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POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF THE WEST:
ORIGINS OF THE CITIZEN BAND

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POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF THE WEST:

ORIGINS OF THE CITIZEN BAND

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PREFACE

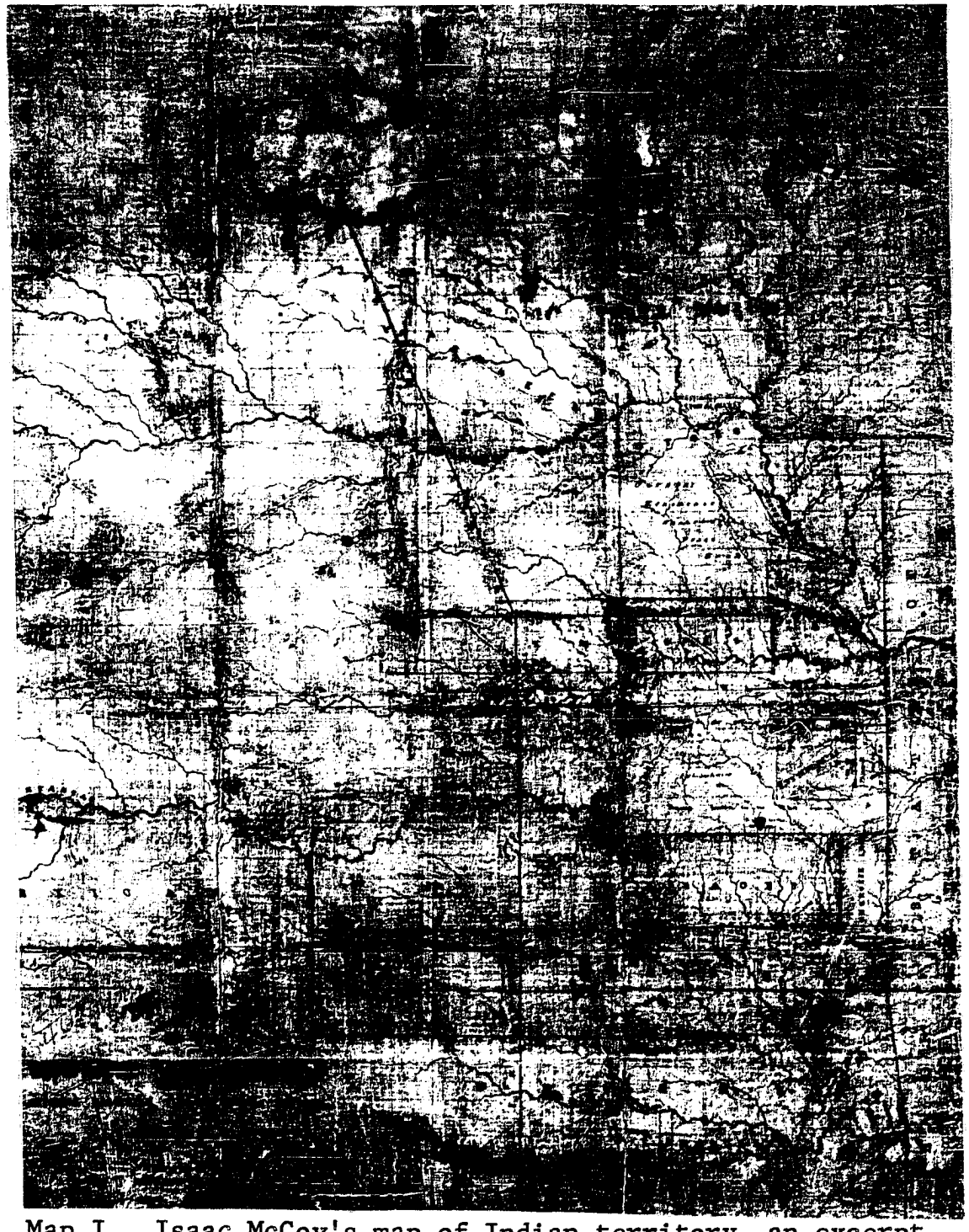
This is a historical study of the Potawatomi Indians after their removal to the Trans-Mississippi West. It has special reference to the origins and roots of the Citizen Band which came into being by provision of the Treaty of 1861. The factors and influences which explain the rise of this highly civilized segment of the Potawatomi are examined with care. Detailed analysis of the Potawatomi in the West will begin with 1834, the year which marked the beginning of their limited occupation of Missouri's Platte Purchase region. The narrative then proceeds to the events attendant upon the actual settlement of the Potawatomi reservations in Iowa Territory and the Osage River sub-agency in east-central Kansas. The history of developments in the separate localities is followed until the two factions of the tribe come to occupy a common reservation on the Kansas River.

Thorough attention is given to the tribal division which occurred on the Kansas River Potawatomi Reservation.

The split resulted in the formation of the Citizen and Prairie Potawatomi Bands. The background of this parting of the ways is explored in detail. Those accepting allotments, under government duress, became the charter members of the Citizen Band; those electing to retain lands in common on a diminished reservation in Jackson County, Kansas, constituted the Prairie Band. Then came the actual allotment period, an era requiring special stress. Careful consideration is given to the composition of both bands. Then follows a detailed exposition of the reasons for the failure of the sectionized Indians and of the events leading to a new treaty whereby the Citizen Band acquired a reservation in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Aspects of Potawatomi history in Oklahoma are presented which will aid in explaining earlier developments in Kansas. Additionally, some materials from the Oklahoma period are utilized to clarify the struggle of the Citizen Band to maintain solidarity and to secure and retain official recognition as a unit of the Potawatomi Indian Tribe. The years 1870-1872 saw the first fragmentary movement of the Citizen Indians to Oklahoma. Minute coverage closes at that point, although some later events on the Indian Territory reservation are selected for the purpose of pointing the way to the nature of the Citizen Band's

subsequent history.

For introductory purposes only, the long epoch of Potawatomi residence in the vicinity of the Great Lakes is summarily sketched. This treatment is given in order to establish the nature of the Potawatomi Indians before and at the time of their removal to the West. Also, the pre-removal resume serves as a brief study of the remote roots of the civilized Indians who later made up the preponderant plurality of the Citizen Band. To accomplish this aim the point of concentration is almost exclusively upon the period of French ascendancy in the Great Lakes area.



Map I. Isaac McCoy's map of Indian territory, an excerpt, 1838, courtesy of National Archives, Record Group 75, Map 216. Shows location of Potawatomi in Iowa Territory, upper right; Platte Purchase area; Osage River Potawatomi Reserve, the square, just below right-center.

POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF THE WEST:

ORIGINS OF THE CITIZEN BAND

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Indian traditions point to the original unity of the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa people as one tribe. Having at an indefinitely early time found their way as a group to the northern shores of Lake Huron, the unified aggregate divided. During subsequent migrations these diversified groups became aligned into more or less distinctly separate tribal affiliations. The name Potawatomi is usually translated into English as "people of the place of fire."[1] One of the

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[1]Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 2 Vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907-1910), II, 289. Hodge's article on the Potawatomi concludes with a listing of the vast number of variations in the spelling of the name of the tribe (Ibid., pp. 291, 292, 293). The version Potawatomi as used throughout the present study has become the standard form adopted by the Department of Indian Affairs, also by ethnologists generally. Former popular and customary spellings

early Jesuit missionaries, Claude Jean Allouez, used the term "Nation of Fire" for the Potawatomi and contiguous tribes of 1670.[2]

One neighboring ethnic group, the Mascoutens (Maskoutengs), became erroneously identified as a component of the "Fire Nation." In 1671, another Jesuit, Claude Dablon, pointed out the mistake of placing the people of the Mascoutenech, meaning a "treeless country," in the same classification with the Potawatomi.[3] This confusion of identification endured down to the British and American periods. This came about, no doubt, from the fact of the continued, close association of elements of both tribes. There was some tendency to migrate to and settle in the same areas. For example, Pierre Charlevoix found Mascoutens, in 1721, living in close proximity to the Potawatomi on the St. Joseph River (Michigan).[4] In any event, the Mascoutens

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still persist in the official names of political divisions, county names, in Iowa, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

[2]Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 73 Vols. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1896-1901), LIV, 211. This work is hereafter cited as Thwaites, Jesuit Relations.

[3]Ibid., LV, 199.

[4]Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, Journal of a Voyage to New France, Louise Phelps Kellog, ed., 2 Vols. (Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1923), I, 286.

became generally and officially designated "Fire Nation" people and were the progenitors of at least some portion of the Potawatomi Prairie Band.[5] This becomes important to the study of the Potawatomi of the West insofar as the marked divergence of characteristics of the Prairie Band constitutes a fundamental factor in explaining the course of events there. It became particularly decisive in the failure of the Potawatomi aggregate to achieve a genuine or lasting unity on the Kansas River after 1846.

The records of the French clearly establish that, in the seventeenth century, the Potawatomi, or portions of their number, undertook a series of migrations. Samuel de Champlain, in 1616, heard of the "Gens de Feu" as reportedly located ten days journey from Georgian Bay, and somewhere westward of Lake Huron.[6] In 1640 Barthelemy Vimont, superior of the Jesuits of New France, stated that the Potawatomi were living near Lake Winnebago in the vicinity of Green Bay.[7]

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[5]Hodge, op. cit., p. 289. For a detailed discussion of the Mascoutens, cf. Alanson B. Skinner, The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi Indians (Milwaukee: Bulletin of the Public Museum, 1926).

[6]Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618, William Lawson Grant, ed. (New York: C. Scribners Sons, 1907), pp. 303, 304.

[7]Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XVIII, 231.

Iroquoian attacks exerted much pressure on all the tribes of the area at the time. In 1653 another Jesuit referred to the "Fire Nation" as being three days journey south of Sault Ste. Marie.[8] Father Gabriel Dreuilletes, in 1658, found a large concentration of the tribe on the western shore of Lake Michigan at a village known as St. Michel. He estimated the total population as three thousand, including seven hundred men.[9] Allouez gave some indication of the effects of Iroquoian incursions when, in 1665 or 1666, he gave the male population of the Potawatomi of the Lake Michigan vicinity as only three hundred.[10]

Possibly it was in the 1680's that the Potawatomi began a series of movements southward from the Green Bay area. Accumulated evidence continues to place them in that locality until at least that decade. But in 1688, Henri Joutel discovered a Potawatomi settlement on the shores of Lake Michigan considerably farther south.[11] During the

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[8] Ibid., XXIII, 225.

[9] Ibid., XLIV, 245.

[10] Ibid., LI, 27.

[11] Henri Joutel, Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage, Henry Reed Stiles, ed. (Albany, New York: J. McDonough Company, 1906), p. 199.

1690's the southward trek became definitely established. M. Jean Buisson de St. Cosme, a member of one of Henri de Tonty's expeditions, passed down the western shore of the big lake in 1698. He found a village of Potawatomi on the Dorr County peninsula, near present-day Kewaunee, Wisconsin.[12] Another such settlement was located at the present site of Manitowoc, Wisconsin.[13] Even earlier, in 1695, La Mothe Cadillac reported that the Fire Nation had extended its habitations south and eastward, there being a community of two hundred of them in a location which was to become one of their more prominent and favorite dwelling places, namely, the St. Joseph River (Michigan).[14] Thus it was that, in 1700, Pierre Charlevoix described this tribe as ranging variously over the region from Green Bay to the St. Joseph River.[15]

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[12]Louise Phelps Kellog, Early Narratives of the Northwest (New York: C. Scribners Sons, 1917), p. 344n. Hereafter the small "n" added to any cited page number shall designate reference to a footnote thereon.

[13]Ibid., p. 345n.

[14]La Mothe Cadillac, "Relations on the Indians" (Edward Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago) as cited in W. Vernon Kinietz, Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1904), p. 309.

[15]Charlevoix, op. cit., I, 102.

During the remainder of the French era, ending with the Treaty of Paris, 1763, the Potawatomi seem to have become more and more consolidated in their Lake Michigan crescent. A document of 1730 referred to the greater part of them, in company with elements of Sac, Mascouten, and Kickapoo, as dwelling along the valley of the St. Joseph River.[16] Without developing the point in detail, it may be safely asserted that the French regarded the Potawatomi as the dominant Indian group of this area, even before the middle of the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, as a result of difficulties with the Fox tribe, in which the Potawatomi and other tribes were allies of the French, an undetermined number of the Fire Nation moved into the protective environs of Fort Detroit. Some were living in that neighborhood at least as early as 1714.[17] Charlevoix, in 1721, placed the scattered elements of the tribe as living in the Green Bay region, along the St. Joseph River, and in the Detroit area.[18]

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[16]"Cadillac Papers," Clarence M. Burton, ed., Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXXIV (1904), 74.

[17]"The French Regime in Wisconsin" (Part I), R. G. Thwaites, ed., Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVI (1902), 309.

[18]Charlevoix, op. cit., I, 398.

Just prior to 1750, "The Three Fires" confederation came into being. This was a combination of Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa who moved from the Detroit vicinity to a location on Lake Michigan which included the future site of the city of Chicago.[19] Herein lay the original basis of the United Band of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi of the later period of the jurisdiction of the United States. This grouping, as will be shown in discussing the movement to the West in the 1830's, included the Prairie Band. Before that migration came about, however, various elements of the United Band ranged over a considerable area of southern Michigan, northern Illinois, and southern Wisconsin. Regardless of the complex nature of this particular Indian entity, the American government came to recognize it as Potawatomi. Treaty texts referred to it as Potawatomi, and later, in Iowa, a sub-agent declared that it was so in fact.

These introductory considerations can benefit by allusion to the traits and customs of the Potawatomi as observed by various witnesses during the period of French ascendancy. Their subsequent docility, affability, and

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[19]"Notes of Auguste Chouteau on Boundaries of Various Indian Nations," Grant Foreman, ed., Glimpses of the Past, Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, VII (1940), 131, 132.

receptiveness to white civilization become somewhat more understandable in the light of very early French observations. A thorough and detailed inquiry into some of these aspects possibly could warrant the conclusion that the Fire Nation was truly sui generis. To establish this thesis lies outside the present scope of inquiry, but it harmonizes very well with findings in the Trans-Mississippi West where was developed a relatively high degree of willingness on the part of the main body of the Potawatomi tribe "to take the white man's way."

French observers of the seventeenth century commented both upon the warlike nature of the Potawatomi and their disposition to welcome white visitors. Father Gabriel Dreuilletes, in 1657, referring to the large concentration of three thousand Indians at the village of St. Michel on the western shore of Lake Michigan, remarked the generous reception which the Potawatomi accorded to traders and missionaries.[20]

There was at least one early instance of the later, often-demonstrated propensity of this tribe to tolerate abuse and insolence from the whites. Arriving at the village

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[20]Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LI, 27.

of St. Francix Xavier in 1670, Dablon and Allouez found the Indians preparing to take steps to curb a little group of French traders who were carrying on very badly.[21] Evidently the natives were well equipped to put an end to the persecution but were slow to resort to violence. The two Jesuits restored amicable relations simply by the power of persuasion.[22] This seems an example of unusual forbearance on a wild and distant Indian frontier in an age when the American aborigine was well known to make short shrift of insolent or overly aggressive Europeans.

The Potawatomi not only welcomed the French but generally remained very loyal to them. They cooperated energetically in keeping the peace among the tribes of the Great Lakes area. The French regarded them as a dependable, stabilizing influence. In the colonial wars with the English, even through the last and decisive one, the Potawatomi remained steadfastly attached to the French. These Indians had a long tradition of receptivity to Frenchmen and French wares. They freely welcomed French missionaries and French traders and were particularly attracted to French traders'

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[21] Ibid., LV, 186, 187.

[22] Ibid., 187.

goods. It is little wonder that the French language was familiar to them many decades later in Iowa, Kansas, and even Oklahoma. Also, it is not at all surprising that French names and French-Potawatomi mixed-bloods are prominent in the history of all Potawatomi factions in the West.

As for the political organization of this tribe during the French period, there is almost nothing of contemporary record. Scholars of recent times have assumed that the Fire Nation followed the pattern of the Ottawa. If this was true, these Indians were led by chiefs having authority strictly within their own districts. Yet, if the known Ottawa practice was closely paralleled, it would mean that the chiefs often had little real jurisdiction or influence. It seems that after contact with the Europeans developed, the necessity of deputizing official spokesmen to handle diplomatic and trading agreements gave rise to the office of principal chief. Charlevoix mentioned such a Potawatomi spokesman.[23] The apparent, early de-emphasis of the authority of the chiefs anticipated conditions which we also found later in the West. In the latter locale the chiefs held largely honorary positions and served as leaders

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[23]Charlevoix, op. cit., II, 98.

in diplomatic negotiations and treaty-making. However, as our study will show, the office of chief consistently retained greater importance among the Prairie Band of Iowa and Kansas. Possibly the partial Mascouten background of this group is explanatory of this variant political tradition.

The Potawatomi of the Lake Michigan realm were hunters and fishermen but augmented their food supply from agriculture. Their main specialty was the cultivation of considerable quantities of corn.[24] Indian women, almost exclusively, did the actual labor of the fields. They produced also beans, peas, squashes, and tobacco.[25] In 1742, a company of St. Joseph Potawatomi chiefs, visiting Montreal on official business, requested a blacksmith for their village.[26] It is opportune to mention here that a most important transition came about later, in Eastern Kansas, when Potawatomi menfolk of Michigan and Indiana background came to abandon the hunt almost entirely and turned to the toils

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[24]Antoine Raudot, "Memoir," in W. Vernon Kinietz, op. cit., p. 381.

[25]Huron Herbert Smith, Ethnobotany of the Forest Potawatomi (Milwaukee: Public Museum Bulletin, 1933), p. 41.

[26]"The French Regime in Wisconsin," (Part II), R. G. Thwaites, ed., Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVII (1906), 394.

of agriculture. This development became basic to the origins of the Citizen Band.

According to an account of 1718, the Potawatomi lived in cabins of reed mats, the coverings consisting of a framework of saplings.[27] During spring and summer they set up agricultural villages. In the autumn they moved their dwellings into the woods for the winter hunting seasons. There they remained until spring when they returned to begin anew the planting of crops.[28] These relatively ancient practices respecting shelters and the culture of the soil formed a very suitable preparation for a significant advancement in white civilization in the West during the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, we should make the observation that these early descriptions of a partial agricultural economy do not justify generalizations concerning the life of all branches of this tribe. In Kansas, many years later, a large faction of them, mostly Prairie Band, still scorned agriculture in all its forms.

Many contemporary records indicate that intermarriage

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[27]Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LI, 27.

[28]"The French Regime in Wisconsin" (Part I), R. G. Thwaites, ed., Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVI (1902), 366-368.

with neighboring Indian tribes was common. It comes as no surprise, then, that in the 1860's one of the most prominent Potawatomi mixed-bloods in Kansas declared that the nation was made up of "about twenty different tribes."

There was also a very pronounced early tendency for the Potawatomi womenfolk to intermarry with the whites. This practice was substantially important to later Potawatomi history, because the general and persistent propensity to consort with, to intermarry with, and to adopt white men into the tribe becomes most vital in the West toward moving a large segment of the nation in the direction of the white man's culture. There was considerable intermixture with the Canadian French in the St. Joseph River settlements. One of the most prominent examples was that of Louis Chevalier who took a Potawatomi wife and stayed on as trader and farmer, even during the British period.[29] Other noteworthy white traders who intermarried with Potawatomi women and remained influential in tribal affairs were William Burnett, from New Jersey, and Joseph Bertrand.[30] These two names appear

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[29]"Papers from Canadian Archives," R. G. Thwaites, ed., Wisconsin Historical Collections, 1888, XI (1888), 116n.

[30]Blanche M. Haines, "French and Indian Footprints at Three Rivers on the St. Joseph," Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, XXXVIII (1912), 395, 396.

frequently in the records of the American period. Their families and descendants will repeatedly find places in the Trans-Mississippi Potawatomi story. The effects of this longstanding Potawatomi custom of intermarrying with the white man will become most apparent.

The French observed various other traits which gave promise of the developments which transpired during the period of this emphasis. For instance, Father Allouez thought that the Potawatomi were the most docile and well disposed native people whom he encountered. They normally lived peacefully, he stated, among themselves and with their neighbors, and showed uniform, cordial hospitality to visiting strangers of all kinds.[31]

Since these introductory remarks are intended to establish the nature of this people prior to their removal to the West, random sources from the French era have provided the most suitable material. The records of the British and American periods yield a narrative of intrigue, politics, Indian wars, treaties, and disturbed conditions. It seems unnecessary here to attempt even the most fragmentary history of all these events. Summarily, the pressures

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[31]Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, LI, 27.

of international struggles, plus the relentless and inexorable trek of the westward moving American settlers, placed the Potawatomi in a fabric of complications in which they suffered exceedingly. They transferred their ancient loyalties to the French, at least in a measure, to the English, this being in evidence even as late as the War of 1812. The very nature of this Indian frontier was not conducive to a spontaneous and lasting welcome to the Americans.

The American settlements pressed the tribe even more vigorously following the peace of 1815. These Indians were now broadly scattered over a vast area of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. Again and again they yielded their lands by treaty arrangements with the United States government. Some fled to Canada, but the great proportion of them remained to sign the removal treaties of the years 1832 to 1841. As will be demonstrated, many elements of them moved westward freely and without military coercion; others were herded and driven.

Subsequent chapters will reach back variously into the period of Great Lakes Potawatomi history. Treatment of the removal treaties will indicate the tribal division and approximate geographical distribution at the time of the migrations. Allusion will also be made to cultural and

missionary enterprises among them during the eighteen-twenties and eighteen-thirties. These influences form a part of the account of continuity of forces which promoted the Potawatomis' adoption of the white man's way, a process which slowly, and at times painfully, crystallized in the regions beyond the Mississippi.

CHAPTER II

THE UNITED BAND OF CHIPPEWA, OTTAWA, AND POTAWATOMI IN MISSOURI AND IOWA

The Treaties of Chicago, September 26[1] and 27, 1833,[2] provided for the removal from Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin of that most numerous segment of the Potawatomi, the so-called United Band of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. According to a recent and very thorough study, this aggregation consisted of two separate groups of Indians.[3] It is

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[1]U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 431.

[2]Ibid., 442.

[3]Sim T. Carman, Consolidated Docket Nos. 14-J, 40-H and 13-J, Before the Indian Claims Commission, Defendants Requested Finds of Fact, Objections to Claimants' and Intervenors' Findings of Fact, and Brief (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 33. Mr. Carman, ibid., pp. 34-45, passim, goes into detail in discussing the two groups which constituted the United Band, viz., the Indians of the State of Illinois and Wisconsin Territory who signed the Treaty of Chicago, September 26, 1833, which provided in Article II for their removal within three years from the date of its ratification, February 21, 1835 (Charles J. Kappler (ed.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 2 Vols.,

useless to attempt to estimate the percentage of non-Potawatomi blood which had infiltrated the band at the time of the treaty signings, but the point seems well established that the Ottawa, Chippewa, and others were well assimilated into the Potawatomi entity; summarily, the United Band was Potawatomi. Ten years later on the Iowa reserve, there was at least one very emphatic allusion to this particular fact:

> In my report for 1843, I stated that no distinction is recognized or observed among these Indians on account of their origin from different nations, but they all describe themselves as "Pottawatomies," by which name they are known among their Indian neighbors. Though there are individuals here of Ottawa as well as Chippewa ancestry, yet they are so few in number that the official designation of the band, as fixed by the treaties of July 29th, and September 26th, 1833, is now little better than a misnomer. There are also individuals among them of Sioux, Menominie and Sac blood, but they are all classed as Pottawatomies.[4]

Washington, 1904, II, p. 402), and secondly, the Potawatomi of Michigan Territory south of the Grand River. One minor group, later commonly referred to as "Pokagon's Band" of Potawatomi Indians, of the Michigan area, was exempted from removal to the West. This was authorized by a supplemental provision of the Treaty of Chicago, September 27, 1833, which was signed by the second group. Mr. Carman's breakdown on the bands, villages, and locations of the two major groups emphasizes the heterogeneous character of the United Band. On the extremes of cultural difference were the somewhat civilized and educated elements of the Michigan and "Chicago Potawatomi" on the one hand, with the Illinois and Wisconsin Prairie Potawatomi, much more primitive in character, on the other.

[4]Ibid., p. 48. Quoting Richard S. Elliott, Indian sub-agent, Council Bluffs, to T. Hartley Crawford,

It is clear certainly that the United States government in its treaty and business relations regarded this entire combination of Indians as Potawatomi.

Some elements of the United Band, especially those of mixed-Indian and white blood, eventually became a constituent part of the Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians. Therefore it is necessary to view rather closely the history and characteristics of the former during its early tenure in the West. This treatment, however, will not constitute a definitive history of all aspects of the Potawatomi in Missouri and Iowa. Only those developments which facilitate an understanding of the formation and nature of the Citizen Band are emphasized.

The first residence of a major portion of the migrated Potawatomi, subject to the 1833 treaties, was in Missouri, or rather the Platte Purchase, which became a part of that state in 1837. This annexation took place on March 28, following the authorization of the United States Congress and an act passed by the Missouri legislature.[5] The area

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Commissioner of Indian Affairs (this title hereafter always cited as C. I. A.). Emphasis supplied here.

[5]Richard S. Elliot, Notes Taken in Sixty Years (St. Louis: R. P. Studley and Company, 1883), p. 170.

was roughly in the shape of a triangle, west of the old Missouri border, east of the Missouri River, and south of the southern border of the Territory of Iowa, or, as one author described it, "that part of North Missouri, west of a line drawn due north through the mouth of the Kansas River."[6]

The Potawatomi were in reality trespassers on the Platte Purchase.[7] Why then did they live and tarry there, even temporarily? One authority explains that the "tribe on leaving Chicago were conducted thither by the contractors in charge of the emigration, presumably because the Indians could not be induced to occupy the Iowa lands, which report had led them to believe were undesirable."[8] Another supports this contention, establishing that in the period 1833-1837 both the United States and the Potawatomi understood that the Iowa tract was the one agreed upon as the place of removal.[9] He shows how the famous Chicago chiefs, Billy

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[6]William E. Connelley, "The Prairie Band of Pottawatomie Indians," Kansas Historical Collections, XIV (1915-1918), 488.

[7]Gilbert J. Garraghan, The Jesuits of the Middle United States, 3 Vols. (New York: America Press, 1938), I, 428n.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Carman, op. cit., pp. 55-60, passim.

Caldwell and Alexander Robinson, comprehended clearly the location of their future home in Iowa, even at the time of the 1833 treaty proceedings.[10] A memorial of Chief Wah-ban-seh is also cited to bolster the same argument.[11]

Nevertheless, it seems that there was some governmental vacillation in insisting upon the Iowa tract as the only possible "exchange land" provided for in the treaties. This could at least in part explain the several removals of portions of the United Band to the Platte Purchase during the years 1833 to 1836. Our evidence indicates that some government officials did consider a substitute reservation, or better, an exchange for the "exchange land."

The Baptist missionary reports of the time at least hinted that there was an "undecided" attitude among some of the officials. Robert Simerwell, pioneer co-worker with Isaac McCoy at the Carey school in Michigan and later a faithful laborer on both Potawatomi reserves in Kansas, is the chief source of information upon the United Band as

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[10] Ibid., p. 58.

[11] Ibid., p. 60. Wah-Ban-Seh is the same as "Waubunsee" of earlier fame in Illinois (Otho Winger, The Potawatomi Indians, Elgin, Illinois: The Elgin Press, 1933, p. 91). The name is perpetuated in Kansas as the place-name of a county. In this case the spelling is "Wabaunsee."

residents of the Platte Purchase. He was on the ground very early, having left Indiana with Mrs. Simerwell on August 3, 1833, and arriving at Isaac McCoy's home west of Independence on November 14 of the same year.[12] This early arrival preceded the listed dates for most of the early, recorded movements of the United Band under various contractors.[13] During the following spring, after a winter of illness and weakness, Simerwell visited the Potawatomi in the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth. Soon afterwards he moved into the vacated Shawnee Mission House where he began an intensive study of the Potawatomi and other Indian languages.[14] In 1835 he

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[12]Bessie Ellen Moore, "Life and Work of Robert Simerwell" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of Kansas, 1939), p. 25.

[13]W. B. Waugh, clerk of the Division of Records, to G. W. Ewing, veteran trader and attorney for the Potawatomi, May 18, 1853, Special File 69, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, hereafter cited as OIA, an enclosure in the letter entitled: "Statement of number of Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies removed west since 1832 as per muster rolls in file in office of Indian Affairs." The earlier immigrations are listed in the following order: Agent L. H. Sands, 1833, with sixty-seven Indians; James Kennerly, 1833, with 179; W. Gordon, 1834, with 199; in 1836, 500 of this band moved on their own volition. All these listings certainly antedate the settlement of the Iowa tract, which, according to Isaac McCoy did not take place until July, 1837, History of Baptist Indian Missions (Washington: William M. Morrison, 1840), p. 582.

[14]Moore, loc. cit., p. 31.

wrote to Mr. L. Bolles, corresponding secretary of the Boston Board (Baptist), asking that missionary organization to "re-establish a school amongst the Pottawatomie Indians."[15] By this time his activities and recorded remarks began to relate directly to the question of just where and when the United Band would find a permanent location. In fact, he became, on the side, a party to the issue, but before proceeding with his participation it is necessary to turn briefly to Isaac McCoy.

McCoy unreservedly opposed the transfer of the Potawatomi from their temporary location in Missouri to the Iowa reserve. He desired the union and consolidation of all bands and elements of the tribe on the upper Osage River, southwest of the Platte Purchase. When most of the Indians were precipitately removed to Iowa Territory in July, 1837, McCoy's hope was thwarted. But in his History of the Baptist Missions he gave details on what happened and discussed the whole issue: Anthony L. Davis, sub-agent in charge of the United Band in the Fort Leavenworth vicinity, was displaced by a certain Dr. James, and

> Dr. James was appointed sub-agent for a band which some were endeavoring to take to a country high up

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[15] Ibid.

the Missouri. They had been encamped about a year near Ft. Leavenworth, in charge of A. L. Davis, Esq. He had, by a recent order, been directed to a site chosen him on the Osage River and was likely to take all or nearly all the Putawatomies with him to the home provided for them permanently. But the appointment of Dr. James turned the current of their wishes. He was entreated by us to use his influence to induce the Putawatomies to locate in a place from which, it was believed, they would not have occasion to remove. But he was resolved on taking as many of them as possible up the Missouri. Nobody pretended to think that they would be allowed to remain there; but the agent argued that they could not find any place from which they would not be forced by white men . . . . The protection of the frontier was in charge of General Gaines. He, without waiting for orders from Washington, gathered the Putawatomies together, and conveyed them up the Missouri to the place contemplated. This removal occurred between the 20th and the last of July, 1837. It appeared that the Department of Indian Affairs had not anticipated this removal at that time, for on the 21st of July, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Harris, assigning to him the matter of removal, and enjoining on him to endeavor to get their consent to go to the country set apart for them within the Indian territory . . . . The Putawatomi tribe was now become divided. Mr. Davis . . . was collecting as many as he could within his agency, which embraced also several other tribes. Those in favor of their locating on the Missouri were vigilant, and . . . reported to the Putawatomies, who had not yet decided which place they would settle, that the government desired all to go up the Missouri. Emigrants from Michigan and Indiana were still arriving, and some pains were taken by us, and not without success, to let them know the nature of the instructions to Gen. Atkinson and others, which had emanated from the Department of Indian Affairs on that subject . . .[16]

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[16]Isaac McCoy, op. cit., pp. 581, 582.

Thus, Departmental confusion resulted in a division of the United Band at the time of the departure from the Platte Purchase, with a small minority proceeding to the new Potawatomi reservation on the Osage River. The hastiness of the eviction of the Indians in the summer of 1837 is very understandable in view of the fact that the area became a part of the state of Missouri on March 28, by presidential proclamation.[17]

Robert Simerwell personally inspected both of the reservations mentioned as projected homes for the Potawatomi. There is also one indication that he and his companions gave further impetus to the anti-Iowa campaign. On March 20, 1835, with Mr. Meeker as an associate, Simmerwell journeyed up the Missouri River, "to examine the land assigned to Pottawatomie by the Treaty of Chicago."[18] On the return journey they remained for a time at the camp of the Potawatomi chieftain, Queh-que-tah, who with 450 followers had settled among the Kickapoo near Fort Leavenworth, on the Kansas side of the river.[19] It is probable that he

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[17]Elliot, op. cit., p. 170.

[18]Moore, loc. cit., p. 32.

[19]Ibid.

was the same individual as the "Quish-que-lah," who, according to another authority, wrote a most eloquent argument to the President of the United States, November 20 of the same year. Therein he protested against the Iowa location and favored the Osage River vicinity:

> We do not like the country high up on the Missouri River; wood is very scarce. We should be too near the Naudowises, Sioux, Pawnees, and other Indians who we fear would be unfriendly and troublesome. The country is nearer to these tribes and further from the white settlements than we expected . . . There is good country on the Osage River . . . If you will allow us to settle on the Osage River, instead of the land high up the Missouri, we should be glad to hear you say so soon, for we are very anxious to get on our land. We have been told that the white people want the land on the Platte. If we were to settle on the Missouri River above them, perhaps they would wish to extend their settlements there also.[20]

Some educated white person evidently aided the chief in the composition of such a letter, as was often the custom with "Indian" correspondence, petitions, and memorials. We may

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[20]Carman, op. cit., pp. 74, 75. In this publication the chief's name is spelled "Qhish-que-lah," but all indications point to his identity with "Queh-que-tah" as taken by Moore from the Simerwell Papers. Carman's research also provides other good examples of Potawatomi dissatisfaction with the Iowa reservation. For example, there is the letter of Luther Rice, former Hampton Institute student and instructor at Carey Mission School, Michigan, who accompanied a detachment of the Illinois Potawatomi to the West on an exploring expedition in the spring of 1835, p. 77.

also suspect that Simerwell's visit influenced its content.

The inspection trip to the Osage country took place in the fall of 1835. In this instance Simerwell's traveling companion was an unnamed chief of the Potawatomi tribe. The results and impressions of the journey were summed up by Simerwell as follows:

> The old chief was much pleased with the land and that winter two companies of Indians visited Washington to try to persuade the government to substitute lands on the Osage River for the land assigned them by the Treaty of Chicago.[21]

A chance existed to concentrate all the Potawatomi Bands together on the Osage River reservation, the area otherwise specifically set aside for the Potawatomi of Indiana by the Treaty of February 11, 1837.[22] As it was, the great majority of the United Band Indians went off to Council Bluffs where they continued their more primitive ways. This occurred despite the presence of the Chicago Potawatomi and the mixed-bloods. A small minority of the band, almost exclusively from Michigan, proceeded to the Osage River where for ten years they dwelt with the Indiana Potawatomi. There they had much better opportunity for

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[21]Moore, loc. cit., p. 33.

[22]U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 532.

advancement in agriculture, education, and the arts of civilization. Thus the later attempt to unify all the Indian elements from Iowa reservation with those from the Osage River had small likelihood of success. This plan came into play with the treaty of 1846,[23] when both groups moved to the Kansas River Reserve, just west of Topeka. Out of that later failure to achieve unity lay the general basis for the re-division of the total tribe into two Bands. Apart from the diversities already existing before the removal from east of the Mississippi, the intervening ten years were plainly most important in determining whether an authentic union could be achieved. The study of the two Potawatomi Reservations during those critical years will be a picture of contrasts rather than similarities.

Demoralization and discouragement characterized the era of Potawatomi residence in the Platte Purchase. The government provided subsistence.[24] Isaac McCoy mentioned, in 1837, that the Indians, excluded both from the chase and

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[23] Ibid., IX, 853.

[24] "Muster Roll of the Chicago Agency Pottawatomi Indians Sussisted on the North Side of the Missouri River near Ft. Leavenworth west of the Mississippi River under Anthony L. Davis . . . in the Quarter ending 31st December, 1863," Letters Received, Ft. Leavenworth Agency File, 1835-1836, OIA.

farming activities, depended entirely on Indian Department officials for their daily bread.[25] And in a letter of May 1, 1835, Simerwell wrote this account:

> The Putawatomies are still unsettled and are becoming distressingly poor. They had expected that this spring the government would have placed them on their own lands, where they could commence cultivating the soil, but in this they have been disappointed. At least they cannot now be removed to their own land in time to raise a crop the present season. To subsist by the chase is out of the question. They are becoming much discouraged and are going into debt for provisions.[26]

On March 1, 1837, Simerwell described the condition of the Indians as desperate: drunkenness abounded; they had lost all confidence in the government; and uncertainty about the time and place of their removal was demoralizing them. At the conclusion of this letter he feelingly added the remark, "We need the prayers of the saints."[27]

Knowledge of this period depends in a large degree on the missionaries' reports, but actually missionary activity of all kinds was minimal. The untiring Simerwell made

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[25] History of Baptist Indian Missions, op. cit., p. 581.

[26] Simerwell to L. Bolles, Boston, in Simerwell Papers, File No. 4, correspondence and reports, 1834-1839, Division of Manuscripts, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. Hereafter cited as KSHS.

[27] Ibid., Simerwell to Bolles.

progress with the Potawatomi language and prepared a hymn book. He also continued to instruct the Indians as well as he could in the circumstances.[28] Charles Felix Van Quickenborne, pioneer superior of the Jesuit missions of Missouri, made brief contact with the United Band on a western missionary journey in 1835. He met several Catholics among an exploring party intent upon inspecting the Iowa lands.[29] Van Quickenborne received such encouragement from this chance visit with the Potawatomi that in September, 1835, he petitioned Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, for financial assistance to open a school for the tribe, as authorized in some of the treaty provisions. Cass approved the projected school for the Kickapoos, mentioned in the same petition, but refused any arrangement for such an establishment for the United Band.[30]

During 1837, Van Quickenborne, working out of the nearby Jesuit Kickapoo mission, visited the Potawatomi on

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[28]Solomon Peck, History of American Missions (Worcester, Mass.: Spooner and Howland, 1840), p. 543.

[29]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 425. According to this authority, the reports of this expedition, under a Mr. Gordon, were primarily responsible for the diverting of elements of the United Band to the Platte Purchase.

[30]Ibid., pp. 426, 427.

the east bank of the Missouri River and baptized fourteen children. Some of the better known Chicago Indians, Chief Billy Caldwell, Lafromboise, Chavalier, and Bourbonnet acted as sponsors.[31] This seems to have been the extent of Catholic missionary activity among these Indians during the sojourn in the Missouri vicinity. Out of these early contacts of Van Quickenborne, however, arose the sequence of events which led to the establishment of a mission at Council Bluffs and also at Sugar Creek on the Osage River Potawatomi reservation.

In presenting a discussion of selected topics relating to the era of Potawatomi residence in Iowa Territory, we first emphasize a trait which has direct bearing on our specific field of inquiry. We must examine the persistent tendency of these people to intermingle with and welcome the presence of the white man. The Potawatomi had an inclination from very early times to associate with, to intermarry with, and generally to intermingle with people of white and European background. French names became plentiful within their various bands. This custom of giving fraternity, even tribal membership, to whites was not unique with these

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

Indians. Nevertheless, a thorough study of some of their Algonquian cousins, especially the Kickapoos, will show that they had the very opposite tendency. By the time of the Treaty of Chicago, August 21, 1821,[32] many French and some English names came to prominence in the leadership in several groups of the Potawatomi. The treaty signatories included Bertrand, Burnett, Moran, Riley, and Le Clerc.[33] When Chicago held elections for the first time, August 7, 1826, out of the thirty-five total votes cast,

> three-fourths of them were Indians and mixed-bloods, and the following exercised the right of ballot: Daniel Bourassa, Antoine Oilmette, Francis Lafromboise, Claude Lafromboise, Joseph Pothier, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, William Caldwell and Alexander Robinson.[34]

Some of these personalities have previously been encountered on the Platte Purchase in Missouri; a few of them continued as persons of distinction on the reservation in Iowa. Only a dwindling number of them survived to make the move to Kansas after the Treaty of 1846, but nearly all the family names endured to the twentieth century, especially within the Citizen Band. Also, to intermingle with the

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[32]U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 218.

[33]Kappler, op. cit., II, 198.

[34]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 423.

whites and to continue to intermarry with them was a persevering practice in Kansas. It would be one of the habitual, never-failing characteristics of the Citizen Band on their Indian Territory Reservation (Oklahoma). We shall supply abundant evidence to substantiate these statements; now we proceed to examine the trait at Council Bluffs.

As related to this topic, there was one clear-cut protest about moving to Iowa in the first place. Chief Quish-queh-lah's letter of November, 1835, from near Fort Leavenworth, included the objection that the country "high up the Missouri" was not only close to numerous warlike Indian tribes "but further from the white settlements than we expected." Although it was an ideal with certain officials of the Indian Department to transplant the Indians east of the Mississippi to certain areas in the West where they would be in minimum contact with whites, some of the Potawatomi did not especially agree with this. As far as the Iowa reserve was concerned, as it turned out, the chief actually had no real basis for worry. There were white settlements nearby, white men all around, and many within the Indian reservation. This situation became more and more noticeable as the white settlements advanced both in Iowa territory and northwestern Missouri.

There were two groups of white men living on the reservation around Council Bluffs: the legal or authorized individuals and the illegal intruders. Comments by the sub-agents and Department officials were mainly devoted to the unlawful types, but there were some instances of fault-finding with the legal ones, especially the traders. The most frequent complaint about this latter category of enterprising promoters concerned their alleged activities in the illegal liquor traffic. The problem of whiskey occupied more space in the letters and official reports than any other subject. Stephen Cooper, one of our better witnesses among the sub-agents, suggested in 1841 that some of the traders, especially Joseph Robidoux, Roy Tapper, and John B. Sarpy were bringing ardent spirits up the Missouri in their boats and were distributing them to the Indians. This was a real problem, for, as he put it, "It is a difficult matter to get positive proof of these things."[35] Cooper, in the same letter, blamed the mixed-bloods and intruding whites

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[35]Stephen Cooper, Council Bluffs sub-agent, to Joshua Pilcher, superintendent, St. Louis, October 2, 1841, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers, MSS, which is mainly a collection of Letter Books and other papers pertaining to the United States Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, 1807-1855: Division of Manuscripts, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, hereafter cited as Clark Papers.

for cooperating with the traders in carrying on the liquor traffic. This was a constant topic in the official correspondence of the time. Earlier, at the time of Cooper's first arrival at the sub-agency, he reported that he found the Indians "in drunkenness, and the country full of whiskey," also that persons engaged in the illegal business were "running it off in wagons through the night."[36] Apparently he was not able to bring about much improvement during his term of service, and the theme of complaint went on under his successors.

In January, 1842, the new superintendent in St. Louis wrote a lengthy letter of instructions to Joseph W. Dedrick, Cooper's successor at Council Bluffs. First, he ordered that Claude La Fromboise be discharged from his position as interpreter because he had been selling liquor to the Indians; proof for this charge was not given. The letter then proceeded to comment on the general status of affairs within the Potawatomi sub-agency:

> Reports from various sources, all concur in representing the relations between Indians and whites, within the limits of your sub-agency, as in the most deplorable condition: and so far as I can learn, the cause of all the difficulties may be

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[36] Ibid., Cooper to Pilcher, June 17, 1839.

> traced to the introduction and sale of ardent spirits. It will be your duty on all occasions to use every possible execution to suppress this illegal trade.[37]

There is also no evidence that Dedrick was any more successfull than Cooper in bettering the situation.

By June of 1842 a detachment of Dragoons was dispatched to Council Bluffs for the twofold purpose of controlling any potential incursions on the part of the Sioux and also attempting to control the whiskey traffic.[38] Agent Richard W. Cummins, Fort Leavenworth, reported that the Potawatomi were very happy in having the presence of the military under the command of Captain John H. Burgwin. The fear of the Sioux was relieved, and the chiefs expressed their hope that the troops would guard their people on two lines, that between them and the Sioux and that between them and the whiskey. Most encouragingly, the Indians promised to report the whites if they again attempted to bring in liquor.[39]

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[37]D. D. Mitchell, St. Louis superintendent, to J. W. Dedrick, January 24, 1842, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

[38]Richard W. Cummins, Fort Leavenworth agent, to Mitchell, June 14, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers; Louis Pelzer, Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley (Iowa City: State Historical Society, 1917), p. 93.

[39]Ibid., Cummins.

As the reports of the sub-agent clearly indicate, the efforts of the Dragoons to enforce prohibition were in some minor degree successful during the next two years, but in the beginning a bit of comedy developed. First, the Indians took it upon themselves to coach Captain Burgwin on the best tactics to use against both the Sioux and the liquor runners: "The Commanding Officer made some proposition to the Indians in regard to discoveries, which I highly approved of, but the Indians advised him to lie still, and rest his horses, and in case of emergency his force would be together, and his horses would be fresh."[40] Next, the half-breeds miserably failed to cooperate. The agent bitterly complained that the procedure of destroying the whiskey stocks effected little or nothing, "as they can lose half of each barrel and still make a good profit." He went on to state that the system of requiring that Indians and half-breeds be brought before a U. S. Court was entirely too slow and tedious, and that the agent or army officer should be permitted to take summary action. These officials, he

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[40]Daniel Miller, Council Bluffs agent, to Mitchell, July 1, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers. The Council Bluffs agent, with area jurisdiction, was distinguished from the Council Bluffs sub-agent, who had the immediate care of the Potawatomi of Iowa Territory.

argued, should have authority to impose fines then and there, although the accused might yet have the right of appeal. But in the midst of all these troubles, even the Dragoons had gotten mixed up in the liquor evil:

> A case is said to have just occurred in the Commanding Officer's camp near this place, - a half-breed Indian introduced a saddle bag full of whiskey bottles near the camp of the Dragoons, and so managed that the troops got the liquor, got drunk, threw the camp into confusion, and when the liquor was sought for by the Commander to destroy it, it was already destroyed by the drunken soldiers (drunk up).[41]

In his letter of July 1, 1842, Agent Daniel Miller also expressed dissatisfaction with the half-breeds and whites in more general terms, and this set the pattern for many such letters from Potawatomi areas in later times:

> . . . we are laboring under an annoyance here by Indians and half-breeds who are not in the employment of the Government, nor employed by men that the Government has placed here. They are not advancing their own interests nor the interest of the nation, in civilization, -- to all appearances they must for the most part either live by begging or stealing, if the latter, there is considerable complaint . . . . And too, we are greatly annoyed with men who do not, by descent belong to Indian tribes here -- men who are reckless in point of moral character, who fly from post to post, and who frequently claim a right in the Indian country from the circumstances of living in the Indian country with an Indian woman, which

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[41]Miller to Mitchell, July 2, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

> in most of such cases is very prejudiced to the peace and good being of the Indians.[42]

The following spring, Superintendent Mitchell was again registering complaints in a vein similar to that of the Potawatomi sub-agent:

> Many complaints, coming from the Indians and traders within your sub-agency have reached this office, in relation to the <u>great number of whites</u> residing in the Indian country without license or permission of any kind from the proper authorities. The Government was long since aware of this, and consequently the necessary laws have been enacted to prevent all such persons from passing into, or residing in the Indian country.[43]

In view of subsequent events it is safe to assume that the effort to exclude whites from the Iowa Potawatomi reservation by the device of law was wholly inadequate.

Sub-agents for the United Band at Council Bluffs apparently did not hold great length of tenure. Dedrick had replaced Cooper in early 1842; by summer of that year, as the citations have indicated, D. D. Miller, the area agent was handling Potawatomi affairs; and by May of the next year John B. Luce was replaced by Richard Smith Elliot.[44] Elliot

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[42]Miller to Mitchell, July 1, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[43]Mitchell to John B. Luce, Council Bluffs sub-agent, May 13, 1843, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers. Emphasis supplied.

[44]<u>Ibid</u>. Part of the burden of this letter was to inform Luce that he was being replaced.

was by all odds the most fascinating personality discovered among the officials of the Indian Department in the course of this entire study. He continued at Council Bluffs until his resignation, in the autumn of 1845, in order to conduct the Potawatomi Chiefs' famous embassy to see the "Great White Father."[45] His employment by the Department was, for him, only a passing adventure mixed in with his many varied experiences in the West. We can hardly regard him as a typical Indian agent. To understand this fully it would be necessary to read at length from his already much cited book, Notes Taken in Sixty Years. In addition to being a man of many occupations, he was a humorist, a critic, and in many senses a realist. All this is by way of introduction to his reports on the mingling of the Indians with the whites.

The subject of whiskey continued to be an item of correspondence during Elliot's administration. There was only one instance where there was a report of a definite improvement in the situation:

> I have recently received a letter from Agent Miller of the 5" of March ultimo: in which he informs me that the Indians of your sub-agency have at length determined to put a stop to the illicit introduction of whiskey among their people; and for that purpose

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[45]Elliot, op. cit., p. 199.

> have actually organized companies of light horse to scour the country and arrest all smugglers: it appears, too, from this communication that they have lately made some seizures, and either detained the items or imposed fines on the delinquents.[46]

Evidently this vastly improved attitude did not last long. In his text for the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July, 1845, Elliot was painting the same old picture of the illegal liquor traffic.[47]

This intrepid sub-agent also developed a noteworthy discussion of the whole subject of white-Indian intermingling in his 1845 report. His thought on the subject departed radically from that of some of his predecessors who could see no good whatsoever in such practices. The Elliot thesis is considered so important to the present writer's problem that its text is given here at length:

> The residence of industrious white men in the Indian country, when intermarried with the Indians, is useful in promoting civilization. We do not look for perpetuity of a pure-blooded Indian race. That is already impossible: and as the children of white men with Indian wives follow the condition of the mother, and are members of the tribe, it does not seem improper to permit such connexions in cases where the

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[46]Thomas Harvey, St. Louis superintendent, to Elliot, April 5, 1844, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

[47]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1829-1908), 1845, p. 553. This Annual Report hereafter cited as R.C.I.A.

> general conduct of the white man is unobjectionable. Whatever advances the Pottawatomies have made towards civilization have been promoted in a greater degree by the intermixture of white with the tribe, than any other cause. These carry with them the habits of our race: and though the standard of imitation which they constitute for the Indians may not be considered high, yet it is for that reason more attainable by the latter. Their houses and farms are constant example, and they are able to do much in teaching agriculture in a simple and rude manner. It also seems that the issues of mixed blood, arising from such connexions, is much better fitted to adopt our habits than full-blood Indians. The half-breeds, men and women, among the Pottawatomies, all wear the dress of the whites, and adopt our mode of life so far as their knowledge and means enable them to do so. The half-breed women almost invariably marry white men, if they can get them, and do their best to rank as good housewives, but it is a little singular that the half-breed men, while they build houses, make small farms, and dress and live like the whites, generally marry full-blooded Indian women. A full-blood Indian woman (at least among the Pottawatomies here), with a white man or half-breed as a husband, always dresses her children, so far as she knows how, after the fashion of the whites, and generally observes the same rule herself.[48]

Following this rather observant disquisition, Elliot then included the rather unusual remark that the traders of the area were conforming to the regulations and that he had "no censure to pass upon them."[49]

It will be one of the contentions in this study that

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[48] Ibid., p. 552. Emphasis supplied.

[49] Ibid.

the Elliot thesis was in a very large measure vindicated in the rise and history of the Citizen Band. This is based, of course, on one of his assumptions, namely, that it was not particularly possible, desirable nor necessary that the Potawatomi attempt to preserve the pure Indian blood. It accepts also the corollary assumption that their amalgamation with the white race contained much of positive merit. Elliot prefaced his exposition on the intermingling of the races with an unqualified advocacy of the position that the Indian should take the way of the white man:

> He must be dressed in the costume of the white man, and taught to use the axe, to make fence and plough, to plant, cure, and husband the crops, to take care of stock, and to work at the carpenter's, miller's, smith's, and other trades. The same course of training, in pursuits suitable to them, must be adopted with the girls.[50]

Paradoxically, this program was not followed at Council Bluffs. This study will show that there was only the most feeble effort to provide education, and none at all on the part of the government. But on the other reservation of the Potawatomi, within the Osage River sub-agency, almost every detail of Elliot's recommendations was pursued with vigor. One can easily argue that the Potawatomi of Kansas,

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[50] Ibid., pp. 551, 552.

almost exclusively from Indiana and Michigan, were more receptive to it. Nevertheless, the later effort to unify them with the Indians from Council Bluffs was increasingly bound to failure due to the negligence suffered by the latter for more than ten years. This was one of the elements in the split of the tribe on the Kaw River in 1861, a subject to be fully developed. Yet, from the heterogeneous elements in the Iowa United Band, especially the mixed-bloods and more agricultural types, came some percentage of the Citizen Band. These had little difficulty in assuming a uniform status with the civilized Indians from the Osage River, and they continued to provide influence and leadership, as was their wont from the days of Potawatomi greatness in the vicinity of the Great Lakes.

One of the features of the history of the United Band at Council Bluffs was preoccupation with the great Sioux tribe. We have seen that the proximity of this mighty nation was one of the expressed deterrents to the original Potawatomi movement to the area. During nearly all their years there, 1837-1847, the fear of the Sioux was a regular subject of correspondence on the part of officials of the Indian Department. No general war ever developed, but there were skirmishes, raids, and periods of crisis and dread.

Two conclusions can be drawn from a study of the Potawatomi-Sioux relations: first, for one reason or the other, the Sioux showed a marked degree of restraint about making war; second, the Potawatomi, notwithstanding their alleged terror, at times indicated signs of mounting a counter attack--even of taking the offensive, if this should become necessary or advantageous. The willingness of the Potawatomi to be warriors accentuated the fact that some large portion of the Indians at the Bluffs were not of the quiet, domestic type. It also helps to explain how it was that there were later elements among the Potawatomi in Kansas who were capable of opposing the Pawnee in battle, even of defeating them in a bloody skirmish as late as 1855. The warrior type of Indian also showed little interest in agriculture either in Iowa or Kansas and generally indicated little favor for sectionizing in 1861. These latter developments and conclusions will be explained in due course, but the immediate problem is to describe the situation at Council Bluffs.

Specifically, it was the Yankton Sioux, whose village was about 360 miles farther up the Missouri, with whom the Potawatomi were in contention.[51] As early as 1839, there

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[51]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 442.

were raids and bloodshed from that quarter. It was one of the objectives of the visit of the Jesuit, Peter De Smet, at the Yankton village in May of that year to negotiate a favorable peace between the Sioux and Potawatomi.[52] This was partially accomplished when the Sioux agreed "to make presents to the children of the Potawatomi warriors who had been slain and to agree to visit the Potawatomi and smoke with them the calumet of peace."[53] This friendly visit of the Sioux, with the ensuing easing of tension, was reported by the sub-agent to the superintendent at St. Louis on the last day of the year. He described the Potawatomi as in a condition of "amity and exchange of friendly intercourse with the indigenous tribes of the Missouri and its vicinity, the Yankton Sioux having recently visited the Pottawattamas and professed their disposition to be friendly and were well received."[54]

The sub-agent expressed premature optimism. In his report of October 12, 1840, published in the Annual Report, he alluded briefly to another Potawatomi-Sioux embroilment.

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., p. 443.

[54] Cooper to Pilcher, December 31, 1839, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

A party of dragoons arrived under the command of Colonel Stephen Watt Kearny, who, although present for only a few days, aided in re-establishing order and confidence.[55] In October of the following year, the same sub-agent, Cooper, mentioned in a letter to the superintendent that the Reverend Isaac McCoy had conferred with the Potawatomi on the subject of the Sioux threat and presumed that McCoy had made a report on the parley.[56]

As we shall point out later, Isaac McCoy, while acting as an emissary of the government, was soundly rebuffed in 1840 in his attempt to persuade the Potawatomi to move from their Iowa lands. Consequently, his summary of the situation with the Sioux must be construed in that background. His letter of October 28, 1841, to John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, received the attention of Mr. Carman in his recent and well organized legal brief. The important feature relating to our present discussion was that McCoy reported the fact that the Potawatomi were found attempting to line up a combination of allies from other Indian tribes with a view to waging a war of extermination on the Sioux,

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[55] R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 321.

[56] Cooper to Pilcher, October 2, 1841, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

this in reply to their attacks.[57]

T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, included the same alarming news in his general report to the Secretary of War as published in the Annual Report for 1841.[58] He also submitted therein a copy of his own letter to Agent Richard W. Cummins, Fort Leavenworth, urging him to restrain the Potawatomi in their warlike plans.[59] One of the oddities in the affair was that Crawford observed that the agent for the Sioux maintained that his Indians were strictly inclined to be peaceful.[60] That seemed to imply that the Potawatomi were the aggressors. Whatever the facts were, here at least was evidence of United Band determination to fight back, although nothing drastic culminated from their ambitious plan.

McCoy's account expressed considerable alarm over the potentialities of the condition of tension between the two tribes. He went on to emphasize that the Sioux outnumbered the Potawatomi by the count of twenty-seven or eight

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[57]Carman, op. cit., pp. 78, 79.

[58]R.C.I.A., 1841, p. 257.

[59]Ibid., p. 281.

[60]Ibid., p. 257.

thousand to two thousand, and that the latter ought to be removed from Iowa to a reserve to the westward of their brethren on the Osage River in Kansas.[61] In a second letter to the Secretary of War, dated Westport, Missouri, December 22, 1841, he stated that immediately after completing his first report, old chief Wah-bon-seh arrived with four chiefs, three of whom were also Potawatomi chiefs but residing on the Kickapoo Reservation. They declared that the Potawatomi "have come to the settled conclusion that they never can be safe in their present location" and that they had no hope of ever being able to wage war successfully with their ancient, powerful enemy. They further asserted that this was the conclusion "of all the Pottawatomies excepting a very inconsiderable number who reside in the immediate vicinity of the Trading Post."[62] McCoy also wrote in his second letter that he restrained the Indians in their plan to send a delegation to Washington to negotiate for a new reservation southwest of the Missouri, for they had accepted his promise to submit the proposal to the Department in their stead.[63]

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[61]Carman, op. cit., p. 79.

[62]Ibid., pp. 80, 81.

[63]Ibid., pp. 81, 28.

Thus the records for 1841 reveal a certain amount of contradiction and factionalism among the Potawatomi with respect to the Sioux threat. The question was whether to run or fight, but, regardless of our conclusions, the fact is that they did not run, neither then nor later. And when the Treaty of 1846 did finally effect the removal to Kansas the matter of Sioux pressures was not especially an item of concern. The events of the following years will partially explain this.

The episodes of 1842 included the arrival at Council Bluffs of a detachment of Dragoons under Captain Burgwin (previously mentioned in reference to attempted liquor control) and a big council with the Indians by Agent Richard Cummins from Fort Leavenworth. The latter was responsible for calling back to safety a party of forty Potawatomi who went out to hunt on the "most exposed frontier."[64] This had more of the appearance of Potawatomi bravado than terror in the proximity of the Sioux. But Cummins did report that fear was about; "many families through fear of the Sioux had left their habitations and farms and gone to where there were larger settlements for safety."[65]

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[64]Cummins to Mitchell, June 14, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[65]*Ibid*.

Captain Burgwin reassured the Potawatomi that the "Great Father" could protect them, that he did not wish his red children to be at war but desired that they all live in peace and friendship. The chiefs agreed with everything, wrote Cummins, and expressed themselves as gratified that "those who left their farms for fear of being killed by the Sioux would move back."[66] In July, describing a visit to the Bluffs, Agent Daniel Miller found the Indians appreciative of the presence of the troops.[67] He recounted the helpfulness of the Potawatomi in coaching the commander of the Dragoons on effective tactics to be used in handling both the Sioux and the rum-runners. In fact, from the content of the entire letter, it is evident that Miller had spent much more time lecturing the Indians about the evil effects of whiskey than he had in discussing the Sioux threat.[68] On August 9, sub-agent Joseph W. Dedrick informed the superintend that fear of the Sioux had declined appreciably, and that the troops were still on guard.[69] While the company of

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Miller to Mitchell, July 1, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Dedrick to Mitchell, August 9, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

Dragoons may well have been a deterrent to the Sioux, to judge from events much later in the history of the West this minor military force was not capable of coping with the twenty-seven or eight thousand mentioned by McCoy. The Sioux evidently showed restraint.

Richard Elliot, who took the post of sub-agent at Council Bluffs in May, 1843, gave his views on the Potawatomi-Sioux issue in his report of September 26 of that year.[70] Elliot thought that the Dragoons were somewhat effective in keeping down the liquor traffic but that they were not strictly necessary as a protection against the Sioux. The latter attacked the Pawnee during the past summer, he reported, but as a matter of record had never sent a real war party against the Potawatomi, only some small hunting parties who committed murder and theft somewhat on their own and with no purpose of making war as such. The sub-agent expressed the opinion that the government had no obligation to maintain the troops at Council Bluffs, for, although the general obligation to protect the Potawatomi did exist, there would be no breaking of the treaty stipulations, "as while there is no danger, there is of course no call for protection." This

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[70] R.C.I.A., 1843, p. 395.

bit of wisdom was followed by a tongue-in-cheek recommendation related to the desirability of removing the Potawatomi, a subject which he reflected upon earlier in the report:

> These Indians, however, are much afraid of the Sioux, and I have no doubt that if the company [Dragoons] were withdrawn, they would discover many additional reasons for making a treaty next spring or summer. I do not advance this as a reason why the company should be withdrawn, but only as a matter of information for the Department.[71]

The Dragoons were shortly withdrawn and not entirely with happy consequences. Whether the Department followed the sub-agent's suggestion for the reason, which he slyly stated he was not giving, cannot be determined. But in March, 1844, Elliot was urging the Department to dispatch another military force to him: The Potawatomi were in a quarrel with the Omaha and Oto Indians; there was a rumor of a large Sioux war party being collected to descend upon his district; whether the Sioux were coming or not he required at least one company of Dragoons to help preserve the peace of the neighborhood.[72] In a letter of the following month he again demanded troops, but this time with a qualification of his previous appeal. Messengers to Fort

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[71] Ibid. Emphasis supplied.

[72] Elliot to Harvey, St. Louis superintendent, March 18, 1844, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

Vermillion learned from a trader that there was no Sioux threat at all. Two hundred of the members of that tribe did come along about the first of April and expressed the intention of attacking the Omaha. The trader, M. S. Cerre, gave them some tobacco and powder and informed them that the Omaha had moved down to Council Bluffs, "upon which they turned back." The sub-agent's analysis is interesting:

> Our messengers saw no Indians on the way, and report that the Sioux are as much afraid of the Potawatomies as the Potawatomies are of them. These facts sustain the view taken in my annual report, and I state them to you, in order that my request for troops may not be referred to the danger of a Sioux party visiting us. I do not participate in the fear of the Indians, who are actually afraid to go sixty miles towards the Sioux country to hunt for game which abounds in that region . . .[73]

There was no evidence that the troops were ever sent back to Council Bluffs during the Potawatomi interval. In Elliot's extensive report to the Commissioner, Crawford, July 24, 1845, he did not mention the presence of the military, but, "The Pottawatomies are much afraid of the Sioux, against whom they have petitioned the government, in pursuance of its pledges, to protect them."[74] During that autumn

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[73]Elliot to Crawford, C.I.A., April 22, 1844, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[74]R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 552.

Elliot resigned and accompanied a distinguished group of Potawatomi chieftains to Washington. In his Notes Taken in Sixty Years, he described their speeches and antics in some detail, but there was no emphasis on the Sioux peril. Old Wah-bon-seh may have been convinced in 1841, according to the testimony of Isaac McCoy, that the Potawatomi were in an impossible location due to the proximity of the Sioux; while in Washington, 1845, he did not even mention this. The general theme of the Potawatomi speeches was that the Indians had a most valuable product for sale, really in a rather good location.

The sojourn to the nation's capitol had as one of its objectives to pave the way for a good price for the Iowa lands. Pressures were developing. It looked very much like the Potawatomi would be forced from them soon anyway. Whether there was continued fear of the Sioux or not, it was not a matter to be stressed at this time. Nevertheless, extant reports do not indicate that there were any special Sioux tensions or attacks from the fall of 1845 until the time of the removal of the United Band to Kansas in 1847. The Potawatomi gave a generally good account of themselves during the entire period of the Sioux threat. They did not decline war, if it had to be. This is significant when one considers

the character and reputation of this powerful enemy. Meanwhile, it also seems evident that the Sioux did not press the issue.

In addition to Sioux troubles, the Potawatomi had difficulties with some of the smaller tribes in the area, notably the Iowa, Omaha and Oto. According to sub-agent John B. Luce, making a report in late 1842, there were only two hundred Iowa tribesmen thereabouts, these being in a pitiable state of poverty and hunger and refusing to go to the reserve appointed for them by their treaty:

> The Pottawatomies, to secure their assistance in fighting the Sioux, invited them to settle on their lands. But afterwards finding them troublesome neighbors, called first on Col. Kearny and then on Captain Berguin to remove them. In both cases, however, on promising to behave better, they were suffered to remain.[75]

The record otherwise seems to verify that narrative. In 1839, the Potawatomi complained to Colonel Stephen Watts Kearney about the presence of the Iowa. Whereupon he promised to remove them. The sub-agent of the time remarked, "this has not been done, but their village has been burnt by the Indians of the sub-agency and I hope the Department will take measures to prevent their again trespassing on the land

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[75]Luce to Mitchell, December 1, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

assigned to the Pottawatomies . . ."[76] During 1840 the situation was about the same: Kearney and the Dragoons visited the area again and made the same request of the Iowa to depart, and the Iowa again agreed to do so.[77] But, as indicated above, they were still around in December of 1842.

Luce's letter also contained reference to trouble between the Potawatomi and the Oto from across the Missouri River. His Indians recently chased the Oto back across it. Inasmuch as the Potawatomi repeatedly requested that the Iowa must go, a good solution would be to move the starving little band over to live with the Oto. He further suggested that gifts of provisions, ammunition, and tobacco might aid in keeping both tribes quiet, "by lessening the inducement, and by affording means of punishment."[78] This was the last mention of the Iowa in the Potawatomi reports, but the Oto continued to receive comment, especially in connection with the Omaha, also from across the Missouri River.

We have seen that after the departure of the Dragoons, following Elliot's recommendations of 1843, he was

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[76]Cooper to Pilcher, December 31, 1839, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[77]R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 321.

[78]Loc. cit., Luce to Mitchell, December 1, 1842.

loudly demanding troops again in the spring of 1844. This was not on account of the Sioux but rather because of disturbances caused by the Omaha and Oto Indians. He wrote that the Omaha were guilty of serious depredations on the Potawatomi during the past winter.[79] "I think," he stated, "the Potawatomies would be perfectly justifiable in exterminating if they could the Omahas for their conduct during the winter." The raiders had despoiled the Potawatomi half-breeds, carrying off their corn, hogs, and food supplies.[80] It is significant that the half-breeds alone were specified as having a surplus of these things.

Apart from the judgment that the United Band contained a proportion of warrior-type Indians, the total picture of the Iowa reserve emphasizes a somewhat typical Indian frontier, comparatively untamed and not calculated to promote the arts of civilization. Subsequent discussion will show that the Potawatomi on the Osage River in Kansas were able to live in much less disturbed circumstances during the same period of time. This would be one more consideration in the

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[79] Elliot to Crawford, April 22, 1844, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[80] *Ibid*.

comparative difference between the two groups when they would join together on the Kansas River to form a "unified" nation.

CHAPTER III

LIFE AND CULTURE AT COUNCIL BLUFFS

There were virtually no schools at any time among the Potawatomi at Council Bluffs, certainly none ever established or subsidized by the government. This phenomenon of absolutely no progress in a most important aspect of civilization is again germane to a comprehension of what happened in Kansas when the two great divisions of the tribe were brought together. We cannot prove that in 1837-1847 the United Band would have made extensive use of school facilities if such had been available. Nevertheless, the complete lack manifestly was an element giving encouragement to the more primitive Indian manners and customs. Naturally, the reports and comments of the time included speculation on the question of just why there was such a negative status of education on the Iowa Potawatomi reserve.

The first concrete reference to a plan for providing a school came in September, 1835, when the Jesuit, Van

Quickenborne, requested both the approval and support of the government for an educational project. Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, replied that it was true that the Treaty of 1833 provided for seventy thousand dollars "for purposes of education and the encouragement of domestic arts." The Indians, he stated, desired that the principal sum be invested, which it was, in securities bearing five percent interest. Since, by terms of the treaty, both principal and interest could be expended only west of the Mississippi, the Department considered it proper that the interest be invested also, pending the location of the Indians on their own reserve. Herring thought that the complete removal would be complete within two years, but meanwhile no arrangement could be considered involving the expenditure of any of the education fund, principal or interest. The Department would "at a proper time" determine what proportion of the money might be devoted to schools and to domestic arts, and at that time Van Quickenborne's "wishes . . . on the subject will be respectfully considered."[1]

Peter Verhaegen, S. J., succeeded Van Quickenborne in the office of superior of the Jesuits of Missouri and

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[1]Herring to Van Quickenborne, September 22, 1835, cited in Garraghan, op. cit., I, 427.

and missions. On August 5, 1837, he wrote to the Secretary of War stating that the Indians at Council Bluffs had recently requested a Catholic school and that their petition would follow soon.[2] The petition, duly sent, was signed September 12, 1837, by Wah-bon-seh and Pierish Le Claire. They declared that the Potawatomi having reached their permanent location, a matter now assured, were "disposed to better their situation by the introduction of the domestic arts and education amongst them . . ." They wished a school for their children, "with the least possible delay," and requested that the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri establish and teach it, because "many of the nation have embraced the Catholic religion and will by this arrangement be enabled to enjoy the comforts of their religion." Also, there was a "common feeling of the nation in favor of the Catholic clergy" who spoke both the French and English languages.[3] The writer wishes to interject the comment here that his research on the Potawatomi gives him a solid doubt about the content of any petition containing the claim of having the backing of the general consensus of the tribe.

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[2]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 428.

[3]Ibid., p. 429.

Both on the Kansas reservations, and later in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma), the tactic of forwarding petitions and memorials became more and more routine; so often they were promoted and signed by a limited number of individuals. No doubt the views of some pressure group were always represented. But abundant counter-petitions and denials frequently were sufficient to make one wonder about how much general support there was for any given petition. In the light of subsequent, accumulated evidence, the Wahbon-seh - Le Clair memorial evidently did contain the sentiment of at least some of the Indian and mixed-blood elements. As we shall see, however, the Jesuits received a very poor welcome when they first arrived to establish a mission-post in 1839. In any case, the petition of the fall of 1837 was ignored in Washington.[4]

During 1838, Verhaegen made a speedy round trip to Washington to interview Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford. Through the intercession of Senator Thomas H. Benton, he did succeed in obtaining a private conference.[5] The commissioner granted permission for a mission-post among the Potawatomi

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[4]*Ibid.*, p. 430.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 431.

of the Iowa reserve, and Verhaegen and his co-workers were authorized to visit any or all of the tribes of the whole Indian Territory. But the request for a subsidy for a Potawatomi school "was denied on the ground that the tribe had not yet occupied the land assigned to them by government treaty."[6] This was identically the reason advanced the previous year. The Department officials were proving themselves to be sticklers over the issue of Indian occupation of their appointed reserve. We have seen that elements of the United Band had moved south from the Platte Purchase to the Osage River country; also, back in Michigan there were other stragglers holding out against the migration.[7] Yet, to refuse the available means for establishing a school among this large concentration of Potawatomi seems to have been motivated by some other consideration than simply the fulfillment of one particular of the treaty stipulations. A possible reason for the Department's attitude will be discussed shortly.

