

THE REMOVAL OF THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS:

1820 TO THE TRAIL OF DEATH

A Thesis

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THESIS APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis of Michael A. McCabe, Contribution of the Graduate Division, Indiana State Teachers College, Series I, Number 805, under the title--THE REMOVAL OF THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS: 1820 TO THE TRAIL OF DEATH is hereby approved as counting toward the completion of the Master's Degree in the amount of 8 quarter hours' credit.

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In order to support the thesis it was necessary to explore the background of the Indian removal policy. To show how the policy was carried out, retrospective review

PREFACE

During the 1830's and 1840's the Potawatomi and Miami Indians were removed from Indiana. Various reasons for these removals have been given by history writers. Some of the reasons usually found include the following: Because of Black Hawk's War the settlers were afraid of the Indians and wanted them removed; in order to build canals and roads the Indians' lands were needed; the removal of the Indians was a natural result of the population increase in Indiana; the Indians were removed because of trouble which developed between the races; and so on.

In this thesis the author will try to show that the removal of the Indians from Indiana was a result of an existing policy of the United States government, which earlier had caused the removal of the Indians from Ohio and other states. Local conditions changed the story of the various removals, but they should all be viewed as part of a long series of removals which began before removal was imminent in Indiana.

In order to support the thesis it will be necessary to explore the background of the Indian removal policy. To show how the policy was carried out, Potawatomi removal

will be considered in detail.

The story of the Potawatomi removal of 1838 has been the subject of many articles and several books. However, the full story of the events leading to the removal has never been told. Several articles purporting to tell the whole story of the removal of the Indians from Indiana have been written. However, the removals of Potawatomi prior to 1838 have been neglected or entirely ignored. The bulk of the articles tell the story of the removal of 1838 only. Therefore, it will be the task of this paper to tell the story of all the removals prior to 1838 as well as the background of that last large Potawatomi removal. Because the Potawatomi also lived in Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, it will be necessary to consider the removal of the Potawatomi in general rather than the removal of Potawatomi who lived in Indiana alone.

The author is indebted to the staff of the Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, and particularly the staff of the Indiana Room, Indiana State Library. The task of writing this thesis would have been much more difficult had it not been for the devoted research previously done by the staff at the Indiana State Library. I am especially indebted to Dorothy Riker and Nellie Robertson for their scholarly example in editing the papers of John Tipton. Also, Irving McKee deserves praise for his research in preparation of his book, The Trail of Death.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF INDIAN REMOVAL

The relationship of the United States with the various Indian tribes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was characterized by vacillation and at times downright dishonesty on the part of the American¹ representatives. There were numerous treaties made with the tribes, and most of these were for the purpose of obtaining the Indians' lands as cheaply as possible. It seems to have been taken for granted by most people of the time that Indian and white cultures could never mix successfully. It was thought that for the good of both, the two races should be kept apart.

It would be impossible to say who first had the idea of establishing a permanent home in the West for the red men. The English embodied something of that idea when they sought to establish an Indian reserve in the Quebec Act of 1774. The Americans, however, were never convinced that the land should be for the Indians exclusively. As a matter of fact, in 1774 there were already a few Americans living

¹The term "American" is used by the author throughout this paper to refer to the white inhabitants of what is now the United States. This term was so used by the English, French, Spanish, and Indians even before the Revolutionary War.

in that territory.

One of the first hints of a definite plan of exchanging Indian land for land owned by the United States in the West is found in the writings of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson evidently believed at first that it would be possible for the Indians to learn the arts of civilization and become citizens of the United States. He felt that, as the Indians learned to cultivate the land, they would need less of it and could be persuaded to sell most of the excess. He concluded:

While they are learning to do better on less land, our increasing numbers will be calling for more land. . . . This commerce, then, will be for the good of both.¹

In a letter to Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison (February 27, 1803), he said that in order to make the Indians more dependent upon the white men, trade should be increased and the influential Indians gotten deeply in debt because, as he said:

We observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands.²

Jefferson proceeded to outline a plan of expansion at the expense of the Indians.

¹H. A. Washington (ed.), The Writings of Thomas Jefferson 1790-1826 (New York: John C. Riker, Taylor & Maury, 1854), IV, 467.

²Washington, p. 472. . . .

In this way our settlements will gradually circumscribe and approach the Indians and they will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States, or remove beyond the Mississippi [*italics mine*].¹

We can then see that, as soon as the negotiations to buy Louisiana had begun, the new territory was looked upon as a good place to dispose of surplus Indians.

The president had specific plans for the lands of the Cahokia, Peoria, Kaskaskia, and Potawatomi Indians.²

In the same letter to Harrison he said:

The Cahokias extinct, we are entitled to their country. . . . The Piorias have all been driven off . . . and we might claim it in the same way. . . . The Kaskaskias being reduced to a few families, I presume we may purchase their whole country. . . . Thus possessed of the rights of these tribes, we should proceed to the settling their boundaries with the Poutewatamies and Kickapoos; claiming all doubtful territory, but paying them a price for their concurrent claim, and even prevailing on them, if possible, to cede, for a price, such of their own unquestioned territory as would give us a convenient northern boundary. Before broaching this, . . . the minds of the Poutewatamies and Kickapoos should be soothed and conciliated by liberalities and sincere

¹Ibid., p. 473.

²In the text of this paper the present day spelling of the names of Indian tribes and individual Indians will be used whenever possible. In some cases there is no agreement among writers as to the proper spelling of the name of a white man or an Indian. In such cases the spelling preferred by the individual concerned will be used. If the person whose name is mentioned was illiterate, the spelling most often used by other persons of the period will be used.

No changes in spelling will be made in quoted material. No interpolations will be made except to clarify the meaning of a word that has been misspelled so badly that comprehension is difficult.

assurances of friendship. Perhaps by sending a well-qualified character to stay some time in Decoigne's village, as if on other business, and to sound him and introduce the subject by degrees to his mind. . . . I must repeat that this letter is to be considered as private. . . . You will perceive how sacredly it must be kept within your own breast, and especially how improper to be understood by the Indians. For their interests and their tranquillity it is best they should see only the present age of their history.¹

Thomas Jefferson, then, seems to have been the first official advocate of Indian removal. In July of 1803 he drew up a rough draft of a constitutional amendment. In this draft was the following statement: "The right of occupancy in the soil, and of self-government, are confirmed to the Indian inhabitants as they now exist." It also included the idea that only land abandoned by the Indians would be occupied by the United States. Jefferson added the provision that any tribe could exchange land east of the Mississippi River for land west of that river. Jefferson became convinced that to give perpetual sovereignty over the land to the Indians would be a mistake, so he didn't submit the amendment.²

When the Louisiana Territorial Act of 1804 was passed, some of Jefferson's ideas were incorporated in it. In section fifteen of that act it is stated:

¹Ibid., pp. 473-75.

²Paul Leicester Ford (ed.), The Writings of Thomas Jefferson 1760-1826 (New York: Putnam, 1892), XII, 241-49.

Chicago, 1940), p. 24.

The President of the United States is hereby authorized to stipulate with any Indian tribes owning land on the east side of the Mississippi, and residing thereon, for an exchange of lands, the property of the United States, on the west side of the Mississippi, in case the said tribes shall remove and settle thereon.¹

At first, Indian removal was contemplated in a very casual way. In 1805 when a Chickasaw delegation arrived in Washington D. C., Jefferson told them about the new lands obtained by the United States and said that he would be glad to exchange any lands they were "disposed to part with." He concluded with a statement that the Americans would be glad to listen to anything the Indians had to say on the subject "now or at any time."²

Several tribes which resided most of the time east of the Mississippi River made hunting expeditions on the western side. Grant Foreman says that the Kickapoo, Shawnee, and Delaware tribes had large numbers residing in the West at an early date.³ However, when it came time to persuade them to stay on the western side permanently, the Indians resisted.

During the administration of Monroe (1817-25), a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward

¹U. S. Statutes at Large, XXIV, 283-89.

²A. A. Lipscomb (ed.), The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Washington: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1904), XVI, 412.

³The Last Trek of the Indians (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 34.

migration of the Indians from east of the Mississippi.¹

In 1819 at Edwardsville, Illinois, the Kickapoo Indians made a treaty with the United States whereby they gave up their lands between the Illinois and Wabash Rivers in exchange for land along the Osage River in Missouri. A month later (August, 1819) at Fort Harrison, the Kickapoo ceded all their lands on the Wabash, and in 1820 a treaty allowed them two thousand dollars to defray expenses of removal.²

Several Indian tribes asked to be removed because game was becoming scarce and they could no longer maintain themselves in the East. In 1829 the Delaware and Seneca Indians of Ohio asked the federal government for assistance in removing to a new home in the West.³ In the South the Choctaws had been asked to emigrate as early as 1808, but most of the tribe refused to go; and the government was not prepared to pursue the matter at that time. However, a few Indians moved west of their own accord.⁴

Although Harrison favored a rapid extinguishment of

¹James D. Richardson, Messages of the Presidents (New York: Government Printing Office, 1903), II, 282.

²Charles C. Royce, Indian Land Cessions in the United States ("Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Year 1896-1897," Pt. 2; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), passim.

³Foreman, p. 56.

⁴Annie Heloise Abel, The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi ("Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1906," Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), I, 253.

the Northwest Indians' title to their lands, Jefferson was more interested in the removal of the Southern Indians.¹

The subject of removal "quicken[ed] in interest when Jackson made it a presidential campaign issue [1829], . . . " says Foreman.² It is true that removals had occurred prior to that time, and treaties embodying removal had been concluded with Northwest Indians as early as 1818,³ but Jackson took a personal interest in removal and speeded the extinguishment of the Indians' title. One of the first pieces of legislation asked for by Jackson was known as the "Indian Removal Bill."⁴ Before we can fully appreciate the significance of that bill, we must review some of the facts concerning its most ardent supporter, Isaac McCoy, a man who played a significant role in the removal of the Potawatomi.

¹Foreman, p. 256.

²Ibid., p. 59.

³The first successful treaty of exchange with the Northwest Indians was concluded with the Delaware Indians of Indiana on October 3, 1818, according to A. H. Abel.

⁴U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 411.

CHAPTER II

ISAAC MCCOY'S INFLUENCE ON INDIAN REMOVAL

Isaac McCoy was born near Uniontown, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, on June 15, 1784. Soon after Isaac's birth, his father, William McCoy, moved the family to Kentucky where Isaac lived till manhood. In 1803 Isaac married Christiana Polke, sister of William Polke.¹ In 1804 William McCoy moved his family to Silver Creek opposite Louisville, Kentucky; and Isaac, with his new bride, moved too. Isaac was ordained a Baptist minister in 1810 and became pastor of the newly organized Maria Creek Church in Knox County. John F. Cady says that it was McCoy's witnessing of the conditions of the Indians at Post Vincennes which led him to sympathize with the Indians and gave him the desire to become a missionary. In any case,

¹Charles Polke, the father of William Polke, like the McCoy's, moved from Kentucky to Indiana and settled in Knox County. William Polke was at various times a county judge, a delegate to the 1816 state constitutional convention, commissioner for the Michigan Road, and state senator from 1816-1821. He worked for McCoy as a teacher at the Carey Indian Mission near Niles, Michigan, from 1824-1825. William Polke was appointed conductor of the Potawatomi emigration of 1838. The above information comes from (William H. Polke, Polke Family and Kinsmen, [Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert Co., 1912], pp. 391-92 quoted in Dwight L. Smith [ed.], "A Continuation of the Journal of an Emigrating Party of Potawatomi Indians, 1838, and Ten William Polke Manuscripts," Indiana Magazine of History, XLIV, No. 4, [1948], 396).

McCoy made his decision to become a missionary to the Indians in 1817. The General Missionary Convention of the Baptists had been organized a few years earlier (1814), and they had sent agents to the Indian country to see about the feasibility of missions.¹

One of the strongest supporters of the Carey Indian Mission among the Baptists of Indiana was Judge Jesse L. Holman of Aurora. McCoy's work was brought to Holman's attention by his friend and fellow Baptist, William Polke. William Polke was a strong advocate of Indian missions; and in a letter to Judge Holman on September 17, 1834, he said:

Dear Brother; On the 18th ultimo I left Carey in order to come in here to attend to some of my private Business and also some of the Associations in order to plead the cause of missions to the Indians.... If Christians who now oppose missions as useless could see the wretched situation of these Children of the forest and witness their gratitude in Receiving Cloaths to keep them warm and could hear some of them...singing, "Jesus sought me when a stranger," they would be ashamed of their opposition and would be willing to give a small part of what the lord has bestowed upon them. Wm. Polke²

While McCoy was a missionary, he had many opportunities to observe the habits of the Indians and their rela-

¹John F. Cady, "Isaac McCoy's Mission to the Indians of Indiana and Michigan," Indiana History Bulletin, XVI, No. 2 (1939), 100-105; and Emory J. Lyons, "Isaac McCoy: His Plan of and Work for Indian Colonization," Fort Hays Kansas State College Studies: History Series, No. 1 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1945), p. 11.

²Cady, pp. 105, 110-11. The paper cited is "Isaac McCoy, Remarks on the Feasibility of Indian Missions," [Boston: Lincoln & Edmunds, 1827], p. 107.

tionships with traders, squatters, and other white men. He was concerned about the future of the red men for he noticed that the persons who made treaties with them "paid little regard to giving permanency to their new settlements."¹ He concluded from this that:

treaty stipulations . . . have commonly been made merely with a desire to make an arrangement to remove the Indians out of the way of white settlements, and to grant them an abode only until the approach of white settlements shall require another removal.²

McCoy was concerned because it seemed as though the Indians had adopted all of the white man's vices and few of his virtues. Drunkenness, stealing, murder, and various other evil practices were common according to many observers of the day.³ As soon as the Indians moved to new territory, the first white men on the scene were whiskey sellers, whom

¹Isaac McCoy, History of the Baptist Indian Missions, (Washington: P. Force, 1840), p. 525.

²Ibid.

³McCoy told of an Indian who came to tell him of a murder and who asked for whiskey to "cover the dead." McCoy replied that "most of the whiskey, however, on such occasions, is drunk by the living, who frequently have another murder committed. . . ." The man did not get his whiskey, but McCoy accompanied him to his village where they found the "dead man" very much alive "weltering in his blood." The "murderer" and his friends were still there and still drunk (McCoy, p. 112).

J. W. Edmonds, an investigator of the Potawatomi payment of 1836, said that, "not uncommonly fights and murders occur . . ." at the payment (J. W. Edmonds, Report of J. W. Edmonds United States Commissioner Upon the Disturbance at the Potawatamie Payment: September 1836, [New York: Satcherd & Adams, 1837], p. 17). At an earlier payment (1821), eight murders were committed before the Indians left the payment ground (Isaac McCoy, Remarks On the Practicability of Indian Reform, [Boston: Lincoln & Edmonds, 1827], p. 23).

