

**A HISTORY OF THE EARLY JESUIT MISSIONS
IN KANSAS**

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P R E F A C E

The name of St. Mary's is intimately connected with the early history of Kansas and the Middle West. For over a hundred years the Jesuits have labored in the territory now known as Kansas; their work has not only been of a spiritual nature, but they have been pioneers and social builders. Long before Kansas was a territory, long before the contests of the slavery issue, long before the trails of the gold seekers stretched across the land, long before the white settlers came in numbers to the unchartered west, the Jesuits were laboring in well organized communities for the welfare of the Indians of Kansas.

Shea, Parkman, Thwaites, Bolton, and many other historians have borne more testimony to the fact that the Jesuits are careful keepers of records.⁽¹⁾ The early history of the northeast and of Canada cannot be written without the aid of the Jesuit archives. Professor Hughes has issued four large volumes of the work of the Jesuits in Maryland, and Professor Bolton has recently edited the long neglected accounts of Father Keno in the exploration and settlement of the southwest. The story has been told of the missionary

labors and pioneer foundations of the Jesuits in the east and the west, but of their work in the very heart of the country no one has attempted to garner the complete records.

The accounts of the early work of the Jesuits in Kansas are preserved at St. Mary's College. The present study is based upon this unpublished material and the little-known published accounts of the Jesuits in Kansas.

This narrative is not a history of the Catholic Church in Kansas. No attempt will be made to cover that vast field. The scope of this work is confined to an account of the missionary labors of the Jesuit Fathers in Kansas. It is commonplace to state that these early missionaries of the Christian Faith left enduring monuments in every country of the civilized world. Their heroism and self-sacrifice has been the theme of the chronicler, the historian and the poet, as well as the source of much legendary lore of every people. This is no less true of the New World than the Old. America had its own great missionaries ^{who} aided in the new discoveries, explorations and plans of colonization. They encouraged everything that contributed to change the country from a wilderness to a land of happy homes, of beautiful cities and cultivated plains. (2)

Acknowledgment is made to Rev. Father F. J. O'Hern S. J., President of St. Mary's College and to the other Jesuit Fathers for access to their records. Thanks are due to Professor Frank Heywood Hedder and the faculty members of the Department of History, University of Kansas, for their valuable assistance. The writer owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. James C. Malin for his constructive criticism of the entire manuscript. My greatest indebtedness is to my wife, who has assisted me at all stages in the preparation of this history.

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A HISTORY OF THE EARLY JESUIT MISSIONS
IN KANSAS.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION.

Reverend John Carroll was appointed first bishop of the United States and was consecrated in England, August 15, 1790. He established his first see in Baltimore, Maryland. New York, Boston and Bardstown, Kentucky, founded their sees in 1808, and somewhat later, Rt. Reverend Louis Dubourg, D. D. was appointed bishop over Upper and Lower Louisiana and all the land included in the Louisiana Purchase, establishing his see in St. Louis in 1818.

The new bishop was unable to secure a sufficient number of secular priests to serve as missionaries to the Indian territory, hence he appealed for aid to the Jesuit Fathers residing in Maryland. This urgent appeal was answered by a party of young Belgium Jesuit exiles who were driven to the United States by the political disturbances in their native land, arriving in St. Louis on May 32, 1823. From this point they extended their missionary activities into the West and Northwest, Kansas

forming only a portion of their territory. The western country was not only an unknown region to these missionaries, but it was a country which was undergoing a rapid transition, due to shifting of the fur trade, westward movement, commerce and new departures in Indian policy.

Probably the most important industry in the middle west and northwest, for many years before the early missions were established in Kansas, was the fur trade. During the early period of this industry, extending to 1820, many kinds of wild animals were found in Kansas: the wolf, the buffalo, the deer, the elk, the antelope, the fox, the mink and the muskrat. The trade gradually decreased and had ceased to be an important industry at the time the early missions were established in Kansas.

The Chouteaus, who were the chief fur traders in Kansas, continued to conduct their trading posts in the territory. They still collected some fur, but the character of their trade was changed to supplying the Indians with the necessities for their new agricultural life. The trading posts furnished implements, tools, weapons, traps, trinkets, cotton cloth, calico and similar merchandise of a general nature. The Indians paid for these goods largely by money received from the National Government in the form of annuities. Such was the status of the fur trade and of the old trading posts

and their relations with the Indians at the time that the Jesuit Missions were established.

The fur trade and westward movement contributed to the development of transportation facilities across the plains, particularly the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails. These were the routes of travel for the traders and trappers in the pursuit of their traffic and in the course of events for caravans from Missouri and the eastern states on their way to the distant regions of the Southwest and Northwest. The Santa Fe Trail is not mentioned in the early Jesuit records. The trail was, perhaps, too distant from the Sugar Creek and Osage Missions to have any definite connection with them, but the Oregon Trail and California Road passed through St. Mary's and a brisk trade was carried on between the mission and emigrants.

Early communication was carried on in the Middle and Far West by means of the overland mail and pony express. ⁽¹⁾ They passed over routes northward of St. Mary's. The freighting business to such western forts as Riley and more remote points traveled the Leavenworth-Fort Riley military road by the mission.

The development of fur trade in Missouri, after the admission of the state to the Union, gave rise to the substitution of the steamboat in river transportation, for the canoe, the barge, the flat boat, the hull

boat, and the keel boat. The first steamboat, Zebulin W. Pike, made its appearance in St. Louis August 2, 1817. It was followed by the steamboat Constitution in October, 1819. In the same year the steamboat Independence made a trip from St. Louis to Franklin, Missouri. This voyage proved that the Missouri River could also be navigated.

Western posts and military garrisons on or near rivers were then reached principally by water and goods destined for the overland trail traffic was carried to the outfitting points by the same means. The Missouri River was the principal channel for this commerce before the coming of the railroads.

Steamboat transportation on the Missouri River began regularly about 1829,⁽²⁾ and continued to increase in volume during the period of 1840 to 1850, reaching its climax during the period of westward emigration between 1850 and 1860.

Steamboats navigated the Kansas River during the period of 1854 to 1860. Father Duerinck of St. Mary's Mission, was of the opinion that steamboats would come up the Kansas River in 1854. In his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated August 31, 1853, he made the following comment:

"Some people think, if Nebraska be organized as a territory, St. Mary's ought to be the capital. Steamboats will certainly ascend the Kansas River next spring, come up to our landing and discharge freight, and make us forget that we live in the Indian Country." (3)

Father Duerinck was not alone in his opinion that the Kansas River was suited for navigation, as it will appear in the following editorial in the Messenger of Independence, Missouri, dated June 24, 1854:

"The great problem is solved; the Kansas River can now be navigated, if the right sort of steamboats are used, for at least three-fourths of the year. The Kansas is a stream of more importance than many are aware of, and although it partakes much of the character of the Missouri in the changes of current and flowing through similar soil, yet it only requires an acquaintance with its channel to render it as good, as far as it goes, as the Osage, and much better than the Platte River, whose courses are at the base of the mountains to the west of us. The experiment, which is no longer an experiment, of navigating the river by steam, just at this crisis, will tell wonderfully upon the tide of immigration now pouring in upon us, and will be the means of determining many to settle down in the fertile valleys of the Kansas and its tributaries who would otherwise never have thought of it. Those of us interested here are now no longer in the extreme West. In imagination, if not in reality, we see towns and cities springing up nearer the setting of the sun than we are, and a great people will inhabit regions now uncultivated and unexplored. Fifty years hence, we will hardly know ourselves; far as Illinois, Indiana and Ohio are to us, so will we be then to Kansas, Utah and New Mexico. We understand it is the intention of some of the New Mexican traders, another year, to

convey their freight up the Kansas River, thereby saving land carriage and shortening the distance to Santa Fe, two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles."

One of the first steamboats to ascend the Kansas River any distance was the Excell, a boat of seventy-nine tons, built in 1851 at McKeesport. Captain Charles F. Baker, Sr., had charge. It was described as a staunch little sternwheeler, drawing about two feet of water, with a cargo of a hundred tons, and had remarkably strong engines. The Excell made the trip from Weston, Missouri, to Fort Riley in two days and met with no difficulty in navigating the Kansas River. From this same boat, landed at St. Mary's, June 17, 1854, James Grahm, a boy of eight years of age. He was orphaned by the cholera of 1849 in St. Louis, and cared for in the St. Joseph's Orphanage by the Sisters of Charity. He became the adopted son of Dr. L. R. Palmer of the mission.⁽⁴⁾ The Excell made three trips to Fort Riley in the year of 1854. The first cargo was 1100 barrels of flour, the two subsequent cargoes were composed of lumber, glass, nails and other commodities.⁽⁵⁾

In 1859, the Minnie Belle made one trip as far as the Junction. Another boat called Financier No. 2, stranded at the lower end of the levee at Pawnee. It discharged its cargo and reached Fort Riley. The officers and their ladies planned a party and took an excursion up the Republican River, as far as Clay Center.⁽⁶⁾

The steamboat Gus Linn made a trip to Fort Riley in 1859. In the financial records of St. Mary's Mission for 1859 are noted the following items of interest:

"June 10, 1859. Today Father Schultz returned from St. Louis, having been absent since the 19th of May. The goods are shipped up from Kansas City on the steamer "Gus Linn." (7)

"June 23, 1859. Steamer "Gus Linn" arrived. Paid for freight from St. Louis to mission, \$460.00." (8)

The Gus Linn, on this voyage, met with great difficulty in navigating the river. This boat was the last to attempt the hazards of the Kaw River.

The original inhabitants of Kansas were composed of five tribes or tribal groups. Two important tribes occupied the eastern part, the Kansas claimed the Kansas River valley and the Osages the territory south of that river. From the Platte River valley, the Pawnee extended into northern and western Kansas, using much of the Kansas country as hunting grounds. In the extreme west were Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and in the southwest, Kiowas and Comanches. The later additions to the native Indians were the emigrant tribes from east of the Mississippi River, among whom the Jesuits established their missions.

Agitation for the removal of the Indian from his home east of the Mississippi River dates back to the administration of Thomas Jefferson. In 1825, the Government made treaties with the Kansas and Osage Indians to secure land for the emigrant tribes. The Osages formerly occupied a portion of Missouri on the Osage River and, with the settlement of Missouri, they were pushed up the Osage River until the treaty of 1825, when their lands were limited to a reservation in the southern part of Kansas on the Verdigris and Neosho Rivers. The Kansas were given a reservation in the Kansas River valley located in central eastern Kansas. With these tribes restricted to definite reservations, a large area of eastern Kansas was opened for the emigrant tribes. In consequence of this arrangement the Kickapoos, the Pottawatomies, the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Ottaways, the Chippeways, Otoes, Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares, and other tribes migrated from their homes east of the river to new reservations in eastern Kansas.⁽⁹⁾

The Kickapoo tribe first appears in history in 1667. At this time they were found by Allouez near the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers in Columbia County, Wisconsin. They gradually migrated to Illinois, and in 1819 they gave up their claims in this territory

and afterwards moved to Missouri and thence to a reservation in the northeastern part of Kansas, which included lands that are now parts of Brown, Atchison and Jackson Counties. (10)

The Pottawatomie tribe was divided into two important bands. Those occupying northern Wisconsin and Michigan was known as the Pottawatomes of the Woods, the other group commonly called the prairie band resided in southern Illinois and Indiana. On September 26, 1833, a treaty was concluded at Chicago by which the united Pottawatomes, Ottawas, and Chippewas ceded to the United States Government about 5,000,000 acres of land. The forest band was granted a reservation in what is now Pottawatomie County, Iowa. Their village was situated near the present site of Council Bluffs. In 1837, the United States Government agreed to convey to the prairie band of Indians a tract of country on the Osage River, the territory selected was in what is now the southwest part of Miami County, Kansas.

The second problem in the removal policy of the Government, was the organization of some form of government in the Indian Country to protect the interests of the Indians from the white man and to promote harmonious relations between the native and emigrant tribes. On June 30, 1834, Congress passed an act to provide for the

organization of a department of Indian Affairs. The Indian Country was divided into three superintendencies, the territory between the Missouri River and the Santa Fe Trail falling into the St. Louis division. They were given general charge over all Indian agencies and sub-agencies in the Indian territory. At the same time, Congress passed an act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes and preserve peace of the frontiers. (11)

The important clauses of this law were designed to protect the material interests of the Indians from the white inhabitants. Property rights were particularly guarded. The law forbade the white man to enter, trespass or trap on the Indian lands. If a white man destroyed the property of a friendly Indian, he was forced to compensate the Indian for twice its value. In trials regarding property the burden of proof rested on the white person. The Indian was not permitted to dispose of his land to a white person. The trade laws were also strict. Indians could only barter with Indians. A white person must be licensed before he could trade with the tribes. Liquors were strictly forbidden in the Indian country. A trader detected distributing intoxicating spirits to the red man not only lost his trading license, but was also subject to heavy fines.

The strict prohibition laws did not prevent liquor from being smuggled from the Missouri border into Kansas. This traffic hampered the work of the early missionaries. To enforce the trade and intercourse laws, the Indian country was annexed for legal purposes to the state of Missouri and the territory of Arkansas. (12)

In previous acts of Congress provisions were made for civilizing and educating the Indian. These acts gave the president of the United States power to introduce means of instruction, with the consent of the Indians, to employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the modes of agriculture, reading, writing and arithmetic, and to perform such other duties as may be enjoined according to such instructions and rules. A report of the proceedings adopted in the execution of this provision was required to be sent annually to Congress. (13) It was the general policy of the Government from the early history of the United States to place the education of the Indian in the hands of the missionaries. With this object in view, missionary stations and manual labor schools both Catholic and Protestant were established in the Indian country.

Before presenting the story of the Catholic mission, a brief survey should be made of Protestant missions

occupying the same region. One of the first of these missions was established among the Cherokee in Arkansas. In 1820, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions appointed Rev. Chapman to take charge of the Arkansas Indians and build a mission in their territory. Rev. Chapman selected a site on Illinois Creek, about five miles above its junction with the Arkansas. Here he built Dwight Mission. Under Rev. Cephas Washburn, it grew to be, perhaps, the most important mission station in the Southwest until the removal of the tribe in 1839. From this station some attention also was given the Osages. As was customary, this mission was aided by appropriations from the Government. On the consolidation of the whole Cherokee nation in the Indian territory, the missionaries followed and new stations were established which, with some interruptions, remained in operation until the outbreak of the Civil War. (14)

In 1821 the United Foreign Missionary Society established Harmony Mission among the Osages in Missouri. This Presbyterian mission was situated near the junction of the Marais des Cygnes and the Osage River, not far from the present Rich Hill, Missouri. Excellent schools were established among the Osage children. The mission also improved a large farm and planted an orchard. In

1837, when the Osages moved west, the mission came to an end.

This same society founded Union Mission on the west bank of the Neosho River about midway between the present Muskogee and Fort Gibson, Oklahoma. In consequence of opposition instigated by traders, the Osage field was abandoned after about fifteen years of discouraging labor extending from 1821 to 1836. One of the workers of the mission, Rev. B. Montgomery, compiled an Osage reading book published in 1834. Among others connected with the mission were the Revs. S. Chapman, Pixley, Newton, Sprague, Palmer, Vaill, Belcher and Requa. (15)

In 1830, the Shawnee Methodist Mission was established in the present town of Shawnee in Wyandotte County, but was removed in 1838 to the present site in Johnson County, near Rosedale, a part of Kansas City, Kansas. Three large buildings were erected and in 1855 the so-called bogus legislature met in one of these. There was a manual labor school and the Indians were taught the required elementary subjects. Rev. Thomas Johnson was the founder and for many years the superintendent. (16)

One of the first Baptist missions was founded in 1831 through the influence and efforts of Rev. Isaac

McCoy. Dr. Johnson Lykins and wife were appointed by the Baptist Missionary Convention as teachers and missionaries to the Shawnee Indians and arrived at their posts in July, 1831. Mr. Lykins located his mission two miles northwest of the site of the present town of Shawnee, Wyandotte County, Kansas. Here he purchased a small tract, built a house at his own expense and commenced his labors, serving not only as minister and teacher, but also as physician.

In the fall of 1833, Rev. Jotham Meeker, one of the former assistants in the East, arrived with a printing press and types, with which it was proposed to print for distribution among the various tribes, educational and devotional works in their own languages according to a new phonetic system devised by Rev. Meeker. The work of translating and printing was actively taken up, the first issue being a Delaware primer in 1834, believed to be the first book printed in Kansas. Not only the Baptists, but also the Methodists and Presbyterians, working in the same field, availed themselves of the services of the Shawnee Mission press. In 1837, Rev. Meeker removed his press to where Ottawa now stands and founded a mission among the Ottawa tribe, which he faithfully served until his death in 1854.⁽¹⁷⁾

In 1837, the Baptists established a mission among

the Pottawatomie Indians near the present site of Osewatomie, Miami County, Kansas. Rev. Robert Simmerwell was placed in charge of this station. In 1846, when this tribe was removed to their new reservation, the mission was relocated on Mission Creek, Shawnee County, near the Jesuit chapel of St. Joseph. There appears to have been some religious rivalry between the two missionary groups. The Catholic account of the Baptist mission at St. Joseph states the Pottawatomie Indians were opposed to the mission activities and, later, they assumed the same attitude toward a Methodist missionary who attempted to establish a mission in the tribe. (18)

John W. Whitfield, the Indian Agent of the Pottawatomies, in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated October 8, 1853, gives an account of the condition of the missions among the Pottawatomies:

"I have visited the missions in this agency several times. St. Mary's Catholic Mission, situated 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 this people. The Baptist Mission, situated in the eastern part of the nation, I am informed, has had many difficulties to encounter 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. J. Lykins has again taken charge of it, and from his great popularity with the nation, it now bids fair to soon be in as flourishing condition as any school in the country." (19)

The hope of Mr. Whitfield, the Indian agent, was never realized. Conditions among the Pottawatomies continued to grow worse and the Baptist mission was finally abandoned in 1854.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

The work of establishing Catholic missions in the Indian Country was placed under the guidance of Rt. Reverend Louis William Dubourg, D. D.⁽¹⁾ who was consecrated in Rome on September 24, 1815, and thus became the bishop of upper and lower Louisiana. The most of the territory now known as Kansas fell within the limits of his vast diocese. Bishop Dubourg arrived in America in 1817. Bishop Flaget of Bardstown, Kentucky, and Francis Niel, a student in theology, made the celebrated journey with him down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, landing at St. Louis January 5, 1818. On January 6, he took possession of his see, which he held until August 13th, 1826. The vastness of the field entrusted to his care was thus impressed upon him.

In coming to St. Louis, Bishop Dubourg saw the need of supreme effort to meet the situation. He was poor and helpless, almost friendless. He conceived the idea of returning to Europe to beg for help, for men and means to aid him in his vast missionary labors among the white settlers as well as among the uncounted thousands of aborigines. He searched Italy, France and

Belgium to find men who might be willing to devote their lives to the conversion of the Indians. His visit to Europe was only partly successful. In the ultimate results, however, that visit produced marvelous fruit.

A few truly great men and noble women hearkened to the call of the bishop, but what were these among so many? Unknown to Bishop Dubourg, however, his most sanguine hopes were about to be fulfilled in an unexpected manner. The Revolution in Europe had sent to America a band of young Belgium Jesuits who found a shelter with their brethren in Maryland. They were waiting to be called into the vineyard. This band of Jesuits, exiles and refugees, were destined to figure largely in the missionary history of the western states of North America. (2)

The Society of Jesus was chosen by Bishop Dubourg for the evangelization of the Indian tribes of the West. The Government of the United States was glad to receive the co-operation of the Catholic Church in civilizing these barbarians, who were liable to cause endless trouble; and the Church gladly accepted the proffered aid of the Government.

John N. Odin, then only in deacon's order, wrote to the Director of the seminary at Lyons, France, March 30, 1822:

"Bishop Dupourg, enroute for Baltimore, stopped at Washington, to confer with President of the United States, concerning the mission to the savages which he is planning to establish. The question was carried to Senate and although nearly all the members were Protestants, they resolved to grant a sum of money for the furtherance of this project. They promised moreover, to pay a small pension to the missionaries and to furnish them with the necessary agricultural implements. The savages themselves show the most favorable dispositions." (3)

Bishop Dubourg himself writes on this subject to his brother in Bordeaux, France, March 17, 1823:

"Providence deigns to grant a success to this negotiation, far in excess of my hopes. The government bestows upon me two hundred dollars a year for each missionary and that for four or five men and it promises to increase the number gradually and I am sure that it will do so. For an enterprise such as this, it was essential that I should have men especially called to this work and I had almost renounced the hope of ever obtaining such, when God, in his infinite goodness, has brought about one of these incidents which he alone can foresee and direct the results. The Jesuits of whom I speak had their institution in Maryland and finding themselves excessively embarrassed for lack of accommodation, were on the point of disbanding their novitiate, when I obtained this pecuniary encouragement from the government. They have seized this opportunity and have offered to transport the whole novitiate, master and novices, into Upper Louisiana and form there a preparatory school for Indian missionaries. If I had had my choice, I could not have desired anything better. Seven young men, all Flemings, full of talent and of the spirit of Saint Francis Xavier, advanced in their studies, about twenty-two years of age, with their two excellent masters and some brothers; this is what Providence at last grants my prayers.

"Near the spot where the Missouri empties into the Mississippi, outside the village of Florissant, already so happy to possess the principal institution of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, I have a good yielding farm, excellent soil, which if well cultivated (which it is not at present), could easily provide sustenance for twenty persons, at least, so far as the important question of nourishment is concerned. True, there is only a small house on the place, but in this country a big cabin of rough wood, such as will be suitable for the apostles of the savages, is quickly built. It is there that I will locate this novitiate, which will be, for all times, a seminary especially intended to form missionaries for the Indians and for the civilized and ever growing population of Missouri. As soon as the actual subjects are ready, we will commence the mission, in good earnest. In the meantime, I propose to receive in the seminary a half dozen Indian children from the different tribes, in order to familiarize my young missionaries with their habits and language and to prepare the Indians to serve as guides, interpreters and aids to the missionaries when they are sent to the scattered tribes." (4)

At the time of Bishop Dubourg's appeal, the Jesuits were considering seriously the abandonment of their novitiate at Whitemarsh, Maryland, owing to the impoverishment of the land on which they were located and the consequent lack of sufficient revenues to support the community. As Bishop Dubourg offered them a farm of 205 acres in the fertile Florissant valley, sixteen miles northeast of the growing city of St. Louis, the Jesuits looked on the offer as a Godsend and a solution of their financial difficulties. They immediately accepted the Bishop's invitation. Father

Neales thereupon appointed Father Van Quickenborne, S. J., Superior of the new mission. Father Timmermans, S. J., was selected to accompany him and also was given authority to take with him those novices who showed special fitness and natural inclination for Indian missionary work. Father Van Quickenborne announced the project to his community and without a moment's hesitation seven Flemish novices volunteered. They had come to America for this purpose and they were contented to consecrate their lives for the salvation of the Indian. The Master of novices being satisfied as to their earnestness, accepted their offer to accompany him to Missouri. Three lay brothers also formed part of the band: Brothers Peter De Meyer of Grammont, Henry Reiselman of Amsterdam, and Charles Strahan of Maryland. To complete the efficiency of the personnel the Superior chose from among the negroes attached to the plantation three families to work on the farm at Florissant.

April 11, 1823, the missionaries started at dawn, arriving at Baltimore that night, where the final preparations for the trip were made. Father Van Quickenborne the Superior of the small band bought two wagons, each was drawn by six horses, to transport the luggage to Wheeling on the Ohio River. He had also a light

wagon taken from Whitmarsh in which the missionaries could travel in case excessive fatigue rendered any of them incapable of continuing on foot.

They left Baltimore on April 14, and started on a journey across the Alleghanies. The lay brothers and the novices led the procession on foot. They cooked their own food, and at night sought shelter in farm houses or some abandoned cabin.

After a march of eighteen days the Jesuit band arrived at Wheeling. Their resources were too limited to purchase a boat, so the Superior, by way of a makeshift procured two scows which he lashed together. On one he placed the negroes and the baggage; the missionaries occupied the other. When they were ready, they began their trip down the Ohio. They passed the present cities of Cincinnati, Louisville and Madison, which were at that time small villages. The expedition traveled day and night, only stopping to procure supplies.

The usual difficulties and dangers which were part of river navigation at that time beset the band. Storms carried their craft beyond their control and falling trees toppling into the stream from the eroded banks were a frequent danger. Steering so unwieldy a boat was at the best very difficult. Brother Strahan, on whom the responsibility rested, was kept unceasingly

on the alert to avoid collision with the steamboats which traveled up and down the river.

The voyagers encountered at Louisville the famous falls of the Ohio. In order to avoid a mishap in making the passage of the rapids it was necessary to lighten the cargo and to this end all the party, except Joost Van Assche, went ashore, loading the baggage into carts. Joost Van Assche alone was permitted to remain aboard with the pilot to whose skill the boat was intrusted for shooting the rapids. The band was to be united and to embark again some distance below the falls.

The two flatboats made a safe passage through the rapids and joined the rest of the band who were waiting for them at Portland. The horses, wagons, and other equipment were re-embarked and the trip continued down the Ohio. From Louisville to Shawneetown the voyage was ideal, but from there a modification of travel was necessary. Though only a few days from their destination the boats could not ascend the Mississippi and the band was compelled to walk. Father Van Quickenborne sent the baggage on a steamboat to St. Louis and the missionary group took their way overland through Illinois.

The seasonal rain had filled the prairie and marshes and they were obliged to walk nearly two hundred

miles through marshes, often up to their waists in water, seldom finding shelter at farm homes or inns. Night would overtake them on the plains and insects made sleep an impossibility. At length, however, on Saturday, May 31, 1823, they came in sight of St. Louis.

The population of St. Louis at that time numbered about four or five thousand. The missionaries were welcomed at the Catholic academy recently erected by Bishop Dubourg.

On the evening of the following day Father Van-Quickenborne, impatient to reach his post, mounted a horse and set out in company with Charles de la Croix,⁽⁵⁾ a native of Ghent and a missionary of six years residence in Missouri. Three days later on June 3, 1823, he was joined at Florissant by his young companions.

The village of Florissant was situated about sixteen miles from St. Louis and a short distance from the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. At that time it was a hamlet of about four hundred souls.

The house of the Jesuit Mission was about one and one-half miles from Florissant. It commanded a fine view of the country lying before it, with Florissant nestling in the valley, the roofs of the houses peeping here or there through the trees of the forest. The location was ideal but the buildings presented to

them a new problem. The main structure consisted of one room eight or nine yards wide, with a gable roof pitched so low that a man could not stand upright in the attic beneath it. A short distance away stood two huts, each about twenty feet square and this group of three buildings was all their accommodations. The walls were made of logs placed one upon the other, the intervening cracks were plastered up with mud. The roofs consisted of large clapboards which were held together by means of strips of wood laid crosswise. The doors were made of rough, hard hewn slabs and were fastened by means of a wooden latch which was lifted by a string that hung outside. There were openings, bar windows without glass having shutters that fastened in a manner similar to the doors.

The missionaries endeavored at once to make themselves at home. The dark and stuffy attic became a dormitory for the novices and its floor softened by a buffalo hide on a handful of straw, served as their bed. The ground floor was divided by a curtain which separated the chapel from the bedroom occupied by the Superior and his assistant. One of the two outhouses, which in a former day had served successively as a chicken house and then a pig pen was transformed into a study for the novices and also a community refectory. The other outhouse

was used as a shed for plows and farm implements, and a kitchen and sleeping quarters for the servants. The farm contained about three hundred acres, all fertile agricultural land, but it had to be cleared, plowed and planted with no help except three negro servants.

At this time the Sisters of the Sacred Heart had been established over three years at Florissant. Madam Duchesne,⁽⁶⁾ a woman celebrated for her virtues and renounced for the religious houses which she had established, was the Superior at that time, and while her community was, in fact, quite poor itself and had but scant means of support, the spirit of their charity was indeed heroic. As Missouri was received into the Union in 1821, very few Indians remained around Florissant, nevertheless an Indian Seminary was started, where the boys were taught by the young scholastics preparing for ordination, and the girls in a different building, were cared for by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. The school was in charge of an Irish Sister, Madame Mary O'Connor, who had just taken her first vows. The Indian Seminary served as a training school for teachers as much as for children; in it they studied the characteristic traits and the language of the Indians. Although the schools had only twenty to thirty children and were discontinued after a few years, yet it was these

teachers who afterwards distinguished themselves in the patient hardships of the missions. Father De Smet was principal of this Seminary.

The arrival of the Jesuit Fathers redoubled the self-sacrificing devotion of these good nuns. Madam Duchesne conserved her resources for the success of the new mission. Not content with begging alms from the well-to-do families in St. Louis, she also deprived herself of her own belongings, kitchen utensils, linen, bedding and other essentials as well as provisions; and whenever she heard the missionaries were in want she would assemble the nuns, and intimating that she had rather divined the Father's needy condition than been told thereof, because they never made their want known, she would let her tears plead the cause of her proteges. This was always followed by a unanimous resolution to practice greater self-denial. Thanks to the heroic charity of these nuns, the missionaries were able to eke out an endurable existence amidst the hardships of the early days of the novitiate.⁽⁷⁾

In 1824, Father Charles Quickenborne opened a boarding school for Osage children in the novitiate of the Society at Florissant, Missouri. It came to a premature end, however, even in the fulness of its promise. The Osages, in 1825, sold by treaty to the

United States their lands in Missouri and moved westward into Kansas, then called Missouri Territory. They settled on the fertile lands of the Osage River.

In 1827, when seven of the young Jesuit Scholastics had been raised to the priesthood, the time had come for extending their labors. The Superior, Father Charles Van Quickenborne, was the first to cross the state in search of the Osages; and he preached to them under a banner of the Blessed Virgin, designed and painted by Mother Duchesne. He made several excursions across Missouri from 1827-1830, visiting the Osages scattered along the banks of the Marmaton and Neosho Rivers, and was thus the first Jesuit to enter the present state of Kansas.

CHAPTER III

THE KICKAPOO MISSION.

The first Catholic priest to take up missionary work among the Indians of Missouri and later in Kansas was Father De la Croix. He began his labors with the Osage tribe at Florissant near St. Louis, Missouri in 1818. Here, with the assistance of the newly arrived colony of Religious of the Sacred Heart, he labored zealously and successfully, not only among the Osages in the district, but also among the Catholic settlers residing there. He prepared the way for Father De Smet, S. J. and the other Jesuit missionaries who came to Florissant in 1823. When Father Van Quickenborne, S. J. arrived with his eight companions, Father De la Croix had almost completed and paid for the brick church, started a farm, and opened a missionary field for the work of the young Jesuits. Having been appointed to St. Michael's Parish in Lower Lower Louisiana, Father De la Croix prepared a convent for the Religious of the Sacred Heart, in which they opened a boarding school in 1828.

After the close of the Indian school at Florissant, Missouri, in 1825, Father Charles Van Quickenborne, S. J. sought new fields of labor among the Indians. He

cherished in his mind the idea of establishing another mission in the heart of the Indian Country. This mission could be attended to from the Missouri novitiate. In several of his letters Father Van Quickenborne stated that the new college which was contemplated for St. Louis was chiefly a preparatory step to the larger and more important enterprise of the Indian mission because there the missionaries could meet the Government Indian agents as well as the deputations from the various tribes. Even though Father Van Quickenborne had relinquished his office as Superior of the Missouri mission, without having his plans of the Indian mission realized, it was due to his efforts that the work was finally carried out.

There had been several reports that the Indians of the Kickapoo tribe had expressed a wish that they might have a priest to minister to them. So in the summer of 1835, Father Van Quickenborne visited this tribe in order to get first-hand information regarding this request. Telling of this trip he wrote:

"To get to the Kickapoo it was necessary to cross the Kansas River. I was not a little surprised to see that the Delaware Indians had established a ferry there in imitation of the whites. We arrived at the Kickapoo Village July 4, a Saturday, the day consecrated to the Blessed Virgin. The next day I said mass in the trader's house where the prophet, who was anxious to see me, put in an early appearance. After the first exchange of courtesies, he at once brought up the subject of religion. 'What do you

teach?' he asked me. 'We teach,' I answered, 'that every man must believe in God, hope in God, love God above all things and his neighbor as himself; those who do this will go to heaven and those who do not will go to hell.' Many of my young people believe that there are two Gods. How do you prove that there is only one and that he has proposed certain truths to us to be believed?' I said in the course of my reply, 'God spoke to the prophets and the prophets proved by miracles that God had spoken to them.' He at once interrupted me, saying: 'This is the very way I got to be believed when I began to preach: I raised the dead to life. There was a woman,' he continued, 'who so every one thought, could not possibly recover her health; I breathed on her and from that moment she began to improve and is now in good health. Another time I saw an infant just about to die; I took it in my arms and at the end of a few days it was cured.' I said in reply that there is a great difference between a dead person and one who is believed to be at the point of death; that in the two cases alleged he had merely done what anyone else might do; and that since on his own admission those two persons were not dead, he had not as a matter of fact brought them back to life.