The Jesuits went ahead with their mission-post plans. They dispatched two priests and a lay-brother from Fort

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[6] Ibid., p. 432.

[7] R.C.I.A., 1839, p. 438.

Leavenworth, May 25, 1838, who made their way by steamer to Council Bluffs on May 31.[8] One of the priests was Pierre Jean De Smet (Peter De Smet), later the greatest and best known of all the Catholic missionaries of the West. One can speculate on the probability that his career might well have taken an entirely different turn if the government had authorized the means for a vigorous school for the Potawatomi in Iowa. As it was, even the mission-post was only very temporary. De Smet wrote long and interesting letters during his brief tenure there. His account of the events attendant upon the arrival of the missioners contained some enlightening information.

> We arrived among the Potawatomies on the afternoon of the 31st of May. Nearly two thousand savages, in their finest rigs carefully painted in all sorts of patterns, were awaiting the boat at the landing. I had not seen so imposing a sight nor such fine looking Indians in America; the Iowas, the Sauks, and the Otoes are beggars compared to these. Father Verreydt and Brother Mazelli went at once to the camp of the half-breed chief, Mr. Caldwell, four miles from the river. We were far from finding here the four or five hundred fervent Catholics we had been told of at the College of St. Louis. Of the 2,000 Potawatomies who were at the landing, <u>not a single one seemed to have the slightest knowledge of our arrival among them, and they all showed themselves cold and indifferent toward us. Out of some thirty families of French half-breeds two only</u>

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[8]Garraghan, <u>op. cit.</u>, I, 438.

> came to shake hands with us; only a few have been baptized . . . . A fortnight after we arrived we discovered one single Catholic Indian . . . The half-breeds generally seem affable and inclined to have their children instructed and we receive many tokens of affection from the Indians themselves . . . The chief has given us possession of three cabins and we have changed the fort which Col. Kearney has given us into a church.[9]

The letters of the two priests are also helpful in augmenting our knowledge of the whiskey problem. Whatever success they enjoyed was compromised by drunkenness among the Indians. When the steamer arrived at the Bluffs a year later, May 30, 1839, the scene was recorded by De Smet as follows:

> Arrival of the steamer Wilmington with provisions. A war of extermination appears preparing around the poor Potawatomies. Fifty large cannon have been landed, ready charged with the most murderous grape shot, each containing thirty gallons of whiskey, brandy, rum, or alcohol. The boat was not as yet out of sight when the skirmishes commenced. After the fourth, fifth and sixth discharges the confusion became great and appalling. In all directions, men, women and children were seen tottering and falling; the war-whoop, the merry Indian's song, cries, savage roarings, formed a chorus. Quarrel succeeded quarrel. Blows followed blows. The club, the tomahawk, spears, butcher knives,

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[9]Peter De Smet to Peter Verhaegan, June, 1839, in Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873 (4 Vols., New York, 1905), I, 157, 158, quoted in Garraghan, op. cit., I, 434, 435. Emphasis supplied.

> brandished together in the air. Strange! Astonishing! Only one man, in this dreadful fray, was drowned in the Missouri, another severely wounded, and several noses lost. The prominent point, as you well know, the Potawatomies particularly aim at when well corned . . . I know from good authority that upwards of eighty barrels of whiskey are on the line ready to be brought to the payment. No agent here seems to have the power to put the laws in execution.[10]

That word-picture aids in explaining how it was that in succeeding years the Department put the liquor problem on a parity with the Sioux threat. Later, too, it may be called to mind when a resume of Father Hoecken's thorough discussion of the effects of alcohol on Indians is included in this study. This was based upon his observations of them on the Osage River sub-agency. One of Father Verreydt's accounts of the Potawatomi propensity for alcohol at Council Bluffs is also very graphic. He tempers his analysis with a very definite tone of sympathy:

> Our people here like us very much; but they do not want to listen to our good counsel. Getting drunk is the only fault they have; otherwise, we would live here in Paradise. But now, in the condition they are, it is indeed very disagreeable to live among them . . . Oh, my friend, it looks very bad to see these poor creatures often like hogs wallowing in the mud . . . Liquor is brought in here with whole cargoes, which reduces our Indians to extreme poverty, which is, as you know, the mother of all vice.[11]

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[10]De Smet "to a most dear friend," December, 1839, quoted in Garraghan, op. cit., I, 439.

[11]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 445.

Upon orders from the superiors in St. Louis, the Jesuits, in August of 1841, abandoned the resident mission-post at Council Bluffs. They moved down to aid their brother missioners who were laboring so much more successfully in the other Potawatomi Mission on Sugar Creek in the Osage River sub-agency in Kansas.[12] But Father De Smet began to extend his field of operations to the upper Missouri River and afterwards to the great Oregon country. From this time, 1841, Council Bluffs received only occasional missionary visits from the Jesuits, particularly by Father Christian Hoecken. He understood the Potawatomi language and was the pioneer Catholic missionary to the Indians of the Osage River sub-agency. After the Treaty of 1846 and the removal from Iowa, the United Band again came into the proximity of the Jesuits on the new reservation in Kansas. But the question was: would the Indians from Council Bluffs and those from the Osage River be equally receptive to their schools and ministrations? Much evidence will be supplied to show that they were not, and this definitely was one of the roots of the split in the nation out of which came the Citizen Band.

Since the lack of schools was such an important factor

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[12] Ibid., p. 446.

in the retarded cultural development of the Iowa Potawatomi, it is important to glance at the problem through the eyes of the local officials of the Indian Department. Isaac McCoy, who during these years was often employed as a special commissioner, furnished the hint that the Indians themselves were none too eager to have their educational fund expended:

> By the Treaty of 1833, the Putawatomies are allowed the sum of $70,000, "for purposes of education, and the encouragement of the domestic arts." They desire that, for the present, only the interest of this sum be expended. The interest of $70,000 at five percent per annum would be $3,500 a year. This would keep a mission school in the Indian country, 70 Indian youths; if the children should be fed and clothed by their parents, it would afford instruction to 280, kept perpetually in school.[13]

To assume for the present that McCoy's experience at Carey in Michigan had taught him the value of the boarding school, it appears that even if the expenditure of $3,500 had been authorized by the Department, not much could have been accomplished by a school which could accommodate only an average of 35 boys and 35 girls. The total Indian population, as we have seen, was 2,000 or more. The extent to which McCoy expressed the desire of the general mass of the

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[13]The Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian Territory (Isaac McCoy, ed., Shawanoe Baptist Mission House: Washington, Peter Force, 1838), p. 77.

Indians is, again, problematical; it may well have been similar to the petition addressed to Washington by Wah-bon-seh and Le Clair.

The comment of the sub-agents upon the work of the Jesuits at Council Bluffs is interesting and informative. Stephen Cooper's earliest mention of them came in his letter of December 31, 1839, and the tone was commendatory. He wrote that he could not:

> . . . resist the impulse of communicating to the Department the indefatigable exertions of the Catholic Mission under the direction of Revd. De Smedt and Verridt [sic], these gentlemen are worthy of the notice of our General Government and I trust they will not be overlooked, their exertions have been almost entirely among the half-breeds, and serves as the only check we have to restrain them, as well as cultivate the minds of the children of this unfortunate description of people.[14]

It should be noted that the above was written a full year and a half after the arrival of the missioners. We know from De Smet's own testimony that the reception upon arrival was virtually negative as far as the Indians themselves were concerned. The half-breed chief, Billy Caldwell, was their sole benefactor at the beginning. One cannot question the zeal or effort of these men in attempting to contact the Indians, but the chances are that the sub-agent's report in

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[14]Cooper to Pilcher, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

this case reflected the general facts of the situation, namely, that their labors were "almost entirely among the half-breeds." If we accept this statement as reliable, it will go far to explain how it was that later on the Kansas River Reservation there was again much contact between the former Iowa mixed-bloods and the Jesuits, and almost a boycott of Catholic missionary activities by the former Bluff Indians themselves. Also, it will aid in understanding the expressed feeling of helplessness which the Jesuits had toward them.

The next letter of Stephen Cooper alluding to the half-breed Catholics was written on May 14 of the following year, 1840. In this instance the comment was more of a complaint, but it constituted a re-statement of the assertion that Jesuit influence was mostly restricted to the mixed-bloods. He was making reply to the superintendent in St. Louis regarding his own failure to procure students for the famous Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. There was a directive from the Department to the effect that at Council Bluffs "persuasive means" should be used to recruit prospective students. But all he had to report was failure. He had called in the chiefs and headmen, and they had refused to let their children go. They would not permit the orphans to

leave, and even opposed a campaign to obtain boys from the larger families of the tribe. Cooper then tried to ascertain just what motivation there was behind such a spirit of obstinacy, and "was not able to draw it out of them." On this point, however, he had an opinion for the superintendent:

> I feel it my duty to give my opinion of the cause of opposition I have met with in this case. It is the undue and unbounded influence of the Catholic religion among these people. It might be well to explain some of the proceedings of the Council. First, after giving them to understand the object of the Council I requested them to get to themselves and consult as to give one voice; in their council the half-breeds is (are) not allowed a voice but in this Council they appeared much interested, and had much to say, they being all Roman Catholics determined not to patronize anything that is not of that persuasion, these with many other little maneuvers is the cause of my opinion. I have since tried to pick up the boys through the country but have met with an entire failure.[15]

Thus, the statement was made again that the mixed-bloods, and they almost exclusively, were Catholics. They were also plainly able to influence the mass of the Indians,

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[15]Cooper to Pilcher, May 14, 1840, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers. This citation and quotation is given in Garraghan, op. cit., I, 438n, but his omission of the words included above, beginning "It might be well to explain" and concluding with ". . . and had much to say," yields a reading concerning the general Catholicity of the Iowa Potawatomi which is not valid. In the Garraghan quotation a simple dash (-) supplies the connection between the words "people" and "they being all Roman Catholics." Emphasis supplied to indicate the extent and exact wording of the omission.

and they did not believe in the Choctaw Academy. The sending of Indians to that institution was likewise a matter of contention and controversy on the Potawatomi reservation in Kansas during this same period. The sub-agent met with resistance there, too, and Catholic influences were blamed for it. The subject of the Choctaw Academy and the Potawatomi will be expanded at length in describing conditions in the Osage River sub-agency.

De Smet and his companions did not set up a short-lived school at Council Bluffs. Shortly after their arrival in 1838, he recorded that they had thirty children under instruction. Lack of space made it impossible for them to take more.[16] The single allusion of the sub-agent came in his autumn report, 1840, published in the Annual Report:

> Schools there are none here under the authority of the government. There are two Roman Catholic priests residing within my agency of good moral character, who set a good example to the Indians and half-breeds. They have a chapel, and school and teacher, and have several young Indians in the school, who are coming on pretty well.[17]

When the Jesuits withdrew from residence in Council Bluffs

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[16]De Smet to Father Rothaan, Chittenden and Richardson, op. cit., I, 164, cited in Garraghan, op. cit., I, 437n.

[17]R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 397, quoted in Garraghan, op. cit., I, 438n.

in 1841, that was the end of all formal education on the reserve during the remainder of its existence. The sub-agents' reports from this time carried the habitual theme, "no schools," although some expressed discontent with this state of affairs.

Richard Elliot, as would be his wont, showed a marked tendency to expatiate on the lack of educational opportunities. His views were not only ignored by the Department but apparently the expression of them was at least in one case not appreciated. The present writer, having previously taken notes from Elliot's contributions to the published Annual Report, 1843, happened to be reading the same text in Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers. It seemed that the latter source contained material which was not in the publication. A careful comparison of the two texts revealed that the first two deletions indicated in the printed version represented the dropping of some of Elliot's choicest recommendations on policy. His reflections on the necessity of removing the United Band from the Iowa reserve were allowed to stand intact. He argued that the white settlements were pressing the southern and eastern borders, that Iowa would soon request statehood, and therefore that a treaty of removal could not be long delayed.[18] Following this came the first deletion.

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[18] R.C.I.A., 1843, pp. 391, 392.

In the Letter Book there was a recommendation that previous treaties be consolidated and that a clear statement be made respecting the civilization fund and the exact amount of it due the United Band. The next deletion contained material which went directly to the heart of the question as to why there was nothing done at Council Bluffs to provide schools:

> They have large investments for civilization purposes, which they are anxious to enjoy; but the Department in the exercise of far-sighted discretion, and acting for their permanent good sees proper to withhold advances from these investments, until the Indians shall be located that the money can be advantageously expended.[19]

This indicted the government for holding out on schools and other benefits until such time as the Potawatomi would sign another removal treaty. Such an editorial, naturally, was not authorized to be printed in the Annual Report.

In 1845, the last year of his tenure, Elliot returned to the same theme. He wrote: "We have no schools or missionaries among the Pottawatomie here. I think a well-ordered

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[19]Elliot to Crawford, September 26, 1843, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers. Emphasis supplied. In Elliot's Notes Taken in Sixty Years, op. cit., p. 189, he bitterly complained also that his 1844 report to Mr. Crawford had suffered mutilation before its publication in the Annual Report. A "useful paragraph" about the prospective boundaries of the State of Iowa was "stricken out," also "all other matter in my report of any value, and had only printed the customary sentimental bosh about Indians that all agents were expected to re-hash at least once a year."

missionary establishment would do much good." Continuing, he stated his usual arguments about the benefits of schools:

> He [the Indian] must be dressed in the costume of the white man, and taught to use the axe, to make fence and plough, to plant, cure and husband the crops, to take care of stock, and to work at the carpenter's, miller's, smith's and other trades. The same course of training in pursuits suitable to them, must be adopted with the girls.[20]

Then he went on to express the opinion that it was useless to Christianize the Indians unless the other characteristics of a stable civilization were also put into effect. Actually, his recommendations would have served as a blueprint for the manual labor schools which were in active operation among the Potawatomi on the Osage River at the very time.

Superintendent Thomas H. Harvey, St. Louis, repeated in the 1845 Annual Report that the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs were without any means of education but that many of the Indians there desired schools:

> . . . and it is a lamentable fact that many of the children who would be at school had they one to go to, are now growing up in ignorance for want of the common facilities of education; it is a heavy and common complaint with the Indians, that while they have a large fund set apart for education, they cannot obtain even a common neighborhood school in their country.[21]

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[20] R.C.I.A., 1845, pp. 551, 552.

[21] Ibid., p. 553.

And thus the situation remained until the removal to the Kansas River. There were to be no schools for the United Band Indians until they would become cooperative in transplanting themselves somewhere outside of Iowa.

In the treatment of the feature of white-Potawatomi intermingling at Council Bluffs the names of a few of the more prominent United Band mixed-blood families were mentioned. Inasmuch as their importance and meaning to the Indian economy of this time are related to the general acceptance of the Elliot thesis, it is fitting to describe, briefly, the careers of some of the more important individuals who were active during the Iowa period. Their leadership continued to receive acceptance and cooperation from those chiefs and headmen who were much more fully Indian in blood. And to complete a picture of authority among this people, the really Indian leaders themselves were worthy of more than a passing glance.

Alexander Robinson did not play a continuous role in the history of the Potawatomi in the West. He was a member of the inspection party, 1835, under Captain Gordon, which went out to visit the Iowa lands and which returned an unfavorable report.[22] It was during the course of that

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[22]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 425n; Carman, op. cit., p. 77.

expedition that he gave encouragement to the Jesuit, Van Quickenborne, who had a parley with him at Fort Leavenworth.[23] But Robinson's name did not come up at all in the various reports from Council Bluffs. Garraghan writes that he settled on his reservation on the Des Plaines River near Chicago and died there.[24] In the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, there is intermittent correspondence about him. By the treaties of Chicago, 1832 and 1833, he received a small reservation for his own home and also the benefit of a lifetime annual cash annuity. The letters in Washington were petitions or receipts for the annual $500.00.[25]

Described by one author as formerly a captain in the British Army, as an aid to Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames, as holder of a commission in the American Army, and later a justice of the peace in early Chicago, Chief Billy Caldwell was also the recipient of a lifetime, personal

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[23]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 427.

[24]Ibid., 425n.

[25]John Kinzie, Robinson's attorney, to Luke Lea, C.I.A., March 5, 1852, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1852, OIA; herein was enclosed a receipt for the 1851 cash annuity payment for Robinson.

annuity by the treaties of Chicago.[26] He moved to the Iowa reserve and lived there until his death on September 28, 1841.[27] His main claim to fame there, however, seems to have been that the United Band was sometimes referred to as "Caldwell's Band."[28] Also, the village which grew up about his home, frequently mentioned in the dispatches to and from Council Bluffs, was known as "Caldwell's Village."[29] Before and after his death, it was a favorite center for the mixed-bloods, and at times the sub-agent had his office there.[30] Those who have investigated the subject of the exact location of "Caldwell's Village" have placed it within the present-day boundaries of the city of Council Bluffs.[31]

Before the removal from Chicago, the name of Joseph Lafromboise was sometimes given the same importance as those of Caldwell and Robinson. On November 17, 1834, T. J V.

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[26]Alexander R. Fulton, The Red Men of Iowa (Des Moines: Mills and Company, 1882), p. 166.

[27]Ibid., p. 168.

[28]Carman, op. cit., p. 85.

[29]Elliot to Mitchell, July 31, 1843, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[30]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 435n.

[31]Ibid., p. 436n.

Owen, Indian agent at Chicago, writing to the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, classed Lafromboise with the other two as the "principal men" of the "Prairie and Lake Indians," and "in whom they have unlimited confidence."[32] Lafromboise (also Laflomboise and Lafrombois), a mixed-blood, came earlier from Milwaukee,[33] and was not only a leader of distinction while the tribe was still in the Chicago vicinity but also took an active part in business affairs of the Band at Council Bluffs. Elliot reported in 1843 that he employed him as his official interpreter because the man was "recommended for his well qualified character and ability," and because he lived "nearby the office in Caldwell's Village."[34] Just as Lafromboise was given credit for having been influential in respect to the acceptance and fulfillment of the Treaty of Chicago,[35] he was likewise commended by officials of the Indian Department for his aid and support in effecting the removal of the Council Bluff Indians to their new reservation on the Kansas River, subsequent to the Treaty of

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[32]Ibid., II, 698.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Elliot to Mitchell, July 31, 1843, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[35]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 698.

1846. At the conclusion of a letter of November 22, 1847, Superintendent Thomas H. Harvey of St. Louis suggested to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Medill, that the latter should take notice, by issuing a public document, of the zeal and good conduct of Joseph Lafromboise, Pierre LeClair, and Half Day, "in inducing their people to emigrate from the Bluffs."[36] Medill agreed heartily with the suggestion and in reply requested Harvey to compose the wording of the commendation.[37] The superintendent provided the Department with a very laudatory text.[38] This document will be mentioned again later in relation to the official program to promote unity on the Potawatomi reserve on the Kaw River. Joseph Lafromboise lived to play an active part there.

Another of the old Chicago-Potawatomi families which had a distinguished representative at Council Bluffs was that of the mixed-blood Beaubien lineage. Medard (Madore) Beaubien was the son of Jean Baptiste Beaubien and his Ottawa mixed-blood wife, Josette Lafromboise.[39] Evidently a

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[36]Harvey to Medill, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

[37]Medill to Harvey, December 4, 1847, Letters Sent, 1847, Vol. 40, OIA.

[38]Harvey to Medill, December 17, 1847, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

[39]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 698.

young man at the time of his residence at Council Bluffs, Medard did not yet achieve the top distinction enjoyed by some of the other mixed-bloods. His importance was emphasized, however, by his presence in the elite company which formed a delegation to Washington, D. C., 1845. He, with mixed-bloods Pierre Le Clair and William Holliday, and eight Indian chiefs, all under the guidance and direction of their former sub-agent, Richard Elliot, made up the group.[40] Later, on the Kansas reservation, Medard Beaubien married Theresa Hardin Lafromboise, daughter of Joseph Lafromboise.[41] He became a leader of outstanding influence and importance in Kansas.

One of the more colorful mixed-bloods was Pierre Clair. In the correspondence, both his given and last names had many variants: Pierre, Perish, and Pierish; and Le Cler, La Clerc, La Clair, and La Claire. Also of Milwaukee origin and obviously of French background, he was actively connected with several of the more important incidents in Chicago-Potawatomi history. In 1815 he was on hand at the celebrated Fort Dearborn massacre and acted as interpreter at the

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[40]Carman, op. cit., p. 90.

[41]Emma Cones Richter, A History of Silver Lake Kansas (n.d., n.p.), p. 11.

surrender negotiations. In 1833 he promoted the removal treaty of that year.[42] His most important performance during the Iowa interval was as a key figure in the 1845 delegation to Washington. Elliot, the strategist in command of the colorful group, described their experience in a most interesting and humerous way. Le Clair was the principal orator, and his representations were in the "Indian lingo," as Elliot put it.[43] The various speeches were planned ahead in the manner of a shrewd debate, and the histrionic touch was not lacking. In Le Clair's main appearance, he "was to expatiate upon the charms of the country about Chicago, where frogs in the marshes sang more sweetly than birds in other parts, which they had ceded to the government for a mere trifle . . ."[44] Later he assisted in persuading the Potawatomi to move from the Bluffs to Kansas, being commended by the Department for this. He died there in the care of the Jesuit Fathers in 1849.[45] The name of Le Clair

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[42]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 698.

[43]Elliot, op. cit., p. 208.

[44]Ibid., quoted in Carman, op. cit., p. 96.

[45]"Diary of Father Maurice Gailland, S. J.," original in archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas. Translated and annotated by James M. Burke, S. J. (published in part in The Kansas Historical Quarterly, XX, August, 1953,

would become and remain well-known on the Oklahoma (Citizen Band) reserve in the years to come.

Before leaving the Council Bluffs mixed-bloods, it should be mentioned that the names of several somewhat less important individuals appeared. These also, the family names, were of frequent occurrence on the Oklahoma reserve later. Michael Wilmot was confirmed as assistant blacksmith in 1843.[46] Davis Hardin showed up often in the sub-agent's correspondence. He had the office of farmer for the Band during part of its tenure in Iowa. J. H. Whitehead and J. W. Whitehead were licensed traders within the sub-agency as early as 1840.[47] Some of these men evidently had no Indian blood at all; such was indicated in regard to Davis Hardin,

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under the title of "Early Years of St. Mary's Pottawatomi Mission from the Diary of Father Maurice Gailland, S. J."), complete on microfilm under title of "Diary of St. Mary's Mission, 1848-1877," Division of Manuscripts, KSHS, cited here, p. 49. Hereafter cited as Gailland Diary - Burke.

[46]Elliot to Mitchell, July 1, 1843, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers. According to Garraghan, "the Wilmots or Willmettes were children by his wife Archange, of Antoine Ouilmette, modern Chicago's first white resident, whose name is perpetuated in the city's north shore suburb Wilmette, a one-time possession of his wife under government treaty . . ." (op. cit., II, 697).

[47]Cooper to Pilcher, December 31, 1839, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

this being an issue in the question of whether he could be employed as the official farmer.[48] But we must now pass to the men of genuine Indian blood.

Richard Elliot indicated that on the famous Potawatomi sojourn to Washington, 1845, the following were among the eight chiefs: Wah-bon-seh, Op-te-ke-shick (Half Day), Me-ah-mis, and Shab-be-nay (Shabonna).[49] Each of these took an active part in the oratory, along with the mixed-bloods, and short comment on them is in order.

Wah-bon-seh (Waubunsee, Waubansee, Wabaunsee, Wa-bon-seh, Wabansai, Wabansee, Wabonsee) was one of the old, fabulous characters of the Illinois Potawatomi and often was listed in the correspondence as the principal chief. In 1845, on the trip down the Missouri River, enroute to St. Louis and Washington, Wah-bon-seh furnished continuous entertainment with his stories and jokes. He also explained how he got his name. As a young brave he set out single-handed to avenge the death of a friend at the hands of the Osage. Slipping into the enemy camp by night, he tomahawked a "dozen" of them and succeeded in escaping just at the break

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[48] Ibid., Pilcher to Cooper, January 10, 1840.

[49] Elliot, op. cit., p. 201.

of dawn. Thereupon he said to himself, "Wah-bon-seh" (Day-a-Little), and took the expression as his own name.[50] It was he who acted as principal negotiator in the Council at the Bluffs, June 30, 1845, in which the superintendent, Major Thomas H. Harvey, endeavored fruitlessly to conclude a settlement with the Potawatomi for the cession or sale of the Iowa lands.[51] Shortly after, he seemed to be the main inspiration for the Washington trip: ". . . the stately old Wah-bon-seh, with the snows of eighty winters on his head, had dreamed . . . that the treaty could only be properly made with the Great White Father in Washington."[52] The old patriarch of the Potawatomi apparently did not live to see the fulfillment of the removal Treaty of 1846, but his fame remained long in the memories of the tribe. One of the counties of Kansas bears the name Wabaunsee.

Op-te-ke-shick (Half Day) was described by Elliot as "our pompous and elegant orator, who when not engaged in grave matters of business, was bubbling over with fun, and sputtering Indian wit merrily as a kettle of boiling shirts

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[50]Elliot, op. cit., pp. 205-212, passim.

[51]Carman, op. cit., p. 84.

[52]Elliot, op. cit., p. 198; quoted in Carman, op. cit., p. 94.

can sputter on washday."[53] His influence in the removal to Kansas has been mentioned, he having been the recipient of praise from the Department along with Lafromboise and Le Clair. It was significant that, in the course of time, the effort to develop a truly unified nation on the Kaw having failed, it was Half Day's son who was the outstanding orator in opposition to sectionizing the land.[54] All aspects of the important sectionizing treaty will receive attention later.

Me-ah-mis, whose name appears often in the records of the later Kaw River reserve, was at Council Bluffs "chief of the scantily clad gentlemen who had their wigwams on the head of the streams of the Nishnobotna."[55] This short quotation is given because it is highly descriptive of the more primitive types of the United Band who later constituted the large mass of the so-called Prairie Band in Kansas. In 1845, on the trip to Washington, Elliot arranged for his colorful

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[53]Ibid., both.

[54]Thomas Ewing, Jr., to William P. Dole, C. I. A., November 19, 1861, Thomas Ewing, Jr. Letter Books, Ewing Papers, MSS, Division of Manuscript KSHS. In this letter Ewing identified the treaty opposition orator as "the Witch, Half-Day's son."

[55]Elliot, op. cit., p. 198; cited in Carman, op. cit., p. 94.

retinue to stop for a while at his hometown in Pennsylvania. There Me-ah-mis, replying to a speech of welcome, countered with a bit of Indian oratory. He referred to the purpose of the Potawatomi sojourn to the capital city and expressed hope that the Great Father would do something for the Indians "at the proper time."[56] Elliot did not characterize him as talkative and fun-loving in the manner of Op-te-ke-shick.

Shah-be-nay (Shabonna), who with Billy Caldwell acted as an aid to Tecumseh at Tippecanoe,[57] had earned for himself a reputation of friendship for the whites during the Black Hawk uprising. During that crisis he made a special effort to warn the settlers of Illinois of their peril.[58] Apart from the record that he was a member of the battery of Potawatomi speechmakers who descended on Washington in late 1845, his name was not otherwise featured prominently at Council Bluffs. There is no evidence that he lived to make the relocation in Kansas.

It may or may not be significant that Elliot did not give the names of the other five Indian chiefs on the 1845

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[56]Elliot, op. cit., p. 201.

[57]Fulton, op. cit., p. 166.

[58]Elliot, op. cit., p. 203.

Washington expedition. From this brief coverage of Council Bluff personalities it should, however, be apparent that the half-breeds were most influential, and that there was a measure of really effective cooperation between them and the pure-blooded Indian chiefs. It is obvious also that the latter, by the very number included on the 1845 trip, were powerful and important when it came to making major tribal decisions. This remained true for many years to come in reference to a certain percentage of the Indians who came from, or sprang from, the United Band of Iowa.

The Potawatomi at Council Bluffs exhibited many primitive characteristics. Father De Smet and his companions found the Indians heavily painted upon their first arrival. Elliot referred to Me-ah-mis and his "scantily clad gentlemen who had their wigwams on the head of the streams of the Nishnobotna." There was at least some movement to organize Indian allies to fight the Sioux--a considerable undertaking. Alcohol periodically produced scenes of the most wild cruelty and abandonment. But even with that accumulated evidence, any conclusion about primitive qualities and customs must not be over-emphasized. There were modifying aspects.

Demoralization, drunkenness, and a scanty subsistence

were the lot of the United Band during its trespassing tenure on the Platte Purchase. The trials and dissatisfactions stemming from the removal to the West were not elevating, and in a degree these downgrading conditions continued and persisted on the Iowa reserve. Stephen Cooper declared in 1839 that his Indians were wandering around in search of game. Some "small bands" had gone back to Missouri. The Potawatomi were, in general, finding subsistence very difficult.[59] In 1843, Elliot reported that the hunting grounds of the Iowa reserve were not very good and that the Indians were living almost entirely from their annuities.[60] There is no indication that agriculture occupied the attention of the mass of these people, although Davis Hardin was performing as sub-agency farmer as early as 1839.[61] In 1843, no farmer was employed and the sub-agent thought that none was needed. That there was a modicum of farming activity going on was, however, indicated by the reference to a blacksmith as well as to grist and saw mills.[62] In 1841, Cooper

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[59]Cooper to Pilcher, December 31, 1839, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[60]R. C. I. A., 1843, p. 393.

[61]Cooper to Pilcher, December 31, 1839, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[62]R. C. I. A., 1843, p. 393.

mentioned that the women of the band had raised a "considerable quantity of corn and vegetables," although he feared that these commodities might be bartered off for whiskey. He requested that the annuity payments should be made early that year so that his subjects might begin their hunt early and get away from the liquor traffic. In concluding this report, he acknowledged that not all the Indians were dissipated; "there are a number of honorable exceptions several of whom live entirely on the product of their farms, have comfortable houses and raise cattle, hogs, and horses."[63]

Elliot referred, in 1844, to the depredations of the Omaha Indians who crossed the Missouri River to raid the corn and livestock of the Potawatomi. It is significant that he referred to these surpluses as being specifically the property of the half-breeds. It seems valid to conclude that the Potawatomi of Iowa, as a group, made only very slight progress in the direction of an agricultural economy. This factor became decisive in Kansas in bringing on a break with their farming brethren from the Osage River. It would be, to a great extent, "hunting Indians" versus "farming Indians." The former, as a class, would be little interested

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[63]Cooper to Pilcher, October 2, 1841, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

in taking allotments.

Oddly, the matter of taking individual allotments of land did arise, in a minor sort of way, at Council Bluffs. Richard Elliot wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stating that there was present a number of Potawatomi of "reservee status" under stipulations of the Treaty of Chicago, October 20, 1832. The granting of individual reservations to chiefs and important mixed-bloods was a common practice in the Indian treaties of that time. Elliot admitted that recent decisions had ruled that, under the subsequent Treaty of September 26, 1833, no patents in fee simple could be issued to anyone within an Indian reservation without prior Congressional authorization. Therefore, he urged appropriate action in Congress at the next session, "so that a general act may be passed authorizing the issuing of patents to all the reservees, their heirs and assigns, who have not already been provided for by special legislation." His appeal was especially on behalf of old chief Shah-be-nay, "a well-disposed old man, but very poor . . ." who "has frequently called on me to inquire why he cannot get the land to which he believes himself entitled." Elliot thought that this former aid to Tecumseh ought to have his

patent "at once."[64]

There is no evidence that anything favorable came from the petition for Shah-be-nay. The point is that some elements of the United Band had an early acquaintance with the concept of individual, private allotments. The individual "reservee status" provided for in the early treaties, strictly in favor of a few selected chiefs and headmen, was, nevertheless, a much more limited concept than that later proposed and put into execution in Kansas.

The often quoted Richard Elliot, the unusual employee of the Indian Department, also gave a most comprehensive description of some other aspects of life and customs among the Potawatomi as he found them in Iowa Territory:

> They are a well-disposed people, already considerably advanced in civilization, and most of them have very correct notions of the superior comforts and enjoyments of civilized life. As a general rule, I am satisfied that the dignity, magnanimity, generosity, and gratitude, which have been ascribed by fanciful writers to the aborigines of our country, are qualities which either do not exist at all, or have but a limited operation; but doubtless there are exceptions to the rule, and I think the Pottawatomies may be looked upon as constituting one. I came here with a rather low estimate of the Indian character, and was not, I think pre-disposed to form opinions more favorably than the reality would warrant; yet I have been led to believe, that among this comparatively

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[64]Elliot to Crawford, September 23, 1844, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

> uncultivated and neglected people we have as great a proportion of integrity and honor as can be found among the same number of our own race, even when under circumstances far more favorable to these sentiments. Without any laws but those which nature dictates, without any "moral reform" societies, without any pulpit exhortations, without lectures from the press, without prisons or workhouses, and even without any adequate notions of a future state of rewards and punishments, these Indians may, nevertheless, be described as an upright and virtuous people. It is true that they are without the restraints as well as without the comforts of civilization, and that commerce of the sexes, for example, has yet much of the license so common to savage life (if not peculiar to it), but there is nearly always found among the parents a strong attachment to their offspring, and even between distant relations the most devoted affection generally prevails; nor are instances of connubial infidelity so numerous as a stranger would be apt to suspect. And although we have no laws established, yet, in cases of depredations, the large annuities furnished by the Government afford a ready means of punishing the offender, and securing redress to the sufferer; and the means are generally applied.[65]

That description and discussion ameliorates our former scenes of drunkenness and bloodshed. Elliot's opinions must also be placed alongside all other bits of evidence otherwise used to point to a primitive state. Indeed, he paid the United Band, collectively, a very fine tribute. Later we shall give Father Hoecken's analysis of the Potawatomi on the Osage River. It agrees in many specific details with the above characterization of their Iowa brethren. When the two groups

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[65] R. C. I. A., 1843, p. 392.

of Indians came together on the same reservation, as provided by the Treaty of 1846, it was not so much a matter of attempting to consolidate two completely different types of Indians. It was rather that there was a variation, generally, in the degree to which each had mounted the ladder of the white man's civilization.

CHAPTER IV

POTAWATOMI OF THE OSAGE RIVER RESERVATION

Later included as a component of east-central Kansas, the early Potawatomi Indian Reservation in Indian Territory was specifically provided as a home for the various groups of the tribe in Indiana. Mr. Sim T. Carman's analysis of the legal status of the reservation is so lucid and comprehensive that a complete quotation seems justified here:

> By the provisions of Article 3 of the Treaty of February 11, 1837, 7 Stat. 532, made between the United States and the chiefs of the Potawatomi Indians of Indiana, the United States agreed to set aside to said Indians a reservation on the Osage River, southwest of the Missouri River, sufficient in extent and adapted to the habits and wants of the entire membership of the bands composing the Indiana bands of Potawatomi Indians. The Potawatomi Indians of Indiana, to whom the reserve was by the 1837 treaty required to be provided by the United States, consisted mostly of the major bands of Potawatomi Indians of the State of Indiana, known as the Kankakee, the Wabash, and the St. Joseph Potawatomi bands, and various other minor constituent Potawatomi Indian bands. These bands of Indians between 1832 and 1837 had separately made no less than 15 treaties with the United States for their removal west of

> the Mississippi River on February 11, 1837, by which treaty, and prior treaties they agreed to remove to the reservation provided by the United States under the 1837 treaty to be set aside to them on the Osage River, southwest of the Missouri River, in the present state of Kansas.[1]

An analysis of the fifteen antecedent treaties would contribute little in establishing the roots of the Citizen Band. The total implication of the general treaty of February 11, 1837, however, is very important in determining the origin of that combination of Indians which made up the great body of the allottees (Citizen Band) of 1863, by the provisions of the Treaty of 1861.

Acting upon a letter of instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated April 22, 1837, Isaac McCoy surveyed the reservation prior to Potawatomi occupation.[2] William E. Connelley describes its location:

> . . . Pursuant to the terms of this treaty (1837, Feb. 11) a tract of land about thirty-six by forty-two miles in extent was surveyed for the Pottawatomie. It was located some eighteen miles west of the Missouri line. Its south line was the north line of the lands assigned to the New York Indians, and passed about nine miles north of the present town of Iola. The north line of the tract ran about six miles south of Ottawa. The reservation

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[1]Carman, op. cit., pp. 51, 52.

[2]Ibid., 53.

contained about fifteen hundred square miles.[3] McCoy made the point that the sources of the Neosho River were included, as well as those of the Osage.[3] The tract, except on the west, became surrounded by areas assigned to other Indians:[5] the New York Indians on the south; the Miami on the east, between the Potawatomi reserve and the Missouri state line; the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Ottawa, Chippewa, and Sac and Fox of Mississippi on the north.[6] The total area consisted of 909,565.62 acres, sufficient, according to the instructions sent to McCoy, to provide an average of 320 acres for each prospective Indian settler.[7] In course of time, the Potawatomi developed two principal settlements within their area, on Pottawatomie Creek and Sugar Creek, both tributaries of the Marais des Cygnes, which was another name for the upper Osage River.[8]

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[3]William E. Connelley, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans (Chicago-New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1918), p. 259.

[4]Isaac McCoy, The Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian Territory, op. cit., p. 58.

[5]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 190n.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Carman, op. cit., p. 54.

[8]Garraghan, op. cit., I, 190n.

Isaac McCoy had played a significant part earlier in the developments which led to the designation of the upper Osage River tract to the Indiana Potawatomi in the Treaty of 1837. He was one of the pioneer promoters of the general concept of relocating the Indians to the west of the Mississippi. As early as June 1824, he was delegated by the Baptist Mission Board of Boston to present his views to President James Monroe. Although the president did not grant an audience, the Secretary of War at the time, John C. Calhoun, gave considerable personal attention to the McCoy recommendations. The secretary subsequently included the policy of eventual removal as a dominant feature of his Indian treaty negotiations. During the next presidential administration, McCoy succeeded in obtaining a personal interview with John Quincy Adams as well as with the Secretary of War.[9]

In 1828, McCoy was appointed a special commissioner to conduct exploring expeditions in the vast Indian Territory. On the very first of these, during August and September, the Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws failed to provide their promised delegates. The Indian representation

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[9]Franklin G. Adams, "Reverend Isaac McCoy," Kansas Historical Collections, I, II (1881), 273.

comprised three Potawatomi and three Ottawa. The lands west of the state of Missouri, recently ceded to the United States by the Kansas and Osage tribes, were designated for exploration. Leaving St. Louis on August 21, the proceeded to the headwaters of the Osage River, over into the Neosho basin, and returned by way of the north bank of the Kansas River.[10] This itinerary certainly led across the tract later set up by the Treaty of 1837 and which McCoy himself surveyed in the same year. His reports on the explorations of 1828 indicate that the two principal Potawatomi members of the first sojourn were generally well pleased with the country, although they made a bit of trouble by taking too much drink on two occasions.[11] No evaluation has been made of the exact influence of McCoy's expedition of 1828 in deciding the specific location of the Indiana Potawatomi on the Osage River. From the very nature of his former activities with this tribe in Indiana and Michigan, it is altogether likely that he had a special solicitude for them. Judging from the tenor of his letters at the time of the United Band's occupancy of

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Lela Barnes, "Journal of Isaac McCoy's Exploring Expedition of 1828," Kansas Historical Collections, XXII (Vol. V, Kansas Historical Quarterly, August 1936), 229.

the Platte Purchase, it also seems that he still hoped to promote a unified home on the Osage River for all the Potawatomi bands, regardless of the Treaty of Chicago, 1833.

In this treatment of this Potawatomi Reservation an effort is made to concentrate on the Indians themselves. A sizable literature, published or unpublished, exists on the missions and mission schools in early Kansas. These scholarly accounts will be drawn upon to provide background information. Some aspects hitherto neglected will be emphasized, especially the Baptist Mission on the Osage River. Also, some extended reference is made to the rivalry which developed between the Jesuits and the Baptists, for the details of the contest provide an excellent early setting for understanding the Indian tensions and factionalism which the Citizen Band exhibited much later.

In this narrative there is no conscious attempt to depreciate the good influences of the religious men and women who labored among the Potawatomi. Concerning many phases of Indian life, the missionaries are also the principal contemporary witnesses. The Potawatomi were more than ordinarily receptive to Christian approaches. On both the Osage and Kansas Rivers, the Christianized Indians were labeled the "mission band." This group in particular adopted

an agricultural way of life and, after the Treaty of 1861, its members chose to become allottees. Therefore, even though an earnest effort is made to avoid the re-writing of mission history, one of the theses of this study will be that virtually the entire period of Osage River occupancy was a formative period in practicing more fully the arts of civilization, and this largely under missionary supervision and influence.

In order to obtain an understanding of the course of events on the new Osage River Potawatomi reserve, it is necessary to investigate the nature of and the sequence of the earlier migrations. The first Indian inhabitants moved there directly from the Platte Purchase, where some of them had been in temporary residence since 1834. These were the Michigan members of the United Band; initially their treaty rights were under the Treaty of Chicago of 1833. It was principally for their care and help that Robert Simerwell transferred from Michigan and began his work in the spring of 1834. A controversy arising over the removal from the Platte Purchase actually established the identity of the earliest Potawatomi moving to the Osage River.

From the context of the study of the life of Robert Simerwell, it is clear that the old chief who made the tour

of inspection of the Osage River country in the fall of 1835 was no other than old Topinebe (spelled variously), principal chief of the St. Joseph Band in Michigan. Some elements of this group had received the special attention of the old Carey Mission School in Michigan. Simerwell and McCoy were determined that their mission work for the Potawatomi should continue in the West. The following is taken from an unpublished thesis prepared directly from the "Simerwell Papers":

> . . . Topinebee was the principal chief of the nation and wherever he settled, the main body could be expected to settle. His St. Joseph party consisted of a thousand to sixteen hundred. Topinebee said he would emigrate with Luther Rice. Luther Rice informed Lykins that he had no intentions of going up the Missouri. Colonel Sands was resolved to take his emigrants to Council Bluffs and even threatened to employ the dragoons to accomplish this. Through the great decision of Mr. Scott (a trader) and Rice, Topinebee broke off and came to the Osage bringing one or two hundred others.[12]

Luther Rice, former student of Hampton Institute in Virginia, was an assistant to the Simerwells at Carey when Isaac McCoy began his campaign to promote Indian removals to the region west of the Mississippi.[13] Rice acted as interpreter on the United Band exploring expedition of 1835,[14] and he evidently

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[12]Moore, loc. cit., p. 39.

[13]Peck, op. cit., p. 543.

[14]Carman, op. cit., p. 77.

exercised considerable influence among the Potawatomi. In Kansas he continued to do so. McCoy, as was mentioned, specified the time of the departure of the Indians from the Platte Purchase as in late July, 1837. Soon after, Simerwell made preparations to move to the Osage, arriving at the settlement of Pottawatomie Creek in October.[15] His shifting of residence likewise indicates that elements of the St. Joseph Band were among the original Potawatomi settlers of the Osage River.

Whether the specifically Indiana bands were represented among the very first arrivals is problematical. In connection with the Platte Purchase removal, McCoy wrote that "emigrants from Michigan and Indiana were still arriving."[16] A later analysis of the Indian population of the Osage reserve by Department officials suggests that a sprinkling of the Illinois Potawatomi (Prairie Band Indians) decided to go south rather than north in 1837. But there is no doubt that during the latter part of that year a small group arrived who were exclusively of Indiana origin. The exact sequence of the migrations to the Osage River cannot

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[15]Peck, op. cit., p. 544.

[16]Isaac McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions, op. cit., p. 582.

be determined from the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, because they do not provide a definite breakdown of the relative numbers of the United and Indiana Bands during the 1833-1840 movements. One item, for instance, credited Anthony L. Davis, Osage River sub-agent, with asserting that, in 1837, 842 Potawatomi migrated on their own volition. But he did not classify them according to bands.[17] Certainty about the arrival of a contingent from Indiana in 1837 is derived from missionary sources. Christian Hoecken, the Jesuit, made the clearest, contemporary statement on the matter in one of the earliest entries in the famous Diary which he kept during most of the years of his labors among the Potawatomi:

> In the year 1837, a band of the Potawatomi Indians in number about 150, came to this place from Indiana where some of them had been baptized in the Catholic Church by Rev. Stephen Badin and Deseille. The chief Nefswawke, having heard in the course of a few months that the Catholic priests were living in the Kickapoux village, got a trader to write a letter for him to the clergymen, asking them to come and teach them religion.[18]

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[17]W. B. Waugh, clerk of the Division of Records, to George W. Ewing, veteran trader and attorney for the Potawatomi, May 18, 1853, Special File 69, OIA. Description of enclosure: summary of Indian removals, footnote No. 13, Chapter II, supra, p. 21.

[18]Diary of Father Hoecken, MS, Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas. Original in Latin

Chief Nefswawke was a signer, among others, of the Treaty of April 22, 1836, in Indiana.[19] Colonel A. C. Pepper signed for the United States, and the other principal Indian signer was Chief Quash-quaw.[20] This was one of the aforementioned fifteen treaties made with various segments of the Indiana Potawatomi. It is significant also that during the following year a listing of the chiefs in the Osage sub-agency included only "Naswaugee" as present from Indiana origin.[21]

The first major migration of the Indiana Potawatomi occurred during 1838. The records of General John Tipton, in charge of Indian affairs in Indiana, and of the Catholic missionary, Benjamin Marie Petit, have made this removal the most widely publicized of the forced emigrations of the

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language; a translation by Rev. James O'Meara, S. J is therewith which was also published by Thomas H. Kinsella in The History of Our Cradle Land (Kansas City: The Casey Printing Co., 1921). The Diary hereafter cited as "Hoecken Diary - O'Meara." Present quotation therein, p. 3.

[19]U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 501.

[20]Kappler, op. cit., II, p. 459.

[21]Isaac McCoy, The Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian Territory, 1838, op. cit., p. 58. The spelling of this chieftain's name varied in three early sources: Hoecken used "Nefswawkee"; in the Treaty of April 22, 1836, it is written "Nas-waw-kee"; McCoy uses the variant, "Naswaugee." Circumstances point to the identity of the individual.

Potawatomi.[22] An article written in 1938 summarized the tragic experience:

> Late in August, 1838, the principal removal of the Potawatomi from Indiana to the new reservation in Kansas was put into operation. The Indians of Twin Lakes, Marshall County, a peaceful, partially civilized group, were herded together without warning. Beginning August 30, different groups were collected until September 3, according to William Polke, 756 Indians were enrolled. They left encampment at Twin Lakes, Tuesday, September 4. On September 6 they encamped near Logansport. On Monday afternoon, September 10, the mournful procession reached Winnemac's old village. On the 12th they forded the Tippecanoe River and passed Battle Ground. On September 14 camp was made near Williamsport and on the 16th they went into encampment at Danville, Illinois. All the way to Danville great distress was occasioned by lack of water and the scarcity and poor quality of food. Most of the Indians became ill--one day three hundred cases of sickness were reported. Many adults, and more children, died. A few Indians escaped and were found. The suffering continued more or less, until the destination was reached Sunday, November 4, at Potawatomie Creek . . . Older residents of the towns through which the procession passed can recall hearing their parents and grandparents speak of the pitiful sights witnessed when the Indians, herded together like sheep, slowly moved across the state.[23]

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[22] R.C.I.A., 1838, p. 467. This report includes Tipton's letter to the governor of Indiana, written from Sandusky Point, Illinois, September 18, 1838, in which he presented arguments in justification of the stern methods used in the removal. Petit's dramatic account was published in 1941 by the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, under the title, Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit (Irving McKee, ed.).

[23] "Centennial of Removal of the Potawatomi," Indiana Historical Bulletin, XV (August, 1938), 285.

Tipton mentions the Potawatomi chiefs, Menominee, Black Wolf, and Pepinowah as the leading Indian personalities in this removal; he also gives much credit to Father Petit for his help "in giving good advice" to the principal men to accept the removal and for his continuing aid in keeping up morale in the whole course of the arduous journey. Judge William Polke continued in charge of the expedition after John Tipton relinquished command at the Mississippi River.[24] Petit estimated that about six hundred and fifty Indians survived the trip; about thirty died enroute, and the remainder of the 756 deserted.[25]

The foregoing details of the major 1838 removal have been given to demonstrate certain specific details in the character of these particular emigrees. They were already tending toward the civilized status; they were most reluctant to leave Indiana, and the removal entailed much mental and physical suffering. They or their descendants would be subject to two more major removals in the course of the next fifty years--from one Kansas reserve to another, and finally to Oklahoma. An inherent reluctance and period of relative

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[24] R.C.I.A., 1838, p. 467.

[25] Garraghan, op. cit., II, 186.

degradation accompanied each of these removals as will be shown. The possibility exists that the trials of the original uprooting left a deep imprint. The influence of the Catholic missionary in effecting the emigration was also significant. Catholic mission influence in Kansas developed very powerfully among the Indiana Indians. It also later became instrumental in aiding to bring about their next move to the Kansas River reservation.

A rather thorough study of the contemporary records reveals that in 1840 there were two major emigrations of the Potawatomi to the Osage River. The first was conducted by Mr. A. Coquillard. After many difficulties in rounding up a combination of both Michigan and Indiana Indians, the cortege set out "with what Indians he was able to collect," on the 17th of August.[26] The combined summary of Potawatomi Indian migrations, as stated in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, credited Coquillard with having moved 526 Potawatomi during the year of 1840,[27] and that is the exact number which

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[26]General H. Brady, 7th Military District Hdg., Detroit, to T. Hartley Crawford, C.I A., Aug. 24, 1840, in U. S. Congress, House Executive Document, 143, Vol. III, 27th Congress, 2nd Session, March 19, 1842, p. 21.

[27]W. B. Waugh, clerk of the Division of Records, to G. W. Ewing, loc. cit., Special File 69, OIA.

Anthony L. Davis, sub-agent at the Osage River, reported on October 15th to have recently arrived.[28] Elsewhere Davis specifically designated the arrival date as October 6th.[29] A Catholic priest, Rev. S. A. Bernier, also accompanied that particular emigration. In Bernier's report to Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford, January 15, 1841, he referred to the Indians as having been those of the St. Joseph Band,[30] and still later, January 14, 1844, he presented a bill for $650.00 to the Department, alleging that without his intervention the Indians would not have migrated.[31]

The second emigration of 1840 arrived at the Osage River too late for mention in the sub-agent's summary to Superintendent Pilcher, St. Louis.[32] The general report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of War,

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[28]R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 320.

[29]Davis to Pilcher, October 8, 1840, in U. S. Congress, House Executive Document, 143, Vol. III, 27th Congress, 2nd Session, March 19, 1842, p. 21.

[30]Ibid., Bernier to Crawford, p. 51.

[31]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 190n.

[32]R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 320. Failure of the sub-agent to mention the second major migration of 1840 probably accounted for Garraghan's failure to include it in his study of the Potawatomi migrations of that year (op. cit., II, 190n).

1840, did refer to a letter from General H. Brady, Detroit, who reported that "430 more of these Indians had set out."[33] The contractors were Messrs. Godfroy and G. Kercheval, with Major Robert J. Forsyth as conductor.[34] A Reverend Isaac Ketchum, denomination not specified, "for a long time, an assistant Indian agent with these people," was credited with "having rendered great service in assembling and inducing them to emigrate."[35] Very many details about the whole undertaking were given in the various letters of the Document now being drawn upon, but the following seems to have epitomized its character: General H. Brady wrote from Detroit on December 29 that Major Forsyth had just returned from the Osage River, where he had delivered 439 Indians; Messrs. Godfroy and Kercheval, the contractors, should have their payment at once for

> I must say, for those gentlemen, they have had a perplexing and expensive duty to perform, under their contract and I fear that they will be poorly paid for their time and trouble; which is not surprising, when we take into consideration, that not 20 of the 439 Indians moved willingly. On the

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[33] R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 230.

[34] Brady to Crawford, November 5, 1840, in U. S. Congress, House Executive Document, 143, March 19, 1842, loc. cit., p. 29.

[35] Ibid., Brady to Pilcher, October 24, 1840, p. 31.

> contrary, we were compelled to hunt them up in the woods, and to conduct them to Peru, in Illinois, with troops; at which place, they were placed on board the steamboat, and nothing but the bold and determined conduct of Major Forsyth (conductor) prevented the necessity of sending a detachment of troops with them, the whole distance, to the Osage Agency.[36]

No date for the arrival of the Osage was found in our inquiry. Superintendent Pilcher reported from St. Louis on November 11 that a party of "about four hundred and twenty" Potawatomi, "now emigrating from Indiana and Michigan under the direction of Major Forsyth and Mr. Kerchival," were in camp only about twenty miles from St. Louis, and that subsistence was being provided for them; also, that in the "course of a day or two" they would proceed to the Osage.[37] This second migration of 1840 was listed, naturally, in the combined summary of Potawatomi emigrations as given later by the Department.[38]

The common denominators in the Potawatomi migrations thus far discussed have been readily recognizable. Parallel developments in the emigration of groups of the United Band

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[36] Ibid., Brady to Crawford, p. 34.

[37] Pilcher to Davis, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

[38] W. B. Waugh, clerk of the Division of Records, to G. W. Ewing, loc. cit., Special File 69, OIA.

to Council Bluffs were not discoverable, at least not with the Illinois elements. The review of the westward movements just given is far more reminiscent of those of the Five Civilized Tribes which were also taking place just prior to and during the same period.

Before taking up internal developments on the Osage, it is helpful to advert briefly to the growth of Indian population during the years of the migrations. Major Anthony L. Davis reported in the fall of 1838 that the Potawatomi under his jurisdiction "may be estimated at about one thousand."[39] About one year later the number had risen to about sixteen hundred and fifty according to Isaac McCoy.[40] On October 15, 1840, sub-agent Davis estimated that there were then present "about two thousand," including the five hundred and twenty-six who had just arrived under Coquillard,[41] but patently his total number did not take into account the 439 brought by Major Forsyth a month or so later. One may conclude, therefore, that by the end of the year 1840 the accumulated Potawatomi population approached the 2,500 mark.

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[39] R.C.I.A., 1838, p. 320.

[40] History of Baptist Indian Missions, op. cit., p. 569.

[41] R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 320.

The records of subsequent years do not reveal that it ever mounted higher than that during the sojourn on the Osage River. A possible factor in the failure to register an increase was the recurrence of fatal diseases. Meanwhile, before 1840, internal events on the reservation had long term consequences that bear directly upon the purposes of the present study.

A division of the Osage Potawatomi into two camps occurred in the spring of 1839. Two separate, main settlements or communities developed. All the missionary records of the first two years of the reservation, also those of the sub-agent, indicate that the Pottawatomie Creek settlement was the original one. Robert Simerwell began preparations to move there in September 1837.[42] Father Christian Hoecken arrived from the Kickapoo village for his first visit to the Potawatomi in January 1838.[43] It was in this settlement that he welcomed Father Benjamin Petit and the Indiana Potawatomi migrating party on the 4th of November of the same year. The sub-agent's report for 1838 mentioned only a single concentration of the Indians: ". . . these for the most part

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[42]Moore, loc. cit., p. 42.

[43]"Hoecken Diary - O'Meara," p. 3.

occupy the northeastern portion of the land assigned to them . . ."[44] The settlement was near the present-day town of Osawatomi, Kansas.[45]

It seems that immediately after the arrival of the Catholic group of Potawatomi on November 4, 1838, they determined to establish a separate settlement area for themselves. Father Hoecken mentions that he accompanied the exploring parties and that a decision was made in favor of a location on Sugar Creek "which pleased us for various reasons, chiefly for the quantity of timber, its sugar, and its distance from the Americans and from the other Indian tribes who were addicted to liquor."[46] He also goes on to state definitely the time of the removal, "However we remained at Pottawatomie Creek up to March 1839."[47] The new settlement and mission-site was about fifteen miles south of the original center at Pottawatomie Creek, about twenty-five miles northwest of Ft. Scott, about fifteen miles west of the Ft. Leavenworth-Ft. Scott military road's crossing of the Osage

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[44] R.C.I.A., 1838, p. 506.

[45] Garraghan, op. cit., II, 194.

[46] "Hoecken Diary - O'Meara," p. 3.

[47] Ibid.

River, and about four miles northeast, in a direct line, from present-day Centerville, Linn County, Kansas.[48]

From the year 1840 the correspondence of the Osage sub-agent and other officials in the Indian Department establishes two separate communities of the Potawatomi. Representative was the sub-agent's analysis, as published in the Annual Report for 1845:

> The Pottawatomies residing in this sub-agency are divided into three bands. The Pottawatomie of Indiana, or, as they are commonly styled, the St. Joseph band, are located on Pottawatomie creek, one of the main tributaries of the Osage river. The Pottawatomies of the Wabash reside about 15 miles south of the former, on Sugar creek; likewise a branch of the Osage. The Pottawatomies of the prairie are dispersed among their brethren at both creeks, although a moiety of them are living with their friends the Kickapoos, of the Ft. Leavenworth agency . . . The Pottawatomies living on Sugar Creek, viz: The Wabash bands and nearly one-half of the Saint Joseph, have been as usual very exemplary. They have raised this season a considerable quantity of small grain . . . They are industrious and moral, are comfortably fixed in good log houses; . . . They are communicants, to the number of about eleven hundred, of the Roman Catholic church, and too much praise cannot be awarded the zealous fathers of this persuasion for the good they have wrought among this people . . . That part of the Saint Joseph band residing on the Pottawatomie creek have not been as provident as could be wished, but a majority have exhibited a desire to cultivate the soil for maintenance.[49]

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[48]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 194, 195n.

[49]R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 555.

This report also provided a specific breakdown on the distribution of the various bands composing the two communities; however, the "Potawatomi of Kankakee," found in some of the Indian cession treaties by Mr. Carman, seems never to have come into use on the Osage Reserve. One of the inherent sources of dissatisfaction and controversy lay in the fact that the St. Joseph Band was split between the two settlements, and this led to differences of opinion within that band's own leadership and personnel.

The correspondence in the Indian Departments records reveals that a heated controversy developed over the appointment of Dr. Johnston Lykins as physician for the St. Joseph Band, As the strife proceeded, it became apparent that it was, in fact, one facet of the Baptist-Jesuit rivalry. Dr. Lykins was a longtime associate of Isaac McCoy.[50] During 1837, according to McCoy's account, Lykins was appointed to act temporarily in the official position of

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[50]Esther Clark Hill, "Some Background of early Baptist Missions in Kansas," Kansas Historical Collections, XVIII (Vol. I, Kansas Historical Quarterly, Feb. 1932), p. 90n. Lykins began his work with Isaac McCoy about 1819, acting as a teacher in the Wabash River school. Having moved on to Carey in Michigan, he married Delilah McCoy, Isaac's daughter, in 1827; he founded the Shawanoe Baptist Mission in 1831, and, with Joatham Meeker, published Kansas' first newspaper, The Shawanoe Sun, 1836-1842.

assistant to sub-agent Anthony L. Davis in effecting the removal of portions of the Potawatomi on the Platte Purchase to the Osage River.[51] During the fall of 1839 he was referred to as superintendent of the Baptist Mission at Pottawatomie Creek.[52] By late 1842 correspondence accumulated relative to Dr. Lykins' prospective appointment as the St. Joseph Band physician. Anthony L. Davis recommended that the appointment be approved by the Department:

> The Pottawatomies of the St. Joseph's and Indiana Band have reported to me that they have employed Dr. Johnston Lykins to serve them as physician, at the rate of one thousand dollars per annum, from the first of January next, under the third article of the Treaty of Chicago, 1833, and have requested me to report the same to you for confirmation of the Department.[53]

Continuing, Davis urged favorable action and stated his reasons for the recommendation. But prompt appointment of Lykins did not result. During the next two years a flood of correspondence ensued, with Indian petitions and counter-petitions, with charges and counter-charges. An entire special file in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is devoted almost exclusively to it. To analyze all the

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[51] History of Baptist Indian Missions, op. cit., p. 582.

[52] Ibid., p. 569.

[53] Davis to Mitchell, December 22, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

details of the struggle lies outside the scope of this study, but some of its features are valuable in understanding an important characteristic of the Osage River Potawatomi.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs replied negatively to the Davis recommendation. He alleged that the salary of $1,000 per annum was entirely too high and that the request for appointment was irregular.[54] During February, 1843, urgent requests for favorable action were made to the Secretary of War by William C. Buck, Chairman of the Board of Managers of the Indian Mission Association, Louisville, Kentucky, and also by Isaac McCoy himself.[55] In March the issue became really warm: a petition and protest against Lykins was sent in by "We the Chiefs, headmen and young men of St. Joseph's band of Pottawatomies settled on Sugar Creek." The names of Louis and Joseph Bertrand, Jr., are among the signers, with the latter indicated as "witness." This communication objects to the $1,000 annual salary, questions Dr. Lykins' capabilities in the field of medicine, and states that the presence of Indian doctors as well as "one of the

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[54]Crawford to Davis, February 2, 1843, Letter Book 33, Letters Sent, 1843, OIA.

[55]Buck to Spencer, February 21, 1843; McCoy to Spencer, February 22, 1843, both in Special File 28, OIA.

good Fathers" (a reference to Father Christian Hoecken) makes it possible to obtain "white pills and doses" and "it will cost us nothing."[56]

By June sub-agent Davis renewed his request that Lykins be appointed, but this time at the salary rate of $600.00 per annum. He bewails the protest from the St. Joseph members of the Sugar Creek settlement, remarking that "much feeling" arises over the question,

> . . . and a few days since in open Council the St. Joseph's and Prairie bands have made known to me that they wished Dr. Lykins to serve them as Physician in preference to any other person, subsequently the enclosed petition, signed by the principal chief and many of his people for his nomination was handed me . . .[57]

Superintendent Mitchell's reaction to the sub-agent's renewed petition was definitely not favorable. His collateral remarks suggested Potawatomi characteristics which are enlightening. He argued that no appointment should be made during the current year; his own visit to the reservation when he "held council with the tribe" had convinced him of this; he had become aware of the two factions, pro-

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[56] Ibid., The Sugar Creek petition to Mitchell, March 26, 1843.

[57] Davis to Mitchell, June 22, 1843, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

Lykins and anti-Lykins, and

> . . . I am clearly of the opinion, that the better plan would be to make no appointment of the kind for at least a year to come. These Indians are split up into small factions, jealous and envious of each other, and any appointment or change in their present condition would give great offence to some, and perhaps satisfy none. The different factions are governed by a few rival half-breeds--whose contentions and communications, should be entirely disregarded by the Department. These half-breeds only gain consequence by the attention which is sometimes paid to their official communications--signed by a long list of names, when in fact none but the writer knew anything of the matter.[58]

Mitchell's reference to the half-breeds' influence was validated in August when a succession of letters from the Pottawatomie Creek mixed-bloods poured into the Commissioner's office. Jude Bourassa berated the previous petition of the Sugar Creek faction, the one of March 26, by referring to it as a "forgery";[59] Abram Burnett held no punches at all when he averred that it was prepared by "someone there" at the Sugar Creek chapel.[60] Robert Wilson, one of the sub-agency assistant blacksmiths, openly blamed

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[58]Mitchell to Crawford, Special File 28, OIA, Emphasis supplied.

[59]Bourassa to Crawford, August 21, 1843, Special File 28, OIA.

[60]Ibid., Burnett to Crawford, August 22, 1843.

it on the Sugar Creek Jesuits, who, he stated, "have improperly interfered between the Indians of their persuasion and the traders and others living amongst them and particularly in the case of Dr. Johnston Lykins."[61] There was also a letter from Chief Chebas (or Go-gadmo), written and witnessed by Jude Bourassa.[62] In the present context the concern is not especially with the truth or falsity of the various allegations; it is the nature of the controversy and its participants which are important. With reference to mixed-bloods it will be recalled that from the Sugar Creek side, the names of Louis and Joseph Bertrand, Jr., were indeed very prominent in the March 26th petition, with certain indications that the latter was the composer and writer of the instrument.

During the year 1843, Dr. Lykins wrote many letters to the Commissioner, T. H. Crawford. On June 10th, he penned a bitter ten-page communication generally castigating Jesuits, Popes, Inquisition, and the "Catholic American Fur Company," which, he alleged, had special privileges at the Sugar Creek Settlement.[63] By October 1st, he came into

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[61] Ibid., Wilson to Crawford, August 24, 1943.

[62] Ibid., Chebas to Crawford, August 21, 1843.

[63] Ibid., Lykins to Crawford, June 10, 1843.

possession of a copy of the hostile March 26th protest. He branded it as "a tissue of falsehoods such as Indians could not fabricate, written by some white man, to which Indian names were attached without their knowledge or consent . . . ." Lykins maintained that the Indians themselves were all for his appointment, and leveled his guns at the Jesuits again: "That you may judge for yourself of the motives which govern certain men now located in this section of the Indian country, I herewith enclose the oath taken by them on becoming members of this peculiar order."[64] In a letter of November 30th, Lykins again argued that the Wabash Potawatomi were under the influence of the Jesuits, also that those Indians should have nothing whatever to say about the matter of his appointment, since they had "no more interest in the Treaty of Chicago than if they were Arabs." He also excoriated the Jesuits as being "foreigners."[65] On December 23rd, he pressed this theme again: "I desire to insist on nothing but what is honorable and just. But my case involves a principle, affecting the rights of an American citizen and

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[64] Ibid., Lykins to Crawford, October 1, 1843. The copy of the alleged oath is missing from the papers of the Special File.

[65] Ibid., Lykins to Crawford.

I am unwilling to yield my rights to such foreigners, avowed enemies of my country."[66]

Apparently the Jesuits of Sugar Creek were well informed on these attacks, for, on February 8, 1844, a lengthy letter of defense was dispatched in reply to the many charges made against them. It was written by Father James Oliver Van de Velde, later bishop of Chicago and still later of Natchez, Mississippi, but at that time President of the Board of Catholic Missions in Missouri, with headquarters at St. Louis University. First, he defended the Jesuit missionary efforts in general, declaring that a conspiracy of opposition had been promoted against them, and then proceeded to particulars. He named Jude Bourassa, along with Chief Gogodamua Cheves, a son of Topinebe, as principal agitators. With regard to Lykins, he made this observation: . . . "Dr. J. Lykins, who if I am not mistaken, is son-in-law to the Rev. M. McKoy--once a bitter enemy of the missionaries. This gentleman first sets up as a minister of the gospel, but meeting with no encouragement and having been discarded by the board of Baptist Missions, he undertook to act as physician, in which he was equally unsuccessful . . ." Van

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[66] Ibid., Lykins to Crawford.

de Velde went on to charge that Lykins was in collusion with Jude Bourassa and Chief Gogodamua to obtain the position of physician, as provided by the Treaty of Chicago. As to Abram Burnett, there was no flattery either; he characterized him as "the soul of the conspiracy," . . . and "He is a dark and treacherous man, given to intoxication.[67]

After all the wrangle, Dr. Lykins did get the position sought. News of the appointment by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was forwarded from the superintendency office in St. Louis on the 8th of June, 1844.[68] That ended this particular controversy for the time being. A letter of Dr. Lykins, dated March 30, 1846, to the new Commissioner, William Medill, contained a review of his successful battle. He blamed the former St. Louis superintendent, D. D. Mitchell, for having been a party to the opposition, also for having made unfounded statements to the Department. The final victory in the struggle is described as follows:

> At the urgent solicitation of the Indians I continued to perform the services of physician until May 1844 when I visited Washington City,

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[67] Ibid., Van de Velde to Mitchell, Gogadamus Cheves was, no doubt, the same as Gogadmo Chebas of the letter of August 21, 1843.

[68] Haverty, superintendency clerk, St. Louis, to Carpenter, Osage sub-agent, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

> when at the insistance of Colonel R. M. Johnson and Senators Sevier and Atchison, Mr. Wilkins, then Secretary of War directed your predecessor in office to make the appointment, to fix the salary and if deemed advisable to cause the appointment to operate retrospectively.[69]

The sequence of events therein described harmonizes very well with the date of the Department's appointment as indicated in the letter to the sub-agent at the Osage on June 8th. The letter of the Commissioner was dated 29th and 30th of May. The annual salary was set at $600.00 per annum.[70]

It must be emphasized again that the controversy over Dr. Lykins has not been explored here with a view to sitting in judgment on the case, but rather to stress the nature of the rivalries which were in progress within the Osage Reservation. Due praise must be given all missionary groups for the zeal and energy which they put into their labors. The tactics employed against each other, however, must be interpreted in the light of those times, the years just prior to the height of the Native American movement. Previous studies of the missionary efforts have apparently ignored some of these more unseemly aspects of rivalry and

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[69]Lykins to Medill, Special File 28, OIA.

[70]Haverty to Carpenter, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

competition. The point here is that, wittingly or unwittingly, a great deal of factionalism was promoted among the Indians. Factionalism and rival communities or settlements would continue to characterize them on the reservation on the Kansas River and also still later in the Indian Territory. This factionalism is not here imputed to nor concerned with any potential stresses or tensions between the St. Joseph - Wabash combination over against the Prairie Indians. The civilized, agricultural Indians continued to line up in opposing camps, depending on the issues of the time and on their respective loyalties. The later struggle on the Kansas River Reserve between the St. Joseph - Wabash agricultural Indians and the Prairie elements was thereby made somewhat complex, with some tendency on the part of the Indians to jump from one camp to the other.

The Lykins controversy illustrated powerful Catholic influences on the Osage reserve; also, that there was a very loyal and vocal minority of mixed-bloods and others who were definitely not Catholics in loyalty or in fact. The Catholics themselves sometimes wandered to the opposition camp. Van de Velde's letter of Jesuit defence described Jude Bourassa as such a one.[71] This tendency will also be

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[71]Van de Velde to Mitchell, February 8, 1844, Special File 28, OIA.

reflected later in the history of the Citizen Band. The rather blanket statements which have been made at times to the effect that the Potawatomi were Catholic Indians have to be taken with all due qualifications. At Council Bluffs, as has been shown, numerically at least, the Catholic adherence was unimpressive; on the Osage River it was more impressive, yet in no sense a homogeneous quality.

Traders were also involved in this and subsequent controversies. Dr. Lykins wrote in no endearing terms of the American Fur Company at Sugar Creek; Van de Velde mentioned Mr. M. Scott of Pottawatomie Creek as a party to the conspiracy against the Jesuits.[72] M. Scott was no doubt Moses A. Scott, formerly listed as one of the licensed traders amongst the Potawatomi in Indiana.[73] Those traders, as a class, often moved with the Indians, perhaps after losing a campaign to prevent the migration. They sometimes unduly interested themselves in tribal affairs.

Johnston Lykins himself continued in his missionary activities and held the office of tribal physician for some

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[72]Ibid.

[73]Combined signed receipt for payment, traders at Forks of the Wabash, September 29, 1836, Special File 165, OIA.

years to come. He provided the leadership for establishing very promptly a Baptist Manual Labor school on the New Kansas River Reserve, but he also again became a bone of contention. The issue was much the same as that in the first controversy: should he continue as tribal physician? As will be demonstrated, but much more briefly, in that renewed struggle of the eighteen-fifties he suffered defeat and was terminated. The indications are, apart from the actual desires of the Indians, that trader influences were the determining factor.

