

III. REMOVAL OF THE POTTAWATTOMIE INDIANS FROM NORTHERN INDIANA.

The first emigration of the Pottawattomie Indians from northern Indiana under the treaty stipulations made in 1836 that they would remove to the reservation west of the Missouri river within two years from the date of signing the treaty, took place in July 1837. Under the direction of Abel C. Pepper, United States commissioner, the small bands of Ke-wa-na, Ne-bosh, Nas-wau-gee, and a few others, assembled at the village now known as Ke-wa-na, in Fulton County. They were placed in charge of a man by the name of George Proffit, who conducted them to their reservation. In this emigration there were about one hundred all told, all of whom went voluntarily.

Forcible Removal of Menominee and His Band. On the 6th of August, 1838, the time stipulated in the several treaties for the Indians to emigrate having expired, and Menominee and his band declining to go, a council was held at Menominee village, just north of Twin lakes, in Marshall county, five miles southwest from Plymouth. Col. Abel C. Pepper, Indian agent for the government, was present, and most of the chiefs in that part of the county; also many of the white residents of the surrounding country. The treaty was read wherein it was shown that in ceding their lands the Indians had agreed to remove to the western reservation within the specified time, and that the date was then at hand, when they must go. 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 growing which if not soon suppressed would probably lead to serious results. The leader and principal spokesman for the Indians was Me-no-mi-nee. By the treaty of 1832 twenty-two sections of land had been reserved to him and three other chiefs, viz., Pe-pin-a-waw, Na-ta-ka and Mack-a-taw-ma-ah. This reservation bordered on the west of Plymouth, north as far as the Catholic cemetery and far enough south to take in Twin lakes, about half way between Plymouth and Maxinkuckee lake. The last three named chiefs entered into a treaty with Col. Abel C. Pepper on behalf of the government August 5, 1836, by which they ceded all their interest in the reservation above described, for which the government agreed to pay them \$14,080 in specie, being one dollar an acre, there being in the reservation 14,080 acres of land, and they agreed to remove to the country west of the Missouri river provided for them within two years. Chief Menominee refused to sign this or any other treaty, and persistently declined to release to the government his interest in the reservation. 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 your treaty is a lie, and that I never signed it. 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 by force drive me from my home, 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 the 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 don't want to hear anything more about it."

Describing the scene, one who was present said: " Amid the applause of the chiefs he sat down. Spoken in the peculiar style of the Indian orator although repeated by an interpreter with an eloquence of which Logan would have been proud, his presence, the personification of dignity, it presented one of those rare occasions of which history gives few instances, and on the man of true appreciation would have made a most profound impression."

In order that a clear understanding may be had of the cause that led up to the forcible removal of Menominee and his band, it may be briefly stated that at a treaty held on the Tippecanoe river October 26, 1832, negotiated by Jonathan Jennings, John W. Davis and Marks Crume on the part of the United States, and the chiefs, etc., of the Pottawattomies, extensive reservations belonging to the Pottawattomie Indians were ceded to the United States, from which a number of small reservations were given to certain chiefs and their bands named therein as follows: Article 2. From the session aforesaid, the following reservations are made, to-wit : For the band of Au-bee-nau-bee thirty-six sections, to include his village.

For the bands of Me-no-mi-nee, No-taw-kah, Muck-kah-tah, mo-way, and Pee-pin- oh-waw, twenty-two sections (and to several others too numerous to mention).

The object of copying the foregoing is to show how Me-lio-mi-liee came in possession of his interest in the twenty-two sections of land in dispute. This record may be found in " A Compilation of all the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian Tribes," published by the United States in 1873, at page 680.

Menominee's contention was that he never signed any treaty transferring his interest in the twenty-two sections above named, and the government book of treaties above referred to does not show his name attached to any treaty, while it does show the names of the other three chiefs as having signed a treaty transferring their interest in the twenty-two sections named to the United States August 5, 1836, and in that treaty the three chiefs agreed to remove west of the Mississippi river within two years. In order that the treaty may be handy of reference, it is copied below in full as found on page 712 of the book of treaties above referred to:

POTTAWATTOMIES – PE-PIN-A-WAW, ETC., CHIEFS.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at a camp near Yellow river, in the State of Indiana, between Abel C. Pepper, commissioner, on the part of the United States and Pe-pin-a-waw, Nataw-ka and Mack-a-taw-mo-ah, chiefs and headmen of the Pottawattomie tribe of Indians and their bands, on the fifth day of August in the year 1836.

