

The Centennial of "The Trail of Death"

IRVING MCKEE

On September 4, 1838, the last considerable body of Indians in Indiana was forcibly removed. The subsequent emigration of these Indians to the valley of the Osage River in Kansas has been appropriately named "The Trail of Death" by Jacob P. Dunn.¹ An article by Benjamin F. Stuart dealing with the removal of Menominee and his tribe, and Judge William Polke's "Journal" tell a vital part of the story.²

In addition there are two monuments at Twin Lakes, Marshall County, that mark the scene of this removal. One is a statue of a conventional Indian upon a lofty pedestal with the following inscription:

In Memory of Chief Menominee
And His Band of 859 Pottawattomie Indians
Removed From This Reservation
Sept. 4, 1838 By A Company of Soldiers
Under Command of General John Tipton
Authorized By Governor David Wallace.

Immediately below the above historical matter, the following is inscribed:

Governor of Indiana J. Frank Hanly
Author of Law
Representative Daniel McDonald, Plymouth
Trustees
Colonel A. F. Fleet, Culver
Colonel William Hoynes, Notre Dame
Charles T. Mattingly, Plymouth

Site Donated By John A. McFarlin
1909

The second memorial is a tableted rock a quarter of a mile away from the first, at the northern end of the larger of the Twin Lakes, which marks the location of an old Indian chapel. The inscription reads:

Site of
Menominee Chapel
Pottawattomie Indian Church
at

¹ *True Indian Stories* (Indianapolis, 1909), 237.

² Stuart, "The Deportation of Menominee and His Tribe of Pottawattomie Indians," *Indiana Magazine of History* (September, 1922), XVIII, 255-265; William Polke, "Journal of an Emigrating Party of Pottawattomie Indians, 1838," *ibid.* (December, 1925) XXI, 315-336. (Authorship of this Journal is not certain), Cf. Kenneth F. Mitchell, *Journal of American History*, 1922), XVI, 358.

Chi Chi Pi Ou Ti Pe
 Twin Lakes
 First Church in Marshall County
 Erected 1827 by Father Badin.
 First Catholic Priest Ordained in U.S.
 1838 the Indians Were Moved
 Westward and the Chapel Was
 Forever Closed
 Commemorated by
 Howard C. Grube

As far as can at present be ascertained, the first of the two inscriptions is historically accurate. The second, however, contains a serious error. The chapel was not built in 1827, nor did the Rev. Stephen Badin have any connection with it.

Before proceeding with the story, it may be mentioned that both of the monuments resulted from the interest of the late Daniel McDonald in the Pottawatomi. As a scholar, a representative in the State Legislature, and a newspaper editor, McDonald labored conscientiously in behalf of the Indians he had first encountered as the child of a pioneering family. His are still the fullest available accounts of the Pottawatomi of Indiana.³

McDonald worked for two years from the time of his address before the legislature finally passed his bill appropriating \$2,500 for the statue of Menominee and for the rebuilding of the old Indian chapel.⁴ On September 4, 1909, these memorials were completed and dedicated.⁵ Since that time, however, the reconstructed chapel has disappeared and has been replaced by the tabled rock, and the statue, "the first and only monument erected to an Indian or band of Indians authorized by legislative enactment by the United States or by any state in the Union," alone remains.

Several of McDonald's findings must be modified, but his name nevertheless will always be most prominent in association with the memory of Indiana's last Indians.

The number of Indians in Indiana was estimated in 1835 as 4,000.⁶ Menominee's tribe included about 1,500 who

³ For Address of Representative Daniel McDonald of Plymouth Delivered in the House of Representatives, Indianapolis, Friday, February 3, 1905, on The Bill to Erect a Monument to the Pottawattomie Indians at Twin Lakes, Marshall County, see his *History of Lake Maxinkuckee* (Indianapolis, 1905); and his monumental *Twentieth Century History of Marshall County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1908).

⁴ McDonald, *Twentieth Century History*, vol. I, pp. 50-52.