The combination of St. Joseph and Prairie Band Indians on the Osage Reserve was more numerous than the Wabash Band, but, with respect to the two separate communities, the alignment of one-half of the St. Joseph Band with the Wabash at Sugar Creek resulted in that settlement's having a relatively larger population. Sub-agent Anthony L. Davis gave a census report in 1842 as follows:

> The number of the St. Joseph and Prairie bands, including those who have joined from Council Bluffs, are 1324 (thirteen hundred and twenty four). This number is taken from a Roll that was made with great care, and is very near correct, but it is almost impossible to arrive at the true number of those who have joined from Council Bluffs, but as near as I can they number about 260 or 270. The Wabash band numbers 625 (six hundred and twenty five), making the total number of Potawatomie Indians now

> in the sub-agency 1949 (nineteen hundred and forty nine).[74]

Perhaps his estimate of "about 2000" in the fall of 1840,[75] before the last major migration of over 400 Indians in November of the year, was derived from guesswork and was a bit too high. By 1845, as previously stated, Sub-agent Alfred J. Vaughn estimated that "nearly one half of the St. Joseph" Potawatomie were living at Sugar Creek.[76] This same fraction was claimed there as early as 1842 in the school report for the Sugar Creek Catholic Mission Schools, the Mission being described as in charge of the "Wabash Band, St. Joseph Band about one half and a few of the Prairie Band of the Pottawatomie tribe."[77]

Distinctions between the Pottawatomie Creek and the Sugar Creek communities, as made by the Indian Department, can be illustrated in various other phases of business transactions. There was considerable correspondence

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[74]Davis to Mitchell, May 15, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[75]R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 320.

[76]R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 555.

[77]Original copy of school report in St. Mary's College archives, St. Mary's, Kansas, Record Book C 2, p. 133; also in R.C.I.A., 1842, p. 520.

concerning the grist and saw mills in each place. The following is an example of the discussion:

> Allow me to call the attention of the Indian Department (again) to the absolute necessity of authorizing the sub-agent to appoint two millers for this sub-agency, one to be employed at the grist mill at the Potawatomie Creek in the mill erected for the use of the St. Joseph's Band and one to be employed in the saw and grist mill erected on Sugar Creek for the Wabash band of Potawatomies. The mill on Potawatomie creek has been built some two years and no one appointed to take charge of it, the one on Sugar Creek is now completed and if built according to the contract will be on Monday next accepted, and for the agent to give it up to the control of the Indians would be to put in jeopardy the mill, for they have no one among them suitable to take charge of the saw and grist mill . . .[78]

There were many examples of separate provisions regarding agriculture and livestock; the following illustrates this:

> As you suggest you may procure the breaking of fifty acres at Potawatomie creek, and one hundred acres at Sugar Creek; these quantities may be increased if necessary, two dollars an acre in cash is the price paid . . . You will procure as many work oxen and milch cows as are necessary for the St. Joseph's and Prairie Bands.[79]

The Choctaw Academy issue was also alive on the Osage sub-agency. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs applied

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[78]Carpenter to Crawford, May 10, 1844, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[79]Harvey, superintendent, St. Louis, to Vaughan, Osage sub-agent, February 19, 1845, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

considerable pressure on all the sub-agents subject to the Fort Leavenworth agency, including the Osage, to recruit Indians for Colonel Richard M. Johnson's venerable institute in Georgetown, Kentucky.[80] In brief, the sub-agent of the Osage Potawatomi had a very difficult task; in 1840 he secured four students and conducted them to the school;[81] in 1842 his quota was eighteen boys, but he had to report no success whatever.[82] The Jesuits were blamed again, as they were at Council Bluffs, for obstructionist tactics on this point. During the Lykins controversy, Robert Wilson, the assistant blacksmith, put the indictment in most specific terms:

> In relation to our efforts made last year to procure some boys to go to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky the Jesuit Priests interposed to prevent them from going and after some boys were on the way one of the priests followed them and brought them back telling the Indians that they would

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[80]Pilcher to Cummins, agent at Fort Leavenworth, and to sub-agents A. L. Davis, J. V. Hamilton, J. M. Street, et al., September 26, 1839, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers. Pilcher stressed that he had received a direct appeal from Colonel Richard M. Johnson, currently vice-president of the United States.

[81]Davis to Pilcher, July 27, 1840, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[82]Davis to Mitchell, September 19, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

> pray for all the Children to die that were suffered to go to Kentucky.[83]

The veracity or falsity of such an indictment is again not the issue here, but the possibilities for promoting bitter factionalism by broadcasting such accounts are evident.

The Department, a year earlier, took notice of the reports of interference in the program to promote the Choctaw Academy. The Commissioner, T. Hartley Crawford, explained the whole policy in a letter to D. D. Mitchell, superintendent at St. Louis, in a letter of November 28, 1842:

> I am instructed by the Secretary of War to inform you that it is the desire of the Department that another effort should be made to furnish a few additional scholars to be educated by the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. The school was established originally for the benefit of the Indians under a reasonable expectation that so long as it continued to afford the expected facilities for educating Indian youths they would be furnished for that purpose. Ordinary justice would require that such expectations should not be disappointed to the loss and injury of the founder of the Academy . . . It has been intimated to the Department that improper influences have been resorted to to prevent the Indians from sending their children to the Choctaw Academy. This is reprehensible in the highest degree and should be put a stop to by the agent, no matter from what quarter it comes. You will, therefore, instruct the different agents and sub-agents under your direction to inquire carefully

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[83]Wilson to Crawford, August 24, 1843, Special File 28, OIA.

> and closely whether such interference has taken place, and if it has, to censure in severe terms what is past and to prohibit and exert themselves to prevent its recurrence.[84]

Mitchell enclosed the above letter to Anthony L. Davis and made the following interesting comment:

> The enclosed copy of a letter this day received from the Department will serve as a sufficient guidance for you on the subject to which it refers. I trust that you will use every reasonable exertion to comply with the requisition. If the boy or boys can be had, consign them to me as early as possible in the spring. I am inclined to think that the complaints about the interference and influence of Missionaries was intended principally for your sub-agency. You will take special care to inform yourself on the subject, and be governed by the instruction contained in the letter of the Commissioner.[85]

The records do not reveal that any sub-agent made a report on the alleged negative influence of the missionaries, either before or after that correspondence.

Long after the Choctaw Academy was abandoned, however, the theme of protest against Catholic missionaries for acting as a deterrent to the Catholic Potawatomi attendance at non-reservation schools would be renewed. It came up again and again on the reserve in Oklahoma. On the other hand, those under non-Catholic influences were much more

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[84]Letters Sent, Letter Book 33, 1842, OIA.

[85]Mitchell to Davis, December 12, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

prominent in providing a constant trickle of candidates to remote Indian boarding schools. A certain pattern emerged on the school issue as early as the days of the Osage River Reserve.

As far as the Wabash Potawatomi were concerned, the Indian Department actually admitted defeat on the Choctaw Academy issue, even as early as the spring of 1843. The superintendent wrote that he was instructed again by the Commissioner to stress the procurement of students. A quota was established for the Osage Reserve sub-agency. But the Wabash Band was explicitly excepted from supplying a share of it: "Inasmuch as the Wabash Band has a school already in successful operation among themselves, it will be advisable to obtain the boys from the Indiana, Prairie, and St. Joseph's Bands, and those of the United Band . . . among them."[86] It must be concluded, however, that opposition to the policy of dispatching the Potawatomi youngsters to distant points to obtain an education had some support in all the bands. One of the provisions of the general Treaty of 1846,[87] which effected the union of the Osage and Council

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[86]Mitchell to Davis, March 3, 1843, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[87]U. S. Statutes at Large, IX, 853.

Bluffs Potawatomi on the new Kansas River Reserve, provided that "the school fund of the Pottowautomies shall be expended entirely in their own country," unless the Indians in council "express a desire to have any part of the same expended in a different manner."[88]

It is not contended that the rise of the two communities on the Osage Reserve later proved substantial in causing the major split which set up the Citizen Band. However, factionalism became a complicating factor in the division. Also, the tendency carried over to the Citizen Band itself and was one of its prominent, albeit negative, characteristics. It is possible, no doubt, to make too much of this quality; nevertheless, the phenomenon of petition and counter-petition, of group versus group, is without doubt one of the outstanding features of the Indian Department records concerning the Potawatomi from the early days of the Osage Reserve down to the twentieth century in Oklahoma. The evidence does not lead to the conclusion that factionalism among the Potawatomi was basically or essentially an Indian characteristic; if anything, it was a mixed-blood phenomenon. Sometimes, and especially later, as will be shown, no

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[88]Kappler, op. cit., II, 559.

particular outside white, trader, or missionary instigation was necessary. This study of the Osage Reserve thus far directs attention quite definitely to these elements. It is not a question of whether factionalism was good or bad for the Potawatomi, but it must be taken into account in explaining later events and tendencies. On the Osage, even more than at Council Bluffs, the receptiveness of the Potawatomi to mixed-blood and white influences was predominant. This impact was generally in the direction of the white man's civilization, yet it also fostered one of the qualities quite common to that civilization, namely, factionalism.

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION ON THE OSAGE

In contrast to contemporary conditions among the Potawatomi of the United Band at Council Bluffs, the Indians on the Osage River made definite progress toward an agricultural economy. A large-scale effort to achieve subsistence from the soil was a correlative development with the rise and progress of vigorous missions and schools. A large percentage of the pertinent correspondence of the Indian Department related to agricultural and educational affairs. On the Osage it was not a matter of a small mixed-blood, minority effort at farming but something much more general, although admittedly not universal. As has been shown, there was present also a scattering of the United Band Prairie Potawatomi. Some of the Indians continued to devote attention to the chase; the fruits of this, plus the annuities, constituted their subsistence, but references to hunting in the official correspondence are most scanty.

The influence of the mission schools and their personnel, especially those in the Sugar Creek area, was an important factor, possibly a decisive one, in progress toward an agricultural way of life. To recapitulate the mission-school histories is inadvisable and unnecessary here. A considerable literature already exists in secondary sources; this is especially copious in reference to the Catholic endeavors.[1] The Baptist Mission at Pottawatomie Creek has received much less thorough attention. But this undertaking failed to achieve the vigor and importance of the combined effort of the Jesuits and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. The character and nature of the Indians themselves as depicted in the writings and correspondence of the various missionaries have been somewhat neglected by historians. Emphasis in this study, both for the Osage River

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[1]The following is a representative listing of published and unpublished works pertaining to the Osage River Catholic mission and schools: Gilbert J. Garraghan, The Jesuits of the Middle United States, op. cit., II; Thomas H. Kinsella, The History of Our Cradle Land (Kansas City: The Casey Printing Company, 1921); Arthur Thomas Donahue, "A History of the Early Jesuit Missions in Kansas" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Kansas, 1932); Joseph E. Coulter, "Catholic Missions among the Potawatomi Indians" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, 1948); Richard Joseph Bollig, History of Catholic Education in Kansas (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1933).

and later for the Kansas River Reservation will be upon the Indian and his way of life. The mission impetus to agriculture will become more and more manifest. When the Potawatomi agriculturists became solidified on the Kansas River, the basis for a major split with the primitive, hunting Indians from Council Bluffs arose. The Osage Reservation was important in setting the stage for such an impasse, because in this locale many Potawatomi adopted agricultural habits.

There was one early reference to the Potawatomi attitude toward tilling the fields which had a parallel with Council Bluffs. One of the Iowa sub-agents reported, as was noted, that the labors of growing crops were in a high degree confined to the women of the tribe. Although the correspondence of the officials of the Indian Department apparently did not contain a similar statement about the Indians of the Osage River sub-agency, their pioneer Jesuit Missionary, Father Christian Hoecken, did refer to the same practice. He stated in 1839 that the Potawatomi women were accustomed, generally, to bear the burdens of the cultivation of the land. To paraphrase his discussion: being himself eager to establish the natural order of labor and in general to inspire a love of agriculture, he gathered all the men of the tribe ("tous les hommes de la tribu") on a day in spring

and instructed them in the procedures of farming. The Indians manifested general satisfaction with his teaching, and he proceeded immediately from the theory to the application. Having put himself at their head, showing them the manner of using the tools, their combined efforts in the spring resulted in a bountiful harvest the following autumn. Hoecken concluded this report on Potawatomi agriculture by stating that he hoped that the initial success of the elementary lessons which he had given might become a source of encouragement to them.[2] One could draw an unwarranted conclusion from this early report, either concerning the reluctance of the men to do the labors of agriculture, or regarding the influence of Hoecken in getting them to mend their ways; however, womenfolk's agricultural field work was well-known among Algonquian and other Indians.[3]

To judge by the reports of the sub-agents on the Osage River, the Indians did make positive progress in

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[2]Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (Lyons, France: 1822-1900), XIII, 1840, 61.

[3]Regina Flannery, An Analysis of Coastal Algonquian Culture (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1939), Anthropological Series, No. 7, p. 105. Mention of this practice was also made in the introductory discussion of the Potawatomi of the Great Lakes Region.

developing agricultural interests and energies. Rather early, in 1838, Anthony L. Davis recorded that his Potawatomi population of about one thousand, occupying the northeastern area of their reserve, were "with by a few exceptions, engaged in agricultural pursuits, and are making such preliminary arrangements as are necessary for that mode of life, and show a disposition to adopt exclusively agricultural habits."[4] About a year later he recommended to the superintendent the sale of looms and spinning wheels which were ready for delivery to his Potawatomi. The money thus obtained, he stated, should be expended for the purchase of "ploughs and axe-hoes" which the Indians needed immediately. He thought that the cloth producing machines would deteriorate before they could be used, but agricultural items, including oxen, stock-cattle, and hogs could be utilized advantageously.[5] In his reports for the Annual Report of 1840 Davis emphasized that the earlier arrivals on the reserve had become "somewhat comfortably situated," and that crops and livestock were being improved.[6] Still later, in 1842,

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[4]R.C.I.A., 1838, p. 506.

[5]Davis to Pilcher, December 15, 1839, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[6]R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 320.

he mentioned that he signed an agreement for the erection of the first grist mill.[7]

The outgoing correspondence of the office of the superintendent in St. Louis similarly indicates considerable agricultural activity among the Potawatomi of the Osage Reserve. In 1844 there were contracts with two blacksmiths, Robert Simerwell and Robert Wilson, and with two assistant blacksmiths, John Leib and Andrew Fuller. Two other assistant blacksmiths were active but did not as yet have formal contracts.[8] Shortly afterwards reference was made to the Department's provision of livestock and agricultural implements for the St. Joseph Band. First, the commissioner was notified of the need and desire of the Indians,[9] and second, the purchase of ploughs, axes, saws, augers, and twenty yoke of work oxen was authorized. They would be forwarded to Westport, from which point the sub-agent should arrange to convey them to their proper destination.[10] Agricultural

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[7]Davis to Mitchell, June 21, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[8]Harvey to Cummins, January 23, 1844, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

[9]Harvey to Carpenter, February 28, 1844, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

[10]Harvey to Carpenter, April 10, 1844, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

activity seemed to be picking up in the Pottawatomi Creek area, which, as previously shown, was the headquarters of the St. Joseph Band and certain elements of the Prairie Band.

By 1842 the reports on farming at Sugar Creek were favorable. The sub-agent stated: "The settlement on Sugar Creek is particularly successful; there are good cabins there, fenced fields, well cultivated fields, and much prairie ground has been ploughed up and fenced during the recent year."[11] In his first extensive report to the Department, the Jesuit superintendent of the Catholic Mission school asserted that the Indians worked the soil and prepared rails to enclose their lands. Their successful production of corn and garden vegetables resulted in the incorporation of these items into the Potawatomi food economy.[12] The school superintendent also stressed the need of work animals, and explicitly declared that the Indians were making an effort "to imitate the whites" in their farming endeavors.[13] It appears, then, that some progress was made in the relatively short space of time since Hoecken's observations in 1839 on the

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[11] R.C.I.A., 1842, p. 440.

[12] Ibid., p. 494.

[13] Ibid.

reluctance of the menfolk to work in the fields.

As time elapsed, implications in the contemporary records, as well as direct statements, pointed to a lag in agricultural advancement at Pottawatomie Creek. As late as September, 1844, the St. Louis superintendent gave instructions concerning the demonstration of the use of oxen in that settlement. A delivery of twenty-five yoke of the animals was authorized, either as a delayed fulfillment of the promise of the previous April or as a supplemental provision. The Potawatomi were to be shown how to use the creatures: ". . . it should be especially provided that the oxen should be unyoked and reyoked in the presence of the Indians in an open space."[14] It seems that these students of agriculture were a bit skittish about utilizing the work-animals. On the other hand, references express concern about the recovery of strayed oxen from the Sugar Creek settlement.[15] Their presence and use in the latter place was much more taken for granted.

By autumn of 1845 the sub-agent, Alfred J. Vaughn, included some extended comments on agricultural affairs for

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[14]Harvey to Cummins, September 28, 1844, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

[15]*Ibid.*, Harvey to Carpenter, June 4, 1844.

the Annual Report:

> It is gratifying to state that the Pottawatomie, generally speaking, have evinced a very laudable desire to cultivate the soil. Those on Sugar creek 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 one hundred and fifty acres of prairie have been broken up, viz: about one hundred acres at Sugar Creek, and fifty at Pottawatomi creek; seed 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 Pottawatomie living on Sugar Creek, viz: the Wabash Band and nearly one-half of the Saint Joseph, have been as usual very exemplary. They have raised this season a considerable quantity of small grain . . . they are industrious and moral; are comfortably fixed in good log houses; and their fields are well fenced, staked, and ridered . . . That part of the Saint Joseph band residing on Pottawatomie creek have not been as provident as could be wished; they, it is true, in some individual cases attended to farming, but a majority have not exhibited a desire to cultivate the soil for a maintenance . . . The mills have been continually grinding, so that upon the whole the Pottawatomie may be considered in a fair way of doing well.[16]

The year 1845 seems to have marked the zenith of agricultural progress on the Osage River Reserve. By the 1846 Treaty of June 5 and 17,[17] respectively signed at Council Bluffs and at the Osage, the Indians were in the

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[16] R.C.I.A., 1845, pp. 555, 556.

[17] U. S. Statutes at Large, IX, 853.

early prospect of being uprooted again. Departmental correspondence concentrated on this development: farming conditions received very little attention; letters about oxen and seed-wheat dropped out of the picture. Also, demoralization developed, as was characteristic with pre-emigration periods. Catholic missionary records mentioned Indian drunkenness and lawlessness. A prison, the first mentioned, was constructed; a forfeiture of half of one's annuities was levied for drunkenness; there were interferences from the nearby white settlements; and the missionaries came to feel that they were working in most disadvantageous circumstances. Elizabeth McCoy, a niece of Isaac McCoy, who joined the staff at the Baptist Mission in 1844,[19] similarly commented on the afflicted condition of the Indians and of their intemperance "leading to degradation and poverty."[20]

Nevertheless, the days of agricultural progress on the Osage, definitely a formative state, conditioned a large nucleus of Indians to the culture of the soil. Following the upsetting conditions of the time anticipatory to

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[18]Garraghan, op. cit., II, pp. 217, 218.

[19]Moore, loc. cit., p. 51.

[20]R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 933.

emigration, of the removal itself, and the period of uncertainty connected with getting settled again, they returned to the soil. Although agriculturalists among the Potawatomi resumed farming, a large proportion of the Indians of the new Kansas River Reservation gave only the most scanty attention to farming and continued to emphasize the chase and the Indian way of life. This divergence of economies lay close to the heart of the situation which resulted in the parting of the ways.

Within the context of this investigation the missions and schools of the Osage River Reserve are considered as complementary and allied forces in the civilizing implication of progress in agriculture. In some degree there was a direct correlation. The missions and schools provided necessary facilities for training in the manual and domestic arts otherwise characteristic of a civilized, agricultural society. Possibly this could have been done as well by government manual labor schools, but, as it was, no such institution existed on this particular reservation. Attention to the girls and women of the tribe was a paramount necessity, and it was with relation to this effort that the Department officials were often inclined to make comments of praise.

The impact of the Christian religion, too, cannot be minimized. Some intense loyalties, both to the missionaries and to the religion of the white man, were continued and developed during this time. The rivalries of the Baptists and the Jesuits were undoubtedly reflected in factionalism, as before illustrated, but the over-all effect of the ministrations of both parties brought the Indian closer to the adoption of the white man's way. The Christianizing effort was implicitly a civilizing factor, as has often been the case in Western Civilization. The competition of the rival missionaries seems in some measure only to have increased confidence and faith in the particular loyalty to which the Indian, or mixed-blood Indian, was attached. The nature and ardor of the petitions and counter-petitions in the Lykins controversy supports this generalization.

The Baptist Mission and its school at Pottawatomie Creek was a direct successor to the old Carey School in Michigan, and most of its personnel had been at some time connected with that celebrated, pioneer Indian educational center. Isaac McCoy himself never became a member of the staff in residence on the Osage River Reserve, but the correspondence reveals that he kept in active touch with it from the beginning. Writing concerning the new location of

two old associates, Mr. and Mrs. Meeker, among the Ottawa in 1837, he remarked:

> About the same time Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell located among the Putawatomies, within the Indian territory. This was an event to which we had long looked with deep solicitude. We considered this station to be a continuation of the Carey Mission, transplanted from Michigan to this place.[21]

Also in Solomon Peck's history, published in the same year as McCoy's comprehensive account, 1840, the appeal of Dr. Johnston Lykins, written not later than 1839, is quoted as containing the following observations:

> We hope now to be able to collect into settlements many of our former pupils, now fathers and mothers of families; and could we have an additional missionary for the station, we think that the prospects for lasting usefulness are better than they were in the days of the most successful operations in Michigan.[22]

Of Carey background on the mission staff were Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell, Johnston Lykins, and later Elizabeth McCoy.[23] Lykins' wife, formerly Delilah McCoy, daughter of Isaac, seems never to have been mentioned at this mission; probably her death occurred before this time.[24]

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[21]McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions, op. cit., p. 525.

[22]Peck, op. cit., p. 543.

[23]Moore, loc. cit., pp. 47-51.

[24]Esther Clark Hill, "Some Background of Early Baptist Missions in Kansas," loc. cit., p. 90n.

From the beginning and throughout the period of the Osage River Reserve, the Baptist Mission was beset with handicaps: lack of personnel, lack of money, and the effects of a change of jurisdiction in the missionary board supporting it. Robert Simerwell and his wife were the only workers in residence until at least 1840. In February of that year, writing to Dr. L. Bolles, corresponding secretary of the Baptist Board in Boston, Simerwell begged for the presence of a Baptist minister on the Osage, which he himself was not, and recommended that Dr. Lykins be spared from the Shawanoe Mission.[25] In the same letter he also argued for a boarding school and offered to try for the position of sub-agency blacksmith in order to help out with the general financial burden. Bolles in reply indicated that Lykins' transfer was approved and likewise gave a sanction, even praise, to Simerwell for offering to become a smith.[26] Whether or not Lykins actually moved to the Osage immediately is not entirely clear; he is elsewhere indicated as connected with the publication of the Shawanoe Sun until 1842. He did make the 1840 report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated

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[25]Simerwell to Bolles, February 20, 1840, Simerwell Papers, File 4, Division of Manuscripts, KSHS.

[26]Ibid., Bolles to Simmerwell, April 8, 1840.

October 6, Shawnee Mission,[27] and seems to have been the general superintendent of the mission among the Potawatomi.

Some time after this the Boston Board dropped this mission as one of its projects.[28] All the details are not available, but the Board made objection, under a new corresponding secretary, to Simerwell's occupation as a blacksmith. In 1843 Simerwell wrote bitterly to the new secretary, the Reverend S. Peck, complaining about the reversal of policy leading to his dismissal. Simerwell was reluctant to inform the Indians that he was dropped from the mission service. His appeal also contained this comment: "I am a layman and not a minister, and a minister was requisite in the eyes of this people . . . The occupancy of the ground by the Baptist Board kept the Methodists out, and in the meantime the Catholics have carried the ground."[29] By December of 1842 Lykins was certainly in residence on the Osage, for in that month the sub-agent reported that the Indians had engaged him as their physician, this being the opening shot

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[27] R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 376.

[28] Moore, loc. cit., p. 49.

[29] Simerwell to Peck, July 29, 1843, Simerwell Papers, File 4, KSHS.

in the feud over his appointment.[30] Meanwhile the little Baptist school, a day school, suspended its activities in 1840.[31]

No really significant upturn in the educational effort transpired until 1844 when the newly-organized American Indian Mission Association, a project of Isaac McCoy, with headquarters in Louisville, Kentucky, took over the Potawatomi mission.[32] Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell were again appointed missionaries and Elizabeth McCoy was sent to aid them.[33] By that time Lykins had succeeded in obtaining his appointment as physician. A careful comparison of the missionary correspondence in the Kansas State Historical Society with the records of the Indian Department, National Archives, reveals that Lykins was in Louisville in early May, 1844, for what he described as an organizational convention

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[30]Davis to Mitchell, December 22, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[31]R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 376.

[32]Franklin G. Adams, "Reverend Isaac McCoy," Kansas Historical Collections (I, II, 1881), p. 275. According to this article McCoy took up residence in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1842 and died there in 1846.

[33]Moore, loc. cit., pp. 50, 51.

of the new "Indian Mission Board."[34] Later that month he had an interview in Washington with the Secretary of War which led to his approval and appointment as physician on the 29th or 30th.[35] That Lykins had a significant following among the Indians of the Pottawatomie Creek settlement was attested earlier by Simerwell: in the midst of the big controversy over the appointment he wrote that the Indians "in council assembled" adopted Dr. Lykins "a member of the Putawatomie nation" and appointed him "councilor for the chiefs of the same."[36] Therefore, when Lykins appeared in Louisville in May of 1844 he was in a very advantageous position to secure the maximum support of the new American Indian Mission Association, especially in view of Isaac McCoy's own longstanding interest in the Potawatomi.

Although the Baptist educational effort was renewed after the events of 1844, the financial problems of the mission seemingly were not solved. Superintendent Thomas

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[34]Lykins to Simerwell (from Louisville), May 8, 1844, Simerwell Papers, File 4, KSHS.

[35]Lykins to Medill, March 30, 1846, Special File 28, OIA; Haverty to Carpenter, June 8, 1844, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

[36]Simerwell to Peck, July 29, 1843, Simerwell Papers, File 4, KSHS.

Harvey, St. Louis, in 1845 instructed the Osage sub-agent as follows:

> You will say to Dr. Lykins that I have written to Mr. Crawford urging pecuniary aid for the schools, but the Doctor has no doubt seen from the Department report that the Choctaw Academy absorbed of the Potawatomie fund last year $8875.00.[37]

Compared with that sum, the schools on the Osage River, Baptist and Catholic together, received only a mere pittance during the entire history of the reserve. It is no surprise, then, that Elizabeth McCoy, in making the official report of the Baptist school in 1845, argued against educating the Potawatomi in "distant places." She stated that the Indians desired that their educational funds be spent at home.[38] That the Jesuits were many times hitherto accused of fostering the same idea has been mentioned. Since everyone, including the Indians, was agreed on it, there is likewise little surprise that a provision for local schooling was inserted into the removal Treaty of 1846. Thus it was, too, that on the subsequent Kansas River Reservation both Baptists and Catholics enjoyed much better financial support and were able to provide for many more Indian children.

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[37]Harvey to Vaughn, February 19, 1845, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers, Emphasis by Harvey.

[38]R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 610.

From 1837 to 1840 Robert Simerwell came into the various reports in connection with his activities at Pottawatomi Creek. The first mention in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was his own brief statement, for 1837, in the autumn which he arrived there. He was using the new alphabet for the instruction of the Indians and found that twenty-three characters sufficed for its preparation.[39] Isaac McCoy wrote that by January of 1838, "Mr. Simerwell's prospects among the Putawatomies appeared to be brightening, and many, chiefly adults, appeared willing to read in their own language . . . ," but being alone and short of funds, he was handicapped. McCoy himself had advanced enough money to enable Simerwell to hire a mixed-blood to aid in the instruction for a short time.[40] During the same year, Simerwell was officially appointed teacher by the Boston Board.[41] The day-school got under way in January, 1839, and soon seven Indian boys were being instructed.[42] A Temperance Society was organized successfully that year, and

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[39] R.C.I.A., 1837, p. 570.

[40] History of Baptist Indian Missions, op. cit., p. 541.

[41] Moore, loc. cit., p. 43.

[42] Ibid., p. 44.

two Christian Indians were employed to help with the labors of teaching.[43] In 1840 a female school was inaugurated, named the "Shields Female Academy," taught by Mrs. Simerwell and Miss Elizabeth Stinson.[44] Dr. Lykins' official report for that year, written at Shawnee Mission, contained the news that Mr. Simerwell's school had suspended operations but that Mr. Simerwell and Miss Stinson would continue their endeavors.[45]

During the period 1840 to 1845, the time of the dropping of the Baptist Mission by the Boston Board and its adoption by McCoy's new organization in Louisville, Baptist educational reports are lacking. Unfavorable financial conditions prevailed: Simerwell took the position of blacksmith, and Lykins of physician. The influence of the two, even in these positions, however, cannot be doubted. Although the school seems to have remained inoperative, the mission itself and its personnel were of consequence. For example, any effort promoting health or temperance was a contribution. Whiskey was also a problem on the Osage Reserve, and the

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[43]Peck, op. cit., p. 544.

[44]Moore, loc. cit., p. 44.

[45]R.C.I.A., 1840, p. 376.

"Putawatomie Temperance Society," organized on July 4, 1839, with a total of 94 members,[46] was an auspicious beginning in that effort.

With the arrival of Elizabeth McCoy in the autumn of 1844, the Baptist day-school was re-inaugurated. In the official report for 1845, dated September 18, and addressed to A. J. Vaughn, Osage sub-agency, she wrote:

> In my instructions I was directed to repair to this place, and for the present, preparatory to the establishment of a manual labor school, to teach as many day scholars as I could collect, or induce to attend from their homes. I accordingly, on the 7th of last November, commenced a small day-school taught in English. The whole number enrolled, and who have attended up to this time, is twenty; fifteen boys between the ages of seven and eighteen, and five girls between the ages of eight and sixteen. Of the whole number eleven read and write, the balance spell more or less.[47]

The staff of the mission as listed in the same report consisted of Dr. Lykins, Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell, and herself.[48]

During 1846 Elizabeth McCoy's day-school continued to operate with 15 boys and five girls. There was no prospect that the Board of American Indian Mission Association

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[46]Cora Dolbee, "The Fourth of July in Early Kansas," Kansas Historical Collections, XXV (Vol. VIII, Kansas Historical Quarterly, May, 1939), 139.

[47]R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 610.

[48]Moore, loc. cit., p. 51.

would proceed with plans for a manual labor school on the Osage, especially in view of the recent removal treaty. She went on to extol the advantages of the boarding school; the Potawatomi were, she asserted, "too wild and ignorant to be benefited to any extent" by the services of the day-school.[49] The old school at Carey in Michigan, a boarding, manual labor school, came in for praise: "among the Pottawatomie here and at Council Bluffs, many of the pupils of this establishment are found under circumstances of great encouragement to the friends of manual labor schools." The Board in Louisville should definitely plan to re-open such a school, "on the arrival of the tribe . . . on the Kansas River."[50] The 1847 report contained the information that the Board had appropriated $1,500.00 for the "new building at the newly planned residence of the Pottawatomie."[51] She

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[49]R.C.I.A., 1846, p. 367. The fact that her report came from Iowa Territory seems to be the cause of misleading one author into concluding that Miss McCoy was teaching a school there for the Prairie Band (William Elsey Connelley, "The Prairie Band of Pottawatomi Indians," loc. cit., pp. 491, 492). No explanation was found in the present research for her presence there, but the context of the 1846 report, plus its clear designation as Osage River business (being addressed to Sub-agent Vaughan), excludes the possibility that she was referring to an Iowa Potawatomi school.

[50]Ibid., p. 369.

[51]R.C.I.A., 1847, p. 932.

now had only four girls and one boy in her day-school, and the remaining remarks were mainly pertinent to conditions of intemperance, poverty and degradation in the vicinity.[52]

Later will follow a discussion of the relatively early movement of the Baptist missionaries to the Kansas River. The manual labor boarding school which they founded there became of much more consequence than any they were able to develop on the Osage River. It should be pointed out that this little group of Baptists, most of them formerly associated with the old Carey school, formed a very real connection between the Potawatomi of the Great Lakes area and their later history in Kansas.[53]

In the opinion of Indian Department officials, the Catholic Mission and schools at Sugar Creek exercised a great influence on the Potawatomi. For example, in Sub-agent Vaughan's official summary for 1845 he commented on the aggregate of Indians around Sugar Creek in the following terms:

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[52] Ibid., p. 933.

[53] Our summary account of the history of the Baptist Mission on the Osage River is believed to be the first detailed survey ever prepared. To make it fully complete, an investigation of the correspondence of the Baptist Board of Missions in Boston would be necessary.

> 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 the persuasion for the good they have wrought among the people. Two schools are in operation. The female one, under direction of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, deserving particular commendation.[54]

On the eve of the actual emigration to the Kansas River Reserve, the superintendent in St. Louis, Thomas H. Harvey, forwarded a petition of Father Felix L. Verreydt, Jesuit superintendent at Sugar Creek, requesting aid for the erection of a church in the new reserve. "You will observe," he stated,

> that he asks for the erection of a church for the Potawatomies 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 [of treaty deliberations] or not. Col. Matlock who acted as clerk, thinks they are. The promises that he speaks of were made and were <u>deemed necessary by the Commissioners to ensure the adoption of the treaty by the Indians on the Osage</u>. The Catholic Church numbers from ten to twelve hundred members on the Osage, very few belong to any other church.[55]

A year earlier, in 1846, Sub-agent Vaughn also paid this tribute:

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[54] <u>R.C.I.A.</u>, 1845, p. 555. Quoted in part by Joseph E. Coulter, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 29, also more extensively quoted in Garraghan, <u>op. cit.</u>, II, 227, 228.

[55] Harvey to Medill, September 27, 1847, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers. Quoted in Garraghan, <u>op. cit.</u>, II, 202. Emphasis supplied here.

> The Roman Catholic Mission on Sugar Creek among the Potawatomies pursued in a quiet unostentatious way its wonted path in the continuance of good works. The reverend fathers by their untiring zeal and the ladies of the Society of the Sacred Heart, on whom the female school depends, are entitled to the respect of all persons acquainted with their exertions.[56]

Before proceeding with a discussion of certain civilizing aspects of the Catholic Mission and schools on the Osage, it is well to turn briefly to the Michigan-Indiana Catholic background of the Indians of the Sugar Creek community. A large nucleus of Catholic Indians had migrated to this place; it was not a matter of beginning a mission in an all-pagan atmosphere, as was the case apparently with Hoecken's more or less fruitless attempt among the Kickapoo. Gilbert J. Garraghan, our often quoted Jesuit historian, opens his consideration of the Catholic endeavors on the Osage River Reserve with the following:

> The Potawatomi Mission of Sugar Creek, maintained by the middlewestern 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 Michigan.[57]

Then Garraghan goes on to quote Francis Parkman's Conspiracy

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[56] R.C.I.A., 1846, quoted in Bollig, History of Catholic Education in Kansas, op. cit., II, 202.

[57] Garraghan, op. cit., II, 175.

of Pontiac concerning the half-century and more of Jesuit labors among the Potawatomi in the vicinity of Lake Michigan, where the St. Joseph Mission was in a thriving condition as early as 1712. The suppression of the Jesuit Order, later in the century, intervened, and no important Catholic missionary activity was carried on among the Potawatomi until the thirties of the nineteenth century. Principal personalities in renewing the work were the priests, Frederick Rese and Stephen Badin. The latter was the first priest ordained in the United States. In 1830 he dedicated a new chapel at the old St. Joseph's Mission site, and in 1834 made his headquarters in Indiana at the place which later became the site of Notre Dame University. Badin was assisted and followed by Fathers Carrabin, Deseille, and Benjamin Petit. The last accompanied the forced migration of the "Trail of Death" in the fall of 1838 and delivered the Catholic Potawatomi to Father Christian Hoecken at the trail's end on the Osage Reserve. The renewed efforts of the eighteen-thirties achieved a remarkable success in bringing large numbers of Potawatomi into the Catholic faith. This development, nearly all of it, was accomplished subsequent to the closing of the Baptist mission and school at Carey; it was during the years just preceding the major

migrations of the Michigan and Indiana Potawatomi to west of the Mississippi River.[58]

One of the Catholic chiefs, Pokegon (or Pokagon), fearing dangers to religion in the movement to a new home in the West, prevailed at the Treaty of Chicago, 1833, in securing exemption from the ordeal for himself and his little band, and was awarded a small reserve in Michigan.[59] His followers and descendants later have been popularly termed "Pokagon's Band." Its neglected rights under the Chicago Treaty were the subject of many congressional hearings and considerable legislation.

Father Christian Hoecken was the outstanding Jesuit. This statement in no way detracts from Father Felix Verreydt, important as he was in his long tenure as superintendent of the Catholic mission. Hoecken, more than anyone else, left accounts of the period of the mission. His famous Diary, a record of events of both major and minor importance, has been the most basic primary source for the various writers of the mission history. Although he began his work on the Potawatomi language later than Robert Simerwell, Hoecken's

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[58] Ibid., pp. 175-188, passim.

[59] Carman, op. cit., p. 21.

eventual output was quite abundant. He prepared three English-Potawatomi dictionaries, the third being a combination and supplementation of the two earlier ones.[60] He published books and hymns in the Indian language, the first going into use at Sugar Creek on May 21, 1845.[61]

Hoecken's performance as a medical doctor and physician for the Potawatomi is mentioned often in the records, although prior professional training in this field seems to have been lacking. During his absence from Sugar Creek, 1840-1841, while he visited the Potawatomi at Council Bluffs, a period of sickness occurred, and his return was most welcome.[62] Indian Department officials continued to recognize his ministrations in the realm of disease and medicines even

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[60]These dictionaries, MSS, are extant in St. Mary's College archives, St. Mary's, Kansas. The archivist there, Augustin Wand, S. J., stated in March, 1959, that these and other Potawatomi language items have been requested frequently by universities and centers of linguistic studies for microfilming. Maurice Gailland, S. J., successor of Hoecken as principal Potawatomi missionary, also compiled a more thorough English-Potawatomi dictionary, likewise in the collection. He also wrote a very informative article on the nature and peculiarities of the Potawatomi language ("Pottawatomy Indians," Woodstock Letters, loc. cit., V, January, 1875, pp. 52-56).

[61]Coulter, loc. cit., p. 28.

[62]"Hoecken Diary - O'Meara," pp. 9, 11.

after the migration to the Kansas River. John Haverty, clerk of the superintendency office in St. Louis, writing to superintendent Mitchell, at the time on a business trip to Washington, enclosed a claim from St. Mary's mission "for medicines furnished and services rendered to the Potawatomies during the prevalence of the cholera last year" by Father Hoecken. The clerk concluded with, "I presume no doubt can be entertained of the importance of the services rendered, and consequently of the justice of the claim."[63]

Hoecken was outstanding in fostering the agricultural way of life among the Potawatomi. The memoirs of Felix Verreydt establish the fact that Sugar Creek farming activities were hampered by the scarcity of fertile soil. Only the creek bottomland was suitable for the Indian's favorite crop, corn.[64] But the Sugar Creek bottomland also had the serious handicap that it was subject to flooding.[65] Verreydt declared that the Indians spent too much time processing the limited amount of maple sugar which they were able to obtain from the trees of the area. He continues with a detailed

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[63]Haverty to Mitchell, February 5, 1840, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

[64]Garraghan op. cit., II, 217.

[65]R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 555.

account of Hoecken's influence in promoting an agricultural economy:

> If they [the Indians], had employed their time in more useful pursuits as in enlarging their little fields of corn or raising at least some what 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, Fr. 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 bye and bye 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.[66]

From this description it seems reasonable to conclude that

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[66]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 217. Brackets, ibid.

Father Hoecken's influence was in some large measure responsible for the advancement of agriculture at Sugar Creek.

The Indian Department's records carry a constant theme of praise and commendation for the girls' school at Sugar Creek. While it would not be possible to prove that the female institution was the greatest single civilizing agency in the total mission effort, there is little doubt that praise was merited. The education of Indian women and girls to the domestic arts of the white man was a principal means of achieving civilized manners among the Potawatomi. Richard Elliot, the extraordinary sub-agent at Council Bluffs, very capably discussed this subject in his 1843 general report to Commissioner Crawford. He stressed the need of local manual labor schools and questioned the good results of sending even the Indian boys to distant institutions. Continuing, Elliot pin-points the relative importance of female Indian education in these words:

> Whereas we all know that the influence of the women, in assisting to civilize the Indians is much more potent than that of the men, because the mother, being more constantly with the children cannot fail to mold their characters by their views and sentiments. It was once remarked to me by a distinguished chief of the Choctaws (himself a gentleman of cultivated mind and refined manners,) that one woman could effect greater results than one hundred men, in leading their people to adopt the fireside comforts and

enjoyments of civilized life . . .[67]

Government support for the Catholic schools, male or female, was, during the entire era of the Osage Reserve never of much consequence. By earlier agreements in Indiana, a sum of three hundred dollars annually was to be supplied on the Osage reserve for Catholic missionary Fathers. This money was obtained after a considerable amount of correspondence, but no provision was made by the Department for the Sisters, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. During their first years at Sugar Creek, they were supported and supplied from other sources. Wrote Commissioner Crawford in 1844:

> I really am grieved to think there are no means within my power to help these philantropic ladies. The school fund of the Potawatomies is considerable, but, at present, the whole amount is expended at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky.[68]

The Ladies of the Sacred Heart finally were authorized some financial support in 1845. They were granted $500.00 annually for the female school, receiving the first allowance in January, 1846.[69]

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[67] R.C.I.A., 1843, p. 394.

[68] Crawford to Harvey, June 29, 1844. Copy of original in Potawatomi Files, Missions in Linn County, St. Mary's College archives, St. Mary's, Kansas.

[69] Garraghan, op. cit., II, 213.

Superintendent Harvey's official report to Commissioner Crawford in the autumn of 1844 is typical of the commendatory statements in the Annual Report:

> The female school is conducted by five ladies 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 . . . Too much praise cannot be given to these accomplished ladies, for the sacrifice they have made in alienating themselves from society, to ameliorate the condition of the Indians.[70]

By way of contrast, while nothing critical was implied regarding the Sugar Creek boys' school, the superintendent's comment was most brief: "The number of boys taught is about sixty; they are said to succeed well."[71]

The Sisters have left a record of their impressions of the Potawatomi among whom they toiled. The general tenor of their letters was that of praise and satisfaction with their children and with the results accomplished. "Our children," states one of the Sisters,

> . . . are learning to write, to know their religion. They also knit, crochet and sew marvelously well. Many of them can now make all kinds of clothing for both men and women. They work in the garden, learn

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[70] R.C.I.A., 1844, p. 437.

[71] Ibid.

> to wash and iron, care for the cows, bake bread, churn and make candles. In fact we train them in all that can be useful to them as wives, mothers and housekeepers. The docility of their character makes they very easy to handle and teach, and the parents uphold us in all we do.[72]

The concluding clause, "and the parents uphold us in all we do," has considerable significance. Primitive Potawatomi were indulgent with children. To uphold the teachers represented an advance of one more rung up the ladder of civilization.

Other Potawatomi traits also came to the notice of the Sisters. The children were inclined to be quiet and well-behaved. "They are by nature a quiet people; they all speak in a low tone of voice, and the children are never noisy at their games or in the classroom." On Sundays the Indian women did break silence by singing "nearly all day long at the doors of their huts or in the church."[73]

Before concluding this account of the Sugar Creek mission and schools, a brief allusion must be made to the progress of religion itself. At Sugar Creek, the Potawatomi

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[72]Mother Lucille Mathevon to her Superior General, in Sister Louise Callan, R. S. J. C., The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America (New York: Longman's Green and Co., 1937), p. 274; quoted in Coulter, loc. cit., p. 26.

[73]Ibid., both.

attachment to the Catholic church was, for many, not just a superficial aspect of their lives. It was actually an integral part of the daily routine; so much so, perhaps, that conditions of greater fervor might be difficult to discover in all the history of American Catholic Indian missions. Mother Mathevon, of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, kept a diary or Journal. She estimated that there were one thousand Catholic Indians in the settlement at the time of the Sisters' first arrival, also that there were about two thousand "not yet converted."[74] The Mathevon Journal contains this passage in reference to the manner and degree of daily religious participation on the part of the Indians:

> I have never seen in America or in France, greater faith and piety. One of the missionaries assembles them every morning in the church. An Indian says the prayers aloud; this is followed by half an hour of meditation. Then the braves, at least one hundred everyday, assist at Mass, during which they sing hymns in their native tongue. After Mass one of them teaches catechism to about thirty boys and as many girls. At six-thirty in the evening they have prayers in common in the church. The missionary gives them his blessing and they return to their homes. Every Sunday they sing High Mass and Vespers beautifully. The Americans mingle their voices with the savages. The Indian voices are superbe.[75]

There was also some evidence that the Catholic

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[74]Coulter, loc. cit., p. 23.

[75]Ibid., pp. 23, 24.

Potawatomi displayed more than ordinary zeal for other aspects of the external ritual of the Church. A contemporary letter of one of the Jesuit Fathers gave an account of a Corpus Christ feastday procession in 1843. The description of the size, color, and splendor of the affair would have done justice to similar ceremonials in Old Spain or Mexico: "The canopy was carried by the eight principal chiefs, and followed by the commander in chief and a squadron of lancers on horseback . . . the prayer of twelve hundred people . . . rose like incense."[76] This type of public religious demonstration was repeated later, both at St. Mary's on the Kansas River and at Sacred Heart Mission in the Indian Territory.

A large and colorful party often went forward some distance to welcome distinguished guests or new arrivals. When the Ladies of the Sacred Heart first came to the reservation, the Potawatomi, to the number of five hundred, greeted them a mile from the mission. Their dress was gay; many were mounted; bright blankets, plumes and feathers were displayed; feats of horsemanship were performed for the

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[76]John F. O'Connor, "The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley": An account of the missionary and educational work of the Jesuits of St. Marys, Kansas, unpublished Ms., 1925, archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas, pp. 31, 32.

entertainment of the newcomers.[77] This kind of cordial display was also enacted later at St. Mary's on the Kaw River upon the arrival of the first Catholic bishop of Kansas.[78] And the Potawatomi in 1891 accorded a similar welcome to the first bishop of the Indian Territory on the occasion of his first visit to Sacred Heart Mission, located in the southeast corner of their reservation. It is probably symbolic of the intervening advancement in civilization that one new feature was added to the reception party in Oklahoma: there were twenty wagons along with the mounted horsemen, and the cortege met the bishop at a total distance of three miles from his destination.[79]

Both the unofficial estimates of the number of Catholic Potawatomi on the Osage River and the more accurately kept sacramental records kept by the Jesuit Fathers furnish definite evidence of an impressive body of Catholic Indians. This contrasted sharply with Council Bluffs, where there was a small but influential Catholic minority,

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[77]Coulter, loc. cit., p. 23.

[78]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 644.

[79]Joseph Francis Murphy, "The Monastic Centers of the Order of St. Benedict in Oklahoma," unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1942. p. 57.

including many mixed-bloods. Herein also lay one of the clear bases of a point of departure when an effort would be made to unify the two groups. Mention has been made that by 1847 Superintendent Harvey estimated the Catholic population as between ten and twelve hundred and gave credit to Catholic influences for securing the removal treaty of 1846. It is not surprising, then, that a recent writer concludes that by 1851 there were some 1,500 Catholic Potawatomi in a total of 3,500 tribesmen on the Kansas River Reserve.[80] The Baptismal records covering the entire existence of the Sugar Creek mission, also known as St. Mary's mission, show 478 adults baptized in the period 1838-1848, and a grand total of 1401 baptisms.[81] Allowing for the estimated original Catholic population which had immigrated, and taking into consideration the normal death rate for the years, the figure given by Superintendent Harvey in 1847 would seem conservative.

In addition to the Baptists and the Catholics, other missionary organizations exercised civilizing influences upon

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[80] J. Neale Carman, "The Bishop East of the Rockies views his Diocesans," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXI (No. 2, Summer 1954), 83.

[81] Garraghan, op. cit., II, 228, 229.

the Potawatomi during the period of their residence on the Osage River. The Methodists also were active. In 1839 Reverend Mr. Peery and Mrs. Peery,[82] and in 1842 Mr. and Mrs. Shaler labored there.[83] In both of those years it was specifically stated that the Methodists had no school for this tribe. By 1846 Thomas Hurlburt of the Methodist Episcopal Church South did have one in operation, but it is not clear that his educational effort was on the Potawatomi Reservation. From the context of the statement in the Annual Report for that year, the school served several tribes, including Peorias, Weas, and Piankeshaws, with some Potawatomi attending as a minor element.[84] The Methodist impact on the last tribe seems to have been of less consequence than that of the Baptists and Catholics, this being symbolized by the failure of this denomination to follow up with a major mission project on the Kansas River. Yet, presence of the Methodists on the Osage River was significant as one further bit of contributing testimony to the Potawatomi receptivity to white and Christian influence.

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[82] R.C.I.A., 1839, p. 62.

[83] Davis to Mitchell, September 20, 1842, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[84] R.C.I.A., 1846, p. 62.

For purposes of establishing the roots of the Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians it was necessary to review some of the individual personages of the Iowa reserve, both mixed-blood and more fully Indian. It is even more necessary for the Osage River. The transfer of individuals and family names from the Osage River to the later rolls of the Citizen Band was impressive. In Oklahoma, immediately after 1870, the Citizen Band set up headquarters. Only in Oklahoma does the band have a unified history, with a semblance of organization, a Business Committee and tribal councils. A priority, therefore, will be given to those who personally made the transition from the Osage River to the Kansas River (where allotment and citizenship status was acquired), and moved on to Oklahoma where a few, very few, lived on into the era of land allotments under the Dawes Act of 1887. The task of tracing individuals and families becomes intricate. It is also subject to the danger of overlooking people, and to the charge that one has made a biased selection of names--possibly insinuating importance and merit which was not deserved. The following selection of individuals and families must not be construed as an evaluation of the relative importance of anyone but rather as a presentation of some typical examples who were more readily traceable in various

records.

Earlier a generalization was offered, perhaps prematurely, that the Citizen Band eventually was in the main constituted from a combination of mixed-blood Council Bluff and Osage River agricultural Potawatomi. The latter group, a preponderant element (although it may be difficult to prove this from a strictly numerical approach) was largely composed of members of the St. Joseph and Wabash Bands. In order to pursue the transition of the people from these two bands to the Citizen Band, a recourse to individuals and families seems to be not only ancillary but essential.

One Osage River mixed-blood who later came to considerable prominence was Abram Burnett. Although he himself spent the remainder of his life in Kansas, his widow and children came on to the Indian Territory where the name of Burnett became most familiar on the Potawatomi Reservation. After the move from the Osage, Abram founded a commodious home on Shunganunga Creek just west of modern-day Topeka.[85] In the later lore of Kansas newspaper articles he probably has rated as much space as any other single Kansas Potawatomi.

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[85] Clara Francis, "Abram B. Burnett, Pottawatomie Chief," Kansas Historical Collections, XIII (1913, 1914), 371, 372.

He was a man of great physical stature. This fact has aided in giving news appeal, both to articles and to old pictures and photographs. One writer suggested that Abram Burnett, being a man of means, possibly aided his famous son-in-law William Greiffenstein in the project of founding the city of Wichita, Kansas.[86]

Abram as a youngster was a protege of Isaac McCoy. A nephew of old chief Topinebe, he was educated at McCoy's school at Ft. Wayne,[87] and was present with McCoy at the signing of the Treaty of Chicago of 1821.[88] By that treaty Abram and the other children of Kah-kee-me, Topinebe's sister, were granted individual reservations.[89] Later he was with Isaac McCoy at the treaty negotiations of February 11, 1837, wherein the Potawatomi of Indiana signed their final removal agreement. Abram signed as one of the interpreters.[90] By 1839 he was living on the Osage River

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[86]Victor Murdock, "Daughter of a Chief presided in Wichita over its Largest Homes," The Wichita Eagle (Evening), XVII, No. 118, August 12, 1943, p. 1.

[87]Clara Francis, loc. cit., p. 371.

[88]Lela Barnes, "Isaac McCoy and the Treaty of 1821," Kansas Historical Quarterly, V (May, 1936), 131.

[89]Clara Francis, loc. cit., p. 371.

[90]Kappler, op. cit., p. 488.

Reserve.[91] We have seen that in February, 1844, Father Van de Velde complained of him as the "soul of the whole conspiracy" against the Jesuits. Nevertheless, just a year prior to that, February 16, 1843, Burnett had on one and the same day become a baptized Catholic and was joined in marriage to Marie Knofloch. Father Verreydt functioned at both ceremonies.[92] This illustrates one of the characteristics of the religious and factional loyalties of some of the Potawatomi. Even in the Kansas, Baptist-Jesuit rivalry there was a tendency on the part of some to shift from one camp to the other. Whatever had been the role of Abram Burnett in the Lykins controversy on the Osage River, he is found later on the Kansas River as a co-signer of a lengthy petition demanding the removal of the same Dr. Johnston Lykins as physician, and recommending the appointment of Dr. Luther R. Palmer in his place.[93] Regardless of the exact

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[91]"Quarterly Muster Roll of Potawatomie Indian subsisted on their lands on the Osage River . . . under direction of Anthony L. Davis . . .," Osage River sub-agency, November 7, 1839, Letters Received, in Special File, 69, OIA. Hereafter cited as "Quarterly Muster Roll, Davis, November, 1839."

[92]Liber Parochialis Ecclesiae Conceptionis B. V. M. inter Putawatomensis, Ms., St. Mary's College archives, St. Marys, Kansas; this record cited in Garraghan, op. cit., II, 230n.

[93]Mitchell to Luke Lea, C. I. A., April 3, 1851 (an enclosure), Special File 101, OIA.

influence of the petition, the Indian Affairs terminated Dr. Lykins' services and appointed Palmer to his position.[94]

Abram Burnett and his wife, Mary, were on the Kansas allotment rolls of 1863; also his children, Mary J., Mary A., Joseph, and Clarissa.[95] Joseph Burnett attended the Jesuits' St. Mary's Mission school 1868-1870.[96] In course of time, he, his mother, and all his sisters, moved to Oklahoma.[97] Abram died on June 14, 1870, and was buried in a special Potawatomi burial plot not far from Burnett's Mound, a very recognizable eminence just west of Topeka.[98]

The widow, Mary Knofloch Burnett, was a native of Germany. She became a very efficient wife and mother, and it was said that she learned to speak the Potawatomi language

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[94]Lea to Mitchell, April 14, 1851, Letters Sent, Letter Book 44, OIA.

[95]"Allotment of lands made to the Pottawatomie Tribe of Indians by Commissioners W. W. Wolcott and W. W. Ross, 1863," General Services Administration, Federal Records Center, Kansas City, Missouri, p. 45, allotment numbers 1051-1057, in that order. This roll hereafter cited as "Roll of 1863."

[96]"St. Mary's Pottawatomie Indian Mission: Register of Male Students, 1857-1872," Ms., St. Mary's College Archives, St. Marys, Kansas, Book H 4.

[97]Victor Murdock, loc. cit., p. 1.

[98]Ibid.

fluently.[99] After Abram's death she married one, Charles Busbee, "who disappeared."[100] Her own death did not occur until 1894, and she was interred at Sacred Heart, Oklahoma.[101] She lived to take an Oklahoma allotment under the authority of the Dawes Act of 1887, being then shown as allottee number 250, 64 years of age.[102] The prominence of the Burnett family, no doubt, makes records and accounts more available in tracing the Burnett widow; however, she was very representative of a continuous bridge not only between the Osage River and Oklahoma but also between one of the better known Great Lakes mixed-blood personalities and the final headquarters of the Citizen Band. The fact that she possessed no Indian blood at all was in a way symbolic of the Potawatomi Reservation in the Indian Territory.

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[99]Clara Francis, loc. cit., p. 371.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Ibid. Her burial place is marked by a nice monument in what is today the Sacred Heart parish cemetery, front row, immediately facing the paved road. The parish church and cemetery are located on a high hill approximately six miles northwest of Konawa, Oklahoma, and the now abandoned site of old Sacred Heart Mission is nearby.

[102]"Citizen Pottawatomie Indian Allotments under Act of 1887" (an authentic copy from original allotment roll, OIA, in Goode and Goode Law Offices, Shawnee, Oklahoma, p. 18. Hereafter cited as "1887 Allotment roll."

Another family name which occurred early and often in Potawatomi records was that of Bertrand. Perhaps none of the mixed-blood families on the Osage River Reserve was more numerous, or later provided a more plentiful progeny for the Citizen Band. The name Bertrand came into prominence in early Michigan. Joseph Bertrand, Senior, established a trading post about a mile from the old St. Joseph Fort and Mission, some fifty miles from the mouth of the St. Joseph's River, where he married a Potawatomi woman by the name of Madeline.[103] Some confusion develops in the records about the identification of their children. One source lists them as Joseph, Jr., Benjamin, Laurent, Teresa, and Amable.[104] Gilbert Garraghan, citing the parish census book for the Sugar Creek St. Mary's Mission, 1841, finds the following Bertrands as heads of families: Joseph, Laurent, Benjamin, Samuel, and Amable (sometimes Angelique).[105] The same writer cites the "Muster Roll of the Osage River Sub-agency, 1842," as listing Joseph, Samuel, Laurent, Louis, and

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[103]"History of the Extinct Village of Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXVIII (1897-1898), 129-133.

[104]Ibid.

[105]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 229n.

Angelique.[106] Louis could very well have been of the next generation; Theresa either did not come to the Osage so early or was not listed; but it seems that Benjamin should have been on the roster of 1842. The name Bertrand long stood the test of time in Michigan, being the name of a town on the Indiana-Michigan boundary.[107] In Kansas and Oklahoma the family has generally been identified with Catholic loyalties. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in both Michigan and Kansas some members came under the tutelage of Isaac McCoy and his successors: Joseph Bertrand, age 13, Samuel, age 11, and Benjamin, age 7, were all on the rolls of Carey Mission School in 1825. All are listed as of one-quarter Potawatomi blood.[108]

While on the subject of the Carey School, there were present in the same year other later Citizen Band members: Peter Moose, age 8, Joseph N. Bourissaw and Jude Bourissaw (Bourassa), both listed as Ottawa; the Chicago Potawatomi, Medard Beaubien and Lewis Wilmette, who were discussed in connection with Council Bluffs; also there were Charles

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[106] Ibid., p. 698n.

[107] Ibid., p. 699.

[108] Carey Mission School Report, 1825, OIA.

Beaubien, Mitchell and Lezette Wilmette, obviously of the Chicago group.[109] Not all these endured until the Citizen Band era, but their names and families did, plentifully. Some of the Carey students, including a selection of those just named, went on to the Choctaw Academy, as will be demonstrated; however, there is no indication that any of the Bertrands attended the latter school. For them the reunion with the McCoy tradition took place on the Kaw Reservation. There we find the names of Richard and Bernard Bertrand on the initial roster of the Baptist Manual Labor School. Johnston Lykins made the first detailed report, 1849, with Elizabeth McCoy signing the student roll.[110] But two years later Richard and Bernard appear on the St. Mary's school report.[111]

The Bertrands were prominent on the Kansas River Reserve, especially in the St. Mary's community. The name Bertrand was given to one of the principal streets of the town. Benjamin was most active in Potawatomi affairs.[112]

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[109] Ibid.

[110] Lykins to Orland Brown, C. I. A., September 30, 1849, Letters Received, School File, 1849, OIA.

[111] Mitchell to Luke Lea, C. I. A., November 22, 1851, Letters Received, School File, 1851, OIA.

[112] Garraghan, op. cit., II, 30, 31, 32.

No family name occurs more frequently on the allotment rolls of 1863: Joseph Bertrand is listed allottee number 571, age 83 (on the roll the designation "dead" was inserted, probably at a later date);[113] Benjamin ("Headman"), number 1138, age 50;[114] Samuel, number 950, age 53;[115] Adelaide, number 1344, age 45.[116] There are several Josephs on the rolls, mostly youngsters; none would approximate the age required for the Joseph of Carey Mission, 1825, age 13. Adelaide, not previously identified in this study, was the only one of the above to reach the allotment rolls in Oklahoma under the Dawes Act; therein she is number 165, age of 86.[117] It is realized that some age discrepancies have appeared in tracing some of the preceding individuals from one record to another. Possibly enough some of the continuous identifications have not been accurate. The Bertrand family tree,

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[113]"Roll of 1863"; This was probably Joseph Bertrand, Jr., for whose children special provision was made in Article IV, Treaty of October 27, 1832, the treaty at Tippecanoe River (7 Stat., 399; Kappler, op. cit., II, 372), and who signed, as witness, the 1846 treaty for the reunion of the Potawatomi Nation (9 Stat., 853; Kappler, op. cit., II, 559).

[114]"Roll of 1863," p. 48.

[115]Ibid., p. 41.

[116]Ibid., p. 58.

[117]"1887 Allotment roll," p. 12.

with its various ramifications, could provide a subject for almost major research; the point here is, as with Abram Burnett's family, to provide an interesting case of Potawatomie mixed-blood continuity.

An often-mentioned mixed-blood relationship on the Osage River was the Bourassa family. The two, Joseph and Jude, mentioned above as students as Carey in 1825, and listed there as Ottawas, were apparently the most active members of the lineage which came to Kansas. Joseph attended the Choctaw Academy, being recorded there in 1834;[118] in fact, the "I. N. Bourassa" given as one of the two Indian youths employed as instructors in August, 1832, was probably "J. N." or Joseph Napoleon Bourassa.[119] On the Osage River he married Memetikosiwike in December, 1838, with Father Benjamin Petit witnessing, and he acted as godfather at numerous baptisms.[120] Bourassa and John Tipton, also an erstwhile Chictaw Academy student,[121] became the full staff

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[118]Carolyn Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," Chronicles of Oklahoma, X (December, 1932), 408.

[119]Carolyn Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," Chronicles of Oklahoma, VI (December, 1928), 475.

[120]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 195n.

[121]Carolyn Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," VI (December, 1928), loc. cit., 473.

of instructors in the Jesuit boys school at its inception, July 7, 1840. Bourassa taught in the English language, while Tipton used the Potawatomi.[122] In the course of the next two years the former curtailed and then dropped his duties in the school.[123] By January, 1844, Bourassa was nominated and strongly recommended for the position of Osage sub-agency interpreter.[124] The sub-agent stated that Joseph was required in the position as a result of the death of Luther Rice.[125] The latter, as mentioned earlier, was instrumental in persuading Topinebe and some portion of the Michigan Indians to move from the Platte Purchase to the Osage in 1837.[126]

Joseph N. Bourassa was, according to the records, in and out as interpreter for the tribe during all the Kansas Potawatomi history from 1844-1860, having been first removed

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[122]"Hoecken Diary - O'Meara," a notation by the translator, taken from official "Annual report of Sugar Creek Schools, 1842," p. 14.

[123]Ibid.

[124]Carpenter to Harvey, January 10, 1844, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

[125]Ibid.

[126]Moore, loc. cit., p. 39.

in favor of Joel Barrow in April, 1845.[127] The records also indicate that he was always active and influential in the decisions and business affairs of the Indians. He became allottee number 1288, age 52, in 1863.[128] While he never came to live or settle on the Oklahoma Reservation himself, there was a large host of Bourassas who did. Names of children of the Bourassa family are found on the rolls of the Baptist Manual Labor school[129] and of St. Mary's on the Kaw River.[130]

Our next representative emigrant, one who passed through all the phases from Michigan to Oklahoma, possessed a large percentage of Indian blood. He was Peter Moose, student at Carey in 1825, registered as three-quarters Potawatomi, and age 8.[131] We find him at the Choctaw Academy in

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[127]Haverty to Crawford, April 18, 1845, Special File 28, OIA.

[128]"Roll of 1863," p. 55.

[129]Lykins to Brown, September 30, 1849, Letters Received, School File, 1849, OIA; Dyer to Mitchell, February 17, 1851, ibid., School File, 1851.

[130]St. Mary's Pottawatomie Indian Mission: Register of Male Students, 1857-1872), loc. cit., 1857-1858; 1859-1860; 1860-1868; 1870.

[131]Carey Mission School report, 1825, OIA.

1835,[132] and at least as early as 1839 he was on the Osage River.[133] Although he was one of the Indian signers of the important removal and reunion Treaty of 1846,[134] with his name present in the records of various petitions from the Kaw River Reserve, he did not play such a powerful role in Potawatomi affairs as the Burnetts, Bertrands, and Bourassas. But he did achieve the rare distinction of being on the major allotment roll in Kansas, 1863, and also the allotment roll in Oklahoma after the Dawes Act of 1887.[135] In his particular case the ages in the various places of residence check perfectly. Peter's son, Joseph Moose, allottee number 900 in 1863, age 4, afterwards for several years a student at St. Mary's on the Kaw, became prominent on the Oklahoma Reserve as the longtime secretary of the Business Committee of the Citizen Band. He was chief spokesman for the Catholic elements of the tribe, and a writer of some merit, contributing many articles to the Indian Advocate, a publication of

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[132]Carolyn Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," Chronicles of Oklahoma, X (March, 1932), 81.

[133]"Quarterly Muster Roll, Davis, November, 1939," Special File 69, OIA.

[134]Kappler, op. cit., II, 559.

[135]"Roll of 1863," p. 38, No. 898, age 44; "1887 Allotment Roll," No. 347, age 72, p. 25.

Sacred Heart Mission between 1888 and 1910.

There were numerous other mixed-bloods on the Osage River Reserve. Gilbert Garraghan gives a selection of individuals, including most of those previously considered here, as taken from the sub-agency Muster Roll of 1842: John Tipton, Mary Nadeau, Lazarus Winchell, Thomas Evans, Joel W. Barrow, S. A. Howard, Andrew Jackson, John Mason, and R. M. Johnson.[136] John Tipton for many years continued his specialty in the Potawatomi language and continued as helper to the Jesuit Fathers. After the move to the new Kansas reservation, he tutored Father Maurice Gailland, the successor of Father Hoecken as linguist, missionary, and benefactor of the Potawatomi. As the Gailland Diary puts it, "John Tipton taught Father Gailland the Indian language."[137] On the 1863 allotment roll John P. Tipton is listed number 936 ("Headman"), age 40.[138] Mary Nadeau, for whom also special provision was made in the Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 27, 1832,[139] later was number 1296, age 53, on the same

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[136]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 698n.

[137]"Gailland Diary - Burke," p. 33.

[138]Loc. cit., p. 40.

[139]Kappler, op. cit., II, 372.

roll.[140] Nadeau has always been a common family name in Oklahoma, although, as we shall see, one, Eli Nadeau, with his family, elected to have his name dropped from the 1863 allotment roll and to remain with the Prairie Band in Kansas.[141]

Some of the mixed-bloods previously noted were also formerly at the Choctaw Academy. In 1834, there were Thomas Evans, John Mason, and R. M. Johnson.[142] Andrew Jackson, later instrumental in the settlement which was finally adopted concerning land grants for both Baptist and Catholic missions in Kansas, was very probably the Potawatomi "General Jackson" of the Academy in the same year.[143] One of the sub-agency blacksmiths, John Leib, before referred to in the Lykins controversy, was another who had been instructed at the Kentucky school.[144]

From our total listing of the Potawatomi alumni of

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[140] Loc. cit., p. 56.

[141] "Roll of 1863," Eli, number 584; Julia, number 585; and children, Mary and John; all marked "changed to Prairie Band."

[142] Carolyn Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," Chronicles of Oklahoma, X (March, 1932), 81.

[143] Ibid., IX (December, 1931), 408.

[144] Ibid., X (March, 1932), 81.

Colonel R. M. Johnson's institution, it becomes evident that the old Academy has to be reckoned with seriously as a factor in the Potawatomi growth in civilization. In September, 1839, the school's superintendent, Thomas Henderson, boasted to Commissioner Crawford about the "talents and education" of the Choctaw and Potawatomi Indians who were instructed there. It is interesting to note that in the latter days of the school the Potawatomi outlasted the Choctaws as regular attendants. Superintendent D. Vanderslice, reporting on October 1, 1847, gave a total enrollment of 58 youths, of whom 20 were Potawatomi, 14 Chicagoes (who, he stated, were also Potawatomi), 7 Creeks, 14 Chickasaws, but no Choctaws.[145] In that particular Potawatomi list were the names of Anthony Navarre and Antoine Bourbonnais, both to become important names in Kansas and Oklahoma. There is some justification for comparing the civilized Potawatomi to the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. They had a common meeting ground and a mutual source of more advanced culture in the Choctaw Academy.

Before leaving the discussion of Osage River Reserve families and names, it is fitting to include some truly Indian

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[145]Vanderslice to Medill, Letters Received, School File, 1848, OIA.

personalities. To begin with, a diligent study of the correspondence and records of the succeeding Kansas River Reserve does not reveal anyone from the Osage, of a direct chieftain line, who decided to take a Prairie Band status at the time of the split. It is possible, however, that some chief's descendants did elect not to take allotments. Topinebe, the old patriarch of the St. Joseph Band, lived to make the move to the Kaw. Agent Richard Cummins, Fort Leavenworth, temporarily in jurisdiction over the Potawatomi during the time of their relocation, wrote that Topinebe was the head of the Baptist party of the tribe and had expressed a desire for a Baptist school on the south side of the Kansas River.[146] By 1853 Topinebe was indicated as having passed on, and his place taken by Mazee.[147] According to the letter of Father James Van de Velde, in which he protested the anti-Jesuit conspiracy on the Osage, Mazee (or Magie and Mazhe) was the son of Topinebe and younger brother of Gagodamua Chebas, the latter serving by election as a principal chief

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[146]Harvey to Medill, June 16, 1848, Letters Received, School File, OIA, with enclosure, Cummins to Harvey, June 7, 1848.

[147]A. Cumming, St. Louis superintendent, to George W. Manypenny, C. I. A., December 19, 1853, inclosing John W. Whitfield, Potawatomi agent, to Cumming, December 8, 1853, Letters Received, Potawatomi OIA Agency File, 1853.

pending the majority of Mazee. There was also an older son of Topinebe, O-Kummoa, who had served in the position, but in 1844 Mazee had grown up and was in possession of the chieftainship.[148] Topinebe himself signed the Treaty of removal and reunion, 1846,[149] but after that, the major agreements no longer carried his name; Mazee had taken his place. The latter's signature was in evidence on the Treaty of 1861[150] which effected the division of the Potawatomi into Citizen Band (allottees) and Prairie Band (having title to the open, diminished Potawatomi Reserve in Kansas),[151] also on the 1867 Treaty[152] which provided a new reservation in the Indian Territory for the allottees.[153] Mazee is on the allotment roll of 1863, number 1096 ("Chief"), age

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[148]Van de Velde to Mitchell, February 8, 1844, Special File 28, OIA.

[149]Kappler, op. cit., II, 559.

[150]U. S. Statutes at Large, XII, 1191.

[151]Kappler, op. cit., II, 828. Also signing this treaty were: A. B. Burnett, Joseph LaFromboise, Thomas Evans, Madore B. Beaubien, Peter Moose, and Eli Nadeau.

