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A HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MISSIONS
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KANSAS

being

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty in
Partial Fulfillment for the Degree of
Master of Science

by

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INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of the missionary activity of the Presbyterian Church date back to the colonial days of the eighteenth century.¹ In point of American historical chronology, the missionary work of the Presbyterians among the Indians in what is now Kansas, southwestern Missouri and east central Oklahoma was inaugurated in the same decade that witnessed the War of 1812.² As a matter of fact, two members of the original group of missionaries which went into the Missouri territory, served in the American army in that war.³

The earliest missionary work of the Presbyterian Church was under the administration of the "Board of Correspondents", a New York branch of the "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge."⁴ The latter was organized in Scotland, 1709, while the "Board of Correspondents" was set up in 1741. In 1818, however, this board was supplanted by the United Foreign Missionary Society, often referred to as simply the "U. F. M.". This latter was not strictly a Presbyterian board of administration as it was an organization supported by the Dutch Reformed and Associate Reformed Churches as well as by the Presbyterians. In 1826 the "Society" was absorbed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

1. See note 27, Chapter II.

2. *Infra*, p. 16.

3. Hill, John B. *History of the Presbytery of Kansas City*, p. 148 and 212. Reference will be made to these two later; Nathaniel Brown Dodge, William C. Requa.

4. Bliss, E.M. *Encyclopedia of Missions*, Vol. II, p. 243-244. The material for this paragraph comes from this source.

which, as its predecessor, was supported by the Dutch Reformed, Associate Reformed Churches and the Presbyterian Church. Meanwhile, the Synod of Pittsburg (Pennsylvania) formed the "W. F. M. S.", Western Foreign Missionary Society, in 1831. The "A. B. C. F. M.", as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was popularly styled, represented the Presbyterian Church in the foreign field until it and the Western Foreign Missionary Society were replaced by the organization, adhering to denominational lines, known as the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (1837). However, in the following year the Presbyterians split into the Old and New Schools of churches occurred and the A. B. C. F. M. then continued to represent the New School until the reconciliation and reunion of the two in 1870.

Although we are not concerned with either of them here, it is worthwhile mentioning the fact that some of the early laborers were sent out by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, organized in 1816, and by the American Home Missionary Society which, supported by the same church affiliation which financed the United Foreign Missionary Society and the A. B. C. F. M., was organized in 1826.⁵ In 1893, after a reorganization, the Board of Home Missions took up the work among the Indians in this country, in Alaska and in Mexico. A little over ten years ago the Presbyterian Church completed a new organization, the Board of National Missions, which more clearly in itself defines the limits of the field it supervizes. This organization supplanted the

5. Ibid, p. 244.

old Board of Home Missions and now handles the Indian Work as the Board of National Missions.⁶ Such is a brief sketch of the changing authority which directed the effort of the missions among the Indians with which we are concerned. This paper is not concerned with the later period of the "Home Mission" and "National Mission" Indian Work, but it is interesting to note that even today in Kansas the National Missions Council of the Synod of Kansas has a Sunday School project among the Indians.⁷

6. Thompson, Charles Lemuel, D.D., LL.D. The Soul of America, the contribution of Presbyterian Home Missions, p 79.

7. "Grandview Indian Mission is located five miles northwest of White Cloud, and nineteen miles northeast of Hiawatha. The work is carried on in the school house adjoining the location of our former Presbyterian Church which burned about fifteen years ago. The Sunday School was reorganized in January, 1933, and in the spring Rev. A. M. Reitzel, D.D., of Hiawatha, began preaching services and giving the field pastoral oversight. About one-third of the population on the reservation is Indian and the rest are whites. James Whitecloud, aged 97, is chief on the reservation, and greatly interested in the religious work being done. The attendance at Sunday School and church services averages one hundred. Special meetings were held by Dr. Reitzel resulting in fifty-seven confessions. There were twenty-eight baptisms on Easter Sunday, and sixteen at other times. Twenty-seven people of the community reaffirmed their Christian faith, making a total of 84 confessing Christians now on the reservation. The elders of the Hiawatha church have assisted their pastor in communion and other services held on the reservation. Highland Presbytery at its spring meeting appointed a committee, Rev. A. M. Reitzel, Rev. C. K. Davis of Atchison, and Rev. R. R. Irvin of Highland, to make plans for organizing the work into a church of some permanent affiliated relationship to assure its being continued along the lines of the present spiritual accomplishment."

-----from the Kansas Presbyterian News, June, 1934.

