

Father Benjamin Pettit to his Family, September 4, 1838

One morning [August 4, 1838] . . . I said Mass. Then my dear church was stripped of all its ornaments, and at the moment of my departure I called all my children together. I spoke to them one more time; I wept; my listeners sobbed. It was heart-rending . . . I left . . . A few days afterward I learned that the Indians despite their peaceful disposition, had been surprised and taken prisoners. The military force, pretending to hold a council, assembled them and seized eight hundred . . . Finally on September 7th, the Monseigneur gave me permission to follow the emigrants

Source: **Source:** "The Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Pettit," *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, V. 14. The letters were originally from *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, [Annals of the Propagation of Faith] XI, No. LXV, 400-08.

Father Benjamin Pettit to Bishop Brute, November 13, 1838
Osage River, Indian Country
November 13, 1838

... I arrived at South Bend [Indiana] on the 11 [September], about noon. At once I began preparations for traveling, and I devoted part of the evening to hearing the confessions of several sick people who had asked for me . . .

The next morning I started out again for Logansport [Indiana]. I intended to rejoin the emigrants [Indians] at Lafayette at least, but they marched so quickly that I did not see my Indians again until Danville [Illinois].

. . . They were walking on the right bank of the river [the Wabash], and the line of wagons continued on the left. I tried several times to rent a private carriage to take my baggages and me to Danville - this was in vain. Finally I had to go as far as Perrysville. .

It was Sunday, September 16. . . I saw my poor Christians [the Indians], under a burning noonday sun, amidst clouds of dust, marching in a line, surrounded by soldiers who were hurrying their steps. Next came the baggage wagons in which numerous invalids, children, and women, too weak to walk, were crammed. They encamped half a mile from the town, and in a short while I went among them.

I found the camp just as you saw it, Monseigneur, at Logansport - a scene of desolation, with sick and dying people on all sides. Nearly all the children, weakened by the heat, had fallen into a state of complete languor and depression. I baptized several who were newly born - happy Christians, who with their first step pass from earth to heaven.

. . . That night was the first I passed in a tent.

Early the next morning they heaped the Indians into the baggage wagons, and everybody mounted. At our departure Judge Polke, chief conductor, came to present me with a horse which the government had procured from an Indian for my use along the way. . .

We departed for the next encampment, where several days' rest was granted us. On my word the six chiefs who had till now been treated as prisoners of war were released and given the same kind of freedom which the rest of the tribe enjoyed.

The order of march was as follows: the United States flag, carried by a dragoon [heavily armed troops]; then one of the principal officers, next the staff baggage carts, then the carriage, which during the whole trip was kept for the use of the Indian chiefs, then one or two chiefs on horseback led a line of 250 to 300 horses ridden by men, women, children in single file, after the manner of savages.

On the flanks [sides] of the line at equal distance from each other were the dragoons and volunteers, hastening the stragglers, often with severe gestures and bitter words.

After this cavalry came a file of forty baggage wagons filled with luggage and Indians. The sick were lying in them, rudely jolted, under a canvas which, far from protecting them from the dust and heat, only deprived them of air, for they were as if buried under this burning canopy - several died.

...We soon found ourselves on the grand prairies of Illinois, under a burning sun and without shade from one camp to another. They are as vast as the ocean, and the eye seeks in vain for a tree. Not a drop of water can be found there - it was a veritable torture for our poor sick, some of whom died each day from weakness and fatigue.