My answer irritated him greatly and he remarked that no one had ever dared to contradict him in this fashion or give him such an answer. Seeing him in anger, I kept silent. Then my interpreter, a friend of the prophet, told him it was wrong of him to become angry when he could not answer the remarks made by the Black-Robe and that this only showed that he defended a bad cause. After some moments of silence he softened and admitted himself to be worsted. 'I realize', he said, 'that my religion is not a good one; if my people wish to embrace yours, I will do as they.' The following Sunday he repeated in assembly what he had often said before, that he should not be de-

ceived in his hope and in the pledge he had given them that the Great Spirit would send someone to help him complete his work. God alone knows whether he spoke sincerely. On Monday I received a visit from several of the inferior chiefs; all expressed a desire to have a Catholic priest among them. I was unable on that occasion to see the head chief, who had gone on the hunt and returned only ten days later. I paid him a visit immediately on his return and explained to him that I had made this journey because I heard it said that his nation wished to have a priest and I was eager to ascertain if such was really the case; that in his absence the other chiefs had sought me out to assure me of the truth of what I heard; but that before speaking of the affair to their grand-father (the President of the United States), I desired to know how he himself regarded it. 'Have you a wife?' he asked me. I answered that he ought to know that Catholic priests do not marry and that I was a black-robe. At these words he manifested surprise mingled with respect and excused himself by saying that, as he had just arrived and had not as yet spoken to any of his people, no one had informed him of the fact that I was a black-robe. He then added that in a matter of such importance he wished to hear his council and would return his answer in St. Louis whither he proposed to go. He did not go there, however, but sent me his answer by a trader. It was couched in these terms; 'I desire as do also the principal men of my nation, to have a black-robe come and reside among us with a view to instruct us.' (1)

This letter explains rather clearly just why and how it was that the Jesuits came to establish a mission

amongst the Kickapoo Indians.⁽²⁾ Such a project, as establishing a mission among the Indians was not only deserving of Government permission but also of Government aid. It was in search of this aid that we find Father Van Quickenborne in Washington, negotiating with the Federal authorities. He speaks of the success of his quest in a letter to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis:

"It is an honor and inexpressible pleasure to me as well to be able to announce to you that today I concluded my affair with the Government. We are going to begin an Indian Mission and school among the Kickapoo. I have obtained as an outfit, Five Hundred Dollars. When the school shall be in operation, circumstances will determine the amount of aid which the Government will furnish. My offer in behalf of the Pottawatomies has also been favorably received and we are fully authorized to begin work among them also, when they shall have moved to their new lands in Missouri in the neighborhood of Council Bluffs. May your lordship pardon me if I ask you to be so good as to communicate this news to the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis and to commend me earnestly to their prayers as to those of the sisters of Charity..... I have made an important acquisition for the mission. Father McSherry gives me a brother of robust health, who is at once carpenter, doctor, etc. Many of the Fathers here manifest a lively desire to go and work among the Indians." (3)

Having received the assurance of Government Aid, Father Van Quickenborne went rapidly ahead with his plans for the work of the mission. In a letter which he sent

to Father McSherry, he relates some of the incidents connected with the establishment of the mission among the Indians:

"We arrived here on the 1st inst., (June 1836) precisely thirteen years after we arrived in Missouri the first time, when we came to commence the Indian Mission--better late than never. The steamer on board of which we came up, brought us to the very spot where we intended to build. We met with a very cordial reception from the principal chief and his warriors and from the prophet himself. There are two towns among the Kickapoos about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles apart, which are composed of the two bands into which the Nation is divided. Pashishi, the chief, is quite proud of the circumstance of our coming at his particular invitation and for this reason wished me to build near his town; on the other hand the Prophet expressed a wish that we should do as much for his band as for the others. He said he had always told his people that a black-gown (priest) would come and help him, that he felt disposed to join us and to persuade his followers to do the same. By the agreement of the chief we intend to build between the two towns on a spot nearly equally distant from both. As I did not like the expression of the prophet (of our helping him), I made him acknowledge that he had not received authority from the Great Spirit to preach and that his religion was not a divine religion. He readily did it and added that a black-gown had given him a paper and had told him to advise and direct his people to the best of his knowledge. Afterwards he brought me the paper;--it contains nothing but a part of a hymn. Time will show whether he is sincere, of which I have great reason to doubt. General Clark has not as yet

communicated to the Agent the letter from the War Department of which I was the bearer. This circumstance is the cause that the Agent cannot give us the help he would otherwise. He has no evidence of my having made an arrangement with the War Department for a school in the Kickapoo Nation. There can be, however, no doubt but he will soon receive an answer from General Clark on the subject, as he has written to him and so I have done also. Father Hoecken and Brother Miles have been added to the number of those who started from St. Louis. Father Hoecken is getting sick. The others enjoy good health except myself being as usual very weak. Our accommodations are rather better than I had anticipated. Mr. Painsonneau, (Pinsonneau) the one who keeps a store for the nation, has had the kindness to let us occupy one of his old cabins. It is 16 feet square, made of rough logs and daubed with clay. Here we have our chapel, dormitory, refectory, etc. We have to sleep on the floor. Brother Mazella is really a precious man; by his very exterior countenance he has been preaching all the time of our traveling. He cooks, he washes and mends our linen, bakes and does many little things besides. He is truly edifying. Brother Barry is a famous hand to work, but he is not used as yet to the Western country. Whilst on board of the steamboat, the water of the Missouri made him sick. Here the salt provisions do not agree with him; but I have the consolation to see that he bears all this with courage. After a while the Indians will bring in venison and even now and then we have a chance to get some. It would be a great consolation to me if all our work could be done by our Brothers. I do not know what we could have done here if we did not have the Brothers from Georgetown. I hope that your Reverence

will receive an ample reward for your liberality towards us and that the increase of the number of good subjects will allow your Reverence to treat with Father General for sending us some more;— a teacher for the boy's school will be very necessary. Father Hoecken and myself hope to be able to learn the language. We are making now something of a dictionary. This will help those that will come afterwards. Since my arrival here I have seen the Potawatomie Chief Caldwell. He is a Catholic and wishes to have a Catholic establishment among his people. If we make this, as I have promised to the Department by order of our Superior, several Brothers more will be necessary. Father General has recommended the Indian Mission to Father Verhaegen in a particular manner. Your Reverence will not be surprised if I do not write about news. We live here, as it were, out of the world. Our good master affords us a fair opportunity for leading an interior life, if we only be faithful to His grace. I earnestly beg of your Reverence to remember us in your holy sacrifices and prayers. It is one thing to come to the Indian mission and another to convert the Indians. Father Hoecken and the Brothers present their best respects to your Reverence and wish to be remembered to the Fathers and Brothers with whom they lived,—and myself in particular to Rev. Father Rector and Father Vespre and to all inquiring benefactors."(4)

With the establishment of the mission came the fulfillment of the dream, so cherished by Father Van Quickenborne. But as he mentioned in the last letter it was one thing to come to the Indian mission and another to convert the Indians. From all accounts it seems that the mission was doomed to hardships from

its very beginning. The Indian agent, Major Richard W. Cummins, for some reason or other, caused a delay in advancing the Government aid. Father Van Quickenborne was taken ill and lay at death's door for nearly a month. Reports of various Indian tribes being on the war path also added to the alarm and unhappiness of the mission. From a letter which was written by Father Verhagen to Father McSherry we can see what little success the Fathers had in converting the Indians. Father Verhaegen says:

".....Many of the indians among whom they (the Fathers) live are well disposed toward the Catholic religion and several of them have expressed a desire of being instructed. However, most of them are still averse to a change of their superstitious practices and vicious manners. Of the 1000 souls that constitute both villages, hardly thirty regularly attend church on Sundays. Many come to see us on week days and by the instruction which they receive during these visits are insensibly to be prevailed to come to hear the word of God....." (5)

As the result of all his strenuous labors in the missionary field the health of Father Van Quickenborne failed. He was recalled from the Kickapoo Mission and stationed in a less trying field at Portage des Sioux. However, he was there only a few days when a billious fever attacked him. Due to his weakened condition he was unable to withstand the ravages of the fever and he passed away August 17, 1837.

Without a doubt the death of Father Van Quickenborne was a great loss to the Order. Father Garrighan in his article pays him a very high tribute. He says:

"In the death of Father Van Quickenborne the group of Jesuits, who in the twenties of the nineteenth century began to till anew the field which had been opened by the labors of the Jesuit Missionaries in the preceding centuries, lost their most valued and successful worker and the chief organizer of their pious enterprise. Under his administration of the new Jesuit mission in the Middle West and during the few years of labor that remained to him after his retirement from office, much was accomplished in the way of successful pioneering. The foundations of the new Missouri Province were laid, an Indian school at Florissant was opened and maintained for several years, St. Louis University started on its career as a Jesuit institution, many of the outlying parishes of St. Louis built up, Catholic missionary work among the Western Indian tribes taken up in occasional excursions to the frontier and by the establishment of the Kickapoo Mission and the comforts of religion brought periodically to the little knots of Catholic settlers scattered over Western and Northeastern Missouri and Western Illinois." (6)

As may be easily seen, such a venture as the mission could not hope to maintain its existence without the help of the United States Government. This help came in the form of an annual allowance, granted because the Fathers were performing the work of educating and making future citizens out of the members of the savage Indian tribes. However, in order to merit this assistance it was necessary that the school maintain a certain average

of attendance. Here it was that the mission failed. Due to the influence of many adverse circumstances, particularly the opposition shown by Kanakuk, the prophet and his followers, it became practically impossible for the Good fathers to maintain anything like the required attendance. From all available records it seems that the Government appropriation to the Catholic Kickapoo School was withdrawn towards the end of 1840 and with the passing of that year the Jesuit Mission among the Kickapoo closed its doors.

The Jesuit Fathers residing at Kickapoo Mission⁽⁷⁾ were transferred to the Pottawatomie Mission on Sugar Creek.

CHAPTER IV
THE POTTAWATOMIE CREEK MISSION.

The early Jesuit Fathers came in contact with the Pottawatomie tribe at their entrance into the Middle West. Joques and Raymbaut, the first Jesuits to reach the upper Michigan Peninsula, met part of the tribe at the celebration of the "feast of the dead" in Huron country in the year of 1641. At the Allouez Mission on Lake Superior the Pottawatomies were frequent visitors. Here Father Marquette met them on his last trip to the Illinois country. In 1669, St. Francis Xavier Mission was opened by Allouez, near the head of Green Bay, Wisconsin, for the neighboring Pottawatomies, Sauk and Foxes. But the largest of the Pottawatomie Missions was that of St. Joseph on the river of the same name which flows into Lake Michigan near its southeastern corner. The mission was founded in 1689 and it continued to be served by the Jesuit Fathers down to the suppression of the Order.⁽¹⁾ It was situated near a fort of the same name on St. Joseph River. It lay a few miles north of the Indiana state line and close to the city of Niles in Michigan. The last of the Jesuit missionaries to visit the Indians on the St. Joseph were Fathers

Marie Louis Lefrance and Pierre du Jaunay, stationed at Mackinac until 1765 and Father Pierre Pathier, who died at the Huron Mission opposite Detroit in 1781. After this date the Indian missions were rarely visited by priests until 1821.⁽²⁾

Father Badin was sent to the Pottawatomies in 1822. He established a congregation among the Pottawatomies on the St. Joseph River; and from this time forth they were never again entirely without spiritual aid. In 1833, Father Desselles having already devoted his large patrimony in Belgium to this mission, came himself to live and die among these wild men of the Michigan forests. He greatly improved the Indians, both temporally and spiritually, teaching them to cultivate the fields, to build commodious houses and to observe the rules of christian life.

In 1837, Michigan was admitted into the Union as a state and in pursuance of the removal policy the Indians were transferred from their reservation to the Indian Country. The Pottawatomies were reluctant to depart from their comfortable homes in Michigan and Indiana, for unhospitable wilderness beyond the Western border of Missouri. But for the influence of Rev. Petit⁽³⁾ nothing but force could have induced them to obey the order for their removal to the Indian Territory which included the state of Kansas.

In the year of 1837, a band of Pottawatomie Indians numbering 150, came from Indiana and settled in the present state of Kansas on the banks of Pottawatomie Creek, near its junction with the Osage River.⁽⁴⁾ While in Indiana they were converted to the Catholic faith by Father Stephen Badin and Father Desselles. It was reported to their chief, Nesfwawke, that Catholic priests were dwelling with the Kickapoos; the chief at once sent an invitation to the missionaries to come and instruct his people in the fundamentals of religion. This letter was brought to the Kickapoo village near the close of 1837.

At this time Rev. Felix L. Verreydt and Rev. Christian Hoecken were the priests residing among the Kickapoos. Father Hoecken gladly accepted the invitation and at once began preparations for the journey. His labor among the Kickapoos had borne little fruit. The Kickapoos, on account of their drunkenness and other vices, seem to be in no measure amenable to the influence of Christian civilization.

In January, 1838, Father Hoecken set out on his journey to the Pottawatomies. The weather was cold and travel was slow and difficult. After a journey of eight days he finally reached the Pottawatomie village situated on the Creek bearing their name. The village was located

a short distance southwest of the present site of Osawatomie, Miami County, Kansas. Here he found the Indians living in a poverty stricken condition. Some were dwelling in wretched tents, while others were in huts made of logs and bark. They had no provisions except some corn and meat furnished them by the Government. The priest shared the poverty of the Indians, and sometimes he was forced to begin his day's work without breakfast, and again, he retired in the evening without his supper. Yet the sight of these faithful Indians so refreshed his spirit that he forgot to eat and drink. The greatest need he felt was the means whereby he might celebrate Mass. The first Sunday he told the chief and his followers that he was very anxious to keep holy the Lord's day, by offering the divine sacrifice and that they must assist him to make an altar in a suitable place where all could attend with reverence and honor due to our Blessed Lord. The Indians held council to consider what they should do. They had no material to construct an altar, no linen cloths or no ornaments; the priest was poor, having barely his vestments, an altar cloth, a corporal and a purificator, the things essential in order to offer up the Sacrifice of the Mass. So the Indians ransacked all the wigwams and procured a few old pieces

of calico, with these inclosed a semicircular sanctuary on the plain open to the sky; and for an altar they stood up a barrel with a plank across it and covered both with a sheet or some kind of rags. They found one candlestick and used a bottle for the second. To complete the arrangement, the chief's family squatted down on an Indian blanket in front where the sanctuary railing ought to be.

The priest began to recite his divine office in preparation for the Mass. Father Hoecken began the Mass and it took his entire attention to steady the chalice on the rough log while holding the missal open to read. In that way he was progressing well enough, when the bottle candlestick fell back and set fire to the altar curtain. The father dropped the missal and attempted to extinguish the fire with his hand, succeeding only in burning himself badly. The Indians came quickly to his assistance and smothered the flames. At the end of the Mass, the priest preached a sermon on the Ten Commandments of God. This was the first Mass said among the Pottawatomie Indians in the state of Kansas. During the week, the missionary visited several families of the sick and during these visits he baptized several adults and many children and settled some irregular marriages. After a fortnight, he took leave for the

Kickapoo village, promising the chief to return before long.

In May, 1838, Rev. P. J. Verhaegen, the Superior of the Jesuits in the state of Missouri, called at the Kickapoo Mission. While there he decided to go with Father Hoecken on his second visit to the Pottawatomie tribe. They set out together and after a journey of several days they reached the Pottawatomie station. The joy of the Indians was great and encouraged with hope, they earnestly begged Father Verhaegen to leave their beloved missionary with them. After due consideration, the Superior decided to leave Father Hoecken with them at least for a short time, but not permanently. So Father Hoecken remained to guide and console them. After the departure of the Superior, he began to win the confidence and good will of the Indians by curing their numerous diseases. One of these cures he wrought is worthy of mention. There was a boy afflicted for a long time and reduced almost to the point of death. His parents came to the Father, saying that they were desirous to devote their son to "the prayer." Father Hoecken went to see the boy and within a few days had restored him to normal health. The parents in their great joy not only offered this son to Religion, but likewise the entire family embraced the faith. The

father remained with them about three weeks, baptizing many infants and adults, after which he made a return trip to the Kickapoo Mission.

Several weeks after his return, a letter from his Superior, Father Verhaegen came to him, giving him permission to go and labor among the Pottawatomies living near the Osage River or as it was commonly called Pottawatomie Creek. He immediately prepared for the journey and soon as possible set out for his destination.

In the meantime, Nesfwawkee, the Pottawatomie chief, had built a new hut for himself. At once he offered it to Father Hoecken and the priest accepted it, on condition that he would continue to occupy it with his family. Here in this hut Mass was offered every Sunday and often on week days, Nesfwawkee giving notice of the service by blowing a large horn, which served as a church bell. During the next two months, Father Hoecken baptized many children and adults. On November 4, 1838, another band of Pottawatomie Indians arrived from St. Joseph, Indiana, accompanied by Rev. B. Petit. The father had been teaching them religion for about six months, and he remained at the Pottawatomie Mission about two months to regain his health and strength and then departed January 2, 1839.

A short time after the arrival of these Indians, they constructed a log church 40 X 22 feet; they also built homes for themselves from logs and bark, to serve for a temporary period, until they could select a fixed abode. Not many days after, they began to explore the country and found a suitable location near Sugar Creek. They chose this locality for many reasons; first of all, it afforded sugar and abundance of timber, and especially as a place remote from American settlers and from other Indian tribes addicted to use of intoxicating drinks.

CHAPTER V
SUGAR CREEK MISSION.

In March, 1839, the Pottawatomie tribe moved off to the river called Sugar Creek. The site they chose is located in the present Centerville Township, Section Twelve, Northwest Quarter, Linn County, Kansas. It was situated on the present farm of Micheal Zimmerman about five miles northeast of Centerville, Kansas.

On the fourth Sunday of Lent, Father Hoecken called the Indians together and requested them to come on the following Monday, to assist at building a temporary church. Early on Monday morning all the Indians came and worked diligently and within three days the church was completed. Father Hoecken celebrated the first mass there the following Thursday morning. At the same time the Indians built a hut for the priest.

Rev. H. Aelen came to the mission in April, 1839, but he at once set off to the other tribes of the Ottawas, Peorias and Weas. The village where the head chief lived was located near the present site of Paola, about nine miles from the Sugar Creek Mission. The reservations of these Indians were adjoining each other and Father Aelen had an extensive

territory to cover, so that he was unable to return to Sugar Creek until the month of July. On his return he found Father Hoecken ill.

Father Hoecken left Father Aelen in charge of the mission and set out on a journey to St. Louis to regain his health and consult the Superintendent of Indian Affairs on important business. Father Hoecken had received from Rev. B. Petit certain government papers, promising means to build a church for the Indians and a residence for their pastor. When Father Hoecken arrived in St. Louis, he immediately called upon the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in regard to the above matter. Mr. Percher, the Superintendent received him with due respect and promised him to apply for a grant. This he did and received two thousand dollars as a fund to build the church.

After the departure of Father Hoecken, their physician, the poor Indians were stricken by disease and they began to die for want of medicine, so that the mortality was great during 1839 and 1840.

Toward the close of 1840 several hundred more Indians arrived from Indiana. This increase in numbers of the tribe made a larger church necessary, and, in consequence, a new church was constructed in the year of 1840, and was dedicated on the Feast of the Nativity by Father Aelen.

A school for boys was opened in 1840 but, due to lack of students and general interest in education, was soon closed.

Father Aelen, in the absence of Father Hoecken, remained in charge of the mission until September, 1841, and during the months of May, June and July of that year he was assisted by Father Anthony Eysvogels, who had had charge of the Kickapoo Mission and had closed it a year previous to this date.

A school was built for the girls in July, 1841. Father Uerhaegen, Vice-Provincial of the Missouri Jesuits secured the services of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and they conducted the school with great success. The four were: Mother Lucille Mathevon, the Superior of the band; Mother Duchesne, Madam May O'Connor and Sister Louise Amyot. They brought along with them a negro servant named Edmund. On June 29, the party left St. Charles, Missouri, by boat and, after a journey of five or six days, they arrived at Westport Landing. They then procured a wagon and set out for their destination. They stopped over night at the Osage River, where they were met by two Indian messengers who told them that the entire Indian tribe was assembled to meet the holy women of the Great Spirit. The next day they were met by a cavalcade of one hundred and fifty warriors, led

by Fathers Aelen and Bysvogels. The newcomers were thus escorted to the church where a reception was held in their honor.

The girl's school grew rapidly and in a short time there were over fifty in attendance. It was necessary for the Sisters first of all to learn the Indian language. This they were taught by two Indian women and in fifteen days they were able to sing hymns in the Pottawatomie tongue. As soon as they were capable they began to teach the children the prayers of the Church and the fundamental truths of their religion. They next explained to them the art of cooking, sewing, weaving and knitting, and they taught the women how to make their own clothes.

On August 29, 1841, Father Hoecken and Father Felix Verreydt, with two lay brothers, Antony Mazella and George Miles, arrived at the mission. Father Hoecken had been absent almost two years, the period of his absence having been spent by him partly in St. Louis regaining his health, and partly in traveling the Yellowstone country, visiting the Kickasaws, Mandans, Sioux and Gros Ventres, among whom he baptized over a hundred in a couple of months. He returned to Council Bluffs to visit the Pottawatomie Mission, where he baptized about four hundred Indians. From here, in

company with Father Verreydt, he returned to his mission at Sugar Creek.

The Indians were overjoyed to see their beloved missionary and physician once more among them with a generous supply of medicine. The ambition of the Indians seemed to return and with great zeal they began to build homes and cultivate the soil.

The second boys' school was built near the close of the year 1841 and in the early part of the year of 1842 it was well attended.

On June 19, 1842, Rt. Rev. Kenrick coadjutor Bishop of St. Louis came to Sugar Creek to confirm the Indians. Many of the Indians had received the sacrament of confirmation in Indiana before they migrated to Kansas. On this occasion about three hundred of them were confirmed. About this time, Father Aelen left the mission and his place was taken by Father Eysvogels. A short time after this, the latter priest set out on a journey to the Platte Purchase, where he remained to the end of the year. About the same time, Father Adrian Hoecken, a brother of the founder of the mission, arrived but was sent, in the month of May, to the mission in the Rocky Mountains.

In 1843, two more Sisters of the Sacred Heart arrived at Sugar Creek Mission to assist in the schools, Mother C. Thiefry, as Superior, and Mother Xavier.

During the same year Rev. Father F. Verreydt organized some of the Indians into an anti-liquor brigade under the guidance of Brother Francis Van der Borcht. They were commissioned to keep guard and prevent liquor from coming into the mission fold; and if anyone had been observed with liquor, the members of the anti-liquor brigade were to surround them without delay, search out the liquor and destroy it.

In May, 1843, Father Verreydt organized an Arch Confraternity in honor of the Pure Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the conversion of sinners. Many of the Indians enrolled themselves in this league.

In the month of November of the same year another society, named the "Society of Jesus and Mary," was established, but was not well organized until January, 1844. Several hundred of the heads of the families inscribed their names on the roll.

A spiritual retreat was held toward the close of the year 1843.⁽¹⁾ For eight days, the Fathers preached to the Indians, according to the method of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. It produced noteworthy fruit.

In a memorandum, dated June 20, 1843, Father Verheyden has left an interesting description of the manner in which the Feast of Corpus Christi was carried out that year:

"The day previous to the feast we had scarcely time to take our meals, so great was the assembly of the faithful, eager to wash out their sins in the blood of the Immaculate Lamb at the sacred tribunal of penance. Nothing could daunt the courage or the fervor of our dear neophytes; neither the difficult roads, rendered more so by the continual rain that had fallen for some days, nor the fury of the winds, nor the incessant flashes of lightning that rent the sky, nor the tremendous peals of thunder. It seemed as if hell had conjured all the elements against the celebration. To give some idea of the fury of the raging storm, it is sufficient to state that several gigantic trees were uprooted, while others were struck by lightning in the immediate vicinity of the church. The building itself was so violently shaken that I entertained great fear lest the whole edifice would crumble down and be shattered into atoms; the rain was pouring down into it by torrents, so as hardly to afford a shelter. In the midst of this general confusion of nature, a gratifying spectacle was afforded to the eyes of faith, in the perfect resignation of our good people to the will of the Almighty. They appeared wholly unconcerned, as if nothing was able to disturb them in their devotions, and when I afterwards enquired from a young woman, whether she had not been frightened in this general havoc of nature, she answered she knew too well her Father in Heaven would protect his children, to allow such distraction in her prayers. The fury of the storm had abated, and by degrees serenity was restored, when the unusual sound of a kind of drum fell suddenly upon our ears, and was accompanied at intervals with wild shouts and yells; fires were seen on one of the neighboring hills, and, upon inquiry, I learned that a band

of Osages had arrived to hold council with the Fottawatomies, and that they were engaged in their usual dance and festivities. The impracticability of the roads forbade me, at the hour, to approach them as near as I should have desired, anxious as I was to make a sketch of one of those celebrated amusements. As far as I could discover by the faint glimmering of a camp fire, I observed some athletic naked fellow jump and kick about in a circle.

The next day, notwithstanding the rain, the church was so full as to cause serious apprehension lest the floor might give way. Not only our dear neophytes but a number of the Catholic Ottawas and some Osages, many of whom had traveled part of the night, had come to assist at the divine service. A family of Miamis had also arrived to be regenerated in the sacred water of baptism, and owing to our attendance in the confessional, the greater part of the preceding day and part of the night was devoted to their instruction. Father Eysvogels celebrated the communion Mass, and truly our labors were abundantly rewarded in beholding with what tender emotions of love and gratitude those pious christians approached the Holy Table. So great were their number that the arms of the Father were overcome with lassitude and that his voice began to falter.

At ten o'clock I sang High Mass. More than one half of the congregation could not find admittance into the sacred edifice. A great number of neighboring Indians, from twenty to thirty miles around, had come to hear the words of peace and salvation that were announced to them, and to witness the august ceremonies of our Holy Faith. The solemn rites of the Church, although novel to the greater part of them, seemed to impress the audience

with a peculiar awe and reverence; The sacerdotal vestments and the grave canticles of the Church seemed to divide the attention of the Osages. It was twelve o'clock when the ceremony was concluded. Then I witnessed, for the first time, a scene which I deem worthy to be recorded. All the area about the church was occupied by small parties of different nations. The mothers had fixed hammocks between the trees, and left to a gentle breeze the care of rocking the little ones, so as to devote to prayer their individual attention. Our neophytes, deeply impressed with the love of Jesus towards men, and mindful of the precept of practicing charity toward one another, invited the strangers to share with them their scanty meal--a trait truly worthy of the spirit of faith, the characteristic of the primitive ages of christianity.

"At three o'clock solemn vespers were sung. The congregation is divided into two choruses--the men on one side and the women on the other, singing alternately a verse of the psalms. At the termination of vespers, the procession was formed in the following order: First, two hundred young warriors on horseback, now marching in one column, then dividing into several, again making evolutions with the greatest precision, under the command of their respective officers, chosen amongst the most distinguished men of the nation. The insignia that adorned their flags are emblematical of their faith, the name of Jesus, by whom we all expect to be saved, and his Sacred Heart, the furnace of his ardent love for men; their motto is expressive of the sentiments of their soul: Peace to men of good will. Second, the cross followed, supported on each

side by a banner in the form of the labarum of Constantine, serving to direct the lines. Next, about fifty young girls in their richest attire, all scholars of the female academy of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, strewing flowers on their way; then, the boys at our school, about sixty in number. Third, two large standards, heading the lines of the infantry, and marching to the cadence of drum and fife. The infantry fired salute at certain intervals. Fourth, two long lines of singers, making the welcome resound with the praises of the Almighty, and in the center, six acolytes, who among the clouds of incense, strewed flowers on the passage of the Holy of Holies; four other acolytes bore lanterns by the side of the Blessed Sacrament. The canopy was carried by the eight principal chiefs, and followed by the commander-in-chief and a squadron of lancers on horse-back. They the women, in lines of two on each side, reciting devout prayers.

"The repository had been built on an eminence, in the midst of an extensive prairie. It was a platform of about twenty-five feet square and six high with seven tall cedar trees; over it, two flags, bearing the sign of our redemption, were waving in the air. In the midst of the platform, upon the Struscan altar seven feet high, was placed the throne of Him whose delight is to be with the children of men. Fresh flowers and poor draperies were all the ornaments, but the prayer of twelve hundred people that rose like incense in His sight, the offerings of their hearts made by the men of good will, were undoubtedly more acceptable to Him than the richest perfumes and the vain exhibition of worldly splendor. The moment the benediction arrived all the horsemen dismounted. Verily,

it was a sublime and consoling spectacle to behold a whole nation, who, but a few years ago were ignorant of God and his holy law, kneeling down in profound adoration of him who bled and died on the Cross for man's salvation." (2)

The progress of the Indian in civilization was apparent in their advance in organization, which was continued during the year of 1844. On the advice of the fathers, the Indians organized themselves into working guilds for the purpose of assisting one another in their work. Over each group of workmen an overseer was selected, who planned the work and directed the rest. He also led in the recitation of the prayers, which were said in common.

On April 1, 1844, Father Verreydt directed the Indians to hew and prepare lumber for additions to the church. In consequence the Indians were busily engaged in felling trees, splitting logs and sawing planks until near the end of July. Mr. Joseph Sire promised to supply forty thousand shingles and a few kegs of nails for the roof of the church.

On April 15, Father Verreydt sent one of the Jesuit fathers⁽³⁾ to the Ottawa village to give instructions to the catechumens of that tribe. In the month of March preceding, a catechist had gone there on the same mission. April 23, Father Verreydt made a trip to the Osages, at a place called Osage, in hope of

establishing a new mission station there.

Rev. J. Van de Velde, the Provincial, arrived at Sugar Creek Mission May 12, 1844, on his annual visitation tour according to the custom of the Society of Jesus. He left the twenty-ninth of the month. While he was at the mission, Major Thomas Harvey, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, was also a guest for a period of nine days. He promised to obtain many favors for the Indians.

In the month of June, the entire country was visited by great floods. It rained for forty days in succession, however the damage was not great.

On June 14, the Association of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary was organized and on the twenty-fifth day of August, bands of Indians took part with sincere devotion, in a procession in honor of the Pure Heart of Mary, our Blessed Mother.

In the month of July, Father Verreydt made a journey to Independence, Missouri, to administer the sacraments to the white settlers there and in the surrounding territory. On July 31st, on the feast day of the founder of the Society of Jesus, St. Ignatius Loyola, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart gave out the rewards of good conduct to the girls attending their schools.

In August, the school report demanded by our

government was sent to St. Louis, Missouri. The government required all Indian schools to make one report annually. In this report was given the name, place and founder of the school; the number of instructors and the number of individuals in their families; the number of pupils in the schools and the number of each tribe; the amount of government funds and support from other sources and, lastly, the expenditures of the school.

On August 22, 1844, the Indians met in council and drew up a new code of laws, which were passed and put into force. They selected officials to see that these laws were observed. In a short time grave abuses grew out of these laws and in consequence Father Verreydt was compelled to have the Indian laws abolished.

On August 30, Father Verreydt went to the mission stations at Independence and Westport to carry the sacrament to his children of the Church.

The Indians received their annual allowance from the government in September 13, 1844. They set apart a certain sum of \$109.50 for medical supplies for the sick. Three days later Rev. Father Verreydt accompanied the Superintendent of the Indians to the village of the Osages, to select a suitable location for the schools at

the new mission. September 26, Father Verreydt left for St. Louis to take up the problem of the Osage Mission with the Rev. Father Provincial. He returned on October 31st, accompanied by Rev. Francis Xavier de Coen who was sent by the Provincial to serve the Osages at the new mission.

Father Hoerken went on a missionary excursion to Council Bluffs on November 3, 1844. While there, he christened twenty-one infants of the Indians. He received some donations for the widows and orphans, which he distributed among them on his return from Council Bluffs in the month of December.

During the month of November, Father Verreydt visited the out station of Deep Water, to celebrate Mass and give the German settlers an opportunity to receive the Sacrament, and in December he journeyed to Independence and Westport to carry the consolation of religion to the American and French Catholics.

Christmas Day, the Feast of the Nativity was celebrated by the customary splendor in the year of 1844. The number of communicants at the Mass was very large. Christmas dinner was served to the members enrolled in the Society of Jesus and Mary, which had been recently established.