McCoy described as "worthless characters . . . with whiskey . . . and demoralizing habits to bestow."¹ The missionaries attempted to stop the whiskey traffic by pleas and finally by threats, but with no success. Despite the fact that selling whiskey to an Indian was against the law,² the traffic continued. This was brought to the attention of Governor Cass (of Michigan), but McCoy said that "it was supposed that the evil could not be corrected."³

In his attempt to further his mission, McCoy tried to obtain help from the federal government. In 1821, at a treaty held in Chicago,⁴ he was successful in getting a provision put in whereby the government would pay fifteen hundred dollars annually to provide a blacksmith and a teacher to the Indians.⁵ The office of teacher was given to McCoy along with a salary of four hundred dollars a year for support of the mission.⁶ McCoy wrote in his

¹From McCoy's Journal, July 6, 1828, reprinted in Lyons, pp. 20-21.

²U. S., Statutes at Large, IV, 725.

³Lyons, p. 21. See also Cady, p. 112.

⁴Charles J. Kappler (ed.), Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), II, 198-201.

⁵Ibid., p. 200. Lyons, p. 16, says one thousand dollars; but the correct figure is fifteen hundred dollars.

⁶According to McCoy, there was a United States Indian sub-agent at the treaty who was interpreting for the commissioners and who told them that the Indians desired that the teacher be a Roman Catholic. But, said McCoy, an Indian who understood English related to the group what had just

³Lyons, p. 21.

History of the Baptist Indian Missions:

Through the favor of kind Providence, our propositions at the treaty of Chicago were successful. . . . Others in their intercourse with the indians, had money and goods with which to purchase their consent to measures to which they otherwise felt disinclined; but we had neither. . . .¹

It seemed to McCoy that his mission to the Indians would never be successful as long as the Indians could be influenced by the worst of the white men. Finally he came to the conclusion that the only solution lay in giving the Indians a country of their own under the protection of the United States. A good place for the Indians, thought McCoy, would be "between Arkans[as] Ter., State of Missouri, & Missouri River on one side, and the Rocky Mountains and Mexican Territory on the other side. . . ."² Another problem which was to be corrected by his plan of colonization was one of the "evil[s] of treaty making"³ whereby a chief could sell all of the land of a tribe. This practice led to the bribing of chiefs and headmen whenever the whites wanted more land. Often the chiefs would make a trip west to view the proposed new home and would be bribed to give glowing accounts of the country and to use their powers of persuasion on the tribe. McCoy

been said; and they refuted the statement (McCoy, History of the Baptist . . ., p. 114).

¹Ibid., pp. 113-14.

²From McCoy's MSS. and Letters, XVI, quoted in Lyons, p. 21. See also McCoy, Remarks on the Practicability . . .

³Lyons, p. 9.

thought the solution to this would be individual patents given to each member to keep or sell as he pleased.¹

In order to advance his idea of Indian colonization, McCoy began a one-man propaganda campaign. He attempted to lay his plans before President Monroe, but the President would not give him a hearing. Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, was more favorable; and he told McCoy that all that was needed was a "right feeling in Congress."² McCoy then started a program to "induce right views and feelings on the subject in others."³ On the 23rd of June, 1822, McCoy wrote to Governor Cass of Michigan; Colonel R. M. Johnson and John T. Johnson, members of Congress; and others on the subject of colonizing the Indians. He sadly related:

I felt a degree of mortification in not finding others as zealous in this matter as I thought deserved; nevertheless, I determined to promote it to the utmost extent of my opportunities.⁴

To further the cause of Indian colonization, McCoy had printed and distributed free copies of a book he had written entitled Remarks on the Practicability of Indian Reform.⁵ In 1829 he wrote:

¹Ibid.

²McCoy, History of the Baptist, p. 218.

³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., pp. 200-201.

⁵Lyons, p. 33. For complete details of McCoy's plan of colonization see Isaac McCoy, Remarks on the Practicability

I have been at work earnestly about five or six years in the business relating to the removal of the Indians, in which time I have kept pretty much in the background, I thought I could do more by influencing others to do who were in authority than by appearing in publick fully. . . ."1

In 1827 Congress made appropriations to explore the territory west of the Mississippi by delegations of the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek tribes. The conductors of the expedition were Captain George Kennerly and Isaac McCoy. On McCoy's suggestion, delegates of the Potawatomi and Ottawa tribes were invited to go along "to help make a more extensive survey than was required. . . ."2 According to McCoy, the Indians thought the new country was a fine place, although they were disappointed in the lack of wood--especially the sugar tree.³

In 1830 McCoy's dream came true when Congress passed an act which provided for the exchange of lands with the Indians and for their removal.⁴

McCoy made several trips to the West to help Indians

¹Ibid., p. 34.

²McCoy, History of the Baptist . . ., pp. 326-27.

³Ibid. In a letter to John Tipton on July 23, 1830, McCoy said that he had "examined the country twice, and some of the Putawatomies have seen, and are, with many others, anxious to go to it" (Nellie Armstrong Robertson and Dorothy Riker [eds.], The John Tipton Papers ["Indiana Historical Collections," Vol. XXV; Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942], II, 310-11).

⁴U. S., Statutes at Large, IV, 411-13.

select sites for new homes; but as far as our topic is concerned, his expedition in 1837 is most important. In that regard, he said:

On the 16th of June [1837], I reported to the Department of Indian Affairs proposed locations for the Poutawatomies. . . . These selections were confirmed by the department, and surveys ordered to be made. . . .¹

¹McCoy, History of the Baptist . . ., p. 526.

Desired to sell a large tract of land belonging to the
 Levite the "same suffering from" LEVITE, p. 101.

CHAPTER III

STEPS TOWARD POTAWATOMI REMOVAL

Before the Indian Removal Bill was passed in 1830, there had been a total of eighteen treaties made with the Potawatomi of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.¹ Little by little, their lands were reduced until they occupied comparatively small reservations..

At times the Indians desired to sell pieces of land to satisfy debts; to pacify traders; or, during bad times, to feed the starving.²

In 1818 the Potawatomi of Indiana ceded a large tract of land north of the Wabash River between the Tippecanoe and Vermillion Rivers as well as all claim to any land south of the Wabash.³ In 1826 the Potawatomi ceded a strip of land one hundred fifty feet wide running from Lake Michigan to the Wabash River for a road. An interesting article in that treaty gave the United States "one section

¹Foreman, p. 100.

²Robertson and Riker, II, 396, 161, 212. In a letter to John H. Eaton, April 29, 1829, John Tipton told of a band of sixty Potawatomi who came to the Indian Agency from the Illinois prairie. They told Tipton that they desired to sell a large tract of land--probably to alleviate the "great suffering among them" (supra., p. 161).

Vincennes Western Star, December 6, 1826.

³Kappler, II, 168-69.

of good land" contiguous to the road for each mile of the road. This meant not only for each mile of road running through ceded territory but for every mile in the whole road which ran from Lake Michigan to the Ohio River. In consideration for this vast amount of good land, the government was to pay an annuity of \$2,000 for twenty-two years and to provide, among other things, an annual sum of \$2,000 for educational purposes.¹

Influential Hoosiers had been calling for the final extinguishment of the Indian title to the last remaining lands for over two decades prior to the first removal. Territorial Governor, William Henry Harrison, was a strong advocate of Indian removal; and in his Annual Message (November 12, 1810) he said:

Although much has been done toward the extinguishment of Indian title in the territory, much still remains to be done. We have not yet a sufficient space to form a tolerable state.²

Due to the large number of treaties made with the Potawatomi, the annuities amounted to large sums of money. This money meant trouble to the Indian. Because the traders knew that the Indians were to receive a large sum at one time, they encouraged the Indians to buy on credit and

¹Ibid., pp. 273-77.

²Logan Esarey (ed.), Governors Messages and Letters: Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison 1800-1811 ("Indiana Historical Collections," Vol. VII; Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1922), I, 492. See also Vincennes Western Sun, December 8, 1810.

then charged higher prices to cover any possible loss. At the annual payment, the traders presented their claims to be paid from the annuity money; and these claims usually were padded with "fake" items, items listed two or three times, and claims which had already been paid by the government. The government was defrauded of large sums by these traders. J. W. Edmonds tells the complete story of but one such payment which took place in 1836. There was such a flagrant abuse of justice at that payment that a riot ensued, and troops were called out to protect the payers.¹ The system led to such corruption that for that reason alone some thoughtful citizens wanted the Indians removed. John Tipton, who in 1829 was Indian Agent at Logansport, wrote:

The large amount due the miamis annually produces a constant press . . . to obtain money from them, and as the white settlement advances this difficulty increases. Measures to remove the Inds from this country should be immediately . . . adopted by Congress. . . . The miamis will be tardey in leaveing this Country but the Pottowotomies can be got off ere long.²

Governor Noble, in his Inaugural Address to the General Assembly on December 7, 1831, was playing his "theme song"; i. e., for the good of Indiana, the Indians must go.³ His argument was that superior peoples had a

¹J. W. Edmonds, passim. ²Ibid., p. 193.

³Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough (eds.), Mes-
sages and Papers of Noah Noble 1831-1837 ("Indiana
Historical Collections," Vol. XXXVIII; Indianapolis:
Indiana Historical Bureau, 1958), pp. 139-40.

right to "appropriate" lands "claimed as hunting grounds, by uncultivated savages."¹

By that time, there was cause to rejoice on the part of those that desired the Indians' removal for one reason or another. With Jackson as President it was hoped that removal could be effected. Also, John Tipton, the former Indian agent, was in the Senate, having been elected by the Indiana Assembly after the death of James Noble in February, 1831.² Tipton, as mentioned earlier, was an advocate of Indian removal.³ As chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, he wielded great influence;⁴ and it was while he held that post that a bill was passed authorizing treaties to be held for the final extinguishment of the Indians' title.

Months before the bill to remove the remaining Indians was passed, citizens had looked forward to a treaty which would take away the remaining lands of the Potawatomi.⁵

¹Ibid.

²Ebert Allison, General John Tipton, (Privately published by the Tipton County Centennial Committee, 1916), passim. This pamphlet was published for distribution to the Tipton County Schools.

³At times Tipton spoke against removal. His story varied with the people that he corresponded with, but it is safe to say that his true feeling was with the removal policy (Robertson and Riker, II, 456, 508, 572).

⁴Allison, passim.

⁵Robertson and Riker, II, 519, 522-23.

After the bill was passed, the people of the state were anxious to have the treaty and questioned Tipton about the delay.¹ The Indian Treaty Bill was in committee for months, and Tipton's constituents were wondering whether their representatives wanted a treaty.² By July 3, 1832, Tipton was sure there would be a treaty and advised his friends so that they could buy extra goods to sell to the Indians.³ On the 6th of July the Treaty Bill was passed by the Senate; and Tipton's friends were pressing him for contracts to provide goods, to carry goods, and for clerkships.⁴ The bill became law on July 9, 1832, and allowed the expenditure of twenty thousand dollars for treaties.⁵

Despite the fact that the money was appropriated for the final extinguishment of the Indians' title, reserves were still awarded to individual Indians and bands by treaties made after July 9, 1832. These reserves were desired by the traders so that Indians might use the land to pay off debts or to increase their credit. In some cases reserves were made directly to the traders, but the usual scheme was to have another party act for the trader. In the latter case the land would be transferred to the trader a few months later for a fraction of its actual value.

were provided for the Indians in 1832, but the land would be transferred to the trader a few months later for a fraction of its actual value.
governed¹Ibid., p. 600. ²Ibid., pp. 613, 623.

³Ibid., p. 646. ⁴Ibid., p. 666.

⁵U. S., Statutes at Large, IV, 564.

J. W. Edmonds accurately describes the methods whereby the traders kept the Indians constantly in debt. In fact, the more debts an Indian accumulated, the better off he was because his debts would be paid out of the annuity of the whole tribe. Thus, the frugal Indians (if there were such) were penalized because their share of the annuity was proportionately cut due to the amount taken to pay debts.¹

At last the treaty was held on the Tippecanoe River beginning in early September and lasting till the first of November. Tipton's friends provided thousands of dollars worth of goods to be used at the treaty; and his friends collected money for boarding Indians and their horses, and for various other services.² Tipton was not a commissioner; but at the request of the Indians, he attended the last ten days of the negotiations.³ By terms of the treaty, which was officially concluded on October 26, most of the remaining lands of the Potawatomi in Indiana were ceded. Exceptions were made in the granting of reserves

¹J. W. Edmonds, passim.

²Robertson and Riker, II, 666n., 667n. The government fed the Indians at what was known as the "public table." Lavish gifts were given to all of the Indians present--especially the chiefs. These goods and services were provided free of charge in hopes that the Indians would be in a receptive mood to the proposals of the government.

³Ibid., pp. 713-14.

to several individuals and bands.

The reserve we are most concerned with was one of twenty-two sections granted to the bands of Menominee, Notawkah, Muckkahtahmoway, and Peepinohwaw. This reserve was located on the Yellow River near the present town of Plymouth, Indiana.¹

Before we go into detail about the background of the "Trail of Death,"² let us examine briefly some of the other removals which have been neglected by history writers.

In 1831 there were, according to John Tipton, between five thousand and six thousand Indians remaining in Indiana. Of that number twelve hundred were Miami, and the rest Potawatomi. Some of the Indians were willing to remove beyond the Mississippi, but Tipton was sure that neither tribe would sell all its land nor remove immediately. He thought that if some Indians went west to look at the country, many would agree to go that year; and he predicted that "within three or four years, the whole of these tribes will go of their own accord." Tipton thought

¹Kappler, II, 367-70.

²"The Trail of Death" was a chapter title of (Jacob P. Dunn; True Indian Stories . . . [Indianapolis: Sentinel Printing Company, 1908], pp. 234-52). This phrase was also used by Irving McKee as part of the title of his book (The Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit ["Indiana Historical Society Publications," Vol. XIV, No. 1; Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1941]). This phrase is frequently used to refer to the Potawatomi removal of 1838.

¹Robertson and Riker, II, 337-411.

that "a large majority of the people of Indiana were in favor of the removal of these Indians"; and he suggested to Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, that an effort be made to remove them immediately.¹

¹Robertson and Riker, II, 399-401.

CHAPTER IV

POTAWATOMI REMOVAL FROM 1820 TO 1837

The First Removal

Although the Potawatomi were one people, the fact that they resided in scattered localities led the United States government to deal with them as separate tribes. This makes the study of emigration more difficult. It is usually impossible to tell what portion of an emigrating group was from a particular state.

On May 19, 1853, G. W. Manypenny of the Indian Office in Washington D. C. wrote to George Washington Ewing of Fort Wayne; and in this letter he purported to list all of the removals of the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa since 1833. In the list which is reproduced below it will be noted that the origin of each group is not designated.

YEAR	PERSON IN CHARGE	NUMBER OF INDIANS
1833	L. H. Sands	67
1833	James Kennedy	179
1834	William Gordon	199
1835	Captain Russell	712
1836	G. Kerchival	634
1837	G. W. Proffit	53
1837	L. H. Sands	447
1838	I. S. Berry	150
1838	William Polke	756
1840	A. Coquillard	526
1840	Godfrey & Kerchival	430

map, p. 26.