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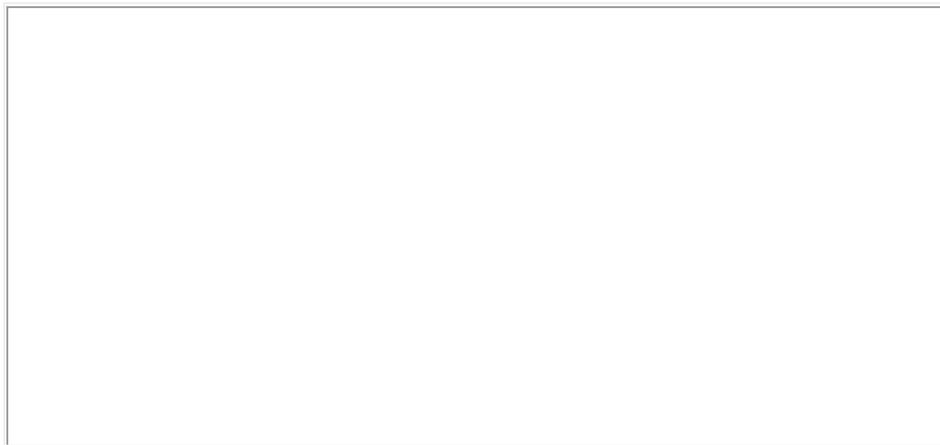
George Winter's Eyewitness to the Emigration (GWMSS 2-24 [1], 1-15 [13])

"It was in the month of [September] 1838, and on a sabbath day, that the Pottawattamie emigration column rested within the shadow of a large grove, near a clear stream of water, in close vicinity of the Eel River. This was a halt after the second day's march to their far off destination, West of the Mississippi.

It was here that the Rt. Rev. Brute, Bishop of Vincennes, preached to the converted Pottawattamies ...

Independent of the moral aspect of this group, it was one of beautiful picturesque effect. The singularly draped red people, in bright and startling combinations of color, blending in harmony with the forest rees, tinged with the influences of the decaying year, created a deep impression upon the beholder. ...

I sketched this imposing and interesting scene, which embraces perhaps nearly 1000 Indians. I have a Cartoon of this subject - and it has always been a subject near my heart." (GWMSS 2-24 [1], 1-15 [13])



The Emigration Continues

"The morning following this eventful and impressive day, the emigrating column was formed, headed by the Captive Chiefs who were conveyed in wagons, guarded by the strictest surveillance. Soon the whole nation were seen moving down the hill sides, along the banks of the Eel river, on the way to their westward home. ...

Ah! Well do I remember that scene, as the Indians left a beautiful grove of oaks where they had encamped a few days previous to their emigration, and descended a gentle declivity, the summit of which commanded an extensive view of a rich and wide spreading fertile land - and upon which with many others I stood to view with effect the little band as they passed by us. ...

... they formed with their heavily packed ponies a picturesque scene, which a painter could but have deemed lovely as they followed the serpentine windings of a trail on the

lower wild lands. ... I gazed with many others whom curiosity had brought to the spot, at the little emigrating band until they faded before us in the western horizon. The Indian's is a mournful memory!

Many melancholy and touching thoughts passed through the mind and these questions presented themselves, as the indistinct and fast fading forms of the party were lost to the view. Has the Redman in his intercourse with the White, witnessed the practice of the immutable principles of justice and probity which a holy religion teaches? Has he been taught virtue and divine reverence in example or by precept? ... To these startling inquiries let the page of history respond. Could the poor and degraded aborigine give his history to the world, it could but speak in emphatic language - the continual series of oppressions of the White man, from the day he first put foot upon the aboriginal soil; and surely would the gilded emblazonary of Freedom's boasted escutcheon be tarnished in the sight of Philanthropy and Justice." (GWMSS 1-15 [15], 2-32 [2])

TRAIL OF DEATH
Jesse C. Douglass' 1838 DIARY

Condensed and Edited
by Shirley Willard and Judy Ceerle

Fulton County Historical Society
Rochester, IN

The removal of the Potawatomi Indians from northern Indiana to Kansas took place Sept.-Nov. 1838. Nearly 900 Indians were rounded up by soldiers and marched at gun point for 61 days. So many died on the way and were buried by the roadside that it is called the Trail of Death.

The First Week

Thursday 30th Aug.- Monday 3d Sept. Twin Lakes, Plymouth Indiana. Gen. John Tipton captured Menominee's village, closed Father Petit's chapel, sent squads of soldiers in all directions to bring in & enroll Indians. Preparation for journey. Loaded wagons. Put 3 chiefs in jail wagon: Menominee, Black Wolf, & Pepinawa.