January 10, 1845, Father de Coen set out to the Ottawa Reservation with the intention of establishing

a mission there and to plan definite arrangements for celebrating Mass and administering the sacraments at least once a month. Ten days later, Father Verreydt journeyed to Ft. Scott, to make arrangements for a new mission at that place and to seek out a suitable place to offer up the Divine Sacrifice of the Mass. While there he met Colonel Chouteau and the agent of the Osages and they spent considerable time in discussing the plan for the proposed buildings at the Osage Mission. On February 7, the Osage Indians came to Father Verreydt, requesting him to mark out the plots and settle the plan for the school buildings.

In the month of February, the American government sent 3,000 bushels of corn as a relief measure to the Pottawatomie Indians, to cover the loss of their crops, which they had suffered from the floods of last year.

On March 23, 1845, some of the Indians went out on the chase, to secure a supply of wild game for the national feast on Easter. The missionaries always contributed the flour and coffee for these feasts. On this particular occasion, the Indian agent, Colonel A. Vaughan, partook of the public dinner. Public banquets were frequent events among the Indians and a part of the social

life of the mission. The mission Indians often invited the members of other tribes to celebrate the success of their chase. These banquets were generally held in the open under the trees of the forests. Here the Indians sat around circular tables to partake of the viands. While the guests dined, speakers standing in the middle, spoke eloquently of the goodness of the Great Spirit and the benefits received from religion. The Indians had met with excellent success in their chase during the winter of 1845. This was very fortunate on account of the scarcity of food, which would have resulted in great hardship.

During the month of April, Colonel Vaughan, agent for the Indians, had secured from the American government, a stretch of arable land containing some two hundred acres. This contribution of the government was given in the desire to encourage the Pottawatomies to take up agriculture.

April 18, 1845, Father de Coen, with two interpreters left the mission to establish permanent stations among the Peorias and the Weas and to visit the Catholic families among these tribes. The chiefs of the above tribes met in council to receive the proposal of the father. After the father had finished his sermon, they in unison agreed to allow the missionary to baptize their

children. They requested him to return within a few weeks and explain to them the doctrines of the faith and assured him they were anxious to come within the fold and that they would rear their children in the Catholic Faith. In May, Father de Coen visited the Chippewa reservation, at the request of the chief of that tribe. These Indians had held a council with the Ottawas and decided they, also, would join the religion of the Black Robe.

Two representatives of the Peoria tribe came to Sugar Creek Mission on May 6, 1845. They were sent by their chief to consult the fathers about the Catholic religion. The fathers answered their difficulties in a satisfactory manner and sent them home loaded with presents of lard and meal. A few days later, Father de Coen visited the German settlement at Deep Water, Missouri, to say Mass and administer the sacraments.

The books in the Pottawatomie language,⁽⁴⁾ which were written by the Fathers, after they had mastered the dialect of the Indians, were printed in Cincinnati and St. Louis. They were brought to the mission on May 21st and were at once distributed among the Indians. With the same shipment, the mission received a trunk full of medicine, a present from the Indian Superintendent, valued at about fifty dollars.

Rev. Father Provincial J. O. Van de Velde came to the mission on May 23, 1845, on his annual visitation. When he departed he took with him Brother Vander Borcht, promising to send another lay brother to take his place. The Superioress of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, also recalled Madames Xavier and Thiefray and left at the mission another Sister named Mary.

In the early part of June, 1845, the Fathers at the mission received a letter from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, informing them that the government promised to appropriate five hundred dollars annually to the support of the school of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart.

The Ladies of the Sacred Heart received their first allowance from the government January 11, 1846. This allowance of five hundred dollars granted to their school, was to be paid annually, dating from July 1, 1845.

Brother Patrick Regan and a scholastic named John Diels, arrived at the mission on July 12, 1845, the former to act in the capacity of cook and the latter to teach in the boys' school.

The year of 1845 ended with a visit from Bishop Barrow, who administered the Sacrament of confirmation to eighty-five Indians. The festival of Christmas was celebrated with great joy and devotion. The fathers

had constructed a crib to give the Indians a true representation of the birth of the Divine Infant in the stable of Bethlehem. Some of the members of the Peoria tribe were at the mission to join in the Christmas festivities. On their return, they were accompanied by Father Hoecken, who was instructing and preparing them for baptism. He remained at the Peoria Reservation ten days, by which time he had baptized all of them and blessed their marriages according to the rites of the Church.

On St. Mark's day, April 25th, according to the good old Catholic custom, the usual procession walked around the fields, reciting the Litany of the Saints, to implore God to bless and preserve the crops.

In the month of May, Father Hoecken in accordance with the wishes of the Superior of the mission, made a trip to Council Bluffs, Iowa, to investigate conditions among the Indians. These were the Pottawatomie Indians belonging to the prairie band, who selected their abode around Council Bluffs, in what is now Pottawatomie County, Iowa. Father Hoecken learned that the Commissioners of the Government were among them for the purpose of drawing up a treaty for the sale of their land, some five million acres. On June 5, 1846, this treaty was finally signed. After having baptized about

fifty children and one adult, a woman at the point of death, Father Hoecken accompanied the Commissioners to Sugar Creek, where the other division of the Pottawatomie tribe was located, namely, the Pottawatomies of the Woods. The party arrived at Sugar Creek June 15, 1846, and two days later, June 17, 1846, the treaty between the United States and the Indians was drawn up, by which they ceded to the Government their lands along the Osage River and its tributary streams. Although they had given up their lands, they did not leave their abode until more than a year had elapsed.

During the month of July, arrangements were made to establish a new mission station among the soldiers at Fort Scott, many of whom had been reared in the Catholic Faith. Father F. de Coen was sent to the Fort on this mission. He arrived there on July 12, introduced himself to the officers in charge and stated the purpose of his call. He preached and broke the Bread of Eternal Life to them; and left the fort the following day glad at heart.

On July 22, the feast day of St. Mary Magdalene, the Pottawatomies again met in council to devise more stringent laws against intoxicating liquors. For this purpose they sent an invitation to the Indian agent, Colonel A. Vaughan, to attend and, at his advice, it

was determined that any offender thereafter caught should be imprisoned in the guard house at Fort Scott. The work of the missionary fathers was continually hampered by the introduction of intoxicating liquors among the Indians. Father Christian Hoecken in a letter to the United States Magazine, dated 1847, characterized the Indian as follows:

"The Indian loves freedom and independence, and for this reason it is extremely difficult to control him or to reduce him under any system of laws. No man, whatever may be his influence, is capable of governing the Indian. Go where you will among the savage tribes of the forest and you will find this to be the case, I might adduce innumerable instances that would establish the truth of this assertion. These people have, indeed, been brought under subjection, but not by any human means, nothing but the power of religion has been, or ever will be able to affect this result.

"I have no doubt that this ungovernable spirit of independence is the effect of the manner in which they are brought up from infancy. Every kind of liberty and freedom is given to the children: they act as they please, without the slightest rebuke or check from their parents; for 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 them. Even while their children are yet infants and unable to make use of such gifts, they present to them

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 or robbery to use or dispose of them without the consent of these little infants. 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 any murmuring or complaint he will give you the half of it. Nay more; 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 take place only when they are under the influence of spirituous liquor; then everyone should be alert and carefully observe the maneuvers and proceedings of the intoxicated man; for this is the time of the Indian's revenge, he will take it if possible. I am inclined to think that this often is their design in indulging their propensity for intoxicating liquors. Many have I seen fall victims to their animosity. Sometimes a 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. When the Indian places himself under the influence of intoxicating drinks, he loses all control of himself. No

person, however closely connected with him is secure from his fits of violence. The inclinations of the savage tribes for spirituous liquor is very extraordinary. When an Indian once puts his lips to the exhilarating cup he does not stop until he has plunged into the most beastly indulgence." (5)

The missionary Fathers did all within their power to check the liquor activities among the Indians. The stringent measures passed on July 22, 1846, did not remedy the evil, so in the following month another Indian council was held at the mission. Three more laws were passed to suppress drunkenness, libertinism, and card-playing. These laws were committed to writing and promulgated. Soon after, the tribe built a prison to punish the law breakers.

In August, Father C. I. Hoecken visited the reservations of the Miamis, Sacs and Piankichas, in hope of converting them to the Catholic Faith. He learned the Sacs were absent on a hunting expedition. The other tribes gave him a kind reception and asked him to return in a few weeks. He baptized some of their children before he departed. Before the end of August, he made a second excursion to these tribes, offered up the sacrifice of the Mass there and baptized their infants. All these Indians promised him to enter the fold. Some time later, the same father made a tour

of the principal cities of the United States in behalf of the welfare of the Indian tribes. He carried with him the manuscripts of two books for the printing press, one in the Pottawatomie dialect and the other in the vernacular of the Peorias, Piankichas and other tribes.

In the month of October, Rev. Francis Xavier de Coen was recalled from the mission to St. Louis. Rev. John Shoenmakers was sent, about the same time, to visit Sugar Creek and assist at the new Osage Mission.

Pasidji, the chief of the Kickapoo tribe, called at the mission in November, earnestly desiring baptism. All the Fathers of the mission were absent except Father Benoit. He received the chief into the Church on November 13, and gave him the name of Joseph. The chief was sixty years of age and his fervent piety was a source of edification to all, but especially to those who were acquainted with his past life.

On another occasion, Wakochinga, a chief of the Piankeshaws, with a group of his followers, was converted to the Faith and received into the Church at the village of the Peorias when Father Hoecken was there instructing some of the latter for the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. A short time after a band of sixty of the same tribe were received into the Church and after

their conversion abandoned their idle and vagabond habits and began to engage in agriculture. Nor were the white settlers neglected. The fathers made frequent trips to Deep Water, Fort Scott, Westport and Independence.

The religious procession in the spring, on St. Mark's day, around the fields, to invoke the blessings of heaven, the Corpus Christi procession, and another in the month of August in honor of our Blessed Mother, were held with added pomp and attended by great numbers. But the frequent occurrence of public prayers for the temporal welfare of the mission and the national council against liquor are a sad indication that all was not well with the mission. During the month of May, 1847, the Litany of Loretto was chanted every day and on the 18th of the month, a novena was begun in honor of St. Francis Hieronymo, with benediction every morning after the Mass for the welfare of the mission. In the month of June, a solemn novena was announced for the temporal welfare of the mission in honor of the Blessed Sacrament every day during the Octave of the Corpus Christi and the religious exercises were closed with a solemn procession of the Blessed Sacrament attended by a large delegation of Indians from the Peoria, Miami and Piankeshaw tribes. June 15, 1847, a public

fast was held in honor of the feast of St. Francis Regis for the temporal requirements of the mission. Special prayers were offered, and acts of devotion and good works recommended, particularly confessions and communions.⁽⁶⁾

In August, Rev. Father Verreydt left for St. Louis in behalf of the welfare of the mission, to seek supplies and beg aid for the Indians. He returned September 4, accompanied by Rev. Charles Truyens, who was sent by the Provincial to assist at the missions. On September 17, Father Truyens made his first trip to the Peorias. After saying Mass and administering the sacraments, he returned home on September 20th.

The mission at Sugar Creek was surrounded and often disturbed by roving bands of Indians belonging to the various tribes. These tribes, a short time previously had been driven against their will from their homes east of the Mississippi and crowded together on small reservations in the Indian Country, with no regard for tribal unity or ancient customs, so that a disordered crowd of individuals and family groups from many nations were often huddled together in the same encampment. They had no incentive to settle down to the ways of civilization for their past experience had taught them that as soon as the

white settlers needed their lands they would again be compelled by the government to vacate and migrate to a less desirable camping ground. These miserable and hopeless Indians were further debauched by the whiskey which they procured from the Missouri border, not far distant, and by vices into which they were initiated by the ruffian whites that traded, gambled or fought, while they spent their time on the frontiers of civilization.⁽⁷⁾ All these circumstances will, to some extent, explain the precarious condition of the mission in the last year on Sugar Creek, and also why it became necessary for Rev. Father Hoecken to make a tour of the principal cities of the United States to seek aid and material assistance for the Indians.

In the treaty of the previous year with the United States government, by which the Pottawatomie Indians ceded their lands on Sugar Creek, it had become necessary for the Indians to move to their new reservation. In August, 1847, Father Verreydt went to St. Louis to arrange some financial matters connected with the transference of the mission. He returned on the fourth of September with a supply of provisions and brought donations for the mission from Father Provincial and Mother Galitzen.

A short time after his return he received an official statement from the Government to the effect that, in payment for the Pottawatomie purchase no compensation could be allowed for the church and the priest's residence together with the other improvements. The reason assigned was that no mention was made of them in the secretary's reports, when the land was sold by the Indians. The communication closed with a recommendation that the fathers take up their loss with the Indians. These readily agreed to the proposals of the priests and in the beginning of October, when they received their payment, they contributed seventeen hundred dollars toward the building of a church and a residence for their priests, near the Kansas River.

On the Feast of All Saints Day, 1847, Father Verreydt set out with several Indians to explore the country along the Kansas River and select a site for a mission on the new reservation. The reservation was described as a tract of land consisting of five hundred and seventy-six thousand acres. The new tract was about thirty miles square and it was the eastern part of the lands ceded to the United States by the Kansas tribe of Indians, lying adjoining the Shawnees on the south and the Delawares and Shawnees on the east

on both sides of the Kansas River. The eastern boundary of this new reservation was two miles west of the present city of Topeka and extended to the present town of Wamego.

The Pottawatomie Nation, which, according to the provisions of the treaty of 1846, consisted of the reunited tribes of the Ottawa, Chippewas, the Pottawatomes of the Wabash and the Pottawatomes of Indiana, were to move to their new reservation within two years and certain annuities were to be paid the Indians of that nation one year after they had settled there. Some of the Kansas bands began to leave a short time after the signing of the treaty in June, 1846, and camped along the Waka-rusa but the larger portion, especially the Catholic Indians, remained at Sugar Creek until the fall of 1847. In November, 1847, Father Hoecken led the first large movement westward and encamped on Mission Creek,⁽⁸⁾ near the present site of Dover in Shawnee County. Father Verreydt, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and two lay brothers remained at Sugar Creek until the following summer.

During the early part of January, 1848, the Indians began constructing a church and a house for the missionaries. On February 20, Brothers John Miles and Patrick Regan arrived and assisted at the construction

of the buildings. Six days later Father Hoecken moved into his new quarters on Mission Creek.

March 18, 1848, Father Verreydt crossed the Kansas River to visit the Indians dwelling there and to select a site for a new mission. The headquarters of Father Hoecken on Mission Creek were a little south of the territory allotted to the Indians and most of the Pottawatomies had settled on the Shawnee lands. Father Ponziglione testifies that he saw the small shanties that they had put up along the Wakarusa. These lodges were abandoned in the spring and later occupied by the Shawnees. The site of these lodges was near the present town of Auburn.

There was also another settlement called Mechgamunak, (9) the town of the pious chief Joseph Mechgami. This Indian village was situated on the south side of Shanganunga Creek, probably located in Mission Township 12, Range 15, Section 17, Shawnee County. It was probably to this settlement that Father Hoecken referred in his diary dated February 16, 1848, when he records that the Indians have selected another place to live during the spring and summer.

The Indians were daily increasing in numbers around the church at Mission Creek. May 10, Father Hoecken selected some fertile land for tillage, around

which Brother George Miles and Charles and Micheal Nadeau began to plant trees. They began to plow the soil a week later. On the 16th of May, Micheal Nadeau and Walbert were cutting and splitting wood for an addition to the church. On the same date Brother George Miles was sent the second time to consult the Superintendent, Major Cummins, at Uniontown⁽¹⁰⁾ on the Kansas River, concerning the building of a home for the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at the new location.

On the 29th of May, Father Verreydt, who had come up from Sugar Creek with Brother Regan three days previous, made a trip to the north side of the Kansas River. He was accompanied by some Indians. He returned to Mission Creek on June 1st. The next day he recrossed the river, in company with Micheal Nadeau and remained there until the sixth of the month. This time he evidently had determined on a permanent site for the new mission. For, two weeks later, June 20, he, accompanied by Joseph Bertrand, went to consult the Indian agent, Major Cummins, concerning the erection of buildings on the north side of the Kansas River. Father Verreydt returned to Sugar Creek on the 10th of July, taking with him the two Brothers, Miles and Regan, to assist in the final removal from Sugar Creek; and on July 16th, he was on his way to St. Louis to seek advice from the Provincial. July 21, 1848,

Brother Regan and Charles Nadeau arrived at Mission Creek and five days later they were hauling to the north side of the Kansas River, doors and lumber of the old buildings at Sugar Creek.

In the early part of August, 1848, the Indians collected their belongings which were stored in the houses of the missionaries for safe keeping and moved over to their new abode. In the meantime, on August 13, Joseph Bertrand was sent to Sugar Creek to bring the Sisters to the new mission. Three days later, Father Verreydt, arrived from Sugar Creek accompanied by Father Maurice Gaillard and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. Father Verreydt set out for Westport on the 25th of August to confer with the Indian agent about the new buildings to be erected on the north side of the Kansas River. The remaining property was removed from Sugar Creek on September 3. Father Verreydt, the Superior of the mission, accompanied by Father Gaillard, Brother Patrick Regan, Mother Lucille Mathevon, the Superiress of the Sacred Heart nuns, Madam Mary O'Connor, Sister Louise Amyet, with one boarder named Charlet, left on September 7, for their new home. The next day, on account of the swollen waters of the Kansas River, they were detained at Uniontown.

The following morning, the little party of missionaries, finding that the river had subsided sufficiently, forded it, some on horseback, others in wagons. At noon they stopped to refresh themselves at Cross Creek, the present site of Rossville, and at four o'clock in the afternoon reached St. Mary's Mission.

CHAPTER VI
THE OSAGE MISSION.

In 1822, Rt. Reverend Louis Dubourg appointed Father Charles De la Croix missionary to the Osages on the Neosho River. The zealous priest made the trip on horseback from Florissant, Missouri, where he was stationed as chaplain of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart.

The trail to the west crossed Missouri from St. Louis, and entered the Indian Country at or near where the Miami Indian village once stood. The spot is about eight miles southwest of the present site of Paola, Kansas, on the Marais des Cygnes River. It is assumed that Father De la Croix followed the usual trail and entered Kansas at this point. He was the first priest, of whom there is any record, to enter the great region since the days of Coronado in 1540, when Father Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan monk, came to Kansas as a member of that expedition.

Miami County claims the honor of being the scene of Father De la Croix's first labors in Kansas, for he, no doubt, tarried among such tribes as lay in his path. The good man was filled with admiration at the beauty of the Kansas prairies. Pushing on through the paradise of birds and flowers for a distance of some eighty

miles, he arrived at last at his destination--the Neosho River, and found the object of his searchings--the Great Osage tribe. On the 5th of May, 1822, he baptized Antone Chouteau, the first baptism recorded in Kansas. Father De la Croix had drawn up plans for a church among the Osages when his health failed, and he was compelled to give up his work among the Indians.⁽¹⁾

He was succeeded by Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, who began his career with the Osages at Florissant. After the close of the Indian school there, he took up his work with the Osages and Kickapoos in Kansas. In 1827, he made a trip to the villages of the Osages on the Verdigris, Neosho and Marmaton Rivers. He made two other visits to the Neosho village, one in 1829 and another in 1830. It was on this excursion that he married Francis Aybeau to Mary, an Osage woman. This was the first marriage performed on the soil now known as Kansas. Father Van Quickenborne made his last trip to the Osages in 1834.

The Jesuits resumed their missionary work among the Osages in 1838, when Father Christian Hoecken established a mission among the Pottawatomie Indians on Pottawatomie Creek. This was a temporary location and in March, 1839, the Fathers selected a new site on Sugar Creek. From this mission, the missionaries visited

and cared for the spiritual needs of the Osages, Weas, Ottawas, and other tribes in the vicinity. Father H. G. Aelen often visited the Osages and baptized many of them in 1841 and 1842. He was succeeded by Father F. L. Verreydt, who was stationed at Sugar Creek Mission and not at St. Mary's Mission, as many historians of Kansas claim. On April 23, 1844, Rev. Father Verreydt visited the Osages at the place called Osage town, to make arrangements for establishing a new mission, or rather a station, there.⁽²⁾ September 16, 1844, Rev. Father Verreydt accompanied the Indian Superintendent to the Osage reservation to select a site for school buildings for the education of the Osages.⁽³⁾ The Indian department for some time had been planning to establish a mission, and schools among the Osages. The Indian Superintendent, Major Harvey, had taken up the matter with Rev. Father Provincial J. Van De Velde, and an agreement was made to the effect that the government would furnish the material means to erect two school buildings, one for the Indian boys, and another for the Indian girls. On April 25, 1845, the Government appropriated \$3,456 to build the schools and, in addition, made an allowance of \$55 per year for the board and tuition of each student.

In April, 1847, the Osage village on the Neosho River became a permanent mission,⁽⁴⁾ and headquarters for southeastern Kansas. Rev. John Schoenmakers was appointed the Superior, and he arrived on April 29, with Father Bax, S. J.,⁽⁵⁾ and three lay brothers, John Sheehan, Thomas Coghlan, and John De Bruyn.⁽⁶⁾

On May 10, 1847, the school for boys opened with ten pupils in attendance. About this time Father Schoenmakers visited Kentucky and while there secured the services of the Sisters of Loretto to conduct the school for girls.

Rev. Father Schoenmakers, in his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, gives the following account of the Osage manual labor schools:

"In the middle of 1845, a resolution was passed at the Office of Indian Affairs, for establishing a manual labor school among the Osages, the progress of which it was hoped would insure lasting benefits to these Indians. Two buildings were consequently erected in 1846, being of sufficient dimension to accommodate 20 pupils each with the teachers; one of them to be devoted as a school for females, the other for male children.

"As it was hoped the Osages would avail themselves of the opportunity of education, the Office of Indian Affairs resolved to increase the size of the school and to erect, at the beginning of 1848, new buildings should the Osages prove zealous for education. The efforts soon showed that they were not only ripe to change their mode of living, but also that they were deserving to have communicated

to them the blessings of education, and civilization. The Osages are convinced of the necessity of abandoning their hunting grounds and to rely on their children for future support. With the exception of a very few, all seem eager to see their children raised like white people, in order that they may learn to speak their language, and to imitate their industry. They have already sent a larger number of children than we can comfortably accommodate in our present circumstances. We have been, and still are obliged carefully to abstain from a positive refusal to receive their children, in order not to offend nor to quench their first favorable disposition.

"On the 10th of May, 1847, we commenced the male school, but we were not a little terrified at the sight of the badly finished buildings. The great desire of parents to place their children under our tuition encouraged us in the undertaking. The rapid progress and perfect contentment of the first fourteen children drew soon a larger number of them. Many of these children begin to read, and write well. They have a taste for Arithmetic, and have already acquired a considerable knowledge of addition, multiplication, and division. Geography has not yet been regularly taught, but we have reasons to suppose that they will be equally successful in this as in any of the preceding branches. Parents, and relatives are so much enamored with the American canticks as to make an attempt to imitate the good voices of these children; and what, perhaps, was the least expected, these children are moral, and very submissive to their teachers. There are three hours daily exercise in agriculture or domestic exercises, according to a regular order prescribed to them at the beginning of each month.

"The female school was opened on the 10th of October, 1847, under the care of four Sisters. As to the capacity of these ladies, I need only mention that the superior has been for the last six years at the head of the flourishing female academy in St. Genevieve, Missouri. The same branches of learning, as mentioned above, are taught to their pupils besides sewing, knitting, drapery, and drawing; in a word all that is necessary to make them useful mothers of families, able to instill industry, and morality into the hearts of a future generation.

"A few words on the state of the buildings; both houses have been so badly finished as to call for immediate repairs, to protect us, and the children against the inclement season; every visitor is satisfied that the Department never intended to make us live uncomfortable as we have done hitherto. The Superintendent, Major Harvey, promised me that both houses would be weatherboarded before last winter; he had directed sub-agent Bunch to have the houses weatherboarded but he failed to do so. The contractors, to suit their interest, made mortar of mud, whitened with lime—sand has not been used; the consequence has been that the painting of both houses is washed out by rain, which makes the room swimming places after every storm; the plastering in the Sister's house is in great part fallen off from the ceiling, and partly from the division walls; one of the chimneys has tumbled down; the two others are in immediate danger, the bricks being little better than clay. I may say in truth, that the houses are unfit for comfortable residences; moreover they are too small to accommodate, to any satisfaction our present number of pupils.

"The existing well needs repair, it being perhaps the worst that ever was made by a contractor; another

well is much needed for the female school, which is dependent on the one dry opposite to our house. The Sisters have frequently applied for a barn, and meat-house—they have no out buildings whatsoever.

"I hope I have said nothing but what can be testified by all who have visited this school. I have nothing exaggerated; we ourselves will be obliged, in order to afford some comfort to the Sisters, to build for them a wash-house, milk-house, and root-house; all this, it seems, must be done at our expense, although we have sacrificed, in the first year, more than \$1,600 of our scanty money.

"We also desire to be informed as to the precise number of boys and girls the Department wishes we should have in attendance at our school."(7)

In the spring of 1851, a report came to the Osage Mission that Pope Pius IX had created an apostolic Vicariate in the Indian Country, embracing the states of Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska. The new bishop selected for these vast domains was Right Reverend John B. Miege. In May, 1851, Bishop Miege left St. Louis in company with Rev. Paul Ponziglione, and two lay brothers enroute to St. Mary's Mission of the Pottawatomies, where he established his see. A few weeks later Bishop Miege, and Father Duerinck, Superior of St. Mary's, together with Father Ponziglione, and the lay brothers journeyed across the prairies to the Osage Mission, arriving there on June 26, 1851. The Bishop came to the mission to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. He remained a

few weeks visiting the wigwams, preaching the Gospel of Christ and instructing the Indians.

Trials and tribulations visited the mission in the month of October, 1851. Father Schoenmakers became seriously ill and, no physician being stationed at the mission, it was necessary to take him to Fort Scott where medical care might be obtained. The doctors, officers, and soldiers at the fort were very kind to him and did all in their power to relieve the pains of the poor sufferer. He was visited weekly in turn by Fathers Bax and Ponziglione. Under the competent care of the doctors of the fort he quickly regained his health, and returned to the mission in January, 1852.

In the beginning of the year of 1852, George White Hair, Chief of the Great Osages, whose health had been declining for some time, was taken seriously ill. The Indians from all the Osage tribes left their lodges and came in great numbers to see him. They brought along with them their medicine-men, who offered their services to the Chief. He thanked them kindly, and begged them to leave him in peace, and to refrain from offering up the superstitious rites around him, for he had embraced the Christian religion, and in that faith he wished to die. He placed himself entirely in the hands of Father Bax, by whom he had been

instructed and received into the Church. He received the last rites of the Church and calmly expired on January 23, 1851. The passing of White Hair was a great calamity to the Indians. The wild, pagan savages became furious because their Chief had died without their medicine-men attending him. They were opposed to a burial according to the rites of the white man. He was a brave warrior, they said, and he must be buried as a brave. They were jealous of the priest's influence over their Chief. They went so far as to accuse the Fathers of killing him, by influencing him to abandon the pagan worship to adopt a strange one. They claimed the Great White Spirit was displeased, hence death came to their Chief. Many of the Osages refused to follow any longer the religion of the white man, and returned to their pagan ways. Several who were preparing to receive baptism were disheartened.

All these things were discouraging to the missionaries, yet a greater calamity was at hand. A Quappaw Indian had gone from his village to call on his daughter attending the mission school. He was taken ill on the journey, and reached the mission in a dying state. He had contracted the measles. The Fathers cared for him in a secluded room but of no avail. The children of the mission contracted the malady, and in

a short time one-half of them were down sick. The school was replaced by a hospital. When the news of the epidemic reached the Indians, they were alarmed. They rushed to the school, and took their children home. They did not understand how to treat the disease, with the result that nearly all of them died. The medicine-men, jealous of the priests, went about slandering them, and arousing the Indians against the mission. They even accused the Fathers of killing the children.

The epidemic finally attacked the adults of the tribe. Not only the measles, but also the scurvy made great headway. Over eight hundred Osages died during the spring.

Father Bax continued to carry on his work among the Osages during this crisis. He attended the sick, baptized, and carried the last rites of the Church to the dying. In May of that terrible spring he contracted the disease. He, however, continued his missionary work until his strength failed him. He was finally taken to Fort Scott for medical attention. The doctor at the fort did all in his power to save him but the disease had progressed too far. After receiving the last rites of the Church from Bishop Neale, he passed away on August 5, 1852.

On October 29, 1852, Father Adrian Van Hulst⁽⁸⁾ was sent from St. Louis to fill the place left vacant by Father Bax. His assistance was very much needed. The government had granted permission to the Quapaws to send their children to the Osage Mission school, so that the enrollment of the school had almost doubled. Moreover, the New York Indians had just settled on the Little Osage stream, near Fort Scott, and it was necessary to bring the consolations of religion to the Catholics among them.

Father Van Hulst entered upon his missionary activities with great zeal. He frequently made visits to the Creeks, the Quapaws, the Senecas, the Cherokees, and Seminoles. His excursions were extended as far as Fort Gibson at the junction of the Neosho with the Arkansas River. His labor among the Indians bore abundant fruit; however the hardships he encountered on his strenuous missionary excursions so impaired his health that his superior recalled him to St. Louis in October, 1854.

It was very difficult for the missionaries to accomplish great good among the Osages. The Indians expressed their desire to hear the word of God, but when it was a question of putting the Christian principles in practice, they placed their blankets over their heads, and remained silent, and as soon as politeness permitted, they would

disappear. They understood the importance of religion, for when they were sick, they often called for the priest, and sought baptism, but when they regained their health, many of them went back to their former life. The half-breeds, on the other hand, gave much consolation to the fathers. They generally remained faithful to the teachings of our Faith, and led Christian lives.

In the summer of 1853, Chief Strike Ax, with a band of Indians, came from the Little Osage village to visit the Osage Mission. At noon, on the day of their arrival, a horse hunter belonging to their tribe, came in a great hurry, and reported that a band of Sac Indians had been seen at Coal Creek, a few miles from the town, driving away Osage ponies. Strike Ax jumped to his feet, and let out a loud war whoop. The men sprang to their horses, and all the warriors of the Osage Mission joined their friends in anticipation of a battle. In a short time a large band was formed to start on the war path. The warriors left the mission at about one o'clock and started on the trail of the Sacs. In due time Strike Ax, and his warriors had got in sight of the Sacs, who immediately abandoned the Osage ponies, and ran for their lives. The Osages pursued them until they saw their efforts were in vain. Now that the expedition was over they returned to the mission, having recovered their ponies without bloodshed.

The schools at the Osage Mission were well established and prosperous in the year of 1854. The Indian girls took peculiar delight in all kinds of needle work, drawing and fancy work. They were more industrious than the boys, and always manifested a willingness to do any kind of work required by their teachers. It was much to be regretted, however, that the Indian parents brought up their daughters under heavy burdens, and in entire ignorance, to become slaves of their future husbands. The missionaries hoped this condition might be remedied by a Christian education, training them up in the knowledge of God, teaching them to avoid sin, and to love virtue. If the majority of the females received the benefits of a good education, polygamy, which was very common and approved by custom, would undoubtedly be diminished. The Indians themselves, often acknowledged that plurality of wives was ruinous to the peace and happiness of families.

The Indians saw the impropriety of the custom, and would occasionally compare the lawful with the unlawful marriages, and acknowledge that between a lawfully married pair existed greater union of love, and that these were blessed with more children. If, through the medium of education, the female character be ennobled, then they might gain by good manners, the love, and affection of the men. Because of their rough,

and uncultivated manner, they were disrespected, and unassisted, although the men were soft, and of a flattering tendency. Such women could not effect any salutary influence upon the hearts of their husbands.

After the Indian girls had remained two years at school, their manners had improved greatly. They were more amiable, paternal love and affection had increased. But while the parents and relatives took pride in the acquirements of these children, they often withdrew them from school to use them as interpreters, to glory in their improvements, or to receive imaginary services from them. During a few days absence from school they would grow indolent, and some would resume their original wulish dispositions. Their pride being increased by the flattery of relatives, they would return, disobedient to parents and teachers, and would abandon school before having obtained an education.

In the spring of 1854, the Osage Indians prepared more ground for crops than they had done in former years, and their prospects for a good crop were quite flattering up to July 1st of that year. Rain failed them and, in consequence, there was an entire failure of the corn crop.

During the years of 1854, lands in the new Territory of Kansas were opened to white settlers and many

families began to settle around the Osage Mission; other Catholic families settled in the eastern part of the territory, and it became the duty of the missionaries to visit them occasionally; and so new missionary stations were opened upon the border counties, until every county had its own.