Foreman, p. 38.

1851	A. Coquillard and others	639
	Total	4792 ¹

By the terms of the treaty of July 30, 1819, at Edwardsville, Illinois, the Kickapoo ceded all their land between the Illinois and Wabash Rivers. They received in exchange a tract of land on the Osage River in what is now western Missouri to which they agreed to move.² The first removal of Kickapoo was begun in 1819.

In 1820 a band of over one hundred Potawatomi joined the Kickapoo in Illinois, after coming under the influence of the Kickapoo prophet, Kenekuk. They intermarried with the Kickapoo and remained with them from that time forward.³

The same year, when a large removal was expected, the emigration officers found that many of the Kickapoo had fled to the woods. The Potawatomi had threatened them with death if they obeyed the orders of the whites. A small group was successfully taken to Missouri, nevertheless; and during the next few years various bands were persuaded to go.

It is impossible to separate the band of Potawatomi that joined the Kickapoo from their hosts. Therefore, the

¹This list, while the most complete up to this time, is inaccurate in several respects and misleading in others. Corrections and additions will be made as the various removals are considered in the body of the paper (Newton D. Mereness, Calendar of Papers in the National Archives relating to Indians, in Indiana State Library, Indian Office, Letter Books, 47:253).

²U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 200. See No. 1 on map, p. 26.

³Foreman, p. 38.

THE INDIAN NEWSPAPER

THE INDIANS' NEW HOME

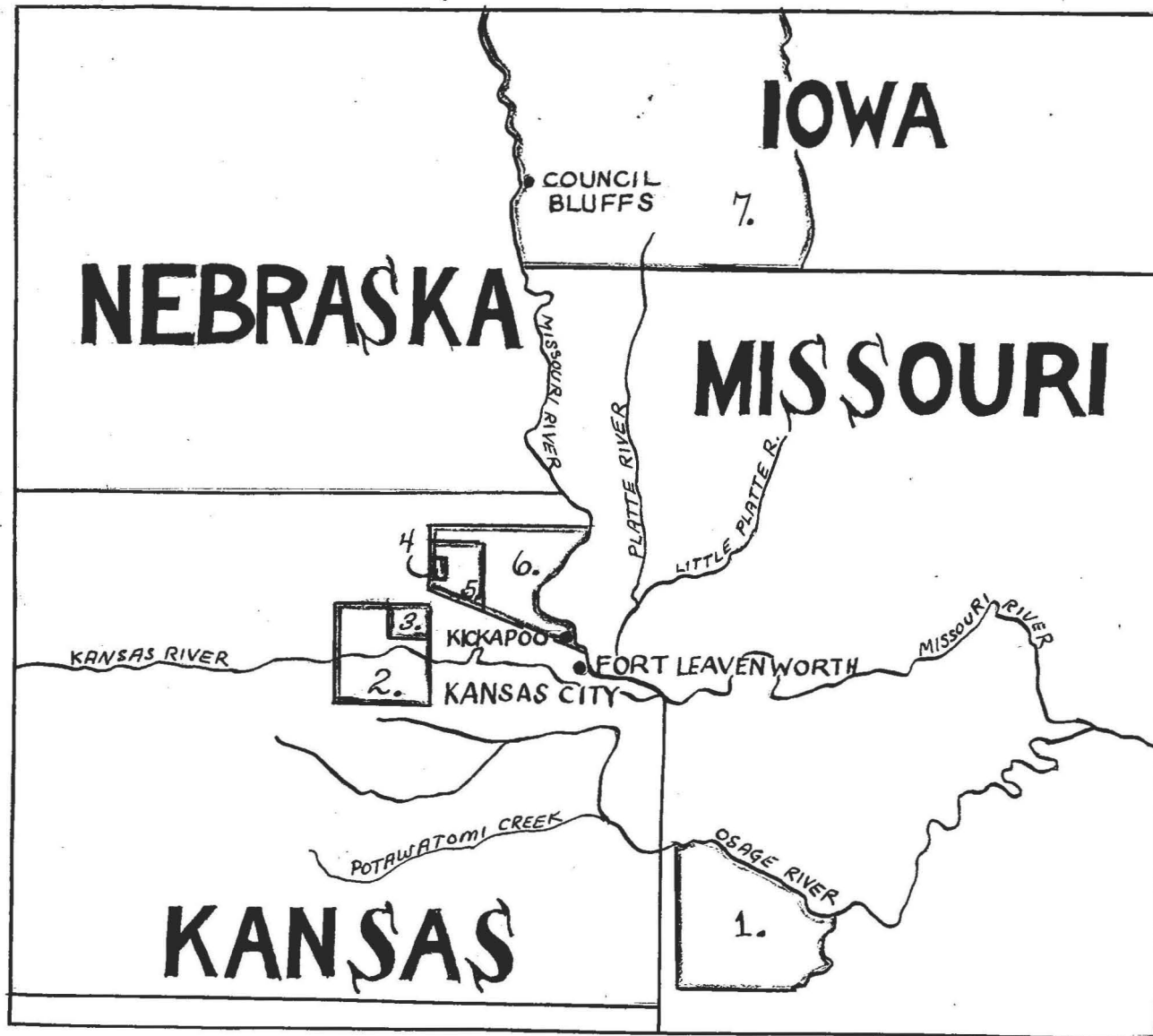


Figure 1.

1. Assigned to the Kickapoo by the treaty of Edwardsville, July 30, 1819. Ceded by the treaty of Castor Hill, October 24, 1832.
2. Potawatomi reserve ceded November 15, 1861.
3. Reserved for the Prairie Band of Potawatomi.
4. Last reserve of the Kickapoo in Kansas.
5. Part of the original reserve set aside for individuals, part sold to railroad. Ceded June 28, 1862.
6. Assigned to the Kickapoo by treaties of October 24 and November 26, 1832. Ceded May 18, 1854.
7. Acquired by the Potawatomi by the treaty of Chicago, September 26, 1833. Ceded by treaty at Council Bluffs June 5, 1846, and Osage River June 17, 1846.

earliest possible date of Potawatomi removal would be 1820.

In 1832 an effort was made by the government to secure the land assigned to the Kickapoo in Missouri. As a result of a treaty held at Castor Hill in October of 1832, the Kickapoo ceded their lands in Missouri and in exchange received a tract of land in Kansas near Fort Leavenworth.¹

In 1833 the Kickapoo and the Potawatomi living with them in Missouri were conducted to their new home in Kansas. Indian Agent James Kennerly was the conductor, and he reported that 375 Kickapoo and 119 Potawatomi were removed.²

1833: Party of Lewis H. Sands

In a letter dated March 16, 1833, the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, informed Colonel Abel C. Pepper of Logansport that he was appointed the Superintendent of Emigration for the Wabash Potawatomi. Pepper was also told that he could take an exploring party of not more than seven Indians to look at their new home. Pepper's assistants were to be Mr. Rudolphus Schoonover of Salem and Colonel Lewis H. Sands of Greencastle. Cass cautioned Pepper that if only a small number of Indians wanted to go at that time, it

¹U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 391, 393. See No. 2 on map (supra, p. 26).

²Foreman, p. 64, citing U. S. Senate Documents, Report No. 644 (23rd Cong., 1st Sess.), I. This is the same removal listed by Manypenny as having James Kennedy for conductor (supra, p. 24). This confusion as to the name of the conductor was not unusual in government reports. In a later report he is listed as A. Kennerly (U. S. Senate Documents, Report No 1 [24th Cong., 1st Sess.], I, 342-43).

¹Ibid. . . . ²Ibid. . . .

would be better to wait till the next year.¹

Early in April, 1833, Pepper wrote George Gibson, the Commissary General of Subsistence, that there were many Potawatomi at Logansport who wanted to emigrate. These Indians were destitute and had asked Pepper to give them supplies. He told Gibson that perhaps five hundred could be persuaded to go west by June.²

In May a Lieutenant W. R. Montgomery was ordered to proceed from the East to Logansport to act as the disbursing agent for the removal and to assist Colonel Pepper. He was allowed \$20,000 to effect the removal.³ Montgomery was supposed to arrive in Logansport on the 10th of June; but on June 17 Pepper wrote to Gibson saying he had seen nothing of the disbursing agent. Pepper was afraid that the Indians who had collected at Logansport would become impatient and go home.⁴ After more weeks of waiting, several hundred Indians did go home. On July 26, the acting Commissary General of Subsistence, J. H. Hook, wrote to Montgomery asking him where he had been and what he had been doing. A day later, the errant Lieutenant arrived and wrote the same day to Gibson to apologize for being "indisposed" for so long a time.⁵ That was the only explanation given for taking sixty-one days to make a trip which should have been made in from two to four weeks.

¹U. S. Senate Documents, Report No. 512 (23rd Cong., 1st Sess.), I, 342-43.

²Ibid., p. 777.

²Ibid., p. 796.

³Ibid., p. 274.

⁴Ibid., p. 800.

⁵Ibid., p. 776.

As soon as the Lieutenant arrived, he and Colonel Sands got into an argument as to who was in charge. (Before Montgomery had arrived, Pepper decided to take the exploring trip he was authorized to take; thus, when the Lieutenant arrived Pepper was gone, and the assistants were in command.) To make matters worse, Montgomery charged Colonel Pepper with making extravagant promises of horses, rifles, blankets, etc. to the Indians.¹ When the Lieutenant told the Indians that all they could expect was transportation to the West and a bare subsistence, most of the 140 that were left refused to emigrate.² A working agreement was reached between Sands and Montgomery, and a small number of the Indians were persuaded to go. Even Lieutenant Montgomery was unsure as to the number of Indians in the party, for he reported that "sixty-eight or sixty-nine natives" left Logansport on the 27th of July.³

Removal in 1835 and 1836

In the summer of 1833 the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi obtained a tract of land in Iowa on the east side of the Missouri River. In exchange, the Indians ceded their lands in Illinois and southern Michigan

¹Colonel Pepper denied promising gifts to the Indians and referred Gibson to John Tipton, Joseph Barron, and Luther Rice who were present at Pepper's talks with the Indians (Ibid., pp. 806-807).

²Robertson and Baker, III, 266. See also Foreman, p. 105. Ibid., pp. 1775. McDonald, Removal of the Chippewa Indians from Northern Indiana (Plymouth [Indiana]): McDonald, Ibid., p. 1777, p. 46-47.

and agreed to move beyond the Mississippi within three years.¹ The United Nation included all the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians who resided in Michigan and "south of Green Bay and Fox Rivers, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi."²

Congress appropriated \$9,453 to allow an exploring party of fifty Potawatomi to look at the country they had been given.³ This party, conducted by Captain William Gordon, set out from Chicago in the summer of 1835. They returned to Chicago just in time to tell a group which was planning to emigrate that they were disappointed in the land. The party reported that timber was much more scarce than they had been led to believe and that it was more remote than they had thought. As a result of this information, the assembled Indians were loath to go west.⁴

Several thousand Indians had gathered in Chicago to receive their annuity and to celebrate that event as well as to have a last fling before leaving. It was decided to have a big war dance. Some of the Indians were "well dressed, well mounted, and dignified" and some were "ragged,

¹Kappler, II, 402-16. See No. 7 on map (supra, p. 26).

²U. S. House Documents, Report No. 474 (23rd. Cong., 1st Sess.), I, 121.

³U. S. Statutes at Large, IV, 791.

⁴Robertson and Riker, III, 266. See also Foreman, p. 105, and Daniel McDonald, Removal of the Pottawattomie Indians from Northern Indiana (Plymouth [Indiana]: D. McDonald & Co., 1899), p. 46-47.

dirty, half-naked, and drunk." Some of the Indians were Christianized Potawatomi from St. Joseph Mission in Michigan. All, however, participated in the dance, which was described by witnesses as consisting of "leaps, and spasmodic steps . . . their weapons . . . brandished as if to slay a thousand enemies at every blow." The Indians cavorted around a hotel, frightening recently arrived visitors from the East who were staying there.¹

Instead of the large number that was expected, only a few more than seven hundred were prepared to leave. These Indians were conducted by T. J. V. Owen and Captain J. B. F. Russell across the northern Illinois prairies. The group split up after a few days' journey because some of the Indians wanted to travel on their own and hunt on the way.

One group consisted of about two hundred who stayed with Russell. These Indians, as well as the others, were dissatisfied with the country given them by treaty; and at a council held on the Mississippi they decided to send a delegation to Washington. The delegation, accompanied by Luther Rice as interpreter, went during the winter of 1835 to persuade the government to allow them to settle on the Little Platte River near Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for a term of twenty years, or until a suitable country could be given. Milo Milton Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest 1673-1835 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1913), p. 367.

found for them.¹ This mission failed in its purpose, but the government did allow them to remain there on land in what is now western Missouri until it became a part of Missouri in 1837.²

The Indians of Russell's party continued to the Little Platte River, about six miles from Fort Leavenworth. They were received there by the subagent, Anthony L. Davis, who was to provide subsistence for them for a year.³

The other group of about five hundred crossed the Mississippi near Rock Island and planned to winter a few days' journey from there. After sugar making in the spring, these Indians were to go on to Little Platte country to join their brethren.⁴

In January, 1836, another band of two hundred and fifty arrived in the care of Russell.⁵

¹Jacob Van der Zee, "Episodes in the Early History of Western Iowa Country," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI, 340.

²U. S. Statutes at Large, V, 34.

³Davis wrote to Tipton on August 9, 1835, from Kickapoo Town near the fort, saying that a party of two hundred had just arrived from Chicago conducted by Captain Russell (Robertson and Riker, III, 185).

⁴Ibid., pp. 265-66. See also Van der Zee, p. 340.

⁵Davis to Tipton, January 19, 1836, Robertson and Riker, III, 208. Grant Foreman says that the agent in charge was Gholson Kercheval and that Captain Russell was disbursing officer, p. 107.

Robertson later and John Tipton, along with other traders, formed a partnership to speculate with Indian relations (Robertson and Riker, III, 402-412).

Payment of 1836

In Indiana in 1836 events were pursuing their expected course; that is, the traders were attempting to cheat the Indians of as much of their annuity as possible. Colonel Pepper and Captain J. P. Simonton arrived in Logansport on about September 10, 1836; and the date set for the annuity payment was the 19th of September.¹ There were, as usual, many claims to be paid; in fact, the total amount of claims, if allowed, would have exceeded the amount of the annuity. This meant that some of the claims would not be paid. It was usually found that a great number were false. According to Pepper the Indians had asked that George W. Ewing and Cyrus Taber² be chosen as commissioners to pay claims. The result of this choice was that the commissioners held back \$34,000 to pay their own claims and distributed the rest. This, of course, infuriated the other claimants who loudly protested and succeeded in stirring up a riot. Colonel Pepper happened to be away at the time of the disturbance; but when he returned, he decided to collect the money and start all over again. A new commission of five persons, which was more representative of all the claimants, was selected. The Indians were paid \$15,000 out of \$64,000, which had been allotted

¹Logansport Canal Telegraph, September 10, 1836.