Tuesday 4th Sept. 21 miles, camped at Chippeway (Tippecanoe River & Michigan Road) in Fulton County. Left at Twin Lakes Chief San-ga-na & family of 13 because sick. 20 Indians escaped & took 2 horses. Roads choked with dust. 286 horses, 26 wagons.

Wednesday, 5th Sept. 9 miles (through Rochester, a line of Indians a mile long, sympathetic white settlers gave them hoe-cakes to take on trip. Little boy - 6 year old Billy Ward - followed his Indian friends a mile south of Rochester, wanting to go alone, but his mother caught him & took him home), camped at Mud Creek. Water scarce. 51 persons too sick to travel, left at Chippeway. A child was born & a child died. Party of 3 Indians joined us.

Thursday 6th Sept.-Sunday 9th Sept. 17 miles, Logansport, Ind. 49 of those left at Chippeway caught up. 4 children died. Mass conducted on Sunday by Father Petit. Physicians report 300 cases of sickness so medical hospital erected (note: at site of Memorial Hospital today).

The 2nd Week

Monday 10th Sept. 10 mi., followed Wabash River to Winnemac's Old Village. Left 21 sick behind. A child & a man died.

Tuesday 11th Sept. 17 miles. Pleasant Run (note: near Wabash River in Carroll County). Forage for horses expensive.

Wednesday 12th Sept. 15 mi., Battle Ground, Ind. Forded Tippecanoe River. \$5470 of dry goods, blankets, calicoes distributed to Indians. Very old mother of We-wiss-sa died, appeared to be over 100.

Thursday 13th Sept. 18 mi., Sanford Cox & others rode out from Lafayette to see the Indians passing by, wrote sad description. Camped near La Grange, Ind. Drs. Ritchie & Son report 106 cases of sickness (note: probably malaria & typhoid).

Friday 14th Sept. 18 mi., near Williamsport, Ind. Sick wagons getting crowded. 2 deaths this evening.

Saturday 15th Sept. 10 mi., camp by filthy stream near Indiana-Illinois state line. Young Indians allowed to go hunting. 2 small children died along the road.

Sunday 16th Sept. 15 mi., crossed state line at noon, camped at Danville, Ill. Left 7 persons in camp, 1 a woman about to give birth. Whole country afflicted with sickness. 4 whites died in town. Father Petit arrived, got chiefs out of jail wagon, baptized dying babies.

Tipton to Governor David Wallace, September 16, 1838 [ALS: Tipton Papers]
Encampment near Danville, 16 Sept 1838

Sir We have conducted the pottowatomy Indians 859 in number from Plymouth to this place & will on tomorrow deliver them to the U S agent Judge Wm Polke who has recently been appointed to conduct them to their new homes in the west

In a former letter I advised you of having proposed to Mr Pettit a catholic priest who formally resided with these Indians At Twin lake to accompany them west. Mr P arrived in camp This afternoon and reported to me his wiliness to accept the Invitation. This being the case the pottowatomies leave their Former abodes in Indiana & Journey west in fine spirits & with fair prospects of future improvement & happiness.

John Tipton

John Tipton Papers 1806-1858, L. 160, Manuscripts Division, Indiana State Library,
Indianapolis. 18 manuscript boxes

creditable practice. It has a direct tendency to convert one of the most important political privileges into a mere gambling affair; and it is only practiced for the unworthy purpose of producing an effect upon the minds of those whose vices or misfortunes have made them corrupt or ignorant.

EMIGRATING POTTAWATTAMIES.

We perceive by a letter to col. Pepper, (the Indian Superintendent,) published in the Van Buren paper at this place, that the Emigrating Pottawattamies had reached a point near Jacksonville, Illinois, on the first of October. The letter in the Herald, states, that the health of the emigrants is fast improving; and that the deaths for the preceding week, had not averaged more than one per day.— Judge Polke, (the conductor,) and nearly all the other officers of the emigration, were in good health.

NEWSPAPERS.