⁵ *Culver Citizen*, Sept. 9, 1908.

⁶ *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyon, 1836), vol. VIII, 323.

inhabited the region between Lake Maxinkuckee and the present site of Plymouth.⁷ Menominee's Village consisted of approximately a hundred "wigwams, cabins, and tepees" near Twin Lakes.⁸

During the eighteenth century, the Indians had known Christianity as it was interpreted to them by French missionaries.⁹ Following the departure of these visitors, American traders and whiskey had brought about the impoverishment and degeneration of the Pottawatomi.¹⁰

Menominee himself, however, appears to have been an unusual personage. The only detailed and firsthand account we have of him was written by the first missionary to come to Twin Lakes after the departure of the French. The Rev. Isaac McCoy, a Baptist minister living at Fort Wayne, refers to Menominee in 1821 as follows:

I had been informed by an Indian trader that on the Illinois River [He meant Yellow River], some hundred miles from Fort Wayne, there was a company of religious Putawatomies, at the head of whom was one who was a kind of preacher, whose name was Menominee. As this man exhorted his followers to abstain from ardent spirits and many other vices, and to practice good morals, and as a part of their religious services consisted in praying, we were induced to hope that their minds were somewhat prepared to receive religious instruction. . . . About the 10th of April, the party of Indians from Twin Lakes came to Fort Wayne, to see me; and during several days that they remained in that neighborhood, we had much interesting conversation on the subject of religion. The leader [Menominee] professed to have been called, some few years previously, by the Great Spirit, to preach to the Indians that they should forsake their evil practices, among which he enumerated the vices of drunkenness, theft, murder, and many other wicked practices. He had a few followers, the number of whom was increasing. They generally kept close together, and all united in morning and evening worship, at which times they heard a lecture from their leader, and all kneeled and engaged in prayer, all vocally reciting the same words at the same time. While they taught good morals, they appeared wholly ignorant of the leading doctrines of the Bible, which teach that salvation is by Christ. Menominee, however, appeared to be more meek and ready to receive instruction than could have been expected from a wild man who had arrogated to himself claims to be a leader, not only in temporal, but also in spiritual things.¹¹

⁷ Stuart, *op. cit.*, 258.

⁸ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 6.

⁹ William McNamara, *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier*, Washington, 1931, chap. I.

¹⁰ *Report of John W. Edmonds*, Dec. 19, 1837, Indian Office, Washington.

¹¹ Isaac McCoy, *History of the Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington, 1840), 95-96.

Menominee's Village at this time (1821) consisted, according to McCoy, of only four huts;¹² its growth in the next seventeen years is some evidence of the leader's powers. The Baptist missionary visited Twin Lakes twice in 1821, observing and recording many details of the daily life of the Indians and their religious practices. Subsequently he founded the short-lived Carey Mission near Niles, Michigan, and then associated himself with the settlements of transported Indians in Kansas and Missouri.¹³

The next important contact these Pottawatomi had with white men was when Commissioners Jonathan Jennings, John W. Davis, and Mark Crume—appointed by President Jackson—negotiated a treaty at the forks of the Wabash on the site of the present city of Huntington, October 26, 1832.¹⁴ This was a preliminary step in carrying out the federal policy of gradually forcing the Indians away by buying up their lands and transporting them to reserves west of the Mississippi.¹⁵ The Indiana legislature had concurred in this purpose the previous year.¹⁶ By the terms of the treaty Menominee and numerous other chiefs received twenty-two sections of land (14,080 acres) between Plymouth and Twin Lakes as well as an annuity in exchange for their former enormously larger domain.¹⁷

On August 27, 1834, another momentous event occurred when the Rev. Louis Deseille, visiting Twin Lakes for the first time, baptized Menominee and several others of the tribe in the area of the lakes "under the branches of an old, shady oak, after some days of instruction."¹⁸ The evidence points to this as the first appearance of a Catholic priest at Twin Lakes for seventy years at least. Deseille, who had come to South Bend from Holland in 1832, was the successor of the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, founder, in 1830, of the Catholic mission there which eventually became Notre Dame.¹⁹

In the fall of 1834, William Marshall, resident Indian

¹² *Ibid.*, 102.