²Cyrus Taber and John Tipton, along with Allen Hamilton, formed a partnership to speculate with Indian reserves (Robertson and Riker, III, 462-64n).

to them, and the balance was held until the commissioners completed their investigation. Finding the job of discovering which were just claims too difficult, the commissioners decided to pay everyone a part of his claim. Some people were well satisfied since they had presented fraudulent claims with little hope of getting any money, but others were very dissatisfied. And thus, citizens, Indians, and soldiers departed for home "all agreeing that, from beginning to end a greater scene of knavery & folly they had never witnessed."¹

The matter was not allowed to rest there, for so big a "fuss" was raised by those who thought themselves cheated that the government was compelled to take action. J. W. Edmonds was appointed Federal Commissioner to investigate Potawatomi claims.

George Winter, a young artist who had traveled west to draw and paint Indians, arrived in Logansport just in time to describe events for us. Winter arrived in May, 1837, while Edmonds was conducting his investigation. The artist thought Edmonds was a judge because he speaks of him as "Judge Edmonds" who held "court" in Washington Hall (hotel). At one of the sessions a young chief named Iowa was chosen to speak for the Indians. Winter said:

¹Logansport Canal Telegraph, October 8, 1836.

Michigan. In 1836, Iowa was a member of the Indian Mission on the Upper River.

²U. S. House Documents, Report No. 100, 2nd Sess., 1836.

He [Iowa] confessed that he had some difficulty to comprehend the enumeration part so far as related to figures. But he and all of his tribe knew there were some influences and wrongs in their dealings with white men.¹

Edmonds investigated each claim carefully and disallowed many that were too old, duplicated, unverified, or just plain fraudulent. He compiled a detailed report and paid the claims he thought were just.²

Progress of Removal Prior to 1837

In 1837 there were, according to Johnston Lykins, about 2,400 Indians at Council Bluffs and 850 to 900 on the Osage River. Those on the Osage were gotten there by "hard scuffling" as he put it.³ The official report of the Office of Indian Affairs, however, lists under the heading "Number of Indians who have emigrated from the east to the west of the Mississippi":

Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatamies	2,191
Pottawatamies of Indiana	53 ⁴

Since the department report was made December 1, 1837, and Lykins' letter was written on November 17, 1837, we may assume that one or both of the reports are inaccurate.

¹Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker (eds.), The Journal and Indian Paintings of George Winter 1837-1839 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1948), pp. 39, 43, 45.

²Edmonds, passim.

³Lykins to Tipton, November 17, 1837, Robertson and Riker, III, 459-60. Lykins was a teacher at the Baptist Indian Mission on the Osage River.

⁴U. S. House Documents, Report No. 3 (25th Cong., 2nd Sess.), I, 566.

There were no Indians emigrating who could have arrived in the western country during the interval. As to the number of Indians at Council Bluffs, the two sources are in fair agreement; but Lykins is correct in stating that there were several hundred on the Osage. McCoy tells us that Davis succeeded in removing over 500 to the Osage River in the summer of 1837.¹ Both do agree, however, that the number of emigrants from Indiana was small.² Lykins believed that only 800 Potawatomi remained in Michigan at that time and 400 in Indiana,³ but we know this information to be false.⁴ The department report is probably more accurate. It lists 2,950 as remaining in Indiana and 1,500 of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi.⁵

1837: Party of Lewis H. Sands

In 1837 efforts were renewed to remove the Indians of the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi as well as other groups of Potawatomi.

In March John Tipton wrote to Johnston Lykins to tell

¹Robertson and Riker, III, 420.

²Lykins said that only 62 of the 441 Indians at Davis' subagency which were called "Indiana Indians" were other than Kankakee Indians (Ibid., p. 461).

³Ibid.

⁴Over seven hundred Potawatomi were removed from Indiana in 1838 alone. See supra, p. 24.

⁵U. S. House Documents, Report No. 3 (25th Cong., 2nd Sess.), I, 566.

him that all the "friends of the Indians" would tell them to move that year because the first ones to arrive on their new reservation would get the choice lands.¹

At this time the superintendent of removal was Colonel Abel C. Pepper, a good friend of Tipton and McCoy. His assistant was Johnston Lykins, a former teacher at McCoy's mission, who owed his appointment to Tipton. The principal removing agent was Colonel Lewis H. Sands, who got his appointment on the recommendation of Tipton; and his assistants were Colonel John B. Duret and Moses H. Scott, close friends of Tipton and McCoy.²

Paul Hill, a young man who had recently arrived in Logansport from the East, became a good friend of Lewis Sands. As a result of this friendship, Hill was made an assistant to the conductor, a Captain Robert Adams McCabe. Paul Hill was given a horse, a servant, and three dollars a day. He wrote that there were about five hundred Indians to be removed, and he said that Sands was organizing a company to move Indians from South Bend.³ Due to his unfamiliarity with the country we may doubt the accuracy of his statement. Grant Foreman says the Indians to be

¹Robertson and Riker, III, 391-92.

²Ibid., pp. 192, 394.

³Mabel Hill, "Paul Hill: Removal of the Potawatomi," Nebraska Magazine of History, XVIII, No. 1 (January-March, 1937), 5-11.

removed were from Niles, Michigan, and the Kankakee River.¹ This opinion is strengthened by an announcement in the Logansport Herald of August 5, 1837, which announces Sands' appointment as Superintendent of Emigration of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, which are referred to in the article as northern, St. Joseph, and Kankakee bands of Indians.²

The Indians rendezvoused at Des Plaines River, west of Chicago, and from there traveled to Shabana's Grove, which was about seventy miles southwest of Chicago. They arrived on September 6, 1837, and were paid their annuity of \$55,000--one-half of which was paid in goods.³ A roll was made which showed that there were 497 Indians in the party. Also, at this point a Lieutenant John T. Sprague joined the group as disbursing officer.⁴ The Indians were told that they had a choice of going to Council Bluffs, Iowa, which was the land given them by the Treaty of Chicago, or to land along the Osage River in what is now eastern Kansas.⁵

¹Foreman, p. 107.

²Logansport Herald, August 5, 1837.

³Robertson and Riker, III, 433.

⁴Foreman, p. 107.

⁵Robertson and Riker, III, 459-60. Isaac McCoy said that Colonel Sands attempted to force all the Indians to go to Council Bluffs and threatened them with the dragoons (Ibid., p. 458).

Council Bluffs or Osage River?

At this point it would be well to explain the background of the confusion which existed concerning the permanent location of the Potawatomi.

It was Isaac McCoy's wish (and part of his plan for the organization of an Indian Territory) to have all the Potawatomi settle at one location regardless of their origin. In order for the plan to work, the Indians were to be settled as far from white settlements as possible and on land that the whites would not desire within a short time. An ideal spot, thought McCoy, would be the present state of Kansas, which contained enough land to accommodate all the tribes. This plan received a setback at the Treaty of Chicago in 1833. By the terms of this treaty the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi ceded all of their land in southern Michigan and west of Lake Michigan. In return, they were to receive an equal amount of land (about five million acres), transportation to their new home, and subsistence for one year after removal. The new land was located in western Iowa.¹

The Indians began emigrating before the government was prepared to take care of them. The band of Indiana Indians which moved in 1833 settled on land which had been

¹Kappler, II, 402-16n.

given to their friends, the Kickapoo.¹

In order to provide for the emigrating Indians, a subagent was appointed in 1834.² Anthony L. Davis, a good friend of Isaac McCoy, was given the job; and he moved to the Kickapoo camp³ in the Kickapoo reservation.

The Potawatomi living in Illinois had not as yet seen the land they had been given. Those who had settled earlier in Missouri and Kansas seemed to be content. Thus, when the exploring party of 1835 found their land not to their liking, it was natural for them to want to settle near their friends who had gone earlier.⁴ Another reason that the Indians preferred land south of the Missouri River to that north of the Missouri River was the fact that the Iowa Indians disliked the Potawatomi; and if the latter crossed the river to hunt, the Iowa killed them.⁵

¹See *supra*, p. 27. The Kickapoo were given land along the Missouri River just north of Fort Leavenworth in present Kansas by treaties of October 24 and November 26, 1832 (U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 392).

²Secretary of War, Lewis Cass to Anthony L. Davis, July 8, 1834. Newton D. Mereness Calendar of Papers in the National Archives relating to Indiana, Indian Office, Letter Books, 13:135-36, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

³In March, 1834, Davis calls his residence "Kickapoo Camp," but by December, 1835, he refers to it as "Kickapoo Town" (Robertson and Riker, III, 97, 184).

⁴*Supra*, p. 29.

⁵Anthony L. Davis to Tipton, December 31, 1834, Robertson and Riker, III, 98.

⁴Tipton to Davis, April 27, 1835.

Tipton and McCoy agreed that the Iowa land was not suitable for the Indians for several reasons. They thought that the white settlements would overtake the Indians within ten years (from 1835); and consequently, the Indians would have to be removed again.¹ Another good reason was that war began in 1837 between the Omaha and Pawnee Indians. The Sioux took sides with the Omaha, and the Iowa joined the Pawnee. As a consequence, the Potawatomi in Iowa would be very near the fighting; and Indians on the warpath would have to cross their lands.²

Tipton, after satisfying himself that the Indians did not want to go north of the Missouri,³ wrote to Lewis Cass to ask if there was not sufficient land west of the state of Missouri which could be given to the Potawatomi and Miami of Indiana. He also asked for any information the department might have relative to the wishes of the Potawatomi to obtain land other than that given them by the Treaty of Chicago.⁴

Tipton was active in the Senate, for on April 20 he made a motion to instruct the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to "inquire into the expediency of authorizing . . .

¹Tipton and William Hendricks to Cass, March 3, 1835, Ibid., p. 130.

²McCoy to Tipton, May 29, 1837, Ibid., pp. 405-407.

³Luther Rice to Tipton, April 23, 1836, Ibid., pp. 265-66.

⁴Tipton to Cass, April 27, 1836, Ibid., p. 267.

exchange with the Potawatomi . . . [of] lands . . . southwest of the Missouri River, for lands lying north of the Missouri River."¹ As a result of this motion (which was carried) Cass wrote to the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs and said that he was of the opinion that there was "sufficient land south of that river [the Missouri] at the disposal of the Government for the occupation of these Indians, and for all the others east of the Mississippi who are yet to emigrate."² Nothing came of this because no money was appropriated to effect an actual exchange.

Tipton was not able to gratify his desires via the Senate; but when the Treaty of February 11, 1837, was signed with the Wabash Potawatomi, they were given lands on Potawatomi Creek (a tributary of the Osage River) in what is now Kansas.³

Some of the more influential Indians were doing all in their power to make the government give them land other than in Iowa. The principal chief of the Potawatomi in Kansas was Chief Quehquetah⁴ who had a letter written for

¹Ibid., pp. 267-68n.

²Ibid., pp. 272-73n, citing U. S. Senate Documents, Report No. 348 (24th Cong., 1st. Sess.), VI.

³Kappler, II, 488-89. See also previous treaties of August 5, 1836 and September 23, 1836, which were confirmed by the aforementioned treaty (Ibid., pp. 462-63, 471-72). See map (supra, p. 26).

⁴Also spelled Quiquito, Quiquitah, etc.

him which he tried to send to the President by Davis.¹ Quehquetah begged the President to give them land on the Little Platte River.² Davis, however, thought that the country around the Osage River in what is now eastern Kansas was better and was of the opinion that all of the Indians could be persuaded to move there. This country would have been within the proposed boundary of McCoy's Indian Territory.³

Throughout the years 1835 to 1836, bands of Indians from the Chicago subagency continued to arrive in Davis' territory; and Davis was given the additional job of feeding them despite the fact that he originally was appointed to assist only Indiana Indians. Davis was upset because he thought that he would have to move the Chicago Indians up to their own land (in Iowa) in the spring of 1836. He didn't think that he would be able to move them because of their prejudice against going north. He concluded that something was wrong in moving the Indians there in the first place. He said that there had been either a

¹Davis sent a copy and the original to Tipton on December 9, 1835, saying that if Tipton thought it "prudent" he could send the letter to the President, and if not to keep it. Davis was afraid that the President would be irritated, for as he put it: "It opperates against an agent to let the Indians go to Washington . . . and annoy the Executive." (Robertson and Riker, III, 185, 233) Tipton kept the original and sent the copy to Cass six months later, explaining that he had "mislaid it" (Ibid., p. 265).

²The Osage River was his second choice.

³Davis to Tipton, December 9, 1835, Ibid., pp. 184-86.

wilful misrepresentation of it to them, on the part of those who have heretofore had the management of them, for out of the whole number that have emigrated about 700 they actually think they are on their own land, and when I tell them that they are not they contradict me, and say . . . this is the land they treated for. . . . Now I have no doubt but that the Indians have been told that this was their Land and to confirm them the more fully they have been moved and left on it. . . . They should have been moved on their own Land or never have been moved.¹

Forces were in motion to get the Potawatomi settled on their lands in Iowa. There were some white settlers in western Missouri who desired that the Indians of the Davis subagency be moved north. The strip of land occupied by the Indians could then have been added to the state of Missouri.² A chief of the Illinois Potawatomi, Billy Caldwell, wanted to go up the Missouri; and Davis says this was because the chief wanted another treaty from which to profit.³

Finally, in 1837, the government got around to appointing a subagent for the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi (which were supposed to be at Council Bluffs). None of these Indians were at Council Bluffs; consequently, it was assumed that they would be moved up there shortly. This was a blow to McCoy's plan. He said: "This unfortunate arrangement is calculated to

¹Davis to Tipton, January 19, 1836, Ibid., pp. 207-209.

²Davis to Tipton, December 9, 1835, Ibid., pp. 184-86.

³Davis to Tipton, February 8, 1837, Ibid., p. 362.

divide the puts. [Potawatomi] at a time when nearly all . . . were about . . . to go to Osage River." McCoy wrote Tipton to see if he could get the permission of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to allow Davis to take as many Potawatomi as possible to the Osage River. One obstacle in the way of this plan was that no money had been appropriated for such a purpose. Davis would have to move the Indians at his own expense if he was to do it. McCoy was afraid that if no money was forthcoming, Davis might end up on the Osage with only "the family of old Quaquata."¹

McCoy wrote to Carey A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and pleaded that any Potawatomi who wanted to go to the Osage should be permitted to do so. He also suggested Johnston Lykins as a suitable assistant to Davis.²

There were good prospects for an emigration of Potawatomi in 1837; Tipton and McCoy wanted to make sure that at least a portion of them went to the Osage. With this end in view, Tipton urged Lykins to tell Colonel Pepper, the emigration agent, of a band of destitute Indians near the mouth of the St. Joseph (of the lakes) River. Tipton was sure that if they would go to Pepper, he would take them to their new home (presumably the Osage).³ He told Lykins that if he should see Topenebee (the principal

¹McCoy to Tipton, May 29, 1837, Ibid., pp. 405-407.