A celebrated English author says, that newspapers "are daily and sleepless watchmen, that report to the people every danger which menaces the institutions of their country, at home or abroad." The remark is a good one; but all newspapers do not deserve the compliment that it conveys. In corrupt governments, those in power, always employ some of these

Mr. John Quincy Adams has a long and highly interesting letter to the constituents of the Twelfth Congressional District of Massachusetts. He mentions an extraordinary fact, namely, the payment of the Fourth instalment of surplus was postponed until the 1st. January; 1839, so that, unless it is done in the first month of its session, there will be upon it, more than eight millions distributed by the General Government to the various States, on the first January—while there is not a shilling in the

CROPS IN NEW ENGLAND.

The Journal of Commerce says—yesterday a gentleman from Berkshire County, Mass., who in the course of conversation remarked that the wheat and corn of that quarter were both uncommonly good. There had been plenty of rain all season, and the grass crop was abundant, and so was every thing else except potatoes, which did not yield well, although the tops were much luxuriant. They were however at 20 cents a bushel. Our important crops were through a part of Hampshire county at the time of wheat harvest, and so almost every farmer (contrary to custom) appropriated an acre or two to that crop, and it looked extremely well. From other sources we learn that in the collection of Massachusetts, say on Green Mountain range, Indian corn was ripe some time ago, and was an excellent crop. We have no doubt,—indeed we may say we know of a much larger quantity of breadstuffs,

THE POTTAWATTAMIES.

It is rumored in town that there will be some difficulty in removing the Pottawattamies west of the Mississippi. Gentlemen who arrived from the seat of war last evening, state, that the Indians will resort to force if our troops attempt to move them. We are still in the dark as to the object of the expedition. Some say it is to force the Indians west of the Mississippi; others, that it is to protect them from the aggressions of the whites.

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From fifteen to twenty volunteers went on from this place last Wednesday.

Since the above was in type, we have later intelligence—intelligence, too, of a more satisfactory and pleasing nature. True, we are still in the dark, as to how every thing was managed; but we learn from gentlemen arrived last night and this morning, and from sources to be relied on, that “every thing has been accomplished”—that “all is peace and quietness”—and that the Pottawattamies will emigrate, to the number of from five to eight hundred; and this, we term “satisfactory and pleasing” news. From reports which had reached us, we had almost been led to anticipate that the Indian troubles of Tennessee and Georgia—nay, even the savage tragedies of Florida, might soon be visited upon the peaceful homes of Indiana. But such terrific scenes and those harrassing and expensive troubles have been averted; and what has cost millions in Florida, Georgia and Tennessee, will, in Indiana, cost but a few thousands.

We refrain from further particulars, alike from the haste with which we go to press, as well as from the unofficial character of the news.

THE TELEGRAPH.

LOGANSPORT.

SATURDAY ::::::::::: SEPTEMBER 8, 1838.

The present number of the Telegraph has been necessarily delayed beyond the usual day of publication.

An account of the late proceedings upon the Menominee Reservation shall appear in the next number of the Telegraph.

There is a long communication in to-day's paper. The object appears to be to censure Gen. Tipton for having refused employment to a man, who, he supposed, had slandered the lamented Wilson. Whether Gen. Tipton should be censured will be a matter of doubt with many.

THE POTTAWATTAMIES.

The emigrating party, consisting of about 1000 Indians, arrived and encamped within a mile of this place, on Thursday evening last, and it is said will leave this morning (10th) for their future home in the west. We have been at their camp, and find their situation much better than we expected. 'Tis true there are many sick, but they are made as comfortable as circumstances will admit, and we have no doubt that they will be treated with humanity and kindness.

The Rev. Mr. Petit, who has been with them for some time past and who has already succeeded in teaching them some of the arts of civilization by which their condition has been much improved, will accompany them. This gentleman, who has deservedly gained their esteem, and whose remaining was one of the principal obstacles to their removing, has, by consenting to go, given them additional proofs of his regard for their welfare, and he has also rendered himself worthy of the notice of government. There is already a visible change in the feelings of the Indians, and many who were averse to going west now express a willingness to go.

We have been led to make these remarks to correct some rumors that are gaining circulation. It has been reported that the Indians were maltreated on their journey—that they were forced to make long marches when it was not necessary—that they were not suffered to get water on the road—and that the order of Gen. Tipton was to drive them along at the point of the bayonet, if necessary.—These reports, we believe are all unfounded, as they have been contradicted by those who were present, and in whose word we can place implicit confidence.