Father Ponziglione, this same year, made an excursion from the Miamis to the Chippewas and the Ottawas, whose lodges were near the mouth of Ottawa Creek. Many of the Indians were Catholics; but, since they had not been visited for some time, he had laborious work baptizing and instructing them.

In September, 1855, Bishop Miege recalled Father Heiman,⁽⁹⁾ who had labored six years at the mission. During this period he had so well organized the schools that the children made remarkable progress. Twice a year they held public exhibitions, that were attended by the Indians and the whites alike. Still the school lacked financial support. The small allowance of \$55 a year for board and tuition of each student, made by the Government, was not sufficient to meet the expenses of the school, and agriculture had to be taken up to supply the needs of the missions. In the pursuit of this plan, everything went well until the crop failure of 1854. This calamity made it necessary to purchase all

the supplies used at the mission. In his distress, Father Schoenmakers appealed to the Government. In response to this appeal, the government increased the allowance \$18.95 for each student, and the school was again moving along when the grasshoppers destroyed the crops in 1855. The Government again increased the allowance by the same amount, but this fell short of expenses, and Bishop Wiege and other friends sent donations amounting to \$1,300 by the aid of which the school was kept open. Crop conditions improved the next few years, and the schools returned to their normal state.

In the summer of 1857, Father Van Lengen⁽¹⁰⁾hoge was sent from St. Louis to work among the Osages. He entered upon his missionary career with great zeal, but his efforts did not meet with great success. The attitudes of the Osages toward Christianity and civilization had not changed and, although they did not believe in their pagan worship, they were reluctant to give it up. At this time, these same Indians had, besides, been imbued by careless traders with all the false ideas of infidelity and skepticism. Yet the good Father was not discouraged, but worked faithfully among the Osages and, through his exertions, several were converted and baptized. But soon, it was evident

that his health was failing rapidly and Father Schoenmakers resolved to send him back to St. Louis. A short time after he reached St. Louis, brain fever set in, and he expired on July 4, 1858.

Father James Van Gooch⁽¹¹⁾ succeeded Father Van Lengenhoge at the mission, arriving August 25, 1858. He was an active worker at the mission in 1859, for during that year he officiated at most of the baptisms at the mission church. Measles again attacked the children of the mission school, and the same attitude among the Indians prevailed. Father Van Gooch having visited a village of the Little Osages, the chief of the tribe accused him of killing the children with baptism, and refused him lodging in the village. In consequence, the priest was obliged to pass the night on the prairie.

The half-breeds made great progress, and even the Osages showed a sincere desire to adopt the civilization of the white man. The schools made rapid progress, the enrollment had increased to over two hundred and thirty-five and thus occasioned the expense of new buildings. Many visitors⁽¹²⁾ came to the school and examined the students at their pleasure and all found, to their satisfaction, that the children of the Osages were capable of acquiring an education as well as any other children, and became as good scholars as the white children. To

be convinced of the truth of this statement, one may consult the Annual Reports given to the Indian Department concerning the Mission Manual Labor School. Yet all are bound to acknowledge that a large number of the Indian students, who have been educated at the Osage school, after having left this school and returned to their tribe, have resumed the Indian customs and, in some cases, adopted their evil ways. Yet, one cannot deny that a large number have succeeded very well and become good citizens of our country.

On April 12, 1861, the first gun was fired at Fort Sumter; its echo reached all over the land and the Indians in the territories felt it. A short time after the declaration of war, the Confederate Government formulated a plan to gain control over the Indian Territory and eventually win Missouri to their cause. In this project they were partially successful. However, the Indian alliance, so assiduously sought by the Southern Confederacy and so laboriously built up, soon revealed itself to be most unstable. Direct signs of this instability appeared in connection with the first real military test to which it was subjected—the Battle of Pea Ridge, the struggle that stands out in the history of the Civil War as the most decisive victory of the Union forces in the campaign of the West and as marking the turning

point in the political relationship of the state of Missouri with the Confederate Government.⁽¹³⁾

Many of the Indians remained loyal to the Union and they were attacked by those of their brethren who had joined the Confederate forces. They became refugees in southern Kansas, assembling mostly in the country of the Osages, the majority of whom remained loyal. The government authorized the organization of Indian regiments of these refugees and any other loyal Indians desiring to enlist in the Union army. Three regiments were organized during the war and were commended for their excellent service to the Union cause.

After the fateful battle of Pea Ridge, the Confederates withdrew their troops from the Indian Territory and concentrated them in strategic positions along the Mississippi River. The Civil War in Kansas, after that date, was confined largely to guerilla warfare in southeastern Kansas and along the Missouri border.

Bourbon, Linn and Miami counties were the centers of border lawlessness. At the outset and for a considerable period, pro-slavery settlers had a comparatively clear field in this territory, as it was situated off the line of the northern immigration. The free-state men located there were practically isolated, having little communication with Lawrence, the recognized free-state center,

and, consequently, almost entirely without check, developed a successful system of retaliation. Confederated at first for defense against the pro-slavery outrages, they fell, ultimately, more or less completely into the avocation of horse-thieves and assassins. These guerillas were known as Jayhawkers and James Montgomery was their best-known leader. The important event of the early period of guerilla warfare was the Marais des Cygnes massacre.

Guerilla warfare was renewed in Kansas during the Civil War period. The appointment of James H. Lane as Commissioner for Recruiting in the Department of Kansas was a vital mistake. This appointment took General Hunter by surprise—he could not understand how the officials of the government could place such a premium upon rascality, as he knew Lane was an outstanding horse-thief and marauder. In a short time the guerilla warfare was revived between Missouri and Kansas ruffians. The guerilla bands of Kansas would dash over the Missouri border, seize a number of horses and cattle and bring them back to Lawrence, where they were sold at public auction. At Lawrence, the livery stables were usually filled with their stolen animals. This horse-stealing was carried on under guise of patriotism. Lane, Montgomery, Brown, Harvey, Quantrill, Blount, and other guerilla leaders were not devoted to

any particular patriotic cause, they were simply horse-thieves and assassins working for their personal gain.

To check this lawlessness along the border, the eleventh Kansas regiment was sent to Kansas City, where it arrived in June, 1863, and became part of the force of the District of the Border. Thomas Ewing, Jr. was made Brigadier General, in command of this District. He found it necessary to establish military stations along the border in order to protect the inhabitants from the marauding bandits. In addition to this, military posts were established in the interior and along the Santa Fe Trail. In the course of time he was able to check the guerilla warfare and maintain peace in Kansas.

The Civil War brought many new problems and difficulties to the mission. It was located so near the border that it was destined to suffer much from the incursions of the armies. Father Schoenmakers, S. J., loyal to the Union cause, was in particular the object of the hatred of all troops of the guerillas. They offered a reward of five hundred dollars for his head. He was finally compelled to leave the mission and seek safety at St. Mary's on the Kansas River. After his departure, Father Ponziglione was seized by the raiders, and arms that were said to be concealed at the mission were demanded. After a search, finding none, they

heaped their abuse upon Father A. Hoecken, whom they met. They attempted to murder Father Van Gooch. Returning from Fort Scott, where he had brought consolations of religion to the Catholic soldiers stationed there, he was seized by bandits dressed in military uniform. They forced him from his horse, made him kneel down, and, leveling their guns, were awaiting the order to fire, when the leader—more human than the rest—said there was no glory in killing an unarmed man who was making no resistance. He sent him to the house of a friend, whence he reached the mission in safety.

Some officers, hoping to enrich themselves, came to the mission to raise recruits among the Osages. The Indians, not accustomed to military discipline, left the ranks and returned to the mission. They traded their military uniforms for a supply of whiskey, and went out on a buffalo hunt. They had indulged freely, and Father Ponziglione, unaware of this, came to the Osage town of Nantze Waspe. There he was immediately surrounded by the Indians, and complaints were made against the officers, who enrolled them, and thence against all white men; knives were poised to stab the Father, when Union troops appeared on the scene, and saved the life of the priest.

Father Schoenmakers was an ardent supporter of the Union and succeeded in holding most of the Osages loyal to the north. Many of the boys of military age, attending the mission school, enlisted in the army. The mission, situated as it was, between the two contending forces, was constantly visited by soldiers of each army. Scouting parties of southern sympathizers, and guerillas were frequently seen in the region of the mission. John Mathews was leader of one of these bands. He had previously been a good friend of the fathers at the mission. He sent his boys to be educated at the mission school. His wife had been a member of the Osage tribe, and he hoped, by his relation to the tribe, to be able to influence them to join the cause of the South. In this plan, he was disappointed. Father Schoenmakers opposed him and held the Indians firm for the North.

As the Civil War progressed the dangers of the mission increased. Both the Indians, and the white settlers left the country, and the mission was deserted. The missionaries and the children attending school were in constant danger from the invading bands of guerillas. One of these bands robbed the mission of all provisions and clothing. This incident made it necessary for Father Schoenmakers to apply to the government for military protection. In 1863, a company of soldiers was

furnished and stationed at the mission by Generals Charles Blair and Swing, thus checking the constant invasions of the bandits and giving security to the mission.

W. W. Graves, in his History of the Early Jesuits at Osage Mission, gives an account of the precarious position of the mission during the Civil War:

"The mission was in great danger when a train escorted by soldiers left the place for Fort Smith but was captured by the Confederates near Cabin Creek, sixty-five miles south. General Price and his army became formidable; but fortunately, before reaching Baxter Springs, the old General cast his soldiers into the state of Missouri. All the soldiers scattered about, and indeed all available men were mustered into the service to defend our state from invasion. Soon after the assassination of Lincoln, peace was proclaimed, confidence restored and the settlers returned to their homes." (14)

The United States Government sent agents to the Osages in the fall of 1865. All the white men met at Canville's Creek and the Indians assembled on the In-sca-oushu Creek. On September 29, 1865, a treaty was concluded. The Big and Little Osages ceded to the United States a tract of land fifty miles square, and in appreciation of the kindness and benefits they had received from the Society of Jesus, the Osages insisted

that two sections of land covering the mission, and improvements should be donated to the Jesuit Fathers for the use of the mission and schools.

A short time after this treaty was signed the Osages moved to their new reservation.⁽¹⁵⁾ Within a year Father Schoenmakers followed, to bring them the consolations of religion.

After their departure to their new home, many of the Osages continued to send their children to the mission school, but not in such large numbers. However, the deficiency was soon made up by the whites who were settling on the land left open by the Indians around the mission. The white attendance increased so rapidly that the school was chartered on May 31, 1870, under the title of St. Francis Institution for boys. Father Schoenmakers served as the first president, and Father Ponziglione as secretary. In the course of three years, three large stone buildings were constructed to meet the needs of the growing student body. St. Francis Institution continued as a boys' school until 1891. The property at that time was transferred to the Passionist Fathers who still control it at the present time.

W. W. Graves, in his History of the Early Jesuit Fathers at the Osage Mission, pays a tribute to these worthy priests in the following words:

"The Jesuit Fathers of the Osage Mission have been pioneers of Kansas. They have, according to the text of the Scripture, sown the seed of the Word of God into those wild countries; others will come who will in joy reap the harvest. Perhaps lofty cathedrals will be raised where the poor pioneer priest has rejoiced in raising a small cross. All the good performed will be known at the day of reckoning, when all nations will stand before the throne of God, and be judged according to their works."(16)

CHAPTER VII

ESTABLISHMENT OF ST. MARY'S MISSION.

St. Mary's Mission was located⁽¹⁾ nearly in the central part of the new reservation. The Pottawatomie Reserve, from 1848 to 1868, embraced an area of nine hundred square miles, extending thirty miles north of latitude 39° due west of Washington; its eastern limit was surveyed about 1° west from the Missouri state line and the land was situated between Topeka township and Wamego, on both sides of the Kansas River.⁽²⁾

When the little band of missionaries arrived on that September afternoon in 1848, they found workmen busily engaged in the erection of two buildings, one for the Jesuit Fathers, and the other for the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. Toward the expense of these buildings the United States Government had contributed five thousand dollars; the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, six hundred dollars; and the Pottawatomie Indians, seventeen hundred dollars.

The dimensions of the buildings were 60 feet by 21 feet by 21 feet. They had two stories with five rooms each. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart occupied the western log house near the creek and the missionaries took possession of the other, about three hundred and thirty feet to the east.

Brother Mazella arrived from Sugar Creek on September 26, 1848. He was a skilled carpenter, and set to work on the interior of the buildings.

At the same time, workmen were preparing lumber for the new Indian church which was not completed until the summer of 1849.⁽³⁾ While waiting for the church it was necessary to have some temporary place for the Indians, half-breeds, and Creole families to assist at Mass. For this purpose Brother Mazella built a frame building midway between the two log houses. This chapel was dedicated by Father Hoecken by the celebration of Mass on November 12, 1848. On this occasion he preached the sermon in Indian. This was the usual place of worship on Sunday for a period of probably nine months. The new church was constructed in 1849, and probably dedicated in September. It was afterwards raised to the rank of pro-cathedral. This new church was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception and henceforth the mission assumed the name of St. Mary's.

Early in November, 1848, a report came to the mission that an agreement had been drawn up between St. Louis University and the United States Government to erect buildings and to conduct schools at the mission. In the meantime, the number of pupils had been increasing. Besides Charlot, who accompanied the missionaries

to the new site, five new scholars were received. Their names were Francis La Flamboise, Ezechiei Pelletier, William and Francis Darling, and Bernard Bertrand. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart received five female pupils about the same time. In December a carpenter was hired to prepare the lumber for the new school buildings. In the meantime school was conducted in temporary quarters.

The Indians went on a hunting expedition⁽⁴⁾ November 20, 1848. They visited the lands of the Miamis, near Sugar Creek. They were accompanied by Father Hoecken, who celebrated Mass daily among them; and by his preaching he brought many to the sacraments. During that year, Kansas Territory experienced a severe winter and Father Hoecken suffered from the intense cold. Finally he found himself snow-bound, in dire need of provisions and, worst of all, his Mass wine exhausted. At length, after a period of forty-five days, he arrived at the mission half famished. All were happy at the Father's return; for the severe weather had made them anxious for his safety, and his knowledge of the Indian language made him indispensable at the mission. Father Gailland,⁽⁵⁾ being an exile from Switzerland, and not a year in the country, was new at the mission. He was taking instruction in the Indian language from John Tipton, who had taught for many years at Sugar Creek;

and being ready for any kind of hard work, he quickly acquired experience, and by his charity and zeal made his services invaluable. In the meantime, Father Verreydt had started a class for boarders, which he taught himself, morning and evening.

The winter of 1848 and 1849 was long and severe. The river was ice-bound for eighty days and served as a wagon road from December 6 to February 24; the snow was three feet deep and frozen solid in January. Many animals died from the intense cold, even under shelter. In January, a storm raged thirty-six hours, threatening to uproot the trees and blow down the houses. During the storm, Father Hoecken was on a sick call south of the Kansas River.

In the beginning of the spring of 1849, sickness increased and the dreaded Asiatic cholera was rumored to be approaching. The continual procession of California immigrants in wagons and on horseback, hastened the advent of the cholera, which, during the short period of six weeks, spread terror and desolation among the Indians. The villages of Uniontown and Wakarusa were deserted in June; and the boarders were sent home from the mission. The three priests at St. Mary's were constantly riding from place to place, administering remedies and the consolations of religion.

This plague continued until July, 1849. It delayed the dedication of the new Indian church, of which no record is made in the diary of Father Gailland.

The Indian settlements south of the Kansas River sent a petition to St. Mary's Mission on February 17, 1849, asking for Mass on Sundays and on Ash Wednesday. On February 21, a large number of them came to the mission to receive the blessed ashes on the beginning of Lent. To bring the consolations of religion to these sincere people was a pleasure to the fathers. Yet the building and improving of the mission which was resumed early in the spring, and the added devotions of Lent, along with other difficulties, greatly hindered the fathers in carrying out this work. In April, Father Gailland commenced to visit three distant stations south of the river, celebrating Mass once a month at Uniontown, Mission Creek, and Mech-gaminak. At that time, Father Hoecken made a trip to St. Joseph, Missouri, to purchase supplies for the mission and for the poor widows and orphans who were in need. In August, the same priest crossed the Kansas River and spent a week in turn at each of the old settlements, baptizing infants, celebrating marriages and preparing the young for their first Holy Communion. From this time on, he took charge of these stations.

On September 27, 1849, the Rev. J. A. Eilet, the Vice-Provincial of Missouri, in company with Father Peter de Smet, arrived at the mission to make his usual visitation. On his departure two days later, he took with him Father Verreydt,⁽⁶⁾ who had been the Superior at Sugar Creek and St. Mary's since 1841. Prior to his arrival at Sugar Creek he had been stationed among the Pettawatomies at Council Bluffs, to which post he had been transferred from the Kickapoo Mission where he had relieved Father Van Quickenborne. The first visitation of the Vice-Provincial to St. Mary's was short, but it brought many beneficial changes in personnel, the premises, and the organization of the mission. He promised to send a new Superior with help in men and means; he left regulations in handwriting, which renewed the vigor and life of the mission.

The Fathers and boarders having moved into their new quarters the day before, were prepared to receive the new Superior, Rev. John Baptist Duerinck⁽⁷⁾ who arrived on November 3, 1849, with two lay brothers, Sebastian Schlienger and Daniel Doneen.

The new school was opened on November 12, 1849, with Mr. Ryan as teacher. The condition of the Mission school was most critical and embarrassing in the judgment of persons versed in business matters. For the

small sum of fifty dollars each per annum, about one hundred and twenty children were to be supported as boarders. In other words, for fourteen cents a day, food, lodging, clothing, books and stationery must be supplied to each pupil; while no hotel keeper in the place would board and lodge any person for less than five dollars per week. Furthermore, by a series of unfortunate circumstances, the government allowance for constructing and furnishing the buildings had been expended before the work was finished.

Two new churches were to be built south of the river, one at Mechgaminak, and the other at Mission Creek. Mechgaminak was situated in what is now Mission Township, Shawnee County, about twenty miles from St. Mary's, and just a short distance south of Shanganunga Creek. The mission church there was named St. Joseph's. Mission Creek was a village situated on the Creek of the same name and was located near the present site of Dover in Shawnee County, about seventeen miles southeast of St. Mary's. The church constructed there was called St. Mary's of the Valley. Father Hoecken, who was chief pastor of the Indians, was delegated to attend to this and, moreover, to visit other tribes in the adjacent territory and, if possible, to encourage the Kansas Indians to build a church and send their children to

school. On October 12, Father Hoecken crossed the river to administer the sacraments and make arrangements for building the two churches. Immediately he secured the services of two men to cut the timber and haul the lumber to the places selected for sites. Mr. Thomas Mac Donnell supervised the work and the churches were ready for divine worship, one in July, and the other in August, 1850.

After making arrangements for the building of the churches south of the Kansas River, Father Hoecken set out February 20, 1850, to visit the Pettawatomies still residing in Michigan and Indiana with hopes of inducing them to join their brethren in Kansas. Though the Indians were glad to see a priest who spoke their tongue, they refused to be persuaded to leave their lands. After an absence of four months he returned, accompanied by Brother P. Larleskind, a new teacher for the boys' school. In August, Father Hoecken visited the Kickapoes and found them all intoxicated, so his efforts bore no fruit.

He then went to Weston, a small village ten miles above Leavenworth, on the east bank of the Missouri, in Platte County, where he remained for a time to rest and recuperate. While there he baptized one person, and administered the sacraments of penance and communion to the people. On September 7, he returned to St. Mary's, and

remained until the end of October or the beginning of November, when he set out for the Sioux country, visiting tribes in northern Missouri on his way. The purpose of his mission was to investigate in person what hopes there might be of converting that spirited nation. He became snow-bound in a blizzard and was so exhausted by cold and hunger in his attempts to find a ford over a river, that he was obliged to turn off to Fort Vermilion, to save his life.

He passed through St. Joseph, Missouri, on his return journey in January, 1851, and as was customary his priestly services were sought. He said Mass, heard confessions, and distributed communion to many. He also baptized three persons, two of whom were converts. At Weston he met some Indians, and with these he returned to St. Mary's Mission, arriving near the end of January. Here he remained until March, then with great zeal, he set off for the second time to Michigan, to console and assist on their long journey, the Pottawatomies, who, he had heard, were intending to migrate to the banks of the Kansas River. But before he could accomplish this work, he was recalled by a letter of his Provincial to St. Louis, to accompany Father De Smet to the Rocky Mountains.

About the time of Father Hoecken's departure,

reports came to the mission that Rev. John B. Miege,⁽⁸⁾ then professor of Theology at Florissant, had received the Papal briefs, appointing him, over his protests, the Vicar Apostolic over the whole Indian Territory. This was the Indian Country in which the Holy See was petitioned, by the bishops of the seventh Council of Baltimore in 1849, to create a vicariate Apostolic of the Indian Territory. According to their request, the Holy Father Pius IX erected the Vicariate east of the Rocky Mountains. The Vicariate comprised what is known now as the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, those parts of North and South Dakota west of the Missouri River, Montana, Wyoming, and a large portion of Colorado. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this extensive country was imposed on the Rev. John Baptist Miege, S. J. In compliance with the orders of the Holy Father, he was consecrated bishop in the church of St. Francis Xavier, St. Louis, Missouri, March 25, 1851.

Father De Smet provided the new Bishop with the necessary equipment and he set out on the 11th of May, 1851, for his destination, accompanied by Father Paul Panziglione. They made the trip on a Missouri River boat to St. Joseph, and thence, after a delay of four days, crossed the river into Kansas, arriving at St. Mary's on Saturday evening, May 24, 1851.

When the fathers at St. Mary's learned that Bishop Miege had accepted their invitation to make his home with them, they hired workmen and hastily put up a house for him. They also added a plank floor to the Indian church, which was to be for some time the cathedral⁽⁹⁾ of the West. The day after the arrival of the Bishop being Sunday, all the Indians assembled in the church to extend a welcome to their first Bishop. They formed in line, two abreast, proceeding to the residence of the Bishop. The mounted braves, with proud bearing, led the column; the men on foot came next, followed by the girls, choir and nuns, and the squaws with their infants wrapped on their backs brought up the rear. The Bishop, attended by two fathers, reviewed the procession. The parade was enhanced a great deal by the many colored garments and plumed bonnets with trains streaming in the wind over the backs of the ponies. At the church, as at the residence, they fired three volleys in salute. At the end of the solemn High Mass, while the choir was singing at their best, the Bishop was seated, in full pontificals, in the center of the sanctuary, and all present moved forward to kiss his ring. With delight and mute reverence, the Indians gazed on a ceremony so new to them, and so like heaven.

After the novelty of the situation had worn away, when the Bishop settled down to consider his prospects

and resources, he must have felt the need of divine assistance. He found himself the spiritual head of a wild and uncivilized territory, with few subjects. The entire Catholic population was probably not greater than four thousand souls. The Catholic Osages and Potawatemies were numbered about four thousand. Besides these, there were some Catholic Indians scattered here and there among the other tribes. These, together with some white traders, mechanics employed at the agencies, and half-breeds, constituted the Catholic Church in the territory.

His only assistants were his Jesuit brethren on the Neosho and Kaw Rivers. At St. Mary's Mission in 1851, were Father Duerinck, the Superior of the small band, Father Gailland, and Father John Schultz, who came from Missouri to fill the place left vacant by Father Hoecken. The Brothers were Daniel Doneen, overseer of the farm; Andrew Mazella, infirmarian and carpenter; Sebastian Schlienger, cook; Peter Karleskind, teacher; Louis De Vriendt, sacristan, choir director, tailor and shoemaker; and three other brothers.

On June 7, 1851, Father De Smet, accompanied by Father Christian Hoecken set out on a trip to the Rocky Mountains. They left St. Louis on board the steamboat, St. Ange, and traveled up the river. The

Mississippi, swollen by spring floods, was a raging torrent, and covered the country on both sides for many miles. On the third day of the trip the dreaded cholera broke out, and the boat became a floating hospital. Father De Smet was attacked by the disease and was confined to his bed for ten days. Father Hoecken was left alone to attend to the sick and minister to the dying. He visited them; he assisted them in their sufferings; he prepared and administered remedies; he rubbed the cholera victims with ointments; he heard their confessions and gave them the sacraments of the dying. He then blessed their graves and buried them with the ceremonies of the Church. His exertions night and day among the sick sapped his strength, and he fell a victim to the cholera. Doctor Evans, a physician of wide experience and remarkable skill, endeavored to relieve him, but of no avail—his care and remedies proved fruitless. Father De Smet administered to him the sacraments of the dying and Father Hoecken passed away on June 19, 1851, twelve days after his departure from St. Louis.

A coffin was prepared, very thick, and tarred within, for his mortal remains. A temporary resting place was dug in the forests near the mouth of the Little Sioux River, and the burial was performed with all the ceremonies of the Church, on the evening of the

19th of June, all the passengers on board assisting.

A month later, on the return trip of the St. Ange, the coffin was exhumed, placed on board the boat, and transported to Florissant. There reposes Father Hoecken⁽¹⁰⁾ with those of his brethren of the Society of Jesus.

A band of Pottawatomie Indians, numbering about six hundred, arrived at St. Mary's Mission near the end of September, 1851. These were the Indians, whom Father Hoecken had so much desired to help and guide in their long journey from Michigan. They were a sight to behold, besotted with drunkenness, covered with filth and disease. They were cursing the avarice of the traders, who, they claimed, forced on them this state of misery by lies and deceit.

On October 12, Father De Smet called at the mission. He was bound for St. Louis, whence he had set out, four months previously, in company with Father Christian Hoecken, to attend the Council of the Sioux, and visit other Rocky Mountain tribes. Mr. Mitchell, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, being commissioned by the government to settle the boundaries for the various tribes, and to persuade them to keep peace and not molest travelers, chose Father De Smet as his companion in the embassy to those remote tribes, in the firm belief that no one else had so much influence over the minds, and hearts of the Indians. Father De Smet readily

consented, and undertook the journey, more for the opportunity to visit the Indians than for the honor of ambassador. The trip being over and treaties concluded, Father De Smet took leave of the Superintendent to return to St. Louis in company with Mr. Fitzpatrick, and a number of chiefs of the Cheyennes, Arrapahoes, Crows, and Sioux Indians. They remained at the mission three days, attending Mass and devotions in the church and inspecting the land and improvements of the Pottawatomies. Great was the astonishment of these Indians at the progress made in agriculture, and mechanical arts by the Pottawatomie tribe.

In return for their hospitality at the mission, the chiefs entertained the Fathers with a war dance. This was a startling and memorable exhibition of weird music and monotonous chant, to which they stepped in time with serious and solemn dignity. It was diversified with speeches and life-like acting of bands on the war-path, scouring the country, lurking in ambush, or creeping on the enemy, killing, and scalping. Their shouts of defiance, and shrieks of alarm or vengeance or victory rang through the air, intermingled with the war-whoop; and this, joined to the sight of painted and tattooed bodies, and brandishing tomahawks, glancing to and fro with the rapidity of Indian movement,

produced a weird impression never to be forgotten. Before departing, the chiefs implored the Fathers to come and teach their people to be religious, and prosperous like the Pottawatomies.

The year of 1852 was filled with suffering and sadness, due to the epidemics of measles and smallpox. The smallpox first invaded the settlement of Mechgaminak on the Shunganunga Creek in the summer of 1851, but only a few cases were fatal. The dread disease reached St. Mary's in the severe cold of a stormy winter, and in a few months, it almost deprived the place of inhabitants. Under the same roof, it was not uncommon to see two, three or four at a time prostrated with the disease, and as many at a time were carried to the grave. The sick and dying were so numerous that only a few were left able to lay out the corpses and bury the dead. Moreover, the usual remedies proved fruitless. A supply of virus was twice obtained and all the people were vaccinated before the epidemic struck the mission, but in vain.

After the smallpox epidemic in the winter, the measles attacked the Indians in the spring. The disease spread rapidly and attacked nearly every family of the tribe, until there was scarcely a home without mourning and death. After this widespread mortality, it was feared, for a time, that the village would become

a solitude, but a great number of converts soon moved in and took the place of the dead. Greater numbers attended the church and the Indians became more fervent in the practice of their religion. Many who had been accustomed to travel afar on hunting expeditions and thus refrain from the practice of their religion, remained near the mission, in fear of being seized by the malady at a distance from the mission and perhaps dying without the sacraments of the Church.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the mission made progress. In 1853, an addition was added to the house of the community to provide the missionaries with private rooms, necessary for the proper discharge of their duties, study and meditation.

A church was constructed at the point where Soldier Creek empties into the Kansas River, about five miles east of Topeka. They had been planning to build a church there for some time, as the Soldier Creek settlement had become a center of Catholic population. This village was inhabited by Pettawatomies and Kaws of whom many were half-breeds. In this neighborhood there was a large number of French families. The services in this chapel were conducted by the Fathers from St. Mary's every Sunday and sermons were preached in Indian, French and English.

This year the friendship between the Pawnees and Pottawatomies, which had been interrupted in 1849, was renewed. The Pawnee Indians, at the time St. Mary's Mission was begun, were settled north of Platte River. But roving bands, bent upon plunder and game, might often be found in the territory reserved for the Pottawatomies. On one occasion in the summer following their migration to the banks of the Kaw, the Pottawatomies joined some Kansas, Sac, and Kickapoo Indians in a buffalo hunt, on the prairies to the west of the reserve. This company meeting with a band of Pawnees encamped at Rocky Ford, on the Big Blue, a messenger was sent from each of the opposite parties for a mutual exchange of courtesies in token of peace. The Pawnee messenger was amicably received and dismissed. But one of the Kansas Indians in the hunting expedition, mindful of a grudge, killed the Pawnee as the latter was returning to his camp. Then the Kansas Indians turned and fled. The Pawnees were infuriated, and they attacked the Sacs and Pottawatomies. The latter were taken by surprise but bravely sustained for several hours the fight forced upon them. The Pawnees were finally defeated. The Pawnees returned home, deploring the act of treachery of the Kansas. The hatchet was again dug up by the Pawnees, and fear of future attacks and slaughter hung like

a pall over the Pottawatomie reserve. The Pawnees thereafter often pillaged the country around St. Mary's and stole the horses of the mission Indians. In consequence of these raids, and the more frequent rumor of them, the Indians at the mission endured a continual state of fear. This state of alarm kept them dispersed on the south side of the Kansas, where they thought they would be more secure from the attacks of their enemies. In vain did the missionaries reproach them with cowardice and urge them to settle near the mission. Indeed the terror of the Pawnees so unnerved the Pottawatomies that one night in 1852, upon a false report that the Pawnees were coming, the entire population about St. Mary's stampeded into the house of the Fathers, so that there was scarcely room to stand. Even the Ladies of the Sacred Heart became frightened in expectation of being tomahawked.

Peace did not finally dawn on the mission until the hunting season of 1852, when the two tribes signed a treaty to bury the hatchet. This treaty was renewed in 1853.

The Rt. Rev. John B. Miege left St. Mary's in April, 1853, as a delegate from the Vice-Province of Missouri to the general congregation of his order in

Rome. In July the death of the General of the Society of Jesus was commemorated at St. Mary's with solemn rites. After the election of the new general, Very Rev. Peter Beckx, by the congregation, Bishop Miede returned home, arriving at St. Mary's Mission in March, 1854. He brought to the mission many gifts, which he soon lavished upon the Indians. Besides relics of the saints and numerous medals, statues, crosses, and rosaries blessed by Pope Pius IX, he had purchased for his church costly vestments, chalices, a silver ostensorium, some paintings, and an organ which was designed by Father Lambillotte. The Indians were overjoyed at these presents. They were lost in wonder at the mechanism of the organ, although it was very simple. But the crowning present was a painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary which was hung over the high altar. This beautiful painting is still hung on the wall of the parish church in St. Mary's, Kansas.

Bishop Miede often visited the distant limits of his broad vicariate, traveling then the uncivilized country of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and the Indian Territory. In August, 1855, he removed his see to Leavenworth, where he found several Catholic families. Having built there a cathedral and furnished an episcopal residence, he made his final and successful petition to the Holy See for a successor. After the appointment

of his coadjutor, he traveled through California, Chile, Brazil, and other states in America, the charity of the faithful enabling him to liquidate his debts. In July, 1874, he quietly retired as a simple Jesuit Father to St. Louis University.⁽¹¹⁾

On March 25, 1854, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, Father John Schultz, Brothers Daniel Doneen, Sebastian Schlienger, and Louis De Vriendt took their final vows publicly in the Church at St. Mary's. Working at the mission in 1854, besides Fathers Duerinck, Gaillana, and Schultz, were the Brothers Andrew Mazella, Daniel Doneen, Louis De Vriendt, Peter Karleskind, Henry Dickneiti, Sebastian Schlienger, and Frank Koig, who was granted to the mission by the Province of Lyons, and accompanied Bishop Miege on his return from Rome.