¹³ McCoy, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁴ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 10.

¹⁵ Annie H. Abel, "History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1906, I.

¹⁶ McDonald, *Address*, 1905, 3.

¹⁷ *A Compilation of All the Treaties between the United States and the Indian Tribes*, Washington, 1873, 680.

¹⁸ *Baptismal Register*, Notre Dame University.

¹⁹ McNamara, *op. cit.*, 26.

agent in Indiana,²⁰ negotiated another treaty with Menominee's tribe.²¹ By its terms the government was to purchase half the reservation at fifty cents an acre, and the remaining eleven sections would become the property of individual Indians (among them Menominee) as well as certain white settlers. The latter were just beginning to appear on the scene. This document was not recorded as it was subsequently disapproved by the President as a fraud on the Pottawatomie, since the price per acre was too low.²²

McDonald believed that the chapel at Twin Lakes was built by Badin in 1827, apparently because of an old Indian's recollection, in spite of the fact that Badin did not come to Indiana until 1830 and left no record of Menominee's tribe.²³ The tabled rock which at present commemorates the chapel records McDonald's statement as historical fact. A letter of Deseille's shows unmistakably that the building was not erected until 1834-1835 and that the Indians themselves carried the project through.²⁴

Deseille had been at Twin Lakes in August, 1834,²⁵ and he did not return until May, 1835, just after a visit to Checkaw-kose's Village on the Tippecanoe with his superior, Bishop Simon Bruté of Vincennes.²⁶ In his letter, dated June 10, 1835, from Pokegan's Village (near Niles, Michigan) and addressed to the Bishop, Deseille records his discovery of the chapel, the fact that the Indians were making the Church a present of 640 acres along with the building, and the reaction of the Pottawatomie to Bruté's sojourn at Checkaw-kose's Village. I translate part of Deseille's letter as follows:

I have been back for eleven days from the Indian missions of the Tippecanoe and the Yellow River [near Twin Lakes], where I had the pleasure of accompanying you, and I am taking the first free moment to inform you of the result of our visit.

Your unexpected presence among these inhabitants of the woods so overcame their natural apathy that, at the first news of your arrival, which spread from village to village with the swiftness of the wind, everybody—men, women, children—donned his best spring attire, mounted on horseback, and, through quagmires and marshes, came to see the great Black-Robe whom they knew to be the chief of the

²⁰ "Correspondence on Indian Removal," *Mid-America*, Illinois Catholic Historical Society, IV, 180.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² McDonald, *Twentieth Century History*, I, 26.

²³ *Ibid.*, 6, 11.

²⁴ *Annales*, VIII, 324-327.

²⁵ *Baptismal Register*, Notre Dame University.

²⁶ *Annales*, VIII, 318-328.

other Black-Robes, of whom their fathers had spoken so much, and whose departure several had regretted until their last breath and had died bidding their children to listen if the great Lord of Life sent the Black-Robes again.

As early as the day after your departure two new chiefs, whom I had never seen before, came with all their tribe to ask to be instructed and admitted to prayer. All the Indians, one after the other, renounced liquor and their superstitious practices. I could say only a few words to exhort them to imitate Christians in order to be instructed and learn their prayers. They promised me they would do so as soon as their maize was planted.

I had to do likewise with all the others, who did not stop coming from morning to evening during the whole week. The number of those who came to prepare themselves for baptism was also so great that they did not think at all of bringing provisions, and already hunger was beginning to make itself felt in the camp of the Christians and catechumens. Therefore it was necessary, before the end of the week, to send back all of those who lived on the Yellow River, promising them that I would see them the following week.

I stayed ten days at this Tippecanoe mission and baptized forty-three adults in that time. Some thirty who had already been baptized the summer before took their first communion.