[152]U. S. Statutes at Large, XV, 531.

[153]Kappler, op. cit., II, 974. Other signing: B. H. (Benjamin) Bertrand, J. N. (Joseph) Bourassa, Madore Beaubien, Shawgwee, L. H. (Lewis) Ogee, and George L. Young.

48.[154] On that listing are also the names of the young people, Francis Gagodma, number 242, and Mahne Gagodma, number 243.[155] Therefore, at least some of Topinebe's direct descendants became allottees and Citizen Band members.

The most distinguished of the Wabash Band chiefs on the Osage River, in terms of his later performance and importance, was We-we-say. This Indiana chieftain had been a party to the land-cession treaty of August 5, 1836, signed near the Yellow River[156] and of Chippe-way-Naung.[157] In those early treaties the spelling was given as "We-wis-sah." The often-cited Osage River Muster Roll of sub-agent Anthony L. Davis, 1839, shows his early presence there.[158] In course of time he was signatory to the 1846 removal treaty[159] and to the treaty of 1861.[160] He was allottee number 323

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[154]"Roll of 1863," p. 47.

[155]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[156]U. S. *Statutes at Large*, VII, 505; Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 463.

[157]U. S. *Statutes at Large*, VII, 515; Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 472.

[158]"Quarterly Muster Roll, Davis, November, 1939," Special File 69, OIA.

[159]Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 559.

[160]*Ibid.*, p. 828.

("Chief"), age 65, on the roll of 1863.[161] In definite relation to the scope of this whole historical inquiry was the evaluation made in 1856 of the two chiefs, We-we-say and Pah-eh-go-shuk. They had together protested a delegation to Washington led by Joel Barrow. The agent of the time, George Clarke, in forwarding their petition to Superintendent A. Cumming, stated that the Prairie Chieftain, Pah-eh-go-shuk, represented the "authority of the tribe," and We-we-say represented "the intelligence and civilization."[162] It is interesting to note that Clarke, clearly regarding We-we-say as chief spokesman for what was by that time generally referred to as the "mission Indians," designated him as a St. Joseph Band principal chief. In the light of his signatures on the Wabash treaties, this seems erroneous, but the probability was that by 1856 the line between the Wabash and St. Joseph Bands, which had been partly erased at Sugar Creek, had now almost entirely disappeared. Both groups together were now just farmers and "mission Indians"; the terms St. Joseph Band and Wabash Band rarely were used in the records by the

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[161] Loc. cit., p. 14.

[162] Cumming to Manypenny, April 17, 1856, inclosing Clarke, Potawatomi agent, to Cumming, with the chiefs' protest, April 8, 1856, Letters Received, Potawatomi agency file, 1856, OIA.

mid-1850's.

We-we-say still possessed influence in 1867. In that year he filed another joint-protest, in this instance against the joint Business Committee of the two bands. Wab-say (Wabsai) was indicated as principal chief of the Prairie Band, and We-we-say was described as "Chief of the Mission Band."[163] Thus the "mission band" apparently equated "Citizen Band," a term which slowly came into use to describe the Potawatomi allottees. The process of actual naturalization took place gradually over a period of years. Nothing is found in the records to establish the identity of We-we-say's descendants and heirs, so their role on the Oklahoma Reservation, if any, is not ascertainable.

The preceding accounts of the Osage River Reserve's talented mixed-bloods, of former Choctaw Academy students, even of the chiefs, might tend to create a distorted picture or give a false impression of a high state of civilization generally. The mass of the population was not equally acculturated and was not making such striking progress in the ways of the white man's civilization.

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[163]Wabsai and others to N. G. Taylor, C. I. A., August 17, 1867, Letters Received, Potawatomi agency file, 1856, OIA.

For a lengthy contemporary exposition on the Potawatomi, as he knew them, we are again indebted to Christian Hoecken, S. J., who, it is remembered, found his Sugar Creek subjects unenthusiastic to work in the fields. His discussion gives much more of the truly Indian atmosphere. In the early months of 1847 the United States Catholic Magazine, Baltimore, Maryland, published a series of articles on the Indians as written by Hoecken.[164] His observations, previously unnoticed by scholars, constitute an important source of information on Potawatomi culture immediately after their removal west of the Mississippi River. One handicap arises in interpreting Hoecken's exposition; namely, that it is not always certain that he is discussing the Potawatomi. At the beginning he mentions his almost eleven year tour among the Indians. These years included residence, for a short time only, among the Kickapoo, and also various missionary journeys to other tribes, but for the most part they were spent at Sugar Creek. Thus, in the absence of a tribal breakdown

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[164]A reprint of these articles was published by the Daily American Tribune, Dubuque, Iowa, April 19-29, 1929; this Catholic publication is long since defunct. Clippings of the articles are in the St. Mary's College archives, St. Marys, Kansas. The author consulted the original texts of the Baltimore publication in the Library of Congress.

in the discussion, one has to use discretion in applying its details to the Potawatomi exclusively; some of the matter may very well refer to more general Algonquian traits, or perhaps to those more typical of the Kickapoo.

The Hoecken comment on the Indians with whom he had personal contact and experiences appears to justify extensive quotations. Toward the beginning of the first article, he writes:

> I found that an Indian is a very singular being, quite different from any I had ever been acquainted with; dark and treacherous, however docile, tractable, and persevering. He is also high-minded and proud, a real child of Adam and Eve, and yet reserved and compassionate: in a word, he is a perfect master of all his passions, whether concupiscible or irascible. Though the Indian generally acts, judges and thinks like a child, he is capable of any art or science, as experience has abundantly proved. Nor is this to be wondered at; for, if we ourselves had been raised in the wild forest, among buffaloes, and had received an education nothing superior, perhaps we should be more inferior to him. As regards the traditions of his people, almost every individual tribe has its own traditions, but whether we can rely upon these traditions or not is another question, and one very difficult to be answered. The traditions of those Indian tribes, among which I have been, seem unanimous in regard to the origin of their ancestors, asserting that they came from the East over the great waters by the help of a canoe. They also say that the passage was made in thirty days. They strongly maintain that the God of the Indians (for they consider themselves a different race) made America, which they call an island, for their use and home here in this world . . .[165]

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[165] United States Catholic Magazine (February, 1847), p. 90.

Then follows an interesting account of some primitive Indian traditions regarding various aspects of religion. Many of these have a close parallel in Biblical and Christian sources.[166] Some of the explanations of natural phenomena, the stars, thunder and lightning, whirlwinds, and the like, are quite novel.

Love for freedom and independence is stressed. This trait was encouraged from infancy, although the Indian loved his children very dearly:

> I have no doubt that the ungovernable spirit of independence is the effect of the manner in which they have been brought up from infancy. Every kind of liberty is given to the children; they may do as they please, without the slightest rebuke or check from their parents as this would be considered ill-treatment, and would be construed into a want of esteem and love for their offspring. They love their children most affectionately, and also their relatives, and they show their esteem and love by presents which they make to them. Even while their children are yet infants, and unable to make use of such gifts, they present them with horses and other property which they possess, and these gifts and presents are so much appreciated by them that they would consider it a theft and robbery to use or dispose of them without the consent of these little infants.[167]

Sub-agent Richard Elliott at Council Bluffs had similarly commented upon the Potawatomi love for their children and

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[166] Ibid., p. 91.

[167] Ibid. (March, 1847), p. 149.

relatives. The absolute freedom of the children and their exemption from any type of correction, as described above, gives much significance to the assertion, by one of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at Sugar Creek, that the parents upheld the teachers in anything they did. This departure of the Indians from their native attitude toward the children was emphasized even more, some years later on the Kaw River. The agent, in making his monthly report, referred to the manner of handling the youngsters at St. Mary's who would take it upon themselves to run off from school and go home. He stated that he knew of "instances" where such children were "whipped by their father, and brought immediately back."[168]

The Indian's charity, writes Hoecken, is admirable and universal. Only when under the influence of alcohol does he become cruel and vengeful toward his fellow-man:

> Their charity is general and extends to all, without exception; they are ready to divide the little they possess with any poor or destitute person, so much so as often to suffer in consequence of their generosity. Ask assistance from an Indian who has but one piece of bread in the world, and, without murmuring or complaint, he will give you the half of it.

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[168]William Murphy, Potawatomi agent, to A. M. Robinson, superintendent, August 31, 1859, an enclosure in Robinson to Greenwood, C. I. A., September 6, 1859, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1859, OIA.

> Nay, more: whenever you call upon him, he will hand you the best of what he has in his possession. For this reason there are no quarrels or strife amongst them; harmony reigns in their midst. They have a great respect for each other's feelings and will never utter any sentiments unless convinced that they will agree perfectly with those of their neighbor. Discord and contention takes place only when they are under the influence of spiritous liquor; then everyone should be on the alert, and carefully observe the maneuvers and proceedings of the intoxicated man; for this is the time of the Indian's revenge, and he will take it if possible. I am inclined to think that this is often their design in indulging their propensity for intoxicating liquors. Many have I seen fall victims to their animosity. Sometimes the son will put an end to his father's life, the husband will slay his wife, the brother, his brother, and the friend, his friend.[169]

Continuing, Hoecken states that superstitious practices and observances abound among the native Indians. Many natural phenomena, the sun, moon, stars, and some animals, are accorded the tributes of deities. There are many ceremonials involving concoctions of drugs, and the Medicine Men have great respect and influence. It is widely believed that they can change themselves into various kinds of animals. "Very sensible Indians" maintain that they have seen this happen.[170]

Marriage bonds are very loose: "An Indian will marry

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[169] United States Catholic Magazine (March, 1847), pp. 149, 150.

[170] Ibid., p. 150.

a woman today, and probably after a few days some other woman. They generally remain together as long as they agree; but upon the first disagreement, they separate and marry again."[171] Polygamy is practised extensively in the Indian country and sexual promiscuity is common. These and other comments of Hoecken represent nothing very new regarding the Indian in native state but they are based on contemporary observation, and constitute evidence complementary to that of other witnesses.

Perhaps the most graphic statement in the whole series of articles is in reference to the Indian propensity for liquor. Hoecken describes its baneful effects, the great difficulty involved in preventing the Indian from obtaining it, and in relieving him of it when once acquired. The following is illustrative: "When the Indian once puts his lips to the exhilirating cup, he does not stop until he has plunged into the most beastly indulgence."[172] The missionary also thinks that this state of affairs is much the same "with nearly every Indian tribe in the frontier country."[173]

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[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid. (April, 1847), p. 214.

[173] Ibid.

As far as the Potawatomi were concerned, the old whiskey problem was ever-present. Both missionary groups, Baptist and Catholic, organized temperance societies very early, as was shown. The latter period of the Osage Reservation was particularly afflicted with the scourge of excessive drinking. This led to an effort at stern enforcement. Tribal councils passed laws as early as 1844. In 1846 guardhouse punishment in Fort Scott was laid down as a penalty for anyone found guilty of bringing in spirits. In 1847 the Pottawatomie Creek faction met with the Sugar Creek elements and agreed on forfeiture of annuities by any individuals who brought liquor on the reserve. Sub-agent A. J. Vaughn reported serious energy apparent on the part of the Indians to suppress "the use and abuse of ardent spirits among their people."[174]

All the records indicate a period of decline and addiction to liquor in the very last year before removal to the Kansas River. This was also characteristic of the final days on the Platte Purchase. It would also feature later periods of uncertainty and decline, especially during and after the failure of the allottees of 1863 to make a success

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[174]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 218.

of their new status. Whiskey would continue to be a problem for these Indians in Oklahoma, as Indian Department records again show, but it apparently became more and more an individual weakness than a mass addiction. In this the Citizen Band came to share the lot of other civilized Indians and whites everywhere.

Regardless of Hoecken's otherwise dreary picture of the characteristics of uncivilized life, he also records expressions of optimism about noticeable improvement among the natives. He refers to his return to Sugar Creek in 1841, after an extended absence in St. Louis and at Indian settlements up the Missouri River:

> When I again appeared among them in 1841, they received me with every demonstration of gratitude and joy. They had just completed their church. Finding them very poor, and suffering much from the ravages of disease, I procured a quantity of medicine from St. Louis, and applied myself to their relief. I was busy from morning till night in attending the sick, having no time for repose, nor even to recite my Office. Such was the happy success with which providence blessed my efforts, that this poor people began to revive, they resumed their work, cultivated the soil, and made rapid progress in civilization.[175]

Farther on, writing of current 1847 conditions, he praises the Potawatomi for their religious observances; their

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[175] United States Catholic Magazine (May, 1847), p. 325.

regularity at prayer and devotions.[176] He seems to indicate, definitely, a conviction that the Indians have made progress in the almost ten years of his efforts among them.

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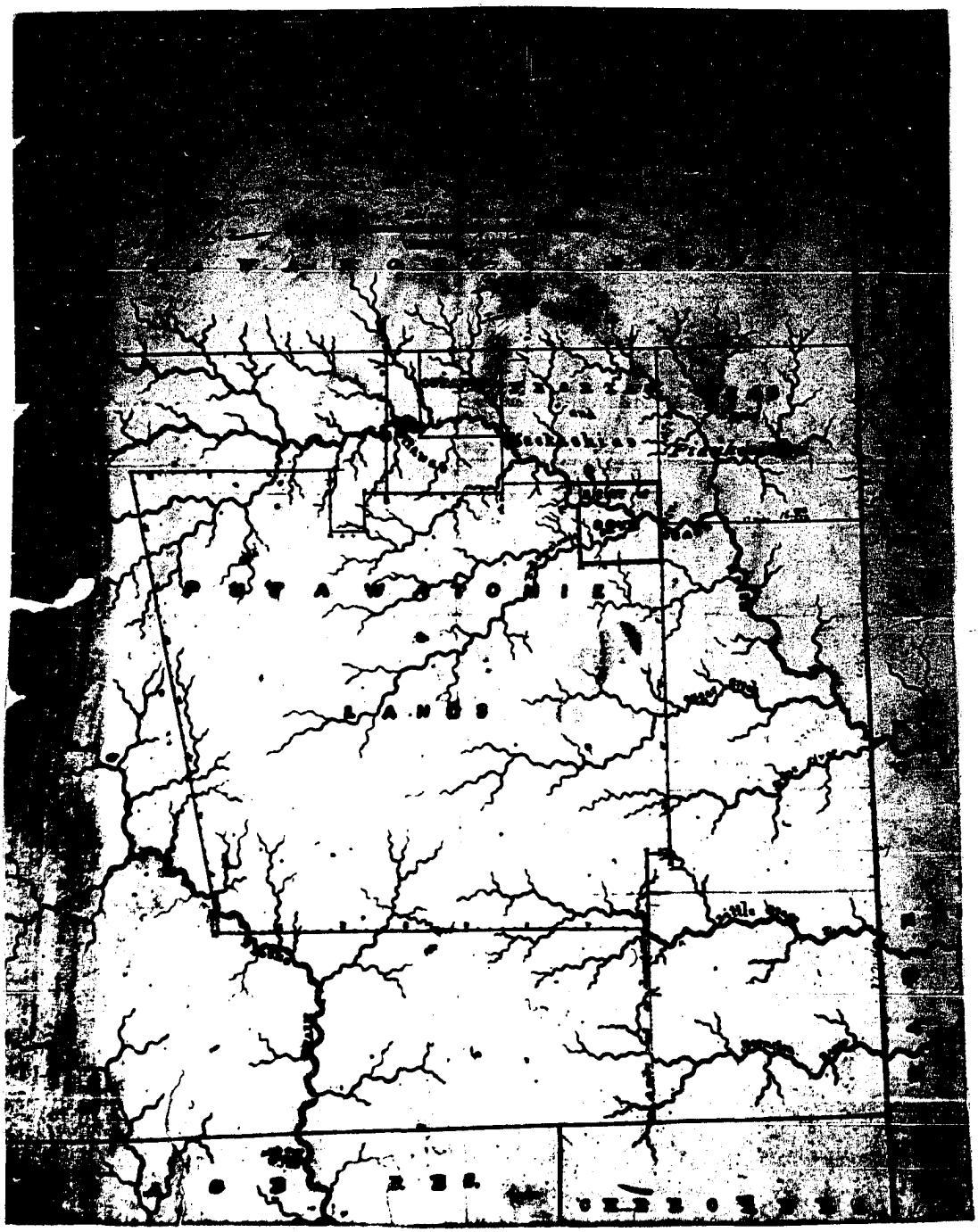
[176] *Ibid.*



Map II. McCoy's Map of Osage River Potawatomi Reservation, 1838, courtesy of National Archives, Record Group 75, Map 95. In the upper right hand corner of the Potawatomi land area is the original settlement of Putawatomie Creek; the Sugar Creek penetration of the reserve is shown below, also other drainage features.

CHAPTER VI

REMOVAL, RESETTLEMENT, REUNION

The Indian Department very early began a campaign to persuade the Potawatomi of the Council Bluffs sub-agency to move south and join their brethren on the Osage River. This effort began almost from the very time that Indians took possession of the Iowa reserve; in fact, it was concurrent with some scattered complaints that the United Band had not completed its removal in fulfillment of the Treaty of Chicago of 1833. T. Hartley Crawford, in his general report to the Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, stated in November, 1839, that negotiations with the Band for its removal to the lands south of the Missouri River had failed. The Indians initially had declined "positively," and later with the qualification that no move would be considered until all United Band brethren had joined them at Council Bluffs. They had also insisted that their own exploring party inspect the proposed exchange lands. Crawford asserted that this wish had been

acceded to, especially in view of the appropriation of Congress, May 28, 1838, of $5,000.00 to cover the cost of the negotiations. He expected that the exploring party would move by October, 1839, "if they should even then be induced to commence it." Up to the time of the report, November, he had heard nothing further on the subject.[1]

Whether or not the exploring party ever got under way remains doubtful. There is no indication in the records that the journey was made, and no reference to it in later deliberations. Commissioner Crawford complained in the same report that certain elements of the United Band "around and near St. Joseph, in Michigan" had failed to fulfill their treaty stipulations by refusing to migrate to the West, also that a recent effort to persuade them had failed.[2]

Joshua Pilcher, superintendent in St. Louis, gave a thorough exposition of the government's policy regarding the Iowa Potawatomi in the spring of 1839. Writing to Stephen Cooper, sub-agent for Council Bluffs, he discussed the subject at length, also giving the reasons for the position which had been taken on the necessity of the early removal of these

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[1] R.C.I.A., 1839, p. 331.

[2] Ibid.

Indians:

> You will bear always in mind the great object of the Government to remove the Indians under your charge, from their present location and unite them with, or place them in the immediate vicinity of their brethren, now under Major Davis. Endeavor to impress upon them the present and increasing disadvantage arising from their proximity to the northern frontier of Missouri; but above all, the fatal consequence of an extension of the laws of Ioway over their present county. This will inevitably result from an organization of a State Government in Ioway; and should, of itself, be a sufficient inducement for immediate removal. This will probably take place next year. The general government will have no power to prevent it; and the consequences to the Indians will be ruinous. The intelligent part of them must see and know, that the great mass have neither the means or capacity to fulfill the duties of citizens and it appears to me, that none but an enemy to their future welfare would advise them to a continuance in a position from whence the laws of a State will soon force them, and by possibility, with the loss of all the advantages secured to themselves and the rising generation by existing treaties.[3]

Not only were the negotiations of 1839 without fruit on the point of removal but Cooper reported on that year's last day that he did not see much hope in effecting the stated objective of persuading the Potawatomi to go to the Osage River area. In his past efforts to "impress upon the minds of the tribes of this agency the importance of a speedy removal" he

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[3]Pilcher to Cooper, May 19, 1839, Letter Book VII, Clark Papers.

had been "invariably evaded." Furthermore, the natives requested him not to say anything more to them on the subject and even manifested an inveterate dislike for the Osage country. The sub-agent thought that the Indians would never move there, "without too great sacrifice on the part of the Government, or the appearance of actual force." By way of final recommendation he suggested that there might be a possibility of persuading them to move across the Missouri River and settle between the Platte and Little Nemaha Rivers.[4]

In 1840 another effort to remove the United Band also failed. The government employed Reverend Isaac McCoy and Mr. A. Coquillard as special commissioners to bring about a union of the two separated bands on the Osage River. A lengthy letter from General H. Brady, military commander at Detroit, Michigan, to the Secretary of War, Poinsett, outlined step by step what had transpired. First, the Osage Potawatomi had objected to entering into a joint-meeting with their brothers at Council Bluffs, so separate negotiations were attempted within the respective reservations. Coquillard handled the deliberations at the Osage, with Isaac McCoy remaining in Westport. All the chiefs participated

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[4]Cooper to Pilcher, December 31, 1839, Letter Book VIII, Clark Papers.

except Topinebe, and a tentative treaty provided for reunion was completed, "subject to the approval of their friends at Council Bluffs."[5] General Brady forwarded the reports of Coquillard and McCoy who both criticized each other. Coquillard charged that McCoy's unpopularity was so great on the Osage that the latter had feared to put in an appearance there, and that at Council Bluffs the veteran missionary was even more unpopular. Some of the Indians in the latter location had expressed unwillingness to treat with a commission which included McCoy as a member. In addition to the two commissioners the party going to Iowa included Johnston Lykins, Joseph Bertrand, and Luther Rice, the latter two acting as interpreters. Much difficulty arose in bringing the United Band elements together for a council. They were scattered because of a recent raid by the Sioux. Finally, a poorly attended meeting was held on January 2, 1841, with seven of the chiefs or principal headmen absent. McCoy gave the usual arguments for removal from Iowa: departure from the vicinity of the formidable Sioux, favorable financial settlement, and good lands for future homes.[6]

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[5]Brady to Poinsett, February 17, 1848, in U. S. Congress, House Executive Document, 143, 27th Congress, 2nd Sess., III, 142.

[6]Ibid., 143.

The McCoy-Coquillard mission was utterly unsuccessful. The Bluff Indians refused to consider any removal agreement in the absence of so many of their leaders. Shabbona was their spokesman. He observed that the Potawatomi had in no sense requested a commission to be sent to discuss such matters. The meeting broke up with McCoy suggesting an adjournment until the 15th of June, 1841, but Coquillard over-ruled him and declared a sine die termination to the proceedings.[7] This was the last formal commission appointed to negotiate with the Potawatomi on the question of removal and reunion until the visit of Superintendent Harvey in the summer of 1845. It has been shown that the United Band's earlier exploring expeditions to the Iowa Reserve did not create great enthusiasm for it. The Indians moved there from the Platte Purchase in 1837 under a certain degree of duress; but once there, they adamantly refused to move again.

Richard Elliot suggested some of the factors in the position taken by the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs. In his summary report for 1843 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he remarked that the "great mass" of the United Band was "prepared to treat, but that it will be a matter of

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[7]Ibid., 140.

delicacy and difficulty to arrange the details."[8] The Indians would exact a high price, he opined, and no treaty could be obtained unless provision would be made for paying the various traders' debts. As a class, the traders would and could prevent treaty-making, unless their interests were taken into account. Also, the Council Bluffs Potawatomi did not like the Osage River country, because

> it is too far south for them; and they believe it to be sickly; but the real reasons are believed to be a jealousy among the chiefs, and an opinion entertained by our Indians that their brethren on the Osage River already draw a larger share of annuities than they are entitled to, and that injustice would be increased by a union of the tribes.[9]

Nevertheless, Elliot suggested, the government would be justified in paying a very handsome price for the Iowa lands, for they were the natural western outlet for the whole Territory of Iowa. The growing proximity of the whites, now crowded along the southern border of the reserve and soon to swarm along the eastern border, made it imperative that a treaty be concluded, lest the Potawatomi, "the remnant of a powerful people," should be destroyed.[10]

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[8] R.C.I.A., 1843, p. 391.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

There were indications that the Indians themselves realized that their Iowa tenure could be of only short duration. That they were holding out for a price was exceedingly probable. A chance visitor to Council Bluffs in 1844, Major Clifton Wharton, First Regiment of the Dragoons, gave his impression of the Potawatomi as he observed them. They were generally well clad, well-mounted, well-armed, and their attitude toward the United States rather friendly. But "the fact that they have from some causes been led to consider their present location as but a temporary one makes them at present a good deal dissatisfied with our Government." Chief Pātoshokuk told Wharton that the Indians were living in a state of suspense, "like a bird in a storm, uncertain what bough it might light upon."[11]

Earlier we referred to the effort of Superintendent Harvey to secure a removal treaty at Council Bluffs during the summer of 1845. As Elliot reported, the major had "to go back without even the draft of a protocol, satisfied that the Indians were not disposed to sell their five million acres."[12] Harvey may have been convinced; the immediate

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[11] _____, "The Expedition of Major Clifton Wharton," Kansas Historical Collections, XVI (1922-1925), 300.

[12] Elliot, op. cit., p. 198.

actions of the Indians, following his departure, indicated that they were not so certain that the door was closed to all further negotiations. Very soon after, old Wah-bon-seh came up with his dream about going to see the Great Father in Washington.[13] Subsequently, Elliot and his Indians arrived in St. Louis enroute to the dramatic deliberations in the nation's capital.[14]

Definite progress toward a removal of the Potawatomi from Iowa resulted from these negotiations of 1845. The president's commissioners, a Mr. Gibson and a Mr. Andrews, offered a cash settlement of $250,000 for the Indians' lands. The Potawatomi rejected this immediately and indignantly threatened to go home. The newspapers, carefully groomed for the job by Elliot, took up the Indians' cause in the spirit of high righteousness. The delegation sought and obtained permission to pay a farewell visit to President James K. Polk. The colorful procession from the Fuller Hotel to his office outdid all the previous spectacles which Elliot and the Potawatomi had staged for the public. Half-Day put on his best performance as an orator that day. He complained

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., p. 199.

about the treatment rendered by the government in the past and extolled the merits of the Iowa reservation. He spoke of the many improvements which the Indians had made there; even Me-ah-mis and his clan on the Nishnobotna "had good wigwams and were happy." Result: a parley with the commissioners went on for several more days, and an offer of $850,000.00 was made for the Potawatomi lands. This formed the basis of an agreement to make a treaty during the following year.[15] Whether the financial consideration offered was or was not a good settlement is not a question to be decided here, but when the price became somewhat more acceptable the Indians were not adverse to treaty making.

Apart from money considerations, the United Band of Council Bluffs had never shown enthusiasm for the Osage River area. Earlier that year, 1845, before Elliot had joined the delegation to Washington, he mentioned this particular aversion:

> Considerable jealousy and distrust have grown up between the bands here and those south of the Missouri, and I think it will be difficult to effect their harmonious re-union, without some concessions to the feelings and prejudices of the people here; but if they are gratified in some respects, it may possibly be accomplished. They object strongly to the country in the Osage

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[15] Ibid., pp. 209-212 passim.

> river sub-agency, but would be satisfied to meet and join their brethren in a country on the Kansas, if the price of their lands would afford what they would consider an adequate support for the entire body of Pottawatomies.[16]

The astute sub-agent went on to offer one more ray of hope for a reunion of the Potawatomi. The Council Bluffs band would look more favorably upon the idea, wrote Elliot, if their individual shares of the cash annuities would amount to as much after the reunion as they had before. Such a likelihood had been suggested, and "A knowledge of this fact among some of the people here has softened them down a good deal, and disposed them more favorably towards the proposed union than they were some time ago."[17]

Thus, the removal and reunion treaty of 1846, signed at both Council Bluffs and the Osage, had a considerable background in the business dealings of the United Band. Such was plainly not the case with the Indians of the Osage who felt no earlier, government pressure to remove. Even in 1840, the latter Indians, at least their leaders, showed much more willingness to negotiate a treaty whereby their northern brethren might locate with them. This seems to

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[16] R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 550.

[17] Ibid.

have been the ideal which Isaac McCoy held for the Potawatomi at the time of the temporary residence of the United Band on the Platte Purchase; namely, that all elements of the removed Potawatomi should be collected together on the Osage River reservation. As indicated, Elliot did not highly regard the objections of the Bluff Indians to the Osage River area, but for whatever reason, this faction continued to oppose any arrangement involving that locale as the established home of the reunited tribe. The possibility of overcrowding, of being placed at a distance from good hunting grounds, even of being forced more or less to an agricultural economy may have been factors in this attitude. An entirely new reservation farther west, on the Kansas River, had more appeal for them. The government considered their desires in 1846 because there was a certain urgency to remove them without delay. Iowa's statehood was just around the corner. No such exigency existed in respect to the Osage River Indians; Kansas was still eight years away from even a territorial status. In the longer view, however, it was fortunate that a more westerly Kansas reserve was provided. In the Kansas River valley the white settlements engulfed them at a later date than would have been the case in the eastern location. The nearby Missouri whites were

already exercising a devastating influence, even prior to the Indians' departure.

Immediately before and during the actual treaty deliberations, a definite spirit of opposition did arise on the Osage in reference to the proposed scheme of reunion and relocation. It is impossible to determine to what extent this was a spontaneous Indian opposition. Fragmentary evidence indicates that it was at least in part the result of white influences. Various comments by Major Cummins, agent at Ft. Leavenworth, also by Superintendent Harvey, indicted white elements, non-members of the tribe, for the continued contrary attitude of these Indians.

Previous to the signing, the one fully established source of resistance was found in the Baptist missionary group. Isaac McCoy wrote to Dr. Johnston Lykins from Louisville, Kentucky, January 30, 1846, in the tenor of strong hostility to the plan of reunion of the Potawatomi on the Kansas River. This is rather interesting in view of his own effort to effect such an arrangement some years earlier. But the proposed treaty embodied an entirely new principle, namely, the moving of a tribe of Indians from one location in the Indian Territory to another. McCoy's former endeavor was directed toward the erection of a unified Potawatomi

Nation on the Osage River reservation which he had earlier explored and later surveyed on the very eve of its occupation. The Iowa Reserve had never fitted properly into his concept of the Indian Territory; it was too far east and too much endangered by white settlements and early statehood. As for the future of Kansas lands, even in 1846 he was by no means willing to concede that there was need for re-evaluation of his view of their suitableness as a permanent component in an extensive, permanent Indian Territory. He concluded, accurately enough, that shifting the tribes about would lead almost certainly to the destruction of the plan which he had so energetically proposed to the officials of the United States Government and which he had otherwise done so much to promote. As the following letter reveals, his feeling on this point was very deep:

> I have received yours of the 9th inst. I am very sorry to hear there is a scheme of the government for removing the Putawatomies. I am very much opposed to it. As soon as they begin to move the tribes about, the whole policy will be unsettled. The next thing after removal will be the settlement of white people on the lands they leave. You have not informed me who are to occupy the country they leave. I presume you do not know . . . As to the convenience of having the Putawatomies all in one body, I esteem it a small matter as compared with the breakup of the Indian Territory, towards which I would esteem the removal of the Putawatomies as a direct step. Better let the whole of the Bluff Putawatomies go to ruin than to ruin

> them and eighty thousand others . . . if the present Territorial boundaries be broken into by the whites, scarcely a vestige of hope would be indulged for the success of the Indian reform anywhere. We never could rally the Indian again . . . Your judgment must teach you how much or how little you ought to say or do in opposition to this abominable measure. As for myself I shall endeavor to act discreetly, but I shall oppose it with all my powers . . . Last spring I had to battle with an outrageous design to break into the Indian Territory. The devil and his emissaries seem determined to destroy the aborigines. Oh, had I the power they'd all have a quiet home.[18]

Dr. Johnston Lykins, the recipient of the letter, followed McCoy's instructions in opposing the removal treaty. The matter came up four years later in connection with the second and more successful attempt to remove him from the post of agency physician. An influential person pressing for Lykins' dismissal was the veteran trader and Indian attorney, Mr. George W. Ewing. In one of his letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, heavily weighted with charges against Dr. Lykins, he included the following words of condemnation:

> This man Lykins opposed the policy of the Government and used all his influence (secretly) to defeat the treaty which was made with the Pottawatomies on the 5th and 17th of June, 1846. This

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[18]McCoy to Lykins, January 30, 1846, quoted in Moore, loc. cit., p. 52. Emphasis by McCoy.

> can be proven by Major T. P. Andrews, who was one of the U. S. Commissioners who made that treaty. Let him be called to testify.[19]

In justice to the accused it can be reasonably concluded that Mr. Ewing neither knew nor was concerned about the real motive for the Lykins attitude. But herein lies the possible partial explanation for a certain coolness on the part of Departmental officials toward the subsequent mission and school which the Baptists operated on the Kansas River. The new Jesuit mission, on the other hand, much more readily enjoyed laudations and commendations, and it is significant here that Jesuit influence was credited with both helping to promote the signing of the treaty at the Osage and in persuading the Indians to move to their new location.

Father Felix Verreydt, superintendent of the Sugar Creek Catholic Mission, was evidently a very powerful factor in overcoming the Osage Potawatomi opposition to the treaty provisions. In support of this conclusion, Gilbert J. Garraghan quotes at length from the discussion of the treaty negotiations made by Father Maurice Gailland, S. J., for a Catholic periodical in Baltimore, Maryland, November, 1850. Some selections from the quotation are given here, for this

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[19]Ewing to Orlando Brown, May 2, 1850, Letters Received, 1850, Ft. Leavenworth Agency file, OIA.

account of the Indians' behavior during the actual treaty deliberations is most informative:

> Some declared in favor of the treaty, but the greater number were opposed to it. They wished to convoke a general assembly to deliberate on the subject. They met and sent for Rev. F. Verreydt, praying him to come and aid them by his advice. He appeared in their midst and being pressed to give his opinion on the subject he spoke as follows: "The Blackgown came here to teach you how to pray--the selling or exchanging your present lands is your affair, not mine--but as you wish me to tell you what I think of this matter, when I shall have expressed to you my thoughts, you will still be at liberty either to follow or reject them--but pray, should you enter into this treaty, I beg you never to say that you were induced to do so, because I engaged you to it . . . I think that the treaty offered to you is good, and I believe that it will be to your advantage to accept it. These are my reasons: 1st. Sugar Creek is an unhealthy country--in the space of seven years, seven hundred have died--a frightful number when compared to the small population of the place. 2nd. The ground is not very fertile; you work a great deal and the reward of your labour is small--the soil is so full of rocks and so near to the surface, that you cannot dig graves deep enough to receive the dead. 3rd. You are here too near the whites--their neighborhood is becoming daily more dangerous to you--the fire-water is constantly tempting you, and favored by the darkness of night, you issue forth and procure it--your children will soon follow in your footsteps--you cannot prevent them from doing what you do--and they will be what you were before the Blackgowns appeared in your midst. 4th. The annuities which you have been receiving are almost at an end, and in a short time you will be unable to purchase the first necessaries, as food and blankets. 5th. It is absolutely necessary that you should have saws and planks, mills to grind your corn and wheat, forges to mend your guns and your wagons, and how can you obtain these with your scanty means, unless you agree to the treaty. You say that you

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

> or ready to start for their new home, except the missionaries, who determined to emigrate to avoid all responsibility of delay.[20]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Medill, outlined the principal provisions of the 1846 Potawatomi treaty in his report to the Secretary of War, William L. Marcy. His report also stated the Indian Department's treaty objectives:

> During the past year, treaties have been made with Kanzas Indians; the kindred bands of Chippewas, Ottowas, and the Pottawatomies . . . By the Treaty with the Kanzas, two millions of acres are set apart for the future home of the Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawatomies. It was chiefly with a view to this arrangement, and the location of other tribes, as well as to create a small fund for the support and improvement of the Kanzas, that their surplus lands were purchased. By the treaty with the Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawatomies, they sold to the government their two separate reservations--one in Iowa, the other on the Osage River, west of the state of Missouri--containing together about six million acres; and they agreed to remove within two years after the ratification of the treaty to their new home in the Kanzas country. For some time past these Indians, though of the same stock, speaking the same language, and united by ties of kindred, have been separated and had different and, to some extent, unequal interests, which gave rise to jealousy and dissatisfaction. They are now, in accordance with their wishes, to have a common home, where they may reunite with common and equal interests, which will render them much better contented, and the relations between them and the government more

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[20] Catholic Mirror (Baltimore), November 9, 1850, quoted in Garraghan, op. cit., II, 597, 598.

simple, satisfactory, and economical.[21]

As far as the treaty concerned the Kansas tribe, subsequent events indicated the hurried and improvident nature of the arrangement. Provision for the dispossessed came only very slowly. The Kansas Indians ceded their land in the Treaty of January 14, 1846,[22] and the Potawatomi treaty was signed on June 5 and 17, respectively, at Council Bluffs and on the Osage, being ratified July 22 and proclaimed July 23.[23] Exactly a full year to the day after the treaty with the Kansas tribe, the agent at Fort Leavenworth, Richard W. Cummins, wrote to Superintendent Harvey decrying the fact that nothing was thus far accomplished in the matter of relocating the little group of dispossessed Indians. He urged that something be done soon, for, according to their treaty, their removal should be completed by May 1, 1847. Since the migration of both factions of the Potawatomi was scheduled for the same year, it was becoming more and more important that problem of the new home for the Kansas be solved. Cummins concluded his appeal with expressions of

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[21] R.C.I.A., 1846, pp. 216, 217. Emphasis suppoied.

[22] U. S. Statutes at Large, IX, 842; Kappler, op. cit., II, 558.

[23] U. S. Statutes at Large, IX, 853; Kappler, op. cit., II, 557-559.

praise for their good behavior, and "As you know, these people are favorites of mine."[24]

By July the agent reported renewed activities in the quest of finding a suitable new location. He made an exploring expedition far up the Kaw River. The trip was fraught with continued nervousness about the presence of raiding bands of both Comanches and Pawnees. His small party was a potential easy mark, and his peace of mind was not aided by the attitude of his Indian companions who remained constantly on the alert, showing every sign of fleeing at the first alarm. Experience convinced him that it was better to locate the Kansas to the south rather than to the west. He thought the headwaters of the Neosho River were much more desirable.[25]

Toward the end of 1847 Cummins' recommendation about the Neosho River area was approved. Further correspondence meanwhile passed back and forth on the subject, the substance of which was summarized in a letter of December 3rd from the commissioner to the superintendent: the president approved Major Cummins' suggestion about the Neosho locale; the

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[24]Cummins to Harvey, January 14, 1847, Letters Received, Fort Leavenworth Agency file, 1847, OIA.

[25]Cummins to Harvey, July 17, 1847, Letters Received, Fort Leavenworth Agency file, 1847, OIA.

commissioner approved the superintendent's authorization of Cummins to make a survey, and it was now left to the superintendent "to direct suitable arrangements for their removal to it at such time as you may judge expedient and advisable."[26] In other words, a definite plan was now afoot, but no removal of the Kansas Indians was in process by the last month of 1847.

Superintendent Harvey himself made a tour of inspection of the new Potawatomi Reservation in January of the following year. A part of his report to the commissioner described the sad lot of the Kansas tribe. He reviewed the fact that their new location was not laid out for them until after the date upon which their removal was supposed to have been completed. Remaining on the lands designated by treaty for the Potawatomi, they hesitated to put out a crop in the spring of 1847, but later, when the newcomers did not arrive in appreciable numbers, attempted planting one toward the extreme western limits of the area. Due to the lateness of the plantings they had realized little. At the time of the writing they were still about and coming in from their winter hunts more or less destitute. Nevertheless, the superintendent,

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[26]Medill to Harvey, Letters Sent, Letter Book 40, 1847, OIA.

echoing Agent Cummins, praised them for their docility and cooperative spirit.[27]

By May of 1848 the Kansas seem to have taken possession of their new reservation. On the 1st of that month, the Secretary of War, Marcy, directed the commissioner to transfer them from the jurisdiction of the Fort Leavenworth Agency to that of the Osage River and, in turn, provided that the Potawatomi should now come under the supervision of Fort Leavenworth.[28] Meanwhile, as will be shown, the Potawatomi migrated in considerable numbers to their new reserve. Plainly, the Kansas tribe suffered considerably from the manner in which it was uprooted. This all the more emphasizes the urgency of the government in bringing about the migration of the Potawatomi, especially those from Iowa.

Commissioner Medill described the new home of the Potawatomi in his 1846 report to the Secretary of War. The reservation contained five hundred and seventy-six thousand acres.[29] It was thirty miles square, bordered on the south

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[27]Harvey to Medill, January 26, 1848, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

[28]Marcy to Medill, Letters Received, Ft. Leavenworth Agency file, 1848, OIA.

[29]R.C.I.A., 1846, p. 217.

by the lands of the Shawnee, and on the east by those of the Shawnee and Delaware.[30] A glance at a map later prepared by the Sante Fe Railroad shows clearly how it lay on both sides of the Kansas River, the larger portion being north of it. The whole area was later incorporated variously into the Kansas counties of Shawnee, Wabaunsee, Pottawattomie, and Jackson. Its eastern limits were two miles west of Topeka and sixty-two miles west of the Missouri River.[31] By Article IV of the Treaty of 1846, the Potawatomi paid the sum of $87,000.00, deductible from $850,000.00, the purchase price of all their former lands in Iowa and Kansas.[32]

The financial stipulations of the treaty generally followed the pattern in Indian treaties of the time. The government paid the actual expenses incurred in the removal; subsistence allowance of forty thousand dollars was allotted for the first twelve months residence in the new home, and an added sum of fifty thousand dollars was advanced at the first annuity payment following the ratification of the

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[30]U. S. Statutes at Large, IX, 853; Kappler, op. cit., II, 557.

[31]Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title," Kansas Historical Collections, VIII (1903-1904), 83.

[32]U. S. Statutes at Large, IX, 853; Kappler, op. cit., II, 557.

treaty. The latter sum was issued to enable the Indians to pay their debts and have compensation for the losses suffered in leaving developed properties. All these sums of money were deducted from the sale price of their lands in Kansas and Iowa.[33] The balance of the $850,000.00 remained in trust with the United States at five percent annual interest. The funds held in trust constituted a permanent improvement fund. An elastic clause was inserted which represented a new principle in making Indian payments: the five percent return would continue for thirty years, but if it should be ascertained at that interval that the population of the nation was below the number of one thousand, a pro rata reduction would be made in the annuities:

> If, after the expiration of thirty years, or any period thereafter, it shall be ascertained that the nation is reduced below that number (one thousand), the said annuity shall exist as a separate and distinct nation, in proportion as the present number shall bear to the number then in existence.[34]

Other negotiations and treaties came into effect before the fulfillment of the thirty-year interval and the elastic clause apparently never became operative. But the

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[33] Ibid

[34] U. S. Statutes at Large, IX, 853; Kappler, op. cit., II, 557, 558.

pessimism of the Indian Department, as reflected in a provision envisaging the decline of the Potawatomi to a number below the one thousand mark, likewise never became a reality.

The movement of the Indians from Iowa to the Kansas River took place much more easily and spontaneously than that of the Osage Potawatomi. This followed somewhat naturally from the fact that the former had in some large measure dictated the terms of the removal treaty. No negotiations worthy of the name were conducted on the Osage River; the Indians there were simply asked to adopt the agreement in exactly the same form as previously signed at Council Bluffs. This may aid also in explaining some of the later semi-dictatorial attitudes which the former Iowa residents displayed after the reunion was accomplished. They held out for a time for the prerogatives of their "royal chiefs," hearkened back to the assurances made to them during their Washington sojourn of 1845, and demonstrated a certain sense of superiority when devising tactics for dealing with the Indian Department. From the beginning, it can be maintained, they felt and acted as though they had considerably more than half-interest in the new reserve. By the standard of the amount of land ceded in 1846, of course, they had a point. This understandably became a factor in their later

stubbornness when the government virtually demanded that all the Potawatomi either sectionize or move out of Kansas. In the showdown of 1861, the Prairie Band held to the position that it would do neither. And officially it did neither; although individually and informally some large proportion of its members departed for new locations in various places, while the minority did actually sectionize.

The hesitancy on the part of the Potawatomi of the Osage River to make the trek west, their tendency to stall, to locate on the lands of the Shawnees, and to make excuses was further evidence of continued popular protest over the treaty. They had a definite aversion to the lands of their newly designated home. A certain amount of persuading and prodding was necessary. According to Indian Department records, Father Felix Verreydt again came to the rescue. By the autumn of 1847, Agent Cummins of Fort Leavenworth, evidently disturbed by the slowness of the Indians of the Osage to move, made a tour of inspection of the new reserve on the Kansas River. In a letter to Superintendent Harvey he comments as follows:

> I returned home yesterday from the Pottawatomie country. Joseph Lafromboise and many others of the Bluff party arrived there the day I started back. A large proportion of the Bluff Indians are still behind, but moving on; between this country and the

> Kickapoos there are a good many deer; the Indians are scattered, hunting as they move; all, however, are expected to be there in the course of two or three weeks. On my arrival I sent down for Father Verreydt. My object was to go and show them the country, that they might be fully convinced that there was an abundance of good timber, water and land, but they all exclaimed that they had seen a plenty already, and that they were perfectly satisfied. I was very much gratified to find Father Verreydt there. I take him to be a very good man, and I am very much mistaken if he is not very much pleased with the country and location; he spoke often of the richness of the soil. As to timber it is perfect nonsense for the Indians to say that there is not plenty of good timber. I say more that five such tribes will ever need--the best land, and the country flowing with beautiful streams and water. What more could they want or expect? The country too is well adapted for grazing; it is certainly a very good country for raising stock of all kinds.[35]

Under the same date as the Cummins letter, the superintendent reported, on the basis of information contained in a dispatch from Sub-agent Vaughan, that the Potawatomi migration from both the Bluffs and the Osage was now complete. While this report was a bit premature, due to stragglers, there was a degree of exultation over the defeat of the forces which had attempted to restrain the Osage Potawatomi from the migration: "It is gratifying to learn after so much effort to render the Potawatomies discontented with their new country, before

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[35]Cummins to Harvey, December 6, 1847, enclosed in Harvey to Medill, December 14, 1847, Letters Received, 1847, Ft. Leavenworth Agency file, OIA.

seeing it, that they are likely to be more pleased after seeing it."[36]

According to the records of the Jesuit missionaries, the Osage Potawatomi made their new settlements either in the southernmost sector of their new lands or within the reservation of the Shawnees. Father Christian Hoecken led the first major group westward late in November, 1847. They made encampment at Mission Creek, a location within Potawatomi territory but several miles from the Kansas River.[37] The site was not far from the later Kansas village of Dover, in Shawnee County.[38] Another major settlement was made at the junction of the three branches of Wakarusa Creek, definitely within the lands of the Shawnees. The latter location was in the vicinity of what was later to become Auburn, Kansas, and was on an area which the Shawnee Indians sold, in 1854, to John N. Brown, of pre-Civil War fame.[39]

Although it is probable that the missionaries and Indians had only a very hazy knowledge of the exact boundaries

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[36]Harvey to Medill, December 6, 1847, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

[37]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 600.

[38]O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 54.

[39]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 601n.

of the new Kansas Potawatomi Reserve, the early locations indicated a reluctance to proceed deeply within their new district. The Jesuits themselves had not yet determined where they should establish their new mission center and school. Father Verreydt, the superior, made it his special project to search for and select a suitable, permanent site. Meanwhile Father Hoecken continued in charge of spiritual ministrations at both Wakarusa and Mission Creek.[40] The key to the apparent aversion of these Indians to proceed farther north, into rich and fertile lands along the Kansas River, was suggested by the correspondence of the Indian Department in the spring of 1848.

On March 21, 1848, Superintendent Harvey reported to Commissioner William Medill that the Potawatomi from the Osage alleged that they feared to live with the Council Bluff Indians.[41] By that time the Indians from Iowa were settled more or less completely on the north side of the Kansas River. The superintendent was inclined to discount the fear held by one group of the Potawatomi toward the other, but it must be kept in mind that the Department was

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[40] Ibid., 601.

[41] Harvey to Medill, March 21, 1848, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

determined at this time to weld together a unified, harmonious nation. It is true that by the summer of 1848 the Jesuit Fathers had persuaded a number of their veteran Sugar Creek neophytes to proceed to the north side of the river, to the vicinity of the new St. Mary's Mission. Then came a bloody battle between some elements of the Council Bluff Potawatomi and the Pawnee, July, 1848, within the actual limits of the Potawatomi Reserve.[42] For some time the Catholic Indians were fearful of moving back across the Kaw on account of the new peril.[43] But earlier in the spring, the Pawnee menace hardly seems to have been a factor in their reluctance to settle on the north side of the river. Harvey suggested that some white influences were operating to promote disunity but went on to supply evidence that the Osage Potawatomi were not eager to enter a status of co-existence with their brethren from the Bluffs:

> I have recently been informed unofficially, but from a reliable source, that the principal men of the Potawatomies from the Osage have had a council with the Shawnees, and purchased from the Shawnees a large tract of country for which they agree to pay $4,000 next fall, and $3,000 for 29 years, and $1,000 forever; and that it was expected that they

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[42]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 611.

[43]Ibid., 601n.

> would send delegates from each tribe to Washington in the spring. The cause alleged is, that there is not a sufficiency of timber on the south side of the Kansas for them, and that they are afraid to live with the Bluff Indians. If they have fears, which I doubt, I believe they are groundless. I have not heard of the first unfriendly word or intimation from the Bluff Indians toward the Osage Potawatomies. I strongly fear that there are improper influences brought to bear upon the Osage Potawatomies . . .[44]

Whether from fear or other motive, the Indians from the Osage were showing little enthusiasm for union with the other Potawatomi faction. On the whole, this conclusion fits very well into the fabric of events during the succeeding years. Naturally, the effort to purchase land on the Shawnee Reserve did not succeed. The government would countenance nothing short of the fulfillment of the Potawatomi treaty of 1846.

Meanwhile the Potawatomi from Iowa had a strong complaint of their own about the government's choice of a location for a centralized trading post. In January, 1848, Harvey and Colonel Vaughn agreed upon the principle that the new Potawatomi country should have one central trading center:

> . . . as near the center of the country as practicable. One object was to bring the Indians together

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[44]Harvey to Medill, March 21, 1848, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

> as often as practicable for the purpose of doing away with sectional prejudices. It was intended to have the blacksmiths all in the same place; the work would be more equally divided, and men of different capacities for different work be in the same building, and the work could be done with more ease and dispatch: they would be more under the eye of the agent. The traders being all at the same post would have a tendency to check over credits to Indians, as they would inform each other of the amount of individual indebtedness when they were likely to go beyond their ability to pay it. To bring the whites all together would have a tendency to check the mischievous gossip that is so common in the Indian Country. The point was selected while I was there, on the north side of the Kanzas, on which side lay about five sixths of their country; it was intended to have a public ferry for the accommodation of the nation; they soon became dissatisfied with the location. Being extremely anxious in relation to the matter, I requested Major Cummins to act with Colonel Vaughn in making another selection, hoping they would be able to compromise matters so as to reunite the Indians generally: they have made a location . . .[45]

The Bluff Indians objected violently to the second location. Their petition, with 81 signers, was enclosed with the superintendent's letter. Their chief, Me-ah-mis, was the leader in this protest:

> I learn that Miamis [sic] will be here in a few days. If they cannot be brought to agree on one site, I presume that we will have to modify the plan; every effort will doubtless be made by Major Cummins to do away with sectional and personal prejudices and to unite them. Unless otherwise ordered by you, I shall impress upon the Potawatomies that the government will not transact business with a fraction of the nation,

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[45] Ibid.

> and that none of their improvement money can be expended out of their country assigned them by the treaty of 1846. These people unfortunately have too much money; they have as a consequence too many white friends.[46]

To judge from the multiple enclosures with the same letter of the superintendent, the trading post location was causing even more disturbance than the question of the Osage-Potawatomi attempt to buy land from the Shawnees. Agent Vaughn stated that Me-ah-mis held out for a trading center at a site called "big bottom,"[47] a place name for the wide flats on the north side of the river in the vicinity of the location chosen by the Jesuits for their new mission. Cummins wrote that he, like Vaughn, found the Indians in much dispute about the choice of the site:

> . . . from what I learned from half-breeds and other persons when I was up there, no place could be selected that would please all parties of the Indians, nor could they agree on any place themselves. I had some desire to see all the principal men and others of the tribe together and give them a talk in regard to their community of policy hereafter as one people and one nation, but Colonel Vaughan had been trying for a week or more to get them together and could only get a very few at a time so I deemed it useless for me to make the attempt.[48]

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., Vaughn to Harvey, an enclosure.

[48] Ibid., Cummins to Harvey, an enclosure.

Cummins then went on to report that a site had been chosen. As it developed, the protest of the Bluff Indians was unavailing, and this trading center which was known as Uniontown, on the south side of the river, continued as the main government trading post until 1855.[49]

Ineffective as the Indians' protest was, it deserves some examination here, both as to form and as to content. It was penned by Madore M. Beaubien as clerk of the Bluff Indians' council. Both the penmanship and the quality of the language in the petition mark him as a literate mixed-blood:

> To Our Father Maj. Harvey,
> We the undersigned Chiefs, warriors and young men of the Potowatomes of the Council Bluffs, in full council assembled, beg leave to appeal to you--our friend and father--from a decision of the Agent Col. Vaughan, made in council to-day with us in relation to the location of our traders and blacksmith, which was, that they should be located at a point four miles above the mission on the south side of the Kansas River . . . When our chief Me-ah-mis was in Washington, the President said to him we want your country on the Missouri River. We will give you another, on the Kansices [sic], which shall be yours. You shall do with it as you wish. We will send an Agent there to transmit your wishes to me, and if he does not faithfully perform his duties, write to me and I'll remind him. Your traders are yours. You can place them in your

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[49]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 605n. The Uniontown site lay a short distance downstream from the mouth of Cross Creek.

> country where you please. This last promise, you, my father, reiterated to us when we made our treaty . . . We contend that it is our right as a matter of justice to have our traders near us and we will never be content without them. The Post where it is now located is at one side of our country, it being only 6 miles from the southern line of our territory, on the opposite side of the River, which will subject us to grate [sic] inconvenience as it is not crossable at great portion of the Season and when it is fordable it is very dangerous on account of quicksand . . . Our women and children cannot cross for there supplies. You know yourself that there is but little timber on the side where the Post is now located. Before we all arrived in our country, our agent selected a point on the north side, without consulting us. This place had already been chosen by us for a village, consequently we objected to the place, asking that he would put our traders at a point about 4 miles below, which we think a good place. He differed the matter and wrote to you about it--today he told us if we wished it he would still consent to put it at the place first selected. We adjourned then, and after consulting among ourselves about 20 minutes our Chief Me-ah-mis sent for the agent and told him his young men had consented where their traders and Blacksmith to be, at the first place selected. He refused us, and told us he spoke but once. Now father we have no recourse but you. We lean upon you as an old man does upon his staff. You have been our staff and friend always and we hope you will not desert us now and make us feel unhappy . . .[50]

The Council Bluffs Indians' protest to the location of the trading center was not as important in itself as the whole attitude of controversy which the protest raised. It aptly illustrates the tendency of this portion of the Potawatomi to appeal to Washington and to the deliberations held

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[50]Harvey to Medill, March 21, 1848, an enclosure, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

there in 1845. While nothing inimical or disparaging was mentioned in respect to the Osage Potawatomi, it is clear that the Treaty of 1846 was a matter of prime interest to the Iowa elements. On the other hand, Harvey's refusal to relocate the trading post, or change it back to a site which he had himself previously approved in January, 1848, was evidence of a growing concern about effecting a truly satisfactory union of the two factions of the Indians. As explained in his own letter, the Osage-Potawatomi were at this time entering deliberations with the Shawnees in an effort to avoid moving to their own reservation. Beaubien accurately maintained that the Uniontown site was not geographically anywhere near the center of the reservation. The decision to make it the central trading post appears to have contained a gesture of favor to the Osage-Potawatomi who at this time were almost all south of the Kansas River. Superintendent Harvey's own letter emphasized more than anything else the necessity of creating a unified Potawatomi Nation; the central trading post, he hoped, would aid in bringing this about. It seems that since the Osage-Potawatomi were at this time proving to be the most recalcitrant faction, the post was located in an area favorable to them.

Harvey emphasized that the government would not

transact business with a "fraction of the nation." The Indian Department stoutly continued to maintain this position until the Treaty of 1861, which again recognized a division of the Potawatomi into sectionizers (Citizens) and Prairie Band. But as the development of this study will show, it is doubtful that any more than a semblance of unity developed during the intervening years. Evidence of definite tension between the Iowa and Osage-Potawatomi becomes more pronounced in subsequent departmental correspondence and records.

On May 19, 1848, Superintendent Harvey reported the first general meeting or council of the Potawatomi. Therein the Indians betrayed further signs of lack of unity and harmony. Harvey journeyed to the Potawatomi reservation in order to aid his subordinates in bringing about peace and amity. Writing from the "Potawatomie Country on the Kanzas" to Commissioner Medill, he describes in some detail the atmosphere and events of the "first general meeting in the West":

> I was peculiarly anxious to be at their first meeting, believing that much depended on a good start. This day after a stormy morning we went into council. I addressed them upon the importance of the occasion --that they were the same people by blood--that they had been long separated by circumstances scarcely

controllable by themselves and the Government; that the Government by their consent had brought them together again after a separation of many years; that the Government and the good white people were looking with much anxiety and interest to their happiness and prosperity; that the Government had done its duty in bringing them together; that much depended on themselves; that we wish to see them live together as one family--as the same people; that they must forget and bury, that day, all former prejudices and distrusts. And many other statements were made by me calculated to unite them . . . Miammis made a long complaining speech--spoke much of his visit to Washington--of what the President said to him and he to the President. His remarks were not worth noticing until he commenced the abuse of the Indians from the Osage. From the manner of the Osage Indians I saw they were becoming highly excited. I stopped Miammis abruptly. I appealed with warmth to the Osage Indians to keep cool--not to make a word of reply--to pay no attention to Miammis, to treat what he said as the scoldings of an old discontented man;--assured them that he did not represent the feelings of the Indians of the Bluffs; that I knew that the great body of them felt kindly toward their Osage brethren. I then addressed Miammis who had remained standing all the time--lectured him severely for attempting to break in upon the harmony of the meeting--that as a chief and an old man he should have done all in his power to promote union and peace; spoke of his complaining and general discontent--told him that this is his country--that he had a right to it if he wished to stay in it, <u>but if he would go north to the lakes no one would hold him back</u>--that the way was open, he knew it--to go--to go as soon as he pleased. After I closed he made a most ample apology, and actually made a pacific speech--the council broke up with the best feeling . . . I would remark that I did not hear the first objection to the new country . . .[51]

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[51]Harvey to Medill, May 19, 1848, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers. Emphasis supplied. It is significant that large numbers of the former Council Bluffs Indians did

The following September, Agent Cummins reported that the reunited bands of the Potawatomi had settled down in a satisfactory condition of amiability and harmony. He gave credit to Superintendent Harvey for having achieved this result by his firmness at the previous spring council:

> To your untiring exertions and fatherly interest in the future welfare of this people is this result mainly to be attributed. It affords me much pleasure to state that the last spring semi-payment, made in May, terminated in the most quiet and orderly manner. I had the satisfaction of seeing the two bands, viz.: that from Council Bluffs and that from the Osage River mingle with each other on the most friendly terms. I could discover no signs of a desire by either party to dominate or dictate. They sat promiscuously together and exchanged their opinions with urbanity and good will. You will remember that immediately before payment and in your presence the head man of the upper band or Council Bluffs party made an effort to revive those jealousies that have for so many years alienated the upper and lower . . . Your firmness and decision alone and the just censure with which you met the scurrilous speech of the old chief frustrated his unworthy design. It had a most beneficial effect and, I am free to say, that there was not one Indian but was glad in his heart that the matter was put to rest so auspiciously.[52]

While this statement of the agent can be taken as sound evidence that the earlier alleged fear of the Bluff Indians by those from the Osage was either non-existent or now

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actually, in the course of the following fifteen years, migrate again northward, especially to Wisconsin.

[52] R.C.I.A., 1848, p. 447, quoted in Garraghan, op. cit., II, 599.

dissipated, his conclusion that all was now in harmony between the two bands was not supported by later developments. The flattering quality of the tribute to Harvey had much of the ring of the routine platitude which Richard Elliot of Council Bluffs earlier ascribed to agents' annual reports.

The total population figure for the reunited Potawatomi, as given by Agent Richard Cummins in September, 1848, seems lower than should have been expected. The spring payment revealed that there were now 3,235 Indians on the Kansas River.[53] No doubt this number included those who were temporarily settled on Shawnee lands. He explained that while the aggregate of the two bands should, on the basis of past counts, approach 4,000, it came to his attention that the payroll lists at Council Bluffs were not dependable. While there, relatives and non-residents still living in Wisconsin and Michigan received annuities through proxies. In other words, many who never migrated to the West were listed. Cummins asserted also that the so-called proxies really did not forward the money issued for the non-residents. On the new reservation in Kansas, he stated, no such payments were made. The names of non-residents were strictly excluded

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[53] R.C.I.A., 1848, p. 447.

from the payment rolls, hence the relatively low total population figure for the reunited bands.[54] Incidentally, the ravages of asiatic cholera, small pox, and other afflictions during the succeeding years apparently caused a further reduction in the number of Potawatomi in Kansas. The Jesuit, Peter De Smedt, estimated that in 1856 the total population was not more than 3,000. The veteran missionary also suggested that alcoholism and improvidence were factors in the decline.[55]

Agent Cummins, in his annual report for 1848, exuded optimism over the new home of the Potawatomi and their future prospects. The Indians were pleasantly surprised at the quantity of fine timber available to their use and ". . . they begin to be convinced that it is a good country . . . they are at last compelled to admit that they were mistaken." The remark about being mistaken was obviously applied to the migrants from the Osage. The agent immediately follows with specific comment in reference to them:

> . . . I hope they will not be slow by a judicious cultivation of the soil, to prove the extreme

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Peter J. De Smedt, Western Missions and Missionaries (New York: Catholic Publishing House, 1859), p. 344.

> fertility of some of the finest land of the west. The Pottawatomi are a quick and lively race. A greater portion of the lower band (Osage) had, previous to their departure from their old homes made considerable progress in farming. With the advantages secured to them by treaty, and the ample agricultural fund to which they are entitled, they may, coupled with exertions on their own part, become a thriving and prosperous people.[56]

According to the standards of the time, it can be maintained that the Potawatomi migration and reunion of the 1847-1848 was on the whole rather peaceful and relatively untroublesome to the Indian Department. The hesitation and reluctance of those from the old Osage River sub-agency did not seriously handicap the total result. The fact is that within a comparatively short time all elements of the two bands, according to treaty provisions, took their places on the new reservation on the Kaw River. In this particular trek, no troops or physical coercion was necessary. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Medill, paid his own tribute in his summary report to the Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, November 30, 1848:

> It was a new feature of our Indian system, to see an entire tribe of Indians quietly organize, and leave their old homes, and peacefully, and without disorder of any kind, remove themselves to a new country, nearly two hundred miles distant from most of them,

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[56] R.C.I.A., 1848, p. 448.

> in conformity with a stipulation to that effect in a treaty which they had made with the government; and bearing their own expense out of funds set apart for that purpose.[57]

Reporting in the same spirit of optimism about the happiness of the reunion, Medill expressed a glowing hope for the future. Even though the expected harmony of the two bands did not fully develop as the government had planned, this in no way detracts from the rare phenomenon of a large Indian group, comprising unhomogeneous elements, undertaking and carrying out its own peaceful migration. Herein alone lay title to a certain distinction for all the Potawatomi of the West.

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[57]R.C.I.A., 1848, p. 396.

CHAPTER VII

INTRUSIONS AND AFFLICTIONS ON THE KAW RIVER RESERVATION

In the years during which the reunited Potawatomi dwelt together on the Kansas River Reservation they were subject to many trials. These afflictions were varied. There were hostile Indian tribes in the vicinity. White men, travelers, and intruders often trespassed. Disease and drought took their toll. These diverse negative influences obviously affected all elements of the Indians in one degree or the other. They were not necessarily divisive factors, but the total result must be summarized in order to obtain an adequate notion of what happened to the unified Potawatomi entity between 1848 and the actual allotment of land to its major portion in 1863.

Troubles with the Pawnee Indians began in the summer of 1848. Agent Cummins described how a small group of Potawatomi was involved, along with some Sac and Fox, Kickapoo,

and the main body of Kanza Indians, in a considerable skirmish during the summer hunt. This rather formidable combination accidentally came upon a party of Pawnee. The latter dispatched a peace emissary, "with assurance of friendship, and an invitation to smoke." Everything proceeded amicably until, upon the dismissal of the emissary, one of the Kanza took it upon himself to fire upon and kill him. Thereupon the Pawnee, attacking in a group, charged the whole combination of Indians of the other party. After several hours of sharp fighting, the attackers were driven off, leaving five dead. The Kickapoo and Potawatomi brought in their scalps. Cummins thought the whole incident was an "untoward event" and "in every way unfortunate, as it has led to reprisals, and may end in further bloodshed; since the above collision took place, the Pawnees have lifted forty horses from the Pottawatomie settlements on the Kansas River." But, the agent stated, the Kickapoo and Potawatomi should be exonerated of blame, for "they fought in self-defence."[1]

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[1] R.C.I.A., 1845, p. 448. This initial skirmish took place on the east side of the Blue River, near Rocky Ford, within present-day Pottawatomie County, Kansas. Chief Kackkack of the Prairie Band was reputed to be the main Potawatomi strategist in the affair (Garraghan, op. cit., II, 611n).

Repercussion from the unforeseen and unplanned bout with the Pawnee extended over a period of years and had a particularly alarming effect upon the more domestic and agricultural Potawatomi Indians. To begin with, the fear of the Pawnee was so great that it almost rendered untenable the site chosen by the Jesuit Fathers for their new St. Mary's Mission. Felix Verreydt, Jesuit superior, had, after considerable investigation, determined upon a selection of what appeared to be a suitable location.[2] Some sentiment apparently existed among the Indians against making their homes in the vicinity. It was on low lands, on the north side of the river, and according to rumor, subject to flooding. But by early summer a number of Potawatomi crossed the stream and proceeded to settle in the neighborhood chosen for the mission and school. Then came the July altercation with the Pawnee, and back to the south side they went.[3] By the time the little party of missionaries arrived for permanent settlement, September 9th, there were only three Indian families in the immediate area.[4] Pawnee perils, real or

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[2]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 601.

[3]Ibid., 601n.

[4]Ibid., 610. The party consisted of Fathers Maurice Gailland, and Felix Verreydt, Brother Patrick Ragan, Mr.

imaginary, continued for some time to compromise the new mission site. The following describes the situation very well:

> . . . fear of future reprisals and slaughter hung like a pall over the Pottawatomie reservation. The Pawnees thereafter occasionally raided the country about St. Mary's and drove off the horses of the Mission Indians. In consequence of these raids and the more frequent rumors of them, the Mission Indians endured a constant state of alarm. The fear thus inspired kept them on the south side of the Kaw, where they fancied they would be more secure from the attacks of their enemies. In vain did the missionaries reproach them with cowardice and urge them to gather closer to the mission quarters. The land on the south side of the river, they said, was more fertile and better timbered. The land on the north side was lower and subject to inundation . . . peace did not finally dawn on the mission until the hunting season of 1852, when the two nations agreed to bury the hatchet.[5]

According to the dependable manuscript of this mission historian, all Pawnee troubles did not end even in 1852. Horse stealing by the marauders continued. On one occasion some of the Prairie Band captured some Pawnee prisoners and called a big council to witness their execution. Father Gailland succeeded in talking them out of the project, and a Pawnee deputation of friendship to the mission soon resulted.

Joseph Bertrand, four Sisters of the Sacred Heart, and a boarder named Charlot (ibid., 605).

[5]John O'Connor, loc. cit., pp. 88, 89.

Not long after, Gailland baptized four Pawnee chieftains. Also, the Potawatomi Indians were permitted to adopt children from among their former enemies.[6]

During 1853 an incident occurred which fostered really good Pawnee-Potawatomi relations. A detachment of what the agent termed the "Council Bluffs Band" did the Pawnee a major favor. The Potawatomi were on their usual summer hunt. They came upon a battle between an attacking force of "mountain Indians" and their erstwhile enemies, the Pawnee. For what followed we take the following from the report of Potawatomi Agent John W. Whitfield:

> They (the attackers) first came in contact with the Pawnees, and but for the timely aid of the Pottawatomies (who happened to be but a few miles off) would have killed the last one, as they had them surrounded and had killed some ten or fifteen before the Pottawatomies reached the scene of action. All parties give the Pottawatomies great credit for their gallant conduct on that occasion. They lost in killed and wounded some four or five. From the best information I can get, the frontier Indians are not to blame, as they were fighting in self-defence.[7]

The hunting Indians from Council Bluffs persisted for many years in seeking the buffalo on the high plains of

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[6]Ibid., pp. 90-95.

[7]William E. Connelley, "The Prairie Band of Pottawatomie Indians," Kansas Historical Collections, XIV (1915-1918), 499.

western Kansas, bringing them into conflict with the Great Plains Indians. In 1854 about 200 Sac and Fox and Potawatomi had a major collision with a combination of 1,500 Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, and Osage. The action took place in the Smoky Hill area. According to the reports of the Indian Department officials, the Comanche chiefs "believing that they could eat up so small a force in a few minutes, made a general charge." The besieged threw back this attack and three others; twenty-six Plains Indians were killed and over one hundred were wounded. The determining factor was the possession of fine rifles by the Sac and Fox and Potawatomi. There were none on the other side except a few in the possession of the Osages. Agent John Whitfield estimated that the numbers pitted against each other were 1,500 to only 100. He gloried in the victory achieved, because the formidable Plains alliance had agreed on plans to wipe out all the so-called "frontier Indians." And the Osage setback was a most welcome development, because, according to him, they were recently scourging the Santa Fe Trail.[8] If this report reflected the truth about the ambitions of the wild Indians, it would seem that the presence of energetic, warrior

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[8]*Ibid.*, pp. 501, 502.

elements among the Sac and Fox, Prairie Band of Potawatomi, and Kickapoo helped to discourage attacks on all the more removed and western Indian reservations.

By 1861 there was a new force helping to stir up the Indians of the plains, namely, the influence of the Confederate States of America. Rumors of this caused an alarm on the Potawatomi Reservation. Agent William W. Ross wrote rather frantically to Superintendent H. B. Branch (now located in St. Joseph, Missouri) requesting ammunition and guns. There was, he averred, a "large body" of Plains Indians "very near the borders of the settlements," and it was "thought by those most familiar with them that they design an attack . . ." The Potawatomi would be the first to suffer. But of their own loyalty to the Union there was no doubt, for they were "known union men all over and will not listen for a moment to those who are transferring with the Indians of the plains."[9] Although there is no record of an actual raid by the Plains Indians on the Potawatomi settlements during the eighteen-sixties, the life of the hunting Indians was particularly disturbed. The Prairie Band, now

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[9]Ross to Branch, August 3, 1861, enclosed in Branch to Dole, C. I. A., August 6, 1861, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1861, OIA.

in fact separated from the allottee Potawatomi (Citizen Band), was deterred completely from its old hunting grounds to the west. The result was that in 1864 and 1865 some elements of the Prairie Band quit Kansas entirely. During August of 1864 forty Indians from Captain John's Shanques, whose settlement was on Mill Creek in Waubansee County, went off to the Cherokee and Osage country. Their agent promised them that the government would secure a new home for them ". . . if they found a country to suit them . . ."[10] Other Prairie Band Indians from Soldier Creek (Jackson County), in September, 1864, moved to the security of Iowa and Wisconsin. During 1865 over four hundred scattered to various points: forty of them teamed up with the Kickapoo and rode off to the south; the main body of migrants went north, scattering through Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan.[11] The civil authorities of Waupaca County, Wisconsin, protested this invasion of Indians from Kansas, demanding their removal. A special

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[10]William E. Connelley, "The Prairie Band of Pottawatomie Indians," loc. cit., p. 516. Only uncertainty remains as to what eventually happened to this little band of emigrants. It is interesting to note that the Citizen Band, a few years later, expressed strong preference for the Cherokee country as their new location in the Indian Territory, but this desire was ignored by the government.