During Holy Week and on Easter Sunday the church was crowded with Indians to gaze upon the solemn ceremonies, and witness the pontifical mass. The sacrament of confirmation was conferred upon ninety-four neophytes on April 23. Later in the spring, twenty-four more were confirmed at Soldier Creek, in the chapel of the Sacred Heart. On the 22d of May, a triduum was begun in thanksgiving for the beatification of the venerable de Britto, and Andrew Babola, martyrs to the faith.

The commanding officer at Fort Riley applied for a priest to visit the Catholic soldiers occasionally. A father was sent who could speak French, German, and English. Father Gailland was the missionary selected and his first trip was unfortunate. The horse he rode stopped at a bridge. Four farm hands came to his assistance; in vain did they push, pull, beat, and coax the animal; he refused to cross the bridge. Father Gailland tied him to a tree and spent the night in the woods. While the rider was sleeping the horse struck for home. The next afternoon was spent in fruitless search for the beast. Finally, Father Gailland walked home without visiting the fort.

CHAPTER VIII
THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

The problem of securing an organized government in the Oregon Territory was under consideration in the early forties. The pre-eminent motive, then, was to make good the claims of the United States to the Oregon region, which was disputed by Great Britain. The Benton bill proposed to organize the whole region west from Iowa and Missouri to the Pacific Ocean under the name of Oregon. Similar bills were introduced in Congress until 1848, when the Oregon Country was organized as a territory. (1)

Many new problems of national importance originated between 1848 and 1853. The Mexican War, the acquisition of California and New Mexico, the discovery of gold in California, the new character of the slavery issue and the controversy between the North and the South over a route for the new transcontinental railroad, were prominent issues of the period. The later bills introduced into Congress between 1848 and 1853 for the organization of the Nebraska Territory were prompted by the railroad controversy. Douglas took up the cause of the railroad and renewed his bill

for the organization of the Nebraska Territory until 1854, when his Kansas-Nebraska bill became
(2)
a law.

The continued agitation of the Nebraska question had its effects on the Indians, especially those living near the Missouri border. Among the Wyandotte nation were many men who had but a small percentage of Indian blood, and others were Indians only by adoption. Their lands would be greatly enhanced in value if their territory were organized, opened to white settlers, and a railroad built through it to the Pacific. At the suggestion of persons not residents of the Indian Country but of influence in national politics, the Wyandottes petitioned Congress for the establishment of a new territorial government, to consist of a governor, secretary and three council-
(4)
men.

Mr. George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs approved of this movement. He made a speech at the council of the Wyandottes on the subject of organizing the territory and selling the surplus Indian lands to the government of the United States, preparatory to such organization. In the course of his visits to the different Indian reservations to discuss these political questions he arrived at St. Mary's Mission

in the autumn of 1853. Father Gailland gives the following account of his visit in the *Annals of St. Mary's Mission* dated 1853:

"We were very happy to entertain at our house the Honorable Mr. Manypenny, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who was making the circuit of the Indian reserves to buy up the waste lands in the name of the government. He had already made settlements with the Ottos, Kickapoos, Wapinukies, Chaonis and Miamis before coming to the Pottawatomies. In the General meeting the day after his arrival, Mr. Manypenny explained the plan of the government to purchase, at an equitable price all land not needed by the tribe for actual use, while the rest might be either possessed in common or allotted in severalty. He added they were left quite free to accept or reject the proposal. For Mr. Manypenny is a fair-minded man, and he would not be induced by threats or violence to defraud the Indians of their honest rights; on the contrary, he boldly defends them at the cost of censure and odium. The Pottawatomies consulted together, and came to the unanimous conclusion that they did not want their lands to be divided or sold, or changed in any way for other lands. On hearing their answer, the excellent Commissioner would not press them further but he praised their industry and departed.

"Whether our Indians judged wisely or not, it is not our part to decide. But the time will come very soon, we think, when Americans will raise a clamour against the Indians claim to the land, when white men will rush in to cultivate the fertile soil, and when the native Indian will be forced either to become a citizen, or move away to the Rocky Mountains. And if the outcry be unheeded by the government, probably the appeal will be carried to the polls and it will be agitated as a party question.

"Such is the excitement over this question at present, that hundreds of men are ready to burst into our territory to plunder, and destroy everything. In fact, some half-breeds of the Wyandotte nation have chosen a governor and other officers, of their own accord, and authority, and set up a republic for themselves. And this no doubt, with the ulterior aim of bringing about the annexation of our Reserves, and its parceling into counties as part of some future state. What will be the fate of the Pottawatomies in that case we cannot foretell. But we do know of the Catholic Pottawatomies, that, far from objecting to live under the law of the United States, many of them desire more eagerly to become citizens, because they expect from that privilege to be safe-guarded in their rights, and no longer to be driven like dumb beasts from place to place. And these are the sentiments of their missionaries. This is the end we long for, and which we are anxious to bring about, in accordance with our firm conviction. For as any man is by nature a social being, to live according to the dictates of humanity, he must live under a government, and be subject to law. Yet whatever fate the future has in store for our poor neophytes, we can place our trust in the God of Providence, who knows how to dispose of all things sweetly for the salvation of souls." (5)

Early in 1854, Senator Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which finally passed both houses in May, and on the 30th of the same month was signed by President Pierce. In October, 1854, there arrived in Kansas the first territorial governor, Andrew H. Reeder. That he might become familiar with the con-

ditions in the territory, Governor Reeder made a tour of inspection shortly after his arrival. Father Duerinek's diary notes that Governor Reeder visited St. Mary's Mission on November 3.⁽⁶⁾

On his return from his tour of observation, Governor Reeder issued a proclamation for the first election to be held in Kansas. The date was set for November 29, at which time a delegate to Congress was to be chosen. The candidates were General John Whitfield, pro-slavery; R. P. Flenniken, Administration Democrat, and John A. Wakefield, free state. General John Whitfield, the pro-slave candidate received a legal plurality.

When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was enacted, there were less than 1500 white people in Kansas. Of these, about 700 were soldiers and the rest were missionaries, traders, and employees connected with the Indian agencies and missions. But immediately, settlers and adventurers came pouring into the territory. Though the Indian lands, which had been bought up by the government a short time previously, had not yet been surveyed nor put up for sale for the benefit of the Indians, as provided for in the treaties with them, nevertheless emigrants and emissaries of the political factions, with their followers, were in such

unseemly haste to secure the right to vote in the new territory and determine the character of its political and domestic institutions that they staked squatters' claims, and built cabins on the land, regardless of whether the Indians' titles were extinct or not, and in face of the protests of the Indians. Father P. J. De Smet, in a letter to the editor of the Precis Historiques, Brussels, Belgium, dated December 30, 1854, writes:

"We remark daily in the newspapers, that the great numbers of emigrants are spreading already over the territories ceded; yet the conditions precedent of the treaties between the government and many of the tribes, expressly forbid the whites to settle there before the survey and sale of the lands to the profit of the Indians. Notwithstanding these conditions, the whites settle there, and even defy the authorities to deter them." (7)

In 1854, numerous towns had sprung up and the total population of Kansas, exclusive of the Indians, was 8,601. Though the greatest part of this population was near the Missouri border, it extended up the Kaw valley to the confines of the Pottawatomie reserve, to the east of which, only two miles distant, Topeka was founded, December 5, 1854. Pawnee, the capital of Kansas Territory, was located near Fort Riley west of the reservation.

With this rapid growth taking place within a few months, it was not difficult to foresee in what predicament the Indians would be in, after a few years. Father De Smet relates, in the letter quoted above, that:

"In a few short years these little reservations or Indian settlements, will be surrounded by a white people, these whites being, for the most part, vicious and corrupt, will introduce and furnish liquors in abundance, in order to satisfy the depraved taste of the Indian. In all this, the sole object is to deprive these unfortunate men of all that remains to them in land and money. In this position of affairs, I cannot conceive how the Indian can be protected against the dangerous influence which will inevitably surround them on all sides." (8)

The solution of the Indian problem was daily becoming more embarrassing to the government. On the one hand, the emigrant tribes, those namely, who had formerly dwelt east of the Mississippi River, and had been removed west of it by treaties with the government made thirty years before, had been guaranteed a permanent home in Kansas, subject to no future transportation; and on the other hand, was the hourly increasing white population, clamouring for the fertile soil and insisting on the removal of the Indians to another region.

But concessions had to be made to the insistent white population. It became the policy, therefore, of

the government to purchase the surplus lands and open them to citizens of the United States; to confine the Indians to a much limited portion of their old reserves; to induce as many of them as possible to sectionize the land and abandon communal possessions for individual ownership, and to secure them in the possessions of their farms by withholding the power to sell, mortgage, lease or in any way alienate their property except to members of the same tribe.

In this policy of the government, the Jesuit Fathers of the Mission concurred. While the government was sincerely interested in the welfare of the Indians, the chief motive of its policy, doubtless, was the political necessity of yielding to the increasing clamour of its own citizens for possession of the Indian's lands. The Jesuit Fathers, though uninfluenced by the political reasons of the government, yet could appreciate its difficult situation and realized that very soon it would be compelled to yield to the popular cry. They sadly realized, too, that with the settlement of Kansas Territory, the Indians would be surrounded, corrupted, and swindled by unprincipled whites. The question confronting them was whether it was better for their neophytes to migrate again to a more remote region and begin

anew the work of rebuilding the mission, and breaking afresh the soil, which would soon be subject to the same encroachments as former reservations, or whether it was more desirable for each individual to take his allotment of land and accept citizenship in the United States under the protection of the same laws as the whites.

The first event of importance in the political development of Kansas Territory in 1855, was the election of the territorial legislature on March 30. Great interest was shown among the settlers. The Missourians voted again. The whole affair was so openly fraudulent that the free state people demanded that Governor Reeder set aside the election and call a new one. Contests had not been filed against all the men elected. Governor Reeder decided to recognize the election except where sufficient proof of fraud was shown. In these cases, he cast out the returns and ordered another election and a number of free-state men were chosen. Pawnee was chosen by the Governor as the first territorial capital, but after five days, the legislature adjourned to Shawnee Mission.⁽⁹⁾ In July, 1855, Governor Reeder was removed from office and was replaced by Wilson Shannon.

Instead of submitting to the pro-slavery Territorial government, the free state men decided to set up another government. They held a convention in Topeka in 1855 and drew up a constitution prohibiting slavery. This document was accepted by the free state people of Kansas Territory and then sent to Congress with a request that Kansas be admitted to the Union as a free state. The bill failed to pass.

Father Gailland, in his annuals of St. Mary's Mission dated 1855, writes of this period:

"A peste, fama et bello—Libera nos Domine! 1855 has been a year of trouble for Kansas Territory. The Indians suffered from famine, and pestilence, and the whites from pestilence and civil strife. To begin with the Indians, their crops were spoiled from the long drouth of the previous summer, and a scarcity of provisions followed; so that by mid-winter many were perishing with hunger. Their conditions excited our pity, and we did all we could to help those in need. Yet they had reaped a plentiful harvest the year before; consequently they might not have been reduced to extreme want so soon but for their own shiftless habits." (10)

The dreaded cholera returned in 1855. Many of the Indians were out on a buffalo hunt, when the plague suddenly broke out in their midst, and by the sight of so many deaths, spread terror and consternation among them. They quickly dispersed in every direction. At

Fort Riley,⁽¹¹⁾ where large bodies of workmen were employed in constructing buildings, about one hundred were struck down in ten days. When the above report came to the missions, one of the Fathers was sent to the fort to do all in his power to nurse, and console the dying. The presence of a priest at once raised their courage. They hastened to make a general confession of their whole lives and after thus relieving their conscience, they felt so bouyant that they no longer dreaded the cholera. Even the non-Catholics shared in the confidence inspired by the religion and two of them were converted on the spot and became Catholics. When the plague ceased and the Father was leaving for the mission, the men made up a purse of \$260 and put it into his hands with expressions of sincere gratitude.⁽¹²⁾

Rivalry between the free state and the proslavery governments brought on the Wakarusa War. There was no fighting. The principal events may be summarized as follows:

As the result of a claim dispute, Coleman, a pro-slavery man, shot Dow, who belonged to the free-state party, and then fled to Jones, sheriff of Douglas County, for protection. Jones arrested Dow's friend Branson, who was rescued by free-state men and taken to

Lawrence, the town most hated by the pro-slavery party. Jones, in the meantime, had gathered an army of Missourians for the purpose of attacking Lawrence. While both sides were preparing for the conflict, news of the approaching event was carried to Governor Shannon, who came to Lawrence and settled the difficulty.

Of this period, Father Gaillard gives an account:

"The long-continued excitement over the question of introducing or excluding slavery has become so fierce that this part of the territory is ablaze with civil strife. The controversy between the free-soil, and the slavery parties grows daily more intense and bitter; and there is fear of more scenes of violence, bloodshed and retaliation for years to come. But since all the facts have been published in the newspapers, and such strife is foreign to our calling, there is no need to dwell on details. We should only remark, that it is the spirit of the Order to spread the blessings of peace, and to keep aloof from discord and strife; accordingly, we harbor ill will to none, and we seek to do good to all men, irrespective of party, for the sake of Christ. Hence, we lament these troubles exceedingly. But we cannot help wondering that men are carried away, and go mad with zeal for these paltry interests of a few years, and that they risk their lives for these transitory things, when they neglect the salvation of their immortal souls, and heedlessly rush under the eternal yoke of slavery themselves. Would that the children were as much inflamed with zeal to merit the unfading crown of glory! Why should not the soldiers of Christ, battling for Heaven

be fired with like enthusiasm, and display equal energy in promoting the greater glory of God, and be as earnest and intent in struggling against the slavery of sin and securing the true liberty of grace, and the eternal happiness of Heaven for as many as possible, by extending the mild rule of the Kingdom of God in Souls." (13)

In the year of 1856, hostilities were renewed. The people of Missouri prepared for invasion and the free state people for defense. Several minor disturbances were followed by the "sacking of Lawrence." In retaliation the Pottawatomie Massacre followed. John Brown and eight of his sympathizers made a night trip down Pottawatomie Creek where a number of pro-slavery settlers lived. Five of these settlers were called out of their homes and killed. This incident tended to arouse the settlers of Kansas. Several minor conflicts followed, among them the battle of Black Jack. An army was hurriedly collected by each side but Governor Shannon ordered them to disband. Conditions of lawlessness continued to grow worse, finally Governor Shannon resigned and Woodson became the acting Governor of Kansas. In the meantime, an army from Missouri entered the Kansas Territory and it marched toward Lawrence, pillaging Osawatomie as it passed. While Lawrence was awaiting the attack, Geary, the

new Governor of Kansas Territory, assumed his duties and he ordered the army to disperse. Thus ended the so-called period of violence in Kansas.

In 1857, the free-state people succeeded, for the first time, in electing the legislature. The pro-slavery party prepared the Lecompton Constitution but submitted to the voters only two statements concerning it: "The Constitution with slavery" or "The Constitution without slavery." The free-state people refused to vote but held another election at which the pro-slavery people refused to vote. No attention was paid to the free-state people declining to vote on the Lecompton Constitution and it was sent to Congress. After the Lecompton Constitution was returned from Congress it was voted upon by both factions and defeated. During the next six months the Wyandotte Constitution was drawn up, adopted and sent to Congress. This took place in 1859. More than a year passed before Congress was able to act on the matter. The Constitution was accepted, and Kansas became a state on January 29, 1861.

Territorial times in Kansas were not as violent as a summary account would lead one to believe. All this time the internal affairs of St. Mary's Mission were going on in the usual way. Farming, stock-raising and trading were at no time interrupted. There was traveling to and fro between the mission and the eastern border,

and occasionally large sums of gold were carried by the travelers. In the summer of 1856, several of the Sacred Heart Sisters left the mission for St. Louis, Missouri, proceeding safely through the scenes of strife to Leavenworth. Only one instance is recorded of the interference of work at the mission due to disorder of the time. Thomas McNamara had set out on September 2 for Grasshopper Falls, in the disturbed region, to buy cattle but returned on the same day at noon alarmed by the wayside tales and rumors of robberies and horsetealing.

The mission school made great progress during the territorial period. It was regularly well attended and achieved great success. A new addition was built for the nuns, whose number in 1856 had increased to ten. Financially the mission was in a position to bestow aims not only on the poor Indians but also to outside charities.

Father Francis Xavier Wipperfurth was delegated by the Vice-Provincial, Rev. William Murphy, to make the visitation or official inspection at St. Mary's in the year of 1856. He remained three weeks, entertaining the fathers with the news of the outside world, especially with the condition of the Society in Europe. The small community regretted his departure. At this time, Mother Vicar of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart arrived

with two nuns who were to teach the Indian female pupils.

The Winnebagoes of Minnesota sent a delegation to the Pottawatomies in 1856. They begged to be received into the Pottawatomie Reservation. The place where they were located was untenable; they were surrounded by implacable enemies. They were received kindly by the Pottawatomies but on account of the absence of the principal chiefs, they could not give them a decisive answer. They requested them to come the next year to present their petition.

The Christian Indians around the mission displayed the same piety and virtue as in former times, and came from great distances in the bitter cold of a severe winter to attend Mass and divine services. The following story may be taken as an example of their charity and zeal. During the winter, when the temperature was so low that way-farers froze to death on the roads, a woman, by the name of Vochemica, was cast out of her home together with her young son, a boy of twelve years. Sick as she was, she had no shelter but a tent, and no attendant except her little boy. He, too, exhausted by famine, cold, and grief for his mother's miserable condition, became prostrate and could do nothing but weep. A neophyte who lived near

the mission, hearing of their sad plight, traveled through deep snows and large drifts to search for the outcasts. He brought them to his cabin, obtained for them the necessary remedies and tenderly nursed them back to health. Having saved their bodies, he set himself to save their souls, for they were pagans. He ceased not from his efforts until the double victory, so zealously sought, was nobly won.

About the same time, God seemed to show displeasure at those whites who debauched the Indians with liquor. In the neighborhood of the village of St. Joseph, there lived two white settlers, Americans, whose principal business for two years had been to supply the whiskey to the Indians. This occasioned great misery and crime among the Pottawatomies, fathers of families would sell everything they possessed, even the very huts that sheltered their wives and children to obtain liquor. At night, while the white men were sound asleep, a thunder storm arose and lightning struck both, killing one of them; the other wandered for a time through the Indian villages and over the fields, insane.

The question of the removal of the Indians from the Kansas Territory continued to be agitated during the territorial period. In 1858, the land around St. Mary's

Mission was eagerly settled by the white men. The Indians were afraid that the settlers would seek their lands, which lay at the gate of Topeka. They feared not without reason, that very soon, they would be compelled to sell out their lands for a home in another wild region. To avert this impending calamity, in their national councils, the chiefs with the elders and the wise men of the tribe began to agitate the question of sectionizing the land and accepting citizenship of the United States. The question created two parties, the sectionizers and the anti-sectionizers and produced great animosity between them.

Consulting then only the best interests of the Pottawatomies, the Fathers at St. Mary's favored the group of sectionizers. This policy would give the Indians a permanent home, with assurance of protection in their rights. This fact was vital not only to the preservation of the tribe from extinction but also to the work of Christian civilization. Father Duerinck's report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated September 14, 1857, conveys the sentiment of the missionaries and their solution of the Indian problem:

"The Mission Indians, the industrious and civilized class want to sectionize the land of their reserve, and obtain a title in fee for the following reasons:

- "1. To have a permanent home for themselves and their children.

- "2. To break up communism—a lazy, worthless Indian throwing himself wantonly on a working Indian for support.
- "3. To gather around them the comforts of life, and to enjoy them without molestation.
- "4. To burst the bonds of tutelage, and to enjoy the many privileges of freedom.
- "5. To make them look to their farms for support, giving up hunting, rambling and marauding with war parties.
- "6. Because it plainly appears to them that it is the will of Heaven, and the desire of the Government, that they should adopt the modes and laws of civilized life."

"Some certain Prairie Indians, medicine men, with painted faces, who are opposed to Christianity, and civilization, and greatly in minority as regard to number, want to remain as they are, and they are said to allege the following reasons:

- "1. Because they are Indians, and ought to remain Indians.
- "2. Because they live like jolly fellows, without working, without laws, without praying.
- "3. Because the Great Spirit would be angry with us if we throw aside our bow and arrow.
- "4. Because a little cabin, with a patch of corn, and pumpkins are all the worldly goods we desire.
- "5. Because our braves must have two squaws for wives, and occasionally a jug of whiskey; and if the land be divided we will be robbed of those glorious liberties.
- "6. Because we do not dare break the customs of our forefathers, and the solemn observances of our medicine boys.

"We leave it to the impartial judges to weigh the arguments on each side, and to decide where justice and common sense belong. Some few superstitious fellows are greatly alarmed about the land question, for they are fully convinced that the Christian Indians will carry their points; they are now opening their eyes to their sinking fortunes, and they turn their impotent spite against all those whom they believe to have been instrumental to putting the ball in motion. They complain very much against the Black Gown for making some of their best men believe in the Gospel; and they urge also, with a sneer, that the young squaws, the school girls of the mission refuse to marry with their young men because they paint their young faces, and wear a blanket.

"These proud squaws seek the hand of a white man, and their parents and friends want to divide the land in order to have it to say that they own a domain of two hundred acres apiece; a great inducement for young men to take a claim in the Pottawatomie Reserve." (14)

At length, after much discussion, a treaty was drawn up between the United States Government, and the Pottawatomie tribe on November 15, 1861, at the Pottawatomie agency. On the day appointed for the meeting, all the Indians were at the agency, sitting on the sod. After the preliminary preparation, Commissioner Dole arose and said:

"My friends, by order of the President I have called you to this meeting to induce you to sectionize your land, and come under law as citizens of the United States; or to sell out here entirely, and take in exchange another reservation, which shall be assigned to you farther west." (15)

Hereupon Shahgwee, leader of the Prairie Band, came to greet the delegates. All eyes were on him. He was painted, wore a feather cap; he had broad shoulders and high breast, that gave his lungs and the magnitude of his heart free and easy play. His full Indian attire added solemnity to the occasion. Then standing in front of the delegation our speaker said:

"I too come before you to speak in the name of my fellow Pottawatomies. 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 man. 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 who 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 law-giver's malice." (16)

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 one farther west, where you will be unmolested by the whites; we will pay you well." (17)

"You will pay me well! Ah! Not all your gold can buy from us this our sweet home, the nearest to the graves of our ancestors. Here we have been born, here we have grown up, and reached manhood, here we shall die. But ye white men, why are you covetous, so ravenous of this my poor limited home? Behold with what liberality I treated thee. I was once the undisputed owner of that vast region, which lies around the lakes, and between the great rivers; I ceded them to thee for this paltry reservation in the barren west. I gave to thee Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and thou begrudgest me this little spot, on which I am allowed to rest, and labor! Is this thy return to my beneficence? Is this thy 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 upon 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." (18)

Hereupon the Commissioner Dole reminded the speaker that the President wished them for their own good either to sectionize the land or move away from Kansas. Shahwee 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 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. Today 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." (19).

Thereupon one of the delegates remarked, that this country was being settled by the whites as well as by the Indians.

"It is but right that in our regulation we consult their wishes, otherwise there will be no peace, no harmony between the two races." (20)

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 displeases them, why do they come in our way? Let them allow us to manage our own affairs and we will let them manage their own." (21)

Here Commissioner 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 Pottawatomie was a terror to the Sioux, and the Osages; unite once more; reconcile the different parties for your common interests, and you will be again a great and happy people." (22)

Shahgwee quickly retorted:

"You have the brass of advising us to peace and union, while 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 his father; brother against brother. Your country is turned into one vast battlefield; and those rich plains which 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 to us." (23)

These words provoked Commissioner Dole, who betrayed his emotion. He quickly arose and said:

"Whether you like it or not, you must sign the treaty." (24)

The orator, no less excited and indignant, several times repeated the words:

"You must, you must," and adding: "This is an imperious command;" then in a doleful tone he said to the Commissioner: "Oh! thou art the strongest; I am the weakest." After which, turning himself, and casting an angry look at the young men seated on the sod, in a thundering voice he said: "Ye braves of the Pottawatomie nation, why do ye not rise; but no, the braves are all dead; you are mere children." (25)

This was the last eloquent appeal to the patriotism of the Pottawatomie youth. This was the last effort of the Pottawatomie nation to preserve her life and autonomy. From this we have seen her dwindle away gradually,

until she will have disappeared in the night of oblivion,

After a few days the treaty of 1861 was signed by the Chiefs Wewesa, Majca, Miyenigo and Niccorica. It was afterwards ratified in Washington in 1868. By their treaty each head of the family was entitled to 160 acres of land, the others to 80 acres. They were, moreover, to draw in different installments all the money due to them by the government, such as annuity funds, agricultural funds, school funds, if they chose to become citizens. St. Mary's Mission was to receive 640 acres of land from the Indians, but without the knowledge of the Chiefs, the government reduced the grant to 300 acres. To make up for this blunder, the Chiefs had a provision inserted in the treaty which allowed the mission besides the three hundred acres the right to purchase at the government price 1,000 acres. (26)

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC LIFE AT ST. MARY'S MISSION.

St. Mary's Mission was intimately connected with and formed an integral part of the economic life of early Kansas and the great West. In 1849, Father John Baptist Duerinck was made the Superior of St. Mary's and he became the manager of the varied business activities of the mission. He was a farmer, cattle dealer, trader and broker. The mission farm was the foundation of the other enterprises and supported the community. The meagre government allowance of seventy-five dollars per year for each pupil and the alms collected in the states or sent from Europe were a negligible quantity. The Mass offerings hardly supported the fathers at the mission, not to speak of the lay-brothers, the nuns and the one hundred or more Indian boarders. Hence other economic means of support was necessary to maintain the mission, and it was not long before its peaceful environs were penetrated by the interests of business. Contact was established with the civilization that was crowding upon the eastern frontier of the Indian Country ready to burst over the barriers in a thousand streams of diversified life; and even several years before Kansas Territory was

opened up for settlement a brisk barter was carried on at the mission. During this time occurred the great California exodus from the states, when many gold hunters followed the California Road and passed through St. Mary's. Mule teams, ox teams and cow teams were the order of the day for several months in succession. At that time Independence, Missouri, was viewed as the ultima thule of civilization and the California pilgrims supplied themselves there with their overland outfit. As a consequence, the demand for oxen and cows was far beyond the supply, so everything was bought up that had horns and could walk on four legs. Frequently these animals were exhausted when they reached St. Mary's and had to be exchanged or left behind to die. Many of these crippled animals were of the best breeds of stock from the Middle States and though some died of exhaustion, the majority recovered after a few weeks rest and were added to the cattle of the mission. Thence arose what was afterwards so well known as the mission herd, descendants of which can be found throughout the state of Kansas. (1)

Father Duerinck as superior of the mission provided for the material needs of members and the Indians. Hence nearly every year he made a trip to St. Louis to purchase a stock of groceries and dry goods. At that

time St. Louis was the nearest place where such articles could be obtained at reasonable prices. Leavenworth was little more than a United States fort, and Kansas City was unknown. The purchases made in St. Louis were shipped on the first boat that left in the spring and were landed at Fort Leavenworth; thence they were conveyed to the mission, a distance of eighty miles across the country, by ox teams. Sometimes it took one month to accomplish such a trip. Bridges in those days were an unknown luxury, and it frequently happened that a creek was reached which was overflowing from recent rains. Nothing of course could be done except to camp on its banks until the water had subsided sufficiently for the stream to be forded. (2)

The farm was the chief support of the mission. Father Duerinck in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated September 24, 1852, relates his plans in regard to the mission farm:

"It is our aim to make our farm a sort of a 'model farm' for the Indians. We have one hundred and seventy acres under fence, ninety-five of which are under cultivation. We have planted this year sixty acres of corn, twenty-five in oats, six in potatoes and in turnips, hemp and buckwheat. We raise a great many cattle, as much for our own sake as that of the Indians, hoping to induce

them to follow our example. With much ado, we have succeeded the last year in prevailing upon them to break down their old-fashion corn patches and to make, in various places, large square common fields, where they have now enough land for all their purposes. An Indian is very little inclined to enlarge his field, because he is afraid he will have to work too hard; it is a considerable task to wind him up and coax him to industry." (3)

During the years of 1852 and 1853, great progress was made on the mission farm. Scientific farming was well established and modern labor-saving machines were in use. The mission herd, the foundation of which was received from the California emigrants, had increased to two hundred and fifty head. Father Duerinck in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated August 31, 1853, sums up the agricultural situation as follows:

"We have raised this season 60 acres of oats, 40 corn, 6 potatoes---the oats very heavy; we cut them all in five days with a mowing machine. This implement is the wonder of the country---the Indians are lost in admiration when they see it work. The corn and potatoes bid fair to yield a good crop. Our horned stock consist of 250 head; say 30 cows, 15 yoke of oxen, 40 two-year-old steers---the balance is young cattle of our own raising. We derive no inconsiderable part of our support from our stock." (4)

In the year of 1855, Father Duerinck continued to add more acres to his "model farm," and at the same

time more modern labor saving machinery was purchased. He notes in his financial records of 1855 the following item of interest:

"January 4, 1855. Informed C. H. McCormick, Chicago, Illinois, that I want one of his mowing machines for 1855 for which I will pay cash on delivery. Will use it with four horses; want the fingers to have bearings, could wish to have no less than three sickles, three drivers, and plenty of single segments to repair. Advised him to send at least 12 mowers to his agent in Weston. E. Cody." (5)

Other entries show how he induced the settlers to invest in such agricultural implements.

"Ordered from C. H. McCormick a mower of 1855 for R. T. Wilson. 6 fingers, 2 sickles, 1 driver, 1 dozen segments for machine of 1854 all to be delivered to the agent in St. Louis." (6)

"April 6, 1855. Requested Mr. Cox, Soldier Creek to order two mowing machines (mowers only) of the patent recommended and approved by him last summer as operating in Missouri. One for S. D. Dyer, at the bridge of the Blue, the other for Mr. Henry Rodierkier, Rock Creek. Have them shipped to Kansas or up the Kansas River, St. Mary's Landing and let me know the price and terms." (7)

In 1857, Cyrus H. McCormick applied to Father Duerinck to recommend some reliable firm or person to undertake the agency for the McCormick farm implements. Father Duerinck informed him that:

"He did not know whether any house as Major and Russell, Trees and Keith, T. Moll and Co. would take the agency for his machines. Recommended Mr. Mannings, R. Roll to C. M. McCormick and tried to prevail on Mr. Roll to take the agency." (8)

Historians of Kansas have overlooked the great services of the Jesuit Order to agriculture. These self-sacrificing Fathers contributed much to the foundation of the agricultural prosperity as well as the moral life of Kansas. St. Mary's Mission was the first institution to develop a "model farm" and a herd of pure-bred stock. Their services were not confined to the Indian alone. They gave their services to the Indian and white alike. They assisted the whites to obtain their homesteads. They taught them successful methods in agriculture and encouraged them to import labor-saving machinery of the modern type. When the crops were harvested, they found a market for their produce. In cattle raising, the Fathers furnished pure-bred animals for the foundation of other herds in Kansas.

After having invested in the new mowing machine in 1855, the recorded item of interest is as follows, and is dated May 10, 1855, a trifle early to judge results:

"Our oats has been sown since the last day in March last, most not up yet. Our corn has been planted there three weeks--a few blades are up. No rain yet this

season that could do any good. The grass is drying up in the hills. Californians complain of bad grass and want of water for their stock. Mr. Patrick Fogerty is encamped at Grimares on his way to California. Brother Deneen and Thomas have gone to Weston for potatoes, cornmeal, bacon and with our horse team. Brother Sebathan and Co. have finished making the fence around the field. The garden looks bad; only onions and peas are up." (9)

Many donations were distributed by St. Mary's Mission during the year of 1855. They gave two thousand dollars to the Novitiate at Florissant and four hundred and fifty dollars to the Superior of the Sacred Heart Society, besides a contribution of one hundred dollars for a monument to Mother Duchesne. They gave fifty dollars in alms to the poor Indians and smaller amounts to other charities. Hence it is evident that St. Mary's Mission was thriving.