Article 1. The above named chiefs and headmen and their bands hereby cede to the United States twenty-two sections of land reserved for them by the second article of the treaty between the United States and the Pottawattomie tribe of Indians, on Tippecanoe river, on the twenty-sixth day of October, 1832.

Article 2. In consideration of the session aforesaid, the United States stipulate to pay the above named chiefs and headmen and their bands the sum of \$14,080 in specie after the ratification of this treaty, and on or before the first day of May next ensuing the date hereof.

Article 3. The above named chiefs and headmen and their bands agree to remove to the country west of the Mississippi river provided for the Pottawattomie Nation by the United States within two years.

Article 4. At the request of the above named band it is stipulated, that after the ratification of this treaty the United States shall appoint a commissioner, who shall be authorized to pay such debts of the said band as may be proved to his satisfaction to be just, to be deducted from the amount stipulated in the second article of this treaty.

Article 5. The United States stipulates to provide for the payment of the necessary expenses attending the making and concluding of this treaty.

Article 6. This treaty, after the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States, shall be binding upon both parties.

Proclaimed February 18, 1837.

This is the treaty that Menominee at the council above referred to declared he had never signed, and from the treaty record made by the government from which it is taken he is correct.

From Gen. Tipton's report of the removal, which will be copied in full later on, it appears that the government had been trying for some time previous to get this land from Menominee. In 1834 a commissioner was appointed by the President to purchase this land. He succeeded in purchasing one-half of the land at 50 cents per acre. The other half (eleven sections) was reserved for individual Indians, Menominee coming in for a large share of the individual property. There is no record of this treaty, as the President did not submit it to the Senate. The refusal of the Government to ratify this treaty undoubtedly offended Menominee and caused him to refuse to further treat with the government agents with reference to the sale of his interest in the reservation, and there negotiations ceased.

At the council above referred to considerable time was spent in trying to persuade Menominee and his following to accept the inevitable and remove peaceably to the reservation provided for them, as if they did not, the government would remove them by force. Without accomplishing

anything however the council disbanded.

Menominee was a wise and experienced chief, and he knew that the final consummation was near at hand. As soon as the council had disbanded he began at once to fire the hearts of his followers with a determination to resist the government officers in their evident intention to remove them from their lands and homes, which Menominee had never sold or transferred to the government. The consequences were the Indians became desperate: intoxicating liquors, which the white traders and schemers had supplied them with, were drunk to excess; threats of violence were freely made and the white settlers in the immediate neighborhood became greatly alarmed for the safety of themselves and families. Several white men, who had squatted on the reservation expecting to enter the land as soon as the Indians went away, urged on the disturbance and it seemed probable that a general fight would ensue. In this alarming condition of affairs a number of white settlers early in August, 1838, petitioned the governor of Indiana for protection against what they believed would result in the certain destruction of their lives and property. On this subject, in his message to the legislature of Indiana, December 4, 1838, Gov. David Wallace said:

"By the conditions of the late treaty with the Pottawattomie tribe of Indians in Indiana, the time stipulated for their departure to the west of the Mississippi expired on the sixth of August last. As this trying moment approached a strong disposition was manifested by many of the most influential among them to disregard the treaty entirely, and to cling to the homes and graves of their fathers at all hazards. In consequence of such a determination on their part, a collision of the most serious character was likely to ensue between them and the surrounding settlers. Apprehensive of such a result, and with a view to prevent it, the citizens of Marshall county; early in the month of August, forwarded to the executive a petition praying that an armed force might be immediately sent to their protection, On receipt of this petition I repaired as speedily as circumstances would permitted the scene of difficulty, in order to satisfy myself by a personal examination whether their fears were justifiable or not. On my return to Logansport a formal requisition awaited me from the Indian agent, Col. A. C. Pepper, for one hundred armed volunteers to be placed under the command of some competent citizen of the state whose duty it should be to preserve the peace and to arrest the growing spirit of hostility displayed by the Indians. The requisition was instantly granted. I appointed the Hon. John Tipton to this command and gave him authority to raise the necessary number of volunteers. He promptly and patriotically accepted the appointment, and although sickness and disease prevailed to an alarming extent throughout northern Indiana, yet such was the spirit and patriotism of the people there that in about forty-eight hours after the requisition was authorized the requisite force was not only mustered but was transported into the midst of the Indians before they were aware of its approach, or before even they could possibly take steps to repel it. The rapidity of the movement, the known decision and energy of Gen. Tipton, backed by his intimate acquaintance and popularity with the Indians whom it was his business to quiet, accomplished everything desired. The refractory became complacent; opposition to removal ceased; and the whole tribe, with a few exceptions, amounting to between 800 and 900, voluntarily prepared to emigrate. Gen. Tipton and the volunteers accompanied them as far as Danville, Ill., administering to them on the way whatever comfort and relief humanity required. There they were delivered over to Judge Folke and the United States removing agents. Copies of all the communications and reports made to the executive by Gen. Tipton while in the discharge of this duty I lay before you, from which I feel assured you will discover with myself that much credit and many thanks are due not only to him

but to all who assisted him in bringing so delicate an affair to so happy I and successful a termination.