It was my original intention to confine this research to a consideration of the Indian missions established by the Presbyterian Church in that part of the Indian Territory which has now become the State of Kansas. There were five such mission stations set up within the present confines of this state. The first two were established in 1824 and 1829, respectively, among the Osage Indians in present (Neosho county, Kansas.⁸ In 1834 a third was established in what is now Miami county to administer to the Wea and Piankeshaw Indians.⁹ Three years later the newly organized Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church chose the Iowa and Sac and Fox Indians as fit subjects for a mission station, which they organized in present Doniphan county.¹⁰ The last station which was established did not come until late in the territorial period of the history of this state, 1856, when an organization was developed near the Iowa station, in what has become Brown county, among the Kickapoo Indians.¹¹ The history of the first two missions (the Neosho Mission, 1824, and the Boudinot Mission, 1829) is so closely interwoven with that of the Harmony Mission in Bates county, Missouri, and with the Union station set up in Oklahoma on the Grand (Neosho) river, about twenty-five miles above its junction with the Arkansas¹² that a consideration

8. See Chapter II.

9. See Chapter III.

10. See Chapter V.

11. See Chapter IV.

12. It seems to be agreed that the station was located twenty-five miles above the junction of the Grand (Neosho) and the Arkansas on the west bank of the Grand river. Such a location would place the station in what is now Mayes county, Oklahoma, very near the southern border where it touches Wagoner county, in which latter the junction of the Grand and Arkansas is situated. (Missionary Herald, XXXI, p 4.)

of those in Kansas must necessarily include something of the story concerning the latter. Thus the scope of my research includes the Union and Harmony Missions, the Neosho and Boudinot Missions, the Wea Mission, the Kickapoo Mission, and last, though not so in chronological order, the Iowa, Sac and Fox Mission.

THE INDIANS

I

THE INDIANS

The American government has always been seriously concerned with the Indian question in this country. However, that interest has not been philanthropic or missionary - rather it has all too often been necessary. Frequently measures for moving the Indians westward to protected treaty reservations have come only as a result of pressure upon Congress from some individuals or groups interested in advancing their own enterprises.

Is it true that following the Louisiana Purchase the question of removing the Indians to reservations west of the Mississippi River received considerable attention in the arena of national affairs. However, it cannot be said that the missionary interests of the American people have been responsible for the increasing desire during the last century to segregate the Indians. The Rev. Isaac McCoy¹ felt that isolation of the Indians was the only way in which the red man could be preserved, both physically and morally, from the demoralizing influence of contact with the whites. Rev. McCoy was very active in Washington circles during the middle of the last century and interested many in his program for Indian removal. In 1824 the Rev. McCoy presented one study to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War in Monroe's cabinet, who favored a strong policy of such a measure.²

In the late summer of 1825 Rev. McCoy was able to persuade

1. The Rev. Isaac McCoy was a prominent Methodist missionary who worked the whole of the Indian Territory.
2. The above material comes from an article printed in the 1890s and is in the Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 1, p. 100.

THE INDIANS

The American government has always been seriously concerned with the Indian question in this country. However, that interest has seldom been philanthropic or missionary - rather it has all too often been mercenary. Frequently measures for moving the Indians westward to protected treaty reservations have come only as a result of pressure upon Congress from some individuals or groups interested in advancing their own enterprise. Especially is it true that following the Louisiana Purchase the question of removing the Indians to reservations west of the Mississippi river received considerable attention in the arena of national affairs. However, it cannot be said that only the mercenary interests of the American people have been responsible for the increasing desire during the last century to segregate the Indians. The Rev. Isaac McCoy¹ felt that isolation of the Indians was the only way in which the red man could be preserved, both morally and physically, from the demoralizing influence of contact with the whites. Rev. McCoy was very active in Washington circles during the first part of the last century and interested many in his schemes for Indian removal. In 1824 the Rev. McCoy presented one such plan to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War in Monroe's cabinet, who became a staunch friend of such a measure.²

In the late summer of 1828 Rev. McCoy was able to undertake an ex-

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1. The Rev. Isaac McCoy was a prominent Methodist missionary active in the whole of the Indian Territory.
 2. The above material comes from an article (thesis) by Anna Heloise Abel in the Kansas Historical Collections, VIII, 73-75.

ploring trip for he was one of the duly appointed commissioners provided for under an appropriation from Congress for such a task in 1828. This trip contemplated the exploration of present Kansas, and took six months to complete.³

Partly as a result of Rev McCoy's recommendations to the War Department after this and one further trip into the same country in 1829, the government adopted a definite policy of removal in the Jackson administration, during which the Bureau of Indian Affairs was created (1832).⁴ Congress, in 1830, legalized the removal and prepared for the organization of an Indian country west of the Mississippi river.⁵ ✓

Until the Kaw and Osage Treaty, 1825, drafted by Governor William Clark of Missouri,⁶ the Kansas Indians (Kaw) claimed an ill-defined hunting-ground north of the Kansas river. As they were the only tribe within the territorial limits of the present boundaries of the State of Kansas the state took its name from them. The claims of the Osage Indians, who were blood relations of the Kansas Indians, were south of the Kansas river and extended into the territory of the State of Missouri. In reviewing something of the history of the Indians with whom Presbyterian missionaries were concerned first consideration seems to go to these Osages for they became owners of a great part of the state. The Dhegiha group of the Siouan Indians, of which they were a tribal member,

3. Ibid. The Rev. McCoy made a short stop enroute to Kansas at the Harmony Mission where he procured the services of a half-breed Osage Indian as his guide into Kansas.

