the arrival of Father Donnelly at Independence in 1846 the only Catholic priests exercising the ministry along the Missouri-Kansas line were those from Sugar Creek. Father Aelen, superior of the mission, was holding services in "Chouteau's Church" on the site of Kansas City, Missouri, as early as June, 1839, and it was at his instance, it would appear, that the church first received the name of St. Francis Regis, which it bore thereafter. On November 17, 1839, he administered baptism, "*in ecclesia S. F. Regis prope oppidum Westport*," "in the church of St. Francis Regis near the town of Westport," which place with Independence he was visiting three times a year from Sugar Creek. ⁸²

⁸¹ *RCIA*, 1847.

⁸² Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, Chap. V, "The Jesuit Ministry." Also *supra*, Chap. VIII, § 4.

Numcrous baptisms of whites are recorded in the Sugar Creek registers. Father Aelen, seemingly on his way to Sugar Creek, baptized at Boonville, Mo., April 6, 1839, Mary Ann Weber and Sophie Fuchs. Three days later, April 9, at Fishing Creek, Ray Co., he baptized Mary Le Roy. There were seven baptisms by him at Lexington, Mo., January 23-26, 1842, the list including Maria Whelan, Evelina Maria Mountain, Basile Butard, Margaretha Holden, Marie Meyers, Cecile dite Cabeen, wife of J. Mulligan. There were two baptisms also at Lexington by Father Fysvogels, November 5, 1842, the names of the subjects, Philomene Digges Mountain and Ellen Mulligan. Fysvogels's circuit of July-November, 1842, in western Missouri, brought him through Clay Co., English Grove, Holt Co., Blacksnake Hills, Weston, Kansas River, 3rd fork of Platte, Buchanan Co., Platte Co., Clay Co., Fishing River, Blow [Blue] Mills, Jackson Co., Lexington. Eleven baptisms by Hoecken are recorded for the Platte Purchase, May 28, 1843-July 9, 1843, among those listed being Marie Early, Jean Rodgers, Anne Elizabeth Murphy, Birgitte Martin, Elizabeth Buller, Louis Dussene, Stanislaus Peltier, Michael McCafferty. Irish names predominate among the sponsors. On October 16, 1843, Hoecken baptized at Weston Michael, son of Michael Hughes and Helen Brady. A second missionary trip by Hoecken September-October, 1843, resulted in twenty-

More closely identified even than Father Aelen with the early Catholic ministry in the Westport district was Father Verreydt, who succeeded Aelen as superior at Sugar Creek in 1841. His name is the only one signed to Westport baptisms from October 7, 1841, to September 28, 1845, if we except the names of Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis and Father Peter De Vos, the former of whom officiated at five baptisms and the latter at two. Father Verreydt was practically the Catholic pastor of Westport during the period 1841-1846. But this "jumping-off place" of the frontier, which was only some seventy miles to the northeast of Sugar Creek, did not terminate the range of the ministerial activities carried on from that center on behalf of the whites. Fathers Eysvogels and Hoecken visited the settlements on either bank of the Missouri north of Westport, the latter including Council Bluffs in his missionary circuit. The foundations of the Church along the Missouri border were laid by energetic religious pioneers who went forth on their apostolic rounds from Sugar Creek.

On the whole the net result of the ten years' effort of the Jesuit missionaries at Sugar Creek was satisfactory. The school reports of Father Verreydt dwelt upon the moral and social amelioration of the natives as an obvious fact. In 1845 he spoke in his report to Major Harvey of "the prosperous and happy condition of this Pottawatomic tribe under your superintendence"⁸³. To Agent Vaughn he wrote in 1846 "You are not unacquainted with the Indians amongst whom we reside, you perfectly know their state of improvement and with what earnestness the larger portion of them behave themselves as true Christians and as people of civilized manners"⁸⁴. In August, 1847, on the eve of the breaking up of the missions, he could still testify to the ex-