Before referring to the message of Gov. Wallace, the writer desires to state that diligent search and inquiry has been made in the several departments of the state at Indianapolis, and it is much to be regretted that none of the papers referred to have been preserved, or at least cannot be found.

The reader will observe by perusing the message of Gov. Wallace, and the report of Gen. Tipton, which appears later on, that Menominee nor any other of the Indians were in any way consulted in regard to the matters in dispute. Undoubtedly the information forwarded to Gov. Wallace was furnished him by one Watters and others like him, who were waiting to enter the lands as soon as the Indians were driven away. Watters was aided in his scheme by a few others who joined him in working the Indians up to a point where armed soldiers would be necessary to quell the disturbance and remove the Indians by force from the reservation. These disturbers were assisted in securing the cooperation of the governor by Gen. Tipton and Col. Pepper, who, without doubt, prepared and forwarded the petitions signed by Watters and others. The governor says on receipt of the petition he repaired to the scene of the disturbance as speedily as possible. He does not say how long he stayed or what the nature of the trouble was that he discovered. He says on his return to Logansport he found a formal requisition awaiting him from the Indian agent, Col. pepper. And then he adds, "The requisition was instantly granted." And this, too, without consulting Menominee or any other of the Indians to get their side of the story or to see if he could not hold a conference with them, ascertain the real cause of the trouble and see if some terms of settlement could not be agreed upon. But he did nothing of the kind. He instantly granted a requisition for a company of soldiers, and appointed Gen. Tipton, an Indian fighter and an Indian hater, who, the governor says, "promptly and patriotically accepted the appointment." And then, the rapidity of the movement, etc., accomplished everything desired. The refractory became complacent, opposition to removal ceased, etc. of course it did! Gen. Tipton says: "The arrival of the volunteers in the Indian village was the first intimation they had of the movement of men with arms. Many of the Indian men were assembled near the chapel and were not permitted to leave camp or separate until matters were amicably settled and they had agreed to give peaceable possession of the land sold by them." They were simply surrounded by the soldiers, their guns, bows and arrows, tomahawks, etc., they had in their possession were taken away from them; they were surrounded and placed under guard, and, as the governor said: The refractory became complacent, opposition to removal ceased, and the whole tribe, with a few exceptions, amounting to between 800 and 900, voluntarily prepared to emigrate." Of course "they voluntarily prepared to emigrate." How could they have done otherwise, being deprived of their arms and surrounded with one hundred armed soldiers prepared to shoot the first one that offered resistance?

On the day prior to the exodus a meeting of the Indians was held at the little graveyard, a short distance from the village, at which a final farewell of the dead was taken by those who were to leave the following

morning never to return. Addresses were made by the chiefs present and by several white settlers. An address of some length was delivered by Myron H. Orton, of LaPorte, which was afterward printed, but unfortunately no copies of it can now be found. The scene is said to have been affecting in the extreme. Weeping and wailing, which was confined to a few at first, became general, and until they were finally induced to disperse, it looked as though a riot would surely ensue. In dolmen reverence they turned their weeping faces from the sleeping dead, never to look upon the graves of their kindred again.

Early the next morning, September 3, 1838, orders were given to move; the wigwams, tepees, and cabins were torn down, and Menominee village, the largest in the county, had the appearance of having been swept by a tornado; and immediately nearly a thousand men, women and children, with broken hearts and tearful eyes, took up the line of march to their far distant home in the west. No sadder sight was ever witnessed in the great northwest as a result of the dealings of the whites with the Indians, the original owners and inhabitants of all this vast country. It was unjustified by the facts, and as shown by the report of Gen. Tipton, was cruel and almost inhuman. It makes one's blood run cold to realize the amount of suffering that fell to the lot of the many old and feeble Indians and squaws, and the mothers and their papooses, dragged along through the wilderness those hot, sultry summer days with little food and pond water unfit to drink.

General Tipton's Report to Governor Wallace.

Gen. Tipton accompanied the Indians as far as Sandusky Point, where he made the following report to Gov. Wallace.