THE JOHN

With an

PAUL
Cor

Compiled

NELLIE ARMSTRONG



JOHN TIPTON

From a portrait in the Masonic Temple, Logansport, Indiana

INDIANA

REMOVAL
OF THE
POTTAWATTOMIE INDIANS
FROM
NORTHERN INDIANA

EMBRACING ALSO A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE INDIAN
POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND OTHER
HISTORICAL MATTER RELATING TO
THE INDIAN QUESTION.

BY
DANIEL McDONALD.

"A mixed occupancy of the same territory by the white and red man is incompatible with the safety or happiness of either * * * The remedial policy, the principles of which were settled more than thirty years ago under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, consists of an extinction, for a fair consideration, of the titles to all the lands still occupied by the Indians within the states and territories of the United States, their removal to a country west of the Mississippi much more extensive and better adapted to their condition than they now occupy * * *"—FROM PRESIDENT VAN BUREN'S MESSAGE.

PLYMOUTH, INDIANA:
D. McDONALD & Co., PRINTERS AND BINDERS.
1899

on his lands at Twin Lakes as had Joseph Waters and his white following, who seem to have been the real cause of the disturbance. As I look at it, the whole affair was cruel and inhuman, and partook more of savagery than the act of a civilized, enlightened and Christian people. The Indians were surrounded by the soldiers before they were aware that force was to be used in driving them away. They were disarmed of guns, tomahawks and bows and arrows; their wigwams and cabins were torn down and destroyed, and the old and decrepid, the lame, the halt and the blind, the women and children, were marched off by the soldiers like so many cattle to the slaughter. And when the record shows that the graves of 109 of the poor, helpless beings mark the pathway of that sad and solemn procession, I can not resist the conclusion that a cruel wrong was done, which time can not condone, and which can not be forgiven here or hereafter.

RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY RESIDENTS.

The following interviews with residents of Marshall county who were present at the time of the removal, or who were conversant with the facts, will be of historic value in this connection:

What William Sluyter Remembers.

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 3-4, 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 75 or 100 of these primitive dwellings. A grave yard 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 of it, 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 a number of soldiers--State militia, I think. Col. A. C. Pepper, I believe, was there in immediate charge, while, I understood, General Tipton was the chief of the removal. I think the caravan went in a southwesterly direction near the north end of Lake Muk-sen-cuck-ee, thence southwest of Logansport and so on down a few miles west of 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 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 knew nothing. After they left, the wigwams were torn down and burned; eventually the old chapel which was used as a guard-house 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's Statement.

DAVID HOW:—"I was about ten years old when the Indians were removed. 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 Me-no-mi-nee, 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 think many of them were shamefully treated."

Thomas Houghton's Recollections.

THOMAS K. HOUGHTON.—"In 1838 I lived with my father on the Indian trail between the Ben-ak village in Tippecanoe township and the Me-no-mi-nee 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. One incident connected with the removal I remember distinctly. Nigo was a Miami Indian who afterwards lived in Marshall county and died in Plymouth about 1880. He was forced by the soldiers to go to the place of rendezvous. After the caravan had started he went to Gen. Pepper on the second day out and told him he was not a Pottawattomie

and that he was not on the list of those that had agreed in the treaties to go west of the Missouri. Gen. Pepper examined the list and found that such was the case. He told Nigo that it would not be safe for him to attempt to leave the caravan then as if he did he might be shot by the guards. He told him that when they camped that night to come to his tent and he would see what could be done. Gen. Pepper's headquarters that night was in a log cabin that had been previously vacated. At dark Nigo was promptly on hand. Gen. Pepper told him to take his blanket and go into the loft above and to lie down and go to sleep and remain there until after the caravan had moved away the next morning when he could get up and go where he pleased. Nigo did as directed, and next morning started back through the woods to his wigwam north of Bourbon where he remained until a few years prior to his death when he removed to Plymouth where he died as stated."

John Lowery's Recollections.