²June 29, 1837, Ibid., pp. 412-13.

³March 27, 1837, Ibid., pp. 391-92.

chief of the Potawatomi) or the St. Joseph Indians, he should induce them to go with him "under the directions of the supt. of Emigration [You] shall be paid for it and [it] will do much good."¹ The emigration agent evidently had not heard of this plan, for a month later Tipton wrote McCoy that he could not "prevail on the removing agent to authorize L to take off Topeneebes party on his own responsibility."²

Meanwhile, back in the Indian country, Dr. James, the new subagent for the Chicago Indians, had arrived and in a very short time had the Indians moving north, much to Davis' and McCoy's chagrin. It appears that the opposition had some influence also and had employed a General Gaines to move the Indians.³ According to McCoy, General Gaines, without any authority, hired steam-boats, purchased provisions, employed people to help in the emigration,

¹April 22, 1837, Ibid., p. 394.

²June 29, 1837, Ibid., p. 413.

³Van der Zee, p. 340. This was not the only move of Potawatomi from the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth to Council Bluffs. One hundred were taken up river on the steamer Kansas, which arrived at Council Bluffs on July 27, 1837. This group was conducted by General Henry Atkinson and Dr. Edwin James (Ibid., p. 193). On July 8, a detachment of seventy-five arrived on the steamer Howard, and a large group was taken overland, conducted by a large force of special cavalry (U. S. House Documents, Report No. 3 [25th Cong., 2nd Sess.], I, 588). See also Frank Anthony Mullin, "Father De Smet and the Pottawattamie Indian Mission," The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXIII (1925), 193-94.

and in a short time had the Indians anxious to go. McCoy thought that such a course only meant trouble for the government in the long run, for within a few years, they would have to purchase the Indians' improvements in Iowa and "buy their consent to leave . . . for a permanent residence." He also felt that he and his followers were facing a defeat unless Davis could get a "tolerable share" of the Potawatomi.

McCoy thought that the tables might be turned if Topenebee and his band could be taken to the Osage, for as he said: "Topinebee is the principal chief of the nation, and wherever he may locate the main body may be expected to settle." Topenebee had told Lykins that he would emigrate with Luther Rice. Fortunately, Rice was a friend of McCoy and Tipton, but the opposition was attempting to get Topenebee's group attached to the company of Kercheval, who was a partisan of the Council Bluffs' traders. McCoy thought it was their plan to tell Topenebee he was going to Osage and then take the group across by way of Des Moines and north of Missouri to Council Bluffs. When they reached that point, the Indians would be told that their treaty provisions (such as annuities) would be provided at that point only. Thus, he said, it would "be an easy matter for those who for the sake of enriching themselves are endeavoring to settle the Putawatomies on Missouri." In order to combat this plot, McCoy devised a plan to ensure Topenebee's getting to the Osage.¹

¹McCoy to Tipton, July 21, 1837, Robertson and Riker, III, 419-22.

Party of Lewis H. Sands: Finale

Let us return to Shabana's Grove in Illinois where the Indians were asked where they wished to be taken. It will be remembered that they were given a choice between Council Bluffs or the Osage River. Some of the Indians from Caldwell's band said they would like to join their leader (who was at Council Bluffs under the influence of the traders). Topenebee and his people from Michigan were not happy with this decision and made it known to Sands. It was at that point that, according to some observers, threats were made.

Upon seeing how things were turning out at Shabana's Grove, Luther Rice left the group and went to the home of Johnston Lykins, which was about forty miles to the south. Lykins and McCoy were good friends; and, knowing McCoy's wishes in regard to the Indians, Lykins wrote to Moses Scott telling him that he wished the Potawatomi to have their headquarters on the Osage River. Rice carried the letter to Scott, and Scott "after much difficulty succeeded in getting Topinebee & 164¹ others detached & took them to Osage."²

Sands and Duret continued with the remainder of the party through Knoxville, Illinois. On September 11, the group reached Greenfield, Illinois; and according to a correspondent, they were in good spirits and anxious to

¹Foreman says 160, p. 107.

²Robertson and Riker, III, 460.

get to their new home.¹ There were approximately thirty baggage wagons filled with the Indians' personal belongings and over two hundred Indians riding on their own ponies.² Duret kept a daily journal from the time they left Niles until they reached Council Bluffs, and he described the country through which they traveled as "magnificent beyond description."³

On September 23, Sands' party reached Quincy, Illinois, and started crossing the Mississippi River. Up to that point only one Indian had died on the way, and he had been killed by another Indian.⁴ According to Duret, it was the job of a "well disciplined guard of 20 athletic and active men" to see that peace was kept on the march.⁵

As a result of the attempt of Sands to get the Indians to go to Council Bluffs, he was unpopular with Tipton, McCoy, and their friends. Duret wrote to Tipton that Sands had "disgraced himself" and had been "intemperate & disagreeable to every officer, Teamster & Indian." Duret

¹Logansport Herald, September 23, 1837, p. 2.

²There is agreement as to the number of ponies, but the Logansport Herald of September 23, 1837, says there were 40 wagons; the October 14th issue says there were 45 teams; and Grant Foreman (p. 107) says there were twelve wagons. John B. Duret, who was an assistant agent, is probably the most reliable; and he says there were thirty (Robertson and Riker, III, 433).

³Ibid., pp. 475-76.

⁴Logansport Herald, October 14, 1837.

⁵Robertson and Riker, III, 433.

mentioned the fact that some of the officers were considering preferring charges against Sands, and it was expected that he would resign.¹ Sands wrote to Tipton in order to clear himself and said that he regretted that it was the Indians' decision to go to Council Bluffs. Personally, he said, he was happy that a part of his group had gone to the Osage.²

If the removal agent did resign, it was feared by McCoy that Gholson Kercheval would replace him. This appointment would be through the influence of Isaac S. Berry, who was a brother-in-law of Senator Ewing of Ohio. Or, if that should prove impossible, then Berry might seek the appointment himself; but in either case McCoy said, "our desires to get the [Potawatomi] to Osage will likely be opposed." McCoy wanted Tipton to see if he could use his influence to get Moses Scott appointed Superintendent of Removal for the Chicago Agency or, at the very least, First Assistant Superintendent.³

1837: Party of George H. Proffit

The Wabash Potawatomi received their payment in 1837 largely in goods rather than cash. The reason for this was to prevent a repetition of the disturbance of the previous year and to induce the Indians to emigrate. The payment took place at Demoss' Tavern about nine miles north

¹Ibid., pp. 475-76.

²Ibid., p. 481.

³Ibid., pp. 458-59.

of Logansport.¹

In July Colonel Pepper and Colonel Sands summoned the Potawatomi to council at Kewahna's village (now Bruce Lake in Fulton County). George Winter, who was present, tells us that the Indians were tardy in arriving because, as he said: "a history of Indian Councils would not exhibit any bargains in favor of the aborigines." The principal speaker for the Indians was Naswawkay, who addressed the assemblage thus:

You have been speaking of our miseries and wretchedness. Your counsels have brought these miseries on us.--By your advice, the very lands on which we expected to terminate our existence have been sold from us. . . . We recollect all you said . . . you said we should not be driven away; we were glad to hear it. . . . We did not specify a year or two, when we should leave.

We will prepare our packs, and when we are ready, we will call upon you. We do not wish to go immediately. A little space of time is left us, and we wish to enjoy it; after that we will follow your advice. . . . He [the President] promised to pay us here for our lands and to permit us to receive the payment here for two years; and we wish these promises to be kept sacred.

A few days later the same speaker said that the chiefs had decided to go west the next year; but, he said, as for himself, he would as soon go immediately and any young men who desired to go with him could do so. He made a request for Colonel Duret and Colonel Sands to go with them.

¹Thornbrough and Riker, The Journal and Indian Paintings . . ., p. 47.

Historical Magazine, 1880, 1881.

Wisconsin Historical Society, 1880, 1881.

Logansport Herald, August 21, 1880.

After this speech, Naswawkay signed the emigration roll and a few others followed.¹

The number who left in that party was a disappointment to the whites. William Polke wrote that the "emigrating party of the puttawattimies of the Wabash was almost an entire failure they have nearly all Returned to Tippecanoe." Polke feared trouble during the coming winter because the Indians had planted no corn that year and because of the whites who had moved on the Indians' land in anticipation of their emigration. He thought it would be a good idea to have a person appointed to adjust difficulties between the two races. Polke was sure that all the Indians could be removed the following year because they were in a "destitute condition."²

The party, which was finally readied, left Logansport on August 23, 1837, and was composed of just fifty-three Indians conducted by George H. Proffit. The Herald said that the officers had a difficult time getting the Indians to go and, in a nostalgic mood, said:

The Indians leave reluctantly the home of their fathers--the last spot on this green earth which they can legitimately claim--the home rendered dear to them by a thousand recollections, and they would linger while yet they may, on their former hunting grounds, where they were so happy.³

¹Ibid., pp. 96-119; also, Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker (eds.), Readings in Indiana History ("Indiana Historical Collections," Vol. XXXVI; Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1956), 239-51.

²Robertson and Riker, III, 435-36.

³Logansport Herald, August 24, 1837.

CHAPTER V

THE POTAWATOMI REMOVALS OF 1838

Missionary Activity and Removal

The first missionaries to the Potawatomi Indians were the Jesuit "black robes," who were at the St. Joseph's Mission (near present day Niles, Michigan) from 1690 to 1761.¹

The Catholic Church was active in Indiana as early as 1749, and there was a resident priest at Vincennes. However, in 1763 the Jesuits were banished from the missions of Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois by order of the Superior Council of New Orleans. As a result of this order and the subsequent suppression of the Society by Pope Clement XIV, the Indians at St. Joseph were without a "black robe." Also, the Catholics of Vincennes were without a priest for a period of about seven years.²

After receiving pleas from the Catholic inhabitants of Vincennes, the Bishop of Quebec sent Father Gibault to them in 1770.³ Thereafter, for several decades a succession

¹George Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVII (1930), 24-54.

²Sister Mary Salesia Godecker, Simon Bruté De Remur . . . (St. Meinrad [Indiana]: St. Meinrad Historical Essays, 1931), pp. 153-57; McKee, pp. 11-12.

³Godecker, p. 160.

of priests stayed at Vincennes for short periods. At times, due to the scarcity of clergymen, laymen took over many duties of a priest.

During the early 1800's settlers poured into Indiana. The Catholic population was growing fast, and there were too few clergy to minister to them. In order to provide for the increased population of the western country, a new diocese comprising Indiana and part of Illinois was created in 1834. To the new bishopric was appointed Simon W. Gabriel Brute.¹

In 1830 a "black robe," Father Frederic Rezé, arrived at the St. Joseph's Mission to begin anew the task of ministering to the Indians. The Indians had remembered some of the forms and prayers taught them by the Jesuit missionaries, and they enthusiastically welcomed the new priest. Father Rezé left within the year, and the Indians asked that a new priest be sent to them.²

Father Stephen Theodore Badin came to St. Joseph's Mission in 1830 and remained until 1835. In 1833 Father Louis Deseille joined Father Badin in his work. Father Badin purchased land in Michigan near the Indiana border upon which he built a chapel. He also purchased 524 acres of land on St. Mary's Lake in present St. Joseph County, Indiana, for the purpose of erecting an orphanage and

¹Ibid., pp. 198ff.

²McKee, pp. 13-14.

a school. In 1834 a chapel and cabin were built on the site (the present site of the University of Notre Dame, which was founded seven years later).¹ Badin applied to the Legislature of the State of Indiana to have his "Orphan Asylum" incorporated. At the head of the list of trustees of the orphanage was John Tipton. The petition was granted by the General Assembly, and Badin proceeded to obtain two teachers from Kentucky.²

In addition to the services of the resident missionaries, the Indians were visited occasionally by the priest from Vincennes. In 1832, while treaty negotiations were in progress with both the Potawatomi and Miami Indians, Father Picot of Vincennes left to visit the Miami. The priest, along with several guides, traveled to the Treaty Ground at Fort Wayne where he arrived on September 21, 1832. The Indian agent, General William Marshall, introduced Father Picot to the "Grand Indian Chief"³ (this is probably Chief Richardville who was present at the treaty). Three days later at a council the chief addressed the Indians thus:

¹S. T. Badin to Lewis Cass, June 3, 1834, from Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi, cited by Godecker, p. 188; Thomas T. McAvoy, The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834 (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 182ff.

²Stephen T. Badin to Tipton, December 29, 1832, Robertson and Riker, II, 760, 760-61n; Laws of Indiana, 1832-33, pp. 75-76.

referred to by Badin as the "Grand Indian Chief".

³Godecker, p. 192.

³See map (p. 192).

You see here my children, your father in the black robe. . . . He is one of those that always has been recommended to us by our forefathers . . . he considers everyone as his children. . . . He wished to see you, and as soon as he has heard you were all assembled in this place, he has started from his residence to pay you a visit and baptize your children: Now look at him, so that you should know him whenever you see him again.¹

Father Badin spent over one thousand dollars of his own money on his missionary activities prior to 1833. The United States government had from time to time granted money for the support of missions of all denominations, so Badin attempted to secure financial help for his mission. On June 3, 1834, he wrote to Lewis Cass asking if he was not entitled to some of the money which was appropriated at the Treaty of Chicago for a teacher. He mentioned in this letter that he had also written twice to General Tipton on the same subject.²

The treaty of 1832 with the Potawatomi granted reserves to various bands.³ The government had been attempting to secure these reserves since that time. The missionaries were attempting to get the Indians to give up the chase and settle down to agricultural pursuits. Thus, the policy of the government, which looked to the speedy extinguishment

¹The Catholic Herald (Philadelphia), I (1833), 43, quoted in Godecker, p. 192.

²The original of the letter is to be found in the National Archives, Washington. The letter is reprinted in full in Ibid., pp. 193-94. The two letters to Tipton referred to by Badin cannot be found in the Tipton Papers.

³See map (supra, p. 57).