eight baptisms, twenty of them at Council Bluffs, the places visited being, besides the last named, Irish Grove, Nishnobotna (Nishnobotna), Savanah, Weston. In May-June, 1846, Hoecken conferred thirty eight baptisms at Council Bluffs and eight at Bellevue, these last being the earliest known for Nebraska. At Council Bluffs were baptized on this trip children of George Mullin, Edward Parks, Therese Chevalier, Louis Pinnegar, Louis Bellur, Louis Ose (Ogee?), Antoine Tissier, Pierre Bourbonnais, Alten Harden, Joseph Laframboise, Darling Antoine Bruno, Michael Barnabé, Theodore Grondais, Louis Wilmet and Andrew Le Compte. At Harmony Mission in Missouri, Adeline, daughter of John Lynch and Anne O'Neal, was baptized May 5, 1846. The spelling of some of these names is uncertain.

Deepwater (now Germantown in Henry County, Missouri) was a German congregation. Father Verreydt administered three baptisms here on November 11-12, 1843. Here also was baptized March 20, 1846, Maria Elizabeth Ficmann and Henri Antoine Westhuse (F). "May, 1847, Reverend Father Verreydt went to Deepwater to preach to the Germans and to afford the settlers an opportunity to gain the indulgence and privileges of the Jubilee." Sugar Creek *Libet Pauchialis* (F).

⁸³ *RCIA*, 1845

⁸⁴ *Idem*, 1846

emplary conduct of his Indian flock "The Pottawatomies who live at our mission form a congregation of upwards of 1,300 members of the Catholic church, accustomed to sober, industrious habits, emulating the white man in the various duties and exercises of a civilized life, and being so remarkable for their piety and assiduous attendance to church duties, that our church, large as it is, is unable to contain the thronged multitude of Christians"⁸⁵ A picture in detail of conditions in the mission at about the same period was drawn by Verreydt in a communication to the Father General

I can say that the piety of many among them and the innocent life they lead often touches me. It is true we have some who are weak, but I know several who can be compared with the first Christians. I am convinced that they never commit serious sin, yes, sometimes one has difficulty in giving them absolution for lack of matter. It is a great satisfaction to see the church almost every Sunday so filled with people that I can scarcely find room enough for giving the asperges with holy water. Though our church is quite large it is so filled with Indians that not a foot of it is left unoccupied. A number station themselves in the sacristy and many are to be found standing around outside the church like poor lost children. Some, after committing a rather serious sin, do not dare to enter the church for a long time after so great is the respect they have for the house of the Lord. All listen to the word of God with admirable attention. If during the sermon a child becomes noisy, the mother at once leaves the church. It is all silence there, nothing is heard except the strong voice of Father Hoecken who speaks to them in their own language like an Indian himself. If we only had a number of Fathers who spoke the language as he does, what an amount of good could be done! I am convinced more and more that unless one knows how to speak their language well one can never accomplish solid and permanent good. St. Francis Xavier was right when he said that the words which come from the mouth of an interpreter haven't the same force as words from the minister of God. But it appears to be difficult if not impossible to find many Fathers who can learn the language. Good Father De Coen, who was with us for two years, did not succeed, this is why Father Provincial recalled him. But we are promised another Father next August. I hope he will have a true vocation for these missions. Good Father Hoecken is truly to be pitied for the whole burden of the Mission falls on him. Every Friday and Saturday in every week of the year he does nothing except hear the confessions of the Indians, who naturally do not like to confess through an interpreter, especially when they are sick. It is necessary then for this poor Father, who already begins to grow gray and be worn out with work, to bear the burden of the Mission for two years longer, for one needs at least two years to learn the language so as to be able to hear confessions. If the one sent here has not the talent requisite for the mission, I fear its total ruin for Father Hoecken will not live long. I cannot give him much aid for I do not speak the language. I was very anxious

⁸⁵ *Idem*, 1847.

to learn it at Council Bluffs, but seeing the disorders prevalent among those Indians, I lost courage. I was sent here for only one year by Father Verhaegen. The year having slipped by I had still to remain here on account of great difficulties, which have scarcely been overcome and of which your Paternity has received an exact account. Having always the idea that I should not remain here long and being diffident of myself, seeing that I should never be able to learn the language, I remained here right along like a bird on a branch for it was always doubtful whether I should stay or not. I begin to regret that I have not exerted myself in order to be of use just now to the mission, but rheumatism and old age, which begin to take hold of me, make me despair of ever learning the language.