4. Ibid.

5. U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol.4., pp 411-412

6. Governor William Clark was the William Clark of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition.

had more to do with Kansas than did the tribes of any other group or division of the Siouan Indians.⁷ Furthermore, the bulk of the missionary work was in the Union, Harmony, Neosho and Boudinot Missions all of which were established among Osage Indian habitats.

The Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, a prominent ethnologist of the last century, definitely located the ancestors of the Osage Indians in the Piedmont regions of Virginia and the Carolinas. At that time the Omahas, Ponkas (Poncas), Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas (Quapas) were one nation and as such gradually worked their way toward the Ohio river which they eventually descended. While their home was near the Ohio river they were known to the Illinois tribes as Arkansas or Alkansa. When the mouth of the Ohio river was reached a division occurred in the ranks of the great nation and a part of the group travelled downstream along the Mississippi while the Omaha group, including the Osages, ascended the river as far as St. Louis where they remained for a time. After due time the Indians ascended the Missouri river as far as the junction of the Osage and Missouri rivers. Here occurred another split in the tribes; one half leaving the Osage and Kansas Indians about the mouth of the Osage river. It is not definitely known if the division of the two latter tribes had occurred or even begun at that time, but certainly the development into separate tribes was not long in coming. At any rate the Kansas finally continued the ascent of the Missouri river while the Osages slowly went up the Osage river moving their town along with them.⁸

7. Article by William E. Connelley (in) Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XIV, p. 445.

8. Ibid, p. 446.

So early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Osages were contacted by white men in this district in a more or less permanent fashion. The French traders established trade relations with all the groups of Indians located in central Missouri from their trading post which was located on an island near present Malta Bend, Saline county, Missouri. The French traders made every effort to preserve peaceful relations between the various tribes in order to further the interests of their trade. A treaty signed with the Osages by the government on November 10, 1808, provided that the government establish, for the protection of the Osage Indians, a fort in their territory. Accordingly, Fort Osage, later known as Fort Clark, where Sibley, Missouri, now is, was established in that year.⁹

The migration consumed some time, but the westward movement of the Osages into Kansas begun about 1815. At that time they had moved along the Osage as far as its confluence with the Marias des Cygne between Vernon and Bates counties, Missouri. The new homes which the Osages set up were on the Neosho river. In 1815 the Osage village known as White Hair's town was built.¹⁰ White Hair's village was in a great re-

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid, p.447.

Many writers, including the missionaries, have mentioned White Hair's village. There seems to be considerable difference as to its location. In the article just referred to, Mr. Connelley says that after a great deal of painstaking research he has accepted the government survey of Kansas as the authority. That survey places the village in Section 16, Township 28, Range 19, Neosho county, Ks. The map on page shows that location. This location is further borne out in the terms of the treaty of 1825 with the Osage and Kaw which defined the Osage reservation thus, "Beginning at a point due east of White Hair's village and twenty-five miles west of the western boundary line of the State of Missouri, fronting on a north and south line so as to leave ten miles north and forty miles south of the point of said beginning, and extending west with a width of fifty miles to the western boundary of the (footnote continued on next page)

spect the center of much of the interest of these Osages. It was their big town in the Kansas reservation.¹¹

The whole reservation was fifty miles wide, from north to south, and extended south to the present southern line of the State of Kansas, and, stretching west from the west line of present Cherokee and Crawford counties, extended 260 miles west, containing in all about 9,320,000 acres.¹² All of this great reservation was disposed of on September 29, 1865, at Canville Trading Post¹³ under the terms of a treaty made with the Osages by the government. The Osages then left Kansas in 1870 to settle on land bought from the Cherokee Indians, east and north of the Arkansas river.

(footnote 10 continued)

lands hereby ceded and relinquished." By checking these instructions on the map, frontespiece, it is evident that White Hair's village must have been in Neosho county in the location given by the government survey for it is forty miles from that point to the southern line of the State. The Osage reservation of this treaty was entirely within the present confines of this state.

11. For the location of the boundaries of this reservation see above footnote.

12. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol V, p.69.