Encampment Sandusky Point, Illinois
September 18, 1838

Dear Sir: I have the honor to inform you that the volunteers under my command reached this place last evening with 859 Pottawattomie Indians. Three persons improperly called chiefs – Menominee, Black-Wolf and Pe-pin-a-wa – are of the number. I have this morning put the Indians under the charge of Judge William Polke, who has been appointed by the United States to conduct them west of the Missouri River. I have also the honor to lay before your excellency a copy of my orderly book, or daily journal, to which I beg leave to refer a detailed statement of the manner in which my duties have been performed as commanding officer of volunteers engaged in this delicate service.

It may be the opinion of those not well informed upon the subject that the expedition was uncalled for, but I feel confident that nothing but the presence of an armed force for the protection of the citizens of the state to punish the insolence of the Indians could have prevented bloodshed. The arrival of the volunteers in the Indian Village was the first intimation that they had of the movement of men with arms.

Many of the Indian men were assembled near the chapel when we arrived, and were not permitted to leave camp or separate until matters were amiably settled, and they had agreed to give peaceable possession of the land sold by them. 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 won and 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. Most of them appeared willing to do so. Three of their principal men, however, expressed a wish to be governed by the advice of their priest (Mr. Petit, a Catholic gentleman), who had resided with them up to the time of the commencement of the quarrel between the Indians and the whites, when he left Twin lakes and returned to South Bend. I addressed a letter inviting him to join the emigration and go west. He has accepted the invitation, and I am happy to inform you that he joined us two days ago and is going west with the Indians. It is but justice to him 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 these unfortunate Pottawattomies when they reach their new abode. All are now satisfied and appear anxious to proceed on their journey to their new homes, where they anticipate peace, security and happiness.

It may be expected that I should give your excellency an intimation or an opinion of the causes which have led up to the difficulty now happily terminated. A few words on that subject must suffice.

First, the pernicious practice (I believe first introduced into our Indian treaty making at Fort Meigs in 1817) of making reservations of land to satisfy individual Indians, and sometimes white men, opened the door for both speculation and fraud.

By the treaty of 1832 the Pottawattomie Indians sold all their claims to land within the state of Indiana, except a few small reserves for particular tribes and parties. These reservations did not vest in, the chief of any party a fee in the lands reserved; the original Indian title remained undisturbed, as you will see by the opinion of the attorney-general of the United States in the case of a reserve made by a treaty with the Prairie Pottawattomies October 20, 1832, to which I beg leave to refer. Menominee reserve, about which the dispute originated, was made for his band by the treaty of 1832. He, being a principal man (but not a chief) was first named, and the reserve has ever since been called by both Indians and white men "Me-no-mi-nee's Reserve." In 1834 a commissioner was appointed by the President to purchase that reservation. He succeeded in purchasing one-half of the land at 50 cents per acre; the other half (eleven sections) was reserved for individual Indians and whites, Menominee coming in for a large share of individual property. Hence the other Indians would have been defrauded out of their just claim to an interest in the reserve if that treaty had been confirmed. But the President, viewing the matter in the true light, did not submit the treaty to the senate, but appointed A. a. Pepper, and authorized him to open up the negotiation and purchase all the land for the government. He succeeded in purchasing the whole of the reserve at \$1 per acre. Menominee did not sign the latter treaty because he could not possess himself of a moiety of the land and endow the chapel with the balance. (As Menominee owned the land it did not make any difference what his reasons were for not signing the treaty.) By the treaty of 1836 the Indians reserved the right to remain on the lands for two years. The time expired on the fifth of that month (August, 1838) and the Indians refused to give possession to the settlers who had entered upon the land in anticipation of the passage of the preemption law. The passage of the law of June 22 last gave to each settler who had resided on the land the reserve for four months previous to that day, preemption right to 160 acres of land. On the fifth of last month, the day on which the Indians were to have left the reservation, the whites demanded possession, which they (the Indians) absolutely refused. Quarrels ensued and between the fifteenth and twentieth the Indians chopped the door of one of the settlers, Mr. Watters, and threatened his life. (See his certificate marked, A. ") This man Watters was the disturbing element that caused all the

trouble in this unfortunate affair. His door would not have been chopped, if he had not nagged the Indians on to do it for the very purpose of raising the disturbance (so that the government would be compelled to send troops to remove them.-EDITOR.]

This was followed by the burning of ten or twelve Indian cabins, which produced a state of feeling bordering on hostilities. The assistant superintendent of emigration, who had been stationed in the vicinity for some months, had failed to get up an emigrating party, and the public interpreters were so much alarmed as to be unwilling to remain in the Indian villages. I entertain no doubt but for the steps taken by your Excellency, murders would have been committed on both sides in a few days. The arrival of an armed force sufficient to put down the hostile movement against our; citizens effected in three days what counseling and fair words had failed to do in as many months.