[11]Ibid., pp. 516, 517.

agent from the Indian Department investigated the complaints and found that the alleged disturbances were much exaggerated.[12]

The scattering of the Prairie Band from Kansas, whether as the result of the destruction of their hunting grounds by the Plains Indians or other causes, resulted in a substantial reduction of their population on their diminished, open reservation in Jackson country. In 1871 the number present was only 415; in 1874, 467 (with an additional 30 in Mexico and 181 in Wisconsin); in 1875, 450 in Kansas and 175 in Wisconsin, the latter living in Calhoun County. Skipping over to 1881, we find 430 on the Kansas Potawatomi Reservation, with an additional 280 living with the Winnebagos in Wisconsin, and 40 in the Indian Territory. By 1887 the number given was 468 on the reservation, "with 250 to 300 in Wisconsin and elsewhere.[13] Significant, too,

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[12]Ibid., pp. 517, 518. The Kickapoo-Potawatomi group which went south finally came to find a temporary home in Mexico. These Kickapoo, later known as the "Mexican Kickapoos," were moved back to the Indian Territory. Their Potawatomi associates also became known as "Mexican Pottawatomies." An examination of the correspondence of the Indian Department reveals that a few of them had been Kansas allottees. Upon their return to Oklahoma, these seem to have regained their regular status with the Citizen Band.

[13]Ibid., pp. 521, 522, 526, 530.

were the Prairie Band allotment rolls, compiled by Henry J. Aten, in 1891 and 1892. This roll was based on the original number of Prairie Indians as provided by the roll taken under authority of the Treaty of 1861.[14] A routine inspection of the reproduction of the Aten roll, as given by William E. Connelley,[15] indicates how very many of the Prairie allottees, in 1892, were residents of Wisconsin and other localities. In fact, the population actually resident on the reservation, even in 1893, was only 532.[16]

No such wholesale dispersal of the allotted Potawatomi took place during the eighteen-sixties. While this decade was one of temporary disaster for them, due to their inability to keep possession of their individual lands, no far-reaching crisis developed as a result of the infestation of the western hunting grounds by wild Plains Indians. The reduction in numbers of the Prairie Band in Kansas indirectly affected the Citizen Band in other ways. Controversy arose over the divisions of annuities and benefits. The Indian Department held generally to the figure of 780, as recorded

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[14] Ibid., p. 534.

[15] Ibid., pp. 555-570.

[16] Ibid., p. 535.

in the original Prairie Band roll of 1863, regardless of where they were actually living. Later this principle was applied to the Citizen Band members, after they similarly became scattered to all parts of the United States. Another probable result of the early dispersal of the Prairie Band was that numerous former allottees (Citizen Band Indians) moved in with their brothers on the diminished reserve.[17]

All Citizen Indians were supposedly removed from the Prairie Reservation in 1891 by Lt. J. C. Gresham and the Seventh United Cavalry,[18] but various letters in later years showed that they were still about. The order for their removal was roughly concurrent with the enforced allotment of lands to the members of the Prairie Band and likewise with the major allotment to the Citizen Potawatomi in Oklahoma by provision of the Dawes Act of 1887. There is some evidence that the Citizens still in Kansas came down to the Indian Territory in considerable numbers to take the new allotments for which they were eligible. So the evicted ones from the Jackson County Reservation had a natural destination.

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[17] Ibid., pp. 533, 534.

[18] Ibid., p. 534.

However, being actually present in Oklahoma was not strictly required in order to secure an allotment there.[19] Other bits of evidence indicate that many Citizens later continued to live with and in the vicinity of the Prairie Band. For example, a letter in 1901 from the Indian Office to Frank Thackeray, superintendent of the Indian Training School at Shawnee, Oklahoma, and agent-in-fact for the Citizen Band, contained a list of Citizen Potawatomi then living under the jurisdiction of Agent W. R. Honnell, Great Nemaha and Potawatomi Agency, Nadeau, Kansas.[20] Mr. John Atwater, former employee of the Indian Service in Kansas, also referred to a significant concentration of Citizens in the old diminished reservation area in 1910. He was commissioned to take a roll of the Potawatomi thereabouts in that year. The number of Indians counted was about 800, and he thought that about twenty-five percent of these were Citizens.[21]

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[19]Personal interview with John Bertrand, grandson of the elderly Adelaide Bertrand (previously mentioned), who stated that she, although allotted, never came to the Territory (Tecumseh, Oklahoma, January 20, 1960).

[20]W. A. Jones, C. I. A., to Thackeray, October 10, 1901, Sac and Fox Letter Books (so classified), number 42, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. Hereafter cited as OHS.

[21]Personal interview with John Atwater, Sr., Holton, Kansas, March 16, 1959.

In describing the sequence of events which developed after the scattering of the Prairie Band during the eighteen-sixties there was a diversion from the main theme of this study. The digression is continued in referring to a report of the year 1875 which incidentally contributes to an understanding of the earlier friction between the two main segments of the Potawatomi Nation. Fraternity between the Citizens and Prairie Band members developed much more easily by 1875, when the Prairie Indians turned away almost completely from hunting and settled down to the domestic pursuits of agriculture. Superintendent Enoch Hoag, Lawrence, Kansas, was most enthusiastic when he wrote in the year mentioned that every head of a family now had a cultivated field:

> . . . and the area of improved land has nearly trebled in two years, and surrounded by a substantial fence. They have built ten log houses this season, making 80 in all, an increase of 70 in two years. They have abandoned hunting, relying on their domestic industry for support. Previous to 1872 they were opposed to the use of their funds for education . . . they now desire to use their funds liberally for education. They keep their mission house filled with pupils.[22]

Hoag's remarks anticipate detailed discussion of the rift

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[22]Hoag to E. P. Smith, C. I. A., February 2, 1875, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency File, 1875, OIA.

between the agricultural and hunting factions of the Potawatomi before their parting of the ways by the Treaty of 1861. Also, his account serves as a more complete introduction to the Prairie Band type of Indian during the days of the so-called unified nation of the Potawatomi on the Kansas River.

Almost from the inception of the Potawatomi reunion as provided by the Treaty of 1846, the Indians were subjected to trespassing, disturbances, and depredations from white travelers and intruders. These white influences were much more detrimental than those arising from hostile Indian incursions. The whites brought diseases, particularly the deadly Asiatic cholera. Timber, livestock, and property were encroached upon. Whiskey came in abundantly.

By accident of historical developments elsewhere, the Potawatomi Reservation became the early path of one of the most famous of westward movements. It was through this area that the early Oregon Trail wound its course. The "jumping off" from civilization was at Westport, Missouri, and from there the noted route took its easy, natural direction for many miles up the wide valley of the Kaw River. Heavy traffic toward the Pacific developed during 1849, the year of the great gold rush. Earlier expeditions blazed this segment of

the Oregon Trail; noteworthy was the journey of John C. Fremont in 1842. He crossed the Kaw to the north side in the vicinity of the later city of Topeka, and thence proceeded west.[23] The ill-fated Donner party also went this way, making camp in what was to become the Potawatomi country on May 23, 1846.[24] But the real congestion of the pioneer highway developed with the struggle to get to the gold fields. In this period the story of the trail through the Potawatomi lands contains much of suffering and affliction. Travelers and local residents emphasized one word--cholera.

Reports from 1849 contain frequent mention of the effect of the dread disease upon whites and Indians alike. As early as February 9th, Father Maurice Gailland noted in his diary that news had reached the settlement concerning an extremely virulent form of cholera which was coming near the vicinity.[25] By the early days of June, the diary mentions many deaths and a serious spread of illness among the Indians.[26] On the fourth day of the month, Gailland visited

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[23]William E. Smith, "The Pottawatomies and the Oregon Trail," Kansas Historical Collections, XVII (1926-1928), 439.

[24]Ibid., 437.

[25]"Gailland Diary - Burke," p. 44.

[26]Ibid., pp. 62-65.

the Potawatomi settlement at the branches of the Wakarusa River. This was their favorite ectopic location, within the limits of the Shawnee Reserve. Now, on account of fear of the cholera, all the Indians had fled except one family.[27] For June 8th, the diarist wrote the following significant statement, "There is no school at this place [St. Mary's] on account of the contagion."[28] The veteran Potawatomi missionary, Christian Hoecken, still alive and active at this time, applied his amateur knowledge of medicine during the 1849 cholera scourge. A letter from the St. Louis Indian superintendent's office, written the following year requested compensation to St. Mary's Mission for "the medicines furnished and services rendered to the Potawatomies during the prevalence of the cholera last year."[29] Some of the Indians did not come in for their spring annuity payments that year. On account of the spreading epidemic they departed early for their hunting grounds to the west. Hence, as late as the month of August, a large sum of their money

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[27] Ibid., p. 63.

[28] Ibid., p. 65.

[29] John Haverty, clerk, to D. D. Mitchell, C. I. A., February 6, 1850, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

was still in the keeping of the agent.[30]

Contemporary accounts agree that the months of May and June saw the zenith of the ravages of the disease. One can hazard the guess that the death toll was heavier among the agricultural, non-hunting Indians than among their brethren who escaped to the high plains and who apparently were in no great haste to return. No figures are available, however, on Indian mortality, nor its respective destructiveness to the two bands.

To sum up the effect of the cholera on the California immigrants, the trail people during the spring of 1849 made a burial ground of the Potawatomi Reservation. One writer, who devotes much attention to this particular matter, describes the sad developments as follows:

> In May 1849 the dread scourge of Asiatic cholera came up the Missouri River with the immigrants and followed West over the trail, taking its toll from among the travelers. Of all the many tragedies that occurred throughout the course of the old Oregon Trail in its infancy, the one that happened on the east bank of the Red Vermillion, in what is now Pottawatomie county, Kansas, seems the most cruel and discouraging . . . Here some fifty of the brave pioneers succumbed to the cholera. They were buried on the east bank of the Red Vermillion in the shadow of the hill a short distance to the east. It was

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[30]Haverty to Orlando Brown, C. I. A., August 13, 1849, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

> where Louis Vieux, one of the chiefs and counsellors of the Pottawatomie Indians, now lies buried.[31]

An eye-witness account, written by one of the travelers, describes the ordeal in a similar vein. Three days after crossing the Little Vermillion River, Kimball Webster, on Sunday, June 10th, narrates this graphic comment on the cholera epidemic:

> The great bulk of the immigration, which is very large, is in advance of us. That very much dreaded scourge, the Asiatic cholera, is making such sad havoc among the Californians that almost every campground is converted into a burial ground, and at many places twelve or fifteen may be seen in a row.[32]

Dr. Johnston Lykins bitterly deplored the effect of the great westward trail on the Indians. At the time, January, 1850, he was busily engaged with the new Baptist Mission School. The invasion by the immigrants was, he thought, disastrous to the Indian reservations:

> Policy I fear will again require, that the tribes within the Kanzas valley should be removed out of the way and should this have to be done the sooner the better. To such policy connected with its disastrous results, could it be avoided, and the Indians secured, I would not consent for millions of money. But occupying this great western outlet

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[31]William E. Smith, "The Pottawatomies and the Oregon Trail," loc. cit., pp. 443, 444.

[32]Kimball Webster, The Gold Seekers of '49: A Personal Narrative (Manchester, New Hampshire: Standard Book Company, 1917), pp. 43, 44.

> with an imigration of fifteen or twenty thousand persons drifting through their country, their destruction must be speedy and certain.[33]

Lykins suggested that there were "unassigned lands" in the valleys of the Neosho and Osage Rivers in which the government might find a "safe and ample" home for these Indians. The Kaw River Valley, Lykins emphasized, would continue to be used as a pathway of westward migrations: "The southern bend of the Missouri River, found at the mouth of the Kanzas, will constantly throw off its thousands of emigrants who must and will ascend this valley."[34]

The Kaw route to the west continued as a popular passageway for many years to come, and the entire era was one of depredations on the Potawatomi Indians. Eventually government officials made a study of the losses incurred, but it was long afterward before a full-scale investigation and congressional reports came about. The subject finally came up in 1876, when the House Committee on Indian Affairs submitted a report in reference to demands which arose under Article X of the Treaty of 1867. This treaty with the

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[33]Lykins to Orlando Brown, C. I. A., January 15, 1850, Letters Received, Ft. Leavenworth Agency file, 1850, OIA.

[34]*Ibid*.

Potawatomi allottees (Citizen Band) provided for the final disposition of their surplus lands in Kansas, and also assured them a new home in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). By Article X the government agreed to take recognition of various depredations claims, including those arising from the period of the Oregon Trail.

The 1876 report mentions various claims which were submitted during 1869. Potawatomi Agent J. H. Morris, mainly involved with Prairie Band affairs at the time, passed them on to the Secretary of the Interior on December 20, 1871. Five years later the claims were summarized in a government document. The following excerpts add clarity to the sage of the Oregon Trail through Potawatomi lands:

> The greater part of the losses for which compensation is claimed appears from the evidence to have been sustained during the great emigration to California and Colorado. Their reservation was situated in the Kansas Valley, through which the great thoroughfare of these emigrants passed for a distance of over thirty miles. The losses cover a period from 1847 to 1866. The Indians were at the time far removed from civil protection, the military was not within their reach, and the Indians were powerless to protect their property against the depredations that are shown to have been committed by the lawless persons who passed through their reservation . . . The laws of Congress passed in 1830 (Vol. 4, Statutes at Large, page 411) provide that the President of the United States shall protect in person and property all Indians upon their reservations west of the Mississippi River, to which they shall remove in pursuance of any

> treaty then or thereafter to be made . . . The testimony submitted shows that the claimants and their tribe were at all times, peaceable, sought no private revenge, and never received any compensation for their losses . . . The Treaty of 1867 provides for a full settlement between the Government and the Pottawatomies. By its terms the Indians relinquished all claims upon the government for future annuities, and assumed the duties and obligations of citizens. The Government patented to them their lands in severalty; paid over to them the funds held for them in trust, and agreed to take such action as should be just as to their claims for depredations. The language of the treaty implies that the Pottawatomies, in this settlement, made this one of the conditions of their final settlement; and that the Government recognized it as an obligation that it was bound to pay . . .[35]

Agent J. H. Morris' letter to E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated November 9, 1871, is also printed in the document. His chief sources of information, he states, are the Citizen Potawatomi, Alexander Peltier, Sidney W. Smith, and John D. Lasley. They are described as "three disinterested, intelligent, and honest men who have lived upon the reservation during the period covered by the losses for which the claim is made . . ."

> From the testimony of all, there were many depredations committed upon these Indians during the great immigration to California and Pike's Peak. Through this reserve was the main thoroughfare upon which many of the principal stock-growers and farmers

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[35]United States Congress, House of Representatives Report, No. 70, 44th Congress, 1st Sess., February 11, 1876, pp. 1, 2.

> lived, over which these immigrants had reached so far west as to be beyond civilization . . . It appears that the immense trains of immigrants passed along this road daily during the immigration, and were constantly driving off their stock and destroying their timber and other property, and the Indians were powerless to oppose them, there being no law force to which they could appeal for protection.[36]

No settlement was made by the government in 1876 for the depredations rising from the Oregon Trail, nor, for that matter, is it clear from a diligent study of the records that a specific payment on these claims was ever made. The House Committee on Indian Affairs brought it up again and again, argued strenuously for a settlement, and repeated much of the previous testimony.[37] A government document of 1890, still arguing for settlement of a "just" claim, seems to have been the last chapter in the long controversy. An inspection of the data available on the various payments made to the Citizen Potawatomi between 1889 and 1901 reveals nothing by which one can be certain that compensation was paid for the Oregon Trail depredations. A factor in the failure to make a settlement may well have been that the

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[36] Ibid., p. 4.

[37] United States Congress, House of Representatives Report, No. 1956, 48th Congress, 1st Sess., June 20, 1884; United States Congress, House of Representatives Report, No. 1230, 51st Congress, 1st Sess., House Reports, Vol. V, 1889-1890, April 4, 1890.

damages, in the first place, were inflicted unevenly upon the Indian population.

Other diseases afflicted the population of the Kaw River Potawatomi Reservation, prominently among these being smallpox. The malady showed up first during the summer of 1851 in the Shunganunga Creek district, near present-day Topeka.[38] By December it invaded the St. Mary's Mission area, some twenty miles farther up the river. Father Gailland's account of the events of 1852 contains the following description:

> The present year was very calamitous to the mission, two contagious diseases successively visited us and decimated our neophytes. First, towards the end of December, 1851, the smallpox broke out in our village and raged for two months, carrying away one, two, three, and even five victims every day. In some families five died in a few days. So great was the number of the sick that some days one could not find anybody to dig the graves or make the coffins. Then in the summer time the measles took away the children whom the smallpox had spared.[39]

Some confirmation of the Gailland report was contained in a letter from the Superintendent's office early in the same year. Haverty, the clerk, writing to his own superior, at the time on a trip to Washington, asserted, "I have just

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[38] John J. O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 136.

[39] "Pottowattomy Indians," Woodstock Letters, VI (January, 1877), 13.

received information that the smallpox has carried off some fifty of the Potawatomies and that it has recently broken out among the Delewares."[40]

There were intermittent epidemics of various types in the twenty-year period from 1850 to 1870. During 1858 Potawatomi Agent William E. Murphy reported a wet summer and very much sickness. The agency physician was kept busy up to the end of August.[41] Later in the year Murphy again wrote that the health of the Indians was "still bad."[42] Concurrent with the early departure of some elements of the Citizen Potawatomi to their new reserve in the Indian Territory, there was further mention of serious illnesses. The Gailland diary notation for March 10, 1870, contains the following: "From the end of February up until the middle of March many were sick and died."[43] During October of that

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[40]Haverty to D. D. Mitchell, February 16, 1852, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

[41]R.C.I.A., 1858, p. 113.

[42]Murphy to Supt. Alexander M. Robinson, November 30, 1858, an enclosure with Robinson to J. W. Denver, C. I. A., December 10, 1858, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1858, OIA.

[43]"Gailland Diary - Burke," p. 146. The translator in a footnote refers to the Alma Herald, Kansas newspaper, January, 1872, as having carried news of two or three epidemics of smallpox in the Potawatomi area during the early seventies.

year, a member of the Quaker committee dispatched by President Grant to investigate conditions among the Indians visited the Potawatomi. The committeeman was a doctor of medicine. He mentioned the prevalence of fatal cases of pneumonia, also the presence of syphilis among the Citizens and mixed-bloods.[44]

Devastations of disease, especially of Asiatic cholera and smallpox, among the Potawatomi of the Kansas River valley placed them in the same category with other Indian tribes who continued to erode from various white man's maladies. This was assuredly an important factor in the declining Potawatomi population during the years of the unified Kansas Reserve. Diseases explain why the Citizen Band, the most populous segment of a once powerful and numerous people, came down to the twentieth-century with a relatively low census enumeration. But from some point, apparently during the eighteen-nineties, a significant increase in population became apparent again. A brief accounting of Citizen Band census counts will be supplied in a subsequent chapter.

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[44]William Nicholson, "A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870," Kansas Historical Collections, XX (Vol. III, Kansas Historical Quarterly, August, 1924), 310.

Drought conditions also at times caused great suffering. Agriculture became progressive again soon after the movement to the Kansas River, but it was seriously handicapped by lack of rain during some seasons. Agent George W. Clark predicted in September, 1854, that the Potawatomi had a prospect of anguish ahead because of the severe drought.[45] Later the Commissioner himself, George W. Manypenny, mentioned in his general report to the Secretary of the Interior that the crops of the various Kansas tribes had failed that year. Intense suffering could be prevented, he wrote, only by "the application of a portion of the ample money-annuities which most of them have . . ."[46]

There were serious droughts in the years 1860 and 1870. The first immediately preceded the Treaty of 1861, which effected the division of the sectionizers (Citizens) from the open, diminished reservation faction (Prairie Band). Father Gailland describes the situation in 1860:

> This year there was in the Indian Territory, but especially in Kansas, such a heat and drought that it surpassed any human recollection. Nearly all

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[45]Clark to A. Cumming, superintendent, Spetember 7, 1854, enclosed in Cumming to George W. Manypenny, C. I. A., September 14, 1854, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1854, OIA.

[46]R.C.I.A., 1854, p. 9.

> the springs and creeks dried up; the fruits burned in the trees; for the whole spring and summer not a blade of green grass or vegetable of any kind could be seen. Had not divine goodness had mercy on us, undoubtedly we would have all perished. But divine providence did not fail at the hour of need. All the States vied with each other, which should be the quickest and most liberal in helping their suffering fellow-citizens in Kansas.[47]

Such a picture easily assists in explaining some of the stout opposition which developed the following year against the government's determination to force all the Potawatomi to an agricultural economy. Again in 1870, July 4th, the Gailland diary contains the following entry, "There is a great drought," and July 16th, "heat and dryness . . . extreme."[48] This particular drought was no doubt instrumental in promoting a Citizen Potawatomi movement to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) that year.

The most disturbing nuisance to the unified Potawatomi on the Kansas River Reservation was the presence and intrusion of trespassing white men. Distinctions are necessary between the itinerants of the westward trail and those white elements who encroached on the Indians from nearby Kansas settlements or illegally dwelt on the

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[47]"Pottowattomy Indians," Woodstock Letters, VI (May, 1877), 74.

[48]"Gailland Diary - Burke," pp. 158, 159.

reservation. The background of the rise of Kansas territorial status and the bloody era following the Kansas-Nebraska Bill formed the setting for much of the trouble. A full discussion of these complex developments manifestly lies outside the scope of the present study, but the manner in which they touched the Potawatomi themselves must be indicated.

The Potawatomi, as early as October, 1848, were drawn into a scheme for the organization of a vast Nebraska territory. Some of their representatives met in Fort Leavenworth with others from the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, Ottawa, Shawnee, Miami, Kickapoo, and Kansas tribes. There the combination reorganized the old Northwestern Confederacy. This event transpired largely as a result of the Indians' knowledge of the fact that efforts were already being made to seek territorial status for the huge plains area. Led by Governor Robert J. Walker of the Wyandots, they reasoned that their own interests would be better protected by taking an active part in helping to arrange the details of a prospective territorial government.[49] William E. Connelley,

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[49]Raymond Edmund Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Kansas Historical Collections, IX (1905-1906), 84.

long-time savant of Kansas history, describes the Fort Leavenworth meeting in this manner:

> The movement in Congress to organize a territorial government for a territory which would include or surround their lands deeply interested the emigrant tribes. Their treaties provided that their lands should never be made subject to the laws of any state or territory. The introduction of bills in Congress for the establishment of a territory to be called Nebraska convinced the emigrant tribes that they would be called upon to surrender their lands to the government at an early date. Such interest arose, and so great became the concern, that the emigrant tribes called an Indian Congress at or near Ft. Leavenworth, in October, 1848.[50]

Many interests were at work apart from Indian concerns, most prominent of which were slavery and railroads.[51]

The so-called Wyandot Constitution of 1853 finally resulted from Governor Walker's promotion. The First Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory, however, was set aside, partly by manipulation of the slavery forces, in favor of the two-territory provision of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854.[52] No claim can be made that the Potawatomi had an influential role in the whole program, but during the era of major disorder in Kansas Territory, especially 1854-

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[50]"The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," Kansas Historical Studies, VI (1897-1900), 99.

[51]Ibid., 102.

[52]Ibid., 110.

1856, they, along with other tribes, suffered appreciably. White intruders were rampant, destructive, and completely undisciplined.

George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, summarized the deplorable state of affairs among the Indians in Kansas in his 1956 report to the Secretary of the Interior. Withstanding the efforts of politicians, speculators, and railroads to grab lands, Manypenny was a true protector of the Indian reservations in Kansas. By 1859 his removal was secured and an era of unrestrained exploitation dawned.[53] In 1856 he was handicapped by the lack of minimum police protection for his Indians. His appeal, however, is strong and highly descriptive of prevalent conditions:

> The general disorder so long prevailing in Kansas Territory, and the consequent unsettled state of civil affairs there, have been very injurious to the interests of many of the Indian tribes in that territory. The state of affairs referred to, with the influx of lawless men and speculators incident and introductory thereto, has impeded the surveys, and the selections for the homes of the Indians, and otherwise prevented the full establishment and proper efficiency of all the means for civilization and improvement within the scope of the several treaties with them. The schools have not been fully attended, nor the school buildings, agency houses,

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[53]Paul Wallace Gates, Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1860 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 112.

> and other improvements, as rapidly constructed as they might otherwise have been. Trespasses and depredations of every conceivable kind have been committed on the Indians. They have been personally maltreated, their property stolen, their timber destroyed, their possessions encroached upon, and divers other wrongs and injuries done them. Notwithstanding all which, they have afforded a praiseworthy example of good conduct, under the most trying circumstances. They have at no time, that I am aware of, attempted to redress their own wrongs, but have petiently submitted to injury, relying on the good faith and justice of the government to indemnify them. In the din and strife between the anti-slavery parties with reference to the condition of the African race there, and in which the interests and rights of the red man have been completely overlooked and disregarded, the good conduct and patient submission of the latter contrast favorably with the disorderly and lawless conduct of many of their white brethren, who, while they have quarrelled about the African, have united upon the soil of Kansas in wrong doing toward the Indian! In relation to the emigrated and partially civilized tribes in Kansas, the circumstances under which they were transplanted to that country, and the pledges of this government that it should be to them and their posterity a permanent home forever, the distrust and doubt under which they assented to the sale of a portion of their respective tracts to the United States for the use and occupation of our own population, I have in former reports treated fully; and have likewise endeavored to impress upon the minds of all persons, that the small tracts which these tribes have reserved in Kansas as their permanent homes, must be so regarded.[54]

Discussing the Potawatomi, Manypenny adverts in the same report to the deleterious effect of white misbehavior on that portion of the tribe which was opposed to civilized

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[54] R.C.I.A., 1856, pp. 21, 22.

pursuits:

> Those of the Pottawatomies who have turned their attention to agriculture have made good crops. Many of them are averse to abandoning their ancient habits and customs, and the disorderly conduct of portions of the white inhabitants of Kansas Territory has served to confirm them in their views. One of the chiefs of this band, one hundred strong, has left for the Cherokee or Creek country, having expressed the opinion that perhaps he would never return . . .[55]

If the commissioner's analysis was in any degree correct, the disorder on the Potawatomi reserve during the Kansas civil war had direct bearing on the determination of the Prairie Band five years later not to accept allotments and turn to an agricultural way of life.

The agent for the Potawatomi in 1856, George L. Clarke, became dramatically involved in the Kansas conflict, and with him a small number of the Indians. Manypenny also refers to him in the Annual Report:

> The agent states that he is unable to make a full report because of the loss of his papers. He represents that a band of lawless men drove him from his home, took everything he possessed, scattered his official papers, broke open the boxes containing the agricultural implements sent by the department to the Indians and carried off large numbers of them.[56]

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[55] Ibid., p. 10.

[56] Ibid.

Clarke was a strong pro-slavery man. During 1854 he carried on a running battle with Territorial Governor A. H. Reeder. There were charges and counter charges from both sides. Several communications were sent directly to President Franklin K. Pierce. In February Governor Reeder informed the president that Clarke had "re-enforced the mob at Lecompton with a party of Indians."[57] The governor's complaints seem to have been ignored in Washington. Later in the same year, Clarke wrote that his house was attacked by brigands, that he fired a gun in self-defence but only succeeded in superficially injuring one of his own friends.[58]

By 1856 the battling agent became even more embroiled in the slavery contest, enlisting the support of a few Potawatomi to participate in the un-bloody "Wakarusa War."[59] One writer comments that the Indian interest in this enterprise was "limited to that of whiskey."[60] In any case, before the time of Clarke's formal annual report in

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[57]Reeder to Pierce, February 27, 1855, forwarded to Manypenny, March 30, 1855, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1855, OIA.

[58]Clark to Manypenny, December 13, 1855, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1855, OIA.

[59]John J. O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 230.

[60]Ibid.

September, the free-state forces invaded the Potawatomi domain and made him their main target. The agent reports it:

> . . . A large body of armed marauders, styled the "northern army," under the command of General James H. Lane, who had been engaged in murdering the peaceable citizens and plundering them of their property, marched into the neighborhood, attacked and burned down the house of a neighbor, took him and the other inmates prisoners, thence turned their march upon my house, and were in full view before I was aware of their intention. I had not a moment to spare beyond the time to remove my family, (females and young children,) not even time to carry off a change of clothing for my family. I fled with my family at a moment's warning, leaving my official papers, the public property, and private estate at the mercy of these licentious brigands. My house was plundered of everything valuable, including clothing, bedding, furniture and provisions. The papers of my office were overhauled and scattered over the premises, many of which I have not recovered, including vouchers of my settled account, current property returns, which will place me in a great trouble and inconvenience to reinstate . . .[61]

In December Clarke replied to a letter of remonstration from Commissioner Manypenny. He protested the latter's implication that he had brought on the invasion of the free-staters by his own involvement in the embroilments over the slavery question. Clarke admitted that he was a pro-slavery man but argued that it was unfortunate that Governor Reeder had taken the attitude of hostility toward him. The "large

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[61] R.C.I.A., 1856, p. 113.

body of armed marauders" of his previous report was now described as a "thousand armed outlaws in the vicinity . . . marching from house to house . . . murdering isolated families, plundering and burning their houses." The harrassed agent thought that he was most fortunate to have escaped with his family and his life, although literally "driven from the territory" on account of being pro-slavery.[62]

Undoubtedly Clarke's attitudes and actions brought a phase of the "bleeding Kansas" struggle to the Potawatomi Reservation. That Indians' homes were devastated in the "war on Clarke" is not otherwise suggested in the records of the year. His flight ended his tenure as Potawatomi agent; also, the closing of the year 1856 saw the passing of the worst phases of the local strife in Kansas. But this was not the end of white intrusions. Before, during, and after the territorial war there was a constant stream of complaints.

The flood of white men who poured into Kansas, after the territorial act of 1854, made itself felt immediately on the Indian reservations, including that of the Potawatomi. "White men are all over the place," Agent Clarks writes, and

> . . . there is much disturbance . . . At the request of the Pottowatomie Council, I ordered a number of

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[62]Clarke to Manypenny, December 22, 1856, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1856, OIA.

> the white men who were living in the nation to leave, many of whom did so at once. I also required certain white men living with Indian women, either to marry lawfully their wives or leave the country. Their example was highly pernicious and had an adverse influence to the labors of the missionaries and the objectives of civilization. One left the country--one married his wife--two others asked for a few weeks for consideration--and unless I am instructed by the Department to act otherwise at the expiration of a few weeks I shall enforce my orders . . .[63]

During the following year the nesters took up locations within the Potawatomi lands, partly due to the government's failure to designate exact boundaries. The agent himself was not definitely clear on where the east, north, and south boundaries were. He was concerned about the new settlement of Topeka, with its two hundred or more population; also about "Indianola," on the north side of the river, with seven or eight settlements. Ordering the latter settlers to remove, Clarke did not enforce the mandate, because he was not exactly certain of the east boundary of the reservation. The Indians became very excited and begged the agent to define the lines. Definite intrusion was also taking place near the western boundary, within the Vermillion valleys.[64]

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[63]Clarke to Cumming, November 13, 1854, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1854, OIA.

[64]Clarke to Cumming, November 3, 1855, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1856, OIA.

In March, 1856, Clarke complained again about the indefiniteness of the boundary lines, of the growing number of squatters on the reservation, and then sounded a new note, namely, that certain of the Potawatomi mixed-bloods were defending the presence of white trespassers. He writes significantly:

> The Reserve is filling up with white men . . . hirelings by the Half breeds, to such an extent that it has become a great evil. I will be pleased to receive instructions how to proceed in their removal. Some of the Half breeds will persist very strongly in keeping them in. To some there can be no objection except as to the policy. But an exception in their favor will be an obstacle to the removal of the others.[65]

The agent, probably unwittingly, put his finger on an old Potawatomi trait, the harboring of and fraternization with men of the white race. The tactic of hiring them to do the work was one that would have many echoes in the Indian Territory in later years. Where this attitude toward the whites existed, efforts to exclude white intruders usually were productive of meager results.

With the multiplication of white settlers and intruders, the liquor traffic had another heyday among the Indians. A complete discussion of this problem seems

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[65]Clarke to Cumming, March 28, 1856, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1856, OIA.

unnecessary. A representative report was that written by Agent Clarke in November, 1855: "whiskey and armed bands of marauding whites . . ." were lashing the country.[66] Incidentally, in the same letter he asserted that he advised the Indians to keep out of the territorial struggles, as they were none of their business.[67] The following year Clarke seems to have forgotten his own good advice.

A somewhat extraordinary and minor source of white encroachments derived from the temporary use of steamboats on the Kaw River. The provisioning of Fort Riley, upstream from the Potawatomi Reservation, was one of the purposes of this traffic.[68] The very first craft, the Excel, appeared at St. Mary's Mission in the spring of 1854. A passenger remarked that the boat was delayed by frequent landings along the river bank, enabling the crew to gather wood for fuel. They chopped down many trees and availed themselves of the rail fences which the Indians had previously erected

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[66]Clarke to Manypenny, November 30, 1855, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1855, OIA.

[67]Ibid.

[68]"Bypaths of Kansas History," (text of log of river steamer Gus Linn, 1859), Kansas Historical Collections, XXVI (Vol. IX, Kansas Historical Quarterly, August, 1940), 315.

about their fields.[69]

Complaints continued about the steamboats. When the Hartford was temporarily grounded, Clarke protested in 1855 that the crew sold liquor to the Indians. He requested the authorities at Fort Riley to dispatch a command to arrest the offenders, but there was no response.[70] Proprietors of the Gus Linn, 1859, likewise were blamed for carrying on a liquor traffic with the natives.[71] Thirty-five steamboats plied the Kaw River in the ten-year period after 1854. In 1864 the Kansas legislature passed a bill declaring Kansas rivers no longer navigable and authorizing the erection of bridges.[72] Summarily, the era of steamboats on the Kaw brought further nuisances and disturbances to the Potawatomi.

White trespassing on the Potawatomi Reserve, 1848-1861, was usually not curbed by law enforcement authorities. Virtually every complaint was accompanied by a cry of

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[69]John J. O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 172.

[70]R.C.I.A., 1855, p. 100.

[71]Agent William Murphy to Supt. Robinson, May 31, 1859, an enclosure with Robinson to A. B. Greenwood, C. I. A., June 9, 1859, Potawatomi Agency file, 1859, OIA.

[72]John J. O'Connor, loc. cit., pp. 173, 174.

frustration over the failure of the soldiers, the U. S. Marshall, or the territorial authorities to do anything about the encroachments. After the allotments were taken in 1863, under authority of the provisions of the Treaty of 1861, this deplorable state of affairs became even worse.

In the early failure to exclude the white man from the Kansas River Reservation, the Indians became more and more accustomed to his presence. Potawatomi receptivity to white men was demonstrated long before the days of that particular reservation. As was indicated, not all the intruders were unwelcome. Interracial marriages continued. On the 1863 allotment roll many "adopted Indians," men of exclusively white blood, received land. This persistent intermingling of the Potawatomi with trespassers must be regarded as a main facet in the rise and character of the Citizen Band.

With the exceptions of the trials arising from the proximity of hostile Indian tribes and the droughts, all the other scourges and afflictions had their origin, directly or indirectly, in the white man. Probably the troubles on the Kaw Reservation touched the hunting-type Indian in a different manner than they did the farmers. When the hunting grounds of western Kansas were rendered untenable,

a definite crisis arose for the Prairie Band. Very many of them solved it by simply migrating. Whether or not the agricultural Indians bore the main brunt of the multiplied afflictions, as seems likely, their sufferings, so largely of white origin, did not dissuade them from progression toward the way of white civilization. Several positive forces were concurrently at play, and these will constitute the theme of the next chapter on the Potawatomi of the Kansas River.

CHAPTER VIII

MISSION SCHOOLS ON THE KAW RIVER RESERVATION

Both Baptists and Catholics proceeded with tentative plans for schools and missions on the Kansas River Reservation. From the time of the immigration considerable indecision and discussion developed in the Indian Department before a definite plan was adopted for the continuation of Potawatomi education. Superintendent Harvey indicated in a letter of March 1, 1848, that the Commissioner previously recommended that the Indians be requested to authorize the expenditure of a portion of their annuities for schools. The superintendent seriously doubted that they would be willing to give up any amount for this purpose:

> . . . they would probably reply that they have large funds for education, none of which had ever been expended in their country, and it would be time enough to make appropriations from the annuity when it was ascertained that the school fund was insufficient. I think that it would be injudicious to make propositions to them in connection with education that would not merit their approbation, or that would be calculated to excite their suspicious as to the probable

future course of the government in relation to their annuity; it is not to be disguised that their suspicions are easily excited in relation to such matters. I would respectfully suggest that you authorize the proposal to be varied, so as to take $4000.00 for this year from their improvement fund, and the same amount next year; this would seem to me to be a very legitimate application of the fund; their annuity, it is true, is large, injuriously so; but it would be very difficult to induce them to admit it . . .[1]

A few days later, Commissioner Medill received a letter containing detailed information on the government's treaty obligations to the Potawatomi as pertaining to education. The correspondent, Herman Lincoln, Chairman of the Executive Committee, American Baptist Missionary Union, Louisville, Kentucky, very capably outlines the problem:

> . . . By your annual report of 1846-47, it appears that there is a large education fund belonging to this Tribe, of Eighty-two thousand, fifty-six, and 71/100 dollars, the annual interest of which is $4,158.40/100. By the treaty of October 16, 1832 . . . there is set apart for education purposes two-thousand dollars annually. By the Treaty of Sept. 20, 1828 . . . one thousand dollars annually; and by the treaty of 1830, or 1832 . . . two thousand dollars more: making a grand total of nine thousand, one hundred and fifty-eight, 40/100 dollars, all of which, with the exception of a small sum, must be expended, by provision of the Treaties [reference to the Treaty of 1846, Article VIII, 9 Stat., 853] within the Potawatomie country after the summer of

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[1] Harvey to Medill, C. I. A., Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

the present year . . .[2]

Lincoln made his point, because there is no evidence that the Commissioner renewed the effort to deduct money for schools from the annuity.

A plan for denominational control over Potawatomi educational facilities becomes clear after further correspondence. Agent Cummins returned from a visit to the reservation and proceeded to make the following analysis and recommendations:

> Before I left the Potawatomies, they had much talk among themselves and with me on the subject of schools in their own country. They were, I think, divided into four parties, the Catholick party appeared to be unanimous in favor of a Catholick school and mission on the north side of the Kansas River. The Baptist party with Topenebe principal chief at their head, expressed great desire to have a Baptist school and mission on the south side of the Kansas River. There were some others that were in favour of the Government having the necessary buildings erected, and teachers appointed without regard to sects of any kind and the schools entirely under its control and management. I think a large portion of the Potawatomies, particularly those from the Bluffs, incline to the Catholicks. I would therefore recommend that their wishes be complied with, and that a school and mission be placed under their charge, on the North Side of the Kansas River; some of them stated in council that this was the unanimous wish of all on the North side and it was not contradicted. I would also

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[2]Lincoln to Medill, March 4, 1848, Letters Received, School File, 1848, OIA.

> recommend that the wishes of the Baptist party be complied with and that a school and mission be placed under their management on the South side of the Kansas River. I think the Baptists were the first to establish a mission school among this tribe, in 1822, and I have no doubt that they have contributed largely to their influence in securing their education funds. The once promising character of their efforts, at the Carey Mission, their publication of the Scriptures, and other elementary works, the existence of a partiality for them by many of the Potawatomies, they being the first to open a school now being taught in their new country on the Kansas River [this refers to the new Baptist school, already in operation by March, 1848], their unabated interest in their welfare . . . and all considerations . . . favor . . . assigning the management of one of the Manual Labor Schools to that Society.[3]

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[3]Cummins to Harvey, June 7, 1848, enclosed in Harvey to Medill, June 16, 1848, Letters Received, School File, 1848, OIA. Emphasis by Cummins. Other sources confirm the report of the agent concerning the receptivity of the Council Bluff Indians, or at least some of their leaders, to the Jesuit Fathers. Felix Verreydt, while on an earlier site-hunting journey, was urged by them to locate the new Catholic mission in their midst. He declined to consider this seriously, for he was convinced that the former Catholic Indians of Sugar Creek would not agree to locate in the vicinity (Garraghan, op. cit., II, 609, 610). Also, somewhat in advance of the above recommendations of Agent Cummins, nineteen of the former Council Bluffs faction, featuring prominently the mixed-blood names, Lafrombois, Leclerc, and Beaubien, petitioned Superintendent Harvey for two mission schools, with the Catholics put in charge of both of them (Garraghan, op. cit., II, 620). This is rather interesting in view of the fact that in the course of a few years the Jesuits of St. Mary's declared themselves as having little influence on the Prairie Band as such. But the former Council Bluffs mixed-bloods continued to be loyal patrons and were plainly identified as "mission band" Indians.

The superintendent forwarded Cummins' letter to the commissioner, including also the petition of the nineteen Council Bluffs signatories, and expressing his approval of the agent's recommendations:

> I concur in the views expressed by Major Cummins in relation to putting one school in the hands of the Catholics, and the other in that of the Baptists:--also enclosed a paper received directly from a portion of the chiefs on the north side of the Kanzas (where Major Cummins suggests that the Catholic school should be located . . .)[4]

It is not certain that Felix Verreydt's choice of a mission site was in some sense a friendly gesture to the Council Bluffs party, but the above comments of both the agent and the superintendent indicate that a Catholic location on the north side of the river was so interpreted by the Indian Department. Harvey in the same letter flatly rejects the idea of government conducted schools for the Potawatomi:

> From the wretched manner in which work has been done in the Indian Country by contract with the Government (recent instances, Osage school improvements and Beach's Agency improvements) I am of the opinion that the work should be carried on by the Missionaries, who will be personally interested in having the work well done.[5]

Events proceeded apace toward the adoption and

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

activation of the Cummins-Harvey plan. Although contracts were not completed during the summer of 1848, the Department promised $5,000.00 toward the erection of new buildings for the Baptist School.[6] As is clear from subsequent records, St. Mary's was assured of a like amount. By October, Harvey's annual, summer report contains the following comment on the progress of the Potawatomi schools:

> A contract has been made with the Catholics, and another will be concluded in a few days with the Baptist society, for the manual labor schools to be hereafter conducted by each of those societies among the Pottawatomies; it is hoped that these schools will go into operation as early next year as the magnitude of the improvements about to be made will permit. The Pottawatomies made a considerable advance in civilization while on Sugar Creek, and it is expected that with their ample means, and aid of their zealous missionaries, their improvement will be rapid.[7]

In December the superintendent reported that the new buildings were under construction at both schools, suggesting the early remittance of an advance of $2,000 for each of them.[8]

Both missionary organizations foresaw that the government's financial aid for the erection of buildings would

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[6]Sidney Dyer, Corresponding secretary of the American Baptist Indian Mission Association, to Medill, July 24, 1848, Letters Received, School File, 1848, OIA.

[7]R.C.I.A., 1848, p. 437.

[8]Harvey to Medill, December 13, 1848, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

be insufficient to complete the projects undertaken. Sidney Dyer of the Baptist Indian Mission Association promised that the grant would be supplemented "in whatever degree is customary."[9] The new St. Mary's received an additional seventeen hundred dollars from the special, private donations of the Catholic Indians, and six hundred dollars from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, Lyon, France.[10] Nevertheless, by 1850, the Jesuit, Peter De Smet, complained that the institution was in financial straits because of expenses incurred in developing the new buildings and farm.[11]

The ancient rivalry between the Jesuits and the Baptists was revived and renewed on the Kaw River. The behavior of the Indians and mixed-bloods in relation to this sectarian rivalry aided significantly in continuing a pattern of factional strife which persisted in the later history of the Citizen Band. First, to draw from a representative Jesuit view of the situation, there is this analysis:

> The presence of the Protestant missions amongst the Pottawatomies added to the worries of the Catholic missionaries, for there was necessarily a rivalry

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[9]Dyer to Medill, July 24, 1848, Letters Received, School file, 1848, OIA.

[10]John O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 59.

[11]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 662.

> between the two. The least trouble that arose between the Fathers and the children was an occasion for the parents to take them away and send them to the Baptist School, located about five miles southwest of Topeka, in the village of St. Joseph or Mechgamiinag. Not unfrequently the children took it on themselves to leave the Catholic school and go to the Baptists. Nor were there wanting disgruntled half-breeds, malicious persons, to foment misunderstandings. These men despising Christianity and desiring only to be supported in their vagabond habits, drew odious comparisons between the two schools and often aroused dissatisfaction among the better disposed Indians.[12]

Also, John Duerinck, successor of Felix Verreydt as superior of St. Mary's, puts it rather bluntly:

> There is in this country a certain class of men called medicine men, or jugglers. Very ignorant, they are distinguished only by the pride of their character. They have received some vague notions about the Catholic religion, and utterly despise the acquisition of the heavenly goods, a love of which we endeavor to infuse into the children. They demand from us temporal aid, which our poverty does not enable us to give. This gives rise to dissatisfaction, and even threats and insults. Some wicked ones made it a ground of comparison between Protestant schools and ours. The consequence of all this was, that a great number of boys and girls were, so to speak, wrested from our school and taken, in spite of themselves, to the Baptist School. Elated by this first success, the partisans of the sect did not hesitate to say openly that our school and mission would soon close.[13]

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[12]John O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 105.

[13]Duerinck to P. J. De Smet, _____, 1850, printed in Peter J. De Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries: A series of letters (New York: Catholic Publishing House, 1859), p. 331.

From the Baptist side of the fray, Dr. Johnston Lykins showed a tendency to return to his former, Native American attitude toward the Jesuits. In his first comprehensive report on the thriving new Baptist Mission and school, he makes the following statement of policy:

> It is a leading motive with us to Americanize the Indian and attach him to our country and institutions, as in our estimation, upon success in this depends much in regard to their future well-being. A foreign influence must ever engender prejudice, and produce a want of confidence in our government and people.[14]

As this remark was published soon afterwards in the Commissioner's Annual Report, the St. Mary's staff knew of it, and Father Maurice Gailland gave expression to considerable resentment in his "Diary."[15] When Lykins found himself a short time later in an all-out, unsuccessful effort to retain his position as tribal physician, the Jesuits were not inclined to come to his aid.

Correspondence pertaining to the Lykins removal-controversy, 1850-1851, points to the definite conclusion that various Indian traders were the chief instigators. William W. Cleghorn, Elias Brevont, and John D. Polke all

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[14]Lykins to Orlando Brown, C. I. A., September 30, 1849, School file, 1849, OIA. Emphasis supplied.

[15]John O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 107.

got into the act. But apparently the veteran George W. Ewing was the moving spirit of the anti-Lykins campaign. One of Ewing's letters to the commissioner enclosed a communication to him from Father Hoecken supporting the denunciation of Lykins as an inefficient medical practitioner during the cholera of 1849. Another enclosure with the same letter, from Mr. A. Coquillard, South Bend, Indiana, quoted Father Hoecken in further criticism of the man under fire.[16]

The order for the actual removal of the veteran Potawatomi physician came only after many charges and counter charges. Indian petitions and counter petitions bloomed again. The final anti-Lykins Indian petition illustrated the dereliction of some of his former, loyal St. Joseph Band support; prominent among the signatures was the name of Abram Burnett.[17] The traders initiated the campaign; the Jesuits and Indians, at least a powerful minority of spokesmen, contributed; and the local agent, along with the St.

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[16]Ewing to Orlando Brown, May 2, 1850, Letters Received, Ft. Leavenworth Agency file, 1850-1851, OIA.

[17]D. D. Mitchell to Luke Lea, C. I. A., April 3, 1851, petition enclosed, Letters Received, 1851, Special File 101, OIA. A copy of this same letter of Mitchell, recommending the dismissal of Dr. Lykins, is contained in Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

Louis superintendent, recommended the dismissal. Finally, Commissioner Luke Lea issued the removal order and authorized the appointment of Dr. Luther Palmer to the vacant position.[18]

Regardless of the precise merits of the controversy, it was in some limited sense another facet in the age-old Jesuit-Baptist rivalry among the Potawatomi. There is every indication, too, that there was a noticeable, concurrent decline in the effectiveness of the Baptist Mission effort. When in 1855 the school temporarily suspended operations because of the slavery controversy within the Baptist Church, John B. Duerinck of St. Mary's did not disguise his spirit of exultation: "The Baptist Mission is overboard and St. Mary's Mission is in possession of the field . . ."[19] But real competition existed between the two missionary schools during the first three years or so of the new reservation.

The Baptists got off to an earlier start than the Jesuits in commencing a school program. Elizabeth McCoy reported that classes began, in temporary buildings, on March

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[18]Lea to Mitchell, April 14, 1851, Letters Sent, Vol. 44, OIA.

[19]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 661.

20, 1848.[20] Sixteen pupils were in attendance for the five months' session which was concluded in August of the same year.[21] When Dr. Lykins made the first comprehensive report about a year later, he listed the attendance in the following manner: seventeen pupils enrolled previous to September, 1848; twelve additional before June 30, 1849; and ten additional entries between June, 1849, and the date of the report, September 30, 1849.[22] By June of 1850, there were fifty-eight present,[23] and the report for September 1, 1851, gave ninety.[24] The number was reduced to 75 in the second quarter of this year on account of the shortage of funds.[25]

St. Mary's, beginning later, realized a slow but steady growth. It will be recalled that the superior, Felix Verreydt, did not determine upon a permanent location until June, 1848.[26] The first mission personnel did not arrive

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[20] R.C.I.A., 1848, p. 451.

[21] Ibid.

[22] R.C.I.A., 1849, p. 1090.

[23] Lykins to Medill, June 29, 1850, Letters Received, School file, 1850, OIA.

[24] R.C.I.A., 1851, p. 337.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Garraghan, op. cit., II, 601.

until September.[27] The first formal registration of students took place on November 25, 1848.[28] But by September, 1849, the Jesuit school was ably meeting its competition. Verreydt's first comprehensive report listed a total of fifty-seven boarders and ten day-scholars.[29] By this time St. Mary's was well staffed and picking up in popularity. By 1852 the Catholic school had a larger average daily attendance than its rival. The number reported was one hundred and two,[30] as contrasted with the Baptist report of only forty.[31] No real competition developed during succeeding years. But meanwhile, in the period 1848-1851, there was some notable jockeying around of the Potawatomi children between the two institutions.

A study of the roster of students at the two mission schools reveals that almost all the enrollees were mixed-bloods, some of them of the old Catholic families, also that shifting back and forth was, indeed, a common practice. The

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[27] Ibid., II, 605.

[28] Ibid., II, 621.

[29] R.C.I.A., 1849, p. 1092.

[30] R.C.I.A., 1852, p. 380.

[31] Ibid., p. 378.

Lykins report for September, 1849, listed the following pupils at the Baptist School:

> Isabella Bourissa [variant spelling for "Bourassa"], Miriam Buck, Sophia Beaubien, Martha Boshman, Eduard Beaubien, Mary Petelle, Helen Beaubien, Delila Petelle, Elizabeth Hardin, Margaret Winchell, William Boshman, William Brown, Andrew Smith, Richard Bertrand, Bernard Bertrand, Paul Petelle, Louisa Bourissa, William Darling, Francis Darling, Teresa Smoke, Josephine Johnson, Archange Wilmet, Albert Johnson, Charlotte Wilmet, Wapanse Lafromboise, Susan Lafromboise, Angetine Burnett, Emily Winchell, Emma Buck, L. Derosie, Mauneese, Polly Cummins, Elizabeth Mullen, Franklin Parks, Francis Parks, Catherine Petelle, Louisa McCoy, Sidney Dyer.[32]

It is interesting to note that the report gave the tribal background of the various individuals, in accordance with the custom formerly observed at Carey and always in effect at the Choctaw Academy. The Beaubiens, Bourissas, and Parks were indicated as Ottawas, also the Darlings; the Petelles were the only Chippewas listed, and all the others were listed as Potawatomi.[33] A cursory examination of the allotment roll of 1863 clearly demonstrates that these pupils, almost without exception, became charter members of the Citizen Band.

Without unduly pursuing the subject, attention is

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[32]Lykins to Orlando Brown, September 30, 1849, Letters Received, School file, 1849, OIA.

[33]*Ibid*.

now given to a few examples of the transfer of pupils from one mission school to the other. From the 1849 Baptist roster given above, William Darling, Francis Darling, Bernard Bertrand, and Richard Bertrand were four of the first five boys registered at St. Mary's in the late autumn of 1848.[34] Bernard and Richard Bertrand were still at the Baptist School in Spetember, 1850.[35] But by November of 1851, both the Bertrand and Darling brothers, as well as Albert Johnson and Catherine Petelle were at St. Mary's.[36] On the other hand, David and Alexander Rhodd were enrolled with the Baptists in February, 1851,[37] although previously at St. Mary's in October, 1849.[38] Thus the exchange of pupils went on. The point of emphasis is that the Baptist School had an appreciable, initial success in attracting the children of the mixed-blood families, whether of Osage

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[34]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 621.

[35]Lykins to Brown, September 30, 1850, Letters Received, School fiel, 1850, OIA.

[36]D. D. Mitchell to C. I. A., November 22, 1851, enclosing St. Mary's report, Letters Received, School file, 1851, OIA.

[37]Sydney Dyer to C. I A., March 10, 1851, enclosing the February 17th Baptist School report, Letters Received, School file, 1851, OIA.

[38]"Gailland Diary - Burke," p. 80.

River or Council Bluffs origin. However, a brief perusal of the St. Mary's student listings, both boys and girls, for the later eighteen-fifties shows clearly that virtually all the mixed-blood names from the early Baptist roster transferred to the Jesuit institution.

Some young Potawatomi mixed-bloods attended schools outside the reservation during the first years. To begin with, the boys at the Choctaw Academy, twenty in number, did not return until July, 1848. Superintendent Harvey made arrangements for them to be transported by riverboat from St. Louis to Westport, Missouri, during that month.[39] These Potawatomi were previously included in D. Vanderslice's Choctaw Academy roster of December 31, 1847. Among these names were Anthony Navarre, Antoine Bourbonnais, John V. Lazelle, Mitchel Lafromboise, and James Bourassa, all important personalities in the future Citizen Band.[40] By June, 1848, the superintendent of the Kentucky school recognized that by the terms of the Potawatomi treaty of 1846 he must part very soon with his Potawatomi pupils.[41] As late as

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[39]Harvey to Medill, July 25, 1848, Letter Book IX, Clark Papers.

[40]Vanderslice to Medill, Letters Received, School file, 1848, OIA.

[41]Vanderslice to Medill, June 22, 1848, Letters Received, School file, 1848, OIA.

September, 1849, thirteen Potawatomi were registered at the Fort Leavenworth Indian Manual Labor School. Mitchel Lafromboise, William Goodwin, and William Brown had transferred there from the Choctaw Academy. The Andersons, John, age 13, Mary, age 9, and Peter, age 8, were also at Fort Leavenworth at this time.[42] John Anderson was later a most prominent and influential Citizen Band member in Oklahoma.

Suffice it to state that many of the former Choctaw Academy and Fort Leavenworth Potawatomi students subsequently enrolled at St. Mary's, but some apparently did not. John Anderson and Anthony Navarre can nowhere be found in the St. Mary's listings. Their absence is a clue to some of the factionalism later present on the Oklahoma Potawatomi Reservation. The Citizen Band accorded much prominence and leadership to Anderson and Navarre. Neither was of the pro-Catholic party in Oklahoma. Thus, the non-Jesuit and non-Catholic aspects of the background of the Citizen Band also have to be taken into account in understanding its later history.

A brief survey of the history of the Baptist Manual Labor School is necessary because there is no continuous

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[42]Thomas Johnson, School superintendent, Ft. Leavenworth, to Orlando Brown, C. I. A., September 30, 1849, Letters Received, School file, 1849, OIA.

published account of this institution. The Baptist mission center was located on the south side of the Kansas River, rather near the east boundary of the Potawatomi Reservation. Dr. Lykins described the site as "half a mile south of the Kansas, nine miles below Uniontown, the trading-point of the nation, and one and a half miles west of the great California road."[43] Miss Bessie Ellen Moore in 1939 further pin-pointed the location in terms of the modern landmarks: "The mission building is still standing on a farm owned by a Thomas A. Lee. The farm is two miles west of Topeka on the Tenth Avenue Road."[44] Post World War II expansion of Topeka brings the old building very near the residential area of the city.

The institution opened as a boarding school,[45] a hope which Elizabeth McCoy had expressed previous to the migration from the Osage. She, Dr. Johnston Lykins, and Sarah Simerwell arrived at the new station during the month of its inauguration, March, 1848.[46] Temporary log buildings, authorized the year before by Dr. Sherwood of the Louisville

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[43] R.C.I.A., 1848, p. 1089.

[44] Moore, loc. cit., p. 59.

[45] R.C.I.A., 1848, p. 451.

[46] Moore, loc. cit., p. 56.

Board, afforded the first accommodations.[47] The sixteen boarders, eleven boys and five girls, were taught by Miss McCoy, Sarah Simerwell, and the veteran Robert Simerwell.[48] Erection of the spacious stone building came about very rapidly. The 1849 report described it as 85 by 35 feet in dimension, and completed at the cost of $4,000.00.[49] Several log buildings were also used for various purposes. Rev. J. Ashburn, "lately of Georgetown College, Kentucky," was listed as "principal teacher," and Elizabeth McCoy, head of the "female department." Dr. Lykins suggested in this report that the new school be named "McCoy Academy" in honor of Isaac McCoy,[50] but this appellation apparently did not come into extensive usage. The stone building was the one which, in modified form, stands yet today.

The practice of specifying the tribal origins of the students was dropped in 1851. One of the reports of that year stated that this was being done to comply with the spirit of consolidation and unity in the Treaty of 1846: "On

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[47] Ibid., p. 55.

[48] Ibid., p. 56.

[49] R.C.I.A., 1849, p. 1089.

[50] Ibid., pp. 1089, 1090.

this list the distinction is dropped, and all are termed Putawatomies, according to the heading of the Treaty."[51]

The proximity of the California Trail caused an inflationary condition which increased the cost of boarding students. Lykins asserted that the immigrants stripped the country of "breadstuffs," and that flour was priced by the traders at $15.00 per barrel. Also, labor costs rose appreciably.[52] A few months later he estimated that it required twice the money to maintain a boarding school out in the Indian country as it would within the border of the white settlements, only eighty miles away.[53] Even with the utmost economy, he insisted, pupils could not be supported and educated on the reservation for less than seventy-five to one hundred dollars per term. The history of St. Mary's was likewise replete with moanings about the financial difficulties involved in maintaining Indian boarders on the basis of the contractual grants authorized by the government. Until

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[51]Sidney Dyer, Louisville, to the C. I. A., March 10, 1851, enclosing school report of February 17, 1851, Letters Received, School file, 1851, OIA.

[52]Lykins to the C. I. A., December 31, 1849, Letters Received, School file, 1850, OIA.

[53]Lykins to the C. I. A., September 30, 1850, Letters Received, School file, 1850, OIA.

1855, the allowance from public funds for a boarder at St. Mary's was only fifty dollars annually.[54] Presumably the same arrangement was in effect for the Baptist school. In any case, the correspondence from there, as well as from the office of the Louisville American Missionary Association, indicates a continuous strained financial condition. The government aided substantially in erecting buildings, but the subsequent operating expenses were evidently not as well supported.

During the earlier years, the Baptist Manual Labor School was supplied with an abundant and capable staff. They endeavored to provide the customary classroom curriculum, plus a manual training program for both boys and girls. In 1850 the total school personnel, apart from hired laborers, consisted of Dr. Johnston Lykins, Rev. B. W. Sanders, and Mrs. Sanders, Rev. J. M. Ashburn and Mrs. Ashburn, Rev. Robert Simerwell and Mrs. Simerwell, and Miss Elizabeth McCoy.[55] In 1852 the report to the Potawatomi agent contained

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[54]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 648.

[55]Moore, loc. cit., p. 90. Not long afterwards Robert Simerwell and his wife retired, after thirty years' service, from the Indian Mission work. They took up their lives quietly on a Kansas farm, where Robert died in November, 1855 (Ibid., p. 61).

a listing of the various textbooks and classes then current and noted that stress was put upon the sewing instructions given to all the girls.[56]

Apart from complaints about financial troubles, there was also a persistent note of discouragement arising from other causes. During 1850 Elizabeth McCoy wrote, "We generally have good congregations on the Sabbath, but cannot see that any impression is made." She stated also that the mission outposts were not well attended.[57] About a year later she mentioned that few of "our old Indians" lived in the vicinity of the mission, nevertheless, that all the neighborhood appeared "regardless of religion."[58] Apparently the Baptists shared some of the same difficulty with the Jesuits in persuading their respective, former Osage River adherents to settle near them.

Examination of the correspondence pertaining to the controversy, which eventually resulted in Dr. Lykins' dismissal as tribal physician, indicates that the initial friction with the traders began with an altercation between Rev.

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[56]R.C.I.A., 1852, pp. 378, 379.

[57]E. McCoy to Mrs. Simerwell, Westport, Missouri, May 22, 1850, File no. 5, folder, 1850-1851, Simerwell Papers.

[58]Ibid., E. McCoy to Mrs. Simerwell, March, 1851.

J. M. Ashburn and trader W. W. Cleghorn. The latter, according to a Lykins letter, brutally attacked Ashburn and worked against the Baptist school by attempting to induce the Indians not to attend it. The Dragoons removed Cleghorn, following a protest by the Indian council, but he soon returned.[59] Cleghorn's name came up repeatedly in the course of the subsequent dispute.

The Lykins controversy and dismissal unfavorably influenced the fortunes of the whole Baptist Mission effort. Although the date of his actual departure from the Potawatomi Reservation remains uncertain, he made his last, official annual report for the school on September 1, 1851, a few months after the removal from his physician's post. According to the report the average daily attendance was 75, a reduction from the number of 90, earlier in the year. This decline, he stated, resulted from inadequate financial help from the government. Also, the mission was being attacked by "cunning and malicious men."[60] The picture was darkening, but the school and mission were still in a relatively vigorous condition. A year later, on the other hand, when the

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[59]Lykins to the C. I. A., June 29, 1850, Letters Received, School file, 1850, OIA.

[60]R.C.I.A., 1851, pp. 337, 338.

report was made by David Lykins, the doctor's son, the average daily attendance had decreased to forty.[61]

In 1853 there began a series of reports, both from the school officials and from the agents, referring to the secondary position of the Baptist Mission in Potawatomi affairs. David Lykins sounds a note of pessimism, although he is not yet without hope:

> . . . we are unable to report so large a church membership, or so numerous a school, as others might. In all literary institutions we feel it to be our duty to disseminate the principles of civil and religious liberty; if, after full trial, we cannot succeed in this way, we, as a denomination, must withdraw from the field, for we can adopt no other. We are now making efforts to re-organize the school on a more efficient plan, and hope, by the end of the coming year, not only to be able to report greater success, but more encouraging prospects.[62]

Agent John W. Whitfield contrasts the two mission schools, but also expresses hope that the Baptists may soon flourish again:

> I have visited the Missions several times. St. Mary's Catholic mission situation in this nation, will compare favorably with any school in the Indian country; and too much praise cannot be given to these kind people who have charge of it for the many exertions they are using to benefit the people. The Baptist mission . . . has had many difficulties to encounter

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[61] R.C.I.A., 1852, p. 378.

[62] R.C.I.A., 1853, p. 325.

> this year, having lost their superintendent, and having found it difficult to supply his place, consequently for a short time the school was not in a prosperous condition; recently the Rev. David Lykins has again taken charge of it, and from his great popularity with the nation it now bids fair to be seen in as flourishing condition as any school in the country.[63]

The struggling Baptist Mission was transferred to the Southern Baptist Convention. The transition stage resulted in a temporary, complete shutdown of the school. Agent George W. Clarke, in describing the transfer, was not very optimistic. The school, having suffered many adversities and not then in operation, was, according to a letter from Mr. Joseph Walker, August 2, 1855, turned to the jurisdiction of the Southern Baptist Convention. Clarke, commenting upon the letter from Walker, writes as follows:

> He [Walker] entertains full expectation of being able to reorganize and profitably conduct this school; but I am forced to believe that, notwithstanding the great efforts of these worthy and benevolent individuals, such are the many difficulties which surround their enterprise, they will fail to accomplish the end desired.[64]

The American Indian Mission Association, Louisville, Kentucky, conveyed all its mission stations to the Domestic Missionary Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. Mr. John Jackson

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[63] Ibid., p. 323.

[64] R.C.I.A., 1855, p. 99.

was sent to head the Potawatomi mission and to work with Rev. David Lykins, now described as "General Superintendent of all the Baptist Missions in the Kansas Territory."[65]

John Jackson did not prove efficient and satisfactory to Agent Clarke but otherwise achieved a measure of success. Clarke's dissatisfaction apparently resulted in a minor departmental investigation. The agent accused Jackson of failing to turn in a report on his activities.[66] In a later communication, he expressed the opinion that Jackson was an overly ambitious farm manager but uncapable of conducting an educational institution.[67] Regardless of the merits of the argument, Jackson succeeded in reopening the school, in restoring some of its former vigor, and in outlasting George Clarks on the Potawatomi Reservation by a number of years. In 1856 the Annual Report contained an accounting of the progress achieved. There were 34 boys and 29 girls in attendance, the Indian youngsters were improving very much after entering the school, and there was optimism

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[65]Walker to Clarke, August 2, 1856, an enclosure with Cumming to Manypenny, C. I. A., April 15, 1856, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1856, OIA.

[66]Ibid., Clarke to Jackson (a copy), February 25, 1856. Enclosure.

[67]Ibid., Clarke to Cumming, March 29, 1856. Enclosure.

about continued success.[68]

The following year a note of discouragement began to appear again. Jackson's report for 1857 lacked his former optimism. Fifty boys and forty girls were enrolled, but of this number all were described as "transitory," not regularly in attendance, except 45 to 50 of them. A drought hampered the success of the farming activities that year. It was impossible to keep the buildings in good repair, and there was considerable difficulty in defraying the expenses of the school, for no subsidy had been forthcoming to bolster finances.[69] The source of the expected monetary aid was not specified, but it probably was the sponsoring missionary board. William E. Murphy, newly appointed agent for the Potawatomi, praised Mr. Jackson for his efforts but went on to express the opinion that the Baptist Mission was "surrounded by a gloom, that to me is inexplicable, and I am compelled to say that it is not the kind of school which the Department has the right to expect from the amount expended upon it."[70]

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[68] R.C.I.A., 1856, p. 118.

[69] R.C.I.A., 1857, p. 184.

[70] R.C.I.A., 1857, p. 174.

The reports for 1858 mentioned the almost exclusive devotion of the school to children of the Prairie Band. In the earlier years, the Baptists afforded lively competition to the Jesuits for the allegiance of mixed-bloods of various origins. At that time it was not referred to as a school for the Prairie Band. But in June of 1858, Agent Murphy describes the situation in this manner:

> It is a pleasure to me to be able to state, that amidst the discord and contention which has unfortunately existed within this tribe for years past, and which seems to have taken a fresh start for the last two months, the schools have advanced in usefulness, the number of scholars having increased, and during the present quarter there has been at the Baptist Mission School, as many as seventy-seven children, which number is composed almost entirely of the "Prairie Band." I have used great exertions to induce those poor unfortunate Prairie Indians to send their children to school, believing as I do, that the old ones are confirmed in their wild Indian life, and that education is the only means of saving their offspring.[71]

It is likely that a detailed study of the slowly rising receptivity of the Prairie Band to education would establish the thesis that the Baptists made a valuable contribution. In the Annual Report for 1858, Murphy again mentioned that the school was devoted "chiefly" to Prairie Band children,

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[71]Murphy to A. M. Robinson, superintendent, June 30, 1858, enclosed in Robinson to the C. I. A., July, 1858, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1858, OIA.

and that the number of enrollees had multiplied by three times over any other previous period in his tenure as agent.[72] John Jackson was also in good spirits again. He reported that ninety-eight children attended the school during the year; crops were generally good, and the mission was in a good state of repair. He also devoted remarks of praise to the Prairie Band children for the improvement which they had shown.[73]

The school experienced difficulty in endeavoring to educate the Prairie Band children, because they were definitely irregular in attendance. Jackson referred to this before, in 1857, when he mentioned the high percentage of "transitory" students. In August of 1859 Murphy again found conditions on the decline. He had visited the Baptist Mission recently,

> . . . and was pained to find only thirty-seven scholars there. The superintendent, Mr. Jackson, told me some of the children had gone home to see their parents, some of them to eat watermelons, etc. This school is composed almost exclusively of the children of the "Prairie Indians" and it seems impossible to keep them in regular attendance. Their parents do not appreciate the importance of an education, and their children being kept at home two weeks, and one week at

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[72] R.C.I.A., 1858, p. 113.

[73] Ibid., p. 116.

school, derive little or no benefit therefrom.[74]

At this point the agent reflected on the contrasting attitude among the parents of St. Mary's pupils. He knew of "instances" there where children ran away from the school but were "whipped by their father, and brought immediately back."[75]

A generalization from the agent's last remark would not be valid. Nevertheless, combined with knowledge of the known background of the agricultural, mission Indians, it symbolized their somewhat matured attachment to one of the most important aspects of white civilization, namely formal education for the children. Those who later constituted the Citizen Band, very many of them, had long since outgrown the typically primitive Indian attitude toward keeping their children in school.

Although Murphy noted some improvement in the Baptist School in 1860,[76] the coming of the American Civil War in the spring of 1861 resulted in another complete suspension

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[74]Murphy to Robinson, August 31, 1859, enclosed in Robinson to the C. I. A., September 6, 1859, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1859, OIA.

[75]Ibid.

[76]R.C.I.A., 1860, p. 1091.

of activities. This was also the year of the treaty which effected the split of the Potawatomi into the two bands. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William P. Dole, made a trip to the reservation to aid in the negotiations. His extensive report included the item: "The Baptist school being closed on account of the connexion with the Southern Board was not visited, but I was informed that it had been the means of much good."[77] The following year, Superintendent H. B. Branch registered a much more critical remark: "The Baptist Manual Labor School has ceased, which, however, is not much to be regretted, as the benefits to the Indians from that institution were not at all commensurate with the large sums expended by the government for its support."[78]

The final phase of the long struggle of the Baptists to provide educational facilities for the Potawatomi began with the resumption of the school in 1866. Commissioner D. N. Cooley mentioned that the institution was being reopened, "with flattering prospects, in the old Baptist Mission building, under auspices of the Home Missionary Society of that Church."[79] The Potawatomi agent of the time, Luther R.

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[77] R.C.I.A., 1861, p. 12.

[78] R.C.I.A., 1862, p. 98.

[79] R.C.I.A., 1866, p. 51.