Thence I left for the Yellow River. The number of new arrivals obliged me to stay six days at this place likewise, and I baptized thirty-seven savages there. They had erected a little chapel close to the cross I had set up last autumn, on the same plan as that at Tippecanoe.

The chiefs of this reserve, which comprises twenty-two sections, came to offer me a demi-section [320 acres] upon which to build a church, and another demi-section for an educational establishment for their children so that they could learn to read and study.

They will presently come here to sign the deed of this gift, which I shall draw up on the model of the one at Tippecanoe. They have made all possible entreaties to induce me not to abandon them. It would be a crime for me to abandon people who show such a persevering desire to know and do God's will!²⁷

McDonald quotes from one of Bishop Bruté's letters a passage which he calls a description of the chapel at Twin Lakes, but which in reality is a sketch of the one at Pokegan's Village near Niles.²⁸ The only authentic view of it seems to be the meager recollection of a pioneer settler, John Lowery: "The building was made of hewn logs, and its dimensions were about forty by twenty feet."²⁹

Less than two months after Deseille's letter, presented above, Col. Abel C. Pepper, resident Indian agent at Logans-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 324-327.

²⁸ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 6. Cf. Mary S. Godecker, *Simon Brute de Remur* (1931), 247-248.

²⁹ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 31.

port, wrote to the priest under date of August 7, 1835, warning him against subversive activities among the Indians.³⁰ In the light of subsequent events, it appears obvious that Pepper suspected that the missionary was encouraging the Pottawatomi to keep their property in Indiana, when it was the government's policy to deprive them of it. Deseille replied on October 10 following that his only interest was in the spiritual affairs of the Indians, and Pepper assured him on October 20 that, if the law were upheld, all would be well.³¹

But the authorities were far from placated. On November 3 John Gibson, Commissary General of Subsistence at Washington, charged Deseille with supporting the illegal treaty of 1834 and with agitating against the prospective removal by exhorting the Indians to build a church. The Catholic priest countered on December 28 with a strong reiteration of his disinterestedness and with denials of having had anything to do with the treaty or the building of the chapel—except that he approved the latter.³²

On January 22, 1836, Gibson assured Deseille that the Indians could stay on the reserve "as long as they wished to remain there" and that he could proceed with his ministrations, for on March 21 following, we find the missionary applying to Pepper for an appropriation from the Indian Instruction Funds.

Apparently the Commissary General had not been informed of what the Indian agent was accomplishing, or the former would not have written thus to Deseille. In the spring of 1836, Pepper was remarkably successful in buying up the Pottawatomi lands, negotiating treaties at Turkey Creek Prairie on March 26, on the Tippecanoe March 29 and April 11, and at Logansport April 22. This consistent progress could brook no interference: the response to Deseille's petition was a curt refusal on April 18.³³

The "trail of death" became inevitable on August 5, 1836, when twenty-six Potawatomi (among whom Menominee was conspicuously absent) apparently met Col. Pepper at the Yellow River and signed a treaty ceding the Menominee Reserve to the United States. For the 14,080 acres three of the signers—Pepinawaw, Natawka, and Mackatawmoah—

³⁰ *Mid-America*, IV, 178.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 177-178.

³² *Ibid.*, 179-180.

³³ *Ibid.*, 177-183.

"chiefs and headmen", were to receive \$14,080 on May 1, 1837, after the debts of the tribe were paid and deducted. Finally, it was stipulated that the tribe would move to a reserve provided by the government west of the Mississippi within two years.³⁴

In connection with this treaty one cannot deny credibility to the curious petition which was addressed to the President and the Senate through Gen. John Tipton³⁵ under date of November 4, 1836. Written in halting English, this document purports to be a denial by Menominee, Mackatawmoah, Pepinawaw, and Natawka that they, or any of their band except one, had signed the instrument destroying their title to the reserve. They maintained that they had been working in their fields at the time of the signing—in short, that their names (except for Menominee's, which had been omitted) had been forged and that irrelevant ones had been added. The memorial concludes with the marks and names of these and fourteen other headmen.³⁶

Not only is there no record of a reply to this petition, but there is no evidence that Tipton divulged its contents to anyone, let alone the President and the Senate.