All that I do here is to act as *econome* of the house and hear the confessions of our Brothers and of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and a few other persons who speak English. I say High Mass every Sunday and during Father Hoecken's absence I preach through an interpreter. Three times a year I visit the Catholics of Westport and Independence 75 miles from here, but as they have a pastor at present, [Rev. Bernard Donnelly], I now have only one mission [Deepwater], 50 miles from here, where the Germans have built a pretty little church. From time to time I pay a visit to the Catholic soldiers at Fort Scott, 30 miles from here. This, Reverend Father, is all I am doing for God. Still I believe I can say that I desire nothing more than to be occupied in the service of God from morning to night and I hope that our Father Provincial will give me enough work in a few months. All I ask is that he send us this time a man of ability, so necessary among the savages if I can call them such. It seems that those who have never lived among the savages are unwilling to believe they are men like ourselves. But their black and piercing eyes show that they are. If a stranger comes among them, they don't need much time to know him thoroughly. In a short time they give him a name which fits him exactly. It seems that when they look at a person they penetrate to the depths of his soul. An Indian is perfect master of his passions. I have never seen him in anger. His eyes rarely indicate the movements of his soul. You can heap on him the greatest insults, he is unmoved. His eyes are fixed on you, but without emotion. Everything remains hidden in his heart until an occasion presents itself for vengeance.⁸⁶

Finally, Indian agents and other officials were not behindhand in witnessing to the success of the mission. A typical report is Agent Vaughn's, 1845.

It is gratifying to state that the Pottawatomies, generally speaking, have evinced a very laudable desire to cultivate the soil. Those on Sugar Creek

⁸⁶ Verreydt à Roothaan, April 23, 1847 (AA). "I noticed one [Sugar Creek Indian] in particular who was constantly engaged either in praying or in instructing others in the performance of their Christian duties. He was a true example of piety. When hearing Mass he told Father Hoecken that he had seen, even sometimes during holy communion, the visible presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist. We gave credit to his words on account of the pious life he led." Verreydt, *Memoirs* (A).

have, within the last few years, mostly abandoned the bottom lands, which are subject to the annual periodical inundations in the spring of the year, and are now cultivating the prairie land with much success. This summer (in compliance with your instructions) one hundred and fifty acres of prairie have been broken up, viz about one hundred acres at Sugar Creek and fifty at Pottawatomie Creek, seed wheat has been furnished for sowing, and from the efforts made by these people this season, I have hopes that next year their industry and perseverance will be amply rewarded. The Pottawatomies living on Sugar Creek, viz the Wabash bands and nearly one-half the St. Joseph, have been as usual very exemplary. They have raised this season a considerable quantity of small grain—such as wheat, oats, buckwheat, corn and vegetables—they have laid in a good quantity of prairie hay, and are well furnished for the winter. It is pleasing to observe the general good conduct of these Indians,—they are industrious and moral, are comfortably fixed in good log houses, and their fields are well fenced, staked and ridged. They are communicants to the number of about eleven hundred, of the Roman Catholic Church, and too much praise cannot be awarded to the zealous fathers of this persuasion for the good they have wrought among this people. Two schools are in operation. The female one, under the direction of the Lady of the Sacred Heart, deserves particular commendation.^{86a}

While the general course of the mission at Sugar Creek was thus progressive in all that made for the material and moral welfare of the Indians, a condition of things eventually developed that boded ill for its future. Agent Vaughn commented in 1847 on the circumstance that the hitherto exemplary Sugar Creek Indians had been infected by the evil example of less conscientious sections of the tribe. In June the drink evil began to assume alarming proportions and appeared to have gone beyond control of agents and missionaries as well. Under the circumstances Father Verreydt and his fellow-workers welcomed the proposed transfer of the Potawatomi to a new reserve where the curse of intoxicating drink would be less likely to reach these helpless children of the soil.⁸⁷

^{86a} RCIA, 1845

⁸⁷ The mission registers, now in the archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas, are sources of the first importance for the history of the Sugar Creek mission.