Father Duerinck often gave information to white settlers interested in homesteads in the Territory of Kansas. This is evident from the following extracts:

"Received July 5, 1855, a letter from Francis Arenz of Illinois, enquiring about Kansas Territory, answered him July 15." (10)

"Mr. Augustus Willie, Bourbonnais Grove, Will County, Illinois, has bought some tracts of lands belonging to our Indians." (11)

"Informed Mr. Michel Glover, Elara, Canada West, that Kansas

Territory is so and so; that he can make a living with industry and economy." (12)

In 1853, Fort Riley was established near the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers, forty-two miles west of St. Mary's Mission. In a short time, business relations were established between the fort and the mission. Father Duerinok, in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated August 31, 1853, gives an account of the opportunities offered by the establishment of the fort as follows:

"The government is establishing a new military post on the upper Kansas, about 51 miles above the mission; the Pottawatomie settlement is the nearest point from which the fort can draw its supplies. If our Indians were thrifty and enterprising, they would find a ready market for all the produce they can raise; but unfortunately, the greater part of our people are glad when they have enough to supply their own wants. They have raised good crops of corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and beans, without giving themselves much pains to do it. Some families are very improvident and averse to work; they take the world too easy. They would rather run the risk of being half starved during the winter than to work hard for a good crop with the prospect of living in abundance. The spirit of industry and enterprise, the influence of the mission, is evidently stronger around us than anywhere else. Our Catholic Indians have generally well-fenced fields, and a span of horses and some cattle." (14)

Important trade relations were opened between St. Mary's Mission and Fort Riley in 1855. The first item of interest in Father Duerinck's financial records that bears on this subject is as follows:

"Oct. 20, 1855. J. B. Duerinck, Alva Higbee, Benjamin Bertrand, L. R. Palmer, and Peter Mose have this day October 20, 1855, agreed severally to deliver to M. A. Low of Fort Riley one thousand, three hundred bushels, five hundred, two hundred and three hundred bushels of shelled corn, 56 lb. to the bushel @ 95 cts. per bushel. M. A. Low is to furnish the sacks, the corn to be ready for delivery in lots from 20th November till Dec. 31, 1855." (15)

Besides corn, the produce shipped to the fort from St. Mary's included potatoes, onions, turnips, cabbage, beets, butter, maple sugar, garden seeds, and hay. The mission teams and Fort Riley wagons were used in the transportation. As many as ten wagons formed these freight trains, each wagon carrying from five to six hundred pounds of fodder. One of these trains hauled thirty-three thousand and ninety pounds of shelled corn and twenty-three hundred pounds of hay, each of the ten wagons making six trips between the fort and the mission traveling in all five hundred and four miles.

A few days after the above contract, Father Duerinck concluded the following agreement:

"October 23rd 1855, agreed to let Messrs Major and Russell have eight ton of hay at \$8 per ton and the use of a yard to feed it to their teams, also agreed to store for them three hundred bushels of corn, in the ear, to feed their cattle in the months of Nov. and Dec. 1855, for which they are to pay the sum of eleven dollars--\$75 in all of which J. B. Duerinck has received at the hands of James S. Brown forty dollars--in the presence of Mr. McCann his companion." (16)

The company here contracted with was engaged in carrying freight across the western plains. In 1856, Alexander Majors (17) and William H. Russell, both of western Missouri, formed a partnership for this purpose, under the name of Majors and Russell. Later, in 1858, Majors and Russell added another partner, a man by the name of Waddell, the firm was then known as Russell, Majors and Waddell. The United States Government contracted with this company to transport sixteen million pounds of freight over the Oregon Trail for the years of 1858-1859. To carry out this enormous contract it was necessary for the company to purchase thirty-five hundred wagons and forty thousand oxen. Later this firm conducted two stage coach lines, one extending from Leavenworth, Kansas, to Denver, Colorado and the other from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City. Afterwards the mail contract over the latter route was awarded the proprietors of this company, but not in time to prevent their

suffering an immense loss. The amount to be paid for carrying mail was four hundred thousand dollars annually. The stage line was sold to Ben Holladay before the first quarterly payment of one hundred thousand was made. Russell, Majors and Waddell established a pony express along their line from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City. The contract was drawn up with the government during the winter of 1859 and 1860. The firm agreed to extend the mail service from Salt Lake City to Sacramento, California. This was accomplished in sixty days. More than two hundred additional station-keepers were hired and distributed along the line from St. Joseph to Sacramento. (18)

St. Mary's Mission often provided the United States Army pony expressman with fresh horses to continue on his route. This is evident from the following items found in Father Duerinck's records:

"June 27, Last night rec'd from Capt. Brent a written request for express rider, to permit the bearer, expressman, with a good horse to go to Osawkee and that the horse would be returned in a few days, also a request to take the other horse in charge that J. B. D. would receive payment therefor. Let him have the black horse branded U. S., he started Thursday evening at 10 o'clock." (19)

"July 8, 1856. Advised Major Sibley Fort Leavenworth of the bill which I intend to charge for furnishing horses for his expressman.

"June 12, 1856, fresh horse
for expressman.-----\$5.00
"July 2, 1856, fresh horse
to Leecompton.-----\$5.00." (20)

St. Mary's Mission furnished, among other commodities, fresh beef to Fort Riley. To meet the requirement of this important industry, Father Duerinck developed a beef type animal. In his financial records we note that he imported a Durham bull to improve his herd. In a letter written to Father Aelen, Paris, Kentucky, he expressed his desire to import two bulls.⁽²¹⁾ In 1853, he had developed an excellent herd, of 250 animals⁽²²⁾ from the nucleus of the emigrant breeds.⁽²³⁾

In the year of 1855, the herd had increased to 350 head. Father Duerinck in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated October 1, 1855, gives an account of the mission farm:

"Our farm, as usual, is the support of the mission. We have sowed this season 60 acres in oats, but they have failed for want of rain in the spring; 50 acres in corn-- good crop, 4 in turnips and potatoes, which are not as good as expected. We have 350 head of cattle; they all do well. We have sold within the year to the amount of \$4,000, after supplying ourselves with milk, butter and beef. We use the beef fresh in summer and corned and smoked in winter."(24)

Father Duerinck's cattle deals were extensive and varied. He agreed with A. G. Reed, to feed and slaughter the commissary cattle at Fort Riley. A summary of this contract is as follows:

"August 31, 1855. Fr. J. B. Duerinck and A. C. Reed have agreed to feed and slaughter the commissary beef of Ft. Riley, 225 head for which they are to receive the cost of 6,000 bushels of corn at \$1.00 per bushel. Hides and tallow are kept for slaughtering and delivering them at the garrison. J. B. Duerinck is allowed to put in sixty head of beef cattle, weighing 600 lbs, each and to receive therefor the price of eleven cents per lb. The expenses of wintering and slaughtering to be borne equally." (25)

It appears Father Duerinck began to fulfill the above contract in September, 1855, as is noted in his financial records;

"Sent 28 head of beef cattle to Fort Riley on Thursday morning, September 27, 1855 and two men to attend to the slaughtering and herding the cattle." (26)

The slaughtering contract occasioned a slight misunderstanding between Father Duerinck and one of his neighbors. It appears that one of Mr. Perry's steers was inadvertently turned into beef by some of Father Duerinck's workmen, who were slaughtering the animals at Fort Riley for the quartermaster. Mr. Perry made a complaint to Father Duerinck and received the following reply:

"St. Mary's Pottawatomie Mission
K. T. November 17, 1855.

"To Mr. L. B. Perry.

Sir: Your favor of November 13th has been received and its contents noted. You say that my men have killed your steer for

beef, well that may be true or not; but I hope you will not blame my men for doing it, for if they have killed your steer, it was because the Quartermaster, or his hands drove it to the slaughter house to be killed for beef. Messrs. A. C. Reed and J. B. Duerinck have sent Messrs D. Garmon and Wm. Grace to Fort Riley to kill and deliver all the beef the post may want till May, 1856 and when my men delivered the first lot of beef in October, I thought there would be no interruption in the business. Sometime in October, however, the Quartermaster at Fort Riley, J. S. Corley stopped the killing of my own cattle, and ordered my men to receive 24 head of beef cattle of his own and to kill them for the garrison. My men tell me they have received these 24 head and killed them; now if your steer was amongst the 24 head of beef cattle, then surely my men have killed it for beef; they declare that they are not conscious of the fact, that they have killed the same steers which they had received and had in charge until they were killed. Now to say that my men have stolen your steer and killed him for beef, would be folly; it would be to steal for Uncle Sam; for you ought to be satisfied, that the beef of your pretended steer, has gone to Fort Riley. Messrs. D. Garmon and Wm. Grace are honest men, faithful to God and just to their neighbor and incapable of deliberately doing wrong.

"I flatter myself that you will do me the justice to believe that if my men had killed through mistake, your steer, for my benefit, I would give myself no rest until I should have fully indemnified you. But now the matter lies between you and the Quartermaster and I hope that you will come to some understanding about

it. It appears to me that there is no trouble in your case and that you can bring it to a speedy settlement. Prove your steer to him and he will at once indemnify you. If you should desire to have any further correspondence with me on the subject you will always find me at the mission.

Yours respectfully,
J. B. Duerinck,* (27)

On another occasion the situation was reversed, and Father Duerinck reminds Hilare Nadeau that he must pay for the cow belonging to the mission which he drove off and killed. (28)

A few weeks after the date of the above letter the quartermaster left Fort Riley for St. Louis, and Captain Brent succeeded him in office at the army post. Father Duerinck entered into an agreement with the officer to keep and attend two horses for the mail carrier, during the pleasure of the government, and his own convenience, if the fort would have the quartered beef taken from the slaughter house to the commissary, thus permitting Father Duerinck and A. G. Reed to use their mule team for other purposes.

On November 30, 1855, Father Duerinck drew up a contract with William Grace for his services in slaughtering the beef at Fort Riley. The summary of this contract is worded thus:

*November 30, 1855. Agreed with W. Grace to pay him \$40 per month to attend to the butchering at Fort Riley

say \$20 for wages, \$10 for board of the boy that is to assist him. I have left Dave Garmon have the offal entirely for his own benefits, hearts, liver and kidneys. Dave Garmon will stay in Wildcat at S. Houston to herd and feed the cattle. J. B. D. will pay his wages \$18 per month. S. Houston will board Dave. Dave will work for him. S. H. with Dave will do all the herding and feeding the cattle, all the hunting and driving to Fort Riley and furnish the horses to do it with—all free of expense to J. B. D., but the consideration has been to receive a roan horse worth \$80. When cattle will be wanting, Dave will come after them. J. B. D. will send a man to help drive them. The arrangement about feeding in the field is to last till 15th April—after that date till May 25th. The cattle may be herded on the prairies in the day and shut up in a pen at night. Forty head have been killed, weigh nearly 24,000 lbs." (29)

On February 23, 1856, Father Duerinck notes in his financial record that:

"The snow and ice are breaking up; the snow is nearly gone from the hills and level prairies, but there is 4 or 5 feet of snow along some fences, bluffs and ravines. Our creek is nearly over its bank. We have still four stacks of hay in our field, more than one stack of oats in our calf pen yard. T. Roosa from Wildcat calls for corn with three or four teams. William left the mission last Tuesday morning. Joe Pennegar having returned from Ft. Riley helps Tom Quigley to feed the cattle. Exchanged a cow for an ox with the Indian Zenia." (30)

Major George W. Clark, the Indian agent, arrived in St. Mary's with the annuity funds, on March 3, 1856. In the evening he made an address to the Indians on the necessity of laying hold of the plow and being agreed in their plans and policies for the advancement of the tribe. The Indians spoke and expressed their satisfaction with St. Mary's Mission, and stated that they would be sorry if the missionaries ever left them.

The ferry project was given up; a master farmer was proposed at this meeting, but not accepted; a wagon maker to be attached to the mission was asked for and granted.⁽³¹⁾ All farm implements of the mission farm were repaired at Uniontown until the wagon maker was attached to the mission. On July 9, 1856, Father Duerinck's financial records note that wagons were taken to Uniontown for repair:

"Taken to the wagonmaker's shop Uniontown 4 wagons, wheels to be filled and tired to be set. They will be finished July 16, 1856. Promised to send wagonmaker 100 lbs. of salt for cash and charges." (32)

While Major G. W. Clark was at the mission, he drew up a business agreement with Father Duerinck as follows:

"Major G. W. Clark wants me to deliver to him at Lecompton two hundred and fifty dollars worth of stock, say three good milch cows, three common cows and calves at \$25 each. The expense of delivering the stock is to be paid by Major Clark." (33)

Trade between the mission and Fort Riley continued in 1856. as is indicated by the following items of interest:

"Mar. 11, 1856. J. B. Duerinck has rec'd from Captain Brent the following accounts:

For corn of T. Moore	\$185
" " " A. Higbee	\$185
" " " B. Bertrand	\$190
" sacks	28
" repairing sacks	\$10." (34)

"Mar. 11, 1856. J. B. Duerinck had furnished Capt. Brent 7069 lbs. of corn. Capt. Brent furnished 1388 lbs of corn, that of which is charged 694 lbs. J. B. Duerinck furnished 3650 lbs. of hay and Wm. Grace got 7270 lbs. of hay from the Quartermaster. Slaughter house will continue to receive hay and corn on accommodation exchange." (35)

"May 24, 1856. Mr. A. H. Reed delivered today at the mission 18 head of beef cattle, the balance must arrive on Thursday. We are planting today our first corn--it rains and it thunders. I have to deliver some milch cows, two to Mr. A. M. Low, Ft. Riley, Sam C. Dean and one to John Dyer, two to Mr. Barnes, one to C. Pipher, Manhattan, one to Mr. Houston and Mr. Hunting. All our ground is ploughed except the lower fields--oats stubble. Maxay and Catat went to Kansas for 50 bushel of potatoes but returned with a load of flour for Mr. O. M. P. Polk." (36)

"Forwarded Tuesday morning June 24, 1856, 193-200 dry beef hides from Ft. Riley and 11 bbl. of tallow to Meyers, Reeves and Keith of Leavenworth City to be shipped to Waterman and Ryan, St. Louis.

Paid him \$80 on account. He is to get \$1.40 per 100 lbs. but he is to wait for return weights from St. Louis. Shipped also by Mr. Meyers, G. Daniel's, June 27, 1856--13 dry hides, belonging to same lot and directed to be shipped in the manner above. Paid Meyers \$2.50 for freight in full. Paid him also \$32.00 to pay over to Reese and Keith." (37)

"October 10, 1856. F. Martin of Fort Riley offers to buy our corn and expects to have it at 50¢ per bushel. We have asked 90¢ for 3000 bushels. Price for potatoes \$1.00 per bushel delivered at the mission. We have yesterday delivered the mare of Lieut. Bafard, the mule of Lieut Merrill to their respective order. Our new well has two feet of water, walling not finished yet." (38)

"October 15, 1856. J. B. Duerinck has engaged 3000 bushels of shell corn to Capt. Brent to be delivered to his teams at the mission. Fort furnishing the sacks. The corn to be shelled and made ready for delivery without delay. Say begin in Dec. and finish in Feb. Price 75¢ per bu." (39)

"October 23, 1856. Filled this day the order of Capt. Brent at Riley. Sent up in his wagons 140 bu. of potatoes at \$1.00 per bu. 5 bu. of turnips at 25¢ per bu. 50 head of cabbage \$2.50 for lot. 1½ bu. of onions at \$2.00 per bu. Lot of beets say five bu. at a \$1.00 for lot. 11 bu. of corn at 54¢. Sent bill of produce to Capt. with an offer to deliver if needed." (40)

"Dave Garman arrives from Ft. Riley Dec. 7, and comes for beef

cattle. On Saturday Dec. 8, he drives up 18 head, the last we have on hand of our own lot." (41)

"Dec. 16, 1856. Rec'd advice from Lieut Buford to come up to Fort Riley in order to close the contract for wintering at the mission 50 head of beef cattle--will feed them 40 tons of hay at \$10 per ton. As much crushed corn (corn, cobble and all) as he may see proper @ 85¢ per bushel-- 60 lbs per bu. He, Lieut Buford furnishes a hand to attend the cattle and paying board and wages." (42)

The next item of interest in Father Duerinck's financial records is as follows:

"July 12, 1856. We have finished plowing our corn July 8, and began to cut oats with the machine on July 9th. Rec'd today July 12, a yoke of cows but no chain. We are milking every day 26 cows. Dave and Tom are on their claim at Rock Creek, building their cabins July 6-12, and they are to be at the mission July 15. Hides and Tallow from Ft. Riley have been shipped to St. Louis but no returns have been rec'd... (43)

Father Duerinck in his scientific development of agriculture often imported new seed to experiment with on his "model farm" in Kansas Territory. This is evident from the item in his financial records:

"Dec. 29, 1856. Requested Mr. Alex. Major, Westport, Mo., to be kind enough to buy for St. Mary's Mission 5 bu. of millet seed which the farmers about Independence raise in the fields. J. B. D. will send the money as soon as we know the price and understand that the seed can be got." (44)

It appears that Father Duerinck's first experiment with the new millet crop did not meet with great success, however the unfavorable season may account for the partial failure. Father Duerinck in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated September 14, 1857, gives his account of the farm problem and the experiment with the new millet crop:

"We have put in the following crops; fifty acres of oats, sixty in corn, ten in potatoes, and six in millet. The oats have been light and short, owing to the severe drought during the spring; the corn will hardly yield more than a good half crop, but still, thanks to providence, that is much better than had expected. The potatoes were destroyed in July by the plague, or rather by a succession of plagues, viz: the flies, the tobacco worms, and the grasshoppers. We sowed the potato ground in turnips in succession, unwilling to give up the ship without struggling for crops, but fate doomed us to disappointment; these also became, in their turn, a prey to grasshoppers. The millet, which had been introduced on trial, had no rain and yielded but a poor crop. Thus have we labored and toiled to keep up the appearance and honor of our "model farm," but with poor success." (45)

Father Duerinck was a great exponent of scientific farming. He encouraged the early settlers to follow the methods used on his "model farm." He influenced them to subscribe for scientific farm papers as the following item will indicate:

"Feb. 4, 1857. Forwarded to Collins and Harris, Columbus, Ohio, six dollars as payment in full for a club of ten subscribers for the Ohio Cultivator from Feb. 1857-1858.

"Henry Rodierke. Louisville, P. O. Rock Creek.

"Louis Vieux. Louisville, P. O. Rock Creek.

"Francis Bergeron " " " " "

"Dr. L. R. Palmer " " " " "

"J. B. Duerinck, St. Mary's Mission. P. O.

"Mr. Joseph Bertrand, St. Mary's Mission. P. O.

"Ferryman Smith. " " " " "

"Joseph Dupamboise. " " " " "

"Medard Beaubien. " " " " "

"L. R. Darling. " " " " " (46)

In August, 1857, Father Duerinck bought Mr. Laslay's claim on Rock Creek, with the stipulation, on the part of Laslay, that Dr. Luther R. Palmer might be permitted to purchase the forty acres adjoining his own property. Father Duerinck notes in his financial record that:

"J. B. Duerinck has borrowed a house of Francis Bergeron, which he is to move on the claim and to put it up, for which I have paid him in hand on the spot, (he breaking the prairie), the sum of thirty-five dollars, as a consideration in full." (48)

A few weeks later Bergeron was at work putting up the cabin on the Lasley claim, which was the southwest quarter of section 17, township 9 south, range 10 east of the sixth principal meridian. On September 30, Father Duerinck forwarded to J. W. Whitfield, at Doniphan, Kansas Territory, his declaration of intention to preempt the above mentioned section of land and enclosed a dollar in gold as a fee.

Father Duerinck's reputation for business capacity and his readiness to oblige all, occasioned many demands on his time and services. Whether it was selling a coal mine in France or collecting a bill of a few dollars for an Indian or buying a hat for a friend, his credit and experience was at the service of all. The following list of items will give some idea of the varied nature of his duty as a business agent or broker. He bought at St. Louis and shipped to Leavenworth City, for Bishop Miega, eighteen cane bottom chairs; a lot of carpet and groceries, an iron safe, two pieces of black summer cloth and a hat for Father Beshor. (49)

He ordered a shingle machine for James W. Skinner of Leavenworth City. The item in his financial records is as follows:

"August 2, 1857. Ordered from St. Louis a shingle machine of Charles W. Patton (I. G. Johnson inventor) P. O. Box 3685, to be shipped to Messrs. Ryan and Louthan St. Louis then to James W. Skinner, Leavenworth City. Marked J. B. D. St. Mary's Mission. Messrs Ryan and Louthan have \$200 cash on hand to pay for the machine." (50)

"1857—Sent to Madam Marie Colonge, Chateaugan Tres Rione Tuy de Dorne, France, a power of attorney to sell a coal mine belonging to Madam Lucille Mathevon." (51)

"1857—Widow Rodierke. I have collected and settled all your claims in Ohio at New Bremen. The notes

are due and payable at the
 Central Bank, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 1st note of John W. Wiemeyer 3
 90 days, June 9, 1857, am't from
 date----- \$1750.00
 2nd note of W. Finke 3 90 days
 am't from date----- \$ 625.00
 \$2425.24

These two notes are drawn in favor
 of J. B. Duerinck on behalf of
 Widow Rodierkes and family and
 left by him with Messrs. T. U.
 Stevin, St. Louis, J. W. Wiemeyer
 has collected \$250 for Rodierke's
 acc't." (52)

The Jesuit Fathers during the early history of
 Kansas Territory were instrumental in establishing many
 of the first grist and saw mills. In 1842, two mills
 of the above type were established among the Pottawatomie
 Mission Indians, one on Pottawatomie Creek and the other
 on Sugar Creek. The Miller at Sugar Creek received a
 salary of \$700 per year, while the Pottawatomie Creek
 miller only received \$400. The Indian agent, John Car-
 penter in his report to the Superintendent of Indian
 Affairs, dated May 10, 1844, recommended an increase of
 \$200 in salary for the Pottawatomie Creek miller. (53)
 When the Indians migrated from Kansas these mills were
 sold to private individuals who had settled in the terri-
 tory.

That Father Duerinck was interested in a saw mill
 to be erected at Indianola would appear from the entries
 in his financial records. For on August 25, 1857, he

notes an order, through P. and B. Slevin, of St. Louis, on Messrs. Brown and Floyd, 174 North Second Street, St. Louis, of round and square iron, a thirty-six inch bellows and tire iron (tuy ere), to be shipped for the account of J. B. Duerinck, St. Mary's Mission, Kansas Territory, care of J. W. Skinner, Leavenworth.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In October, 1857, he sent three teams to Leavenworth to haul the boiler and engine, and promised a dollar and a half per hundred pounds for freight, and notes that he advanced to Ferdinand Zeitz twenty-five dollars for his trip to Leavenworth City going after the mill.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The next month, Father Duerinck received the bill from J. W. Skinner for receiving and storing the steam saw mill. Entry in the financial record is as follows:

"Mr. J. W. Skinner, commission merchant, Leavenworth City has sent in his bill for receiving and storing of steam saw mill.
 Freight on saw mill-----\$800.00
 Receiving and storing-----\$ 35.00
 Storing-----\$ 10.00." (56)

Mr. C. W. Patten of Chicago wished to purchase a saw mill (57) of Mr. Louis Ogee of Indianola and made inquiries of Father Duerinck concerning the price. His answer was as follows:

"August 25, 1857. Informed C. W. Patten, that Louis Ogee asked \$4000 August 18, for his saw mill and appurtenances at

Indianola. Stated also that if he could not do any business with Mr. L. Ogee, perhaps his friend of St. Mary's Mission will let him have the mill, which is going to be erected at Indianola, for cost and charges." (58)

Besides the mill at Indianola, Father Duerinck was interested in another at Louisville, Kansas Territory. In July, 1857, he notes that Mr. F. Emory will be at St. Mary's Mission on Saturday July 25, when the mill question will be discussed. In November following, he requested Captain F. Emory, Ogden, to forward to the mission the bond for the quarter-section of land he has contracted to deed to J. B. Duerinck for putting up a grist and sawmill in Louisville. (59)

The mission no doubt had some interest in the saw mill at Rock Creek as is indicated in an item near the end of the financial record. The account is as follows:

"January 2, 1857. Trip to saw mill on Rock Creek. The saw put up the wrong way and place, cannot work. The miller has left. The engineer can but grind a few bushels of corn meal to support himself. New expenses to be made." (60)

On November 30, 1857, Father Duerinck, Superior of the mission, left for Florissant, Missouri, to make his tertianship or third year of probation, which priests of the Society of Jesus make before taking

their final vows. He had on his person fifty-eight dollars for traveling expenses. He had expected to get a boat at Leavenworth for St. Louis, but finding on arrival that he had been misinformed, he took the stage at Leavenworth for Kansas City, with the hope of catching a boat at Liberty, Missouri. At Wyandotte, he fell in with a party of five men who were about to go down the river in a small flat boat. He joined them. A short distance above Independence the boat struck a snag and was upset. Three of the men managed to hold on to the boat and were caught on a sand bar, whence they were rescued. Though an expert swimmer, Father Duerink was drowned. Two of the other men lost their lives with him.

The first news of the accident was conveyed as a probability to Father De Smet at St. Louis, by Captain Mullen, who had met Father Duerinck at the home of Bishop Miege, and had seen him leave on the stage for Liberty. When in Wyandotte, on the day subsequent to the accident, he had heard that one of the party was a priest, though his name was not mentioned. The day following this information, December 15, Father De Smet wrote to Bishop Miege informing him of the alarming report and asked the Bishop to do what he could to ascertain the facts in the case. Father

De Smet sent similar requests to Father Bernard Donnelly, the pastor at Independence and to William Jarboe, a merchant in Kansas City. He begged if they could recover the body, to have it sent to Florissant. The sad news reached St. Mary's at eight o'clock in the evening of December 18th, in a letter from Bishop Miege in care of Captain Clark, U. S. A. Dr. Smith of Leavenworth was one of those who escaped and he wrote an account to his wife, who conveyed the information to the Bishop.

The circumstance of the accident gave grounds for weird tales. A letter received by Mr. Stinson gave a different account of the accident. A traveler informed Mr. Joseph Bertrand that Father Duerinck had been seen in St. Louis. Though the river was dragged for several miles and Father De Smet traveled up the Missouri to Kansas City to do what he could to recover the body, it was never found. (61)

Rev. John Schultz, who since Father Duerinck's death had directed the mission, was appointed Rector of the College of Cincinnati in 1858. Rev. John Diels succeeded in the capacity of the Superior.

CHAPTER X

ETHNOLOGIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JESUITS IN KANSAS.

The Jesuit Fathers had left the most highly civilized country of their time to plunge at once into the heart of the American wilderness, and attempted to win to the Christian faith the fierce savages of the strange land. To gain these Indians, it was first necessary to know them intimately—their language, their habits, their manners of thought, their strong points and their weak. These first students of the North American Indian were not only fitted for the undertaking, but none since had better opportunity for its prosecution. The Jesuits performed a great service to mankind in granting access to their annals, which are for the historian, geographer and ethnologist, among our first and best authorities.

Many of these annals were written in Indian camps, amidst much distraction. Insects innumerable tormented the writers. They were compelled to live in scenes of squalor and degradation, overcome by fatigue and lack of proper sustenance, often suffering from wounds and disease, maltreated in a hundred ways by the host, who, at times, might properly be called jailers; and not seldom had savage superstition risen to such a height, that to be seen making a memorandum was certain to arouse the ferocious enmity of the tribe.⁽¹⁾

The Jesuit missionaries were highly educated men, most of them having taught in the colleges of Europe before departing for North America. They were trained to make observations and to report each year to their superior the progress of their work, and give a detailed account of their adventures and of the customs of the savages with whom they came in contact. These men wrote fascinating stories; not stories in the sense of fiction, but history that had all the attractiveness of thrilling romances. These accounts are known as the "Jesuit Relations" and "Woodstock Letters."⁽²⁾

Father Hoecken was one of the first Jesuit Fathers to labor among the Pottawatomie tribe in the territory now known as Kansas. He established the Pottawatomie Creek Mission among them in January, 1838, and remained with them until his death on June 19, 1851. In consequence, he was the first Jesuit Father to master the Pottawatomie language. Father Hoecken, in a letter dated 1847 to the United States Catholic Magazine, gives a vivid account of his early difficulties in missionary work:

"It is eleven years since I was sent into this Indian Country amongst the children of the forest. I had never seen a savage before that period.

I left St. Louis in the spring of 1836, being at that time strong and vigorous and traveled through the state of Missouri as a missionary, attending a number of stations before I reached the scene of my future labors. I cannot express to you the melancholy thoughts of my heart when I first beheld these half naked children of nature. They were amazed at me and I at them; perhaps the gloomy thoughts of my heart appeared on my countenance; they nearly overwhelmed me, I would have abandoned the mission at once. I reflected, however, and considered their situation, which was most deplorable and lamentable as regards to the present life and much more so in relation to eternity.

"I took courage and began the work, though with very little hope of being able to do anything for their temporal or spiritual welfare, trusting, however in Him, who can do all things and who from the stones themselves can raise up children of Abraham. To make myself useful, I took paper, pen and ink, determined, cost what it might, to become thoroughly acquainted with their strange language, which seemed to me then very difficult, and almost impossible to be acquired, as I was not able to distinguish as much as the different syllables. I spared no trouble or exertion in order to learn it; for I was perfectly convinced within myself that as long as I would be unable to converse with them, I would never know them thoroughly. It was a very important step and a serious and a very laborious one.

"My object was, first, to know what an Indian was, his character, his mode of thinking, judging and acting; the different traditions of the people; if they had any; their ceremonies, practices and customs. This knowledge I considered absolutely necessary for a missionary destined as

myself to spend his life among them. Nothing is impossible to God, and to him I must attribute my success in mastering the Indian language." (3)

Father Hoecken became a master of the Pottawatomie tongue. He preached to the Indians in their own language. He not only spoke it fluently, but he also contributed books in that tongue. Records show that Father Hoecken not only mastered the Pottawatomie tongue but had taken up the study of the Osage language. He wrote a dictionary in that tongue in 1847 and this book was used by Father John Schoenmakers in the Osage Manual Labor School at Osage Mission. The following list of Father Hoecken's early contributions in the Indian language is preserved at St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas.

Hoecken, Rev. C. S. J. Potawateme Catechisme
Missinoui-Kan. Cincinnati, Monfort and Conahans. There is no date of printing on the book. It measures 3 by 6 inches and contains 67 pages.

Hoecken, Rev. C. S. J. Potawateme Nememissinoikan.
Baltimore, John Murphy, 1846. A Prayer Book containing 118 pages.

Hoecken, Rev. C. S. J. Potawateme Nememissinoikan.
St. Louis, W. J. Mullin, 1844. A Prayer Book 3 by 5 inches, containing 63 pages.

Hoecken, Rev. C. S. J. The Gospels for each Sunday of the Year and Feast Days. Translated into the Pottawatomie Language. Manuscript copy containing 233 pages. This book is well preserved and legible throughout. It is evident this book was bound at the mission by one who understood book binding.

Hoecken, Rev. C. S. J. Grammar in the Pottawatomie language, 12 by 7 inches. Manuscript.

Hoecken, Rev. C. S. J. Grammar in the Pottawatomie language, 8 by 7 inches and containing 215 pages. Manuscript.

Hoecken, Rev. C. S. J. A Catechism in the Pottawatomie language, 1847. Manuscript copy containing 32 pages.

Hoecken, Rev. C. S. J. A Dictionary of the Osage language. Manuscript.

Father Christian Hoecken continued to be the mission authority on the Indian language until his death in 1851.

After Father Hoecken's death, the work on the Pottawatomie language was taken up by Father Maurice Gailland. He came to the mission in 1848 and remained until his death June 19, 1878. It is said he spoke eight languages fluently. He had no knowledge of the

Pottawatomie tongue when he arrived at St. Mary's mission, but he quickly grasped the new language and considered it easy of cultivation. In a letter to Father Hill dated May 21, 1874, he gives his impressions of the Pottawatomie language:

"The Pottawattomy language is a dialect of the Otchepowe. It has great affinity to the Ottawa, Sack, Kickapoo, Miami, Illinois, Shawnee, and Menominee dialects. All these tribes originally constituted but one family or nation, the widespread Otchepowe or Algonquin family, which in the course of time was subdivided into these different smaller tribes. They inhabited Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and a part of Canada.

"All the sounds in the Pottawattomy dialect are broad. It has all the letters of the English alphabet, except F, L, R, and V. It has besides a letter which is unknown to English-speaking people. It is a half-aspirate, half-guttural; and in order to pronounce it you must shut your throat and re-open it, which is gracefully done by the Indians. The vowels have the sounds which are usually given to them in the Latin language as pronounced on the continent of Europe, except the I, which has the sound which is given in English, v. g., in "mine."

"In the Pottawattomy language there is no gender; but, instead of its gender, its substantives or nouns are distinguished as animate or inanimate, and all substantives are included under these classes: v. g., spirits, men, animals, are all animate; but among the plants, some are animate, and some are inanimate; for instance, the pea is inanimate, also

the melen; but the bean and the potato are animate; tobacco is animate. Simple elements are inanimate; silk and lightning are animate. Animate nouns, in the plural number terminate in k; inanimate nouns of the plural number terminate in n.