I see no reason for censuring the officers to whose charge the emigration has been, confided they should, perhaps, have prevented the Indians from planting corn in June, when everyone must have known that they would have been ousted on the fifth of August. But, on the other hand, the Indians had the right of possession until August 5, 1838. The Indians were under the influence of bad counsel from different sources. They were owing large debts to the traders, who opposed the emigration of the Indians before their debts were paid or secured. [It will be seen by reference to Article 4 of the treaty above copied that provisions were made for the payment of all these debts by the government by a commissioner appointed for that purpose out of the amount (\$14, 080) agreed upon as the purchase money, before the same should be paid to the Indians; therefore Gen. Tipton must have been wrongly informed in regard to the debts due the traders. It might as well be understood now as any other time that an "Indian Trader" was never known to get left in his dealings with the Indians, and if these "traders" were opposed to the Indians going it was not because they had not already got their pay, but because they thought the Indians still had a few more dollars left that they could swindle them out of in some way or another- EDITOR] Some were anxious to keep them where they were, hoping to obtain with ease a part of the money paid them as annuity. Lawyers, I am told, advised Menominee to keep possession and defend his claim to the reserve in our courts. Another class of men, both subtle and vigilant office-seekers, were using their influence to procure the dismissal of the officers heretofore engaged in the attempt to remove the Indians that they might succeed to the place of the present incumbents; and still another class, perhaps less wicked but not free from censure, is made up of those who influenced the Indians to plant corn and contend for the possession of the reserve.

I am happy in being able to state that the removal of the Indians was effected without bloodshed or maltreatment. Every attention that could be was paid to their health, comfort and convenience. When on our marches, which are sometimes very much hurried owing to the great distances between watering places, it is not unusual to see a number of volunteers walking whilst their horses are ridden by the sickly or infirm Indians.

I found no difficulty in raising the number of volunteers required, although the people of the northern part of the state are much afflicted with sickness. I was compelled to discharge one or more every day and permit them to return home on account of bad health. The greatest number in service at any time was ninety-seven. The conductor of the emigration has requested me to place at his disposal fifteen volunteers to attend the party and keep order in camp at night. Believing it necessary, I have consented to do so, and have detailed Ensign B.H. Smith, with fourteen dragoons, on the service. The rest of the corps will be discharged tomorrow.

In closing this report, already much longer than I could wish, I beg leave to express the obligation I am under to our mutual friend, Col. Bryant, who acted in the capacity of aid-de-camp, and has proved himself to be an excellent officer. I am not less indebted to Maj. Evans, of LaPorte. His knowledge of military discipline enabled him to be eminently useful. To Gen. N.D. Gorver, Capts. Hannegan and Holman, Lieuts. Eldridge, LaSalle, Nash and Linton, and Ensigns McClure, Wilson, Smith and Holman, and to J.T. Douglass, adjutant, I am also under great obligations. Ever commissioned officer and soldier has fully sustained the high character of western volunteers. I have the honor to be, Your Obedient Servant, John Tipton.
P.S. I transmit herewith for the information of your Excellency an exhibit (B), showing the names of the Pottawattomies as emigrants, and the number of their respective families.

General Tipton's Daily Journal

The following is abridged from Gen. Tipton's daily journal of the occurrences that took place on the way"

Tuesday, September 4, 1838 – Left Twin Lakes, Marshall County, Indiana early this morning, Traveling today was attended with much distress on account of scarcity of water. Provisions and forage were also very scarce and of poor quality. The distance made was twenty-one miles.

Wednesday, September fifth – Fifty-one persons were found to be unable to continue the journey on account of the want of transportation, and were left, the most of them sick, with some to care for them. On account of the difficulty of finding water, a distance of only nine miles was traveled. On the evening of this day a child died and was buried the next morning.

Thursday, 6th.--A distance of seventeen miles was traveled, and less of suffering and difficulty was experienced than on any of the previous days. During the evening nine persons left behind the day before came into camp.

Friday, 7th.-Thirteen persons more of the number left on Wednesday came into camp. Eighteen persons belonging to different families also joined the expedition. A child died in the morning.

Saturday, 8th.-A child three years old died and was buried. A chief, named We-wis-sa, came in with his family, consisting of six persons. Two wagons which had been sent back for those left behind at Chippewa, on Tippecanoe river, north of Rochester, on Wednesday, returned, bringing twenty-two persons, the whole number left behind, except nine who were unable to travel and a few who had managed to escape. It was arranged for those left behind to be taken care of until able to proceed on the way.