1 The Baptismal Register (*Liber Baptismorum in Missione ad Stam Mariam dicta inter Indianos sub nomine Putawatomenses*) furnishes numerous personal and other data of interest. John Tipton, *alias* Pierre Kionum, Potawatomi school-teacher, himself a member of the tribe, was god-father to two infants baptized by Father Petit at the end of September, 1838. (This must have been on the way from Indiana as Father Petit arrived with his exiles at Potawatomi Creek only on November 4, 1838.) During October, 1838, nine Potawatomi were baptized by Father Hoecken, J. N. Bourassa being god-father to all. On July 10, 1842, was baptized Jean Francis Regis *dictus* Tokapowi, twenty-six years of age, the sponsor being

§ 8 THE MIAMI MISSION

Ministerial excursions from Sugar Creek paved the way in two instances for the establishment of independent missions. The Osage

Mother Duchesne. Very probably the name under which the neophyte received the sacrament was suggested by the nun, whose devotion to St. John Francis Regis was outstanding. Mother Duchesne also assisted in the capacity of god-mother at the baptism (on succeeding days) of Josephine Rose, *dicta* Anwanike, fifty-five years old, and of Marie Akogue, sixty years old. As god-parents figure also Madame Xavier, Father Verreydt, Brothers Miles and Van der Borgh and Pierre Pokegin. The total number of baptisms administered while the mission lasted was as follows:

	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Infants</i>	<i>Total</i>
1838	26	14	40
1839	42	74	116
1840	50	81	131
1841	77	86	163
1842	94	135	229
1843			123
1844	46	82	128
1845			113
1846	72	106	168
1847	66	76	142
1848	5	43	48

2. The Burial Register (*Register Sepulchralium inceptus anno Dni 1838 inter Induos sub Nomine Putawatomensis in terris suis prope flumen Osage degentes*) records that twelve Indians were buried by Father Hoecken "near the river commonly called Putawatomi Creek, *coemeterio nullo formato*, 'as no cemetery had been laid out.'" "In the beginning of March, 1839, nearly all the faithful moved to the river known as Sugar Creek, where a cemetery was laid out and the burial register began to be kept with accuracy." The number of burials for the successive years was as follows: 1840, 55, 1841, 72, 1842, 61, 1843, 78, 1844, 45, 1846, 79, 1847, 79, 1848, 28.

3. The Parish Census (*Liber Status Animarum Parochiae Conceptionis B. V. M. inter Potawatomes*) begins with 1841, at which time the parish counted 812 souls. The following year this number had risen to 940. Over three hundred heads of families are listed, with names, besides, of wife, children and other persons living under the same roof. Thus four Bertrands are named, Samuel, Laurent (Lawrence), Joseph, and Alexius, usually called Amable, who married Elisa McCarthy. Three Bourassas are listed as head of families, Jude, Joseph and Lazarus or Lazare. Jude had seven brothers, Lazare, Etienne, Eloy, Alexander, Daniel, Jacques and Gabriel and a sister Elizabeth. Jude Bourassa, who is described as a "*vaut rien*," "a good-for-nothing," appears to have gone over to the Baptists and is mentioned by Father Van de Velde in a communication to Washington (February 8, 1844) as having been involved in a plot against the Sugar Creek Mission. *Supra*, note 71.

4. An additional census book (*Numerus Catholicorum in Parochia anno Domini nostri J. C., 1844 Sugar Creek*) covers the period 1844-1850.