"There are the following cases of the nouns; the nominative, the genitive or possessive, locative, vocative and dependent cases. The dative and accusative cases are always like the nominative. The vocative sometimes differs from the nominative, and is sometimes of the same form with it; for example, they say, *nenne man*, voc. *nenne plural*, *nennewok men*, voc. *nennituk*; *nigives*, my son, voc. *nigivese*.

"The locative case expresses the place where a thing is, or also a similarity; thus, *pokwe*, ashes; *pokwig*, in the ashes; *pokwig ishe nakivet*, it is like ashes. The genitive or possessive case is formed by prefixing the possessive personal noun; *okuma*, the chief; *nite-kuman*, my chief; *miseniukin*, a book; *nimisiniukin*, my book. Sometimes the substantive in the possessive case is quite different from that substantive in its primary form; *nekitoshkisha*, *jikwan*, horse; "do you see that horse?" *kiwapimane e nekitoshkisha* "Do you see my horse?" *Kiwapimane nidizikwan?*

"The dependent case is an animate noun depending in the construction of the sentence on a third person or a third animate noun. "Did you see my horse?" *kikiwopimane nitiyikyan?* / "Did you see his horse?" *kikiwopimane otizikwan?* A cow is *pishuke*, the dependent is *pishukowin*; "I made the dog drive away the cow;" *nigikikatona onemosh ewi yatinashkawat pishukowin*; "cow" here depends in the construction on "dog", a sort of third person.

"As to adjectives, there are, properly speaking, none in the Pottawatomy language. What we call "adjectives" is either a particle affixed to the substantive, as *mino*, *mitche*, etc.; for example, *nichinabe*, is a man, *minonickinabe* is a good man; *mitchenichinabe*, a bad man; or the adjective meaning is expressed by changing a substantive into a verb. Nor are there in this language any auxiliary verbs; what the auxiliary expresses in other tongues, is all contained in the verb itself.

"The Pottowatomy has this other nice peculiarity; it has two first persons, as well as having the second and third persons in common with other languages. It has a first first person and a second first person; the first first excludes all except the speaker; the second first person includes the persons spoken to. These two persons are expressed by different prefixes or affixes.

"First, there is this peculiarity in our language, that the personal pronoun is joined as a prefix to the verb, whilst in Hebrew it is joined to the same as an affix. The personal pronouns are *ni*, *ki*, *o*, *Ni* or *ki*, *ki*, *o*; for instance they say, *niwapima*, I see him; *kiwapima*, thou seest him; *owapiman*, he sees him; *loural Niwapemamin*, we, not you to whom I speak, see him; *kiwapimamin*, we, I and you, see him; *kiwapimawa*, you see him; *owapemawan*, they see him. In the neutral verbs the pronoun representing the third person is omitted: *niyakinoka*, I am sick; *yakinoke*, he is sick.

"The Pottawattomie has four moods: the indicative, the imperative, the subjunctive, the infinitive.

"It has a great many voices, which are indicated by a little inflection of the same word.

"1 The active voice animate or inanimate; with the object in the singular or plural number; *niwapima*, I see him—*niwapimak*, I see them—*niwapitan*, I see it—*niwapitanin*, I see them, namely, objects inanimate.

"2 The Passive voice: niwapimeka-niwapimekon with an object inanimate.

"3 The relative voice, that is, the verb in reference to different pronouns: niwapimuk, he sees me; kiwapim, thou seest me; niwapimukonanek, they see us. This is the hardest part of the language, on account of the multiplied relations of the different personal pronouns.

"4 Neutral voice: niwapitim, I am conscious that I see; niwapitcheke, I see; niwapitchekas, I am seen.

"5 The reflexive voice: niwapites, I see myself.

"6 The reciprocal voice: wapitig, they see each other.

"7 The dubitative: niwapimatuk, I think I see him, but I am not sure.

"8 The simulative voice: mivapitamokas, I pretend to see, but in reality I do not see; niyakinoka, I am sick; niyakinokekas, I pretend to be sick, but I am not.

"9 The humiliative voice: niwepineke, I confess my sins; niwepinekech, I wretched, miserable old sinner, make my confession. It is a nice way of showing self-contempt, which is shown during the whole course of conversation.

"10 The frequentative voice: it expresses the frequent repetition of the action signified by the verb, niwapima, I see him; niwawapima, I see him over and over again; kumowin, it rains; kumokumowin, it rains often. If the vowel of the first syllable is long, the frequentative is formed by the reduplication of the first syllable; if it is short, then the frequentative is formed by reduplicating the first two syllables of the verb.

"11 The dependent voice: when the subject of the verb is in the dependent case, the verb undergoes a special inflection--his children came, onitchanisin piyen instead of piyek.

"12 The absolute voice: they say ketom instead of ketiwog, they see; wapitam, instead of wapitamog; wapima, they see him.

"13 The historical voice; when a man relates facts of which neither he, nor those to whom he speaks, have been eye witnesses, the perfect and pluperfect tenses undergo a special modification: kiketo, he said; jesco kiketi-kekipin.

"14 The negative voice; when the verb is accompanied with a negation it undergoes a change in the indicative mood—niwapima, I see him; tcho niwapimasi, I do not see him; kiwapimin, I see thee; tcho kiwapimesinon, I do not see thee.

"15 Inanimate voice; piy a miket, it comes; nitchiwenimo, he or she rejoices; nitchiwenimomiket, it rejoices.

"The Indians, although rude and uneducated, respect the rules of euphony in their speeches, so, for instance, instead of saying, niyakinoka, I am sick, they say, midakinoke; instead of kiyakinoka, they say, kitakinoka, for euphony's sake.

"For the same reason, in certain cases, in order not to offend the ears with harsh sounds, they commute consonants into corresponding ones. Thus b is changed p, g to k, d into t, s into z.

"Euphony requires also sometimes a change of vowels; so i long is changed into a long, e short into e broad, as the French e, o long is changed into oa, a into ya." (4)

Father Gailland, during his thirty years of research at St. Mary's, made many valuable contributions in the Pottawatomie Indian language. A large number of these books and manuscripts are still preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Kansas. The contributions of Father Gailland to the Pottawatomie language are as follows:

English - Pottawatomie Dictionary manuscript.
Letters A to Z, 452 pp. 8 by 6 inches, strongly
bound and well preserved. Manuscript.

Second Volume of the above mentioned book,
568 pp. Manuscript.

A complete English - Pottawatomie Dictionary
433 pages. This is a completed work of the two
volumes previously mentioned. In preparing
the first copy, Father Gailland laboriously
copied out an English dictionary, leaving space
for the Indian words, which were added as he
learned the Indian language. In the completed
copy, only those words are re-written for which
an Indian equivalent could be found. Manuscript.

Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Potawatemi Neme-
winin Ipi Nemennigamournin. St. Louis, Francis
Saler, 1866. A Prayer Book containing 119 pages.

Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Notes for a Retreat
1853. Unbound manuscript, 60 pages.

Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J., A Grammar of the
Pottawatomie language, 8 by 18 inches. Manu-
script containing 300 pages.

In addition to the above contributions of Father Hoecken and Father Gailland, there are many other manuscripts in the archives of St. Mary's College, the authorship of which is unknown. These manuscripts were either prepared by Father Hoecken or Father Gailland and they were probably copied by some other Jesuit priest. The list contains the following manuscripts:

A Prayer Book in the Pottawatomie language. Manuscript, with artistic design of a cross. The letters are printed by hand with great care.

A Prayer Book in the Pottawatomie language containing 22 pages and a colored illustration taken from a book of devotion. Manuscript.

Notes of Prayers and Meditation in the Pottawatomie language, unbound and bearing no date. Manuscript.

Pottawatomie Phrases and Sayings. A curious little book written in French and Indian, 4 by 5 inches, 60 pages. Manuscript.

Prayers and Catechism in the Pottawatomie language, arranged in chapters, 115 pages, 8 by 7 inches, clearly written. Manuscript with board cover.

Indian Hymns. The first part of the book was used as a diary and expense account. Manuscript.

Fragments of the Pottawatomie language, 1849.

Manuscript with paper cover.

After Father Hoecken had mastered the Pottawatomie tongue, he undertook the study of their beliefs and customs. In his letters to the United States Catholic Magazine in 1847, he gives an interesting account of his study on these subjects:

"I discovered what had been the object of my researches, I found that an Indian is a very singular being, quite different from any I had been ever 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 reared in the wild forests, among buffaloes, and had received an education like that of the savage, there is not the slightest doubt that we would be nothing superior, perhaps we would be much 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 tribes, among which I have been, seemed 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. The future world, which is to be one of plenty, they imagine to be something in the far west; not above them, for they are under the impression that they cannot go thither. This may account in part for the delight they take in traveling westward, thinking, perhaps, that they will have but a short journey to make after death, if, while in good health they are constantly moving toward the west.

"They are well aware of their inferiority to the white people, also of their poor and miserable condition. For this they assign two reasons; first, that their God, having created this island for them, they have incurred his disgrace and punishment, and he has forgotten and forsaken them; secondly, their other tradition on this subject has plainly come out of the belief in the fall of our first parents, Adam and Eve. The first Indians, they say, were living in tents and lodges all together, and poor and destitute. The great Master of life, pitying their fate, solemnly pledged himself to come to their assistance provided they would hear and obey him, which they all faithfully promised. He then made a chicken cock and commanded them not to look at this object for six days in succession. The cock went around their tent scratching and when they perceived the noise of the fowl, they were anxious to know what was the object of it. But remembering the precept of the great Author of life, they restrained their curiosity. The second day, the cock appeared again, climbing up their tents and flapping his wings, which

excited their curiosity still more, for they knew not how to account for all this; but the command of the Great Spirit being still fresh in their memory, they did not dare to transgress it, particularly when they looked forward to their future happiness. On the third day the animal came forth, and climbing their tents and flapping his wings, began to crow; no sooner did they hear the crowing of the cock than they all, forgetting themselves and everything else, looked up to ascertain what was the matter. Immediately after they had looked at the animal, the Great Spirit came down and rebuked them for their curiosity and infidelity; however, he promised them his protection and help if they would be more careful and obedient a second time, to which they unanimously and cordially assented, convinced that they would not commit the fault again, the Master of life formed another animal, the name of which, they say, is no longer known to them, but they unhappily failed and transgressed his command after three or four days, upon which the Great Spirit descended and rebuked them most severely on account of their infidelity and disobedience and said: "I tried you twice and you would not listen to me; go now wherever you choose, and look out for yourselves; I cannot help or assist you; you shall live in the forests, and feed upon what you can find."

"Thus they think themselves abandoned by God, and for this reason miserable, ignorant and destitute of the necessaries of life. After their probation, they say that the Great Spirit, leaving them alone, made an attempt on the white people, who were careful enough to hear and punctually obey the commands of the Master of life; they consequently drew down his blessings and favor

upon them. This is the reason which they assign for their superiority over themselves, for their greater knowledge of things which the savage does not understand and for the abundance and riches which they possess.

"Besides these traditions, they have a number of others which, at the present day, are hardly distinguishable from those which they have learned from the whites. For instance, they say that the Great Spirit had two sons whom they loved very much, to whom he showed every kind of affection and solicitude, but that the one would not pay any attention to his father, who therefore had to expel him from his house and leave him to himself, which seems to indicate that they had some idea of the good and fallen angels. Moreover, they often speak of the universal deluge, of which they relate the very same things that we read in the Pentateuch of Moses, with the exception of the following circumstance: they say that only six persons were rescued from the general deluge and that the ark, by means of which they were saved, still exists somewhere on a high mountain where it has become petrified and is now an immense rock, in confirmation of which they allege that it was seen by several of their ancestors who communicated to them the fact. Again; they know the history of Moses, his exposure on the Nile, his adventures in the desert, etc; but this is all arranged in their own way, interwoven with a number of hunting stories.

"Finally, they have a number of traditions relative to the knowledge of the sphere; traditions, they say, transmitted to them by their ancestors who, by some means or other, ascertained them all. They maintain that the sun is a huge globe of fire, encompassed by a certain power that

prevents inflammation and combustion. The moon, which they call in their language, the sun of the night, is, according to them, a species of deity to which they owe much and under the influences of which they live; consequently, they offer to her a number of oblations and sacrifices, thinking that she will be induced by this means to come to their assistance. I know an instance in which a certain individual made a sacrifice to the moon of his gun; this gun was taken by his fellow being, who used it for a considerable time, after which he sold it or traded it away, with the intention, however, of giving the owner of the gun a new one in the place of it. This he proceeded to do as soon as it was practicable; but, understanding that his gun had been sold, he was very much offended and said: "Now I know the reason why I have been so unlucky as never to have killed a single buffalo; the moon is mad with me; because I have disposed of my gun which I had sacrificed to her; do then get my gun back as soon as possible; for now I am a ruined man, and can have no luck anymore." Of course the poor trader found himself very much embarrassed, not knowing how he would be able to satisfy him. He tried, however, and fortunately found it, after a lapse of a few weeks.

"The Indians are very superstitious much more so than any other race of people, which is very natural; for, although convinced of the existence of a Supreme Being, who brought everything into existence and of their obligation to respect, honor and adore him; yet they have a very imperfect idea of the Deity, and ascribe to him things which are altogether ridiculous; hence all their different superstitions. Their understanding obscured, and almost

entirely ignorant of the laws of nature, they have imagined themselves under the influence of a variety of visible causes which at length they have brought themselves to adore, and to set up as their gods; the sun, moon, stars, principally the morning and evening star and a great many other deities, as animals of different times, even statues of wood and the like.

"In the course of my ministry, I have committed several of these pretended deities to the flames. In this way did the band of medicine, as it is called amongst them, take its origin. Not knowing the proper mode of paying homage to the deity, they fabricated a worship of their own. This band of medicine has always reminded me of secret societies, on account of the secrets which exist among the members of the fraternity. They assemble at certain fixed times, when they bring together every kind of drug that may have come to their knowledge. These drugs are then examined and tried to see what effect they will produce. It must be observed, however, that a large portion of these drugs are poisonous. The experiments are accompanied by a number of ceremonies; for instance, they have tubes by means of which they blow their medicine at one another; when blown at, they pretend to fall down; others make use of whistling, blowing, spitting, yelling, dancing, singing, making grimaces and practicing the most childish and ridiculous nonsense and finally it always ends in a drunken frolic. Every individual has a bag, which he always carries wherever he goes; this bag is either an otter or beaver skin, or something else, in which every kind of medicine is kept, each one wrapped

up in a piece of leather or rag. These men are the Indian physicians, who are generally very much respected and revered, because they are considered men of great power, consequently very much dreaded; for it is thought and very much believed that they can do everything which they please; of course kill or cure and make their patients suffer or pine away. They unhesitatingly affirm that these persons have the power of changing themselves into any animal they choose, as a turkey, wolf, bear, and the like.

"I have heard a number of very sensible Indians say, and maintain that there is no doubt of their being able to do this and they have seen it done with their own eyes; nay, that they have met with several actually transformed and that as soon as they laid their hands upon the individuals, they reassumed their natural appearance. This restoration is considered a favor and requires that the one caught in such an act reveal to him who discovered him all the medicine that he knows and is in possession of, which is done most readily, and the place and time are appointed for meeting and communicating to him this knowledge. For my part, I have not the least doubt that some of these men have communication with the devil.

"I never considered the marriages that take place among them as valid, because the essentials of the matrimonial contract are wanting. An Indian will marry 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. It is usual for parents to give, or rather to sell their children to men for horses and other movable property which they

possess. This custom, however, is at present often superseded by the parties simply living with one another. Polygamy, of course, is in use among them to a great extent; for they have as many as three, four and even twenty wives. This is very common in the Indian Country, so much so that only a few (I speak of Indians whom I have known) contain themselves within proper bounds. When I once explained to an Indian, who had questioned me upon the subject, the tenets of the Catholic Church, and among the rest the rules and laws of matrimony, he remarked: "If this be the case in your church, your church is good and practicable for our girls, but not for our men and women." We may easily infer from this, added to their ignorance, perversity, and general corruption, that they are slaves to the vilest and most beastly gratification.

"You have, of course, read in the Pentateuch of the distinction between clean and unclean animals; of some that could be sacrificed and eaten and others that could not. This is practiced among the Indian tribes. Often have I been asked by savages, whether they could eat certain animals which they named to me? We cannot suppose that they learned this distinction from the French, English, Spaniards, or Americans, for I know of no such practice existing among these nations. Various legal purifications, which were observed in the old dispensation, as we read in the book of Leviticus--especially with regard to women who had given birth to children--is observed very strictly among the aborigines of America. For sometime they are obliged to live apart from the family and are not allowed to eat, drink, or converse with others.

"It was the practice among the Jews nearly five hundred years before the coming of our Blessed Redeemer, to place wine and bread upon the tomb of the deceased. This is done among the various Indian tribes, though with a different view; for they are under the impression that the souls of the departed stand in the need of such things for going to the other world; hence whenever any of them dies, his friends furnish the tomb within with everything they imagine him to be in need of, to perform his journey to another world, (which they think is a country abounding in game and other good things). They deposit their powder, lead, bows and arrows, guns, rifles, clothing, pipes, tobacco, canes for old men and women to walk with, blankets, moccasins and frequently, at the request of the individuals, horses on which they place the dead bodies, thinking that, by these means, they will be enabled to ride to the other world.

"Such was the lamentable state of the Indians among whom I have lived, when I arrived amongst them, and such is still the actual condition of many tribes--of thousands who inhabit our western forests. You may imagine how deeply I sympathized with these poor creatures when I discovered their wretchedness, for where is the human being who would not pity them? A moment's reflection filled me with commiseration and reminded me that they were creatures of the one true and living God: men similar to myself; made out of the same clay--and endowed with reason. The sight of the crucifix told me that they were as dear to Jesus as my self--and, perhaps, dearer. He paid the same price of redemption for their souls, and has destined them for the same place of rest and happiness...." (5)

CHAPTER XI
THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD.

The slavery issue terminated in a great Civil War in 1861. The election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States was followed by the secession of South Carolina and in due time the other southern states.

The conflict was waged in the eastern and southern parts of Kansas, but it did not penetrate the Pottawatomie reserve. The arrival of Father Schoenmakers, Superior of the Osage Mission, in the summer of 1861, brought home to the small Jesuit community at St. Mary's a realization of the fact that Civil War was raging in the state of Kansas. Father Schoenmakers had opposed the interests of the Confederate leaders at Osage Mission and was obliged to seek safety at St. Mary's.⁽¹⁾ He remained at the mission until March, 1862.

The Indian Territory south of Kansas, settled by the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles, was occupied by the confederates a short time after the commencement of the war. The Indians, frightened by the strong military force in their country and seeing no prospects for assistance or protection from the soldiers of the federal army, renounced their allegiance

to the United States and joined the confederate army. A large number of these Indians were organized into companies and placed under the authority of the insurgents. A portion of these tribes refused to join the revolutionary movement and attempted to resist by force and, after two or three battles, were driven from the territory. About two thousand of them fled to the state of Kansas.

This flight took place in the midst of winter and many of these Indians were destitute of clothing and shelter. The missionaries did everything in their power to assist them, yet many perished of cold. The following spring, three regiments of the refugee Indians were organized under the War Department of the Federal Army. Of the Pottawatomies, out of six hundred and forty-eight men of all ages, sixty young men enlisted in the federal army. ⁽²⁾

The agent ⁽³⁾ of the Pottawatomies during the year of 1863 was very much opposed to St. Mary's Mission. On several occasions, he tried to influence the Jesuit Fathers to migrate south with the Indians. With this object in view, he tried to organize a delegation of Chiefs to go to Washington to make some addition to the treaty. But when he thought he had succeeded in his plan, his friends turned against him and admitted

openly, that they did not trust his honesty and would have no dealings with him. This agent was finally removed and a good man, a sincere friend to the mission, placed in his position.⁽⁴⁾

During the year of 1863, two of the Jesuit Fathers and three of the Lay Brothers were called to serve in the army. In the early part of the war, Father De Smet went to Washington to secure from the government an exemption from the draft for the members of the Jesuit Order. He had talked to President Lincoln and some of the officials of the War Department, and had obtained the best arrangement possible under the rigid regulations of the law. When the fathers and the brothers were drafted, it was necessary for Father De Smet to again intercede with his influence at Washington. Though the authorities judged that they had no power to release the conscripts from the law, they assured Father De Smet that he might inform those of his Order who had been called that they might pursue their ordinary avocations without fear of being called into active service.

In a letter to the Honorable Thurlow Weed, dated April 11, 1863, Father De Smet, in seeking aid of his influence at Washington, gave the reasons, which led him to seek an exemption for the members of the Jesuit Order:

"You are aware," he writes, "that the Jesuits are a body of priests and brothers, devoted, by solemn vows, exclusively to the service of God, and the spiritual

good of their fellowmen. In the West here we number about two hundred members, some of whom would fall within the limits of the conscription law lately passed by Congress. Our members are stationed in various cities, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Bardstown, Kentucky and in other places—all laboring in one way or another for the good of souls. We have been here for nearly forty years, devoting ourselves entirely to the education of youth, thousands of whom have been trained in our schools and colleges, or attending the numerous churches intrusted to our care, or laboring for the civilization of Indian tribes in the far West. And we have thus labored purely for the good of our fellowmen....

"As I have stated, we are bound to God by solemn vows, which our conscience forbids us to violate. These vows recognized and accepted by the Catholic Church, separate us from the world, consecrate us to a life different from that of other members of our Church, and subject us to the canon law of the Church, which strictly forbids priests and religious men who have taken these vows in taking up arms in any cause whatsoever. We are ministers of peace, and in all ages this sacred character has been regarded as opposed to war and bloodshed. Such is the law of the Church, and this law binds our consciences. We cannot violate it without doing violence to our duty to God; and therefore we cannot obey any law which would require us to violate that duty.

"As to the remedy of paying three hundred dollars for each member that would be subject to draft, I must say that it is scarcely fair to require this of us, who are not subject to military service by reason of the life

we have embraced, and of the conscientious obligations it imposes upon us. And besides this, such a sum paid for all those who might be called among us would prostrate all our establishments and leave us destitute of the means for carrying the works we have undertaken for the good of our country men. We are struggling hard to keep these up; the war has inflicted severe losses upon us, as upon many others; and if we cannot escape the conscription without paying what the Act prescribes I do not see how we shall be able to continue our exertions." (5)

In 1864, General Price advanced from the south, through the state of Missouri, toward Kansas. He was attacked at the border in the Battle of Westport, October 23, 1864. When General Price advanced toward Westport, Missouri, and threatened to invade Kansas, some Pottawatomie Indians, fearing a general massacre, fled to Old Mexico, crossing the Rio Grande at El Presidio del Norte; they numbered about one hundred in all. On their journey they were first attacked by federal troops as secessionists; then they were pursued by confederate soldiers. (6)

During this period, the peace of Kansas was disturbed, not only by invasion of the confederate forces, but perhaps even more so by the hostile incursions of the Cheyennes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahoes, wild savages of the western plains. The discovery of gold and silver in the territory west of Kansas brought on an influx of white population, which crowded the tribes

back into the valleys of the Republican and Smoky Hill Rivers of Kansas. This condition brought about an Indian war which began in April, 1864. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes attacked the western settlements of Kansas. It became dangerous for the Pottawatomies to extend their hunting expeditions far west of the reserve. Large numbers of the prairie band of the Pottawatomies became so panic stricken by rumors that they suddenly sold all they possessed and dispersed in all directions.

A party of forty men, women and children of the prairie band, dwelling at Mill Creek, went to the eastern part of the Osage and western part of the Cherokee country. Another portion of the prairie band living near Soldier Creek, moved to Iowa, northern Wisconsin, and some as far as Michigan.

The allotment of land under the Articles of a previous treaty with the Indians was completed by the year of 1864, and although much difficulty had been apprehended in adjusting this problem, owing to improvements, and claims of different individuals having been made on the same land, nevertheless it was settled to the satisfaction of all.

Allotments in severalty had been made to a number of thirteen hundred and seventy-five persons, seven of whom were Chiefs, drawing one section each, seven

leaders, each one-half section; and the balance eighty acres each; making in the aggregate one hundred and thirty-six thousand, two hundred and forty acres.

Following the treaty, many of the Pottawatomies who had received individual allotments began improving, each individual his own piece of property. This manifestation of interest and ambition was the result of a sense of individual ownership. It was considered a hopeful sign by the Indian Agent. In a short time after the treaty, sixty to eighty log cabins had been erected, and hundreds of acres of land were cultivated. At the end of the first year, the total valuation of individual property, including farm products, implements, household goods, horses, cattle, hogs and sheep amounted to sixty-two thousand, six hundred and seventy dollars.

The only improvements belonging to the Government, in the reservation were located within a half mile of the Kansas River, on the north side, a little to the north and west of the geographical center of the reservation and consists of the Indian Agent building,⁽⁷⁾ a stone house eighteen by thirty feet, one story high, with a frame lean-to recently built on the north side, thirteen by thirty feet; a log stable which is fast decaying away; and two small yards containing about two acres each.

The agricultural prospects of the tribe continued to increase from year to year. The Indians eagerly made permanent improvements upon their chosen sites. In 1864, there were two thousand acres in cultivation, of which amount the mission cultivated about two hundred acres.

Notwithstanding the spiritual success, perhaps on account of it, difficulties were created for the fathers of St. Mary's Mission, by parties not moved by their spirit, but prompted by other motives, which were secular and political. The one great calamity which the Jesuit fathers feared was another forced migration of the Indians. This danger seemed imminent. In the various reports of the Indian Agents and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, there is a constant recurrence to the idea of transferring the Indians to the territory south of Kansas. The missionaries, whose labors among the Indians covered a period of over thirty years, understood the true feelings of the Indians. Religion and the salvation of souls were uppermost in the minds of the fathers. But such motives were of little value or weight with the Government, except in so far as religion exerted a controlling influence and made the savages more amenable to civilization. The authorities at Washington would not allow the spiritual good of the Indians to stand in the way of political or economic considerations.

The Government policy left the missionaries and Indians in a state of uncertainty and insecurity. Delegation after delegation made trips to Washington for several years, to have the Treaty of 1861 finally settled; delegations were still going in 1866, 1867 and 1868. A delegation was sent to Washington in 1867, to put the final touches to the treaty. This treaty failed to receive the ratification of the Senate, consequently, in January, 1868, Dr. Palmer took a delegation to Washington to have it carried through. But Mr. Palmer did not dissemble the difficulties he was to meet with in the capital.

The enemies of the mission had gained over to their side the principal Chief. They boasted openly that they would soon put a stop to the ambitious encroachments of the priests; that if the mission was not entirely suppressed, at least it would be so crippled as to do no harm any more to the Indians. Tired of the stubbornness of their Chief, the Indians held a public meeting, in which John Romnie, a secondary Chief, severely reprehended Wewesa for playing into the hands of the enemies of the fathers:

"You are not," said he, "invested with authority of Chief to act according to your notions, but to promote the welfare of the community over which you have been placed. Now, what interest is dearer to us than to possess in our midst the fathers to watch us and direct the Catholic school to educate our

children; and you would take as our representatives at Washington men of such description? Can infidelity represent religion? Can the devil represent God? But, keep your delegation, if you are so infatuated by them; all we ask is that Mr. Bertrand should be added to the delegation as the representative of the Catholic party." (8)

Mr. Bertrand was brought out and chosen as one of the delegates by universal acclamation. At Washington, Dr. Palmer had no trouble in carrying out his views. Having declared before the Department of Interior, that Mr. Bertrand truly represented the great majority of the sectionized Pottawatomies, whilst all the other delegations together represented but a few individuals, all the measures concerning the mission proposed by Mr. Bertrand were adopted. The treaty was finally ratified by the Senate and approved by President Andrew Johnson. (9)

By the treaty, the mission had the right to purchase one thousand acres of land at the Government price, at one dollar and a quarter per acre. But some malicious fellow, without consulting the Chiefs, had inserted the phrase "in a body"; as all the land was supposed preempted about St. Mary's, he thought to compel the mission to leave the fine bottom land and pick up a thousand acres over the hill. Happily, there were left, in the elbow of the river, about seventy acres unpreempted, which enabled the Jesuit fathers to take

up the thousand acres "in a body" from the mission down to the big bend in the river. To avoid any further difficulty, the mission immediately paid down the price of the land, and the Government issued letters patent for it. (10)

About five hundred of the prairie band of the Pottawatomies refused to sign the treaty. They were given a diminishing reserve on Soldier Creek, receiving annuities from the Government, and the privilege of sending their children to a Quaker school.

In accordance with the terms of the treaty, the Government began in different installments to pay to them large sums of money. Liquor again became a vital problem in St. Mary's. Nearly every house in the town was turned into a saloon. Money sharks of all descriptions trailed the Indians wherever they went. They used all methods of frauds to secure the Indian's property and money. The Indian, seeing himself undone by those whom he looked upon as friends and protectors, in despair of ever redeeming his condition, plunged still deeper into drinking and other forms of vices. In consequence, many of the Indians became negligent in the practice of their religion. Many disposed of their homestead, and became homeless. Some were drowned, some crushed by cars of the Union Pacific Railroad (11) and others fell by the hands of assassins. (12)

Father Gailland, in his report to the provincial of the Jesuit Order, gives a vivid picture of conditions at the mission during this period:

"What a sad spectacle it is for the missionary to see the work of so many years thus destroyed, and his flock devoured by merciless wolves. Like the prophet standing amidst the ruins, what else remains for him but to weep over the work of destruction; to bewail his sins, to implore divine mercy, and to sigh after a better home? One thing, however, in my bitter grief consoles me, that a certain number, small indeed, have remained firm, and that to my knowledge none of those that have forsaken the path of virtue have lost the faith; this revives in them sooner or later, especially in times of sickness and adversity." (13)

Now, of that once great Pottawatomie tribe, some live in Canada; three small bands remained in Michigan; about one hundred inhabited the northern part of Wisconsin; a few were scattered through Iowa. Some emigrated to the Indian Territory and about six hundred remained within the old reserve, and settled on their homesteads. The migration of the Indians began in 1869, and continued for several years. The exiled Pottawatomies asked the Jesuit Fathers to accompany them to their new home, provided by the Government, in the Indian Territory. The Fathers at St. Mary's were indeed willing to follow their flock and begin all over again the work of upbuilding. They proposed the matter to their Superior

in St. Louis, but he did not approve of their plan, chiefly for the reason that there seemed to be no prospect of stability or permanency in any project for the advancement of the Indian.

At the termination of the treaty, the Indians received payment for their unused land; and while the squatters were settling on them and fast buying up the acres allotted to Indian families, the white and red men were worshipping in the same church, to their mutual edification; not knowing what the morrow would bring, it happened that the Superiors of the Jesuit Order at St. Louis University were casting about for a healthy and commodious location in the country to transfer their boarding college, as a large city had been found in many counts inconvenient. St. Mary's was finally selected, and thus the mission continued to live on as a seat of education, in which its traditions would be preserved for posterity, enhanced by the learning and patronage bequeathed to it by St. Louis University, and which would extend its influence for good to all the western states.

On May 12, 1869, Rev. Joseph E. Keller, the socius assistant of the Provincial, arrived from St. Louis to communicate the wishes of the Provincial, Very Rev. Ferdinand Coosemans, S. J. In the following December,

Rev. P. Ward, S. J., was appointed Superior of the New College, and he proceeded to obtain a charter from the State Legislature of Kansas, and to draw up plans for a new building more worthy of a college faculty. Very little time was lost. The college was chartered in December, 1869.⁽¹⁴⁾ The seal of the college represented the rising sun of Kansas, and a young eagle ready to take his flight high up, with the motto: "To Science and Virtue."⁽¹⁵⁾ This was the beginning of St. Mary's College.

In the history of St. Mary's College the events are marked in small notches, but they are cut deep and will endure. The energy of the management, the assiduity and success of the students and professors in every successive year, are well known to the friends and patrons of the College. Yet, as modesty is the characteristic of true merit, they have not been heralded and re-echoed to a distance. Nevertheless, these achievements of success, the fruit of busy hands and brains, were of the first importance to the actors, and elicited much applause within the College, and, like the silent forces of nature that slowly and steadily work the greatest changes, they have left their impress on the history of the College, and have prepared the advantages, religious, physical and intellectual, which we enjoy today, rendering possible greater progress and a still more brilliant future.

N O T E S

PREFACE.