Palmer, described the new superintendent of the school, Rev. Mr. Raymond, as a man possessed of "much energy."[80]

Three years later, Agent Palmer, in summing up the last chapter of the Baptist School, gives expression to an interesting analysis of the very nature of the Prairie and Citizen Bands:

> Upon the subject of schools there is nothing practically new or interesting to report. The St. Mary's mission school, which has long since proved itself a success, is still in operation; although the school fund has been somewhat diminished by the withdrawal of their interest in the tribal funds by a large number of the citizenized Indians; yet all Indian children of a proper age that present themselves are received and cared for, boarded, clothed, and educated in health, and doctored and nursed when sick. The other establishment, known as the Baptist mission, and which, a few years ago, was turned over to the Baptist missionary board, has suspended operations. It was suggested that if the government would assist in repairing the premises and putting the buildings in order to receive pupils, the Prairie Indians would at once place a goodly number of their children under the care and guardianship of that mission, and the result would be that the Prairie band would take a greater interest in the education of their children. To further so desirable an object the honorable Secretary of the Interior turned over to the parties having care of that mission $2,000 of the civilization fund, which sum was expended in repairs, and the necessary arrangements were made for opening and carrying on a school; but poor success attended the effort, and after a short time the enterprise seems to have been altogether abandoned; and upon visiting the premises a few days ago I was told

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[80] Ibid., p. 265.

> by a tenant whom I found there that the property was offered for sale. The Prairie Band have heretofore patronized the St. Mary's mission school to some extent, but few at the present time, or ever at any one time, generally known as Prairie Indians have done so. The reason is obvious to those only who are acquainted with the particular fact that children of the Prairie Indians soon become Christian, and the parents almost certainly become Christian soon after, when they lose their distinctive appellation as Prairie Indians, and have been known subsequently as members of the Christian band; the distinguishing characteristic of the Prairie Indians being that they are pagan and manifest no desire to have their children educated.[81]

Commissioner E. S. Parker, characteristically adopting the tenor of the agent's report, summarizes the situation this way:

> St. Mary's Mission school has been well patronized, and is doing good work, but only to the citizen class, as the prairie band, holding lands in common, decline to send their children to it. The school under the auspices of the Baptist Mission Board has been closed for want of proper encouragement and support.[82]

No evaluation of the proportionate influence of the total Baptist impact upon the Potawatomi of the Kaw Valley, 1848-1869, seems possible or necessary. Yet it must certainly be taken into account as a force in the changing culture of the Indians. As such, it was one of the roots of the origin and subsequent nature of the civilized Citizen

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[81] R.C.I.A., 1869, pp. 374, 375. Emphasis supplied.

[82] Ibid., p. 33.

Band. It seems also that the Baptist educational effort contributed to the receptivity of the Prairie Band to the educational facilities provided by the government in the later eighteen-seventies.

The Catholic mission of St. Mary's, its boarding schools for both Indian boys and girls, its moderately populous village, and its mission outposts are features of the Potawatomi Reservation on the Kaw River which receive somewhat adequate treatment in books and articles. Although the Catholic Mission began later than the Baptist Mission, and was not without troubles during the more than twenty years in which it emphasized care of the Indians, it became large, important, and most influential. The Kansas State Historical Society supplies the public with a concise history of St. Mary's Mission by means of the historical marker which it erected on Kansas State Highway 24, at the east-city limits of the present-day town of St. Marys, Kansas. The inscription reads as follows:

> This city and college take their name from St. Mary's Catholic Mission founded here by the Jesuits in 1848 for the Pottawatomie Indians. These missionaries, who had lived with the tribe in Eastern Kansas from 1838, accompanied the removal to this area. A manual labor school was operated at the mission until 1871. From it developed St. Mary's College, chartered in 1869. The college in 1931 became a Jesuit seminary.

> A boulder on the campus marks the site of the first cathedral between the Missouri River and Rocky Mountains. Built of logs, in 1849, it became the See of Bishop Miege, "Bishop of the Indians." Vice President Charles Curtis, part Kaw Indian, was baptized in this parish on April 15, 1860.[83]

One of the obvious advantages enjoyed by the Jesuits in setting up their new mission center on the Kansas River was the fact that they here inherited a large following from their former schools and missions. Both at Sugar Creek on the Osage River Reserve and at Council Bluffs, where mixed-blood elements were their subjects, they had made a sizable impression. Some of the former Council Bluffs Indians even petitioned for a Catholic monopoly on education in the new Kansas reserve. But more significant was the large Catholic Indian population which moved from the Osage River. We refer again to Superintendent Harvey's estimate to Commissioner Medill, in 1847, "The Catholic Church numbers from ten to twelve-hundred members on the Osage, very few belong to any other church."[84] Nevertheless, the total population of the Potawatomi on the new reservation in 1848 was far from a Catholic entity. Shortly after John B. Miege took up his

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[83] _____, "Kansas Historical Markers," Kansas Historical Collections, XXVII (Vol. X, Kansas Historical Quarterly, November, 1941), 350.

[84] Garraghan, op. cit., II, 202n.

post as "Bishop East of the Rocky Mountains," 1851, with headquarters at St. Mary's Mission, he wrote:

> The Potowatomie tribe comprises 3500 Indians dispersed in small villages over thirty square miles of land. We count among them 1500 converted Indians distributed between three villages, the first and largest of which is considered to be the headquarters of the reserve and is called St. Mary's.[85]

Whether the Potawatomi were uniformly Catholic or not, the selection of the Potawatomi Reservation as the episcopal residence, in an ecclesiastical subdivision of such vast realm was significant. Miege's vicariate extended over the present states of Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado, excluding only those areas which extend west of the Conintental Divide.[86] Therefore, in 1851, the 1,500 Catholic Potawatomi represented the largest, or at least the most important, concentration of Catholics to be found on the Great Plains. These Indians took pride in the arrival and presence of "the big Blackrobe." The demonstrative welcome given to him was truly representative of a trait which we previously discovered

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[85] Ibid., p. 645.

[86] James Andrew McGonigle, "Right Reverend John B. Miege, S. J., First Bishop of Kansas," Kansas Historical Collections, IX (1905-1906), 156.

among the Indians at Sugar Creek.

The Potawatomi at St. Mary's again demonstrated their apparent love and enthusuasm for the external ceremonials and processions of the Church. This facet is selected in view of the predominance of the same characteristic among the Catholic Citizen Potawatomi at Sacred Heart Mission, Indian Territory, in the years to come. A typical scene is that described by Bishop Miege in 1852:

> Our people have been rendered, by the favour of Divine Providence, of a somewhat whiter nature, as the Americans term it; they are submissive, peaceful, sober . . . they cultivate their little fields . . . and divide their time between God and the care of their families . . . The piety of my dear Christians is displayed in every circumstance attending them; but their conduct is most particularly edifying at the procession of Corpus Christi. This is a day of jubilee for the whole country; and on no other festival is there so rich a display of silks, ribbons, moccasins, guns and horses. At the hour announced by the bell of my rural cathedral, cavalry and infantry are at their post; powder and flags are distributed and the officers equipped with the best military habiliments that our depot can supply. The horsemen, not less than two hundred, each wears an oriflamme, with a cross in the centre. Our foot-soldiers carry their guns on their left arm and the rosary in the right hand. When everything is ready, the procession advances, the cavalry moving at the head, followed by the little girls, and after them, the boys of our schools, singing as they move along. Then follows the military band (a tambour accompanying a fiddle). The children forming the choir precede the Holy Sacrament, carried between the two lines of infantry under a sort of canopy, the four corners of which are borne by the principal persons of the country. The rear-guard is

> composed of the whole of our good Indian women, carrying on their backs the little children, wrapped in the blanket which forms the dress of their mothers . . . and making a considerable addition to our music. The removal of the Sacred Host from the church is announced by three discharges of musketry, and the procession then advances towards the declivity of a hill, situated at the extremity of the village . . . During the march of the procession, which occupies nearly an hour, we have alternately singing, prayers, and discharges of musketry; but everything is conducted with the greatest order and decorum, that do honour to the faith of our humble Pottowatomies . . .[87]

The mission Indians possessed many virtues and positive qualities, but the picture was not always and everywhere so bright. In writing of the Catholics in the more distant villages, the bishop makes the following comment:

> In the two other villages which are located only three miles from one another and twenty miles from St. Mary's, there is also a good number of zealous and fervent Christians; but, as up to the present the missionary has been able to visit them only once a month, there is a lack of instruction among them and so cases of drunkenness are frequent . . . They fear the priest as much as they respect him; as long as he is not in their midst to watch, reprimand, encourage and console them, their good resolutions soon fail before a bottle of whiskey or other pitfall more dangerous still. When they have taken one of these false steps, it is not rare to see them leave their village and to to intermingle with the heathens so as to avoid meeting the priest; then they give themselves up to all their primitive excesses . . .[88]

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[87]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 647, 648.

[88]Ibid., 646.

This analysis suggests that the Potawatomi converts had much in common with Catholic mission Indians among other tribes; then and since: they were more inclined to fervor and good behaviour while living in the immediate environs of a fully staffed Catholic mission.

The penetration of the Potawatomi Reservation by white men, whether immigrants of the trail or nearby settlers, also gave the Catholic missionaries an added source of difficulty. A feature article in a Kansas newspaper, 1880, on the history of St. Mary's, indicated very well the successes and failures of the mission influence. The data in the article were attributed to living witnesses of the times described. After giving the location and original staff of St. Mary's, including three Jesuit Fathers and five Sisters of the Sacred Heart, the text continues:

> They started a school for Indian children. The Indians were instructed by the Fathers, and many of them professed the Catholic Faith. It is related that there were rarely instances of dishonesty or bad faith among the Christian Indians and that the little colony of redskins lived as good lives as can well be imagined. It was never necessary in those early days to lock or fasten doors, indeed the only marauders were the Indian dogs, which could never be taught the principles of honesty. The Indians tilled the ground in a humble way, and thus procured the necessaries of life, and as the government paid the expenses of their schooling and the church bought their clothing, they had every want supplied. The

> coming of the whites changed this order of things; whiskey, that bane of white as well as Indian civilization, together with the opportunity of spending the money received from the government on the sale of Indian lands, brought disaster to the good work of the Fathers.[89]

One of the last phrases in the quotation, "spending of the money received from the sale of Indian lands," refers to the period of the eighteen-sixties, during which time the Citizen Potawatomi sold allotment lands, or received various monetary settlements in connection with closing out their interests in their former extensive reservation. In 1880 the presumption that the work of the Jesuits among the Potawatomi had come to "disaster" was probably prevalent in Kansas; but meanwhile a restoration and new life was already in progress in the Indian Territory, several hundred miles to the south.

From an extensive perusal of many sources on St. Mary's Mission, this writer gained the definite impression that Father John Baptist Duerinck was mainly responsible for the project's vigor and stability. To develop and sustain boarding schools, on the basis of the meager financial resources available, required administrative acumen and much energy. By 1855 he succeeded in persuading the Secretary of

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[89] The Kansas Agriculturist (Wamego), II (January 30, 1880), 1.

the Interior and the Indian Department to allow seventy-five dollars annually for each Indian boarder. The allowance was only fifty dollars up to this time. At first the advance in the rate was authorized for only one year, to April 1, 1856. Duerinck proposed in November, 1855, that, in view of the uncertainty of proper financial support, St. Mary's should be put on a day-school footing. The Jesuit superiors vetoed the suggestion; the Department continued the seventy-five dollar rate, and the boarding school was not suspended.[90]

Duerinck developed and emphasized the St. Mary's "model farm." The success of this venture was a major factor in the maintenance of the total mission effort.[91] Instead of theorizing about the good or bad effects of the California Trail, he entered into trading relations with the immigrants, bartered livestock and food, and built up a distinguished accumulation of cattle known as the "mission herd."[92] He also made contracts with the purchasing authorities of Fort Riley to supply dressed meat for the military personnel.[93] Duerinck was a powerful force in promoting

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[90]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 658-663 passim.

[91]Ibid., 655.

[92]Ibid., 657.

[93]Ibid., 657n.

agriculture among the Potawatomi. In this respect, closely related to his intensive promotion of the plan of sectionizing the land, he held a singular position in the background of the actual establishment of the Citizen Band. The "model farm" was a visible example to the Indians. As William E. Murphy, Potawatomi agent, reports it in 1857:

> The principal of the school at St. Mary's Mission, Rev. Mr. Duerinck, appears to be the man for the times and the place, possessed as he is of the most unbounded energy, indomitable perseverance and a desire at heart to advance the interests of the Pottowatomie Indians. In truth, the intelligent portion of them know full well that, apart from his admirable management of the school, it would be hard to estimate the benefit he has been to the whole tribe, by instilling in their minds the importance of industry and cultivating the soil.[94]

In 1853, after explaining how St. Mary's had developed into a natural supply center for Fort Riley, Duerinck proceeded to boom the mission community as capital of the prospective Nebraska Territory:

> The Catholic mission is said to be the most lovely spot in the Indian country: the mission buildings, with adjacent trading houses, groups of Indian improvements, and extensive cornfields, all give it the appearance of a town. Some people think that if Nebraska be organized as a territory, St. Mary's ought to be the capital.[95]

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[94] R.C.I.A., 1857, quoted in Garraghan, op. cit., II, 665.

[95] R.C.I.A., 1853, p. 326.

This slight venture into the field of complex, territorial politics did not succeed, but it illustrates the personality and enthusiasm of the St. Mary's leader.

Versatility is the proper term to characterize John Baptist Duerinck. One writer sums up his career as follows:

> The superior . . . was the soul of the varied business life of St. Mary's. H was a farmer, cattle dealer, trader, broker, business and confidential agent, manager, and one or two other characters, all in one.[96]

This is reminiscent of the picture painted in Herbert E. Bolton's Rim of Christendom of another great Jesuit, Eusebio Kino, who labored in Sonora and Arizona during the late seventeenth century. Duerinck's untimely death from a riverboat accident, December, 1857, while en route to St. Louis, was a great blow to St. Mary's and to the Potawatomi Indians. William E. Murphy was especially eloquent in writing a tribute:

> . . . there is at present a melancholy gloom surrounding the mission and neighborhood caused by the sudden and unexpected death of the Superior Rev. Father Duerinck, whose mortal remains are still in the Missouri River and whose irreparable loss I regard as among the greatest calamities that could have befallen the Potawatomi Indians,

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[96]Richard Joseph Bollig, History of Catholic Education in Kansas (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1933), p. 17.

> for he was to them truly a friend and a father . . . for it is the full grown Indians who will miss his advice and example.[97]

The veteran Jesuit apostle to the Potawatomi on the Osage River, Christian Hoecken, continued to have much respect and influence among the Indians until his death in 1851. He died of cholera, aboard a river steamer bound for the headwaters of the Missouri River, on June 19th. Father Peter De Smet, who survived, was in his company at the time.[98] It is significant that the Indian tribute to Hoecken, as selected by the official Jesuit historian, G. J Garraghan, was taken from the pen of one of the Citizen Band members in the Indian Territory. Joseph Moose, former St. Mary's student, wrote it initially for The Indian Advocate, publication of the Benedictine Fathers, Sacred Heart Mission, I. T.:

> Without interfering with the duties of his mission and to God, he was among the Indians in their sports and hunts; and in the spring, when the Indians helped one another to plant corn, the most industrious figure in the crowd was the Jesuit Father, with a large plantation hoe, an apron sack full of seed corn and a big Dutch pipe in his mouth. He owned one yoke of oxen, poorly kept, going the rounds from one family

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[97]Murphy to Haverty, December 21, 1857, quoted in Garraghan, op. cit., II, 677n.

[98]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 629.

> to another to do the breaking. It is said that he was charitable to an excessive degree. Being in the company of Indians so much, he spoke their language with the fluent ease of a native.[99]

Maurice Gailland, S. J., was the successor of Christian Hoecken in exercising great spiritual influence over the Potawatomi. Without here reproducing the story of his long career, it should be noted that he stoutly opposed the sectionizing of their lands. On the eve of the Treaty of 1861, he anticipated a period of deterioration and confusion for the Indians, even the "final ruin" of the Potawatomi as a tribe.[100] After the demoralized Citizen Indians were assured a home in the Indian Territory, Gailland, now aged and enfeebled, endeavored to promote a Jesuit Potawatomi mission in Oklahoma, but the mission board in St. Louis rejected the proposal.[101] A very detailed article in St. Marys Times, published at the time of Father Gailland's death, 1877, contains the following:

> . . . they [the Indians] loved him with the fondness of children as their father and the only friend they

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[99]The Indian Advocate, II (July, 1890), 10 quoted in Garraghan, op. cit., II, 630, citing from a reprint in Dial (St. Marys, Kansas), March, 1891.

[100]"Pottawattomy Indians," Woodstock Letters, VI (May, 1877), 74, 75.

[101]Garraghan, op. cit., III, 62, 63.

> fully trusted. He often regretted his inability, from loss of health and strength, to follow the tribe to the Indian Territory, where he fain would have collected them all together once more . . . In the Potawatomi tribe, Father Gailland's name can never die, till the tribe itself is finally extinguished; for the memory of him, and of his teachings, is deeply engraved in the hearts of all that Indian race.[102]

From Oklahoma Citizen Band sources is garnered the impression of a certain degree of Potawatomi disillusionment about St. Mary's in the period after it evolved into a school for the whites. Doors were opened to non-Indian pupils in 1864.[103] In 1869 a college charter was obtained from the state legislature; the days of Indian emphasis were over. The Citizen Potawatomi children in the boarding school were no longer subsidized by the government, and although a policy of charity was maintained for a time, as is indicated in the Annual Report of 1869, the financial strain could not be borne for very long. If the Potawatomi parents could not pay for their children from their own private funds, it became the policy by 1870 to dismiss them.[104] Two years later, according to Joseph Moose, the Potawatomi were

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[102]August 31, 1877, p. 2.

[103]John J. O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 291.

[104]"Gailland Diary - Burke," p. 149.

reduced to a second-class status; but Maurice Gailland's zeal and devotion never lagged:

> In 1872, to accommodate the whites, Father Cochlin announced that this was no longer an Indian Mission. The Indians, like the early Christians of the Roman catacombs, evaded the five o'clock Mass, because at the other hours of Sundays, the church was crowded to its utmost capacity by the elite of the city and country. And when an Indian encroached upon the pale face worshippers at High Mass, he was kindly given standing room near the door, with sufficient room to kneel and strike his breast, reciting his Miserere, as was the parabled publican of old. Notwithstanding this, the Indians had two faithful friends who clung to them from first to last, through prosperity and cold adversity . . . One of these was a devout American Catholic lady, Mrs. Seth P. Angle, who rendered the piano accompaniment for their singing. The other was the now aged and feeble Father Gailland. Every Sunday morning, with bent form, palsied motion, and tottering steps, he groped through the cimmerian darkness on his way to the church, to say Mass and to give his catacomb Indian children the bountiful consolations of religion.[105]

Joseph Moose displayed an unusual literary ability for many years in Oklahoma and was himself a living testimony to the success of St. Mary's in educating a man of predominantly Indian blood. He contributed many articles to The Indian Advocate of Sacred Heart Mission, writing on Potawatomi history, national politics, local territorial politics, and a multitude of other topics. From the eighteen-eighties

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[105]"Catholicity among the Pottawatamies," The Indian Advocate, II (July, 1890), 11.

until well after the turn of the century, Moose was the writer, orator, and sage of the Catholic elements of the Citizen Band in Oklahoma. Therefore, his mildly critical thesis of the "catacomb Indians" of the old Jesuit mission must not be taken as proof of a general, lasing bitterness toward St. Mary's. On the other hand, a very fond memory of the old mission on the Kaw persisted in Oklahoma. For more than twenty years the present writer has associated with second and third generation descendants of St. Mary's Potawatomi students. The oral tradition has been one of praise and enthusiasm.

Brother John Laracy, of the Order of St. Benedict, wrote a letter from Sacred Heart, Oklahoma, 1924, which contains material testifying to the enduring reputation of St. Mary's among the Potawatomi. Brother John was the special friend, protector, and business advisor of a large segment of the Citizen Band in Oklahoma. He was probably closer to them than any of the personnel at Sacred Heart Mission. Consequently, the following remarks must be given a measure of credence:

> . . . For your information I will say that I am very well acquainted with Jim Acton, and transact all his business . . . Jim could probably give you more information about St. Mary's than anyone I know of, as

> he went to school there when a boy. Jim told me some interesting things about the old days there, and about Bro. Murphy, and several of the Fathers who were there about 50 years ago . . . All of our Indians speak with great respect and affection of the Jesuit Fathers at old St. Mary's, and I have listened to many of their reminiscences of their school days. I have lived among the Pottawatomies for nearly 45 years, and attend to most of their business, and have gained their entire confidence. They will not sign a paper for a white man till they see Bro. John. I have saved them from being swindled out their land many a time. . .[106]

Noticeably, the letter singled out Brother John Murphy, S. J , as a personality who made a lasting impression. In view of the particular emphasis of this historical inquiry, a word about the Jesuit lay brother is in order. John J. O'Connor, in his extensive study of the history of St. Mary's, gives the testimony of a former student who studied under the intrepid Murphy:

> We boys feared the man, for even his pleasant humor was distressingly equitable. The ferule was truly his scepter, and no fiction was it, mind you, but the identical thing, nearly a foot and a half long, an inch square, of walnut or oak, and with edges that would satisfy the most mutinous of its majesty and latent energy. And, of course, he sometimes used it? "Sometimes" wildly illustrates the frequence of its ravages and the sovereignty of its sway. Yet, I must say that I do not recall a single instance of an unjust triumph of its powers; for I

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[106]Laracy to John J. O'Connor, October 6, 1924, Letter file, Pottawatomie Mission--Pott. County, St. Mary's College archives, St. Marys, Kansas.

> do not believe that Brother Murphy ever punished in passion . . . he did possess an ascetical antipathy to insubordination and laziness . . . He illustrated and explained very fully, entertainingly, and always pertinently to the text . . .[107]

This character sketch aids in making it understandable that Brother Murphy was remembered, but is also gives pause for reflection on the point that his Potawatomi pupils were evidently quite receptive to some of the more severe aspects of the white man's educational process. It is doubtful that sensitive, primitive-type Indians would have been content under the reign of the Murphy ferule.

The female department at St. Mary's was often commended very highly. If there was some validity to the theory that the education of Indian girls was a fundamental factor in raising the aborigines to white civilization, the work of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart was especially important to the character of the Citizen Band. The versatile John B. Duerinck mentioned a relationship between the girls, trained at the mission, and intermarriage with the whites. In 1854 concurrent with the arrival of numerous white settlers in the area, he wrote that the newcomers seemed to regard the mission-settlement "like a little paradise"; also, that they

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[107]John J. O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 297.

were disappointed because they could not settle there, nevertheless that they had an apparent scheme to infiltrate the Potawatomi:

> Some young folks have boasted that they will outgeneral the Indians. It is surmised that they intend to marry some of the best looking young squaws, late school girls, and take possession of the land. That is certainly a great trick, and it is confidently asserted by those who know, that the women will stand the game.[108]

Later evidence, including the proportion of "adopted citizens" on the 1863 allotment rolls, indicates that Duerinck's prediction was verified.

In vain can one search for a note of criticism of the girls' school at St. Mary's. The Indian Department reports for the entire era, 1848-1869, are replete with expressions of praise. Typical of these is that of Agent William E. Murphy in 1857; after commending the Sisters, he writes:

> [St. Mary's] . . . is frequently visited by distinguished strangers who, after seeing the amiable manners, cleanly appearance and cheerful looks of the Pottawatomie girls, and the fine order, system, and regularity with which the school is conducted, not only express their approbation, but wonder at seeing so fine an institution of learning within an Indian reservation.[109]

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[108] R.C.I.A., 1854, p. 110.

[109] R.C.I.A., 1857, p. 174.

Murphy was often accused of being overly friendly with the Catholics, so the next selection is from the pen of Commissioner William P. Dole, who had no such reputation:

> This tribe has had the advantage of good schools, there being two upon the reservation--one under the charge of St. Mary's Mission of the Catholic church, and the other under that of the Baptist Church south. St. Mary's Mission seems to be in a prosperous condition, popular with the Indians and doing much good. The female department deserves particular mention for its efficiency in teaching the different branches of education. The exhibition of plain and fancy needle work and embroidery, executed by the pupils, creditably attests the care and attention bestowed by the Sisters upon these children of the forest. I cannot speak so favorably of the school for boys, but assurances were given by the present conductor, who has recently taken charge of it, that its deficiencies should be remedied. Much of the improvement in the mode of life, observable among the Pottawatomies, is attributable to the schools. . .[110]

One of the erstwhile pupils of the Sisters' school in Kansas testified in Oklahoma at a very advanced age that the Indians were not permitted to speak their own language "while in school." She was Mrs. Ellen Peltier (nee Vieux). Eighty-seven years of age at the time of the interview, her memory of some other aspects of Potawatomi affairs, both in Kansas and Oklahoma, seems reasonably accurate, although she did not remember the Order of nuns who taught the school on the Kaw River. Her statement on the language matter,

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[110] R.C.I.A., 1861, p. 12.

however, was rather decisive, "We were punished severely for speaking our own language . . ."[111]

Whatever the merits of the single item of evidence respecting the discouragement of the use of the native language in the girls' school, there is otherwise abundant record of the continued promotion and cultivation of the Potawatomi tongue by Fathers Hoecken and Gailland. Nevertheless, the French Catholic missionaries in Oklahoma nowhere wrote of nor mentioned the necessity of learning or speaking it. Oral tradition among the Sacred Heart Mission veterans represents it that one or the other of the priests, notably, Father Felix De Grasse, achieved a limited knowledge of Potawatomi, but the earliest written statement available specifically states that the majority of the Catholic Potawatomi in the Indian Territory knew English.[112]

While on the subject of language in the Citizen Band, a certain proficiency in the French tongue was also part of

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[111]"Indian Pioneer History," Vol. VIII, No. 1184, Hazel E. Haralson, interviewer, April 1, 1937, Norman, Oklahoma, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, p. 148.

[112]Isidore Robot, Prefect Apostolic of the Indian Territory to Monsignor Brouillet, May 30, 1876, Files of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Washington, D. C.

the heritage of the Potawatomi in Oklahoma. References to sermons in French, as well as Potawatomi, are in the records of St. Mary's. For example, in 1849, for four successive Sundays in January, Father Gailland preached to the Indians in French. The routine also included a morning sermon in Potawatomi by Father Hoecken.[113] That the French Benedictine missionaries in Oklahoma had a medium of contact through the French language was emphasized by Joseph Moose in his account of the first visit to the Potawatomi by Sacred Heart Mission's founder, Isidore Robot: "When the learned Abbot visited the inhabitants of this wilderness, he was surprised to find that the great majority of the Pottawattamies could speak English and French as fluently as their native language."[114]

In closing this account of the Jesuit mission of St. Mary's on the Kaw River attention is directed to items of summary recognition of its function as an influence for civilization. The Potawatomi agents and Indian Department officials often bestowed words of praise. In 1866, even with a period of decline and degradation setting in for the new Citizen Potawatomi allottees, the Annual Report of the

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[113]"Gailland Diary - Burke," pp. 35-41, passim.

[114]"Catholicity Among the Pottawattamies," The Indian Advocate, II (July, 1890), 11.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs carried two extraordinary testimonials. First, Superintendent Thomas Murphy, Atchison, Kansas, writes in reference to the Potawatomi:

> They have an institution of learning, called St. Mary's Mission, which is the most excellent in the State, and would be an ornament and a credit to any State, which I think has tended largely to advance this people in all that leads to moral and social improvement.[115]

The Potawatomi agent of the same year is even more laudatory:

> If the Pottawatomies to-day are in the enjoyment of any advantages of civilization or material prosperity beyond what is enjoyed by some other tribes of Kansas, they are indebted in great measure for such advantages to the unceasing devotion and labors in their interests of St. Mary's Catholic Mission, and the devoted religious who accompanied the Pottawatomies in their emigration to this reserve.[116]

It seems, then, a fair judgment that Catholic mission influence, vigorous from the early days of the Osage River Reserve, was a powerful factor in the status of Potawatomi civilization at the time of the establishment of the Citizen Band. The period of decline, inherent in the manner in which the Indians were pushed into the position of allottees and Citizens, weakened the mission's imprint, but the Citizen Band history in Oklahoma later demonstrated that it was not

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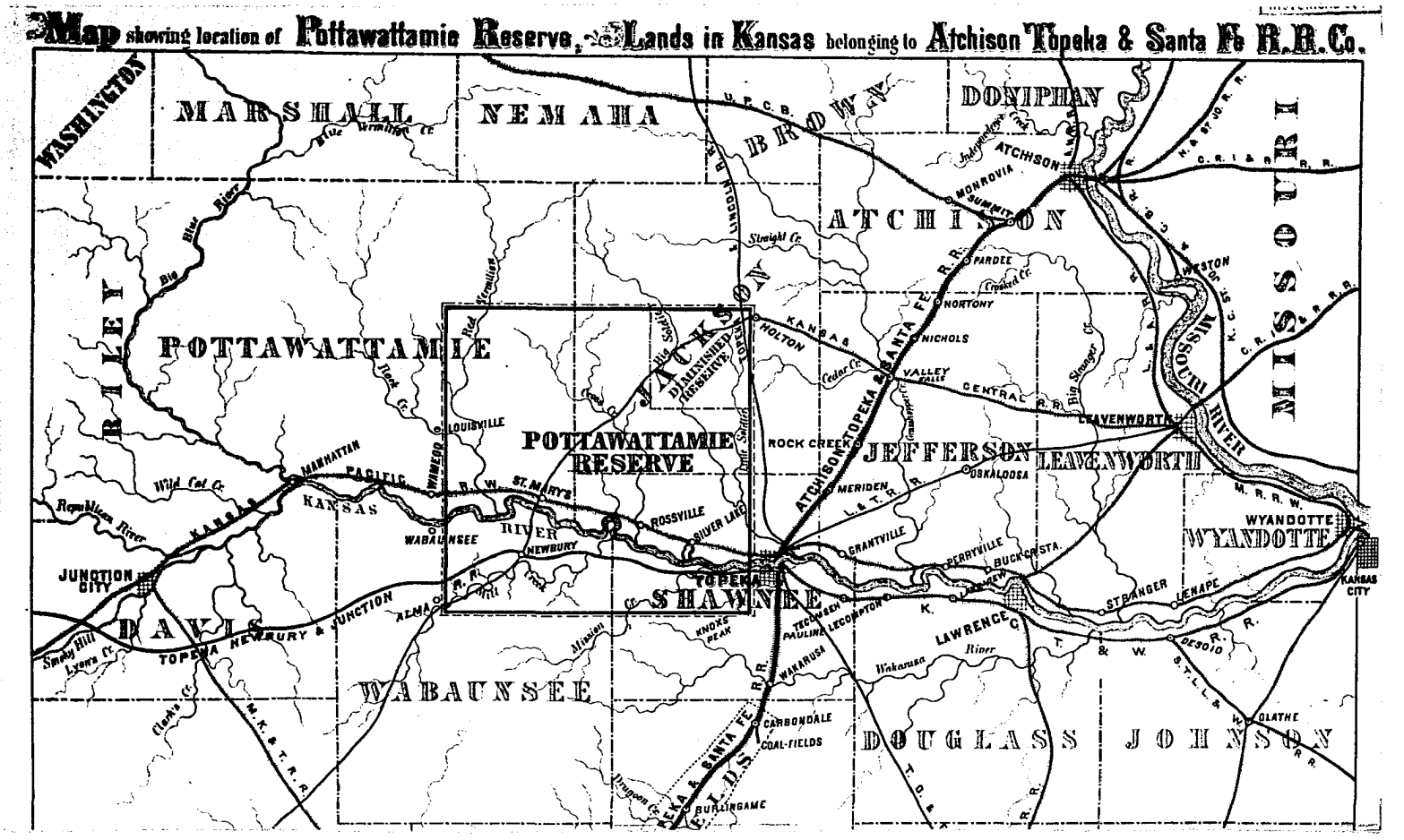
[115] R.C.I.A., 1856, p. 246.

[116] Ibid., p. 265.

fully eradicated. In this particular aspect, Maurice Gailland's grave predictions concerning the ruin of the Potawatomi proved much too pessimistic.



Map III. Potawatomi Reservation on the Kaw River. Map prepared to aid in sales promotion of railway company lands, after 1867 treaty. Disposition of reservation among four counties is clearly shown, also the Diminished Reservation of the Prairie Band, 1861 treaty. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROAD TO AN ALLOTMENT EXPERIMENT

The granting of allotments to the Potawatomi of the Kaw Valley did not necessarily reflect their own desires, nor was it basically motivated by a high esteem for their advancement in the forms of white civilization. The presence of domestic, agricultural Indians did, of course, supply a convenient basis for putting the plan into effect. The Potawatomi in Kansas were caught in a squeeze of national policy and national politics probably more inexorable and demanding than the pressures which had forced them from the shores of the Great Lakes, from western Iowa, and from the Osage River. The policy of the United States towards the Indians was stated in the Act of Congress, March 3, 1853, which provided that a systematic effort should be inaugurated to remove all tribes from areas west of the Mississippi River which were adaptable to white settlement.[1] This officially sounded the

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[1]U. S. Statutes at Large, X, 226, 238.

death knell for the Indian Territory as originally conceived by Isaac McCoy and others. The new approach to the development of the West took little account of the solemn treaty obligations to the aborigines, most of whom, including the Potawatomi, had already undergone two or three forced removals.

Fulfillment of the 1853 statutory provisions was not easy. Some Indian Department officials, very notably Commissioner George W. Manypenny, were uncooperative. But individual bureaucrats could not long hold it up; they could be and were removed from office. Compromises and modifications were necessary in activating the program. Nevertheless, there was no retreat from the proposition that the Indians must give up the great portion of their lands to white settlement. During the later eighteen-fifties and eighteen-sixties, demanding and forcing the aborigines to take allotments became one of the standard practices.[2]

The Potawatomi were caught in this net of historical circumstances. The Treaty of 1861, which they signed, represented a bowing to power which they could not resist.

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[2]Gates, op. cit., pp. 112, 113, 114. This excellent work contains a most thorough and dependable discussion of the results of railroad politics in Kansas.

It was simply a matter of alternatives, and for the great body of the Potawatomi this seemed to be the best alternative. Meanwhile a great new force had entered the field of national politics, namely, railroad interests. The Indians were in a special manner the victims of the interplay and dynamic drive of these concerns.[3] But after all this is taken into account, and without reproducing the unsavory details, there still remains the question of whether the Potawatomi were sufficiently advanced to offer a reasonable prospect of being able to adjust to a feasible allotment system. Obviously, from what happened, the plan adopted in 1861, with its failure to provide safeguards, proved unfeasible.

White men, those closely associated with the Potawatomi, witnessed to the adaptability of the civilized Indians to take allotments. Concerning the attitudes and opinions of the Potawatomi themselves, there is virtually no record until the period just prior to the government's decision to force the sectionizing issue. At that time the educated and highly developed mixed-bloods, as well as representatives of the Prairie Band, became very active and

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[3]*Ibid.*, pp. 127-147, *passim*.

very eloquent. But this was subsequent to the realization that a real squeeze was upon them, and some of the discussion seems to indicate an endeavor to salvage something from the past treaty obligations to the Potawatomi tribe. Also, Potawatomi opinion was often the product of white influences. These, for one motive or the other, were very active as the pressure increased. On the other hand, earlier white reflections on the prospect of sectionizing the Potawatomi were made in circumstances entirely free of such pressures. Comments of the middle eighteen-fifties, although made with a realization of the overpowering determination of the white settlers to possess most of the better lands of the Indians, did not visualize an almost sudden, ill-advised yielding to a scheme fostering railway interests. Nor did the arguments of this period favoring an allottee status suggest an immediate attempt to make "Citizens" of the tribesmen. The fiction of regarding the Potawatomi as equal to the surrounding whites, a main implication of the Treaty of 1861, simply paved the way for a measure of exploitation which even this tribe had hardly experienced in the past. Evidence supporting the foregoing generalizations is now presented.

It may come as a surprise to some that Isaac McCoy, in 1838, strongly recommended a system of lands in severalty

for the Potawatomi of the Osage River Reserve. According to McCoy's own account, he submitted a request to Washington that such a plan be approved. This is somewhat remarkable in view of the fact that it preceded the period of progressive development in agriculture. It establishes the point that McCoy, who was an on-the-ground observer of the Potawatomi in Michigan and Indiana, thought very highly of them as candidates for that system of landholding which went into effect for most of the Indians of the United States by the Dawes Act, fifty years later. It appears that McCoy and his co-workers promoted an Indian petition requesting allotments. This is his own description of the incident.

> The Putawatomies had been induced to request the Government to subdivide so much of their lands as was needed for immediate occupancy, so that each could hold land in severalty. [This text is in the midst of the narrative detailing the events of 1838 among the Potawatomi of the Osage.] I submitted their petition to the Department of Indian Affairs, and also a scheme, which I recommended for carrying the same into effect. Just views of this subject were taken by Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of War, and prompt attention given to it; but contrary to what we expected, the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, without doubting the importance of the measure in regard to the interests of the Indians, doubted the propriety of the Government undertaking to make these surveys, supposing that it was a work which the Indians ought to do at their own expense, and therefore reported unfavorably on the measure. This failure we deeply regretted. We could not doubt that formidable obstacles to the improvement

> of the Indians originated in their community of right in the soil, and no point in the business of life is more evident than that industry and enterprise are promoted by individual right in landed property, by which the owner is assured that his house, and his field, and his fruit tree, are his own [McCoy's italics], and will be the property of his legal heirs. Our regrets were the greater too, because this was the first instance of an Indian Tribe expressing a desire to hold land in severalty: it was a measure to which we attached great importance, and it could not reasonably be expected that so great a change from the custom of ages could be effected without some extraneous aid. The repulsion of this first effort, by withholding the co-operation of Government, looked like nipping good fruit in the bud.[4]

The earlier discussion of the Osage Reserve raises doubts about whether any proportion of the Potawatomi were far enough advanced in 1838 to make a success of lands in severalty. Yet it is significant that the idea and the arguments for allotment were given such clear expression at that early date.

Another boost for lands in severalty for the Potawatomi of the Osage came in 1839 from the pen of their subagent, Major Anthony L. Davis. He did not argue at length, but his recommendation is clear and unmistakable:

> The Pottawatomies came to this country under the expectation that their lands would be laid off to them severally in suitable farm lots. They still

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[4] History of Baptist Indian Missions, op. cit., pp. 541, 542. Emphasis supplied, unless otherwise indicated.

> desire it, and it is a measure which would no doubt tend greatly to the promotion of civilization among them.[5]

Without any reflection on the honesty or integrity of the sub-agent, it is uncertain that any more than a small minority of the Potawatomi, usually the vocal mixed-blood class, desired lands in severalty at that time. Nevertheless, it is patent that Davis personally regarded the idea as having merit.

The subject of allotment status for these Indians dropped out of the reports, correspondence, and discussions from the late eighteen-thirties until 1853. Congress, in the last year, formulated a policy for Indian Territory. There is no evidence that severalty was considered during the government's negotiation of the 1846 Potawatomi treaty. This pact, too, was another application of force, and was characterized by its expediency. Its stated intent was to reunite the nation of the Potawatomi, and there was little concern about prospective forms of landholding. Research reveals that the question did not arise during the first years of the relocation on the Kaw River Reservation. It was the veteran Baptist missionary Robert Simerwell who,

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[5] R.C.I.A., 1839, p. 506.

incidentally, in November, 1853, mentioned allotments in a letter to his daughter:

> The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is expected back in April to hold treaties with the other Indian tribes. Some tribes wish to sell, other [sic] wish to have their land divided and become citizens. Other tribes wish to remain undisturbed, but I suppose the most of them will sell.[6]

He then went on to prophesy, very correctly, that the whites would come and the Indian country would change.[7] Here appeared the word "citizens" as a prospective status for some of the Indians of Kansas. Exactly what the term connoted, either for the Indians, or for the whites, in 1853, would be difficult to determine. Prior to 1853 there was little precedent in Indian treaties and Federal Indian Law for defining the nature of Indian citizenship. To judge from the quantity of confusion, interpretation, and litigation which arose under later legislation conferring Indian citizenship, the concept has continued to create difficulties down to recent

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[6]Simerwell, from Potawatomi Manual Labor School, to "Dear Daughter Ann," November 21, 1853, File V, Folder, 1852-1860, Simerwell Papers, KSHS. Emphasis supplied.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 153.

times.[9]

After Congress acted on March 3, 1853, George W. Manypenny lost no time in conferring with the Potawatomi. For him, evidently, persuading the Indians to accept an allottee status and dispose of their surplus lands was an acceptable alternative to complete removal. Manypenny made the first overture, but upon discovering a general Potawatomi resistance, did not press the matter:

> In the autumn of 1853 Colonel Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs, met the Potawatomi in council and proposed to them on the part of the government the purchase of their superfluous lands, at the same time authorizing them to sectionize the unsold portions. The Potawatomi rejected the proposals made by the commissioner, declaring themselves unwilling to sell or divide their lands or exchange them for other lands. Manypenny readily acquiesced in the stand taken by the Indians as he had no intention of urging them an acceptance of what was distasteful to them . . .[10]

During the succeeding years the merits and demerits of sectionizing were continuously debated on the Potawatomi Reservation, but Manypenny himself did not force the plan upon this tribe. He was no longer in office when the decision was imminent.[11] Yet any evaluation of the various arguments,

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[9]Ibid., pp. 153-157, passim.

[10]Garraghan, op. cit., II, 667.

[11]Gates, op. cit., p. 112.

after 1853, must include a recognition of the fact that substantial changes were in the offing for the Indian reservations of Kansas.

Some staunch proponents of sectionizing the Potawatomi saw it as a solution to another problem arising from the attempt to create a "unified nation." In brief, the so-called unity had not been a success. This was a source of trouble and friction for agents and missionaries. Fully conscious of the pressures demanding the Potawatomi lands, they now advocated that the agricultural Indians, the major portion of the tribe, be given lands in severalty as an encouragement to their more advanced status, and as a protection against the ravages of their more primitive, hunting brethren. Sectionizing would, they thought, solve two problems: first, the public greed for the Indian lands would be satisfied; second, the more advanced elements of the tribe could be benefited. Due to unforeseen complications, the second aim was not achieved. A later chapter will discuss this failure in detail. In any case, the actual status of the Potawatomi Nation was deeply involved in the sequence of events which led to sectionization.

Agent George W. Clarke, in 1855, gave his impressions of the so-called "unified nation":

> . . . a tribe once so powerful, now weak and imbecile from diminished numbers, divisions into clans, and divided councils, and from the ascendancy and rule of the ignorant and intolerant portion of this unfortunate people. A portion of these people have for a long time had intercourse with the whites, and in a measure adopted the civilized mode of life, and they manifest a desire for the improvement of themselves and their people. This class comprises portions of the "Wabash" and "St. Joseph's" bands, and having a prominence in their several bands, would be successful in reclaiming, to some extent, under the management of their government, their kinsmen, had they not in their midst the formidable obstacle of the "Prairie" band, or Bluff Indians, to oppose, thwart and defeat every measure or improvement among this unhappy people.[12]

From this collective characterization of the Potawatomi, Clarke proceeded to analyze the Prairie Band in greater detail. They despised work, adhered to the hunter life, and denounced the elements of the tribe which adopted the ways of civilization and the cultivation of the soil. This band, he wrote, claimed to own "all the land" and alleged that all the other bands really had no rights either to land or annuities, "they being permitted to participate in them only on the courtesy of their condescending brothers." Furthermore, the Prairie Band was guilty of preying upon the more civilized Indians by making intrusions and depredations, by killing livestock, burning fences, turning their ponies into

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[12] R.C.I.A., 1855, pp. 96, 97.

the cultivated fields, and even threatening the "lives of the orderly portion of the tribe."[13]

Continuing, the agent gave his views on the current controversy about sectionizing the land:

> Thus two conflicting elements prevail to distract and stifle the usual efforts of government to improve these people . . . The weak who are subjected to the tyranny of brute force, should enjoy the protection of a strong power. That portion who desire to lead a civilized life, to cultivate the soil, raise stock, cherish education, should have the protection of good government and efficient laws . . . A portion of this tribe who have adopted civilized life, and those who manifest a preference for such a life, undisguisedly declare that their only salvation is in a treaty, by which their lands will be run out, sectionized, and each individual assigned his own tract, with the protecting power of a State or territorial government and laws. They not only desire to own their own lands, but they require to be sustained in the possession of the fruits of their labor. The others will meet their inevitable destiny which hangs over them, let the policy of the government be what it may. The policy now attempted to be carried out of endeavoring to amalgamate the civilized and uncivilized portions, is only "crushing out" civilization, abandoning the hopeful portion to the ruin of semi-barbarism, and will inevitably destroy the whole tribe. Under the policy suggested by the intelligent portion, opportunity and protection will be afforded, not only to the civilized but the uncivilized. The former will avail themselves of the policy; some stragglers of the latter may adhere to the civilized mode of life, and all these be reclaimed. If the "Prairie" band obstinately adheres to its present mode of life (which I am sure a majority will do) they will wander off to remote and more congenial tribes and lands,

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[13] Ibid., p. 97. Clarke's italics.

> and disappear before the tide of civilization. This is their destiny; in all events, then, is it not wiser to hasten this result before the better portion of the tribe is destroyed? Save these if you can; save at least the remnant of a once powerful race, who now throw themselves upon the power, magnanimity and wisdom of a great government; who appeal to you for protection. It is melancholy to contemplate such miserable prospects as at present are presented to these people. It is painful to behold intelligent, orderly, industrious families struggling against the despotism of ignorant barbarism.[14]

Even granting that Clarke exaggerated in his description of the two classifications of Indians, his analysis places the 1861 treaty in a slightly different atmosphere from that of a nefarious scheme to favor the interests of a railway company. Clarke, quite remarkably, foresaw the absolute need of strong protection by local government for prospective Indian allottees. Failure of local authority was the very key to the later failure of the sectionized Potawatomi in Kansas. Also, the Potawatomi agent accurately prophesied the wholesale scattering of the Prairie Band; although several unforeseen factors entered into their dispersal. But his dire forebodings on their destruction were overly pessimistic and somewhat reminiscent of Maurice Gailland's similar pronouncements on the probable ruin of the Citizen Band.

John Baptist Duerinck of St. Mary's, more than anyone

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[14] Ibid.

else, kept alive a continuous campaign for sectionizing the Potawatomi. Beginning with the fall of 1855, he constantly alluded to the subject in his communications to the Indian Department. The Annual Report for 1855, 1856, and 1857 carried his somewhat lengthy comments. In his 1855 report, Duerinck listed fourteen separate reasons for the adoption of the policy of lands in severalty. Although he implicitly saw it as a means of adjusting the Indian to the rapid settlement of Kansas by the whites, his most emphatic point was that such a change was necessary to foster energy and responsibility among the aborigines. His criticism of the old lands-in-common economy was couched in general terms, with no specific restriction of the discussion to any particular tribe or time. His word-picture, however, of unfavorable, existing conditions was strictly Potawatomi:

> We beg leave to say a word on the Indian policy. The system of possessing lands in common, one hundred and twenty individuals claiming an acre as their own property, is replete with evil and bad consequences that will frustrate the best hopes that the friends of the Indians have conceived. I am bold to maintain that no Indian, no half-breed, no white man living amongst them, will ever feel encouraged to make his premises a comfortable home as long as he labors under the fear that his improvements are liable to be sold for the benefit of the nation at large. Give them a title to the land, and you will soon see them vie with each other in their improvements. Interest, emulation and a laudable

> degree of pride, which are innate in everyone of us, will do more to carry them honorably through the world than all the penalties and coercions now in force amongst them . . . We tell the Indians that the first step towards civilization is to give up their wandering life, to settle down, and to till the soil. When they go to work and raise good crops they say it does them no good, because their hungry, half-starved neighbors hand round them and eat them up. This miserable custom, this aversion to work, this eternal begging, disheartens the willing Indian, and he becomes at last so reckless that he feels disposed to abandon our advice, and he concludes that it is far better for him to live and to die as an Indian after having vainly endeavored to live like a white man.[15]

This served as an introduction for Duerinck's fourteen reasons advocating allotments.

It is apparent that the St. Mary's headman was objecting to the preying of the non-farming, hunter-type Indians upon those of settled, domestic life. Duerinck and Agent Clarke agreed explicitly. Any situation which encouraged Indian indolence was exceedingly irritating to the energetic Jesuit who visualized land in severalty as a kind of panacea for this trait. In his report for 1857 he used such terms as "drones," "haughty loafers," and "blockish fellows."[16] Listing again his arguments for the allotment system, Duerinck stated six of them, more or less a

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[15] R.C.I.A., 1855, p. 103.

[16] R.C.I.A., 1857, p. 177.

recapitulation of his arguments of 1855.[17]

The long controversy over sectionizing definitely contributed to the nature and character of the Citizen Band.

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[17] Ibid., p. 179. William Elsey Connelley was critical of the Duerinck advocacy of sectionizing, insinuating that it was dictated by political expediency, that it was short-sighted, and that when adopted in 1861 it made "homeless outcasts" of all the Potawatomi except the Prairie Band ("The Prairie Band of Pottawatomie Indians," Kansas Historical Collections, XIV, 1915-1918, pp. 506, 510, 511). This lengthy article is pervaded throughout by the thesis that sectionizing was always and everywhere ruinous to the Indian. Although it is manifestly true that Duerinck was the champion of an idea very much in favor with the Potawatomi agents of his time, the charge that he followed political expediency as a compelling motive is not proved. Gilbert J. Garraghan replied to Connelley's indictment by pointing out that the plan adopted in the treaty of 1861 did not have a chance of success on account of the failure to provide safeguards. The Jesuit historian accepts the possibility that Duerinck "overrated the Indian's capacity for self-support." He also alludes to contemporary support of the policy of lands in severalty by menbers of the Baptist Mission. That there was such support is somewhat bolstered by this present study. Garraghan quotes several authorities on the American Indian who have in more recent times argued the benefits of the allotment system: G. E. Linquist, The Red Man in the United States (New York, 1923), Francis E. Leupp, The Indian and his Problem (New York, 1910), and James McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian (Boston, 1910), among others, are apparently not in agreement with the Connelley thesis. A special report to Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, The Problem of Indian Administration: Summary of Findings and Recommendations (Washington, 1928), emphasizes that the lands in severalty plan often suffered because proper safeguards were lacking (Garraghan, op. cit., II, 669n, 670n). The present writer also ventures the comment that Duerinck's assumption that sectionizing would act as a cure-all for Potawatomi indolence proved a bit wide of the mark. Both in Kansas and Oklahoma many of them very cleverly arranged for itinerant whites to do the work.

Although the actual failure of the allotment system in Kansas must never be disregarded, the struggle preceding its adoption had lasting consequences. The ancient tendency to factionalism had an opportunity for full play. Apart from the very evident increase of bitterness between the domestic and hunter-type elements, between the sectionizers and non-sectionizers, there was an ideal situation for the development of deep partisan patterns. Basically this was inherent to the nature of governmental authority within the Potawatomi tribe, or the lack of it. But the whole controversy contributed to an informal constitutional development which had enduring results. This was particularly true in reference to the Citizen Band.

In 1855 Agent George Clarke described governmental authority among the Potawatomi on the Kaw as follows:

> The Pottawatomies have no regularly established government. The dicta of self-constituted councils is the law of the time. Influence and interest of individuals frequently protect individuals from punishment for the worst crimes. Murders, thefts, rapes are but seldom punished, and never, except in cases of retaliation, which disturb the peace of the country still more. These people cannot even boast of following ancient customs or adhering to traditions. The hereditary chiefs have been set aside, not by the formal disposition of the people, but by bold, artful and ambitious men, who have usurped their places, and who, by threats, awe the peaceable portion of all the people into submission.

> Among these usurpers changes are constantly going on. A man more bold and artful rises and supercedes some individual who possesses less of these qualifications, and who in turn is "set back." It is the influence and determination of the "Prairie" band that keeps up this state of things, they being the master spirits in the councils.[18]

During the eighteen-fifties, departmental correspondence discussing Potawatomi chieftains verified Clarke's report. They really had very little power as such; although Prairie Band chiefs were inclined to be more assertive. Study of the Potawatomi of the United Band in Iowa as well as of the Osage River Reserve furnishes a suitable background for an understanding of the situation. Agent Luke Lea, writing in 1850 concerning a Potawatomi council, made the significant remark: "How many of the chiefs were present, I cannot say, for I do not believe that the nation itself knows who are its chiefs . . ."[19] Upon the request of Commissioner Manypenny, Agent John W. Whitfield, in 1853, submitted a list of the Potawatomi who claimed to be chiefs. The agent called a special council of the nation in order to ascertain who the chiefs were.[20] In 1856 Clarke on two

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[18] R.C.I.A., 1855, p. 98.

[19] Lea to Superintendent D. D. Mitchell, April 8, 1850, Letters Received, Special File 101, OIA.

[20] Whitfield to Superintendent A. Cumming, December 8, 1853, an enclosure in Cumming to Manypenny, December 19,

separate occasions assigned a special position of importance to Chief We-we-say, referring to him as "Chief of the Mission Indians"[21] and as "Principal Chief" of the St. Joseph Band.[22] In the latter letter Clarke described Pah-eh-go-shuk as "Principal Chief" of the Prairie Band. We-we-say, he wrote, represented "the intelligence and civilization" of the tribe, while Pah-eh-go-shuk represented its "authority."[23]

Chiefs from Council Bluffs claimed a relatively higher position than the others in the hierarchy of leadership. Their claim was associated with the general feeling of the former United Band members that they had a priority

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1853, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1853, OIA. The chiefs are listed as follows: Mazee (in place of Topnebe, deceased), Wabsose (for Me-a-mese, dead), Pat-ko-to, Sen-och-win, Kow-sut, Wan-waw-suck, Wat-sea, We-we-say, Joseph Lafromboise, Na-now-na-quit, Shog-que, Pam-je-ah, Pat-ko-shuck, Me-shuck-ke-ya, Keps-ro-wit, Tow-wan, Kum-me-gas, M-nis-no-kum-man. These spellings are as Whitfield gives them. Some of the names have figured prominently in this narrative thus far; most of them were not otherwise mentioned in Departmental correspondence except as signatures on occasional petitions.

[21]Clarke to Cumming, March 11, 1856, an enclosure with Cumming to Manypenny, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1856, OIA.

[22]Clark to Cumming, April 17, 1856, an enclosure with Cumming to Manypenny, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1856, OIA.

[23]*Ibid*. This chief is almost certainly the same as "Pat-ko-shuck" in Whitfield's list of 1853 (*loc. cit.*).

of interest in the Kansas River Reservation. This facet must be kept in mind in endeavoring to comprehend the degree of bitterness which the Prairie Band members evinced at the signing of the treaty of 1861. Three years earlier, as the battle over sectionizing became warmer and warmer, and after a rash of Indian delegations with varying interests made trips to Washington, Agent William E. Murphy endeavored to persuade all the chiefs to sign a "Charter of Unity." Murphy describes the failure of his effort in the following discourse:

> I showed them the importance of adjusting among themselves those difficulties and dissensions that have existed amongst them since they were located upon their present Reserve. I told them the first step to take was for the Chiefs to unite, and had read to them the inclosed Article No. 1 [of Murphy's "Charter of Unity"], and urged them to sign it, and told them if they would in this manner reconcile their differences, the whole tribe would then unite. The Chiefs all agreed to sign, excepting those of the "Prairie Band," who signified that they were the true owners of the land, the Royal Chiefs . . . I explained to them that in this they were mistaken, that the Government when they placed the United Bands of Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottowas, on this reservation, its design was that they should be on a perfect equality, and one portion of them had no more rights than another, that the government wished them to unite in friendship, and that in the Treaty of 1846 they had promised to be a united nation. Knowing as I do, <u>the principal question that now divides them is in regard to sectionizing their land</u>, and that the Intelligent, Industrious, and sober portion of them, which constitutes a majority of the Tribe,

> are in favor of sectionizing, I felt it to be my duty to give them advice . . .[24]

Instead of taking advice or signing the instrument of unity, the Prairie Chiefs stalked out of the council.[25] It should be mentioned that at the time of this incident the government was exerting renewed pressure to acquire Indian lands in Kansas; and Commissioner Manypenny was no longer in office. It was a little naive to attempt to establish true unity among the Potawatomi under troubled circumstances, especially when this could not be achieved in earlier and more favorable times.

Murphy also explained that the tribal schism was widening because the Prairie Potawatomi were taking direction and advice from Anthony Navarre.[26] This man was of Indiana origin, a former student of the Choctaw Academy, and an allottee and Citizen Potawatomi under the 1861 treaty. But both before and after the treaty, he was most influential as a guide and counsellor of the Prairie faction. Still later,

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[24]Murphy to Superintendent Alexander M. Robinson, April 19, 1858, an enclosure with Robinson to Assistant C. I. A., C. E. Mix, April 21, 1858, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1858, OIA. Emphasis supplied.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

in Oklahoma, there was no personality more powerful in the business affairs of the Citizen Band than Anthony Navarre. It is interesting that he first came into prominence and sharpened his acumen while acting as the guiding spirit of the anti-sectionizer Potawatomi elements in Kansas.

Potawatomi delegations to Washington during the eighteen-fifties exhibited another characteristic of the intra-tribal struggle. During the later years of the decade, delegations were sharply defined as sectionizers or anti-sectionizers. The Prairie elements and their promoters were slightly more aggressive during the visitations to the nation's capital. The memory of the rather successful sojourn from Council Bluffs in 1845, featuring Richard Elliot as director of Potawatomi theatrics, seems to have given them a lasting conviction that the way to do successful business was to go and see the "Great Father" himself. Meanwhile the leaders of the agricultural or mission Indians appear to have developed a similar conviction. This is important in that the tendency also became a definite policy of the Citizen Band in Oklahoma. The record will also show that Anthony Navarre was more effective in Washington during the eighteen-eighties for the Citizen Band than he was for the Prairie Indians during the years just preceding the treaty of 1861.

Delegations to Washington had certain common features. Some were authorized by the agents or higher officials of the Indian Department; most of them were not. When a group took off to the capital during the first phases of the struggle it almost invariably represented itself as authorized by the whole nation. This resulted in violent protests from the dissenting factions. Some of the delegations, whether previously authorized by the Department or not, succeeded in getting all the expenses of the trips paid from tribal funds. Favor and preference for the "mission Indians" by the local agents was the source of increased irritation and determination on the part of the representatives of the Prairie Band. Indications are that the rank and file of the Indians in both camps knew or understood very little of what was going on. By 1857 activities became more feverish, for by that time the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs served notice that the Potawatomi must give up some of their land. Since this was manifestly the main issue in all phases of this era of intra-tribal, unbloody warfare, a few illustrations are in order from the record of the rival delegations. These reflected Indian reaction to the unrelenting squeeze which was upon them.

The already harrassed local agent, William E. Murphy,

received a special prod from Commissioner James A. Denver some time in the autumn of 1857 which only helped to solidify the opposing forces. On the 19th of November, following a personal conference with the Commissioner, Murphy called a great council in which he explained to the Potawatomi some of the grim realities facing them. General Denver, he said, really loved them all very much, but, there was no question about it, their reservation must be cut down. As for lands in fee simple, well, that was a possibility; however, they must first show their competence to become Citizens of the United States. Murphy proposed that the commissioner might make a deal of some nature if they would simply agree to dispose of all the reservation land south of the Kaw River. He also gave them the traditional lecture on the importance of sobriety and devotion to manual labor.[27]

The result of the agent's speech was rising Indian hostility and a determination to dispatch immediately two separate delegations to Washington. Murphy describes the reaction, also making other comments which aid in

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[27]Murphy to Haverty, November 24, 1857, a copy of the instructions given to the Indians on the 19th inst., an enclosure with Haverty to Mix, Ass't., C. I. A., December 12, 1857, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1857, OIA.

understanding the atmosphere of the struggle at this time:

> The Indians within this Agency, that is a portion of them, have for some months past been extremely anxious to have their reservation sectionized, and granted to them the title in fee simple thereto. At the late payment of their annuities to them I promised them, if they would meet in Council on some future day I would give them my advice, and as near as I could the views of their friend, Gen. Denver, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, upon the subject. They accordingly agreed to meet here on the 19th inst. They had at former preliminary meetings determined to send two delegations on, one from the Mission band and the other from the Prairie band, the first in favor of sectionizing, the latter opposed to it. My object was to unite them as one family, upon such plan as I conceived to be most to their interest, and most in accordance with the views of the Hon. Commissioner as understood them from him. I knew the discordant elements I would have to contend with, in endeavoring to unite them upon this question, and in order to show clearly my course, I used the precaution to write down my advice before giving it, which I herewith transmit. They met here on the 19th inst. and continued in Council until the evening of the 21st. During which time I used every exertion in my power to unite them. I am sorry to say without effect, <u>delegations go, instructed by the respective bands</u> (contrary as you will perceive to my advice), to contend for fee simple title to all of their reserve, the "Mission Indians" for sectionizing, and the "Prairie Indians" opposed to sectionizing, and <u>a large majority of the whole tribe opposed to becoming Citizens</u>. The truth is the poor "Prairie band" of Pottawatomies appear to be confirmed in their ignorant obstinancy, and a large portion of the "Mission band" have had bad advisors, both half-breeds and white men, who I fear are governed more by mercenary motives, than for the future welfare of the poor Indian . . .[28]

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[28] <u>Ibid</u>. From text of Murphy's main letter to Haverty, November 24, 1857. Emphasis supplied.

By March, 1858, the delegates of the Prairie Indians were in Washington. No visible results came forth from the trip, but characteristically, the Prairie Band claimed to represent the full authority of the whole tribe and made urgent requests that the expenses of the sojourn be allowed from the common Potawatomi fund.[29] That the request was granted became apparent from subsequent correspondence. What transpired in Washington is not clear, but to judge from later events the mood of the Prairie Band leaders did not change. It was immediately after the return from Washington that Anthony Navarre and his colleagues marched out of the council at which Murphy proposed his "Charter of Unity."

The other delegation was a complete failure. To begin with, it did not get any farther than St. Louis, where it was turned back by order of the Indian Department.[30] The

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[29]"Ma-zhee and others" to the C. I. A., mailed in Washington, March 12, 1858, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1858, OIA. In this letter the personnel of the delegation was listed as follows: Anthony Navarre [topping the list], Ma-zhee, Wah-wah-suck, Wab-zose, Wab-sai, Nas-see-kah, Otaw-wah, Wab-che-chock, and Sew-arch-win. It is significant that Ma-zhee, son of old Topenebe, continued to line up during this period with the Prairie Indians. His family, it will be remembered, were none too friendly with the "mission Indians" of Sugar Creek on the Osage Reservation. But when the parting of the ways actually came, he became an allottee, "Allotment Rolls of 1863," number 1096, p. 47.

[30]Murphy to Haverty, April 10, 1858, forwarded as an enclosure with letter of new superintendent, A. M. Robinson,

agent himself decided to join this group. In this he made a tactical blunder which got him in trouble with both contending factions of the Indians. He reported that his delegation, consisting of Benjamin H. Bertrand, Amable Bertrand, Joseph N. Bourassa, and Madore Beaubien, all acted in a "very unbecoming manner" in St. Louis after the mandate came for them to return home. Anyway, he said, although all four were "shrewd and intelligent half-breeds," their own constituents had now lost confidence in them on account of their conduct, and "now there is neither of the four that the Indians would trust to transact business for them . . ."[31] They attempted, in St. Louis, to borrow two thousand dollars from Mr. Chouteau, with Murphy to agree that the sum would be reimbursed. In Leavenworth they sought similar security for a thousand dollars worth of clothing. The agent refused on both counts.[32] In the letter describing the failure of the "Unity Council" and in which Murphy denounces the leadership of Anthony Navarre, he gives also a picture of the dilemma in which he found himself as a result of the double

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to Mix, April 20, 1858, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1858, OIA.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

delegation:

> The dissatisfaction existing within this tribe at the present time is attributable to two causes: 1st, the visit of the Prairie Delegation to Washington City, representing as they did a minority, and going there contrary to my advice and the wish of the majority, and creating an expense to the nation of over three thousand dollars. 2nd, the inability of the second delegation that started to reach Washington City. Now the first delegation charge me with taking sides against them, merely because I advised them to yield their views to those of the majority. The second delegation, or at least a portion of them . . . abused me because I would not take them on to Washington, in direct violation of orders from the Department, by telling the poor, simple Indians that I am not a fitting agent for them, in consequence of not having sufficient influence with the government to take their delegation on . . .[33]

Pity the poor Potawatomi agent! Caught in a triple squeeze between General Denver and two warring parties of Indians, he was not making himself popular with any of them.

For more than a year some members of the short-circuited delegation kept up a feud with their agent. One thing about Potawatomi factions: nobody became permanently angry at opposing individuals. So, in 1859, Amable Bertrand and Joseph N. Bourassa accepted the help of Anthony Navarre in preparing a mighty protest against Murphy's dismissal of

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[33]Murphy to Robinson, April 19, 1858, an enclosure with Robinson to Mix, April 21, 1858, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1858, OIA. Emphasis supplied.

a blacksmith by the name of Robert McKowen. They sent a petition to the Indian Department, signed by many tribesmen, requesting that the agent himself be dismissed. Murphy countered with a lengthy defense of himself, enclosing also an Indian petition with fifty-four signatures. Amazingly, Madore Beaubien was now over on the agent's side. Lewis Ogee, of Council Bluffs origin, was stoutly in support of Bourassa and Navarre.[34] This controversy, of no particular importance in itself, illustrates in a spectacular manner how the mixed-blood elements, whether of Council Bluffs or Osage River background, acted in fraternity with each other. All the principals in the contest passed over to the rolls of the Citizen Band except Frank Bourbonnais and Eli Nadeau. Even Nadeau was on the 1863 Citizen Band allotment roll, but later, with his family, withdrew to remain with the Prairie Band.[35]

In the course of the campaign to remove the tormented agent, Amable Bertrand wrote one letter which should represent some kind of a low in tattle-taling on Indian officials.

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[34]Murphy to Robinson, July 28, 1859, enclosed, along with an Indian petition, in Robinson to Denver, August 3, 1859, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1859, OIA.

[35]"Roll of 1863," p. 25.

He reported that Murphy used liquor (anyone who informed upon another usually made this indictment!); that he tarried around Fort Leavenworth too much, probably spending the Indians' money; and that he released the wagon-maker without cause. But worse than all this, Bertrand stated, the agent killed an old hen and her young chickens. Why? Because the hen, belonging to a poor old woman, was so indiscreet as to hatch in the agent's stable; furthermore, Murphy had done "other little things to annoy poor women . . ."[36] Murphy successfully defended himself and did not lose his position. In one of his own letters he asserted that the dissatisfaction of the meddlesome "half-breeds and whites married in the reservation" over the removal of the blacksmith was nothing more than spite; also, he charged, Amable Bertrand was recently brought to court in Fort Leavenworth for engaging in the liquor traffic.[37] Thus the counter attack.

From the autumn of 1857 until the latter part of 1860 Agent Murphy's correspondence carried three very repetitious themes. Arguments for sectionizing came first.

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[36]Bertrand to Denver, July 24, 1859, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1859, OIA.

[37]Murphy to Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, July 30, 1859, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1859, OIA.

Secondly, he constantly bewailed the attitude of the Prairie elements of the Potawatomi. Thirdly, he devoted much space to Anthony Navarre whom he blamed for the stubborn, adamant opposition displayed by the Prairie Band. His discissions of the ideal results anticipated after severalty echoed the earlier reasonings of John Baptist Duerinck. While he may have been sincere in continuing to stress possible benefits, nonetheless he was operating under pressure from General Denver's office. Awareness of an inevitable change for the Potawatomi also raised the question of alternatives. This point came up in his general report to the commissioner in 1859. After the usual praise for the mission Indians, he writes:

> I trust that the government will, at no distant day yield to their request by sectionizing their land, and giving them the title thereto, throwing around it, however, such barriers as will prevent the self-conceited, sharp, and would-be knowing members of the tribe from taking advantage of them. I deeply sympathize with the honest and industrious portion of these people upon this subject . . . They would make good citizens, and, from their commendable industry and ardent desire to have for themselves and their children permanent homesteads, have strong claims upon the consideration of the department, the prompt recognition of which, in my opinion, is demanded by humanity, justice, and sound policy. Their preservation and permanency on their present reserve can only be effected by citizenizing them, and granting them title in fee simple to the land.[38]

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[38] R.C.I.A., 1859, p. 148. Emphasis supplied.

This was an effort to salvage as favorable an arrangement as conditions permitted. Murphy foresaw the need of "barriers" to control the "sharp" operators among the Potawatomi themselves. This advice had a certain merit, but as events proved, it was a secondary consideration. More important was the need for protection from the white population of Kansas.

On one occasion the agent betrayed a lack of confidence in the wisdom of following the so-called desires of the Potawatomi. A general council of the tribe repudiated a request of the Department concerning some of the funds held in trust by the Secretary of the Interior. Since unity was impossible in the councils of these people, as Murphy opined, the government should make their decisions for them:

> The fact is there are a great many of the poor unfortunate Pottawatomies that are as simple as little children and who do not know what is best for their own interest. Others who are obstinate and contrary, and take great trouble to prejudice the Indians against the government . . . the department ought in its wisdom to do what it deems best for them, whether they consent or not . . . Mr. Thomas N. Stinson who was present at the Council remarked to me after it was over that he had known the Pottawatomies intimately for the last sixteen years, and that he had never yet known them to unite in council upon any proposition made to them.[39]

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[39] Murphy to Robinson, June 29, 1859, enclosed with Robinson to A. B. Greenwood, C. I. A., July 7, 1859, Letter Received, Central Superintendency file, 1859, OIA.

By implication, Murphy here seems to suggest that few, if any, of the Potawatomi were prepared to assume the status of citizenship and virtual equality with the surrounding white population. Nevertheless, the recommendation that the government made the decisions was emphatically fulfilled when its representatives imposed the treaty of 1861.

Andrew Jackson, erstwhile Choctaw Academy student and inhabitant of the Osage River Reserve, contributed to the picture of the sectionizing struggle during Agent Murphy's tenure. Jackson had run off to Washington in 1856, apparently as a member of a self-appointed two-man delegation. Joseph N. Bourassa, in protesting this move, accused Andrew of being a tool of the Ewing and Company trading combination. Bourassa referred to him as "little Jackson, the trader's man."[40] Approximately two years later the accused wrote to Assistant Commissioner C. E. Mix giving him an analysis of the current battle in Potawatomi land. Jackson declared that Murphy was entirely too partial to the Catholic Indians, dominated as they were by half-breed Frenchmen and white people living within the reservation. The "high style" praising of the Catholic Indians, he declared, was an injustice to the full-

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[40] Bourassa to Manypenny, January 2, 1856, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1856, OIA.

bloods; the majority of the tribe were getting shabby treatment. Also, Jackson modified Murphy's recommendation that a square-mile of reservation land be set aside for St. Mary's Mission, proposing instead that 320 acres be given to each of the mission schools, both Baptist and Catholic.[41] This suggestion was incorporated exactly into the treaty of 1861, Article VI.[42] Significantly, Jackson in his letter fully presumed that sectionizing was to become a fact.