5. Marriage Register (*Liber Matrimoniorum primo Missionis inter Kickapoos ab anno 1836 usque ad mensem Octobris 1838, deinde Missionis inter Putawatomensis prope flumen Osage nempe a mense Octobris 1838-1849*)

Mission was an outgrowth of Sugar Creek The Miami Mission was likewise a scion of the same parent-stock, being originally but one of the numerous stations served from that busy missionary center The Miami reserve lay northeast of the Potawatomi lands and close to the Missouri state-line, on which it abutted The Miami had been settled there since 1846, having by various treaties sold their holdings in Indiana and agreed to move to the new lands along the Osage River reserved to them by the government.⁸⁸ The Jesuits were no strangers to this one-time powerful tribe They had worked among them at the Mission of the Guardian Angel of Chicago, as also on the St Joseph River near the southern limit of what is now the State of Michigan Jesuit relations with the Miami in the nineteenth century were renewed by Father Van Quickenborne in a chance meeting with members of the tribe in his western excursion of 1835 Later, Christian Hoecken

At the trading-post of the American Fur Company, about fifteen miles east of the Sugar Creek Mission, Father Aelen joined in wedlock on October 26, 1840, Thomas Mongeon (Mongrain?), an Osage half-breed, and Helene Dehautre "*ditte veuve Bastien,*" seven witnesses to the ceremony, Andrew Drips, the fur-trader among them, being named in the register Marriages by Father Hoecken at Council Bluffs (e.g. Pierre Harnoir and Sally Holcomb, April 29, 1840) and English Grove, Mo (e.g. Simon Fleury and Catherine Martin, May 3, 1842), are also recorded

6 Parish Book (*Liber Parochialis Ecclesiae Conceptionis BVM inter Putawatomenses*) In addition to the names of first communicants, the confirmed, members of the Association of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, the Confraternity of the Scapular, and heads of families belonging to the Society of Jesus and Mary, this register contains a Latin account of the Sugar Creek Mission apparently by Father Hoecken This account is referred to above under the caption, "Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis,*" to distinguish it from Father Hoecken's *Kalendarium*, a diary properly so-called, which begins only with 1848 A translation of the account in the *Liber Parochialis* as also of the diary appeared in the *Dial* (St Mary's College, St Marys, Kansas), 1890 Cf *supra*, note 33

Familiar names in late Potawatomi affairs are met with in the Sugar Creek records April 10, 1842, Hoecken baptized and then joined in wedlock Pierre Droyard and Therese Rose Kuese, the witnesses being Brother Van der Borgh and Mother Duchesne February 16, 1843, Father Verreydt performed a similar double ceremony in favor of Abraham Burnet (Envashina) and Marie Knofloch, daughter of John and Elizabeth Knofloch February 21, 1844, the same father married "at the Ottawa Village" Moise Paulin and Margureth [*sic*] Kwekotchi, witnesses, Joseph Loughton and Angelique Roi April 14, 1844, Hoecken married at Sugar Creek, Daniel Bourassa and Elizabeth Pisita, daughter of Misabo, witnesses Thomas Watkins and John Tipton Michael Nadau (Nadeau) had for his first wife Angelique Bertrand (died February 6, 1844) and for his second Therese Ketkwe, to whom he was married July 13, 1845 Pierre Pokegan and his wife Marie Otasowa had a child, Pierre Felix Pokegan, born March 7, 1843

⁸⁸ For immediate neighbors the Miami had on the north the Wea and Piankashaw, on the west the Potawatomi and on the south the New York Indians or so-called Six Nations The Missouri state-line bounded the Miami on the east

made visits from Sugar Creek to the Miami reserve and planted some few mustard-grains of the Faith among members of the tribe. In a letter of March 18, 1847, Superintendent Harvey took up with Father Verreydt the question of opening a mission-school among the Miami.⁸⁹ Three days later fifteen chiefs of the nation assembled at the government issue-house and in presence of Agent Vaughn signed the following petition:

We, the chiefs and principal men of the part of the Miami nation located west of the State of Missouri, being deeply impressed with the great importance of educating our people and believing the provisions made by treaty to be inadequate for that purpose and being anxious to establish a manual-labor school under the direction of the Catholic church, do hereby agree, authorize and request the President of the United States to advance out of our annuities for the year 1847, \$1500 to be added to the fund of \$2062 which, we are informed by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, is now available, for the purpose of erecting buildings and other important improvements necessary for conducting a manual-labor school. The school to be located in our country by the principal men of the nation with the advice of sub-agent and such ministers as the Catholic church may designate.⁹⁰

In June, 1847, Father Van de Velde, having laid the project of a Miami mission before his advisers, was counseled by them to look over the ground on his contemplated visit to the Indian country, and, if he found it expedient, to accept the mission.⁹¹ The venture promised well and in November, 1847, Van de Velde signed a contract with the government to open a school among the Miami at their village on the east bank of the Marais des Cygnes, as the upper Osage River was called. Father Charles Truyens, who had served a two-year apprenticeship in Indian missionary life at Sugar Creek, was named superior of the "Residence of St. Francis Regis among the Miami." Father Duerinck had been the original choice of the superior as associate to Truyens, in the event Father Henry Van Mierlo was appointed to the post. He was without experience on the Indian missions and came to the Miami from the novitiate, where he had been employed in light parochial labor. No other fathers besides these two were attached to the Miami establishment during its brief career.

The mission was located on an elevated piece of tableland in the present Miami County about fifteen miles west of the town of Westpoint, Van Buren County, Missouri, and ten miles southeast of the site of Paola. The main buildings, two in number, standing fifty yards apart,

⁸⁹ Harvey to Verreydt, March 18, 1847 (H)

⁹⁰ (H)

⁹¹ *Liber Consultationum*. (A).

and made of hewn logs, were each two stories high, fifty-one feet long and eleven wide, and contained four rooms about twenty feet square. The soil around was said to be good and capable of producing fifty bushels of corn to the acre. Connected with the mission was a field of forty acres fenced and broken.

The labors of the fathers from their arrival in 1847 yielded but a very meagre measure of success. The school in particular proved to be a failure.⁹² Major Handy, the Indian agent, in a report to Superintendent Mitchell, attributed the failure chiefly to two causes: the school was not of the manual labor type and no provision was made in it for the education of girls though the majority of the Miami children were of that sex. The agent was, besides, clearly dissatisfied with the Catholic management and recommended that the school be given to the Baptists or Presbyterians, the Rev. Daniel Lykins, superintendent of the Wea Baptist Mission being proposed by him as a competent person to take the institution in hand.⁹³ As a matter of fact, Fathers Truyens and Van Mierlo would seem to have been at fault in the matter, at least so believed Father De Smet, who regretted their failure to manage the school to better purpose. This result he attributed to a lack on their part of energy and enterprise. At the same time the general wretchedness existing at the time among the Miami must be regarded

⁹² The maximum number of pupils was eight and most of the time averaged only three. In July, 1849, only one child was in attendance. Handy to Mitchell, July 1, 1849 (H). The first Miami baptism (by Father Truyens) is dated September 2, 1848, the last, July 1, 1849. Father Van Mierlo's last baptism in the same tribe was on August 5, 1849. Subsequent baptisms among the Miami are by Fathers Bax and Ponziglione, the secular priest Father Schacht beginning to visit the tribe only in 1859 (Kinsella, *op cit*, pp. 241-243). Miami baptisms are also entered in the *Sugar Creek Baptismal Register*. There were three at "Miami town," December 17, 1848, by Truyens, and three at Miami Village, March 28, 1849, by Van Mierlo. On April 21, 1849, Truyens baptized at "Miami town," Pierre, son of Pierre Pemtikwidjik and Terese Wawakwe, god-father, Louis Wilson (F).