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 Mississippi. I was not there at the time, being absent in Laporte 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 militia, 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 passed, Gen. Tipton sent squads of militia 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 40x20 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 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 papposes, and not a few sick and unable to go without being transported in wagons or on packhorses. This was the condition on that September morning in 1838 when over 800 Indians started on their long journey."

Statement of I. N. Clary, Wagoner.

Mr. I. N. Clary, of Lucerne, Cass County, Indiana, 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 Wm. 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 Horney's Run, north of Logansport. The caravan moved in wagons and on foot, the Indian men walking and bunting 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, Illinois, and passed through Jacksonville and Springfield, Illinois. We crossed the Mississippi river at Alldan, Illinois, 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."

A Table of Removals.

Quite a number who had secreted themselves in various places in Northern Indiana, and others who for one reason or another were unable to go with the caravan above referred to, went peaceably, under the supervision of Alexis Coquillard, during the summer of 1840. What remained of the Pottawattomies who had not entered land and settled

Able C. Pepper to [Governor David] Wallace, October 2, 1838

Office Superintendent Emigration of Indians, Logansport

Sir: I have the honor to report to you that the authority given to the Hon. John Tipton, to accept the services of volunteers to fulfil the object of my requisition [request to help remove Indians] . . . was executed by him in the organization of the force [troops] required . . . in a skilful, discreet, energetic, and efficient manner. . .

George Winter's Eyewitness to the Emigration, September 4, 1837

... the emigrating column was formed, headed by the Captive Chiefs [Menominee, Black Wolf, and Peepenawah] who were conveyed in wagons, guarded by the strictest surveillance. Soon the whole nation were seen moving down the hill sides, along the banks of the Eel river, on the way to their westward home. . .

Ah! Well do I remember that scene, as the Indians left a beautiful grove of oaks where they had encamped a few days previous to their emigration, and descended a gentle declivity, [hill] the summit of which commanded an extensive view of a rich and wide spreading fertile land - and upon which with many others I stood to view with effect the little band as they passed by us. . .

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Source: George Winter Manuscript, 2-24 [1], 1-15 [13] Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette

John Tipton Letters Explaining His Role in the Potawatomi Emigration

David Wallace [Governor of Indiana] to Tipton, August 27, 1838

Sir: Col Pepper the Indian Agent, has addressed a communication to me, stating he is "Fully satisfied that the temper and the conduct of the Indians and white men, on the late Pottawatomi reserve at Yellow river [Twin Lakes], manifest hostile feelings and portends hostile action . . . and requesting that one hundred volunteers may be called into service for the purpose of preventing serious difficulty. In compliance with his requisition, I have therefore to request and authorize you, to accept the services of one hundred volunteers and report yourself to Col. Pepper for service, in command of said volunteers, armed and equipped.

Tipton to David Wallace, August 27, 1838

. . . I will with all possible dispatch proceed to organize the Corps agreeably to your instructions & to perform such service . . . as the case may require I will keep your excellency advised of passing events as they occur . . .

Tipton to David Wallace, August 31, 1838, Head Qr Twin Lakes

Sir I have the honour to inform you that I accepted the service of a number of volunteer and have organized them for service. . ."

Tipton to Carey A. Harris, September 2, 1838, Twin Lakes Encampment

Sir . . . I was authorized by the Governor of this State, to accept the services of one hundred volunteers-to organize and march them to this place . . . I left Logansport at one O'clock on the 28th ult. And reached this post at half past 11 the next day-I met with a number of Chiefs and principal men residing on the Reservation . . . They appeared to be in a very bad humor . . . I established my camp near the village . . . On the next day I held a Council with the Indians, when most of them manifested a disposition to leave the Reservation and move west of the Mississippi . . . But Me-no-mi-nee, Black Wolf and Pepin-e-wah declined removing. . . I cannot help but that this unhappy difficulty will be speedily brought to a close. . .

Tipton to Benjamin Pettit, September 2, 1838, Camp Twin Lakes

Sir The unpleasant state of affairs here which no one can lament more than I do has induced the Governor of this State to request me . . . to prevent difficulty between the Indians and the whites . . . I find all willing to remove with a few exceptions among the number is Menominee and Black Wolf, who being Catholics desire to remain here with

their Priest [Pettit] I have told them that I would recommend to the President to defray the expenses of building a Chapel and residence for yourself or any other priest who might wish to go and settle among and improve these people. . . I will hope for a definite answer tomorrow.