Deseille sojourned at Twin Lakes before and after the Treaty of 1836 and made no secret of the fact that he considered it a fraud.³⁷ This is apparent in the report of Lewis H. Sands, assistant Indian agent, to his superior, Col. Pepper, on May 11, 1837. In visiting the tribes which had signed treaties the previous year, Sands found prospects of emigration good everywhere save at Twin Lakes. Here the Indians would hardly listen to him, and Deseille was frank in denouncing the treaty:

I had considerable difficulty in getting them to hear the messages you required me to deliver. I find that the band is under the influence of a priest who lives in the village. My attention was therefore directed to find out whether this man was using his influence in opposition to the views of the government. I inquired of the white settlers and learned enough to induce me to call on the priest for an explanation of his course.

He appeared willing to give me an answer to my queries, and I am perfectly convinced that he has made this band of Indians believe that they have not sold their reservation and that it will remain

³⁴ *Compilation of Treaties*, 712.

³⁵ 1786-1839. U. S. Senator 1833-1839 and former Indian agent. He "speculated widely in cheap lands" (*Dictionary of American Biography*).

³⁶ Unpublished Mss. in the Tipton Collection, Indiana State Library.

³⁷ *Baptismal Register*, Notre Dame University.

theirs as long as they live and their children. He had a copy of the treaty which he produced to me and contended that this band of Indians had been defrauded—that none of the chiefs had signed the treaty, and among all the signatures to it there were but two young men that belonged to the band, and he admitted that he had so explained it to the Indians. . . .

It is represented to them that they can remain on the lands . . . and that they can buy the same land again at \$1.25 per acre.³⁸

Sands recommended that Deseille be silenced and that the Indians receive the money due them ("if any") after the payment of their debts only when they had moved west. Instead of refuting the priest, Col. Pepper ordered him on May 16 either to leave Twin Lakes or to suffer arrest as an undesirable alien. On May 20 Sands explained this to Deseille, accusing him of defending the Pottawatomi only because they had deeded property to the Catholic Church. The missionary departed, declaring that Bishop Reze of Detroit would obtain authority for his return by threatening to remove every Catholic priest from the United States.³⁹

The dispute was cut short on September 26, 1837, however, when Deseille died at South Bend.⁴⁰ The authorities made no objection to the arrival of his successor, the Rev. Benjamin Marie Petit, in November following.⁴¹ Petit was a newly-ordained young priest who had come to Vincennes from France the previous year.⁴² During his residence at Twin Lakes he became resigned to the removal of the Indians, attempting only to alleviate their situation,⁴³ and the agents of the government were content to withhold financial support from the mission.⁴⁴

But Menominee was still obdurate. The time limit allowed him and his tribesmen expired on August 5, 1838, but no preparations had been made for departure. The following day Col. Pepper called a council at the village, read the treaty to an assemblage of white residents and Indian chiefs, and pointed out that the land now belonged to the government. The reaction, along with Menominee's eloquent speech, is recorded by McDonald:

³⁸ *Mid-America*, IV, 183-184.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 183-188.

⁴⁰ Godecker, *op. cit.*, 347.

⁴¹ *Annales*, XI, 385-387; *Baptismal Register*, Notre Dame University.

⁴² Godecker, *op. cit.*, 273, 277.

⁴³ *Annales*, XI, 380-396.

⁴⁴ *Mid-America*, IV, 191-192.