⁹³ Handy to Mitchell, October 9, 1849 (H). Rev. Mr. Lykins, following up Major Handy's suggestion, made application for the management of the Miami school as appears from his letter in the files of the Indian Bureau, Washington. In a previous report submitted to Superintendent Mitchell (July 1, 1849, H) Handy lays the blame for the failure of the school on the incompetency of the persons in charge. The Major appears to have felt particular irritation over a statement made by Truyens in a report to the effect that there were only 87 Indians on the reserve. He calls Mitchell's attention to the fact that there are 284 Indians on the pay-roll, 100 of them being children, of whom 75 live in the immediate vicinity of the mission. In transmitting Major Handy's report to the Bureau, August 1, 1849, Mitchell made the following comment: "As an act of justice to the reverend gentlemen in charge of the school, from whom I have lately received a letter in relation to the number of Miami, I would state that when he put down 87 as the number of Miami, he merely referred to those of pure blood and who were settled in the immediate neighborhood of the mission."

as a circumstance that had much to do with the failure of the Catholic Miami school. A paragraph from Major Handy's report for 1849 deals with conditions among the tribe, which perhaps were not quite as bad as they are described.

The Miami tribe of Indians are located on the Marais des Cygnes and its tributaries, having the best country in my agency, both in point of soil and timber, neither of which is doing them much good. There is but a single field, out of the large number that has been broken up for them, that has been tilled this year, although they are almost starving for bread. A majority are living within fifteen miles of the State-line, all along which are placed, at convenient points, numbers of groceries, which so contrive to evade the law as to furnish the Indians with any quantity of whiskey, and receive from them, when their money is gone, blankets, horses and clothing of all descriptions. The Miamies are a miserable race of beings, and in consequence of their dissipated habits, are fast passing off the stage of being. Within the last year, thirty have died. They now number about two hundred and fifty, though I do not believe there are over two hundred Miamies proper. They are not only destroying themselves by liquor, but are continually murdering one another. There is less intelligence among these Indians than any in my agency, indeed, there is scarcely a sensible man among them. Their present wretched condition I conceive to be the result of excessive indulgence in drink. So as far as obedience to their agent and a strict compliance with the wishes of government is concerned, there is no fault to be found with them.⁹⁴

The odds against the missionaries were plainly heavy enough though probably greater resourcefulness on their part would have enabled them to carry on. At all events, Father Truyens, discouraged over what appeared to him the very slender hope of accomplishing anything on behalf of the liquor-loving Miami, urged upon Father Elet, the discontinuance of the mission. This the vice-provincial reluctantly agreed to, for there were no competent hands available to go on with the work. Accordingly Father De Smet as procurator of the vice-province and official intermediary in all business dealings between the government and the Indian missions appealed in May, 1849, to Superintendent of Indian Affairs Mitchell for a release of the Jesuits from the Miami school.⁹⁵ The superintendent, after correspondence with the Indian Bureau, acquiesced in the petition and instructed Major Handy of the Osage River Agency to take over from the missionaries the school-buildings and other public property of the mission. "For some cause," Mitchell wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Brown, August 1, 1849, "and probably as much as any other from the intemperance of

⁹⁴ RCIA, 1849

⁹⁵ De Smet to Mitchell, May 11, 1849 (H)

the Miami, the school has not prospered”⁹⁶ “I regret deeply the necessity which has compelled you,” Mitchell had written in May, 1849, to De Smet, “to abandon this laudable undertaking, but at the same time fully concur with you in the expediency of doing so I sincerely hope that the benevolent and sincerely Christian exertions in other places may meet with a better reward If Providence has ordained otherwise, you will at least have the heartfelt satisfaction of knowing that you have done your duty in this world—and the cherishing hope of a suitable reward in the next”⁹⁷

The buildings of the mission were turned over in the summer of 1849 to Major Handy and the missionaries at once took their departure Father Truyens was recalled to St. Louis, Father Van Mierlo was sent to Washington, Mo., to assist Father Eysvogels, while Brother Toelle was assigned to the Potawatomi mission of St. Mary’s

Despite the ill-success of the Catholic mission among the Miami, 1847-1849, it is clear that the Indians did not lose their desire for Catholic missionaries as appears from the fact that in 1851 they were asking for them again In a letter dated “Miami Nation, November 2, 1851,” Father Bax, the Osage missionary, then on a visit to the tribe, wrote to Major Coffey