Another Potawatomi with an English sounding name, R. H. Waterman, wrote to the Department asking for some definite answers:

> . . . first then what is the policy of the government in regard to reserves . . . is it to sectionize and give each their quota of land? Or, to move us again to some unknown region? This question is important, as many of us have extensive improvements, and are prepared to make much more, such as setting out orchards, buildings, barns, etc. Can we be assured that we will be permitted to hold our farms, and not be liable to be sold out as heretofore. The majority of the nation are desirous of dividing the land, and have already made claims and commenced improving their farms. They have only been prevented from making that desire known to the Government by the interference of one or two individuals who wish to keep it in its present condition. I am satisfied that were one or two individuals removed, the Nation would be almost unanimously in favor of dividing the land.[43]

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[42]Kappler, op. cit., II, 827.

[43]Waterman to Mix, July 26, 1859, enclosed with Robinson to Greenwood, August 3, 1859, Powatatomi Agency file, 1859, OIA.

Waterman had a word of scorn for the practice of organizing delegations to Washington; he desired that it be stopped:

> . . . Again there is a few agitators in the nation who are continually running to St. Louis and Washington on pretended business for the nation, but whose actions the Nation knows nothing about, and who draw money from the national fund to pay their time and expense, besides running the nation in debt, sometimes quite largely; cannot this be stopped?[44]

Commissioner A. B. Greenwood, new in his position and apparently unfamiliar with the urgency of solving the Potawatomi land problem, gave no candid answers to candid questions. In his reply, addressed to Superintendent Robinson, Greenwood simply declared that he could not make a declaration of policy but that he hoped to visit the Potawatomi Reserve in the course of the ensuing autumn, when he would give "definite information" on the points raised by Mr. Waterman.[45] It is very doubtful that Greenwood was able to make good on the promise during 1859. Two years later, his successor, William P. Dole, a party to the plot of the mighty railway interests, was much more conversant with the details of the plan for the Potawatomi.[46] One detail was that Dole was

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Greenwood to Robinson, August 11, 1859, Letters Sent, Vol. 61, 1859, OIA.

[46] Gates, op. cit., p. 131.

scheduled for a "bonus" of 1,200 acres of Potawatomi land as a reward for his efforts in consummating the treaty of 1861.[47]

Anthony Navarre continued to irritate both the agent and a large proportion of the Indians. Far be it from him to give up easily on the theory that proper representation in Washington was the most efficient way to do business. Navarre and another mixed-blood, William Rice, set out again in the latter part of 1859. Murphy promptly protested that they had departed the reservation without authority and "contrary to the knowledge and wish of 4/5 of the tribe."[48] His letter continued with the usual denunciations of Navarre as a "reckless and bad man" who persisted in creating "distraction and discord" among the Potawatomi. The culprit, he charged, was actually "backed only by a small portion, even of the 'Prairie Band' . . ." This Band was showing, in Murphy's opinion, a tendency to swing over to the sentiment of the "majority of the tribe."[49] On March 14, 1860, an Indian protest gave some confirmation to the agent's allegation that Navarre represented only a fraction of the Prairie

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Murphy to Greenwood, December 17, 1859, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1859, OIA.

[49] Ibid.

Band.[50] Four days later Murphy added further information: Only four chiefs from all sections of the tribe were really behind Navarre, and John Jackson of the Baptist Mission had gotten into the act by permitting Navarre to use it as a meeting place just before his departure for Washington; Madore Beaubien had reported this latter development.[51] Apparently Navarre and Rice accomplished nothing by their embassy.

In June, 1860, Navarre came up with a new tactic. This could have been inspired by his realization, at long last, that delegations to Washington, trailed by a string of protests, were not very effective. It is evident that he saw the need of some form of centralized authority in the Potawatomi of the Kaw River. Navarre brought in an attorney from Washington to write a constitution and bylaws for the whole nation. Surprisingly, Murphy permitted the suggested instrument of government to be submitted to the Indians. Although the attorney, Lewis F. Thomas, had been slyly obtained by Navarre without Murphy's authority or knowledge,

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[50]"Shawguee and others" to Greenwood, March 14, 1860, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1860, OIA.

[51]Murphy to Robinson, March 18, 1860, enclosed in Robinson to Greenwood, March 26, 1860, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1860, OIA.

the agent had cooperated as follows:

> Thomas came to the reservation about the first of June. On the 4th day of June I discovered that he had written a Constitution, and laws, for the government of the Pottawatomies, covering eight or nine pages . . . which was very objectionable in many of its features. I had it read and interpreted to the Indians in full council assembled, and they almost unanimously condemned it. Mr. Thomas was present and saw the general dissatisfaction his course thus far had given. On account of his age I treated him respectfully, told him that my duty required me to regard him as an intruder upon the reservation, and hoped that he would leave without my putting him to trouble . . .[52]

Thomas elected to disregard the agent's advice and proceeded to get into considerable difficulty. On the 27th of June, Murphy warned him by letter to make his departure. The next day the attorney wrote to the agent and to the President of the United States. In both letters he argued that he was breaking no law and did not intend to leave.[53] More than a year later, Thomas was still protesting to the Secretary of State about his treatment on the Potawatomi Reserve. Murphy arrested him under the Intercourse Act and had him conveyed in much discomforture to Fort Leavenworth

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[52]Murphy to Robinson, July 4, 1860, enclosed in Robinson to Greenwood, July 7, 1860, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1860, OIA.

[53]Thomas to James Buchanan, July 28, 1860, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1860, OIA.

for trial. On this journey, Thomas alleged, some of the Indian attendants sympathized with him. They said that they also hated the agent, and if the lawyer would give the word they would "drop him." In Leavenworth the judge turned him loose on the principle that the Intercourse Act did not apply in the case, but this came about only after Thomas had shown the judge where the Act could be found in the United States Statutes at Large. His reception among the Potawatomi had been very shabby except for the kind hospitality of his old friend Chief Wob-say of the Prairie Band. It was true, Thomas confessed, that his "Constitution" was not an ideal one: a half-breed remarked at the council, "That Constitution is a man's coat for a child to wear."[54] This Indian commentary, incidentally, quite well describes the particular type of citizenship status set up by the treaty of 1861.

One important aspect of Navarre's ideas about the needs of the Potawatomi was realized. Unity of the rival bands under a common constitution was no more acceptable or practicable than Murphy's "Charter of Unity." The conflicting tribal factions had never united either in spirit or in fact. This could not be achieved by the promotion of legal

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[54]Thomas to Caleb Cushing, July 29, 1861, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1861, OIA.

devices in the midst of a long, bitter intra-tribal struggle resulting from the government's pressure on the Potawatomi lands. Nevertheless, the complete inefficiency of rival delegations and unauthorized representations amply demonstrated that an accredited official group was needed to carry on negotiations. This committee, whether set up by written constitution or not, could act as a go-between. Living without a central authority vested in chiefs or a representative body, the Potawatomi attempted to carry on business with the government in open councils. Unable to agree in council, individuals and factions undertook, on their own, to negotiate. Any authorized committee, representing all warring factions, would necessarily have its difficulties, but it would be an improvement over the existing anarchy. The Indians themselves came to a realization of this, or perhaps more accurately, their leaders did. This development came too late to affect the actual negotiations connected with the treaty of 1861. But, as an idea, it arose during the pre-treaty struggle, and it was to have lasting consequences, especially in the history of the Citizen Band.

According to Agent William W. Ross, his predecessor, William E. Murphy, did not encourage the Indians when they first made an effort to set up a unified "Business Committee"

in 1860. On the other hand, Ross and Commissioner Dole did everything they could to implement the plan. It would facilitate business negotiations with the troublesome Potawatomi. Writing to Dole in early 1863, Ross gives his version of the rise of the "Committee":

> When you were at my agency in the month of September, 1861 [at this time Dole was really pushing the treaty], you expressed yourself as being desirous of having the Indians inaugurate some kind of an organization whereby a written record of their proceedings could be kept, and the wants of the tribe made known to you . . . other than through the mere assertions of the Agent. A short time after that you made another request to the same effect. Accordingly the chiefs and headmen of the Tribe, were assembled and they ratified a selection of six persons to act as a Business Committee, these persons had been appointed a year or more previous to that time, but had never been recognized . . .[55]

Agent Ross, himself a conspirator with the railway interests in effecting the treaty of 1861, vigorously promoted the Business Committee. In a letter of March 10, 1862, he expressed exultation upon his success in persuading the "Catholic Band" and the "Bluff Band" to get together on a unified committee. They had met in council on March 5th and approved the enclosed resolution:

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[55]Ross to Dole, January 19, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA. Emphasis supplied.

> This is to certify that we the undersigned chiefs, and braves, do acknowledge, that in 1860, at Cross Creek Kansas, the Pottawatomie Nation: appointed the following named persons, to wit; M. B. Beaubien, A. F. Navarre, and Jos. N Bourassa by the Bluff Band of Indians; and B. R. Bertrand, John Tipton, and Louis Vieux by the Catholic Band to transact all their national business, between them and the Agent of the United States and the Indian Department. Now we do hereby authorize the said committee, to enter upon duties immediately, in prosecuting and transacting all our affairs, to do everything to the best of their abilities, and render a faithful and honest account of all their acts to the said Nation in General Council assembled.[56]

Ross comments: "The Department will readily see what difficulty attends the transaction of business with a heterogeneous mass of men and boys without any system of organization."[57] The personnel alignment of the original committee, as given above, was a little odd: Navarre and Bourassa were not of Council Bluffs origin at all, although representing that faction, while Louis Vieux, definitely not of Osage River background, was on the committee of the Catholic Indians. As everyone of them became allottees, it is doubtful that anyone represented the viewpoint of the Prairie Indians.

Anthony Navarre, whose name did not appear on the original treaty, quickly made up his mind after the Indian

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[56]Ross to Dole, March 10, 1862, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1862, OIA.

[57]*Ibid.*

council of March 5, 1862 that he wanted no part of this particular combined committee. Upon his resignation, the meeting of the remaining five members at St. Mary's, March 26, accepted George L. Young in his place.[58] In effect, this left the Prairie, non-sectionizing faction completely without representation. Navarre wrote immediately to the commissioner asking that the committee not be recognized as representative of the tribe. According to Ross, this was a final move on his part to prevent the ratification of the treaty.[59] Although the original treaty signatories included many Prairie chiefs, the agent almost disregarded them when he made up his traveling party to Washington in the spring of 1862, which sought the Senate's approval of the treaty. The group consisted of Ross, Miyenigo, Ma-zhee, Benjamin Bertrand, John Tipton, George Young, We-we-say, Medard Beaubien, Louis Ogee, and Joseph Bourassa.[60] With the possible

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[58]Ross to Dole, March 31, 1862, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1862, OIA. This is apparently the first reference to Young in the Indian records. But it occurred with regularity in the following years, until his death in Oklahoma in 1895. A white man, married to a Potawatomi woman, he received a license as a trader in 1863 (Dole to Ross, January 8, 1863, Letters Sent, Vol. 69, OIA).

[59]Ross to Dole, January 19, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

[60]John O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 218.

exception of Miyenigo, all the others became allottees. Navarre's tactics had failed miserably to protect the Prairie interests, but this set-back did not discourage him.

The Commissioner's office continued to press for a unified Business Committee, even after the Potawatomi became in fact two separate bands, the sectionized and non-sectionized. Both groups still had several common financial and landed interests, and this situation persisted until the signing of the next major treaty on February 27, 1867. Dole wrote to a protesting group of Prairie Indians in May, 1862, begging them not to boycott the existing committee but rather to "reorganize it instead of rejecting it entirely."[61] The effort to maintain the centralized committee for the next five years was successful but difficult. In December, 1862, Navarre succeeded in organizing a sort of "rump business committee," with Prairie personalities predominating.[62] However, the record of the dissident group's meeting showed that such as Abram Burnett and Peter Moose cooperated with it. They asserted that they met in general council to elect

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[61]Dole to "Wob-sai and others," May 8, 1862, Letters Sent, Vol. 68, 1862, OIA.

[62]Ross to Dole, January 19, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

a new committee because they were "dissatisfied with the present authorities of our people."[63] Ross' letters to the Department apparently prevented any approval of the move, but Navarre's abortive scheme constituted a definite precedent for similar efforts within the Citizen Band after it set up new headquarters in Oklahoma.

During 1863 and 1864 the Potawatomi were again preoccupied with the ancient yearning to do business with the government by dispatching delegations to Washington. After a complicated accumulation of correspondence, the Secretary of the Interior refused permission in March, 1863. The Secretary acted upon the recommendation of Agent Ross who declared that the so-called Indian request was actually in the handwriting of Anthony Navarre, and that the blind, aged Wob-sai had become no more than a "supple tool" of the latter.[64] On the other hand, in November of the same year Ross recommended that the secretary grant another request

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[63]"Indian Petition," dated Rossville, December 7, 1862, enclosed in H. B. Branch, superintendent, to Dole, December 9, 1862, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1862, OIA.

[64]W. Otto, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Dole, March 21, 1863, with many enclosures, including Ross to Dole, March 5, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

for a delegation to proceed to Washington. The reason, he stated, was that "it is thought among other matters of business that a satisfactory treaty can be made with the tribe to remove them to the Indian Territory."[65] Navarre, ever vigilant for the interests of the Prairie Indians, persuaded Wob-sai and his friends not to cooperate. Permission came, but Ross did not deem it "expedient" to make the trip "without these factions."[66] Ross had used strong language already in the autumn of 1862 in recommending that the Prairie Indians be moved to the Indian Territory,[67] and Central Superintendent H. B. Branch had given him firm support.[68] Furthermore, in September, 1863, the agent wrote very confidently to Dole that the Prairie Indians would be willing to move. Ross asserted that although probably some of the allottees could hold on in Kansas, any other dissatisfied elements among the citizens should be encouraged to join them. The objective was to remove as many Indians from

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[65]Ross to Dole, November 26, 1853, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

[66]Ross to Dole, May 21, 1864, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1864, OIA.

[67]R.C.I.A., 1862, p. 119.

[68]Ibid., p. 98.

Kansas as possible, for they were blocking progress. Ross even ventured to include a suggested outline of the proposed treaty.[69]

Anthony Navarre and his constituents, however, would not cooperate in 1864, even to the extent of going to Washington for a conference. The Prairie Band, forced to sign the treaty of 1861, insisted that it would never sign another removal agreement, and it never has. A large proportion of them migrated from Kansas in the course of the eighteen-sixties, but it was informally, and certainly not by treaty arrangement. Ross and Dole overplayed their hands in this particular project. It remained for the demoralized, unsuccessful allottees (Citizen Band) to accept a home in the Indian Territory.

The Business Committee, in spite of obstacles, continued to exist and to grow in its prerogatives. When Luther R. Palmer replaced William W. Ross as Potawatomi agent, Anthony Navarre promptly rejoined the committee. The roster of February, 1865, was: Joseph N. Bourassa, chairman, B. H Bertrand, Madore Beaubien, John D. Lasley, Anthony F. Navarre, and Louis Vieux. John Tipton had died, and George

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[69]Ross to Dole, September 19, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

L. Young retired.[70] In April, 1865, Special Commissioner Edward Wolcott, in charge of land allotments, reported to Dole that he and Palmer had found a new and satisfactory use for the Business Committee. Wolcott had been urgently requested by Dole in a letter of March 25 to provide the Department immediately with lists of the allotted Potawatomi who were "fitted by their intelligence, sobriety, and good conduct to be entrusted with the management of their own affairs." It was contemplated that the Indians listed would be provided with certificates of citizenship and patents in fee to their lands. As Wolcott explained it:

> To enable us better to discharge this duty we called a meeting of the business committee of the tribe, and having stated to them the views and wishes of the department, requested them to designate those whom they were willing to recommend as proper persons to become the recipients of the patents. It gives us pleasure to be able to say that in the performance of this duty the committee have, in our opinion, acted conscientiously, and also that in nearly every instance their opinion coincided with our own . . .[71]

Thus grew the unwritten constitution of the respective bands of the Potawatomi. After the bands separated from each

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[70]Palmer to Dole, February 14, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1965, OIA.

[71]Wolcott to Dole, April 7, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA.

other, their Business Committees continued to act in capacities very similar to those which they performed for Wolcott and Palmer. This became particularly true in the case of the Citizen Band in the Indian Territory.

Sometimes opposition and protests arose as the Business Committee increased its authority and importance. For example, in 1867, neither We-we-say, titular head of the allotted Indians, nor Wob-sai, having the same position with the Prairie Band, were happy with its performances. They signed a petition, along with sixteen others, declaring that the Committee was exercising too much power and was exhibiting partiality in its dealings. We-we-say suggested that his band, "the Mission Band," simply wanted one agent to represent them, one N. M. Juneau. And Wob-sai desired A. F. Navarre and nobody else.[72] Needless to say, the Commissioner upheld the Committee.

After the treaty of 1867 the two bands organized their separate Business Committees. In fact, Articles III and VI of the treaty recognized the Business Committee of the Citizen Band and detailed its function in the citizenship

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[72]"Wob-sai and others" to N. G. Taylor, C. I. A., August 17, 1867, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1867, OIA.

and land patent process.[73] In December, 1869, Potawatomi Agent Joel H. Morris reported that each band had held a council: the Prairie Indians had elected as their Business Committee, A. F. Navarre and Eli G. Nadeau, while the "sectionizers" had settled upon George L. Young and Louis Vieux. But the latter had resigned shortly after in favor of Joseph N. Bourassa.[74] Navarre's double status seemed to be a bit contradictory. The Department thought so, too, but in 1872 ex-agent Morris aided in assuring the Commissioner that Navarre, albeit a "citizen of the United States," was a member of the Business Committee of the Prairie Band.[75] At that particular time Navarre and Nadeau were in Washington. A whole deputation of the Prairie Indians, with Navarre as leader, also was there again in 1874. The indomitable mixed-blood had to explain again that while he was a Citizen of the United States he _was_ also the salaried Business Committee of the Prairie Band:

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[73]Kappler, _op. cit._, II, 972.

[74]Morris to Enoch Hoag, superintendent, December 3, 1869, enclosed in Hoag to E. S. Parker, C. I. A., December 4, 1869, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1869, OIA.

[75]Morris to F. A. Walker, C. I. A., May 14, 1872, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1872, OIA.

> In regard to myself I will only say, that I am the Business Committee, under a salary of two hundred dollars per annum, and when I am compelled to visit Washington, D. C., I do so at the expense of the Indians.[76]

Anthony Navarre's early career has been emphasized with a purpose. The success of the Citizen Band in the Indian Territory in securing proper recognition from the Indian Department and from the United States government was a consequence of his later, able representations. With the story of the preliminary factional struggle completed, the treaty of 1861 can be meaningfully discussed.

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[76]Navarre to E. P. Smith, C. I. A., May 4, 1874, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1874, OIA. Emphasis supplied.

CHAPTER X

ALLOTMENT PERIOD: THE CITIZEN BAND COMES INTO BEING

Neither the Indians' desires nor preferences were critical factors in the pre-treaty negotiations in 1861. It would be difficult to show that any major provision of the treaty was of Potawatomi origin, that is, with one exception. The adamant, stubborn resistance of the Prairie Indians did obtain for them a diminished reserve of nine square miles in Jackson County, Kansas, where they were able to continue for some years their traditional custom of holding lands in common. Yet the character of the Indian Department's correspondence immediately subsequent to the treaty indicates that this concession was made with the fond hope that the Prairie Band would agree to remove from Kansas within a short interval. Other provisions of the treaty itself are best understood as complementary to this otherwise unplanned concession. Paul Wallace Gates has very capably given the story

of the preparation of the text of the solemn pact and the atmosphere of its signing and ratification.[1] This treaty was a rather hastily concocted instrument, having as its main purpose the furtherance of railway interests; even the settlement of the Potawatomi lands by white settlers was a secondary consideration.

In the light of developments both before and after 1861, it is relatively easy to indict the Indian Department with lack of diligent concern for the sectionized Potawatomis' welfare. To begin with, this tribe, albeit possessing a proportion of civilized, agricultural Indians, was not the first in Kansas to be forced to accept lands in severalty. Others had felt the heavy hand of "progress." And a year before the Potawatomi treaty, the Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Thompson, described their pitiable condition. But he did not express much pity. Writing of the Shawnees, Miamis, Kaskaskias, and Peorias, he reports in 1860:

> [The four tribes] . . . belong to that class of Indians whose lands have been divided among the individual members of the tribe, and are held in severalty. These individual reservations do not

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[1]Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1860 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), pp. 112-131, passim.

> fall within the limits of a tribal reservation, but are scattered among the white settlements, and the Indians are consequently exposed to all the evils resulting from unrestrained intercourse with the whites. They are not only making no progress, but are rapidly deteriorating; and I feel confident that, unless they are removed from their present location, they will disappear altogether. Indeed, I am not sure that it would not be advisable to remove all the Indians from Kansas, and locate them upon the unoccupied portion of the Osage reservation. It would relieve Kansas from an incubus, and allow the Indians a fair opportunity of working out a future for themselves, unrestricted by the interference of the whites.[2]

So in the great haste to help out the "right people" in 1861, the Indian Department cooperated in inflicting the same hazards on the Potawatomi, a tribe long nurtured in the white man's way, and whose civilized elements had so often received the plaudits of its officials. If they will not sign away their rights and lands in Kansas, the government seemed to say, let them take the alternatives proposed. Let them sink or swim. They will probably sink anyway; that way their removal can be effected more easily. Article VIII of the Potawatomi Treaty of 1861 generously provided for their escape from Kansas:

> If at any time hereafter any band or bands of the Pottawatomie Nation shall desire to remove from the homes provided for them in this treaty, it shall be

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[2]R.C.I.A., 1860, p. 6.

> the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to have their proportionate part of the lands which may be assigned to the tribe appraised and sold, and invest such portion of the proceeds thereof as may be necessary for the purchase of a new home for such band or bands, leaving the remainder, should any remain after paying the expense of their removal, to be invested . . .[3]

Indian Department records clearly reveal a desire and expectation that the Prairie "incubus" would soon, very soon, avail itself of this most "altruistic" provisal. But the government was foiled in this fond hope. A substantial nucleus of the old Prairie Indians persevered on their diminished reservation of nine miles square. Naturally, they had to abandon the chase. Rather soon they began to build solid log dwellings, such as the more civilized elements of the Potawatomi had been long wont to do, and they sent their children to the new government school. Agriculture now became their occupation. Yet they accepted no further major showdowns with the government until they were forced to take allotments under the Dawes Act of 1887.

The Citizen Potawatomi, the disillusioned sectionizers, became much more cooperative about accepting the "escape clause" of the treaty. By 1867, the year of the next solemn pact, they faced the alternatives of complete

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[3]Kappler, op. cit., II, 827, 828.

extinction as a band, or locating in a new home of their own. Actually, having become Citizens of the United States pursuant to the treaty of 1861, they almost lost their legal status as a corporate Indian body. It was questioned in some quarters wiether they had the organic unity required for treaty making. The government overlooked this concept long enough to make a treaty of removal, but it took a number of years in Oklahoma for them to establish the point that they were collectively an Indian entity. This was the key to their more or less complete abandonment on the new Indian Territory reservation.

In Oklahoma the Citizen Band existed for a few years without even an official Indian agent. They had no annuities and no provisions for medical services. During most of the decade of the eighteen-seventies, at least, they were on their own. As for education at government expense, only a meagre, temporary provision for a few small day-schools was provided. None of these later developments can be properly understood except in the proper perspective of their Kansas background. The ability of this Citizen Band to make its own way and gain proper governmental recognition cannot be explained without taking into account the highly civilized character of the agricultural Potawatomi before the treaty

of 1861. They can hardly be blamed for not being "civilized" enough to compete with their white neighbors in Kansas, especially when the rule book of the contest was somewhat more than slightly favorable to the Caucasians.

Some events before the 1861 treaty had implications arising from the nature of the division within the Potawatomi Nation. These factors would naturally not be explored in an analysis of the land grab in favor of railway interests. Even the exigencies of a great war did not deter the Indian Department from spending considerable energy on this tribe during the fall of 1861. Commissioner William P. Dole made a trip to the reservation in September, 1861, and later, in the Annual Report, described his two-day council with the Potawatomi. He found them "intelligent and apparently happy." Their thirty mile square reservation had rich soil and was beautifully located, and

> A large majority of the tribe, usually denominated the "mission band;" are far advanced in civilization and are anxious to abandon their tribal condition and have a suitable portion of their lands allotted to them in severalty, and the remainder sold to the government at a fair price, to create a fund to enable them to commence agricultural pursuits under favorable auspices. This policy is, however, strenuously opposed by the wild or "Prairie band" of the tribe, who look with jealousy upon any innovation upon their traditional customs. I assured the "mission band" that their desire to adopt the principle of individual property, and to rely for

> support upon the cultivation of the soil, rather than the chase, was warmly approved by the government, and that in case proper efforts, and a reasonable time for reflection, should fail to induce the rest of the tribe to adopt this mode of life, measures would be adopted to relieve them from the incubus which now binds them to an uncivilized life . . .[4]

One would think that the commissioner had simply made a trip down to Kansas to look after the happiness of those dear, civilized Indians. Other evidence points to the likelihood that he hoped to conclude a treaty at that time. But the resistance encountered was eloquent and impressive. He did use the expression "strenuously opposed." His not too veiled threat presaged more vigorous action in the very near future. The Potawatomi would be relieved of an "incubus" indeed, the incubus of their lands.

Maurice Gailland, S. J., wrote an account of what really happened at the meeting between Dole and the Indians. According to the Jesuit diarist, Shawguee, one of the Prairie chiefs, made a speech that deserves a high place in the whole, long record of North American Indian eloquence. We are fortunate to have the text of the oration.[5] The

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[4] R.C.I.A., 1861, p. 12. Emphasis supplied.

[5] "Pottowatoomy Indians," Woodstock Letters (VI, May, 1877), 75-78. This account of the meeting with Dole, including Shawguee's speech, is quoted verbatim in Garraghan, op. cit., III, 26, 27, 28.

difficulty is, as Garraghan remarks, that "Gailland's version of Shawguee's 'talk' probably amplified freely the orator's actual words."[6] We can also wonder about how many other celebrated Indian orations were "amplified" by news-hungry reporters. Possibly Henry M. Stanley, covering the great Medicine Lodge Treaty negotiations with the Kiowa and Comanche in 1867, aided in promoting the reputation of the Kiowa Chief, Satanta. Nevertheless, Gailland's account of the Dole-Shawguee verbal duel is exceedingly deserving of reproduction. Gailland did not carefully distinguish between this council of September, which he did not otherwise date, and the one of November at which the treaty was actually signed. This must be kept in mind in the following:

> A delegation has come from Washington to make a treaty with the Pottowattomies, by which they will sectionize their lands, have a portion thereof allotted to each individual, acquire, if they choose, the right of becoming citizens, and cede the surplus of the land to a Railroad Company. There was a strong opposition to the treaty, especially by the prairie band. The leader of the opposition was the eloquent Shahgwee. On the day appointed for the meeting all the Indians were at the Agency, sitting on the sod. After the preliminary preparation, Commissioner Dole arose, and said: "My friends, by order of the President I have called you to this meeting to induce you to sectionize your land and come under the law as citizens of the United States; or to sell

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[6] Ibid., Garraghan, p. 28n.

out here entirely, and take in exchange another reservation which shall be assigned to you farther west." [The atmosphere of the meeting as given here is somewhat at variance with that described by Dole in the Annual Report.] Hereupon Shahgwee came to greet the delegates: all eyes were on him. He is painted, wears a feather cap; he has broad shoulders and high breast, that gives his lungs and the magnitude of his heart free and easy play. His full Indian attire adds solemnity to the circumstances. Then standing in front of the delegation our speaker said: "Gentlemen of the delegation, I too come before you to speak in the name of my fellow Pottowattomies: I tell you Messrs. Commissioners, we cannot accept either of these propositions; we are not prepared to sectionize our land and come under the law; it is only now we begin to see into the habits of the white men. Were I to make that step now, the whites would immediately surround me by the hundred, and by a thousand artifices get hold of my property; like so many leeches they would suck my blood, until I should be dead of exhaustion. No, we are not advanced enough in civilization to become citizens." "But then the laws will protect you," said Mr. Dole. "Ah, the law protect me!" answered Shahgwee; "the law protects him, that understands it; but to the poor and ignorant like the Indians it is not a shield of protection; on the contrary it is a cloak to cover the lawgiver's malice." The Commissioner replied: "If you do not think proper to become citizens, then choose the other alternative given you; sell out to the government this reservation and purchase another farther west, where you will be unmolested by the whites; we will pay you well." "You will pay me well! Ah, not all your gold can buy from us this our sweet home, the nearest to the graves of our ancestors. Here we have been born, here have grown up and reached manhood, here we shall die. But ye white men why are you so covetous, so ravenous of this my poor limited home? Behold with what liberality I treated thee. I was once the undisputed owner of that vast region, which lies around the lakes and between the great rivers; I ceded them to thee for this paltry reservation in the barren west. I gave to thee Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and thou

begrudgest me this little spot, on which I am allowed to rest and labor! Is this the character of thy mercy? Thou hast driven my forefathers from the shores of the Atlantic; are you going to pursue me until I disappear in the waters of the Pacific? Oh! for God's sake have mercy on me; cease to hunt me from desert to desert like a wild beast. Show us barbarians that civilization has softened your hearts as well as enlightened your minds." Hereupon Commissioner Dole reminded the speaker that the President wished them for their own good either to sectionize the land or move away from Kansas. Shahgwee answered: "I do not thank the President for such a desire; I think we know as well our interests, as the President: when he is enjoying himself with his friends, what does he care about us poor, benighted, forlorn Indians? One thing I wonder at, that the President, who should be like a rock, immovable in his mind and convictions, changes so often and so quickly. To-day he thinks and says the contrary of yesterday. On the same subject he speaks one thing to me and another to you. The President told me, when he assigned me this reservation. I remember it well, he told me that this land should be my last and permanent home. What business has he to tell me to change my abode? This place is mine: I can leave it or keep it as I please." Thereupon one of the delegates remarked, that this country being settled by the whites as well as by the Indians, "it is but right that in our regulations we consult their wishes; otherwise there will be no peace, no harmony between the two races." Shahgwee replied: "A pretty thing is this. Suppose a stranger comes into your house, and declares himself dissatisfied with the way your domestic affairs are managed, would you listen to his whims? What have we to do with the whites that are settling among us. If our manner of acting displeased them, why do they come in our way? Let them allow us to manage our own affairs, and we will let them manage their own." Here Com. Dole called the speaker's attention to the division of parties, that were among them. "You were once," said he, "a great nation formidable to your enemies. The name of Pottowattomy was a terror to the Sioux and the Osages; unite once more; reconcile the different parties again for your common interests, and you will be again

> a great and happy people." Shahgwee quickly retorted: "You have the brass of exhorting us to peace and union, whilst at home you take up arms against each other and fight to the knife. The South is arrayed against the North, the son fights against the father; the brother against the brother. Your country is turned into one vast battlefield; and those rich plains, that once produced so abundant crops, are laid waste and reddened with the blood of American citizens. Sir, restore peace and union among yourselves, before you come and preach it to us." These words provoked Com. Dole, who betrayed his emotion. He quickly arose and said: "Whether you like it or no, you must sign the treaty." The orator, no less excited and indignant, several times repeated the words, "you must, you must," adding: "This is an imperious command;" then in a doleful tone he said to the Commissioner: "Ah, thou are the strongest; I am the weakest." After which, turning himself and casting an angry look at the young men seated on the sod, in a thundering voice he said: "Ye braves of the Pottowattomy nation, why do you not rise; but no, the braves are all dead; you are mere children." [Then Father Gailland concluded the account with his own doleful, prophetic declaration]. This is the last eloquent appeal to the patriotism of the Pottowattomy youth; this is the last effort of the Pottowattomy nation to preserve her life and autonomy. From this we will see her dwindle away gradually, until she will have disappeared in the night of oblivion.[7]

Regardless of the accuracy of the Gailland summary in finer details, its overall validity has received definite support from the general findings of Paul Wallace Gates,[8] also from the present study of the background of the treaty

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[7]This text is taken exactly as originally printed in the Woodstock Letters, loc. cit., pp. 75-78. Italics, ibid.; remarks in brackets are supplied for purposes of clarity or interpretation.

[8]Op. cit., pp. 112-131, passim.

of 1861. Each character in the drama followed the script just as he should have. The picture of the commissioner seems most authentic. Shawgwee was perhaps a little too literary for an uneducated Prairie chieftain; maybe not. He certainly symbolized the spirit and past history of the hunters and warriors of the Potawatomi.

The impending Potawatomi treaty was discussed only in terms of two alternatives, namely, sectionize, or sell and move. Some time between September and early November, 1861, a third proposition was invented, one that received some measure of acceptance by the Prairie Indians. The records of the Indian Department do not refer to the scheme of offering a diminished reservation to them, not, at least, until the time of the presentation of the treaty. We can depend upon the research of Paul Wallace Gates at this point:

> James C. Stone, president and principal stockholder of the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western, and Thomas Ewing, Jr., prepared a draft of a proposed treaty to submit to the Pottawatomies that would authorize the purchase of the reserve by the railroad . . .[9]

It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the railroad promoters were the authors of the third alternative.

It was Stone who accomplished, on November 15, what

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[9] Op. cit., p. 128.

Commissioner Dole had not been able to effect in September. To quote again from Gates:

> To smooth their way [Stone's and Ewing's] they secured the appointment of the friendly Edmund C. Ross as commissioner to conduct the negotiations. Stone and Ross proceeded to St. Mary's Mission, where they began negotiations with the Indians.[10]

Stone's pre-eminence in the affair is emphasized even more by Thomas Ewing's own report:

> Stone has gone to the Pottawatomies with a draft of treaty and expects to get the Indians ready for early action, or to conclude it at once while there. Ross will do the work of the commissioner and should be considered appointed for the purpose . . .[11]

The success of the project was such that Ewing both telegraphed and wrote the good news to William C. Dole on November 19.[12]

Both communications urged that the commissioner authorize Ross and the Potawatomi interpreter, Joseph N. Bourassa, to proceed to Washington at once. Ewing expressed

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[10]Ibid. Probably Gates erred here in injecting the name of "Edmund C." Ross as the special commissioner. The treaty was signed by our familiar Potawatomi agent, "William W." Ross, as commissioner on the part of the United States (Kappler, op. cit., II, 828).

[11]Ewing to John P. Usher, Esq., Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C., November 9, 1861, Thomas Ewing Letter Books, Ewing Papers, Division of MSS, KSHS.

[12]Ewing to Dole, telegram (filed November 20) Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1861, OIA; Ewing to Dole, Thomas Ewing Letter Books, Ewing Papers.

the fond hope that the treaty would be ratified during the month of December. Even for Dole, this was rushing things a little too much; whereupon he inquired of Ross why Ewing was writing with such urgency.[13] Ross explained by return mail that the Indians themselves desired that their agent should assist in securing immediate ratification.[14] Finally, on December 13, Dole wrote permission for Ross and the interpreter to proceed to Washington, "as soon as practicable."[15] Actually, Ross waited until early April, 1862, to set out, taking along a whole delegation of Potawatomi, almost exclusively sectionizers. The letters of Ross and Ewing are apparently the sole official sources of information on the events of the treaty negotiations in November.

Many Indians absented themselves from the treaty signing of November 15, 1861. True enough, the eloquent Shawguee's name appeared at the head of the long list of Indian signers, by marks. Other typically Prairie names are

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[13]Dole to Ross, November 21, 1861, Letters Sent, Letter Book Vol. 67, 1861, OIA.

[14]Ross to Dole, November 29, 1861, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1861, OIA.

[15]Dole to Ross, Letters Sent, Letter Book Vol. 67, 1861, OIA.

there also.[16] To obtain an insight into the atmosphere of the proceedings, let us select again from the reporting of Thomas Ewing, Jr. He writes to Dole in the November 19 letter:

> The Pottawatomie Treaty was made on the 15th and sent to you on the 17th. Its provisions are about such as you indicated and I hope will be satisfactory to the Administration. If so, I hope you will do us the favor to see that it is sent to the senate on the first day of the session . . . Please examine the Treaty carefully. It was made in full and open council of the whole tribe, except Navarre and a few of the wildest fellows who fought you so, who absented themselves after due notice. Half Day's son, "the witch," who you will recollect as the implement man, was the only one present who fought it.[17]

Significantly, it was the son of the deceased Half Day, humorist and orator of the 1845 expedition to Washington, who made the last ditch defense of the ancient, primitive Potawatomi prerogatives. Apparently Shawgwee came to the conclusion that further resistance was futile. Ross identified Ewing's "Witch" as chief Meyanset.[18] For some unknown reason, this name was generally not present in the various

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[16]Kappler, op. cit., II, 828.

[17]Ewing to Dole, Thomas Ewing Letter Books, Ewing Papers.

[18]Loc cit., Ross to Dole, November 29, 1861.

lists of Potawatomi chiefs submitted to Washington.[19]

The Ross report suggests a greater measure of Prairie opposition than Ewing admitted. This version includes the following:

> . . . Although the feeling of the Pottowatomies is very nearly unanimous in favor of the treaty yet there are a few who object and who it was feared would remonstrate. These few compose the faction under the lead of Wabseh [Wab-sai], with Meyanset, an ugly fellow, for speaker. Wabseh was not present upon the final council upon the treaty, although I sent for him three times. The reason that he gave was that he was not able to ride. They have always been in opposition to a treaty of any kind . . .[20]

The manipulations of Wabsai, with Anthony Navarre as chief instigator, were at the core of opposition to any treaty. When we call to mind that there was a wholesale exodus of the Prairie Indians from Kansas during the eighteen-sixties, it is evident that Prairie submission was far from spontaneous or unanimous.

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[19]Murphy to Robinson, March 18, 1860, list of "acting chiefs," enclosed in Robinson to Greenwood, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1860, OIA. Wab-sai, Shawguee, and at least four other Prairie chiefs are in this listing, but not Meyanset. Likewise in 1853, in John W. Whitfield to A. Cumming, December 8, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1853, OIA, where Wab-sai is indicated as the successor of Me-a-mese, deceased, there is no reference to the son of Half Day.

[20]*Loc. cit.*, Ross to Dole, November 29, 1861.

The agricultural elements of the Potawatomi on the Kaw accepted the alternative of sectionizing, without noticeable opposition or reluctance. The long controversy, the continued pressing of the issue, and the steady stream of recommendations concerning the fitness of these civilized Indians served as background for a realization of the inevitable. They could enter upon their new status with a certain justifiable hope that everything would turn out all right, especially if they believed the advocates of allotments.

Agent Ross, in his letter of November 29, 1861, painted a picture of enthusiasm and hopeful anticipation. The civilized Potawatomi were now "harmonized," he reported, and had a keen interest in the early ratification of the treaty. Furthermore, there was much activity among them: ". . . they have shown more signs of life and energy than I have ever seen exhibited before. Notwithstanding the cold weather . . . everyone is busy staking out his claim and building his cabin . . ."[21]

One must keep in mind that this agent was a collaborator with the mighty Ewing-Stone railway interests; ratification would be the crowning success of the Potawatomi treaty.

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[21] Loc. cit., Ross to Dole.

Nevertheless, there seems little reason to doubt the accuracy of his description of the post-treaty attitude of the sectionizers. All the evidence for the next two years confirms this. They urged the early completion of the work of the special allotting agent; a certain proportion of them moved forward as quickly as possible for land patents and for citizenship.

Some, such as Eli Nadeau and family, saw the handwriting on the wall earlier than others. Nadeau, allottee number 584,[22] discovered, even before attaining the citizenship status, what was implied by federal taxes. He failed to get the proper license to operate a hotel and was hauled into court for the neglect. Agent Luther Palmer protested this treatment, which had also been accorded to Alex P. Nadeau, Adelaide Bertrand, Madore Beaubien, and others.[23] Shortly after this, Eli availed himself of the permission to forfeit his allotment and take membership in the Prairie Band. As business committee member and trader on the diminished reservation, he prospered exceedingly.[24] But the

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[22]"Roll of 1863," p. 25.

[23]Palmer to D. N. Cooley, C. I. A., August 12, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA.

[24]Personal interview with John Atwater, Sr., Holton, Kansas, March 16, 1959.

great body of the sectionized Indians made no move to escape until it was too late. They went down with the ship upon which the government had so benevolently placed them. The waters about were turbulent indeed.

Years later, one of the complaints from the Indian Territory about the treaty of 1861 alleged that the sectionizing Indians realized the risks to which they were being exposed. Joseph Moose, allottee number 901, age 4,[25] was not describing a matter of his own personal experience, but he did probably reflect the sentiment of a considerable group of Oklahoma Citizen Potawatomi for whom he was a kind of oracle and spokesman. An element of "hindsight" perhaps exists in Moose's analysis:

> In 1861-1868 two-thirds of the Pottawatomies declared their intention of abandoning their relationship by sectionizing and becoming citizens of the United States. A final settlement was made with the Government for their individual portions of the available tribal funds, and an agreement made with the Prairie Band, or Illinois Pottawattamies, who yet retain their tribal relations, for an equitable distribution of the lands and moneys between them. The chiefs and headmen of the day, consciously aware of their incapacity, made a provision to the effect that if the citizen band made a failure to compete with the whites that a home should be secured for them in the Indian Territory,--or in the simple language of a Pottawattamie chief: "If the white man's clothing (naturalization), should illy fit us. If his coarse

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25"Roll of 1863," p. 38.

> woolen shirts and his unneighborly ways be too raspy and harsh upon our sensitive feeling. If we are too slow to compete with his vast energy and ambition. If we are too weak to cope with his mighty strength. If his shrewdness, greed and extortion and our own ignorance should result in poverty and misery to us. We will then want a home among our brethren of the South, where we and our children can go to hide our pitiful experience. And once more take up the "leggin" and the clout . . .[26]

In view of the general tenor of Departmental correspondence and the Annual Reports of the post-treaty years, the "escape clause," Article VIII was primarily intended as a device to facilitate the removal of the Prairie Indians. Some of Moose's other allusions have too much of the ring of an interpretation based on knowledge of the subsequent debacle. If some Potawatomi chief did, in 1861, have the sagacity to look ahead with such depth of insight, he was very astute.

George L. Young, writing from the Potawatomi Reservation, Indian Territory, in 1876, gives an analysis which perhaps better reflects the actual facts:

> Sometime during the fall of 1861 a Commission, consisting of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and other prominent men, made a treaty with our people whereby we were to become citizens of the United States. We made the treaty because the Government desired us to do so, not that we understood what being a citizen meant; - but we were told that all

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[26]"Catholicity among the Pottawattamies," The Indian Advocate (II, July, 1890), 10, 11. Emphasis supplied.

> we had to do to become happy and prosperous was to become citizens and having always listened to the words sent us from Washington we did as the Government wished us to do.[27]

Moose's and Young's statements serve as a satisfactory introduction to the Citizen Band's failures in Kansas. Continuing, Young writes:

> And what have been the consequences? We were surrounded by whites whose only aim seemed to get at what little property we had and they succeeded but too well. What, between the whisky seller and other dishonest men, we were soon stripped of all that we had received in the way of head money and land and left almost in a state of destitution and intemperance (as what Indian ever resisted the cup when offered to him), and we found instead of being a prosperous and happy people we were a debased and unhappy one, and seeing no hope for ourselves and our children while surrounded by those influences we came down here away from temptation to attempt to build for our families homes and at least spend the remainder of our lives in sober, industrious labor. We are poor--in fact, all we have left is our will to do, and the Great Spirit being with us, we feel we are once more men and women. Now, Sir, such being our present condition, cannot you persuade the Government to assist us in this our honest undertaking.[28]

As the history of the Potawatomi in Oklahoma will verify, almost ten years elapsed before the Indian Department gave them any significant recognition or aid. They did not go

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[27]John Anderson, Jacob Johnson and others (Young signing as Secretary) to J. Q. Smith, C. I. A., November 6, 1876, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1876, OIA.

[28]*Ibid*.

back to the "leggin" and the "clout" either. In this phenomenon of "abandoned Indians" being able to hold on, there is evidence that their training in the ways of civilization was not lost in the period of Kansas debasement.

Potawatomi census calculations were modified after the 1861 treaty. To begin with, Agent William E. Murphy submitted the figure of 2,405 as his total of all men, women, and children for the year 1860. He remarked that the decrease of 365 from the year preceding was accounted for by his own insistence that the practice of "enrolling the dead" be discontinued.[29] The report of Agent Ross in September, 1862, gave the total as 2,259.[30] During May of 1863, special allotting commissioner, Edward Wolcott, replying to a query from Commissioner William P. Dole, estimated that he had enrolled "about 1,400" desiring lands in severalty; also, that a second class, wishing to remain on the diminished reserve with lands in common, numbered about 900; furthermore that there was a third class of about 100 who preferred a reserve set apart for them, but only for the purpose of selling it and removing elsewhere. He thought his total of 2,400 was

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[29] R.C.I.A., 1860, p. 108.

[30] R.C.I.A., 1862, p. 118.

probably a little high and that 2,000 or 2,300 might be closer to the actual fact.[31] By 1866, Dennis N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, gave the total population of the Kansas Potawatomi as 1,992.[32] This reduced figure can be explained in part by the Prairie Band dispersal, which became a very noticeable trend by 1865.

In spite of continued, informal scattering of the Indians to other areas, the influx of Potawatomi from the Great Lakes states during the allotment period resulted in a measure of compensation for the losses. Agent Luther R. Palmer reported the total number present in both bands, in 1867, as 2,180;[33] in 1868 he gave the count as 2,025.[34] It is significant, in Superintendent Thomas Murphy's breakdown of the latter figure, that he estimated that "the portion of this tribe, known as the prairie band or blanket Indians" numbered "about 400."[35] This looks very much like the simple restating of the figures of the previous year. As far as can be

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[31]Wolcott to Dole, May 10, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

[32]R.C.I.A., 1866, p. 50.

[33]R.C.I.A., 1867, p. 101.

[34]R.C.I.A., 1868, p. 263.

[35]R.C.I.A., 1869, p. 257, 258.

ascertained, neither agent nor superintendent even made a wild guess at the total in 1870 and 1871, but the Prairie Band figure for the latter year was submitted as "350 in number."[36] By this time, too, the scattering of the Citizens to various destinations was well under way.

Under the 1861 treaty, it was strictly a matter of choice on the part of the chiefs, headmen, and heads of families as to whether they took allotments or not. Subsequent intermingling of agricultural and blanket Indians occurred to such an extent that the pre-treaty identification was lost. While for the greater part, the sectionizers were from the farming class, none of the Prairie Band was excluded from taking allotments. An Indian's opposition to the treaty did not preclude him from becoming an allottee. By the same token, those who previously supported allotments might elect to stay with the Indians of the diminished reservation. The point is that the term "Prairie Band," after the allotment period was completed, had a different connotation than it did before 1861. Some made a choice to take an allotment and shortly after changed their minds in favor of giving it up to return to the other status. On the other hand, some elected

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[36] R.C.I.A., 1871, p. 461.

the way of taking lands in common and afterwards transferred to the allottee status. The alloting officials and the Indian Department freely permitted both types of deviations.

Even before 1861 there was a certain elasticity about the expression "Prairie Band" as applied to individuals. In the earlier correspondence it was sometimes used as conterminous with the United Band of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, or with Council Bluffs or Bluffs Indians. All members of the collectivity of Potawatomi in Iowa in certain references were designated "Prairie Band." This included the former Chicago mixed-bloods and a scattering of the St. Joseph Band.

On the Kaw Reservation, after 1848, the term "Prairie Band" came more and more to designate the hunting, blanket Indians, as distinguished from the "mission band." Former Council Bluffs mixed-bloods, now prosperous farmers or businessmen, loyal patrons of St. Mary's mission and school, were now definitely "mission band." Also, any "Prairie Indian," whether of Osage River or Iowa origin, who became a Christian and no longer associated with the pagan and primitive Indians passed into the classification of "mission band." To judge from the complaints of the Jesuit Fathers, this was no everyday occurrence. Here it is

simply emphasized that any individual might make the transition. The term "Prairie Band," then, came more and more to specify a way of Potawatomi life even before 1861. After that year, or with the passing of the allotment period, it lost even this semi-exclusive meaning. Anyone who elected to cast his lot with the diminished reservation, or dropped his allottee status to return to it, was henceforth "Prairie Band." All these considerations have their implications for the Citizen Band, both as to its nature and origin. After 1869 there were no more allotments and no further opportunity to change bands. But many Citizens, unable to carry the load of their new status, simply moved into the Prairie Reservation in Jackson County. Their choice was a very arbitrary one in the first place.

The most spectacular example of an individual Potawatomi shifting from one band to the other was the case of old Chief Shawgwee. Not having access to information surrounding his personal life between 1861 and 1865, one cannot fully grasp his decision to take an allotment. It was Shawgwee whom Agent Clarke had described as "a bold and influential chief" of the Prairie Indians, and, who in that year, 1856, had gone off with his band for a sojourn with the

Cherokees and Creeks.[37] Shawgwee it was who withstood Commissioner William P. Dole in September, 1861, delivering the great peroration against sectionizing and who subsequently cast his lot with the Citizens. Perhaps his cooperation in signing the treaty itself was an indication of an early weakness. We have also noticed that he opposed Chief Wobsai and Anthony Navarre and in no manner cooperated with them in their feeble effort to block the ratification of the treaty. Agent Ross, in August, 1864, mentioned Shawguee's band again. They and the "wild Indians," as he described them, were very frustrated over the destruction of the western hunting grounds by the Great Plains tribes. In fact, this particular band had gone again to the Cherokees and Osages.[38] But Ross did not state that Shawgwee himself was on this expedition. It is possible that his warriors and hunters no longer looked to their chief for leadership. The next significant allusion to Shawgwee in the Departmental correspondence was in a letter of Dole to Agent Luther R. Palmer, authorizing the old chief and others to take lands in severalty if they so

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[37] R.C.I.A., 1856, p. 113.

[38] Ross to Dole, August 19, 1864, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1864, OIA.

desired.[39] The commissioner explained that anyone who had been originally entitled under the treaty to select an allotment could still exercise his option.

Shawgwee became an allottee, number 1403.[40] Thus he joined We-we-say, Ma-zhee, Ga-gad-mo, and other notables in whose company he traditionally was not accustomed to travel. Agent Palmer, in submitting one of his many lists of naturalized Indians, disagreed with the Business Committee in recommending Shawgwee for a patent in fee to his land. The reason: Shawgwee was showing no sign of doing any work![41] Earlier, one of Dole's letters to the agent suggested a possible key to Shawgwee's odd decision to take an allotment: that the old chief wished to get his own land, sell it, and move elsewhere.[42] This could explain why the agent was reluctant more

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[39]Dole to Palmer, March 3, 1865, Letter Sent, Letter Book, Vol. 76, 1865, OIA.

[40]Allotment Roll of 1863, p. 62. At the top of this page Edward Wolcott, the allotting commissioner, copied his own letter of May 3, 1865, in which he acknowledged the authority granted in the letter just cited. Then he listed Shawgwee and eleven other very Indian names as a supplementary list of allottees. On page 63 is a copy of the Secretary of the Interior's letter of approval of the additional, "foregoing list."

[41]Palmer to Murphy, supt., November 4, 1866, enclosed in Murphy to L. Bogy, C. I. A., November 9, 1866, Letters Receoved, Potawatomi Agency file, 1866, OIA.

[42]*Loc. cit.*, Dole to Palmer, March 3, 1865.

than a year later to recommend Shawgwee for a patent. Shawgwee seemingly drops from the Indian Department correspondence after 1866; there is nothing about him in the Indian Territory records of the Citizen Band.

Shifting from the allottee status to the rolls of the Prairie Band never became a mass movement. However, on about half a dozen pages of the "Allotment Roll of 1863" there are notations, later inserted, "changed to the Prairie Band."[43] Eli Naddeau and his family also did not follow the script. His choice of staying with the Prairie Band was as much of a paradox as Shawgwee's decision to become a sectionizer.

One other classification of notations on the 1863 allotment roll is also worthy of note. The words, "Mexican Pottawattomies," were written beside a few dozen names. these were the Indians who, along with elements of the

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[43] In the Potawatomi Agency file, Letters Received, February-May, 1865, OIA, there are several items having reference to authorization for this type of change. The Department's attitude exactly paralleled its action on Shawgwee and associates. According to these letters, some of these desiring to abandon their allotments, very freely confessed their concern about being able to make a success of them. Therefore some of the shifting to the Prairie Band resulted from seeing the "handwriting on the wall."

Prairie Band, went off to Mexico with the Kickapoos.[44] The Sac and Fox Agency records, Indian Territory, make it clear that some of these later joined the Citizen Band on the Oklahoma Potawatomi Reservation. One can easily conclude that these Indians were not of the staid, agricultural, and mission types. They did not technically transfer to the new Prairie Band, but they also did not remain to establish themselves as Kansas farmers. There is also no evidence that they later remained in Oklahoma in a similar capacity.

Even as late as 1869, the Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, authorized the transfer of the eleven members from the Prairie Band to the Citizen Band, and contrariwise, eleven from the Citizen Band to the Prairie Band. In this particular case, it was simply a matter of trading positions. The eleven allottees gave up their lands to the eleven requesting individual lands. Then these former sectionizers took their place on the diminished reservation as members of the Prairie Band.[45]

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[44]For details on the nature of the varied assemblage of Kansas Indians who removed to Mexico during the American Civil War, see George A. Root (ed.) "No-Ko-Ahts," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, I (February, 1932).

[45]Cox to E. S. Parker, C. I. A., April 26, 1869, enclosing the two lists of Indians as sent in by Agent Luther R. Palmer, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1869, OIA.

Both the original Citizen and Prairie Bands which came into being as a result of the treaty of 1861 lacked the quality of complete homogeneity. Membership was based on arbitrary decisions of the Indians themselves, or even on their second decisions. It is plausible, however, that the preponderant corps of civilized Indians which made up the Citizen Band roster enabled it to survive the debacle of the Kansas allotment experiment. A portion of vigorous mixed-bloods and Indian farmers were able later to re-establish themselves in the Indian Territory, albeit in a relatively abandoned condition. And there, homogeneity in the more fundamental aspects of civilized life became more evident.

The Indian Department proceeded rapidly with the details of inaugurating the sectionizing process. Shortly after the ratification of the treaty, Edward Wolcott, of Illinois, R. C. Joseph, of Indiana, and H. S. Sleeper, of Kansas, signed a contract and made bond to complete a survey of the Potawatomi Reservation.[46] By October of 1862, Dole acknowledged a report from Agent Ross that the survey was in an advanced stage, and that a preliminary census of the

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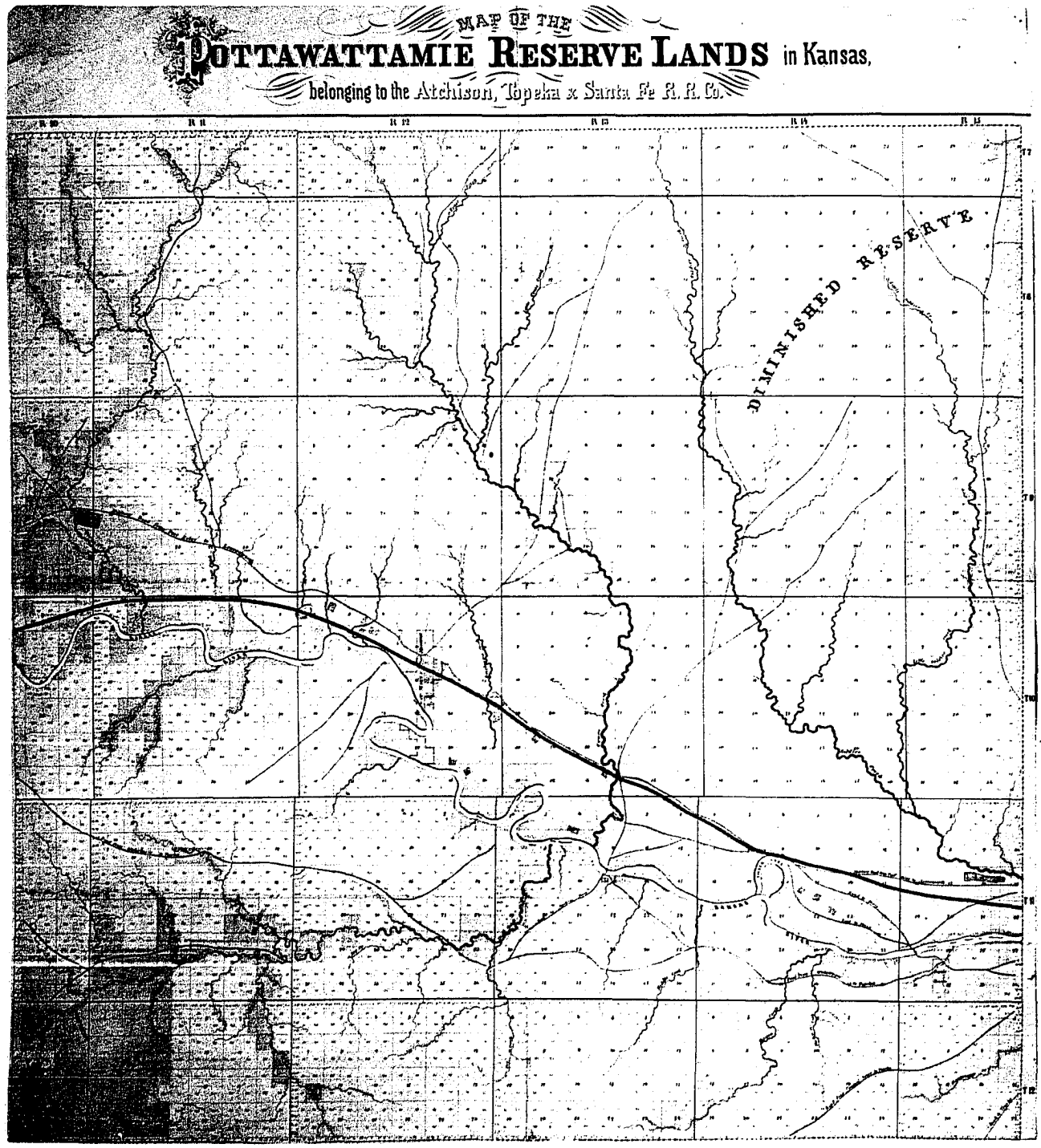
[46]"Wolcott and others" to Dole, June 16, 1862, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1862, OIA.



Map IV. Kaw River Potawatomi allotments: shaded areas. Baptist Mission is near river at extreme lower right; St. Mary's, to left of center. Cross Creek at center, flowing into Kaw a few miles above Uniontown (south side), the original trading post. Courtesy of Kansas State Historical Society.

sectionizers was already prepared.[47] On January 19, 1863, Ross wrote that the census was completed as of December, 1862. The agent thought, however, that there were errors and inaccuracies, also that corrections were necessary before the census could be used as the basis of making allotments.[48] On the same date the commissioner wrote three separate letters to Ross, who was in Washington at the time, discussing details of the program. In one of these he ruled that heirs were entitled to additional land, provided that they were eligible for such allotments while the deceased were still alive.[49] This was one of the more simple problems which arose.

Considerable correspondence developed over various complexities. This slowed allotting, which had gotten off to such a fast start. Notice is taken here only of such discussions as affected in some fundamental manner the formation of the Citizen Band. Toward the beginning, Ross and Wolcott were restrictive in authorizing allotments in

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[47]Dole to Ross, October 28, 1862, Letters Sent, Letter Book, Vol. 69, 1862, OIA.

[48]Ross to Dole, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

[49]Dole to Ross, January 19, 1863, Letters Sent, Letter Book, Vol. 69, 1863, OIA.

doubtful cases; in this, Washington was inclined to uphold them. But in course of time the standards became more and more liberal. The recommendations of the Business Committee were accepted, and a maximum number of white men, children, and newcomers were granted land. So much land was parceled out that the officials of the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railway (Union Pacific, Eastern Division) declined to take up their rights, under the treaty of 1861, to buy the surplus lands.[50]

One of the more important developments in the allotment period was the adoption of a very liberal policy in granting land to the intermarried white men on the reservation. Even before the Potawatomi moved to the Kaw, persons of non-Indian blood dwelt among the Potawatomi, intermarried with them, and otherwise enjoyed the position of adoption into the tribe. It seems, nonetheless, that an uncommon liberality developed toward them when the lands in severalty were taken. As late as July, 1861, there was a protest by the Potawatomi Council against Agent Ross' practice of paying

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[50]John D. Perry, president of the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, to Orville H. Browning, Secretary of the Interior, September 16, 1867, an enclosure with W. T. Otto, acting Secretary of the Interior, to Charles Mix, C. I. A., September 19, 1867, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1867, OIA.

annuities to white men who were members of the tribe "by marriage or otherwise."[51] Ross commented that he did not think the protest was just, because, "If a man is allowed to become a member of the nation it would seem as if he should enjoy with them all their rights and privileges."[52] How extensively the adopted whites drew annuities before 1861 is difficult to determine. By 1863, Commissioner Dole, in authorizing a very free-handed principle about granting allotments to intermarried whites, expressly mentioned that many of them had been drawing annuities.[53] In any case, Ross' policy of equal privileges came to prevail in the allotment process.

At first the Washington Indian Office tried to make distinctions between the reservation whites. Edward Wolcott, the allotting commissioner, argued that only a few of them were formally adopted into the tribe with "appropriate ceremonies." This was the standard which Dole recommended. Wolcott urged that all those actually intermarried into the

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[51]Ross to H. B. Branch, Supt., July 15, 1861, enclosed in Branch to Dole, July 19, 1861, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1861, OIA.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Dole to Ross and Wolcott, May 19, 1863, Letters Sent, Letter Book, Vol. 70, 1863, OIA.

tribe, even recently, were entitled to equal privileges:

> The Pottawattamies are considerably advanced in civilization, and are, as a class, more intelligent than any tribe to whom I have allotted lands. Any rule, therefore, for the admission or rejection of whites, which does not allow a clear line of distinction to be drawn, would, if adopted by us, cause dissatisfaction among them, and subject us to the charge of partiality and favoritism.[54]

Wilcott definitely pushed the cause of the whites. In an earlier letter, in reply to which Dole recommended the distinction between "adopted" and "non-adopted," Wolcott stated their case in this manner:

> In the allotment of lands in severalty to the Pottawattamies, which is now in progress, the question very naturally arises with the commissioners whether the whites who have intermarried with the tribe have a right to land . . . I desire to state that the whites above referred to are very worthy, well-disposed men. Men whose influence and example have been the means of elevating the tribe to that position which entitles it to rank as one of--if not the most intelligent, industrious, and honest of all the Indian tribes that acknowledge fealty to our government. If then, to them, the tribe are indebted for their civilization, it would seem but simple justice that now when the major portion of them are about to dissolve their tribal relations--to cast off forever the last relic of barbarism, and to take their position in the world as a civilized people, that those men who at an early day married the daughters of the tribe through the best motives have been the means of accomplishing this much desired result, should be equal participants in the division of the soil, especially

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[54]Wolcott to Dole, May 7, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

> when it is the desire of the tribe for them to do so . . .[55]

The arguments of Ross and Wolcott evidently made an impression on Commissioner Dole. In his letter to them, of May 19, 1863, he gave them the basis of a most liberal policy:

> In reply to your letter of the 7th inst. asking for further instructions in relation to who shall be considered to be entitled to allotments of land under the Pottawatomie Treaty, I have to state that in cases where white persons claim allotments as Indians by adoption, it is not necessary that they shall have been adopted under the ceremonials used by Indians but they must be recognized by the Indians as members of the tribe, participated in annuities and must have ceased to vote or exercise the other rights of citizenship [such as they enjoyed before their association with the Indians]. In addition to this, the tribe must determine whether such persons shall participate in the allotments.[56]

Later correspondence reveals that the Business Committee acted as the liason group in making known the will of the Indians in this and similar matters.

The completed Kansas allotment rolls contain a high proportion of very Anglo and mixed-blood French names. Some of these "white Potawatomi" later became very influential in

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[55]Ross and Wolcott to Dole, March 17, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA. Emphasis supplied. This praise of Potawatomi intermarriage echoes the thesis expressed by Richard S. Elliot at Council Bluffs.

[56]*Loc cit.*, Dole to Ross and Wolcott.

early Potawatomi affairs in Oklahoma. Notable was Joshua E. Clardy, promoter of the first Potawatomi Day School.[57] Also George L. Young, a trader and member of the Potawatomi Businexx Committee in Kansas, became an outstanding figure in Oklahoma. But the fact that he was a white man tended at times to complicate his position. At first the Sac and Fox agents in the Indian Territory, who eventually were given jurisdiction over the Citizen Potawatomi, were inclined to look askance at white men who represented themselves as Indians. John S. Shorb wrote rather sternly to Chief Peter

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[57]Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior, to E. P. Smith, C. I. A., March 25, 1875, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1875, OIA. Clardy, allottee number 8, age 27 ("Roll of 1863"), was one of the earlier arrivals in the Indian Territory. After living there for a time, he returned to Kansas and became well known as a newspaper man. In 1879 he was owner and proprietor of the Pottawatomie Chief, St. Marys, Kansas (Biographical Card Index, Oklahoma Historical Society); The Kansas Agriculturist, Wamego, Kansas, was also one of his interests ("First Biennial report," Kansas Historical Collections I, 1879, p. 24). Joshua Clardy's older son Benjamin, allottee number 10, age 3 ("Roll of 1863") later was the sole Potawatomi electee to the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature ("The Second Territorial Legislature," Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine, VI, May, 1908, p. 81). William Clardy, allottee number 1552, age 1, was the last name on the pages of the amended Allotment Roll of 1863, p. 70. He, also a son of J. E. Clardy, was born in Wamego, Kansas, in 1866. Later he worked in his father's printing business in Kansas and attended Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas. In 1887 he was in business at Sacred Heart, Potawatomi Reservation, Indian Territory, and in 1890 moved to Purcell, where he was made postmaster in 1894 (The Oklahoma Magazine, III, No. 5, May, 1895, p. 333).

the Great, Sacred Heart Mission, that George Young must prove that he was an "adopted citizen."[58] Jacob V. Carter, successor to Shorb, also expressed his ire about Young:

> I wrote to inform you that I had from time to time been receiving letters from one George L. Young, who seems to feel a great interest in what he calls "my people" . . . I did not know but what he was an Indian, but I have been informed lately that he is a white man living amongst you. Now I wish to inform you that I did not come here to be agent for white men but Indians, and therefore I would like for white men to leave me alone . . .[59]

Plainly, these agents did not have sufficient knowledge of the history and background of the Citizen Potawatomi. However, a few years later, one of their number, Moses Neal, expressed a much fuller realization of the character of this flock:

> . . . The Pottawatomies are mostly whites and have more white intruders among them than all other Indians of this agency. The agent who will please the Pottawatomies and the intruders and do his duty should have a patent on the business.[60]

This statement epitomizes the situation resultant from the

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[58]April 8, 1881, Sac and Fox Letter Book, No. 8, Indian Archives, OHS.

[59]Carter to Peter the Great, Sacred Heart, I. T., October 30, 1882, Sac and Fox Letter Book, No. 9B, Indian Archives, OHS.

[60]Neal to J. D. C. Atkins, C. I. A., October 17, 1887, Sac and Fox Letter Book, No. 13, Indian Archives, OHS.

old Potawatomi affinity for the white man. The Kansas allotment period was only one more stage in a process which had been in operation since the eighteenth century.

Edward Wolcott at one point raised the issue of insisting on Potawatomi blood as a requisite condition for the assignment of land. He turned down some members of the Weld family on the basis that they were not Potawatomi. This drew a letter of protest from the old veteran, Joseph Napoleon Bourassa, who was labled as an Ottawa in the earlier records. In the first place, he charged that Wolcott was not acting fairly and impartially. Bourassa also vigorously protested that land was made available to some Negroes who moved recently into the nation from another tribe.[61] His letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs contains this very interesting paragraph:

> He [Wolcott] asks if Weld's family are Pottawatomies. This question we deem very unmeaning indeed, when we well know that our nation is made up of about twenty different tribes. And I challenge Mr. Wolcott to find a half-dozen pure-blooded Pottawatomies.[62]

Bourassa's statement is significant when one considers that

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[61]The present research revealed no mention of people of African background among the Citizen Band in Oklahoma.

[62]Bourassa to Dole, April 9, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA.

it was written by one of the most educated and most experienced members of the older mixed-blood families. Assistant Commissioner Charles E. Mix replied to the Bourassa protest. He stated that the allegations about Wolcott were too general in their nature. The Commissioner's office would authorize an investigation if there were evidence of something more specific respecting the misconduct of the allotting agent.[63] But the Weld family apparently received their allotments.[64]

Wolcott also tried to hold out for actual presence on the reservation as a condition for receiving land. This is illustrated in the case of Richard Bertrand, son of Lawrence J. and Adelaide Bertrand. The latter, in August, 1863, wrote a very appealing letter to Commissioner Dole. She explained that her husband died fourteen years before, that the family was very poor, and that, at nineteen, Richard went to California to seek employment. Not doing well there, he traveled to his uncle's home in Toledo, Ohio, where he was

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[63]Mix to Bourassa, May 6, 1865, Letters Sent, Letter Book, Vol. 77, 1865, OIA.

[64]The name of Weld appears at least four times on the allotment rolls: Margaret, No. 738; Madaline, No. 739; Hiram, 740; Volner, No. 1153. Hiram was later allottee number 851 in the Oklahoma allotment period, and land was granted to a total of eight Welds under the Dawes Act of 1887 (1887 Allotment Roll, index, p. 202).

presently employed. It was extremely inconvenient, she stated, for him to return to Kansas at that time to receive his grant of land.[65] Commissioner Dole ruled that a third party might make Richard's selection of land for him.[66] For some reason, however, Richard did not actually receive his allotment until his return to Kansas following service in the Civil War. He wrote from St. Mary's in October, 1865, explaining that in Ohio he joined the National Guard, that he served under General Grant for five months around Petersburg, Virginia, and that it was impossible for him to return to Kansas earlier for his allotment.[67] Thus Bertrand's name, along with that of another war veteran, William Brown, was not officially submitted as approved for an allotment until July, 1866.[68] Bertrand heads one of the amended lists to

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[65]Adelaide Bertrand to Dole, August 2, 1863, an enclosure with Dole to Charles E. Mix, August 19, 1863, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1863, OIA.

[66]Ibid., August 19.

[67]Bertrand to James Harlan, Secretary of the Interior, October 27, 1865, enclosed in Harlan to D. N. Cooley, C. I. A., January 17, 1866, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1866, OIA.