It was plain to those present who were familiar with the Indian character that there was great dissatisfaction among them and a spirit of rebellion which, if not suppressed, would probably lead to serious results. The leader and principal spokesman for the Indians was Me-no-mi-nee. . . . When Col. Pepper had made his final appeal and all had had their say, Menominee rose to his feet and, drawing his costly blanket around him, is reported by one who was present to have said in substance:

"Members of the Council: The President does not know the truth. He, like me, has been imposed upon. He does not know that you made my young chiefs drunk and 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 drive me from my home and the graves of my tribe, and my children, who have gone to the Great Spirit, nor allow you to tell me your braves will take me, tied like a dog, if he knew the truth. My brother, the President is just, but he listens to the word of young chiefs who have lied; and 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 will not sign any. I am not going to leave my lands, and I do not want to hear anything more about it."⁴⁵

But Menominee had an unwarranted faith in President Van Buren. The council disbanded, and an ominous lull of a few weeks followed. Tension became acute between the Indians and the white settlers who wished to occupy the reserve. Some of the latter petitioned the Governor of Indiana, David Wallace, for protection.⁴⁶

Col. Pepper immediately secured the Governor's approval for the raising of a hundred volunteers under the command of Gen. John Tipton, who enrolled the force within forty-eight hours.⁴⁷ This body of militia arrived unheralded at Twin Lakes and immediately began collecting the surprised Indians, 120 of whom were rounded up on August 30 and 714 by September 1. Forty-two more were brought in on the 3rd, and, on Tuesday the 4th, the caravan, consisting of 286 horses belonging to the Pottawatomi and twenty-six wagons as well as the armed escort, set off.⁴⁸

Petit went to South Bend before "the quarrel between the Indians and the whites" and afterwards protested that the redskins had been seized to the number of 800 by the ruse of calling a council.⁴⁹ The chapel was "preëmpted by

⁴⁵ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 20-21.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁷ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 23.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁹ *Annales*, XI, 393; McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 26.

an American" on August 5.⁵⁰ Tipton invited the priest to accompany the emigration, and Petit, at first restrained by his prudent Bishop, finally accepted on September 7, three days after the emigrants had started west.⁵¹

The story of the transportation has been fully told elsewhere.⁵² The Catholic missionary, aghast at the soldiers' cruelty,⁵³ joined the expedition at Danville on September 16 and two days afterward was praised by Gen. Tipton in his report to Governor Wallace as follows:

Three of the principal men [Indians] . . . expressed a wish to be governed by the advice of their priest (Mr. Petit, a Catholic gentleman). . . . It is but justice to him to say that he has, both by example and precept, produced a very favorable change in the morals and industry of the Indians; that his untiring zeal in the cause of civilization has been, and will continue to be, eventually beneficial to those unfortunate Pottawattomies when they reach their new abode. All are now satisfied and appear anxious to proceed to their new homes, where they anticipate peace, security and happiness.⁵⁴

Tipton's report, dated September 18, 1838, from Sandusky Point, Illinois, is of interest not only because it reverses the government's earlier attitude toward missionaries, but also because it gives a justification for the policy of the authorities which Governor Wallace used and which the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington uses today.⁵⁵ With this in mind, it appears useful to examine the document in some detail.

After reporting the safe arrival of 859 Pottawatomi, Tipton remarks: "Three persons improperly called chiefs—Menominee, Black, Wolf, and Pe-pin-awa—are of the number."⁵⁶ To state that Menominee, Mackatawmoah,⁵⁷ and Pepin-awa were not chiefs seems strange in view of the fact that the government acknowledged them as such in the treaty of 1832 and—except for Menominee, who refused to sign—in the treaty of 1836.⁵⁸ The only explanation appears to be

⁵⁰ McNamara, *op. cit.*, I, 72.

⁵¹ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 26; *Annales*, XI, 393-394.

⁵² McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 25-33; Stuart, "Deportation of Menominee and His Tribe," *loc. cit.*, 255-265; Polke, "Journal," *loc. cit.*, 315-336.

⁵³ *Annales*, XI, 394.

⁵⁴ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 25-26.

⁵⁵ In a letter from the Librarian of the Office of Indian Affairs in the writer's possession.

⁵⁶ The number on the monument to Menominee.

⁵⁷ The Indian name for "Black Wolf" (*Annales*, XI, 401) and spelled various ways in the treaties, including Muckkahtahmoay and Macatawmoway (McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 16, 22, 36).