1. Every year from all parts of the world the Jesuits sent in reports of their activities. Three copies of each report were usually made; one copy going to the head of the Order, known as the General, one copy to the local Superior, and the third being preserved in the college or mission where the facts were being recorded.
2. Kinsella, Rev. Thomas H. The History of Our Cradle Land. pp. XVI-XVII.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Inman, Henry and Cody, William. The Great Salt Lake Trail. p. 165.
2. Chittenden, H. W. History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River. I, p. 132.
3. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1853. H. Doc. 1, pp. 325-326.
4. Martin, G. W. "Steamboats on the Kansas." Kansas Historical Collections, VII, pp. 379-380.
5. Ibid. Kansas Historical Collections, VII, p. 379-380.
6. Ibid. Kansas Historical Collections, VII, pp. 379-380.
7. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 92.
8. Ibid. p. 92.
9. Royce, C. C. "Investigations relating to Cessions of Lands by Indian Tribes to the United States." In the First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology I, pp. 249-262.
10. Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Ethnology Bulletin. 30, part 1, p. 684. Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge.
11. United States Statutes at Large. IV, p. 729.

12. Ibid. IV, pp. 729-733.
13. Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties. A Revised Statutes. I, p. 7.
14. Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Ethnology Bulletin 30, part 1, p. 876. Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge.
15. Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Ethnology Bulletin 30, part 1, p. 876. Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, -- Denton, Doris, Harmony Mission 1821-1837. Master Thesis, University of Kansas, pp. 11-20. -- Lewis, Z. American Missionary Register. I, p. 28.
16. Hebbs, Wilson. "The Old Shawnee Mission." Kansas Historical Collections. VIII, p. 256. -- Ross. "Old Shawnee Mission." Kansas Historical Collections XVII, pp. 421-431.
17. Meeker, Rev. Jotham. Journal of Rev. Jotham Meeker. I, p. 1.
18. De Smet, Rev. P. J. S. J. History of the Western Missions and Missionaries in the United States. pp. 333-335.
19. Whitfield, John W. Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs. 1853-1854. H. Doc. No. 1, pp. 323-324.

CHAPTER II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

1. Bishop Dubourg was born in St. Domingo in 1776. He studied for the priesthood and was ordained in Paris and afterwards joined the Society of St. Sulpice. In 1796 he came to the United States. Bishop Carroll appointed him head of Georgetown College at Baltimore. He was Bishop of New Orleans in 1815. His diocese comprised nearly all the basin of the Mississippi from the mouth of the river to St. Louis and beyond into the Indian Country.
2. Kinsella, Rev. Thomas H. The History of Our Cradle Land. p. 17.
3. Ibid. p. 4.
4. Ibid. p. 5-6.

5. Father De la Croix was born at Hoorbeke-St. Corneille, Belgium on October 28, 1792. He was educated at the seminary at Ghent. With his fellow students he resisted the Bishop forced upon the diocese by Napoleon I, and was imprisoned with his brother Joseph in the fortress of Wesel, where the latter died. After the fall of the Empire De la Croix resumed his studies and was ordained in Ghent by Bishop Dubourg of Louisiana, and with several other seminarians and some Flemish workman, followed the Bishop to the United States. In May, 1818, he was sent to Barrens, Perry County, Missouri, where he labored as a missionary until 1833. He returned to Belgium and became a canon of the Cathedral of Ghent, a position which he held until his death, which occurred on August 20, 1869.
6. Mother Phillipine Duchesne, one of the first to resuscitate religious life in France in the lull of the French Revolution, joined the rising congregation established by Father Varin in 1800, and later became a leader and founder of the Sacred Heart in America, when at the urgent entreaties of Bishop Dubourg to come and aid the Indians, she joyfully accepted the call, left her native land and arrived in St. Louis August 21, 1818. Madam Octavie Berthold, Madam Eugene Aude' and Sisters Catherine Lamarre and Margaret Monteau were the other generous souls who made the sacrifice and began their apostle work at St. Charles and Florissant, Missouri. In 1840, when Mother Duchesne was relieved of her Superiorship, her fervent spirit exulted in going to Sugar Creek Mission. When Mother Gallitzin visited Sugar Creek in 1842, she saw that Mother Duchesne was too old and feeble for the missionary life and persuaded her to return to St. Charles, where she died at the age of eighty-four, having spent thirty-four years in hard and edifying service in the United States.
7. Laveille, Rev. E. S. J. Life of Father De Smet.
pp. 30-38.

CHAPTER III. THE KICKAPOO MISSION.

1. Garraghan, Rev. G. J. S. J. "The Kickapoo Mission." St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, IV. January-April, 1921, pp. 27-28.
2. The Methodist Episcopal Church established a mission among the Kickapoos near the present site of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1833. In the fall of that year, Rev. Jerome Berryman was placed in charge. The mission was closed in 1841.
3. Garraghan, Rev. G. J. S. J. "The Kickapoo Mission." St. Louis Catholic Historical Review. IV. January-April, 1921. p. 29.
4. Ibid. pp. 32-33.
5. Ibid. p. 39.
6. Garraghan, Rev. G. J. S. J. "The Kickapoo Mission." St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, IV. January-April. pp. 43-44.
7. The buildings of the Kickapoo Mission were built on Section 3, Township 8, Range 22, Kickapoo Township, Leavenworth County, Kansas. It stood on the farm of C. A. Spencer, by whom it was occupied as a residence until 1920, when it was demolished by workmen. The mission building was constructed of native walnut logs, hewn square and notched at the ends. The logs were held together by placing wooden pegs in these notches. Some of these wooden pegs of Kickapoo Mission are still preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas.

CHAPTER IV. THE POTTAWATOMIE CREEK MISSION.

1. Jesuit Order was suppressed in 1773 and was officially restored to the church August 7, 1814.
2. Garraghan, Rev. Gilbert, S. J. The Pottawatomie Mission of Council Bluffs. St. Louis Historical Review. July, 1921, III, pp. 155-156.
3. Father Petit conducted the Pottawatomies from Indiana to Pottawatomie Creek in Miami County, Kansas. His health failed, due to the hardship

and exposure of the long journey. He returned to St. Louis and died early in the year of 1839.

4. Hoecken, Rev. Christian, S. J. Narrative and Diary p. 1. A translation of the original Latin manuscript in the Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas. This is the first record in the diary which covers the period from the year of 1837 to the establishment of St. Mary's Mission in 1848. It is the only authentic source for this period. The authority of the chapters on the Pottawatomie and Sugar Creek Missions is based upon this diary.

CHAPTER V. THE SUGAR CREEK MISSION.

1. In 1843, there were 1200 Pottawatomie Indian members of the Catholic Church on Sugar Creek.
2. Verheyden, Rev. S. J. Memorandum of Corpus Christi Procession. Manuscript in archives of St. Mary's College, Kansas.
3. Father de Coen, S. J., was the Jesuit Father sent to the Ottawas. In the beginning of May, he made a trip to the Chippewas' lodges. Here he met the Ottawas and the Chippewas in council. They promised him to embrace the Catholic Faith. He established a station among the Ottawas on January 10, 1845.
4. Books on Pottawatomie language consisted of Bibles, prayer books, catechism and school books. Many of these are still preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas.
5. Hoecken, Rev. Christian S. J. Letters to the United States Magazine, 1847. Manuscript copies in archives of St. Mary's College, Kansas.
6. Novenas, Litanies, Confessions, Communions, Processions and Prayers were offered up by the faithful of the Sugar Creek Mission with the hope that God would answer their supplications and preserve the mission from the many dangers that threatened to destroy it.
7. O'Connor, Rev. John S. J. Manuscript History of St. Mary's College. p. 14.

8. The Mission Church was built in 1848 and received the name of "St. Mary's of the Valley."
9. The church at the Mechgamunak settlement was called "St. Joseph's." The Jesuit Fathers visited the settlements south of the river after the founding of St. Mary's Mission.
10. Uniontown was situated in Sections 23 and 24, Township II, Range 13, Shawnee County, Kansas. It was established as an Indian Trading Post. It grew into a small village of fifty buildings, fourteen of which were business houses. It was the government station where the Pottawatomie Indians received their annual payments. Not far away ran the Oregon Trail, over which traveled the Rocky Mountain traders and trappers, who crossed the Kansas River by means of the ferry at Uniontown.

CHAPTER VI. THE OSAGE MISSION.

1. Kinsella, Rev. Thomas H. The History of Our Cradle Land. pp. 6-7.
2. Hoecken, Rev. Christian S. J. Narrative and Diary. p. 13. This is the first record on the Osage Mission in Father Hoecken's Diary.
3. Ibid. p. 15.
4. The location of the Osage Mission is on the present site of St. Paul, Kansas.
5. Father John Bax S. J. was born in Belgium, January 15, 1817 and joined the Society of Jesus, November 12, 1840. Prior to his missionary activities with the Osages, he was stationed at Florissant, and other points near St. Louis. He spent his entire religious career with the Osages. He died August 5, 1852, and was laid to rest in the cemetery near the mission.
6. Hoecken, Rev. Christian S. J. Narrative and Diary. p. 28.

7. Schoenmachers, Rev. John S. J. Report of the Osage Manual Labor School, August 8, 1848. In Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs 1845-1848, Ex. Doc. No. I. pp. 548-549.
8. Father Adrian Van Hulst S. J. arrived at Osage Mission October 29, 1852, to take up the work of Father Bax S. J. deceased. He was an active missionary among the Osages. In 1853 he made a trip to Missouri, where he baptized several whit people. He returned to St. Louis October 14, 1854.
9. Father Theodore Heiman S. J. was one of the early teachers in the Osage Mission school. He came to the mission in 1850 but took no part in the missionary work. In 1853 he devoted some time to parish work at the mission. He is said to have been one of the best teachers at the Osage school. He left the mission in September, 1855.
10. Father Van Lengenhoeg S. J. was an active worker at the Osage Mission from the summer of 1857 to the spring of 1858. His health failed in 1858 and he returned to St. Louis where he died July 4, 1858.
11. Father James Van Gooch S. J. was born in Holland, October 28, 1831 and entered the Jesuit Order November 10, 1852. He was an active worker at the Osage Mission until after the Civil War. On August 11, 1878, he suffered a stroke of apoplexy and passed to his eternal reward August 24, 1878.
12. Indian Agents and Jesuit inspectors usually examined the Mission school buildings, students, etc.
13. Henderson, Annie Heloise (Able). The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War. p. 14.
14. Graves, W. W. Early Jesuits at Osage Mission. pp. 156-157.
15. The limits of their present reservation were established by an Act of Congress July 15, 1870. This consisted of 1,470,058 acres, and in addition the tribe possessed funds in the Treasury of the United States amounting to \$8,562,690, including a school fund of \$119,911, yielding an annual income of \$438,134.
16. Graves, W. W. Early Jesuits at the Osage Mission. p. 159.

CHAPTER VII. ESTABLISHMENT OF ST. MARY'S MISSION.

1. St. Mary's Mission is situated 39° 12' north latitude and 19° 6' west longitude being twenty miles west from Topeka and eighty miles from Kansas City.
2. Father Christian Hoecken's S. J. diary came to an end in December, 1848. The narrative and diary was continued by Father Maurice Gailland S. J. until the end of 1849. At that time, Father John Baptist Duerinck, became Superior of St. Mary's Mission and recorded the events until his death in 1857.
3. There is no record in the diary of Rev. Father Gailland S. J. stating that this church was ever completed. Tradition of the early settlers of St. Mary's claims this chapel was located west of the log house of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. The first Indian church is recorded in the diary as situated between the log house of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, and the home of the Jesuit Fathers. From this data, we can conclude there must have been two churches constructed on different sites. Cholera had broken out in June, 1849, and the Jesuit Fathers were very busy caring for the Indians, this no doubt may explain why the record was omitted from the diary relating to the dedication of the new church.
4. The Indians during their chase often returned to their pagan ways, in consequence the Fathers often accompanied them to guide them in ways of virtue. The chase of November, 1848, experienced very severe weather and Father Hoecken S. J. was unable to withstand the hardships of the Indian mode of living, hence he returned to the mission. The Indians continued on their chase returning to the mission at a later date.
5. Father Maurice Gailland S. J. was born in the Canton of Valois, Switzerland, October 27, 1815, and entered the Society of Jesus at Breig, October 27, 1834. He left his native land in 1848 and came to Missouri. The same year he was assigned to St. Mary's Mission. He labored among the Pottawatomies in Kansas for thirty years. He died at St. Mary's Mission on Sunday, August 12, 1877.
6. Father Felix Verreydt S. J. was born in Diest, Belgium, February 18, 1798. He came to America in 1821,

and in 1823 he accompanied Father Charles Van Quickenborne S. J. from Whitemarsh, Maryland to Florissant, Missouri. After leaving St. Mary's Mission he was stationed at College Hill, Missouri, for ten years. Thence he was transferred to Cincinnati, where he died March 1, 1883.

7. Father John Baptist Duerinck S. J. was born March 8, 1809, in Belgium. He joined the Society of Jesus at Florissant, Missouri, February, 1834. After his novitiate he was assigned to the duty of Professor at various Jesuit colleges. He was made Superior of St. Mary's Mission November 3, 1849, and remained in that position until his death November 30, 1857.
8. Rev. Bishop B. Miege S. J. was born in the parish of Chevron, Upper Savoy in 1815. He entered the Society of Jesus October 23, 1836. He came to America in 1849, and was consecrated Bishop of the Indian Country on March 25, 1851. He was relieved of his duties as Bishop in 1874 and he retired to Woodstock College, Maryland, where he passed away July 20, 1884.
9. The Cathedral church faced on the road extending east and west of the present St. Mary's College. It was cruciform, with a width in the transepts of 55 feet and 22 feet in height. It stood about 50 feet north of the Union Pacific Railroad. The site is marked by a large boulder. This edifice was the first cathedral built in the Indian Country.
10. Father Christian Hoecken S. J. was born in Tilburg, Upper Brabant Holland, February 28, 1808. He entered the Society of Jesus at Whitemarsh, Maryland, November 5, 1832. He came to Kansas to assist Father Van Quickenborne S. J. in the missions. He established the Pottawatomie Creek Mission among the Pottawatomies. He remained with this tribe until his death June 19, 1851.
11. Woodstock Letters. VIII, No. 3, p. 398.

CHAPTER VIII. THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

1. Malin, James C. "Indian Policy and Western Expansion." Bulletin of the University of Kansas. Humanistic Studies. II, pp. 38-40.
2. Hodder, Frank Heywood. "The Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill." Mississippi Valley Historical Review. 12, p. 5.
- ~~3. Ibid. p. 11.~~
4. Connelley, William E. The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker. pp. 24-42.
5. Gaillard, Rev. Maurice S. J. Translation of Latin Annals of St. Mary's Mission 1853. The Dial III, pp. 121-122.
6. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 5.
7. De Smet, Rev. P. J. S. J. History of the Western Missions and Missionaries in the United States. p. 211.
8. Ibid. p. 211.
9. The Old Shawnee Mission was established in 1839, by Rev. Thomas Johnson, who conducted a manual labor school there until 1864. Rev. T. Johnson took an important part in the political life of Kansas, served as a delegate from the territory to Congress, and was the first president of the Territorial Legislative Council.
10. Gaillard, Rev. Maurice S. J. Translation of the Latin Annals of St. Mary's Mission, 1855. The Dial. III, p. 153.
11. In 1853, Fort Riley was established forty-two miles west of St. Mary's Mission near the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers.
12. Gaillard, Rev. Maurice S. J. Translation of the Latin Annals of St. Mary's Mission 1855. The Dial. III, p. 153.
13. Ibid. p. 154.
14. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Report to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs 1857. pp. 178-179.

15. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Report of Mission Activities to the Provincial of the Jesuit Order in the Missouri Province. Woodstock Letters, IV, No. I, p. 75.—Jesuit records are compiled at Woodstock College, Maryland.
16. Ibid. pp. 75-76.
17. Ibid. p. 76.
18. Ibid. p. 76.
19. Ibid. pp. 76-77.
20. Ibid. p. 77.
21. Ibid. p. 77.
22. Ibid. p. 77.
23. Ibid. p. 78.
24. Ibid. p. 78.
25. Ibid. p. 78 — Shahgwee delivered his speech in the Pottawatomie language. James V. Blandon, son-in-law of the chief acted as his interpreter.
26. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Report of Mission Activities to the Provincial of the Jesuit Order in the Missouri Province. Woodstock Letters VI, No. I, p. 78.

CHAPTER IX. ECONOMIC LIFE AT ST. MARY'S MISSION.

1. Editors of St. Mary's College Dial. The Pioneers. II, p. 122.
2. Ibid. p. 122.
3. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. 1851-1852. H. Doc. 1, pp. 379-380.
4. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1853. H. Doc. 1, pp. 325-326.

5. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 7.
6. Ibid. p. 7.
7. Ibid. p. 7.
8. Ibid. p. 58.
9. Ibid. p. 8.
10. Ibid. p. 1.
11. Ibid. p. 11.
12. Ibid. p. 43.
13. Ibid. p. 43.
14. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1853. H. Dec. I, pp. 325-326.
15. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 11.
This contract called for 2300 bushels of corn at 95¢ a bushel to be delivered between November 20 and December 31, 1855. Toward filling the contract Father Duerinck contributed 1000, Mr. Higbee 300, Mr. Bertrand 500, Mr. Palmer 200, and Mr. Mose 300 bushels.
16. Ibid. p. 11.
17. Alexander Majors was born October 4, 1814 in Simpson County, Kentucky. He came to Missouri in 1818 and settled in Lafayette County, but in 1825 the family moved to a settlement near Fort Osage. Alexander Majors was a trader before he became a freighter. In 1848 he made his first trip as a trader up the Kaw River to St. Mary's Mission where he exchanged goods with the Pottawatomie Indians. In 1850 he became a partner in the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell, which became the largest freighting firm in the West. Later, Majors established a pony express and a stage line from St. Joseph to Sacramento. This enterprise failed and Majors lost all his money. Alexander Majors died in Chicago, January 14, 1900. Two days later he was buried in Union Cemetery in Kansas City, Missouri.
18. Connelley, William E. Kansas and Kansans. I, pp. 166-178.
19. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 28.
20. Ibid. p. 29.
21. Ibid. p. 46.

22. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1853. H. Doc. 1. pp. 325-326.
23. The present herd known as the College Herd was developed by Brother Ryan in 1900-1910. It consists of 291 pure bred Holsteins, of this number 103 are milch cows. The herd Improvement Test is used under the supervision of the Holstein-Frisian Association. Three large barns of modern type have been erected to accommodate this immense herd, the main barn is 40 by 104 feet, the T barn 32 by 100 and the calf barn 110 by 30. In addition to the above, two large silos have been constructed with a capacity of 380 tons. These barns are fully equipped with modern power milking machines and testing facilities. In connection with the dairy, the college maintains an up-to-date creamery, ice-making plant and ice cream factory. The present College Farm consists of 2200 acres of the most fertile land in Kansas River valley. It is fully equipped with modern machinery and scientific methods of agriculture are used. (October 1, 1930).
24. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1855-1856. pp. 422-423.
25. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 6.
26. Ibid. p. 10.
27. Ibid. p. 15.
28. Ibid. p. 56.
29. Ibid. p. 16.
30. Ibid. p. 19.
31. Ibid. p. 21.
32. Ibid. p. 21.
33. Ibid. p. 21.
34. Ibid. p. 22.
35. Ibid. p. 22.
36. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 25.

37. Ibid. p. 28.
38. Ibid. p. 36.
39. Ibid. p. 37.
40. Ibid. p. 38.
41. Ibid. p. 17.
42. Ibid. p. 42.
43. Ibid. p. 31.
44. Ibid. p. 44.
45. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs 1857. p. 176.
46. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 50.
—The extract in the record accounts for only ten subscribers. The other two names were probably added on a later date for reference.
47. John Lasley had charge of the trading post at St. Mary's Mission.
48. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 78.
49. Ibid. p. 63.
50. Ibid. p. 68.
51. Ibid. p. 65.
52. Ibid. p. 62.
53. Carpenter, John. Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1844. p. 168.
54. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 75.
55. Ibid. p. 55.
56. Ibid. p. 75.
57. Mr. Louis Ogee's saw mill was run by water power.
58. Duerinck, Rev. J. B. S. J. Financial Records. p. 70.

59. Ibid. p. 78.
60. Unknown. Financial Records. p. 83. --The mill at Louisville was probably the same mill spoken of as the mill at Rock Creek. There is no record informing us whether the steam mill was ever put up at Indianola.
61. Unknown. Financial Records. p. 81. --An account of Father Duerinck's death by the writer may be found in an article in the Illinois Catholic Historical Review. XI, pp. 297-298.

CHAPTER X. ETHNOLOGIC CONTRIBUTIONS
OF THE JESUITS IN KANSAS.

1. Spalding, Rev. H. S. S. J. "The Ethnologic Value of the Jesuit Relations." American Journal of Sociology, XXXIV, No. 5, March, 1929, p. 884.
2. Ibid. p. 883.
3. Hoecken, Rev. Christian S. J. Letters from Father Hoecken to the United States Catholic Magazine, 1847. Manuscript. St. Mary's College, Kansas.
4. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Letter from Rev. Maurice Gailland S. J. to Rev. Father Hill S. J. 1874. Woodstock Letters. IV, pp. 52-56.
5. Hoecken, Rev. Christian S. J. Letters from Father Hoecken to the United States Catholic Magazine, 1847. Manuscript. St. Mary's College, Kansas.

CHAPTER XI. THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD.

1. An account of this controversy is given by the writer in the chapter on the Osage Mission.
2. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Woodstock Letters, VI, No. 1, p. 78. The refugee Indians, after they were driven from Indian territory, were located near the Osage Mission.

3. W. W. Ross was the Indian Agent of the Pottawatomie in 1863.
4. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Woodstock Letters, VI, No. 1, pp. 78-79.
5. Laveilla, Rev. E. S. J. The Life of Father De Smet. pp. 299-302.
6. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Woodstock Letters, VI, No. 1, p. 79.
7. The United States Indian Agent building for the Pottawatomies is situated on the grounds of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas. It is about fifty feet west of the creek and sixty feet north of the Union Pacific Railroad track. It was built in 1850.
8. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Woodstock Letters, VI, No. 1, pp. 80-81.
9. Ibid. pp. 80-81.
10. Ibid. pp. 80-81.
11. The Union Pacific Railroad was built through St. Mary's in 1866.
12. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Woodstock Letters, VI, No. 1, p. 83.
13. Ibid. p. 83.
14. St. Mary's College has the unique honor of being the oldest institution of learning in the State of Kansas. It was organized as an Indian boy's school in 1849.
15. Gailland, Rev. Maurice S. J. Woodstock Letters, VI, No. 1, p. 82.

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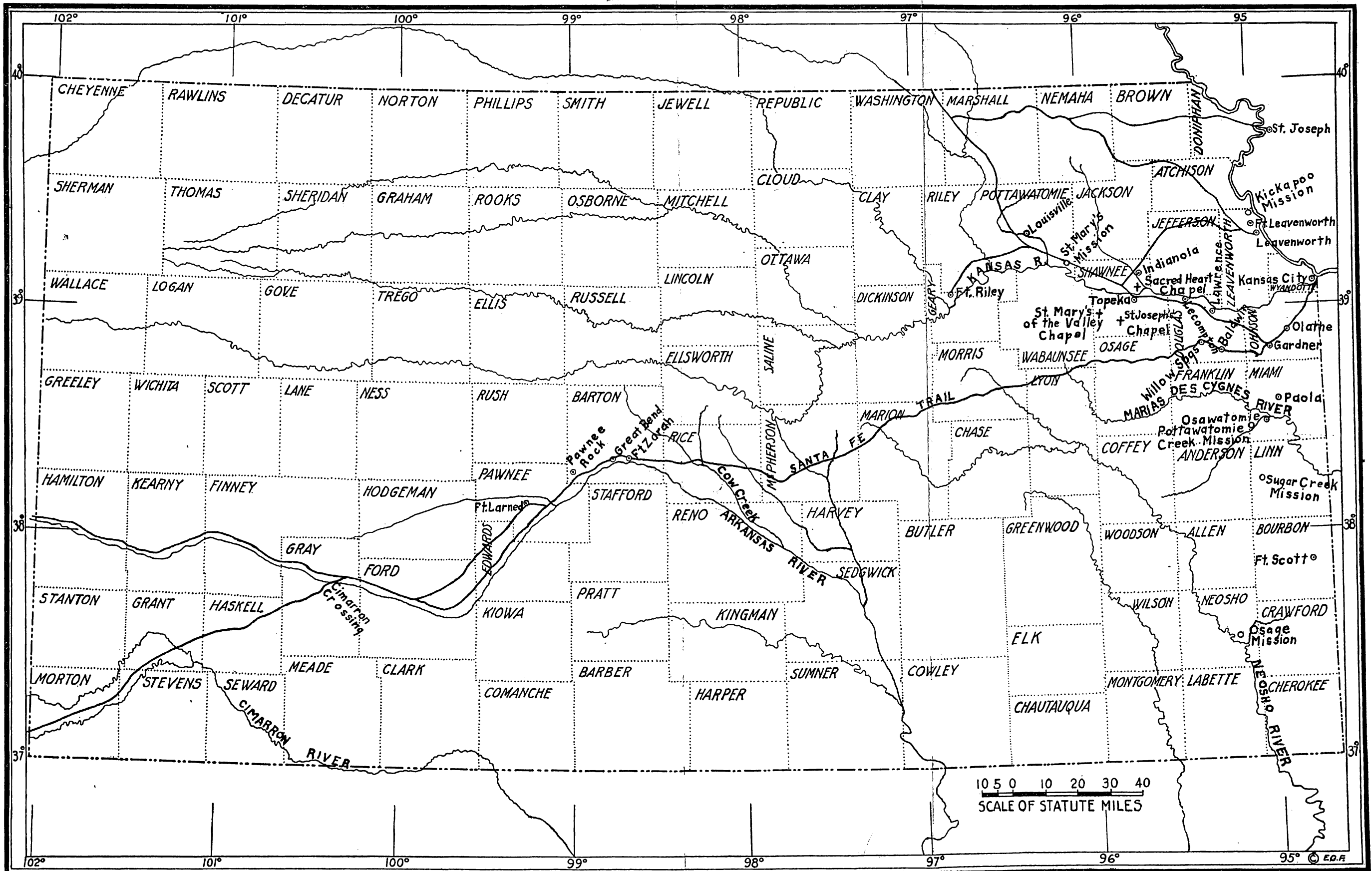
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A P P E N D I C E S .

MAP OF EARLY JESUIT MISSIONS IN KANSAS

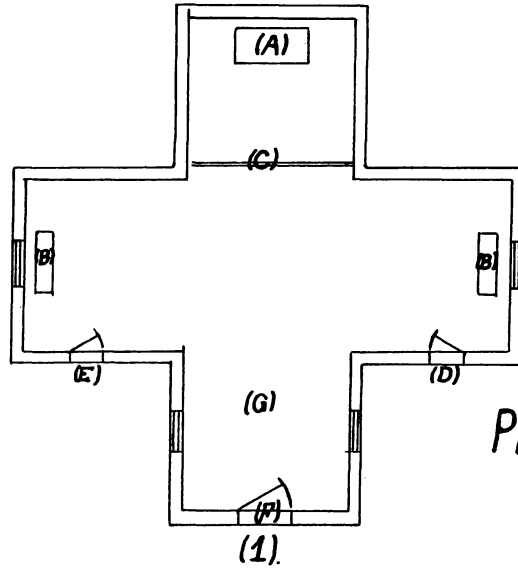
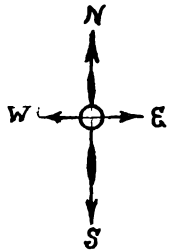
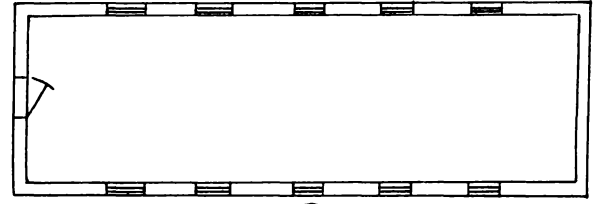
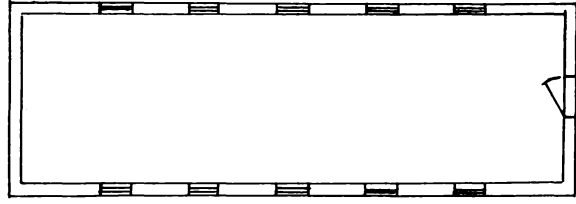


Map 148—Copyrighted. The Historical Publishing Co., Topeka, Kansas.

- JESUIT MISSIONS
- + JESUIT STATIONS
- TOWNS

1. First Cathedral of Kansas.
height 22'; width in transepts 55'
 - (A) Main Altar of Cathedral.
 - (B) Side Altars of Cathedral.
 - (C) Communion Rail.
 - (D) Side Entrance for the Sisters of the Sacred Heart.
 - (E) Side Entrance for the Jesuit Fathers.
 - (F) Main Entrance for Indian Congregation.
 - (G) Space for Indian Congregation.
2. Home of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart.
length 60'; height 21'; width 21';
Building two stories.
3. Dwelling of the Jesuit Fathers.
length 60'; height 21'; width 21';
Building two stories.

Note: Distance between the three buildings is not drawn by scale.



*Plot of St. Mary's Mission
scale 1" = 20'*

EARLY JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN KANSAS.

Kickapoo Mission.

Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne S. J.	1835-1836
Rev. Christian Hoecken S. J.	1835-1838
Rev. Felix Verreydt S. J.	1837-1840
Rev. Nicholas Point S. J.	1840-1841

Pottawatomie Creek Mission.

Rev. Christian Hoecken S. J.	1838-1839
Rev. B. Petit(Secular Priest)	1838

Sugar Creek Mission.

Rev. Christian Hoecken S. J.	1839-1847
Rev. H. Aelen S. J.	1839-1842
Rev. Anthony Eysvogels S. J.	1842-1844
Rev. Felix Verreydt S. J.	1841-1847
Rev. Adrian Hoecken S. J.	1842-1843
Rev. Francis Xavier De Coen S. J.	1844-1846
Rev. John Schoenmakers S. J.	1846
Rev. John Benoit S. J.	1846
Brother Anthony Mazella S. J.	1841-1847
Brother John Miles S. J.	1841-1847
Brother Francis Van der Berght S. J.	1839-1844
Brother Patrick Ryan S. J.	1845-1846
Mr. Corissine Diels S. J.	1845

The Osage Mission.

Rev. De La Croix (Secular Priest)	1822
Rev. John Schoenmakers S. J.	1846-1853
Rev. John Bax S. J.	1846-1852
Rev. Paul Ponziglione S. J.	1851-1889
Rev. Theodore Heimann S. J.	1850-1855
Rev. J. Logan S. J.	1857-1858
Rev. James C. Van Goch S. J.	1859-1877

St. Mary's Mission.

Rev. John Baptist Duerinek S. J.	1849-1858
Rev. Christian Hoecken S. J.	1849-1851
Rev. Maurice Gailland S. J.	1847-1887
Bishop J. B. Miege S. J.	1851
Rev. John Schultz S. J.	1858
Brother Andrew Mazella S. J.	1849
Brother Daniel Doneen S. J.	1849
Brother Sebastian Schlienger S. J.	1849
Brother Louis De Vriendt S. J.	1849
Brother Peter Karleskind S. J.	1849
Brother John Dugan S. J.	1853
Brother Thomas McNamara S. J.	1853
Brother Aloysius Bettini S. J.	1853
Brother Francis Roig S. J.	1854
Brother John Patton S. J.	1854
Brother Henry Dickneite S. J.	1854

Sugar Creek Mission

Sisters of the Sacred Heart.

Mother Philippine Duchesne, Superior	1841-1848
Mother Lucille Matheven	1841-1848
Madam Mary Anne O'Connor	1841-1848
Sister Louise Amyot	1841-1848
Mother C. Thieffry, Superior.	1843-1845
Madam Xavier	1843-1845
Sister Mary Layton	1848

St. Mary's Mission.

Mother Lucille Matheven, Superior	1848
Madam A. O'Connor	1848-1863
Sister Louise Amyot	1848-1857
Sister Mary Layton, housekeeper	1848
Madam Basile	1849
Two new Sisters.	1856
School Closed	1879

The Osage Mission.

Sisters of Lorette.

Sister Concordia Henning, Superior	1847-1861
Sister Mary Van Prather	1847
Sister Bridget Hayden	1847

Sister Viencentia	1847
Sister Felicita	1848
Sister Mary Regis	1848
Eleven Sisters	1870
School closed	1895

FRUITS OF THE EARLY JESUIT MISSIONS.

Kickapoo Mission 1835-1840

Baptisms and Conversions	30
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Pottawatomie Creek Mission 1838-1839

Baptisms	Many Infants
Confessions	300
Communiens	200

Sugar Creek Mission 1839-1846

Baptisms	480
Conversions 1838-1848	1,430

St. Mary's Mission 1848-1855

Baptisms	668
Marriages	202
Confessions	35,000
Communiens	35,620