Tipton to David Wallace, Twin Lakes Encampment, September 3, 1838

Sir . . . Early this morning we commenced loading the baggage &c. belonging to the Indians, and have loaded their property in thirteen wagons. This evening we collected Indian horses . . . I expect to leave camp tomorrow, and have some hopes of being joined on our route by a small party of Indians yet remaining on Eel river. . .

Source: *John Tipton Papers, V. 3 1834-1839, Indiana Historical Collections XXVI*, Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, 1942

THE POTTAWATTAMIES.

The emigrating party, consisting of about 1000 Indians, arrived and encamped within a mile of this place, on Thursday evening last, and it is said will leave this morning (10th) for their future home in the west. We have been at their camp, and find their situation much better than we expected. 'Tis true there are many sick, but they are made as comfortable as circumstances will admit, and we have no doubt that they will be treated with humanity and kindness.

The Rev. Mr. Petit, who has been with them for some time past and who has already succeeded in teaching them some of the arts of civilization by which their condition has been much improved, will accompany them. This gentleman, who has deservedly gained their esteem, and whose remaining was one of the principal obstacles to their removing, has, by consenting to go, given them additional proofs of his regard for their welfare, and he has also rendered himself worthy of the notice of government. There is already a visible change in the feelings of the Indians, and many who were averse to going west now express a willingness to go.

We have been led to make these remarks to correct some rumors that are gaining circulation. It has been reported that the Indians were maltreated on their journey—that they were forced to make long marches when it was not necessary—that they were not suffered to get water on the road—and that the order of Gen. Tipton was to drive them along at the point of the bayonet, if necessary.—These reports, we believe are all unfounded, as they have been contradicted by those who were present, and in whose word we can place implicit confidence.

The first day's journey was a long march, (twenty-one miles) but it was unavoidable; there being no place where they could obtain water enough for the emigrating party between Yellow River and the Tippecanoe.—Indeed, water was so scarce on the route that in some places persons refused to give it either to Indians or whites. The greater number

The Deportation of Menominee and his Tribe of the Pottawatomie Tribe

The deportation of Chief Menominee and his tribe of Potawatomie Indians from their reservation at Twin Lakes in Marshall county. In September, 1838, covers one of darkest pages in the history of our state and has no parallel in the annals of American history.

Col. Pepper invited all of the tribe to council to be held at the village on August 29. Not knowing they were being decoyed, many of them assembled and at the time Mr. Pepper was pretending to hold a council. General Tipton appeared with his army, which was secreted, surrounded the village and made all, between three and four hundred prisoners. He then proceeded to the church where they were engaged in worship and made his presence known by firing guns and surrounding the church and made all within prisoners . . .

. . . They pled for mercy and to be let alone, but to no effect as general Tipton was a military man and knew to obey orders.

When evening came and they [Indians] did not return home, others were sent out in search for them and they too were made prisoners. All of these were held under guard while other troops were scouring the reservation for others and destroying their homes . . .

On the Sunday before their departure, they were visited by many whites who came to bid them farewell. No doubt there were some in that assemblage whose consciences were not at rest. On the last day they were permitted, under guard, to visit the graves of their departed friends . . . heart-rending scenes that were indescribable were witnessed. . .

. . . On September 4, 1838, they were lined up, some afoot, some on ponies, followed by the wagons, and all heavily guarded with a lot of guards at the rear with bayonets, which were often used to keep the weak ones in procession. Before starting the torch was applied to their village, so that they might see their homes destroyed and they would not want to return.

Source: Benjamin F. Stuart, [a Historian] "The Deportation of Menominee and his Tribe of the Pottawatomie Tribe," *Indiana Magazine of History*, V. 18, Bloomington, 1922

THE JOHN

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Cor

Compiled

NELLIE ARMSTRONG



JOHN TIPTON

From a portrait in the Masonic Temple, Logansport, Indiana

INDIANA