⁵⁸ *Compilation of Treaties*, 680, 712.

that since these three stood against the removal, and it was necessary to procure the consent of all the chiefs, the government simply declared them no longer chiefs.

Tipton owned "large tracts of land around Logansport,"⁵⁹ a fact which may color his account of the dispute over real estate between the Indians and the settlers. He proceeds to tell how, between August 15 and 20, the Pottawatomi "chopped the door" and threatened the life of one Mr. Waters, who had preëmpted the 160 acres he thought he was entitled to. "Ten or twelve" Indian cabins were then burned, and the militia appeared in time to prevent bloodshed. The redskins were assembled and detained "near the chapel," and, the General continues:

I did not feel authorized to drive these poor, degraded beings from our state, but to remove them from the reserve and to give peace and security to our citizens. But I found the Indians did not own an acre of land east of the Mississippi; that the government was bound to remove them to the Osage River, to support them one year after their arrival west, and to give to each individual of the tribe 320 acres of land.

Tipton blamed the treaty of 1832 and the illegal document of 1834, negotiated by William Marshall, for the beginning of the conflict, implying that the Indians' rights should have been bought up entirely at the outset. He declared that Menominee refused to sign the treaty of 1836 because "he could not possess himself of a moiety of the land and endow the chapel with the balance", neglecting to mention that the government had given Menominee title to the property in 1832, and, after all, the Chief's motives in regard to a possible disposal of it were not pertinent to the issue.

The General emphasized the absence of bloodshed in his operations and the good treatment the Pottawatomi received from his soldiers.⁶⁰ The latter statement is not borne out by Petit's memoir or by the "Journal" of Judge William Polke, the Conductor appointed by the Governor. The priest asserts that the Indians were "prodded by bayonets" and so closely confined in wagons that many died of heat and suffocation.⁶¹ There are mentioned twenty-seven deaths of chil-

⁵⁹ *Encyclopedia of Biography of Indiana*, Chicago, 1895, I, 351-352.

⁶⁰ This and previous references to Tipton's "Report" are taken from McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 25-27.

⁶¹ *Annales*, XI, 394, 402-404.

dren and eleven of adults in Polke's "Journal."⁶² Petit agrees with this estimate and thinks that about one hundred Pottawatomis escaped.⁶³

This, of course, was not an extraordinarily great proportion of fatalities when it is considered that there were more than 800 Indians, that the distance was 665 miles, the elapsed time sixty-one days, and the season extremely unhealthful.⁶⁴ Stuart implies that 150 died,⁶⁵ but this is an exaggeration probably arrived at from Petit's approximation of the number missing.

The fatalities are sufficiently numerous, however, to justify Dunn's term, "The Trail of Death,"⁶⁶ especially when it is considered that from the Indians' point of view, and possibly from the historian's, they were the result of injustice.

Whatever the reason for their expulsion, the Pottawatomis arrived at their destination, the western bank of the Osage River in Kansas, on November 4, 1838. Here their Conductor, one of the original proprietors of Plymouth and a personage who knew well how to deal with Indians to the whites' advantage, left them.⁶⁷

The Pottawatomis were turned over to the local Indian agent, a Mr. Davis,⁶⁸ and to the Rev. Christian Hoëcken on their arrival. The latter tells what happened there in 1838 and 1839:

Another band called the Wabash and St. Joseph Pottawatomies arrived; it was on November 4, 1838. They came here along with Rev. B. Petit, from Indiana. This Father had been among them six months, and he remained with me two months (*propter infirmitatem*), to recover his health and strength [he was mortally ill], and then departed from this place on January 2, 1839.

By the advice of their pastor, these Indians immediately constructed a church 40 feet long and 22 feet wide; and by means of wood and bark and canvas they raised shanties for a temporary shelter, until they could select a fixed abode. For this purpose, we determined to explore the country, soon after the late addition to our members, and setting out we discovered the land which we now occupy on Sugar Creek. . . . We remained, however, on the old ground at Pottawatomie Creek, until March, 1839. . . .