Sunday, 9th.-Physicians came into camp and reported about 300 cases of sickness, which they pronounced of a temporary character. A kind of hospital was erected to facilitate the administering of medical treatment. Two children died this day.

Monday, 10th.-The journey was renewed, and twenty-one persons, inclusive of sick and their attendants, were left behind. The day was hot, but, as the journey was made along the Wabash, there was not so much suffering for water. On the evening and night after getting into camp a child and man died.

Tuesday, 11th.- A distance of seventeen miles was accomplished through an open and

Champaign country, with only the difficulties of procuring subsistence and forage.

Wednesday, 12th.-The distance traveled from camp to camp was fifteen miles. The encampment was made near Tippecanoe battleground. At this place a quantity of dry goods, such as cloaks, blankets, calicoes, etc., amounting to \$5,469.81, was distributed among the Indians. Here, too, a very old woman, the mother of We-wis-sa, died. She was said to be over 100 years old.

Thursday, 13th.-A distance of eighteen miles was traveled. The sultry heat and the dust were the chief drawbacks on the way. Two physicians were called in to prescribe for those indisposed. They reported 160 cases of sickness.

Friday, 14th.-A journey of eighteen miles was made over a dry and unhealthy portion of the country: Persons, through weariness and fatigue, were continually falling sick along the route, and the wagons to transport them were becoming daily more and more crowded. As the party advanced into the prairie the streams were found to be literally dried up. Two deaths took place in the evening of this day.

Saturday, 15th.-After traveling ten miles the migrating party were forced to encamp at noon near an unhealthy and filthy looking stream, as it was learned there would be no chance of a better place that day. Two small children died along the road.

Sunday, 16th.-Danville, Ill., was reached after a journey of fifteen miles, a large part of the way being over the Grand prairie. The heat and the dust made the traveling distressing. In the morning several persons, sickly, were left sick in camp. The horses had become jaded; the Indians sickly and many persons engaged in the emigration more or less sick. The whole country passed through was afflicted, as every village and hamlet had its invalids. Provisions and forage were found more enormously dear the farther the advance of the party. The sickness of the whole country was found to be unparalleled. Four people in the little town near the encampment had died the day before.



Chief Simon Pokagon.

Monday, 17th – The volunteers and 859 Pottawattomie Indians reached Sandusky Point, where they were turned over to Judge William Polke to conduct them west of the Mississippi River. John Tipton.

Indian Chief Po-ka-gon's letter.

The removal of the Pottawattomie Indians from northern Indiana, and matter connected therewith, was published in the Plymouth Democrat in serial form in 1879-8, and copies of the issues of the paper containing it were sent to Simon Po-ka-gon, the last chief of the Pottawattomie Indians in the northwest part of the country, who, in reply, thanking the editor for sending him the papers, wrote the following letter, which (as he died early 1899) is probably the last letter he ever wrote on the subject of his "vanishing race":

Hartford, Mich., October 26, 1898

Editor: I received the issues of the paper sent me containing a history of my people in northern Indiana and southern Michigan. I am anxious to tell you that it rejoices my heart to know there are a few men like yourself who have done much in the past and are still doing much for my poor, vanishing race, publishing of us what is authentic. I believe if the dominant race understood the facts connected with the dealings between the two races, that that false prejudice which now rises mountain high before them would vanish as the morning mist before the rising sun.

My people, of course have no written history. It has been recorded by another race – and it is as true today as when Solomon said it: "He who is first in his cause seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him".

I rejoice to know that such men as yourself stand up boldly and searcheth the past history, lighting up those places which appeared dark against us, revealing the real facts that show conclusively that we have been blamed without fault of our own part – that is, unless you can blame the parent bird that does all in her power to defend her nest and her young.

I thank you from "wi-o-daw" (my heart) for the straightforward manner you have dealt with us in reviewing the past history, and pray that "waw-kwi" (heaven) will bless you and your influence most abundantly and hasten the day when all shall acknowledge that the white man and the red man are brothers, and that "ki-ji-Manito" (God) is "o-os-si-maw ka-ki-naw" (the father of all), Sincerely yours,
Simon Po-Ka-Gon, Chief of the Pottawattomies.

Recollections of Eye-Witnesses.