They tell me that a large majority of the nation want to have a Catholic mission If this would be the case, I think they would have the right to have one I communicated to [with] the General Superintendent of our Indian Missions and he tells me that although the tribe is small, still, as all the half-breeds and also some of the Indians were Catholics, he would take charge of it when offered by the Government What I would kindly ask of you is to ascertain the above statement impartially by vote or otherwise so that all undue influence may be avoided in those for or against I could have ascertained it by petition, but was unwilling to try it without consulting you

If the majority of the nation be found in favor of any other Society, they have likewise the right to have it and as for my part, I will be perfectly satisfied, when it will be given them I will not mention the subject any more nor wish to have it mentioned by them

Major Chenaut told me last summer that the Government is bound in justice to give the Indians the missionaries of a Society for which the majority of the nation calls and also that the Society has the right that the mission should be entrusted to it⁹⁸

Major Coffey in his letter transmitting Bax’s communication to Superintendent Mitchell expressed the opinion that while the half-breed Miami, being perhaps all Catholics, would no doubt prefer Catholic

⁹⁶ Mitchell to Brown, August 1, 1849 (H)

⁹⁷ Mitchell to De Smet, May, 1844 (H)

⁹⁸ (H)

missionaries, the full-blooded part of the nation, who were distinctly in the majority, had no preference as between the missionaries of the different denominations⁹⁹ Whether or not the matter was ever voted on by the tribe, as Father Bax suggested should be done, does not appear. In April, 1852, the father was still urging the reopening of the mission, having obtained Bishop Miége's approval for the step "I received a letter of F Bax dated 14 March," wrote De Smet to the vice-provincial, Father W S Murphy, "in which he expresses a great desire with the consent of B[isho]p Miége, of recommencing the abandoned Mission among the Miami—and that the Bp had declared then that he would take that Mission if offered him by Government This mission was formerly attended to, but without success, by FF. [Fathers] Truyens and Van Mierlo I must add at the same time that the non-success was more to be attributed to the two FF [Fathers] than to the Indians Such was the opinion of Father Bax and others This affair is to pass through the Agency of Col Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St Louis, and which I shall communicate to him at his return from Washington"¹⁰⁰ In the event the Catholic Miami mission for whatever reason was not reestablished As a sequel to the whole episode it may be noted that in 1866 a number of Miami boys were received at the Potawatomi school of St Mary's on the Kansas River, the Indian parents having frequently expressed a desire to send their children to that Catholic institution¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ (H)

¹⁰⁰ De Smet to W S Murphy, April 1, 1852 (A)

¹⁰¹ "[Rev] Mr Ivo Schlact [Schacht]" having offered to take over the school in November, 1858, the Miami Indians signed a petition to be allowed to use the mission buildings at the Miami village "for a school to be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the Catholic population" (H) The "Miami have expressed a desire to send the older children of the nation to St Mary's and to have the younger children educated at home" "The terms proposed by the Superintendent of St Mary's are satisfactory to the nation" C A Colton (Osage River Agency, Paola) to Dole (H) "The Kickapoo and Miami have frequently expressed their desire to send their children to the St Mary's Mission school among the Potawatomes I understand that these tribes have a school fund for the education of their children, but no schools (I am requested by the Superintendent of St Mary's to know if the school funds of those tribes would be applied for the education of children sent) The best way to learn English is to have children of the different tribes together, then they must speak a common language" Palmer to Cooley, March 7, 1866 (H) C C Taylor, special agent of the Indian Office, reported July 5, 1866, that though the Miami had an education fund of fifty thousand dollars with accrued interest of seventy thousand dollars they were still without schools, though they had repeatedly asked for them "This neglect is inexcusable" (H) Mapshinga, "first chief" of the Miami, was baptized at St Mary's Mission in 1858 "He is a good sensible man At every council of the nation he tried hard to get a Catholic school and Catholic missionaries He is the only man of his tribe that has not fallen a victim to whiskey" Father Gaillard in *WL*, 6 73