⁶² Polke, "Journal," *loc. cit.*, 315-336.

⁶³ *Annales*, XI, 408.

⁶⁴ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 280; Polke, "Journal," *loc. cit.*, 315-336.

⁶⁵ *Indiana Magazine of History*, XVIII, 263.

⁶⁶ Jacob P. Dunn, *True Indian Stories*, 1909, p. 237.

⁶⁷ Polke, "Journal," *loc. cit.*, 333-335; McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 147, 188.

⁶⁸ Polke, "Journal," *loc. cit.*, 334.

In March, 1839, during the season of Lent, all our Indians moved off to the river called Sugar Creek. The first work done at the new settlement was to build a log church.⁶⁹

Petit died in St. Louis on February 11, 1839, on his way back to Indiana,⁷⁰ but his work was carried on at the mission near the site of the present St. Mary's College.⁷¹ The subsequent history of the Pottawatomi of Twin Lakes is not our present concern. Suffice it to say that many died within a few years, some were removed to Oklahoma, where their descendants may be found today, and a comparatively small number remained in Kansas to mingle with the thousand or more Pottawatomi from different sections of the country who people the reservation there.⁷²

The ultimate fate of Menominee is of more particular interest, and fortunately it can now be revealed, for the first time. According to the son of an early settler, he refused to leave Twin Lakes peaceably and was confined in the chapel until the moment of departure.⁷³ He was undoubtedly one of the six chiefs who were treated as prisoners of war during the first thirteen days of the emigration and whom Petit prevailed upon Judge Polke to release at Danville, upon the priest's word that they would not try to escape.⁷⁴ The death and burial of the heroic Menominee is recorded in two terse entries in the records of the Kansas mission:

Died, on 15 April 1841, Alexis Menominee.⁷⁵

On 15 April 1841 Alexis Menominee was buried, aged about 50 years.⁷⁶

The chapel at Twin Lakes, which had first been taken by an American settler on August 5, 1838, and then used as a guardhouse from August 30 to September 4 following, was torn down, and by 1908 no trace of the village, the chapel, or the adjoining graveyard could be found.⁷⁷ Through the efforts of McDonald a replica of the place of worship was

⁶⁹ "Excerpt from the Diary of Father Christian Hoecken of the Pottawatomie Mission at Sugar Creek. . . ." *The Dial*, St. Mary's College, Kansas, June, 1890, v. I, no. 4, 2.

⁷⁰ *Annales*, XI, 398-399.

⁷¹ John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, 1928, I, 683.

⁷² Correspondence of Rev. Henry Willmering, S. J., of St. Mary's College, Kansas, with the author.

⁷³ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 31.

⁷⁴ *Annales*, XI, 402.

⁷⁵ Translated from a Ms. Parish Register, St. Marys, Kansas, 1841, 75.

⁷⁶ Translated from a Ms. Burial Register, St. Marys, Kansas, 1841, 30, entry 101.

⁷⁷ McNamara, *op. cit.*, 72; McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 30-31.

erected in 1909 and dedicated on September 4 of that year.⁷⁸ This was destroyed by fire sometime before 1923,⁷⁹ and it has not since been replaced.

An inscribed tablet which was a part of this replica is now on exhibition in the Plymouth Public Library. It reflects the same error as that on the rock referred to at the outset of this article, reading as follows:

Menominee Chapel
at Chi-chi-pe Ou-ti-pe
(Twin Lakes).

Erected by

Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin,
First Catholic Priest Ordained in U.S. 1793,
Born in France, 1768, Died in Cincinnati, 1853.

He was succeeded by Rev. Louis De Seille, 1832 to 1837.

And the latter by Rev. Benjamin M. Petit, 1837 to 1838.

When the Indians Were Removed and the Chapel was forever closed.

⁷⁸ McDonald, *op. cit.*, I, 51-52; *Culver Citizen*, September, 9, 1909.

⁷⁹ Minnie Swindell, *The Story of Marshall County*, 1923, 17.