The following interviews with residents of Marshall County who were there at the time of the removal, or who were conversant with the facts, are appended here as of historic value:

WILLIAM SLUYTER – "I lived near the Menominee village, which was just north of Twin Lakes, in Marshall County, and was present at the time the Indians were congregated there, September 3 and 4, 1838, to be removed to the western reservation. The village was composed of log huts and wigwams of poles, covered with bark and matting, erected without any system. There were seventy-five or a hundred of these primitive dwellings. A graveyard in which their dead were buried was near by. They buried their dead mostly by splitting logs in the middle and digging a trough in one part, putting the dead in and closing it up. Some of them were put under ground and some were set upright, with poles placed around them.

"There were several hundred Indians there at the time, and quite an number of soldiers – state militia, I think. Col. A.C. Pepper, I believe, was there in immediate charge, while I understood Gen. Tipton was the chief of the removal. I think the caravan went in a southeasterly direction near the north end of Lake Maxinkuckee, and so on down to Logansport and along the Wabash River.

"I saw no ill treatment of the Indians so far as the government was concerned. There were, however, individual cases of bad treatment by some of those in authority. The soldiers disarmed the Indians, taking from them their guns, tomahawks, axes, bows and arrows, knives, etc., and placed them in wagons for transportation. There were plenty of wagons to carry all who were unable to walk, but not many would consent to get into the wagons, never having seen any vehicles of that kind, and they were afraid of them! They marched off single file, with a soldier at the head of about every forty or fifty. It was indeed a sad sight to see them leaving their homes and hunting grounds, where many of them had lived all their lives, and going to a strange land concerning which they new nothing. After they left, the wigwams were torn down and burned; eventually the old chapel, which was used as a guardhouse, was torn down, and the little graveyard was finally plowed over and obliterated, and no trace of the village, the chapel or the graveyard can now be found."

DAVID How - "I was about ten years old when the Indians were re- moved. I was there with my father, Isaac How, who lived near by, the night before the caravan started. My father was one of the guards at the chapel in which Chief Menominee, who refused to go peaceably, was confined. I should think there were several hundred Indians there at the time, and a hundred or more soldiers. When they left a soldier was placed at the head of about every thirty or forty Indians. The Indians were all disarmed. Wagons were provided for all who were unable to walk and others; but most of them disliked to ride in a government wagon, and all walked that possibly could. The Indians were brought to the village from different parts of northern Indiana and southern Michigan by squads of soldiers, who forced them to leave their villages, and, after selecting such articles as could be conveniently carried and would be of use on the way, they tore down and burned up the huts and wigwams, and marched them off to the general rendezvous. My sympathies were always with the Indians, and I think many of them were shamefully treated."

JOHN LOWERY - "I lived close by the Indian chapel, which was located on the north bank of Twin lakes, a few rods west of where the railroad crosses the wagon road, and near where the Indians congregated in 1838, preparatory to being removed to a; reservation west of the Missouri river. I was not there at the time, being absent in La Porte County. I talked with those who were there, and with some who went with the Indians part of the way.

"Gen. Tipton was the moving agent, had command of the soldiers and had had much to do with the Indians for many years previous in this part of the country, having been employed by the government to secure treaties for the extinguishment of the Indian titles to their reservations. The Pottawattomies were peaceable and were always kindly treated by him. There was no occasion for cruel treatment on his part, and I am satisfied none was offered to any of them unless they deserved it. The time specified in the treaties for the Indians to remove having expired, Gen. Tipton, who was in command of a company of militia, sent squads of soldiers to the several villages in this part of the state, with directions to require the Indians to assemble at the chapel on a day named, as a starting place.

"At the appointed time nearly all that were able to go met at the chapel, where a council was held and arrangements made for the start the next day. The chapel hall was used for the meeting of the council. The building was made of hewn logs, and its dimensions were about forty by twenty feet. The doors were not locked; no handcuffs were used and no indignities were shown any of the Indians so far as I have been able to learn. They were told that the treaties signed by their chiefs required them to go west to the reservation provided for them within two years from the date of the treaties, and, that time having expired, it was their duty to go peaceably. Many of the Indians protested that the treaties had been procured by fraud, and had not been signed by those having authority to sign them, and that was the reason they had not gone peaceably before. The treaties, however, having been ratified by the government, and the reservations having been made subject to entry, there was nothing to be done but to remove the Indians. That, as I was told, was done as quietly and humanely as it was possible under the circumstances. The country was new and unimproved, and in northern Indiana an unbroken wilderness. There were no wagon roads then and the Indian trail was difficult of passage with wagons and packhorses. There were among the Indians many old men and women and papooses, and not a few sick and unable to go without being transported in wagons or on packhorses. This was the condition, as it was told to me, on that September morning in 1838, when over 800 Indians started on their long journey to the far west."