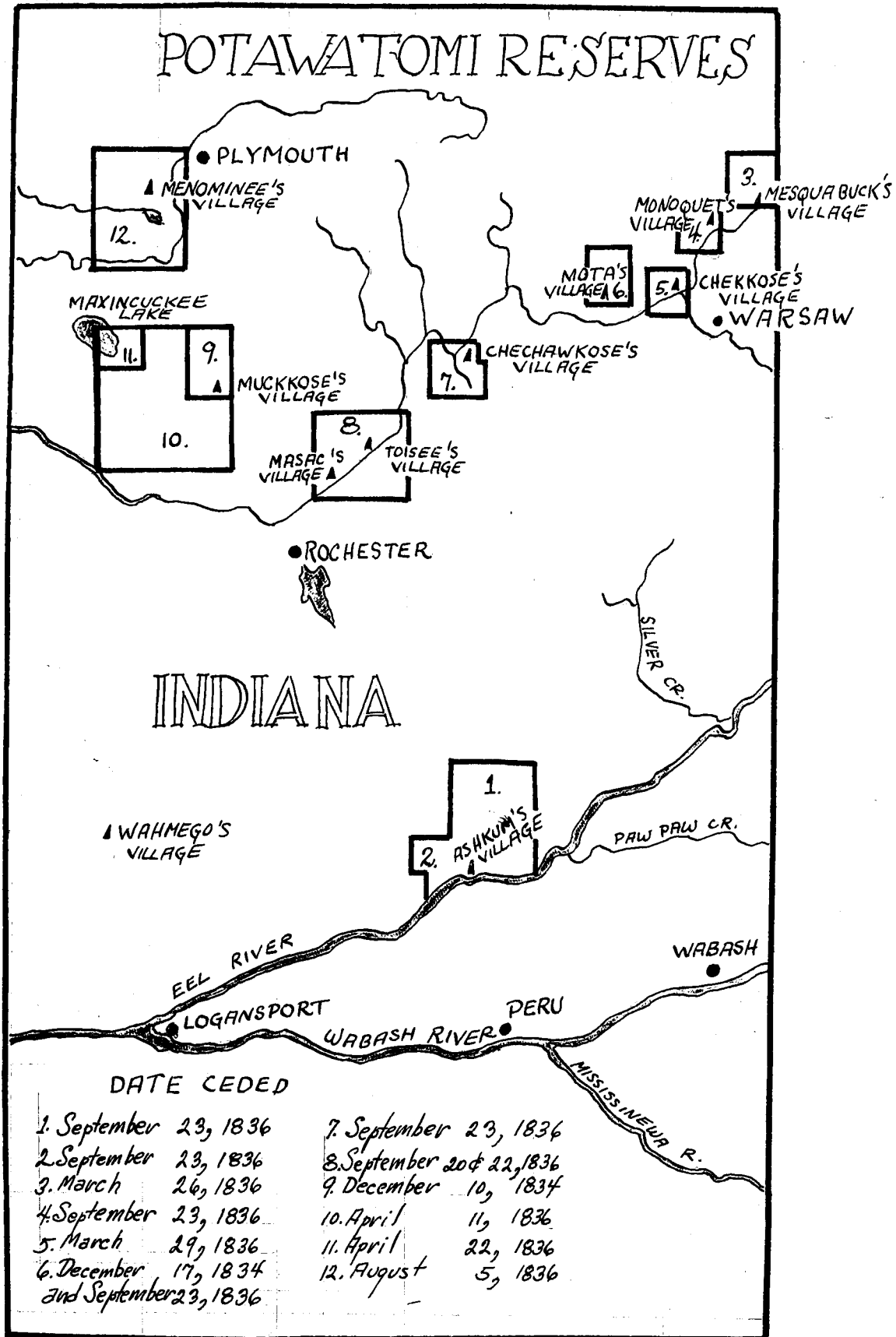


Figure 2.

of the Indians' title and their removal, was in direct opposition to the work of the missionaries. The missionaries, as a result, came into disfavor with the most active of the men attempting to get the Indians removed.

In 1834 General William Marshall, who was the Indian agent at that time, made eleven treaties with separate bands of Potawatomi. Only three of these were ratified; the others were unacceptable because each of them failed to provide for the purchase of all the reserve. The three which were ratified were made with the bands of Mota, Comoza, and Muckkose. By the terms of these treaties the Indians were to remove within three years.¹ The treaties which were not ratified were given to the removal agent, Colonel Abel C. Pepper, to deliver to the Indians. Pepper was instructed to tell them that when they desired to sell all of their lands and move west, the government would negotiate with them. This policy was adopted by the President at the request of John Tipton.²

The job of getting the Indians to agree to move was given to Colonel Pepper after the resignation of General

¹Kappler, II, 428-31. The eleven treaties were enclosed in a letter from Marshall to Lewis Cass of January 1, 1835, photostats of which can be found in the Matthews Collection, Indiana State Library. The above mentioned Indians' names are also found spelled Mataway, Motowa, Motoway; Comosho, Cawmosho, Kawmowshow; Maukekose, Muckcase, Muck Rose, Muccose, Makose.

²Tipton to Lewis Cass, March 7, 1835, Robertson and Riker, III, 137-38.

Marshall on February 27, 1835.¹ Pepper had evidently secured a promise from the leaders of the three bands mentioned earlier to remove in 1836; but when they were approached on the subject, they refused to consider it.² Colonel Pepper concluded that this refusal was due to the influence of their missionary, Father Deseille. Bishop Bruté and Father Deseille made a tour of the Potawatomi Indian villages in the spring of 1835 and, according to Pepper, assembled "large parties of Indians, and . . . [advised] them not to sell their land, but to build a Church house, and settle in one village."³ In order to counteract what Pepper deemed anti-government acts, he wrote to Father Deseille on August 7, 1835. In this letter Pepper requested that whenever the priest assembled any Indians within his agency, he (Deseille) should advise Pepper of it in advance. The reason given for this request was that Pepper might want to send an interpreter to the meeting to determine "whether any infraction of the existing laws or treaties shall be produced by any talk . . . made at such meetings or councils." Pepper

¹Ibid., p. 137n.

²Pepper to Cass, October 16, 1835, from a typed copy made by Irving McKee from a photostat of the original in the National Archives, Washington. The typed copy is to be found in a manuscript by Irving McKee, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

³Ibid. The story of this tour is to be found in The Catholic Telegraph, IV (1835), 317-18, which is reprinted in full in Godecker, pp. 242-50.

assured Deseille that the action should not be interpreted as discriminatory, and advised the priest of the law which forbade anyone holding a "council" with the Indians without proper authority.¹

Deseille replied that he would be happy to comply with the agent's request and that in the future he would inform Pepper if a meeting was to be held. He added that his only concern was with the Indians' spiritual matters and that if Pepper had any objections to the Indians attending his meetings, to let him know of it.² Colonel Pepper replied to Deseille's letter of October 10, 1835, as follows:

Your letter of the 10th inst has been received; and in reply it affords me great pleasure to assure you that I have no objection whatever to any course of religious instruction among the Indians of this agency, that will not infringe the laws of the United States, nor interfere with the humane policy of the Government.

¹From a typed copy by Irving McKee from a photostat of the original in the National Archives, Washington.

²Deseille to Pepper, November 10, 1835 October 10, 1835, "Documents: Correspondence on Indian Removal, Indiana, 1835-1838," Mid-America, XV (1932-1933), 178. This letter, reprinted in Mid-America, is improperly dated November 10, 1835; whereas, it should be dated October 10, 1835. This error caused both Sister Mary S. Godecker and Irving McKee to cite it improperly. Also, this mistake caused the editors of Mid-America to place the letter out of sequence. The Mereness Calendar lists only one letter and that is dated October 10, 1835. Another reason to believe that the proper date is October 10th: In a letter from Pepper to Deseille dated October 20, 1835, Pepper mentions Deseille's letter "of the 10th inst." The chronology of events does not make sense if Deseille's letter were dated November 10th.

I am no Sectarian, and if I were, the Government I serve would not sanction an act of partiality in favor of any sect. It extends its arms of protection over all, and requires all to submit to the laws. If business at any time shall call you near to this place and you will call at my office, it will give me pleasure to converse and exchange views with you.¹

Pepper wrote to the Commissary General of Subsistence on September 14, 1835, and to the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, on October 16, 1835, asking for advice on how to deal with the "opposition" to removal. Pepper thought that action might be taken in the courts against the priest and asked for Cass' approbation before embarking on such a drastic course. He remarked that the "influence alluded to must be put down--defeated, or emigration will be retarded for a time."²

Cass sent Pepper's letter to George Gibson, the Commissary General of Subsistence. Gibson replied to Pepper, telling him that the reason he had not answered earlier was because "the matter was of a delicate character." He told Pepper that Secretary Cass had ordered him (Gibson) to send a letter to Deseille along with a copy of Pepper's letter to Cass of October 16th.

On the same day (November 3rd) Gibson sent the letter

¹From a typed copy by Irving McKee from a copy in the National Archives, Washington.

²Pepper to Cass, October 16, 1835, From a typed copy by Irving McKee made from a photostat of the original in the National Archives, Washington.

to Deseille telling him that the department desired an explanation of the priest's conduct, and he added: "The Department is reluctant to believe that you have pursued a course calculated to impede the progress of measures adopted . . . to promote the welfare of these Indians."¹

Deseille did not receive the letter until December 19, 1835, because it was sent to South Bend rather than to Bertrand or Niles, Michigan, where the priest spent most of his time. In his reply Deseille stated that he had never meddled in governmental affairs nor had he been present at any treaty, annuity payment, or council. He stated that he began his labors among the Indiana Indians with the consent and approval of the former agent, General Marshall. The idea of collecting all the Indians at one place was General Marshall's according to Deseille and, as he said, "not of my invention." As to the accusation that he exhorted the Indians to build a church, Deseille said that the Indians expressed a desire to have a "church-house" of their own; and he could hardly be expected to disapprove. Personally, he felt that it was useless to build one because the laws against the "encroachment of the Whites" were not enforced (this was a slap at the Indian agent, Pepper). Accusations that he had ever told the Indians to oppose the policy of the government he classed

¹Gibson to Deseille, November 3, 1835. From a typed copy by Irving McKee from a photostat of the original in the National Archives, Washington.

as lies. He admitted that the Indians were strongly opposed to emigration but that the Indians' feelings were "independent of my proceedings."¹

Evidently Deseille's answer was satisfactory, for Gibson replied that it was "not deemed necessary to pursue the enquiry any further." He also informed the priest that Menoquet and other chiefs who had been to Washington had been told that the "General government" would not disturb them" so long as they wish to remain."²

Reassured by Gibson's letter, Deseille tried to obtain some of the money appropriated by Congress for civilizing the Indians. He wrote to Pepper on March 21, 1836, and said:

The Indians of the reserve Me-no-mi-na., Muck-kah-tah-mo-way having obtained from the General Government the special favor of remaining undisturbed upon their reserve as long as they should wish to remain there: of which I am advised by a letter of Mr. Gibson, Commissary of Subsistence in date 22nd January, 1836, and it being their great desire to have as soon as next spring a school upon their reservation for the instruction of their children, I do apply by this to your agency for an authorization for this purpose if it were possible through your interference to

¹Deseille to Gibson, December 28, 1835. Original in the National Archives. This letter is reprinted in full in Mid-America, pp. 179-80; and Godecker, pp. 312-14.

²Gibson to Deseille, January 22, 1836. From a typed copy by Irving McKee from a photostat of the original in the National Archives, Indian Office, Commissary General of Subsistence Letter Book, Volume C, 420.

get any appropriation out of the Indian Instruction Funds.¹

This was the first news received by Pepper of the vacillating policy of the government. Not knowing quite what to do, he answered Deseille thus:

Your letter of the 21st of March is at hand, in answer to which I have to request that you will take no steps towards the accomplishment of the objects indicated in your letter, before you furnish me with a copy of the letter referred to by you from the Commissary General of Subsistence, . . . I am not advised of the grant of any such special favours as you mention and cannot comply with your request before I shall be instructed to do so by the proper department.²

Pepper also wrote to John Tipton, enclosing Deseille's letter of the 21st, and told Tipton that "the contents of which if founded on the authority indicated will be very embarrassing to me." He further stated:

If the Sec. of War, or Commissary Gen did give such assurances, why was I not advised of it? I have felt it to be my duty constantly to repeat to the Indians that the President would no longer listen to any arguments in favor of their remaining in this Country. And are my speeches thus made to be contradicted, and my authority and influence to be destroyed, by the action of the Government, without my knowledge? I failed in a late effort to conclude a treaty with the Yellow river [Menominee's] band, wholly on account as the Chief alleged, of a paper which he said the Priest

¹The full text of the letter is reproduced in Mid-America, p. 182. Pepper sent a copy of this letter to Tipton and it is reprinted in Robertson and Riker, III, 246-47.

²Pepper to Deseille, April 18, 1836. The original of this letter is in the National Archives. It is reprinted in Mid-America, p. 183; and Godecker, p. 315.

had authorizing the band to remain permanently on their reservation--build Churches school houses &C. I shall place this paper in your hands to be used at your discretion. I shall be glad to be advised what has been said to Me-nom-mi-na or the Priest on this subject.¹

Despite the attitude of Colonel Pepper, 300 dollars was granted for the support of education of the Potawatomi. The money was paid to Bishop Bruté and used to support Father Deseille.²

Treaty Manipulations

Colonel Pepper, who occupied the dual role of Indian agent and principal removing agent, lost the latter position on January 13, 1836.³ But since he had been authorized to make treaties, he continued to meet with the Indians and attempted to persuade them to give up all their reserves. In this enterprise Pepper appears to have been successful. He made a series of eight treaties between March 26 and

¹Pepper to Tipton, April 16, 1836, Robertson and Riker, III, 259-60.

²S. Bruté to C. Harris, June 6, 1838. Original in the National Archives. Cited by Godecker, p. 316. Cass to Tipton, April 19, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letter Book, volume 18, pp. 315-16, cited by McKee, p. 22. This letter is not printed in The John Tipton Papers. The appropriation was made on April 19, 1836, and was for one year.

³Gibson to Pepper, January 13, 1836. Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Indiana. Pepper was reappointed superintendent of removal for 1837 (Pepper to Harris, April 4, 1837, Ibid.).

September 23, 1836, with separate bands of Potawatomi.¹

One of the treaties made during Pepper's active campaign was supposedly with the bands of Menominee, Makkahtahmoway, and Peepenawah on August 5, 1836.² The reserve had been granted to the bands by a treaty signed on the Tippecanoe River on October 26, 1832.³ It will be remembered that Colonel Pepper had been unsuccessful in an attempt to make a treaty with these bands in April, but now in August he was apparently successful. A closer look will reveal that there is a strong possibility that Colonel Pepper submitted a fraudulent treaty which was not signed by any of the true owners of the reserve. A few excerpts from the treaties in question will be helpful in clearing up a confusing situation. In the treaty of October 26, 1832, it is stated:

Articles of a treaty made and concluded
on Tippecanoe River, . . . between Jonathan
Jennings, John W. Davis and Mark Crume, . . .
& the Chiefs, Headmen and Warriors of the
Pottawatimie Indians. . . .

.
Article II. From the cession aforesaid
the following reservations are made, (to wit:)

.
For the bands of Men-o-mi-nee, No-taw-

¹Kappler, II, 450, 457-59, 462-63, 470, 471-72. Pepper claimed pay as removing agent up to March 15, 1836, because he was absent from his office (making treaties) and did not receive the letter until March 15th. Tipton wrote to Cass on April 17, 1836, asking "that no objections . . . be set up to his claim" (Robertson and Riker, III, 260-61).

²Kappler, II, 462-63.