[68]Palmer to Thomas Murphy, supt., July 15, 1866, enclosed in Murphy to Cooley, July 18, 1866, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1866, OIA.

the original allotment roster: number 1415, age 28.[69]

The Indian Department was very liberal in authorizing allotments for newly born children. Over and above the acreage which had been originally contemplated for the allottees, a total of 15,462 acres was assigned to minor children. This reduction from 354,643 to only slightly over 339,000 acres[70]

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[69]"Roll of 1863," p. 64. Apart from Bertrand and Brown there is no indication of a post-Civil War allotment of land to returning veterans. According to William E. Connelley there were seventy-one Potawatomi engaged in the war on the union side, many of whom met death from combat or illness ("The Prairie Band of Pottawatomi Indians," loc. cit., p. 518). Whether or not these Indian soldiers were mostly or exclusively from Kansas is not stated; also, it is not thus far established as to whether or not they were predominantly from one or other segment of the tribe. Anyone desiring to pursue the subject of Potawatomi Civil War veterans should investigate the records of the 14th Regiment of Kansas Cavalry. At least two of the mixed-bloods were members of that unit. Alexander Rhodd (Rodd), allottee number 604 ("Roll of 1863," p. 26), and later an outstanding member of the Business Committee in Oklahoma, received a bounty payment from the paymaster of the U. S., A. B. Casey, in 1876. In this communication his military organization was stated as the 14th Kansas Cavalry Regiment (Casey to E. P. Smith, C. I. A., August 2, 1876, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1876, OIA). Likewise, Archange Lafromboise, widow of the deceased veteran, Francis La Fromboise, allottee 684 ("Roll of 1863," p. 29) received a similar payment (William Nicholson, Lawrence, Kansas, to E. P. Smith, C. I A., July 10, 1876, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1876, OIA). This letter lists Lafromboise as having served with the 14th Kansas Cavalry Regiment.

[70]"Compromise Agreement: Prairie and Citizen Bands," July 18, 1873, Special Case, File 120, OIA.

was a major factor in the Union Pacific's decision not to buy the surplus lands.[71] The diminished surplus represented the lands purchased by the Santa Fe Railroad by provision of the Treaty of 1867.

The attitude of the government toward allotting to infants and newcomers was well illustrated by a letter of the Secretary of the Interior during November, 1866. Orville H. Browning summed up the official attitude as follows:

> I have taken for approval of assignments or allotments, by the Department, viz., the 17th of January, 1866. All children, therefore of the Pottowatomi Nation, who were born prior to that date, will be regarded as entitled, if now living, to lands in severalty, and who, by their parents or guardians have requested it, and as the lands belong to the Indians, and their claims are and ought to be first and satisfied, I think it is no more than right and proper that such of the Indians as may have returned, and in good faith, and with the concurrence and wishes of the nation, been re-incorporated into the tribe should have lands in severalty, or in common as they may have elected . . .[72]

It is also evident that the Secretary turned down a protest of the prospective railway purchasers of the surplus lands.

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[71] John D. Perry to O. H. Browning, Secretary of the Interior, September 16, 1867, an enclosure with W. T. Otto, acting Secretary of Interior, to Mix, September 19, 1867, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency files, 1867, OIA.

[72] Browning to Lewis V. Bogg, C. I. A., November 9, 1866, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1866, OIA.

Not until March 16, 1867, did the final additional list of allottees receive his approval and signature.[73]

It is very doubtful that "returned Indians" was interpreted technically to apply only to those who had previously lived on the Kaw Reservation. During 1866, Agent Luther R. Palmer wrote repeatedly on behalf of arrivals from Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. During July he argued the case of more than a dozen Navarres (allottees, 1435-1448) from Indiana; likewise of four Bourassas from Illlinois (allottees, 1449-1453); of five De Graffs (allottees, 843-874); and of four Yotts (allottees, 1456-1459) from Wisconsin.[74] Apparently, approval of some of these allotments was previously held up. In August Palmer wrote again, this time stressing that the combined Business Committee and a group of other very important individuals from both Prairie and Citizen Bands had petitioned that the Department approve the allotments.[75] Secretary Browning's letter of November 9,

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[73]"Roll of 1863," p. 65. A copy of the text of Browning's letter to Charles E. Mix is here inserted into the allotment book.

[74]Palmer to D. N. Cooley, C. I. A., July 24, 1866, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1866.

[75]Palmer to Cooley, August 7, 1866, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1866, OIA.

1866, cleared the way for the acceptance of these late arrivals from the Great Lakes region into the Citizen Band. Since all the family names of the newly arriving allottees definitely showed up later in the Indian Territory, this adds one more complexity to the nature of the Potawatomi in Oklahoma. Among their members were people disassociated from reservation life for a generation or two, or perhaps who never had lived on one. In light of this, Agent Moses Neal's 1887 comment that the Oklahoma Citizen Band was made up of "white people" becomes even more comprehensible.

CHAPTER XI

CITIZEN BAND RETAINS SOLIDARITY DESPITE KANSAS FAILURE

The rapid and virtually complete failure of the sectionized Potawatomi in Kansas forms a sad chapter in the long history of injustice to the American Indian. When we take into account the sum total of the adversities, handicaps, and mistakes in policy, even by those who had the interests of the allottees at heart, we can, it seems, validly make the judgment that it would have been most difficult for any planned program for their destruction to have been more successful. Every necessary safeguard was lacking. Every set of circumstances favorable to the failure of the experiment was present. Admittedly, it is probable that, even under the most advantageous conditions, its wholesale success was far from assured. This was especially true in view of the nature of the sectionized band. Any Potawatomi could elect to go the way of the independent farmer and citizen,

regardless of his particular background. Nevertheless, any chance for a successful result was entirely nullified by the combination of adverse factors which quickly engulfed the allottees.

The fundamental flaw in the national government's policy was the lack of adequate protection to safeguard the allotted Indian in the possession of his land. All other aspects of the subsequent Potawatomi debacle were secondary to this major consideration, namely, that the Indians were dispossessed and left homeless. This was particularly unfortunate for the Citizen Band member in that he was also bereft of all annuities, and, being a citizen, was generally deprived for a considerable time of the ordinary advantages of the status of an Indian.

Fortunately, although somewhat inconsistently, Article VIII of the 1861 treaty provided the basis for another treaty (1867) whereby any "band or bands of the Pottawatomie Nation" which should desire might obtain a new home from the government.[1] In this context the Citizen Potawatomi was an Indian. However, in 1872, shortly after scattered elements of this band began the occupation of the Potawatomi Reserve

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[1]Kappler, op. cit., II, 827.

in the Indian Territory, the Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, seriously called into question their right to hold land as a "Nation" or as an organic unit. He argued that there was now no Potawatomi nation or tribe in existence except the Prairie Band. Therefore, the Citizen Band could not receive title to the tract in the Indian Territory, pending legislation to authorize it. Delano concluded his letter to James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House, with an urgent appeal for the necessary act of Congress.[2] In effect, the Secretary questioned the language of Article I, Potawatomi Treaty of 1867, which stated that a reservation "not exceeding thirty miles square" should be patented to the "Pottawatomie Nation."[3] The full text of this pact admits no construction other than that "Pottawatomie Nation" equated Citizen Band. The Prairie Band, mentioned elsewhere in the treaty, was excluded from the expression as used in Article I. Subsequent to the Delano appeal to Blaine, the Congress, on May 23, 1872, passed an "Act to Provide Homes for the Pottawatomie and Absentee Shawnee Indians in the Indian

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[2]Delano to Blaine, March 15, 1872, U. S. 42nd Congress, House Executive Document, 203, 2nd Sess., pp. 3, 4.

[3]Kappler, op. cit., II, 970.

Territory."[4] The legislation empowered both tribes, under certain conditions, to take allotments on the Oklahoma Potawatomi Reserve.[5] Congress either acceded to, or ignored Delano's arguments, because the spirit of the new law was to accept the concept of the Treaty of 1867 wherein the Citizen Band was recognized as a corporate Indian nation.

The point is, however, that there was a period of time during which the Citizen Potawatomi status as an Indian was questioned. Simultaneously, his prerogatives as an individual citizen of the United States were seriously in jeopardy. The matter of his citizenship was very intimately related to the loss of his individual lands in Kansas. Having lost the lands, being only doubtfully an Indian, and even more doubtfully a member of a nation or tribe he was in a precarious condition indeed.

Article II of the Treaty of 1861 seemed to provide a

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[4]U. S. Statutes at Large, XVII, 159.

[5]The problem of the cohabitation of the Absentee Shawnees with the Potawatomi on the reservation designated to the latter will require detailed discussion in the history of the Citizen Band in Oklahoma. The main point is that the 1872 Allotment Act did use the word "tribes," although only individual Indians as such were authorized to take lands, being required to pay for them personally at a few cents per acre. Therefore, the corporate being of the Citizen Band was still in a struggle for existence.

safeguard to sectionized Potawatomi in maintaining possession of their individual lands. After specifying that a census should be taken of all those desiring lands in severalty and of those choosing to live on the diminished reservation (Prairie Band), the article listed the standards for acreage allowances for chiefs, headmen, heads of families, and others. Then the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was instructed to issue land certificates:

> . . . for the tracts assigned in severalty, specifying the names of the individuals to whom they have been assigned, and that such tracts are set apart for the perpetual and exclusive use and benefit of such assignees and their heirs. Until otherwise provided by law, such tracts shall be exempt from levy, taxation, or sale, and shall be alienable in fee or leased or otherwise disposed of only to the United States, to persons then being members of the Pottawatomie tribe and of Indian blood with permission of the President, and under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall provide . . .[6]

Protection against taxation, as stated, was a very essential stipulation, but, as will become evident, this provision was not enforced. Kansas officials moved in, assessing and taxing the lands, even while the Indians held them only on the basis of the original certificates and before they attained individual citizenship.

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[6]Kappler, op. cit., II, 825.

Apart from the fact that Article II was not thoroughly observed in some of its provisions, Article III left a loop-hole for the alienation of the allotments. This invalidated the apparent safeguard. The article describes the process of naturalizing the Potawatomi as citizens of the United States:

> At such time as the President shall become convinced that any adults, being males and heads of families, who may be allottees under the provisions of the foregoing article, he may, at the request of such persons, cause the lands in severalty held by them to be conveyed to them by patent in fee-simple, with the power of alienation; and may at the same time cause to be paid to them, in cash or in bonds of the United States, their proportion of the cash value of the credits of the tribe, principal and interest, then held in trust by the United States, and also, as the same may be received, their proportion of the proceeds of the sale of lands under the provisions of this treaty. And on such patents being issued and such payment ordered to be made by the President, such competent persons shall cease to be members of said tribe and shall become citizens of the United States; and thereafter the lands so patented to them shall be subject to levy, taxation, and sale, in like manner with the property of other citizens: Provided, That, before making any such application to the President, they shall appear in open court in the district court of the United States for the district of Kansas, and make the same proof and take the same oath of allegiance as provided by law for the naturalization of aliens, and shall also make proof to the satisfaction of the court that they are sufficiently intelligent and prudent to control their affairs and interests, that they have adopted the habits of civilized life, and have been able to support, for at least five years, themselves

and families . . .[7]

This portion of the treaty gives little key to the havoc which it, perhaps unwittingly, authorized. This the resulting sequence: The Indian became a citizen, secured title in fee to the allotment, and in every legal sense became subject to taxation; then, being financially pressed to survive, he could and did freely sell his allotment for whatever he could get for it. To look ahead a bit, he also sold out after the ambitious purchaser softened him up with alcohol. Furthermore, he suffered the handicap that the cash payment from the tribal funds was not forthcoming until after much of the land was lost. The Indians appealed often, arguing that they needed the money to improve their individual lands and maintain their new status. Whether this could have saved them is questionable, but summarily, just about every card was stacked against them. White encroachments and depredations went unpunished in the courts; in fact, the failure of the courts, state and federal, was one of the main reasons for seeking a new location in the Indian Territory.

The granting of citizenship was not in itself the mainspring of disaster. More important was the government's

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[7]Ibid. Emphasis supplied.

premise that citizenship implied the right to patents in fee. In light of the failures of sectionized Indians already on record by 1860 with the Indian Department, it seems a little startling that the principle was incorporated into the Treaty of 1861. Or, was it done deliberately? A definite pattern of results was relatively certain: taxation, loss of land from delinquent taxes, white incursions, widespread alienation of the land, and poverty-striken, dispossessed Indians. In the case of the Citizen Band, its members came near to losing even the title of "Indians." If they completely lost recognition as a tribal body, the title could have afforded little solace. Later the Potawatomi in Oklahoma, still citizens, even voting and holding office, found it much more difficult to obtain a patent in fee to their allotments. Their right to alienation came much more slowly and guardedly. But in Kansas, in 1861, either the dangers of such grants were not understood or were ignored.

Qualifying for citizenship under provisions of the 1861 treaty appeared to require careful testing and screening. Stern federal court surveillance was exacted; each applicant must prove his past and present capabilities. But as it worked out, this meant little. Actually the citizenizing process was easy, unrestrained, even hastened by the

Indian Department. When one remembers that the patent in fee was a complement to the citizenship status, the inordinate haste of the government officials becomes even less fathomable. Truly, no planned campaign for the destruction of the allottees could have been more efficiently conceived or executed.

In order to trace the swift decline of the sectionized Potawatomi, initial reference is made to Commissioner William P. Dole's general report to the Secretary of the Interior, 1864. The treaty's architect became a bit concerned with the rapidity with which the Potawatomi acquired citizenship:

> The condition of the Pottawatomies . . . is reported by Agent Ross as in the highest degree satisfactory. Of their number, two thousand two hundred and seventy-eight souls by the census of this year, two hundred males, to whom allotments of land were made, have, under provisions of their treaty, taken the preliminary steps to become citizens of the United States, and are regarded as fully capable of managing their own affairs, while many more are about to apply for naturalization papers, preparatory to abandoning their tribal state. The provision of the late treaty with this tribe in relation to conferring upon some of its members the rights of citizenship is regarded as eminently proper as to a limited number, <u>but it is to be feared that, unless the strictest scrutiny of the qualifications of the applicants is made by the courts, very many who are unqualified for so radical a change in their political relations may, through the influence of designing whites, be induced to take upon themselves the duties of citizenship, and in the</u>

> end be found wholly incompetent to discharge the same. Instructions upon this point have been issued to the agent in charge, and every precaution will be taken by this office to prevent an abuse of the very important and valuable rights granted by this treaty.[8]

This sounds like a firm, tough policy, but as the story unfolded, there were no teeth in it.

Meanwhile, during 1864, Agent Ross sent in his first lists of Potawatomi who previously had received naturalization papers from the United States District Court in Topeka. The original list, as far as can be ascertained, was dated February 24, only a few months after the initial allotment lists were completed. The agent submitted an extensive argument concerning the high character and capability of the applicants. He stated that the land patents should be forthcoming soon, for the Indians were in need of their share of the tribal funds.[9] Ross had no inhibitions that year about pouring in a steady stream of the names of Potawatomi who achieved naturalization status in the federal court.[10]

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[8]R.C.I.A., 1864, p. 35. Emphasis supplied.

[9]Ross to Dole, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1864, OIA. The names on the first listing were Enoch Stearns, Paschal Muller, Andy L. Smith, and Thomas J. Lazzell.

[10]Of interest to Citizen Band history in Oklahoma were the names of J. E. Clardy, M. B. Beaubien, John Hardin, and Joseph Wilmett, Hilary Frigon, Amable Toupin, David Easton, and Jacob Vieux (Ross to Dole, May 26, 1864). All in Potawatomi Agency file, 1864, OIA.

During 1865 the stream became a torrent.

Edward Wolcott, special allotting commissioner for the Potawatomi, protested vigorously over the manner in which the citizenship and patents were being processed. Although there is no evidence that any noticeable change resulted from his warnings, his picture of the farce in progress gives substance to some of our previous analysis:

> The Indians have just had a council here, and among other things the subject of their patents was discussed, and many of them have requested their agent to notify you that they do not want them issued at present, and he will probably communicate with you about it--But aside from any such request I wish to say that in my opinion a very considerable number of those who have obtained certificates of naturalization are totally unfit to become citizens, or to be intrusted with the management of property or money. How so large a number of this class got through the court I cannot understand. Certainly, it seems to me difficult, if not impossible, for them to obtain proper proof to enable them to do so. Some of them are minors; quite a number are not heads of families, and of those that are, very few (who are Indians) could protect themselves against sharpies if their property were within their control. I therefore think and respectfully suggest that it would be wise to delay the issuing of patents to others than those who can make it appear at the Indian Department that they are properly qualified to receive the same.[11]

The ever astute Joseph Napoleon Bourassa forwarded a representative mixed-blood Potawatomi complaint, also with

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[11]Wolcott to Dole, February 15, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA.

not much result:

> As to the fitness of some of the members of the Nation to become Citizens, I am ready at any time to prove there are but few. This has been tried by some of our most educated men, in the East; but a few years passed, and they found to their sorrow, the keen whites had got all their lands; so they were compelled to follow and join the tribe. It will be so with nearly all those who are trying to be citizens in Kansas, and as they will get their money with their land, so it will be but a short time before the poor Indian will miss his money, then his land, and of course he will take the track of his Nation and try to join our Nation, for he will find out, when too late, he was not a fit subject for Citizenship.[12]

In fairness to the Indian Department in Washington, there is evidence that the land patents were not necessarily issued upon the first application. No matter how fast the District Court in Topeka put out naturalization papers, the next step, which included the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, was a bit more of a snag. Proof of this is found in the resubmission of the same Potawatomi names in subsequent lists. For example, the first, numerous roll of patent aspirants, February, 1865, included some of the individuals who had formerly applied during 1864.[13] During

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[12]Bourassa to Dole, April 9, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA.

[13]Palmer to Dole, February 18, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA. The names of Jacob Vieux, David Easton, Joseph Easton, J. E. Clardy, John

April of the same year, Wolcott and Palmer sent in another list of applicants, with many duplications from the February roster, and from the preceding year.[14]

In April, 1865, John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, pressed for a more speedy delivery of the land patents. Writing to Commissioner Dole, Usher encouraged their issuance to those who had otherwise qualified for them under the terms of the treaty. Furthermore, he explicitly ruled that any Potawatomi receiving title and requesting his share

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Hardin, and Charles Dean, 1864 applicants, are all here repeated. However, such as Thomas J. Lazzell, Andy L. Smith, Paschal Muller, and Enoch Stearns, the very first candidates, are not present in this comprehensive listing. Eli Nadeau here puts in for a patent, but in the course of 1865, having been stung by taxes, cancelled his allotment, called the whole thing off, and was authorized to transfer to the Prairie Band. More than ninety percent of the Potawatomi names on this first, extensive roster of patent seekers are French or English in character; here was a grand mixture of the old mixed-bloods, both of Osage River and Council Bluffs origin. Among the really Indian names were those of Chief We-we-say, Wah-bahn-se, Pam-mam-ka-tuk [Chief Peter the Great of later Indian Territory fame], Ship-zhe-wah-no (allottee number 297, listed twice), and Nah-nim-nuk-skuk.

[14]Wolcott and Palmer to Dole, April 7, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA. Fifty-three of the one hundred and thirty-two names submitted in February occur again. Also, applying for the first time is George L. Young. Others of subsequent Indian Territory prominence, resubmitted, are Lewis Ogee, Alexander Rhodd, Joseph H. Bertrand, R. W. Dike, Samuel T. McFarland, Alexander Peltier, Alva Higbee, Joseph Wellfelt, Anthony Tessier, and Lucius R. Darling.

of the tribal funds "will become a citizen of the United States, and cease to be a member of the tribe . . ."[15] "Citizenship" for the sectionized Indians was a many sided phenomenon. Naturalization was required as a condition for land titles. Thereupon the grantees were declared "Citizens" in another sense: and, still later, Agent Palmer referred to them as "quasi-citizens," because the courts failed to recognize them as United States citizens within the full import of the term.

Usher made some other interesting rulings. Annuity payments would continue for the patentees until they actually received their share of the trust funds of the tribe. This obviously was of considerable benefit to the new, independent farmers. The male head of a family must not be given a patent for the allotments of his wife and minor children. Yet, if this family head should have obtained title to such incompetents' land (by sanction of the President, Article II, Treaty of 1861,) and antecedent to his own naturalization, then the patents in fee for such acquisitions should be issued to him. Thereupon, such properties "would become subject to taxation, levy and sale, as the lands of other

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[15]Usher to Dole, April 10, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA.

citizens."[16] It would be most difficult to determine the extent to which heads of families came into possession of their wives' and childrens' allotments. Usher's ruling for wives was nullified in a sense, in 1866, when they too were given the same rights to acquire citizenship and patents, which the Treaty of 1861 had reserved for heads of families.[17] Nevertheless, the secretary's broad interpretation exemplified the easiness of governmental policy, the totality of which, blindly or deliberately, seemed bent upon assuring the loss of the lands in severalty.

By July, 1865, a new Secretary of the Interior, James Harlan, was urging Commissioner Dole to forward the land patents to the certified, naturalized Potawatomi. Care should be taken, he stated, that minors and ineligibles did not receive them. It will be remembered that Edmund Wolcott testified that some of these were very successful in obtaining naturalization papers in the Topeka court. Harlan could do nothing about the cash payment until "Congress shall have made further provision . . ."[18] In other words, Harlan

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Kappler, op. cit., II, 916.

[18] Harlan to Dole, July 10, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA.

hastened the situation in which the Indians were entirely on their own, subject to every type of taxation, and forced to compete with the Kansas white farmer in terms of complete equality. But the distribution of the Potawatomi funds could not be made until some future, uncertain date, when Congress could or would get around to it. As it turned out, the per capita money payment did not actually arrive until after many of the Potawatomi allotments were already lost via delinquent taxes, or direct sale.

The next Congressional action, in the spring of 1866, only further compromised the condition of stability on the land. On March 29, the Business Committee signed an agreement whereby Article III, Treaty of 1861, was amended: privileges of naturalization and patents in fee were extended to all adult persons among the allottees. The principal effect of the amendment was to remove the restrictions on the female members of the sectionized Indians:

> The beneficial provisions in behalf of the more prudent and intelligent members of said tribe, contained in the third article of the amended treaty above recited, shall not hereafter be confined to males and heads of families, but the same shall be and are hereby extended to all adult persons of said tribe, without distinction of sex, whether such persons are or shall be heads of families or otherwise, in the same manner, to the same extent, and upon the same terms, conditions, and

> stipulations as are contained in said third article of said treaty with reference to "males and heads of families."[19]

Meanwhile, in September, 1865, Agent Palmer reported very optimistically on the condition of the Potawatomi farmers. Even though the ravages of taxes, liquor, white encroachments, and other afflictions threatened to engulf them, this Department official, closely connected as he was with the Potawatomi, apparently had little inkling of it:

> A large proportion of that part of the tribe who have received lands in severalty are industriously engaged in opening farms upon their allotments. They seem to feel quite at home--say they have arrived at their journey's end at last, have unpacked and gone to work. It has been a frequent subject of remark, "that the Pottawatomies are laboring more this year, and manifesting more of a determination to accomplish something for themselves than ever before."[20]

According to Palmer, the Indians lacked only a sufficient number of wagons to carry on their enterprises. Otherwise the situation was rosy:

> Many of our Indians who have received allotments are already sufficiently intelligent to be intrusted with the management of their own affairs, and the balance who are sober and industrious, are improving rapidly and at no distant day, with

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[19] Kappler, op. cit., II, 916. The amendment was ratified by the U. S. Senate, April 26, 1866, proclaimed May 5, 1866.

[20] R.C.I.A., 1865, p. 376.

> the proper encouragement, will become sufficiently advanced to take upon themselves the rights and duties of citizens.[21]

"At no distant day," indeed. As far as the Kansas experiment was concerned, the agent was a very bad prophet.

The very next year, his comprehensive summary contained some contrasting, sour reflections. Although there were good crops, many livestock, and considerable energy to produce, certain qualifications were in order:

> In speaking of the improved condition of the Pottawatomies I am obliged with regret to acknowledge that there are many, including a portion of those who hold land in severalty, as well as those who hold in common [Prairie Band], who are not so well advanced, and who are doing nothing whatever to improve their condition.[22]

Also, whiskey was all too abundant among both types of Indians, and they were suffering from the ravages of "the vices of civilized society." The whites were stealing their timber supply, and it was virtually impossible to secure redress in the courts. Palmer now argued that the Department should grant the land patents slowly. There was danger that the Indians might dispose of their substance. After all they did not really understand the implications of the status of

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[21] Ibid.

[22] R.C.I.A., 1866, p. 263.

citizenship. Furthermore, he was in doubt about disbursing their head right funds, for, in the event that they gave up their allotments, "they should not have squandered their share of the national wealth, and been left paupers upon the government or their Indian friends for support."[23] The Potawatomi agent was now becoming definitely more realistic.

Taxation was perhaps the most important single factor in the undoing of the Potawatomi allottees. Dennis N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, described the deplorable state of affairs in Kansas in 1866:

> Certain very important questions relating to taxation of Indian lands have become prominent during the past year from circumstances partly arising from the desire of the Kansas tribes to treat with the government in reference to removal to the Indian country, and partly from the fact that many of the Indians who have received lands in severalty have found those lands sold from their possession at tax sales. Appeals were made in several cases to the courts of Kansas, but those courts sustained the right of the State to tax lands which had been patented to Indians, whether they had become citizens or not . . .[24]

The commissioner's discussion did not apply specifically or mainly to the Potawatomi, but it underscored the type of threat which they were at least beginning to face. According

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[23] Ibid., pp. 263, 264.

[24] R.C.I.A., 1866, p. 19.

to Cooley, other tribes, notably the Shawnees, allotted but not citizenized, were suffering very burdensome tax assessments. It is obvious that a citizen Indian had no immunity whatsoever from state or federal taxes, not after he received his patent. As early as June, 1865, Palmer complained about the severity of federal tax levies on hotels and bridges owned by the Potawatomi.[25] These victims, although Potawatomi businessmen, were not yet citizenized. Eli Nadeau, one of them, still had time to make his choice with the Prairie Band. So at least some of the allottees were feeling the sting of federal taxes, even before they secured their patents.

The federal tax on Potawatomi hotels and bridges was a live issue at the time Cooley succeeded Dole in the office of Commissioner in the summer of 1865. Very soon after taking over the reins, he presented the question to Secretary Harlan, requesting the Interior Department to demand that the Treasury Department refund the tax collections.[26] Harlan wrote that he did not approve of injustice but directed that

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[25] Palmer to Dole, June 20, 1865, enclosed in Harlan to Cooley, July 22, 1865, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1865, OIA.

[26] Ibid., Cooley to Harlan, July 20, 1865, an enclosure.

Palmer be instructed to ascertain whether those taxed were actually citizens. If they were, he contended, they were simply and fully subject to these and other taxes.[27] That any of the tax money was ever refunded remains extremely doubtful.

By late 1866, Agent Palmer was bemoaning the afflictions of Kansas land taxation. However, he interprets the situation in terms of the failure of the government to make the cash settlement provided for patentees by the Treaty of 1861:

> . . . Thus they fail to realize the principal advantage held out to them by the Treaty, upon a compliance with its provisions on their part, the great object with them being to obtain the means to enable them to improve and stock their farms, without which receiving the patents only lays them liable to be regarded by the state authorities as already Citizens, and to be harrassed by assessors and collectors of taxes, without having the necessary means to improve their land and to raise the wherewith to support their families and to pay taxes.[28]

Did the agent forget that in his September analysis for the Annual Report he was doubtful about advancing the head money for fear that the Potawatomi, possibly throwing up their

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[27] Ibid., Harlan to Cooley, July 22, 1865.

[28] Palmer to Thomas Murphy, supt., November 1, 1866, enclosed in Murphy to Lewis V. Bogy, C. I. A., November 4, 1866, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1866, OIA.

lands, might be left paupers? Or did he now mean that it should be given only to those who were making a diligent effort? This latter idea would be a difficult construction of the treaty terms.

To ascertain the exact amount of Potawatomi land which was eventually lost from delinquent taxes would be a lengthy and complicated study in itself. The author investigated 1867-1872 files of contemporary Kansas newspapers, especially The Pottawatomi Gazette and Kansas Reporter, both of Louisville, Pottawatomie County. Tax delinquent lists become increasingly prominent beginning with the 1867 issues. Potawatomi lands are advertised for tax sales. Many Indian names occur among the former titled owners. But in most cases only the legal descriptions of the properties offered for sale are given.[29] By 1871, the Kansas Reporter ran two issues, each containing three full columns of delinquent tax properties.[30] The original owners' names do not appear, but we may reasonably conclude, in view of our information from other sources, that much of this land was formerly allotted

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[29]An excellent example of the tax delinquent lists is contained in the March 25, 1868, issue of The Pottawatomie Gazette.

[30]March 25, 1871; April 15, 1871.

to the Potawatomi. We must also bear in mind that those lands lay not alone in Pottawatomie County but also in that of Shawnee, Wabaunsee, and Jackson.

George L. Young later made much of the item of taxation in the loss of the Kansas homes. In 1877, writing from Oberlin, Indian Territory, near present-day Wanette, Oklahoma, he analyzed the entire Kansas debacle. We must read his discussion in the guarded realization that it was written in the context of a pitiful appeal for government aid. The Indian Department officials were using the language of blame and censure at that time. Young beseeched the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for both justice and charity. At the time of first transcribing the text of the argument, the writer labeled it "Young's Naked Child Theory":

> Now, Sir, you say that if we have squandered our means it is our misfortune and not the government's. Now, Sir, should you give one of your children a suit of clothes and that child should lose them through the agency of others--would you buy the child another suit or would you let the child go naked? We just in the condition of the Naked Child. We had clothes given to us by our Great Father and we have lost them by being surrounded by influences which we were unfitted to resist: namely, 1st, Laws which we could not understand, 2nd, Whiskey which we were not able to resist, as it was offered to us by the hands of seeming friends--who only wished us to become intoxicated in order to steal our purses, and Third, and the hardest of all for us to understand, i.e., Payment of taxes. Not knowing or understanding the penalty of not paying

> our taxes our property was taken for what we knew not, as designing white men were interested in keeping us in Ignorance. So that they could get our property for a mere nothing and they succeeded but too well . . .[31]

In 1869 Palmer referred to a large scale loss of allotted Potawatomi lands from delinquent state taxes. He was doing everything he could to protect the Indians but realized that land patents led to the inevitable, legal situation which took the matter out of his hands.[32]

Both state and federal courts contributed to confusion and retrogression during the period of the Kansas allotments. The United District Court in Topeka used no restraint in granting naturalization papers. By November, 1866, the agent was seconding the opinions expressed earlier by Commissioner Wolcott.[33] Kansas state probate courts moved in promptly on the estates of deceased Indians. Joseph N. Bourassa protested to Senator Edmund C. Ross: ". . . the lawyers and judges at Topeka have ordered the sheriffs

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[31]Young to John Q. Smith, C. I. A., September 3, 1877, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1877, OIA.

[32]Palmer to Nathaniel G. Taylor, C. I. A., February 16, 1869, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1869, OIA.

[33]Palmer to Thomas Murphy, supt., November 1, 1866, enclosed in Murphy to Bogy, November 4, 1866, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1866, OIA.

to come and settle the estates of our dead Indians. They take the liberty to set aside our settlements and meddle with our internal affairs."[34] In 1870 Pottawatomie County newspapers also published long lists of properties of deceased Indians, the lands of whom were now being offered for sale by administrators, for the purpose of satisfying debts.[35]

On the other hand, when the Indian needed the courts' protection he was probably left entirely without redress. From abundant testimonials on this point, selection is made from Luther Palmer's general report for 1867. The Citizen Potawatomi were only quasi-citizens, he wrote, for they were not enjoying the full rights of citizenship. The agent then described the sad position of the Indian in the Kansas courts:

> . . . The white man (where an Indian only is concerned against him) with a high hand possesses himself of what he claims to be his, while the Indian must patiently suffer an infringement of his rights, or resort to force, in which, however just his cause may be, he is sure to be beaten. Property has been taken by whites, which was

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[34] Bourassa to Ross, December 29, 1867, enclosed in Ross to Taylor, C. I. A., Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1868, OIA.

[35] The Pottawatomie Gazette, February 11, 1870, fourteen notices, all definitely Indian estates; Kansas Reporter, March 4, 1870, twenty-six notices, likewise Indian properties.

> notoriously the property of an Indian. I have applied in behalf of the Indian to the United States court for redress, and been told, "the offence not having been committed upon an Indian reserve, the United States court has no jurisdiction." Applying then to the state courts, it was determined that, inasmuch as the Indian was not a citizen of the United States, or of the State of Kansas, he had no right in the courts of the State to redress his grievances. However unjust or unwarranted such a decision, the fact and difficulty remains.[36]

That same year, Charles E. Mix, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, recommended to Orville H. Browning, Secretary of the Interior, that since the Citizen Potawatomi "cannot get justice against wrongs by whites, as the courts do not regard them to be either citizens of the United States or of Kansas" the only solution "is to be found in their removal to a new home."[37] A treaty providing for this remedy was pending Senate ratification at the time of the recommendation.

Although the Potawatomi Treaty of 1867 was concerned with the interests of both bands, its specific provisions almost exclusively dealt with the Citizen Band. The Prairie Band's equity in the surplus lands was recognized, and its members were again given a guarantee that there would be no interference with their rights on the diminished reservation

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[36] R.C.I.A., 1867, p. 305.

[37] R.C.I.A., 1867, p. 16.

in Jackson County.[38] By the time of ratification and proclamation, the new agreement embodied fourteen articles, some of them very detailed and lengthy. Article I authorized a Citizen Band delegation to accompany a United States commission for the purpose of searching out "a suitable location for their people without interfering with the locations made for other Indians" within the Indian Territory:

> . . . and if such location shall be found satisfactory to the Pottawatomies, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior, such tract of land, not exceeding thirty-miles square, shall be set apart as a reservation for the exclusive use and occupancy of that tribe; and upon the survey of its lines and boundaries, and ascertaining of its area, and payment to the United States for the same, as hereinafter mentioned and set forth, the said tract shall be patented to the Pottawatomie Nation . . .[39]

As was shown, Secretary Columbus Delano was soon to question this term "Pottawatomie Nation" as applied to these Citizen Indians. The initial article also approved negotiations between the Potawatomi and the Cherokees in reference to a new home.[40] Article II provided that the money received from the prospective sale of the Kansas surplus lands might also be expended in the purchase of a new tract "upon the

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[38]Kappler, op. cit., II, 970.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

lands purchased by the Government from the Creeks, Seminoles, or Choctaws . . ."[41] This was an alternative proposition.

It was the latter part of the second article which contained the real inspiration for the new pact with the Potawatomi. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad was empowered to buy up all the surplus lands, "within thirty days from the promulgation of this treaty . . . at the price of one dollar per acre, lawful money of the United States . . ."[42] Just as in the case of the Treaty of 1861, railway interests were paramount. It is neither germane to the present inquiry, nor necessary to historical background, to recapitulate the sordid details of a most questionable deal. Paul Wallace Gates has described the events and personalities in the transaction which pulled the Santa Fe out of a secondary, obscure position and put it on the way to its almost unparalleled success.[43] Neither are we here concerned with the later litigation arising from the affair. The Potawatomi attorneys have apparently handled this very capably. One of them, possibly inadvertently, added to the story of the private sales

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[41] _Ibid_.

[42] _Ibid_., 971.

[43] _Fifty Million Acres_, _op. cit_., pp. 133-143, _passim_.

of the Potawatomi allotments. He was endeavoring to arrive at an equitable judgment on the value of the surplus lands by studying the nature of the property transfers in the vicinity. The sectionized Indians, naturally, provided numerous samplings.[44] The listings of hundreds of land sales, 1866-1872, in the four counties, comprised in part by the Potawatomi area, contains very many names familiarly present on the Allotment Roll of 1863.

The condition of the Citizen Band deteriorated further during the rather prolonged interval between the original negotiations, February 27, 1867, and the ratification of the treaty, July 27, 1868. Agent Palmer reported the following on November 11, 1867:

> . . . They [the Potawatomi] negotiated with the government last winter a treaty by which they agreed to purchase a country south out of the funds arising from the sale of their surplus land to the Company of the Union Pacific Railroad, Eastern Division [successor to the old Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad]. That treaty has not been ratified and they now understand that company refuses to take the land at the price agreed upon, which leaves them with about three hundred thousand acres of good land upon their hands and with the means to purchase

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[44] W. D. Davis, "Valuation Study of the Pottawatomie Reserve Lands sold by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, August 7, 1868," Farm Management Associates, Kansas City, Missouri, 1949. Ms., typed and bound copy in KSHS library.

> another home as stipulated in their vision for the sale of their surplus land. They are crowded upon by outsiders. Whites are crossing the lines to depredate upon timber and in some cases to make settlements upon their land. The military afford none and the courts but little assistance in protecting them in their rights.[45]

The agent then returned to one of his often-repeated appeals: his Indians were most anxious for their head money, the cash payments due them by terms of the Treaty of 1861.[46]

During this period, the Potawatomi continued to emphasize the long-overdue cash payment, somewhat disregarding other difficulties. In 1868, George L. Young and other members of a delegation went to Washington trying to promote the ratification of the new treaty, also to obtain that money. While in the capital, Young prepared an involved analysis of the Potawatomi trust funds, their origins, and amounts due. Orville Browning, Secretary of the Interior, taking recognition of Young's letter, expressed himself as unimpressed.[47] During 1869, the petitions and comments continued. Old Chief Abram Burnett, during June, made an urgent

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[45]Palmer to Thomas Murphy, supt., enclosed in Murphy to Charles E. Mix, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1867, OIA.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Browning to Taylor, C. I A., April 28, 1868, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1868, OIA.

inquiry of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.[48] Lucius R. Darling wrote a stiff letter of complaint in October.[49] Agent Palmer begged for the funds earlier in the year.[50] And the new Potawatomi agent, Joel N. Morris, stated that the Indians were badly in debt and becoming very restive over the long delay.[51] It is significant that Palmer's final, annual summary for the Annual Report adverts strongly to the matter which had given him so much trouble.

> . . . Our Indians were promised, in the treaty of 1861, every facility for becoming citizens, and payment to them (as they should make the necessary proof of competency) of their share of the tribal funds to enable them to commence with sufficient means to procure for themselves such farming implements and teams as they might require; and I have no doubt that if the stipulations of this treaty had been strictly observed on the part of the government, we should have had among the Pottawatomies to-day some as independent farmers and good citizens as we have in the State.[52]

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[48]Burnett to Eli Parker, C. I. A., June 26, 1869, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1869, OIA.

[49]Darling to Parker, October 12, 1869, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1869, OIA.

[50]Palmer to Parker, May 4, 1869, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1869, OIA.

[51]Morris to Enoch Hoag, supt., November 9, 1869, enclosed in Hoag to Parker, November 11, 1869, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1869, OIA.

[52]R.C.I.A., 1869, p. 373.

Time and again, then, Palmer predicated the success or failure of the sectionizers on whether or not they obtained the capital required to get started well. This analysis was probably too simplified; other safeguards were almost certainly necessary.

A relatively general condition of deterioration set in before the arrival of the long deferred head money. During the summer of 1870, Senator Edmund C. Ross took up the cause. Writing to Commissioner Parker, he asserted that it was his understanding that a recent Indian Appropriations Bill had provided for the Potawatomi Citizens, and:

> I meet members of the Pottawatomie tribe every day, and they all express much anxiety and impatience . . . They say they made all necessary preparation for improving their lands but can do nothing until they get their money. Especially are they embarrassed in regard to putting in their full crop, not having the money to buy seed.[53]

Payment began on October 27, 1870. The Kansas Reporter of that date laconically summed up the spirit of the occasion, "The Pottawatomie payment is to commence today. This will have a tendency to enliven things up a little."[54] Witnesses reported that the affair was a live one indeed. The

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[53]Ross to Parker, August 18, 1870, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1870, OIA.

[54]Louisville, Kansas; weekly.

following is the picture painted by the Quaker, William Nicholson, at that time a member of an investigation committee sent out by President Grant:

> . . . Most of them [The Potawatomi] deposit their money with bankers who are here from Topeka--as it is unsafe for them to keep it themselves--as there are thieves, pickpockets, and robbers around watching their opportunity. There are many saloons and gambling houses and there is no law against selling whiskey to those Indians who have become citizens. Hence those who undertake to carry their money will be likely to lose it. Counterfeit money men are usually on hand ready to change money for the Indians and pass off their spurious bills . . . many of the Indians receive large amounts and many $100 bills. The head of a family draws for each of his children as well as for his wife and himself.[55]

Father Gailland made this entry in his Diary on November 1st, "The Indians are given their last payment from the government. There are many scoundrels in town."[56] Another contemporary witness describes it this way:

> During the time of payment whiskey was freely used, and the paymaster generally had a jug or two privately stowed away, so that at night, when debilitated from too much exercise in playing poker, at from twenty five cents to five dollars "ante" he could imbibe and thus stimulate his sluggish brain, so as to be able to "fill" or draw to a "flush"

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[55]"A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870," Kansas Historical Collections, XX (Vol. III, Kansas Historical Quarterly, August, 1924), 311.

[56]"Gailland Diary - Burke," loc. cit.

successfully.[57]

Without giving his evidence, William Nicholson bluntly charged that there was a multiple payoff involved in the head money payment. He did not hesitate to give names:

> The payment is a division of the funds to those of the Pottawatomies who have become citizens--amounting to $680 ($525,000 in all) for each individual--Many of these are good farmers and doing well--but many others are intemperate and will not take care of their money. It is thought the whole tribe will soon be ready to go to the Indian Territory. There is not much hope of them improving where they are . . . In this payment 10 percent is charged by George Young, Dr. Palmer, and Mr. Bertrand, for the portion which they obtained, and 12 percent for the portion obtained by Major Ross [William W. Ross, formerly Potawatomi agent], Colonel Murphy and Wilmarth . . . These firms join together and work in concert. They have been working for years to get the Government to make this payment. They used six percent of the 12 percent upon members of Congress . . . [Senator Samuel Pomeroy is named, among others] . . . and about $2000 or more upon clerks in the Department of the Interior . . .[58]

Whatever the basis for such strong allegations, Nicholson was plainly not impressed with the integrity of the Indian

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[57] The Kansas Agriculturist (Wamego), January 30, 1880.

[58] "A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870," loc. cit., 309, 310. Nicholson, a medical doctor, whose observations on disease among the Potawatomi were cited in an earlier chapter, later became an Indian Department official, namely, Central Superintendent, Lawrence, Kansas. Agent M. H. Newlin, for example, made his fall report to him, 1876 (R.C.I.A., 1876, p. 76).

Department. He wrote the above in a diary or journal, probably private in nature at the time, but it is extremely probable that his report to President Grant was not a flattering one. In any case, Quaker participation in Indian Affairs came into full bloom very shortly after this.

There is no doubt about the presence of a payoff arrangement on the Potawatomi Reservation during this era. The term "Indian Ring" came into the common usage. Ten years later, the writer of an article in The Kansas Agriculturist, made this comment:

> The receiving of about six hundred dollars per head was the cause of much agitation among the whites, and led to the formation of that which has become notorious as the "Indian Ring." This ring, as it was called was formed so as to generally embrace the agent who made the payment, as well as all influential enough to make it reasonably warm for the robbers of the Indians . . .[59]

Luther Palmer's often-emphasized zeal for the payment becomes somewhat tarnished on the basis of this analysis. In a slightly more reputable context there is abundant evidence that some of the mixed-bloods, including Young, acted as guardians and administrators of payments to minor children and orphans. For instance, on October 5, 1872, D. F. Easton, Alva Higbee, and George Young received, as guardians, the

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[59]Wamego, Kansas, January 30, 1880.

cash grant to eighty-six minors.[60]

A protest from Indian Territory in 1873 also suggests that the guardian system operated to the detriment of Potawatomi interests. Lucius R. Darling, as "President of the Council," and John Anderson, as "Secretary," wrote to E. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as follows:

> . . . a large number of our people have located at our new homes in this Territory. More of our people are anxious to come but certain parties in Kansas who are anxious to force our people to pay a heavy percent rather than permit a payment to be made here or have them remove are circulating a power of attorney for our people to sign, telling them that unless they agree to pay them a certain percent that our moneys will be withheld, and that if they move here no payment will be made . . .[61]

The letter went on to charge that only a part of the money of the minor children was actually distributed. Even some of the parents had received only one third to one half of the sum due to them. D. F. Easton, George Young, and L. R. Palmer had appropriated the remainder of it.[62] Potawatomi agent, M. H. Newlin, upon the request of the Commissioner, conducted an investigation. He reported that John Anderson

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[60]Ms., "Citizen Pottawatomi 1868-1888, Per Capita Payments," OIA.

[61]May 16, 1873, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1873, OIA.

[62]Ibid.

disavowed all knowledge of the letter of the 16th of May, declaring it a forgery. Young testified that "some parties" took percentages for helping the Indians to collect their payments, but that the commission was always "voluntarily paid, and in all cases where the Indians have expressed themselves dissatisfied the percent has been refunded."[63] Whatever the facts, Young exerted an important influence upon the Citizen Band after his arrival in the Indian Territory.

The Santa Fe Railroad was the chief beneficiary of the Treaty of 1867. However, the provision for a new Potawatomi Reservation in Oklahoma undoubtedly enabled the Citizen Band to continue existence as a corporate body. It is noteworthy that Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano used the word "tribe" in the official order setting aside land for the Citizen Band.[64] But he very soon took the position that there was no Potawatomi "tribe" other than the Prairie Band. This is the key to the condition of relative

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[63]Newlin to Smith, C. I. A., July 24, 1873, enclosed in Cyrus Beede (Supt. Enoch Hoag's chief clerk) to Smith, August 6, 1873, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1873, OIA.

[64]Delano to Ely S. Parker, C. I. A., November 9, 1870, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1870, OIA.

non-recognition suffered by the migrants to the Indian Territory for a number of years.

Although piteous letters of appeal for help began to come out of the new Potawatomi home as early as 1872, it was another five years before the nearby agent of the Sac and Fox began to list its residents within his jurisdiction. Meanwhile, one of them, Agent John H. Pickering, was instrumental in arranging for the first day school on the new Potawatomi Reservation. The Annual Report for 1875 contains a summary account:

> The citizen-class of Pottawatomies, who are not under the charge of any agency, and who live sixty miles from this agency, are, as yet, destitute of educational advantages. By direction of the Secretary of the Interior, $2,500 were set apart to be expended in the interests of education among this people, and that money was placed in my hands for that purpose. I proceeded immediately to the erection of a school-house, which is now more than half finished. A day school will be opened there as soon as the house is ready . . .[65]

To judge from the accumulation of correspondence, J. E. Clardy was the outstanding petitioner during the very first years of the Oklahoma Reservation. For example, he was most active in securing the first day school, as well as

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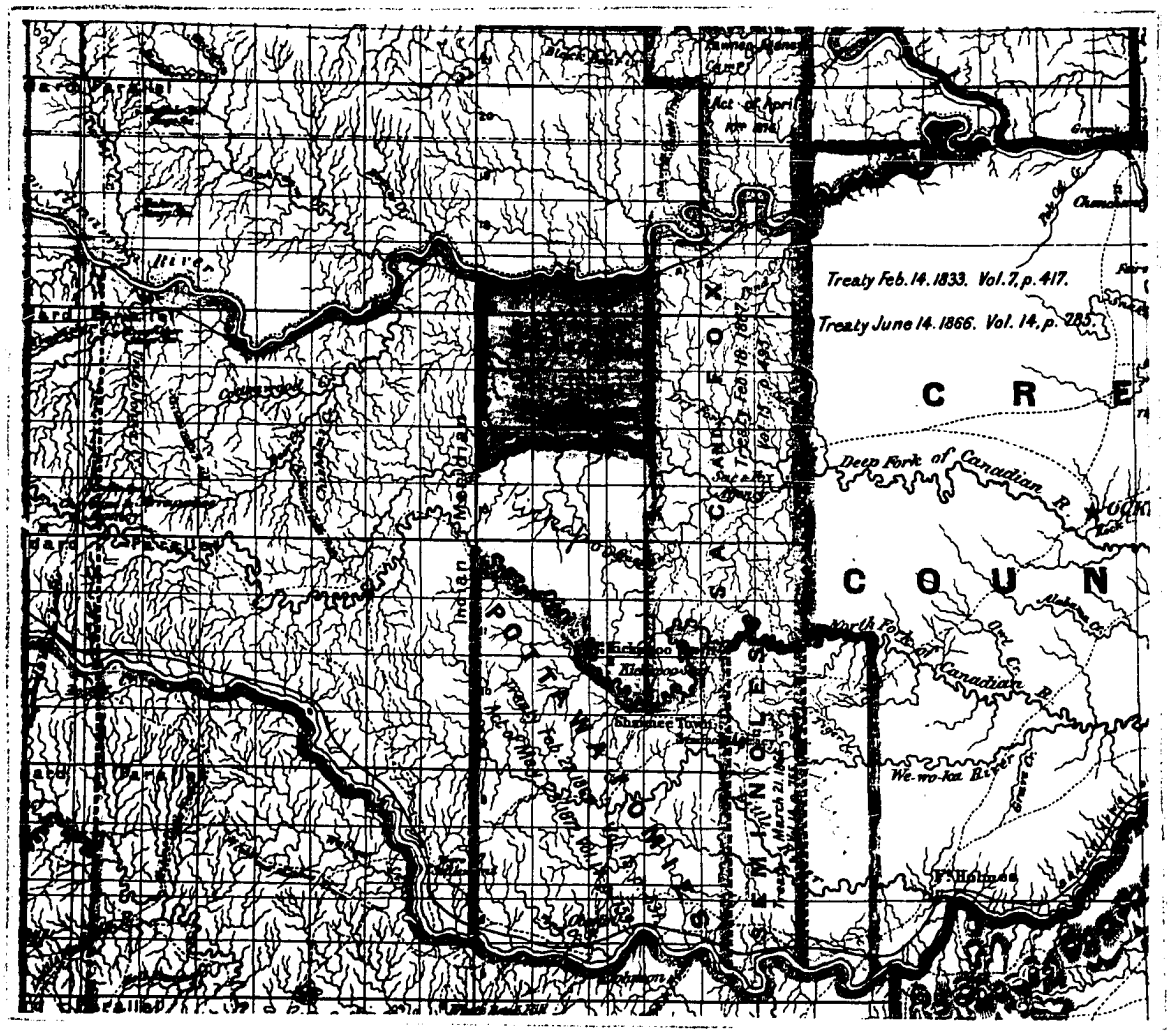
[65] R.C.I.A., 1875, p. 287. The first of the day schools was at Clardyville, the site of which was near the present-day Wanette, Oklahoma, cemetery (Hobert D. Ragland, "Potawatomi Day Schools," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXX, Autumn, 1952, p. 273).



Map V. Potawatomi Reservation in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma), courtesy of the National Archives. This early map shows the Potawatomi settlement of Oberlin. Shawnee Town, a Quaker Mission and School, pertained specifically to the Absentee Shawnee Indians during its first years.

in other matters. Also, we find him in March of 1875 writing to G. W. Ingalls, Union Agency, Muskogee, Indian Territory, requesting that he intercede with the Indian Department to place the Potawatomi under that jurisdiction.[66] The Commissioner, E. P. Smith, replied "that such action is not deemed advisable."[67]

During June of 1877, George L. Young, making about the first optimistic report to come out of the new Potawatomi home, included a strong request that the Potawatomi be placed under an agent. He suggested that the Sac and Fox agency be put in charge.[68] Whether this intercession had important influence is uncertain; nevertheless, the next summary report from that administrative center listed the Citizens in its jurisdiction.[69] Thus the "tribe" which almost lost its official existence finally received this modicum of recognition.

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[66]Clardy to Ingalls, March 12, 1875, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1875, OIA.

[67]Smith to Ingalls, March 25, Letters Sent, Letter Book, Vol. 124, OIA.

[68]Young to John Q. Smith, C. I A., June 29, 1877, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1877, OIA.

[69]R.C.I.A., 1877, p. 105. Agent Levi Woodward, Sac and Fox Agency, Indian Territory, reporting.

In Kansas, conditions further deteriorated. To quote from the report of Enoch Hoag, Central Superintendent, 1871:

> This once powerful tribe has experienced great changes within the last three years. A large number have become citizens of the United States, and received their respective proportions of the tribal funds, as well as their allotments of land. A few of these have borne the change well, and are in a prosperous condition; but unfortunately a much larger proportion have retrograded into intemperance and poverty. The policy of allowing Indians to become citizens in the midst of white people is ruinous to the former, and should no longer be pursued. They are not usually able to withstand the corrupting influences which are thrown around them by designing and dishonest men, who cling to them like leeches, until they have possessed themselves of all their property, and then abandon them to the charge of public and private charity. The citizen Potawatomies, in the spring of 1869, under direction of the Government, selected a new home, west of the Seminoles. In my last report I urged their speedy removal and settlement thereon, before they should squander, in intemperance and its kindred vices, the funds which they had just received.[70]

The same year, Potawatomi Agent Joel R. Morris, went into even greater detail on the wretched condition of the dispossessed. He suggested that these should go off south as quickly as possible.[71] One of the obvious difficulties with this solution was that the migrants needed teams, provisions, and equipment to make the trip. Also upon a completed

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[70] R.C.I.A., 1871, p. 460.

[71] Ibid., p. 496.

removal, they were without annuities or other government subsidies. The accumulation of evidence points to the definite likelihood that the early migrants were for the most part mixed-bloods who possessed enough reserves to be able to meet this considerable challenge.

There was a period in the eighteen-seventies when crying, pleading letters were sent to Washington by the Citizens both of Kansas and of the Indian Territory. Those from the old home were much more plaintive. For example, Joseph N. Bourassa, ever the capable spokesman, writes in 1875:

> . . . a majority of the sectionizing Indians are in extreme want. Nothing to feed their families, no money and no land . . . and many of them wish and intend to move South as soon as they can raise a little means . . . as they see they can no longer live in Kansas . . . The Indians are suffering extremely . . . It is enough to make any human being cry to witness the suffering there is in many of the families at present. They have no aid from the whites of the State, nor from the general government . . .[72]

Indeed, conditions must have been pretty severe by that time,

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[72]Bourassa to M. H. Newlin, agent, March 10, 1875, an enclosure with Cyrus Beede (Supt. Hoag's clerk) to Edward P. Smith, C. I. A., March 13, 1875, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1875, OIA. We must allow for possible exaggerations in these Bourassa accounts, written as they were to spur the Indian Department to immediate action.

for the same Bourassa painted the following picture almost two years earlier:

> I am now ready to say that the idea of civilizing my people has proved a failure. It has turned out as I predicted and told the Department . . . The attempt has been a source of disappointment, sorrow and a great misfortune to the poor Indians . . . They are a pitiful people at present. They do nothing for themselves or anybody else; they have spent all their head money, sold most of their lands, and now they are selling their last and only ponies for a mere song. They even sell the last coat they have on their backs for liquor, as there are many whites who jump at the chance. It is a frequent thing to see a son sell his father's last pony, being the only work horse of the family. They are getting very demoralized, both men and women, so it is shocking to humanity. If the Department do not move them at once, they will all become paupers and ruined forever, and will never be able to get to the Indian Territory, which is the only place for their salvation. Therefore in behalf of many suffering persons and families, I pray the Department to cast an eye of pity, and take some steps toward their removal.[73]

There is no evidence that the Indian Department made any special provision for the removal of the Potawatomi. It was strictly a matter of their own concern. Bourassa wrote another letter in 1873, asking many questions about the new reservation. He requested supplies and equipment for the pauperized Citizens so that they might make the trip. His expressed intention was to move south in September, and:

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[73]Bourassa to Enoch Hoag (undated), enclosed in Hoag to Edward Smith, August 8, 1873, Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1873, OIA.

> I can see no reason why the Department should not aid us to move into the Territory, and give us rations for one year after we get there, for there is money enough in the hands of the Government for the purpose: that would enable all to support their families the next season.[74]

The old veteran was hearkening back to some of the grants made to the Potawatomi in former removals, but there was no ear to listen to him, for his people were now Citizens. Bourassa did not make the move. He died at the residence of his sister, Mrs. Chilson, four miles north of Rossville, Kansas, on October 29, 1877.[75]

One can read the Commissioner's Annual Report during the decade of the seventies without detecting any noticeable note of sympathy for the Citizen Potawatomi. The official attitude was rather to regard them as no-goods, ingrates, and scoundrels. They had their chance and did not make use of it. This study raises some doubt on whether or not the Kansas experiment ever did have a chance to succeed. Typical

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[74] Ibid., Bourassa to Hoag, August 1, 1873.

[75] St. Marys Times, November 2, 1877; obituary included under "Rossville Items." This account mentions Bourassa's attendance at the Choctaw Academy, his career as interpreter, and this item, "He had in his possession a written manuscript (of which he was the author) of the History of the Pottawatomie Indians for which it is said he has refused two thousand dollars." The present research did not reveal the present-day whereabouts of this Ms.

of the Department's attitude was that given by Commissioner Edward P. Smith in his general report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1875:

> More than two-thirds of this tribe, about one-thousand four-hundred, became citizens in 1861 . . . A few citizen Pottawatomies, after making trial of citizenship in Kansas, asked to be allowed to buy lands in the Indian Territory, and by special legislation of Congress their request was granted. After having received and squandered their share of bountiful tribal funds, they take refuge from white competition and taxes alongside their Sac and Fox brethren . . .[76]

If we may believe the statements of Napoleon Bourassa during 1873 and 1875, not very many of them had even the means to get to the Indian Territory.

It has been repeatedly emphasized that the Oklahoma Reservation was the locale where the Citizen Band made its recovery. There it succeeded in keeping its character as an Indian entity. The details of that history, naturally, will require the same attention which has been given to the Potawatomi from the time of their arrival in the Trans-Mississippi West. However, there was no en masse movement to the new reservation. Examination of a scattering of population figures clearly proves this.

The number transplanting to the Indian Territory

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[76] R.C.I A., 1875, p. 80.

grew very slowly during the eighteen-seventies. The very first estimate of the count came in 1874, in one of the many petitions addressed to Washington. The influential intermarried white men and mixed-bloods asserted that "there are about one hundred now residing upon said land in the Indian Territory, a greater portion of whom have so resided for nearly two years."[77] In 1879 the Annual Report recorded the total number of the Citizen Band in Oklahoma as 250.[78] The following year John S. Shorb, Sac and Fox agent, gave the figure of 300.[79]

Passing over the next ten years, to 1890, we find that the population record was still not impressive. Joseph Moose gave the total number of the Citizen Band as 1,604, "of whom nearly 500 reside in the Territory."[80] This was in substantial agreement with the estimate of Agent Samuel L. Patrick, Sac and Fox Agency, who reported 480 for the same

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[77]J. E. Clardy, George Pettifer, L R. Darling, and John Anderson, to Senator John J. Ingalls, June 16, 1874 (referred to Secretary of the Interior, and referred to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs), Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency file, 1874, OIA. Emphasis supplied.

[78]R.C.I.A., 1879, p. 234.

[79]Ibid., 1880, p. 92.

[80]"Catholicity among the Pottawattamies," The Indian Advocate, II (July, 1890), 11.

year.[81]

The allotment period on the Oklahoma Reservation brought a considerable influx. The allottees, however, were not required to move to their designated lands. In January, 1892, Agent Patrick estimated that 700 of them continued to live in Kansas.[82] The persistence of large numbers of the Citizens in their old home state was emphasized again in the year 1900:

> I respectfully request that this office be furnished with a record of the allotments made to the Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians in Oklahoma Territory, as fully one half of these Indians are residents of Jackson and Shawnee Counties in this state, and all their deed business done through this office, and it is impossible to transact this business intelligently without a record of these allotments . . .[83]

Patrick's total enumeration for 1892 in Oklahoma was 754. He made the comment that the figure comprised "only those residing in the Territory, as you are aware large numbers of this band are residents of Kansas and elsewhere."[84]

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[81] R.C.I.A., 1890, p. 199.

[82] Patrick to Thomas J. Morgan, C. I. A., January 11, 1892, Sac and Fox Letter Book, No. 16, OHS.

[83] Agent W. R. Honnell, Potawatomi and Great Nemaha Agency, Nadeau, Kansas, November 13, 1900, to William A. Jones, C. I. A., Letters Received, Special Case 147, File #3, OIA.

[84] Citizen Band Census Roll, July 1, 1892, filed under Sac and Fox Agency, Oklahoma, OIA.

The administrative center of the Citizen Band continued to remain with its proper agency in Oklahoma. This was so, no matter how broadly scattered the Indians became. A study of the wandering Citizens, even from the time of the failure of the Kansas allotments, is not within the present scope. There is evidence that many of them took up with other Indian tribes, in Kansas and elsewhere, but it appears also that very many made the adjustment of simply melting into the general citizenry of the United States. In 1902, their new agent, Frank A. Thackeray, summed it up for the Annual Report:

> The Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians are scattered through nearly every state of the Union, only about one-half of their number residing upon their allotments in this territory. They are intermarried with the whites until many of them appear as white people.[85]

Thackeray gave the total number of Citizen Potawatomi, everywhere, as 1,686.[86] Since 1902, although the active rolls of the Band have continued to contain thousands of names, the process of scattering and becoming intermingled with the general population of the American nation has become even more accentuated.

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[85] R.C.I.A., 1902, p. 277.

[86] Ibid.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS

Certain characteristics appeared within the Great Lakes' stage of Potawatomi culture which definitely pointed the way to the events which transpired in the West during the nineteenth century. Among these, prominently, was the intermixture of various Indian bloods. The Mascouten background of a portion of the tribe seems to have continued to contribute a lasting primitive quality. The nature of the Prairie Band, prior to the allotment experiment, especially emphasized persistent resistance to the white man's way of life. On the other hand, early Potawatomi receptivity to intermarriage with the whites was a feature of enduring consequence. Also, early and continued acceptance of Christian missionaries must be regarded as an important factor in the tribe's development. Agricultural habits of the so-called Potawatomi of the Woods underwent a revolutionary change in Kansas when the menfolk also took upon themselves the work

of the fields. Seventeenth century docility and affability, as observed by the French, persisted in the West.

This study of the history, life, and nature of the respective Potawatomi reservations of Iowa Territory and of the Osage River presents a picture of contrasts and diversities. Nevertheless, even at Council Bluffs, the mixed-bloods' acceptance of Jesuit missionaries, plus their agricultural pursuits, suitably prepared the way for their later identification, on the Kaw River, as members of the "mission band." This also explains the presence of old Illinois and Wisconsin mixed-blood names on the original allotment rolls of the Citizen Band. But the period of contrasting conditions, 1837-1846, Osage River versus Council Bluffs, contributed little to the government's projected aim to bring all factions of the Potawatomi together in a truly unified nation.

The records of the Osage River Potawatomi Reservation offer an excellent opportunity to trace individuals and families from their Indiana and Michigan backgrounds all the way to the Potawatomi Reservation in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Furthermore, they suggest the former, powerful influence of Isaac McCoy's Carey Mission School in Michigan, and the relatively great success of Catholic missionaries among the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph and Wabash Bands in the

period just prior to the removal to the West. Potawatomi patronage of the Choctaw Academy from the early eighteen-thirties to the 1846 treaty was impressive. The Kentucky school was definitely one of the roots of the Citizen Band. Its records show clearly that both the United Band, especially the Chicago Potawatomi, and the Indiana and Michigan Indians were enrolled there in appreciable numbers. Study of the Potawatomi of the Osage River also strongly suggests that this phase of tribal history was most important as a formative period in the development of a large nucleus of Christian, civilized, and agricultural Indians. It also points to, if it does not conclusively prove, the influence of Christian Hoecken, S. J., as the most outstanding contribution of any single individual during this relatively progressive era.

The history of the Potawatomi Reservation on the Kansas River took its character from a combination of influences within and without its heterogeneous Indian population. The hunter-type, United Band Indian continued to scorn missionaries, schools, and agriculture. Many witnesses testified that he also was a handicap to his more domestic brothers. Meanwhile, however, he, in company with warriors of neighboring tribes, very efficiently protected all the

Potawatomi from the Pawnee and other marauding Great Plains Indians. Turmoil, disease, and disorder resulted from white encroachments. The Oregon Trail had its impact. Steamboats and nearby white settlers disturbed the peace. The slavery controversy and territorial politics brought on mounting pressures to seize the fertile Potawatomi lands. Finally, railway dominated public officials sought and obtained the 1861 treaty which effected the sectionization of the major part of the Indians' reservation and pushed the Prairie Band onto a diminished reservation in Jackson County. Through it all, however, intermarriage and fraternity with the whites continued.

By 1861, the more advanced faction of the Potawatomi Indians on the Kansas River reached a relatively high state of civilization. It was composed of a large group of agricultural elements from the old Osage River location, people of Michigan and Indiana background. Some percentage of the migrants from Council Bluffs, especially the mixed-bloods, were of an equally advanced character. Agriculture and education progressed. By any standard of judgment, the combined efforts of the St. Mary's Mission were most influential and important; but the Baptist Mission must not be ignored.

The matter of becoming a member of the Citizen Band

or of the Prairie Band, by the 1861 treaty, was strictly one of the individual Indian's choice. In fact, a period of grace was allowed in which those who made a choice could reverse their decisions. Following that, no further transfer from one band to the other was permitted. During the time of the allottees' debacle, numerous Citizen Potawatomi, either unwilling or unable to make the move to their new Indian Territory reservation, took up residence on the Prairie Band's diminished reservation. There they remained until ejected. The legally constituted Prairie Band which came into being by the 1861 treaty did not precisely equate the previous, traditional Prairie Band. By and large, nevertheless, its complement corresponded to the personnel of the older, hunting-type, and more primitive Potawatomi faction. By the same token, some of the allottees were definitely not from the agricultural and mission class of Indians; but the great plurality of the Citizen Band's membership was from those elements of the Potawatomi Kansas River Reservation who had long since become accustomed to the way of life associated with schools, farms, and missionaries.

Regardless of the advanced and cultured characteristics of the body of the original Citizen Band, this group was doomed to failure in the Kansas allotment experiment.

Too much was asked of them: proper safeguards were absent, and white men exploited them in every conceivable fashion. This study has not established that these unfavorable conditions were deliberately intended by the government, but it has given some validity to the judgment that a planned policy of destruction could hardly have been more complete. Both federal and Kansas state courts were exceedingly negligent in protecting the Indians' rights. Yet the debacle of the allottees was not a permanent one. Having the single but all-important treaty assurance that they might yet seek and obtain a new home elsewhere, their previous training and conditioning enabled them to weather the calamity. This narrative has pointed the way to definite recovery on the Oklahoma reservation.

We cannot, it seems, overemphasize the influence of intermarriage of Potawatomi with the whites in establishing the tendencies of this people to move in the direction of the white man's civilization. From the beginning of their Western tenure the mixed-blood class provided leadership and example. Regardless of the abuse suffered from white men, no general policy of dislike or ostracism developed. On the contrary, men of completely white blood were accorded full membership in the tribe and given allotments. These white

and mixed-blood elements were also most effective later in aiding the Citizen Band to recover from its early disaster. Although the entry into the Oklahoma story of these Indians was most fragmentary, it was not at all surprising that one of their agents referred to these Potawatomi as "white people."

The details of this research have emphasized the practices and customs which will enable one to understand the later events on the Oklahoma Potawatomi Reservation. Thorough attention to the records of this reservation, down to 1907, indicated many salient features of the past which might otherwise have been neglected. Even with its fragmentary reference to the later history of the Citizen Band, this written account contributes to the understanding of an Indian group which has achieved a remarkably high degree of acculturation and assimilation in our time.

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Published literature bearing specifically on the Potawatomi of the West is very scanty. The most extensive single item is William Elsey Connelley's "The Prairie Band of Pottawatomie Indians," Kansas Historical Collections, XIV, 1915-1918, pp. 488-570. A very cursory examination reveals that the source material of this lengthy exposition is almost exclusively the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Connelley treats the same period of Potawatomi history with which the present study is concerned, although he takes up the tribe at a point about ten years later, and neglects altogether the United Band of the Potawatomi Reservation in Iowa Territory. Due credit is given to his article in the course of the development of the origins of the Citizen Band, even though his approach is directed toward establishing the roots of the Prairie Band. He also discusses the later Prairie Band history, giving a reproduction of the allotment roll which was compiled after the Dawes Act.

One other published work contains scattered references to the Potawatomi of both Iowa and Kansas. This is the three volume series of Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., The Jesuits of the Middle United States (New York: America Press, 1938). Since this scholarly effort is devoted principally to the Jesuit missionaries, and only secondarily to the Indians, it is in no sense represented to be a history of the tribes with which the Jesuit Fathers were concerned. However, insofar as Garraghan used and cited very many of the source materials on the Potawatomi, his presentation has eased the burden of preparing this narrative.

Finally, of significant value concerning the vital Potawatomi Treaty of 1861, as well as the disposition of the lands of the Potawatomi of the Kansas River Reservation, is the excellent book of Paul Wallace Gates, Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1860 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954).

A definitive study of the Potawatomi of the West is not possible without attention to primary source materials which have been hitherto largely neglected. It must be emphasized that the listing of these materials below does not in itself give any indication of their relative merits. To begin with, attention is directed to the Clark Papers,

Letter Books of the St. Louis Superintendency (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society) as an exceptional source of information concerning the Council Bluffs sub-agency, the Osage River sub-agency, and the Potawatomi occupation of their Kansas River Reservation. Letter Books VII, VIII, and IX are especially helpful. The most important files in the National Archives, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Interior Department, are the Letters Received, Potawatomi Agency, 1839-1875. Correspondence items for the earlier years duplicate, or contain the originals of many of the letters recorded in the Letter Books of the Clark Papers. But the Indian Department's files have the added advantage of supplying various enclosed letters which were not copied in the Letter Books in St. Louis. Other files in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which have more than average merit are the Fort Leavenworth Agency files, 1835-1853, and the Letters Received, School files, 1848-1870.

High priority of importance is given to the record book entitled, Allotment of Lands made to the Pottawatomi Tribe of Indians by Commissioners W. W. Wolcott and W. W. Ross, 1863 (General Services Administration, Federal Records Center, Indian Archives, Kansas City, Missouri). The listed allottees were the "charter members" of the Citizen Band. A

copy of these rolls is available in the National Archives, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As far as can be ascertained, no published work or article has thus far adverted to this outstanding primary source.

Another area of relatively neglected primary material is that of the published government documents pertaining to the affairs of the Potawatomi Indians.

Many manuscript sources of missionary origin, while receiving the attention of scholars delving in mission histories, have been accorded only slight emphasis in ethnological studies. This is particularly true of the Potawatomi of the period of our inquiry.

In presenting the following bibliography it is confidently asserted that it is in the manner of the use of these various sources that claim to extending the knowledge of the Potawatomi is chiefly based. There was, initially, the problem of unearthing and analyzing the neglected manuscript materials, government documents, and other contemporary printed matter. At all times careful attention was given to filling in the record of the tribe as provided in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The various files of the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were absolutely essential in accomplishing this aim.

Many letters from the Indians themselves, from the educated mixed-bloods, adopted citizens, are important. But we must always make due allowance for the particular axes which they were habitually grinding. Missionary papers were utilized to implement the story of the Indians as given in official, government records.

In offering an introductory preview to the history of the Citizen Band in Oklahoma, introduction was given to an era which is virtually untouched in publications. Excellent materials in the Oklahoma Historical Society provided a fundamental knowledge of the nature of the Citizen Band. Thus, a more thorough interpretation of the sources relating to its origins was possible.

Secondary books and articles were most helpful in supplying information on specialized aspects of the various Potawatomi personalities and reservations. Without the benefit of the prior research which these publications represent, the present task would have been immeasurably more arduous. Some of the unpublished theses aided in filling in particular aspects of the discussion. Newspaper items, although cited scantily in the manuscript, also furnished an important insight into various relevant subjects.

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