MRS. EMMA DICKSON, being asked her recollection of Chief Menominee and the old Indian chapel, replied: "My recollection is not very clear, but as I remember him Menominee was a large, fine-looking man, square built, tall, rather stern looking; would think he would be brave and determined in whatever he undertook that he thought was right. I lived with my father, John Houghton, about midway between Menominee village and Benak village, and the Indian trail between the two villages ran close by our cabin. In his travels between these two villages, Menominee would nearly always stop to get something to eat and drink. Along this trail there would sometimes be twenty or thirty Indians go and come daily, especially when they had meetings of any kind.

"I cannot remember much about the old Indian chapel, only that it was a rough-hewn log building, and the cross at the end of the building was of the same material as the house. The priest, Father Petit, was of medium height and rather nice looking. He talked in the French language. A French woman interpreted his sermons into the Pottawattomie language to the Indians. I cannot remember how she looked to me. At one time when I was at the chapel a squaw came out at the close of service with her nose blacked and lay down at the foot of the cross, crying. I asked why she cried, and some one said she had been drunk and was doing it as a penance for forgiveness. I felt very sorry for her.

"It was a sad sight to see the Indians forced away, for their lands were taken by fraud; government would treat for their land and give firewater to drink, and while drinking the chiefs would sign their rights away."

THOMAS K. HOUGHTON - "In 1838 I lived with my father on the Indian trail between the Benak village in Tippecanoe township and the Menominee village, where the Indians were congregated to get ready to be removed. I was not there at the time, but it was about the only subject of conversation for many years, and I heard considerable about it, and my recollection of it is that the facts are about as stated by David How and William Sluyter."

MR. I. N. CLARY, Lucerne, Cass county (since deceased), being interviewed, said: "I was a boy of twenty and went with the caravan as a teamster, driving a four-horse team. Gen. Morgan, of Rush County, was major general, and William Polke lieutenant. Dr. Jeroloman, of Logansport, was the physician in charge. The Indians camped the first night on the Tippecanoe River, and the third night at Homey's run, north of Logansport. The caravan moved in wagons and on foot, the Indian men walking and hunting as they went. The number of wagons was sixty, and the distance made each day was from seven to twenty miles. Stops for the night were made where water was plenty, and all slept in tents and wagons. The Indians were well treated by the removing party, and did not suffer for food or water. The caravan went west from Logansport and passed through Sagama town, crossed Sagama River, and forded the Illinois River near Danville, Ill., and passed through Jacksonville and Springfield, Ill. We crossed the Mississippi at Alldan, Ill., in an old shattered steamboat that was not safe to cross on, and it took us two days before we were all on the other side. The Grand River was crossed near the mouth of the Missouri, and that river at or near Independence. We left the Indians at a point near the Osage river in Kansas, having been sixty days making the journey."

None of these Indians were ever heard of here after they were located on the reservation. The report of the government agent for 1855 contained the following: " According to the roll of 1854, there were 3,440 Pottawattomies on the reserve. There are about 210 others living among the Kickapooes, some of whom have intermarried in that tribe, and all of whom obstinately refuse to move to the Pottawattomie reserve. There are a few scattering families in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan; and among the Sacs and Foxes. From all can learn, this once numerous tribe cannot number in all quarters over 4,000 souls."

At the present time it is doubtful if there are as many left in the entire United States as were embraced in the caravan of Menominee and his band, about all of whom have undoubtedly by this time passed over to "the happy hunting grounds."

The Future of the Pottawattomies.

Simon Pokagon, the last chief of a small band of Pottawattomie Indians occupying a small reservation near Holland, Mich., in an article just before his death, in 1899, on the subject of the future of his race, said:

" As to the future of our race, it seems to me almost certain that in time it will lose its identity by amalgamation with the dominant race. No matter how distasteful it may seem to us, we are compelled to consider it as a probable result. Sensitive white people can console themselves, however, with the fact that there are today in the United States thousands of men and women of high social standing whose forefathers on one side were full-blooded so-called savages, and yet the society in which they move, and in many cases they themselves, are ignorant of the fact. All white people are not ashamed of Indian blood; in fact, a few are proud of it.

"The index finger of the past is pointing to the future, showing most conclusively that by the middle of the next century all Indian reservations will have passed away. Then our people will begin to scatter, and the result will be a general mixing of the races. By intermarriage the blood of our people, like the waters that flow into the great ocean, will be forever lost in that of the dominant race, and generations yet unborn will read in history of the red men of the forest and inquire, 'Where are they?'"