³Ibid., pp. 367-70. See No. 12 on map (supra, p. 57).

koh, Muck-kah-tah-mo-way and Pee-pin-oh-waw, twenty-two sections.¹

The above named Indians signed their marks--Menominee's above the others. In the treaty of August 5, 1836, it is stated:

Articles of a treaty . . . between Abel C. Pepper . . . and Pe-pin-a-waw, Natawka, and Mack-a-taw-mo-ah, Chiefs and headsmen of the Pottawattomie. . . . The above named Chiefs and headmen & their bands hereby cede to the U. S. 22 sections of land reserved for them by the . . . treaty . . . of . . . the twenty-sixth day of October, 1832.

.
The above . . . agree to remove to the country west of the Mississippi river provided for the Pottawattomie Nation by the U. S. within two years.²

Menominee did not sign this treaty; according to the signed statement of the other three, they did not sign either.

On November 4, 1836, Menominee and the three previously mentioned Indians along with fourteen other Indians sent a petition to Senator John Tipton asking him to deliver it to the President. In the petition the Indians claimed to have been "working at their fields" during the time the so-called treaty was signed.³ Tipton did not send the letter to the President but waited for more than a month and sent it to Carey A. Harris,⁴ Commissioner of Indian

¹Ibid. ²Ibid., pp. 462-63.

³Menominee ET AL. to Tipton, November 4, 1836, Robertson and Riker, III, 312-13. According to the Mereness Calendar, Tipton received a similar petition from the band of Chechaukkose on the same date as Menominee's.

⁴Tipton to Harris, December 18, 1836, Robertson and Riker, III, 325-26.

Affairs.

According to George W. Ewing and Cyrus Taber, who were present at the treaty in question, the treaty was signed by the "proper headmen of that Band, or the most of them [*italics mine*]." They also stated that all of the Indians were sober (contrary to some reports), and "willing to sell." They attributed the opposition to "some evil disposed persons (and perhaps the Catholic Priest of St. Josephs [*Father Deseille*])." The two men also believed that Deseille had obtained a deed to the whole reserve from Menominee or some "others whom he has deluded . . . & that he designs building a cathedral there, hence his great anxiety that the late treaty . . . should be rejected."¹ The two gentlemen were correct in thinking that the Catholic Church had an interest in reserves, but they were misinformed as to the extent of that interest. In 1835 Bishop Bruté made a trip to Chechaukkose's village on the Tippecanoe River near present Warsaw, Indiana.² During his stay at the village, he was offered a "demi-section" (320 acres) upon which to build a church and a school. The Bishop realized that the government might not sanction the gift.³ Also, the Indians of the Yellow River

¹George Ewing and Cyrus Taber to Tipton, August 21, 1836; Ibid., pp. 304-305.

²See No. 7 on map (supra, p. 57).

³James Roosevelt Bayley, Memoirs of the Right Reverend Simon Wm. Gabriel Brute, D. D. . . . (New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 1873), pp. 86-88.

reserve desired to give one section of their reserve to the Bishop.¹

The Exile of Father Deseille

Father Deseille sincerely believed that the Indians were being defrauded of their land and proceeded to explain the situation to them. As a consequence, Father Deseille became an enemy of Abel Pepper. Pepper sent Lewis Sands, his assistant superintendent of emigration, on a tour of the Indian villages to ascertain the sentiments of the Indians toward removal. Most of the bands realized that their lands were sold and were resigned to moving. But the Yellow River bands (Menominee's, Peepenawah's, etc.) were convinced that they had not sold their lands. Sands talked to the priest and reported that Deseille said to him that the treaty was a fraud and that none of the chiefs had signed it. Also, he maintained that among all the

¹Colonel Lewis H. Sands to Pepper, May 20, 1837. The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office, Indianapolis. It is reprinted in Mid-America, XV, 186-87. Sands said that Deseille acknowledged that he "had an obligation in writing and signed at his instance by those Indians granting the Bishop one section of this reservation to include the house in which he resides and the church." "The chiefs of this reserve [Menominee's], came to offer me a demi-section upon which to build a church, and another . . . for an educational establishment for their children. . . . They will come here presently to sign the deed of this gift; which I shall draw up on the model of the one at Tippecanoe." Deseille to Brute, June 10, 1835, translated from Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, VIII, 324-27; reprinted in Mid-America, p. 200.

From the collection of the
 military and naval records
 pay the sum of \$100.00
 at Large, IV, 713

signers only two belonged to the Yellow River bands.¹

After hearing of the priest's activities, Colonel Pepper was determined to rid himself of this "stumbling block" to his plans for an early removal. He wrote to Deseille saying that he understood that the priest was "in the habit" of telling Indians and white men the Yellow River treaty was a fraud and that, for the past two years, Deseille had advised the Indians not to comply with the "humane wishes" of the government. Pepper "requested" that the priest show evidence of citizenship to Colonel Sands and advised him that if he could not produce such evidence, he would "be proceeded against as a foreigner, and be liable to the penalties of the 6th Section of the Act of Congress of 1834." He ordered Deseille to leave the public lands within three days.² Sands delivered the letter, and Deseille agreed to leave within the three days. Sands was sure that after the priest had gone, there was no doubt that "those deluded Indians . . . [would] listen to the good advice of the President and remove to their

¹Sands to Pepper, May 11, 1837. Mid-America, pp. 183-84.

²Pepper to Deseille, May 16, 1837, Ibid., pp. 185-86. The act referred to by Pepper was entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers." In section six it says: "That if a foreigner shall go into the Indian country without a passport from the War Department, the superintendent, agent, or subagent of Indian affairs, or from the officer of the United States commanding the nearest military post on the frontiers . . . he shall forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand dollars." (U. S. Statutes at Large, IV, 730)

new homes."

Colonel Pepper was finally rid of his "troublemaker," but he was afraid that he had been too drastic and hastened to seek approval from higher authorities. He wrote to Carey A. Harris and asked:

I beg leave, therefore, to ask whether my course as explained by the reports and correspondence referred to above can be sustained by the laws of the United States and the authority of the department over which you preside.

Father Deseille's interpreter and helper, Angelique (Liquette) Campeau, an elderly spinster, was also ordered to leave the reservation. Sands sent her a short note which reads thus:

You are hereby required to leave the Indian reservation purchased by Government forthwith. M. Deseille cannot be allowed to evade the penalties of the law by leaving yourself in possession of his house. Mr. Nash is authorized to demand and take possession of the House in which M. Deseille resided for the use of Government. And you expected to depart immediately¹

¹Lewis H. Sands to Mamzelle Ligate (Angelique Campeau), May 28, 1837. The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office, Indianapolis, quoted in McKee, p. 25. Father Badin described Miss Campeau as follows:

She is 68 years old, and she has spent more than thirty at the school of my venerable friend; Father Richard [at Detroit]. I do not know of a priest more industrious, more penitent, more patient, more learned, more genuinely pious than she in all this country. We never omit religious duties at the rising and the setting of the sun, then we teach every day to all whom we can collect. Miss Liquette, so old as she is, does the same every day after mass.

From an excerpt of one of Father Badin's letters printed in

Father Deseille continued his work among the Indians at Pokagon's village in Michigan. In September of 1837 he left the village and traveled to South Bend, Indiana, where he lay ill for a few days. On September 26, 1837, he died at his cabin on St. Mary's Lake.¹

Father Petit's Influence on Removal

Immediately upon hearing of Father Deseille's death, Bishop Bruté sent a new priest to the Indians. A young Jesuit priest named Benjamin Marie Petit was chosen for this task.² Father Petit arrived at Menominee's reserve on November 3, 1837, and was greeted affectionately by the Indians.³

Late in November, Menominee and several other Indians

Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, IV, 546; VI, 154; translated and printed in Cecilia Bain Buechner, The Pokagons ("Indiana Historical Society Publications," Vol. X, No. 5; Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1933).

¹The date of Father Deseille's death is mentioned in a letter from Bishop Bruté to Carey A. Harris, June 25, 1838. The original is in the Government Indian Office Files; cited by Godecker, p. 147n. A description of the priest's death is found in Ave Maria, I, No. 30 (December, 1865), 474-75; cited by McKee, p. 25n.

²For a biographical sketch of Father Petit up to the time he became a missionary, see Ibid., pp. 26-28.

³Petit to Bruté, November 27, 1837, Ibid., p. 35. Father Petit records this speech of an Indian made to him upon his arrival: "We were orphans . . . and as if in darkness, but you appeared among us like a great light, and we live. You have taken the place of our father who died, and we shall do nothing without your advice" (Petit to his family, November 24, 1837, Ibid., pp. 33-34).

along with a lawyer were preparing to go to Washington to protest against the illegal treaty.¹ Father Petit had promised to write a memorial for the Indians to deliver to the President, and he gave Menominee \$140.00 to help pay the expenses of the journey.² By the end of December the Indians had not left for Washington due to the lack of funds. Father Petit was thinking of going in the Indians' place with power of attorney.³ This plan, however, was vetoed by Bishop Brute' early in January.⁴

By March 3, 1838, the Indians had arrived in Washington in the care of John T. Douglass.⁵ The same month they returned, arriving in Cincinnati on March 26th.⁶ Petit remarked in a letter to a friend that someone had attempted to keep the Indians from seeing the President. The Indians, however, were successful in their attempt to be heard due to a friend of Petit's who introduced them

¹Ibid., p. 38. ²Ibid., pp. 41-43.

³Ibid., p. 49.

⁴Ibid., p. 124. Early in January, 1838, Father Petit wrote to his family that the "mission is menaced by approaching destruction--the government wants to transport the Indians to the other side of the Mississippi. I live between fear and hope" (Ibid., p. 52).

⁵John T. Douglass was a Miami subagent and a partner of John Tipton, William Polke, and others in land speculation (Robertson and Riker, III, 572, 643-44).

⁶McKee, p. 75n., citing J. T. Douglass to Harris, February 4, March 12 and 25, 1838, Indian Office, Letters Received, Indiana and Miscellaneous; and Pepper to Harris, May 5, 1838, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

to the President.¹ By April Petit was aware that the Indians' mission had been a failure, and he thought that the Indians' last hope lay in taking their case to court.² This was a vain hope, for the government refused to become a party to the case.³

When the Indians returned, they reported to Petit the following conversation that had taken place in Washington:

"I do not wish to speak of it," said the President [Van Buren]. 'Your names are on the treaty; your lands are lost,' said the Secretary of War [Joel R. Poinsett]. 'But here are witnesses to the treaty who will show how everything was a fraud' [said the Indians]. 'I do not need to be shown, and we did not need your signatures: the great chiefs of the nation were entitled to sell your reserve.'"⁴

¹Ibid., pp. 60-61.

²Ibid., pp. 66, 75-76.

³Ibid., p. 81.

⁴Ibid., p. 81. The reference to the fact that the "great chiefs" had sold the reserve was due to a supplemental treaty concluded at Washington on February 11, 1837, with Chechaukkose, Ashkum, Louison, Muckkose, and Quehquehtah. This treaty confirmed the provision of the treaty of August 5, 1836, about which the Indians were protesting. Considering the above named Indians as "great chiefs" of the nation of Potawatomi was a convenient device of the government which was not based on fact. These Indians had never been so considered by the government or anyone else previously. The first four were leaders of bands of Indiana Potawatomi as were Menominee, Peepinawaw, Notawkah, and Muckkahtahmoway. The bands of Chechaukkose, Ashkum, Louison, and Muckkose were no larger than those of many of the seventy-one chiefs who were listed on the Potawatomi of Indiana pay roll of 1829. Louison's was smaller than Menominee's by 1830. As to Quehquehtah, he was not even an Indiana Potawatomi. He was a member of the combined tribes of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi which had already ceded their lands in Illinois and Michigan. Quehquehtah had removed west earlier and just happened to be in Washington on his own business when some Potawatomi

In June Petit wrote that the "agent in charge of the emigration" (William Polke) was "on the scene," but that the Indians were ignoring him. He quotes Polke as saying: "They are like pillars: There is no way to budge them from their homes." Petit said that some Indians had returned from beyond the Mississippi and had told the prospective emigrants that it was "better to be wretched here than go down there, where one dies of hunger and where the land produces nothing." He also said that attempts were made to bribe the Indians who returned into saying that the land was fine but that the Indians refused to accept the money.¹

William Polke, the prospective conductor of the emigration, went to see Father Petit. He had a conversation with him during which he asked the priest if he

chiefs were needed to sign a treaty (Robertson and Riker, III, 234-36, 361-63; also see Kappler, II, 488-89 for provisions of the supplemental treaty).

¹McKee, p. 76. Bribery was an accepted part of the business of Indian removal and was practiced even by Lewis Cass. In 1821 Alexander Wolcott, the Chicago Agent, addressed Cass relative to the contemplated treaty thus:

To induce the Pottawatomies to sell their lands, particularly the district of St. Joseph's . . . it will be requisite to bribe their chief-men. . . . In short it appears to me that a small portion of the sum . . . can be disposed of in the best . . . manner in . . . securing before hand the principal men of the nation.

In reply, Cass approved the plan (Wolcott to Cass, January 1, 1821, Indian Department, Cass Correspondence; quoted in Quaife, p. 346n.).

was an enemy of the government and whether he was interfering with the removal policy. Petit replied that he had never talked for or against removal and that his sole occupation was his ministry. This answer apparently satisfied Polke for he assured the priest that he would be allowed to minister to the Indians as long as the Indians remained.

Preparation for the Removals of 1838

The plans of the government were going forward to ensure a large emigration in the summer of 1838. One of the usual stumbling blocks to emigration was the traders. In order to secure their help, John Tipton thought it would be a good idea to employ them as assistants or to secretly pay them to aid (rather than oppose) the removal. The most influential of the traders was G. W. Ewing. Although Tipton did not like Ewing, he thought that it would be necessary to obtain his help. Tipton approached Abel Pepper on the subject of employing Ewing in March of 1838. In his answer Pepper frankly stated that he considered Ewing both faithless and dishonest; but if Tipton thought Ewing was necessary, he would try to get along with him. Pepper absolutely refused to appoint Ewing and said that if the Indian department wanted to employ him, they would have to do the appointing.¹ Cyrus Taber offered a compromise

¹Robertson and Riker, III, 618-19.

whereby Ewing would not have to receive an appointment. He suggested that Pepper employ him (Taber) as an assistant agent, and he would split his pay with Ewing, who would go along as a private person.¹

Abel C. Pepper reported to Carey A. Harris on March 6, 1838, that he had appointed Johnston Lykins and Isaac S. Berry as assistant agents; he recommended Amaziah Morgan as another assistant and John B. Duret as enrolling agent.²

In addition to removing a large number of Potawatomi from Indiana, it was hoped that an emigration of Potawatomi of Michigan could be secured. Topenebee, the principal chief of the Potawatomi, was in Kansas in February of 1838. He was urged to return to his old home in Michigan and to persuade more Indians to remove. Colonel Pepper gave Johnston Lykins an appointment as assistant agent and the job of inviting the chief to return home. Evidently Lykins was successful for he and the chief left on May 5, 1838.³ But the plan went astray, for the Michigan Indians refused to go and left the camp where Mr. Lykins had them assembled.⁴

¹Pepper to Tipton, May 29, 1838, Ibid., p. 636. The pay of an assistant was four dollars per day plus travel pay.

²Ibid., p. 564n.

³Ibid., pp. 537, 548, 564, 629, 634, 636, 650n, 663.

⁴Ibid., p. 672. Isaac S. Berry was successful in organizing a party of approximately 150 Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi, which he took to their new homes in the summer of 1838 (U. S. Senate Documents, Report No. 1, [25th Cong., 3rd Sess.], I, 470).

In Indiana, William Polke had collected between 400 and 500 Indians at Plymouth. It was reported by the Herald that the Indians would "probably leave about the middle of August."¹

On Tuesday, July 17th, Colonel Pepper held a council with the Indians of Menominee's Reserve. The Herald reported that the purpose of the council was "immediate emigration" of the Indians. The editor said that they would leave reluctantly, and he predicted (quite accurately) that within twenty-five years the Indians would be "pushed from their homes west of the Mississippi by the greedy rapacity of the white men."²

At the council Colonel Pepper addressed the Indians thus:

Chiefs, Warriors, & young men of the Pottawatomies of the Wabash. . . . You made war with each other & with the white man . . . and thus you have become less and less until you are like a little tree in the middle of a thick forest of tall pines. . . . My children your Great Father thinks if you will remove to your own country & make laws like his, you may grow up again & become strong & happy. . . . But some of you say that the country to which your Great Father wishes you to go is not good--that the smallpox will attack & destroy you there--and if you escape from its ravages, other tribes of Indians will kill you & that your Great Father only wishes to send you there to have you destroyed. . . .

My children--Do not, I beseech you, let go the hand of your Great Father & listen to the bad counsel of men who would sacrifice

¹Logansport Herald, June 28, 1838.

²Ibid., July 5, 1838.

your happiness forever for a few pitiful dollars.¹

Menominee, speaking for the Indians, answered Pepper with this speech:

The President does not know the truth. He, like me, has been deceived. He does not know that your treaty is a lie and that I never have signed it. He does not know that you made my chiefs drunk, got their consent, and pretended to get mine. He does not know that I have refused to sell my lands and still refuse. He would not by force drive me from my home, the graves of my tribe and children, who have gone to the Great Spirit, nor to allow you to tell me that your braves will take me, tied like a dog, if he knew the truth. My brother, the President is just, but he listens to his young chiefs, who have lied. When he knows the truth, he will leave me to my own. I have not sold my lands. I will not sell them; I have not signed any treaty, and I shall not sign any. I am not going to leave my land. I do not want to hear anything more about it.²

Father Petit wrote that before the interpreter for Pepper was through speaking, the "first chief" (probably Menominee) interrupted and, seizing Pepper's hand, said: "Look here, Father; our lands belong to us. We shall keep them; we do not wish to talk to you any more."³

Time was running out for the Indians, for August 5th was the date that the Indians were supposed to give up the land, according to the treaty of August 5, 1836.

¹Logansport Canal Telegraph, July 21, 1838.

²Quoted in Daniel McDonald, Twentieth Century History of Marshall County (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1908), I, 21.

³McKee, p. 81.

Pepper informed Petit that the governor of Indiana (David Wallace) would use military force to protect the rights of preemptioners. Petit was eager to avoid trouble and replied that he had informed the Indians of the government's intentions and assured Pepper that the Indians would offer no resistance. The priest told him that the preemptioners could take possession peaceably without the assistance of a military force. He also relayed information from Menominee that the chief was sorry for the words spoken by him at the council and that he would apologize at the next council.¹

On Tuesday, August 7, 1838, Pepper held another council at the reserve. He reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Indians had apologized for "the bad speech they uttered at the previous council," and he said he was sure that the Indians would yield to the wishes of the government. He said that he had talked with citizens and traders and that it was the unanimous opinion that General Tipton should talk to the Indians. Pepper wrote to Tipton at his home near Logansport and asked him to come to the reserve on the next Friday, August 10, 1838. George W. Ewing and William Polke, who were at the reserve, also wrote to Tipton at the same time, asking him to come. Ewing said that although what he termed "counter influence" was weaker than it had been, it was "still to be felt." He said that some chiefs still believed that they could

¹Ibid., p. 87.

keep the Yellow River (Menominee's) reserve. "Exertions" would be required to remove such false impressions, he concluded.¹

Carey A. Harris wrote to General Tipton on August 7, 1838, enclosing an appointment for Ewing. Harris left it up to Tipton's judgement as to whether it should be given to Ewing. Tipton decided to give it to him, and Ewing accepted the appointment on the 21st of August. In his report to Harris, Tipton told of his visit to the reserve. Tipton had arrived at Yellow River on Saturday, the 11th of August; and he found the Indians in a "bad temper." Some of the Indians told him they would leave late that fall, some said next year, and a few were determined not to go at all. The General was sure that the Indians were influenced by white men. They refused to give up the reserve; and, in fact, were "stubborn and rather insolent." He said that he would pay them another visit in a week and that they had to "leave & go somewhere." He concluded the report to Harris with this prophecy: "Do not be surprised if strong measures are taken no blood shall be shed unless on the defensive but they must go."²

The Telegraph reported that it was rumored that armed force would be used to drive out the Potawatomi. The

¹Ewing to Tipton, August 8, 1838; Pepper to Tipton, August 8, 1838; Polke to Tipton, August 8, 1838; Pepper to Harris, August 13, 1838; Robertson and Riker, III, 660-63.

²Tipton to Harris, August 21, 1838, Ibid., p. 667.

editor stated that "if a resort to force is necessary it has been made so by the erroneous policy of the government & the unworthy practices of weak & incompetant public officers."¹ The Herald attacked the stand of the Telegraph and replied:

If the Indians refuse to go . . . the question arises . . . shall we resort to bribery or stronger means to get rid of them? What do the Editors of the Telegraph say should be done.²

In the same issue the Herald accused one of the editors of the Telegraph with being "at every treaty and payment for seven years past urging the collection of claims . . . --some of forty years standing." The Herald was of the opinion that it was the traders with claims against the Indians who advised them to oppose emigration. The traders are quoted as saying that if Colonel Pepper was replaced, they could remove the Indians without difficulty. The Herald stood by Pepper and stated that he had acted "manly" and had not resorted to "bribery, trickery, etc."

As far as the government was concerned, it was a foregone conclusion that the Indians would leave. As early as July 5, 1838, advertisements for bids to supply the proposed emigration were printed in the Logansport Herald. Persons bidding to supply rations for the Indians had to provide one pound of fresh beef or pork and three-fourths

every . . .

¹Logansport Canal Telegraph, August 18, 1838.

²Logansport Herald, August 30, 1838.

of a pound of corn, corn meal, or one pound of wheat flour per person. In addition, four quarts of salt was to be provided for each hundred persons. The route to be traveled was printed, and it was made clear that the first issue would be required on the 16th of July.

On August 24, 1838, General Tipton wrote to Isaac McCoy at Westport (Kansas City), Missouri. Among other things, he told McCoy the Potawatomi had refused to go, but that in eight days (September 1, 1838) he would go to see the Indians again, and he said: "They s[hall not] tell me they wont. go, they must go." The next day in a letter to another old friend, Edward A. Hannegan, he said that he would arrive at Plymouth at noon on the 3rd of September and that the Indians "shall go." He asked Hannegan to meet him on the "Laport" road, five miles below Plymouth, at three o'clock on the afternoon of September 3, 1838. He asked Hannegan to bring with him "six men good & true, who will aid in collecting the Indians come on horse back or on foot as may be most convenient come unarmed all things will be provided by [Tipton]. PS secrecy is everything."¹

By this time, Tipton seems to have come to the conclusion that the use of force was justified and necessary.

According to Tipton, there was some trouble between white settlers on the Indians' land and the Indians. Almost every quarter section of the reserve was occupied by a

¹Robertson and Riker, III, 671-73.

preemption. When August 5 arrived, the whites demanded the land; and the Indians refused to give it up. Quarrels broke out. Sometime between the 15th and 20th of August "the Indians chopped the door" of Joseph Waters, one of the settlers. In retaliation, the whites burned "ten or twelve Indian cabins."¹ The above is Tipton's version of the events which took place on Menominee's reserve.²

¹Pepper to Harris, August 13, 1838, Ibid., pp. 662-63; and Tipton to Wallace, September 18, 1838, Ibid., pp. 713-18.

²After a careful examination of all the correspondence and other material relative to this removal, it becomes clear that Tipton was the only person to mention the incident at the reserve. His first mention of it was made in a letter which he wrote on August 31, 1838. In this letter to Governor Wallace he said that at a council the Indians could not explain "the assault made on the house of a Citizen . . . a few days ago." He said that the Indians complained of burned cabins, but he does not go into any detail of the trouble (Ibid., p. 682). His first account of the details of the trouble comes in his letter to the governor dated September 18, 1838. The incident was not mentioned by any other person at any time and was not mentioned by Tipton prior to August 31, 1838. At the time this incident occurred, the newspapers contained no information about this seemingly newsworthy event, and Tipton failed to mention it in any of five reports made to Carey A. Harris between August 21, and August 26, 1838. In Governor Wallace's authorization letter of August 31 (supra, p. 85), he speaks of the temper and conduct of the whites and Indians portending hostile action. It seems logical to assume that if any hostile action had already taken place, he would have mentioned it in that letter, for he was listing reasons for calling volunteers into service.

Thus, Tipton's story of the action at the reserve has come down to the present day slightly modified and improved by history writers. Benjamin F. Stuart, in his article entitled "The Deportation of Menominee and His Tribe of Pottawattomie Indians," says: "A cabin of Mr. Waters was torn down by the Indians" (Indiana Magazine of History, XVIII [September, 1922], 260). Logan Esarey, in his History

Success--The Trail of Death Is Begun

On August 27, 1838, Governor David Wallace sent a letter to General Tipton at his home. In this letter he said that Colonel Pepper had told him that there was reason to fear "shedding of blood" at the reserve. Pepper requested that the governor send one hundred volunteers to prevent such an occurrence. The governor, in compliance with the request, authorized Tipton to accept the services of the volunteers and to report to Colonel Pepper "armed and equipped."¹ Tipton accepted immediately and said that he would accept no pay for his services.² As soon as he received his charge from the governor, Tipton wrote to friends asking them to raise a part of the force.

George Ewing seems to have been very concerned about the music to be provided for the little army. It appears that Ewing had secured the services of a bass drummer, but a tenor drum and a fifer could not be found. Ewing wrote three letters in two days concerning the musicians, and in his last communication he informed the general that he had finally secured two drums and a fife. He only had one musician, however, and he had no horse. To make matters worse, there were no horses available except the one belonging to Ewing.³

of Indiana, says that "some Indians battered down his [Waters] door with an ax" (Vol. I [Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Historical Publishing Co., 1922], 381).

¹Robertson and Riker, III, 675.

²Tipton to Wallace, Ibid., p. 676. ³Ibid., pp. 676-81.

Tipton told his men to meet him early Thursday morning, August 30, on the road to Plymouth near Chippewa (about twenty miles from Plymouth). The original plan was for Tipton to arrive at Samuel Taber's residence (about two miles from Plymouth) at about eleven o'clock Thursday morning. The schedule was moved up, for Tipton left Logansport at one o'clock on Tuesday afternoon and arrived at Chippewa the same evening. The next morning at three a.m. he set out on the road to Twin Lake Encampment (Menominee's reserve). On the way he met about seventy of the volunteers and a wagon full of arms and ammunition. The guns had been secretly loaded by Ewing at Logansport the previous night. They were carried by a wagoner, who was unaware of the nature of the cargo until the boxes were opened.

After the arms were issued and the men were organized, they proceeded on their way. The volunteers arrived at the reserve just before noon on August 29. Colonel Pepper was there having council with a number of chiefs and principal men of the tribe. General Tipton, with one man and an interpreter, went on ahead of the volunteers and talked to the Indians. According to Tipton, they showed no sign of hostility, neither did they express any willingness to leave the reserve. The Indians were restricted to the camp, and the next day another council was held during which most of the Indians submitted to the general's counsel, as he put it. But Menominee, Black Wolf (Muckkahtahmoway),

and Peepinawaw said that they wished to remain with their priest. Tipton then made a promise that he would recommend to the President that the government build a chapel and a residence for a priest in their new home. He wrote to Father Pitit, telling him of his promise, and asked him to accompany the Indians on the trip west. Tipton admitted that it was in the priest's power to settle the whole problem easily.¹ Petit answered that it was not in his power to do as the general asked for he was under the orders of his bishop just as Tipton's soldiers were under him. He remarked that he had asked Bishop Bruté to allow him to go with the Indians, but the request was denied.²

On the 31st there were about two hundred Indians in camp, and by the 2nd of September about seven hundred had been collected. On September 1, the general ordered the appraisal of the Indians' corn fields; and the next day enrollment of the Indians commenced.³ Indians continued to arrive, bringing their possessions with them, until a total of 759 were enrolled.

Early on Monday morning, the 3rd of September, the loading of wagons was begun. Thirteen baggage wagons were

¹Ibid., pp. 677, 680, 682, 685-87, 743-743n.

²McKee, pp. 88-89.

³Robertson and Riker, III, 682-84, 687. The sum of \$742.50 was allowed the Indians for their corn fields. In addition, they were paid \$600 for log houses which had to be abandoned (U. S. Statutes at Large, V, 326).

filled with the property of the Indians. Indian ponies were rounded up from the woods and driven to a peninsula, jutting out into one of the lakes.

Indians, soldiers, and curious spectators alike arose early on Thursday morning. The sun was shining brightly, and it looked as though it would be a typically hot autumn day. Men were sent to collect the ponies on the peninsula and to prepare them for the journey. Between three and four hundred ponies were available for Indians to ride. After breakfast, the camp was leveled and the procession started to form. Many of the Indians straggled into line barefooted, and a great number had no shirts on their backs nor any blankets to take with them. Sick Indians and well lined up--flanked by the officers and soldiers. Some soldiers were ill too, for it seems that the summer of 1838 was not only particularly hot but had been a season of sickness amongst whites and Indians. Some of those who were too ill to walk were placed in the wagons. There were not enough ponies for all, and the contractors who were to provide wagons had failed to supply the needed number, so many women and children had to walk. The chiefs and headmen, however, had ponies; and in addition, they were provided with a carriage in which to ride.¹

The caravan lined up thus: At the head was a "splendid star spangled banner continually waving [its] rich colors

¹Robertson and Riker, III, 690, 692-93.

and brilliant folds in the air"; then the "rebellious chiefs" followed in a "sort of cage"; then came the staff, baggage wagons, the carriage, and several chiefs on horseback leading about three hundred men, women, and children riding ponies single file; next came the Indians' baggage wagons and several hundred Indians of all ages on foot. The whole procession stretched out on the road for three miles.¹

Our story ends as the long line moved off down the road under the bright morning sun. Soon clouds of dust raised by horses hooves, soldiers boots, and hundreds of moccasined feet engulfed the cavalcade as it disappeared from view.

¹McKee, pp. 89n, 99; Delphi Oracle, September 15, 1838.

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