13. Mr. T. F. Morrison of Chanute, Kansas, is a member of the Kansas Historical Society and an authority on the history of Neosho county, Kansas. Mr. Morrison is preparing an article on the Pixley Mission (see chapter I) for the Historical Society. I had the pleasure of interviewing Mr. Morrison in May, 1934, and have quoted him in several instances in this paper. Mr. Morrison locates the Canville Trading Post, established in 1844, on the site of present Shaw, Neosho county, Kansas.

The population of this most important of the western division of the southern Siouan tribes, was nearly 2,000 in 1906, according to the Indian Office Census of that year,¹⁴ having been estimated at 8,000 in 1825 by the Missionary Herald in the volume for that year. This difference, however, does not actually represent a decrease in number as great as 6,000 for many had left the government reservations before 1906.

Although not so many missions were established among them nor so many missionaries sent out to the Iowa, Sac and Fox station near present Highland, Doniphan county, Kansas, as were despatched to the Osages, the missionary endeavor at that place was the most extensive from point of time, a mission being maintained there for some thirty years. Mr. Connelley, to whose article I have made frequent reference furnishes the following information about the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri, and the Iowas.¹⁵

The Iowas are of the Siouan family, as were the Osages, though the Iowa belong to the Chiwere division while the latter were members of the Dhegiha group of Siouans. The Sacs and Foxes, with whom the Iowa were confederated at the time of their advent into Kansas, were of the Algonquin nation. That confederation which was consummated in 1830 included also the Omahas, Missouris, Otoes, and Sioux. The Iowas are possibly an offshoot of the Winnebagoes, having lived in Missouri, Minnesota, Iowa, and, some of them, in Nebraska. Their name signifies "The Sleepy Ones."

14. "Handbook of American Indians", Bureau of Ethnology, Buletin XXX, part 2, p.157.

15. The Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi had a reservation in Kansas, but the Presbyterian Church did not include them in their missionary work.

16. "Handbook of American Indians", Bureau of Ethnology, Buletin XXX, p.157

The Indian name Sac (Sauk) means "Yellow Earth People". Their pre-historic home was about the south shore of the Great Lakes, probably in present Michigan. The Foxes were the "Red Earth People" coming from the Red river area in Wisconsin and on Lake Winnebago.

By 1836 the confederacy referred to above had dwindled to include only the Iowa, Sacs and Foxes. On September 17, 1836, the confederation were given in treaty a reservation extending into Nebraska and north of that of the Kickapoo. For various and sundry reasons, the confederation broke up completely in the "fifties" and the Iowa, Sacs, and Foxes each made separate agreements with the government. The Iowa reservation was reduced considerably in 1854 to a small area around the mouth of the Great Nemaha river. Most of the Sacs went into Oklahoma in 1867 following by about ten years, an exodus of the Foxes into Iowa.

Some estimates of the population of the Iowa at various times are available in the "Handbook of American Indians"¹⁶. Lewis and Clark estimated their size as over a thousand in 1760; in 1804 they dropped their figure to 800 with the explanation that in 1803 a plague of smallpox had carried off 100 men, besides a larger number of women and children.

Twenty-five years later the Secretary of War gave their number as again 1,000. Catlin estimates their population in 1832 at 1,400 but drops the figure to 990 in 1836, which was the year before they came to Kansas. In 1843 the Indian Affairs Report gives their number as 470. At the Potawatomi reservation and Great Nemaha agency in Kansas were a combined total of 143 in 1884, 138 in 1885, 143 in 1886, and 225 in 1906. At the

16. "Handbook of American Indians", Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin XXX, p613

later date (our purpose is concluded before then, of course) they were under the jurisdiction of the Kickapoo school. Some of them had migrated to Oklahoma previously, however, there being nearly ninety there each year during the twenty year period from 1885 to 1905.

The two remaining fields of missionary labor among the Indians in Kansas were with the Wea and Piankeshaws, and with the Kickapoo Indians, neither of which was an extensive undertaking. The Wea and Piankeshaw Mission had a short life, from 1833 to 1836, as did the Kickapoo Mission, 1856 to 1860. The "Handbook of American Indians"¹⁷ offers the information that both the Wea and the Piankeshaw Indians were originally each a sub-tribe of the Miamis but became a separate people by the time with which we are concerned. In 1832 the Wea and Piankeshaw sold all their claims in the East and agreed to migrate west of the State of Missouri into their new home as one tribe. The location of the reservation occupied by this group was in the northern part of present Miami county. The consolidated Wea and Piankeshaw tribes united with a remnant of the Illinois Indians, known as Peoria and Kaskaskia, in 1854, and together occupied a reservation. Thirteen years later they joined the general exodus of Indians from Kansas, going to Oklahoma as a confederation of four tribes using the name Peoria. The Piankeshaw probably never numbered over 1,000; in 1825 the estimate is a little less than 250. In 1906 the four groups known as Peoria numbered only 200, probably none of whom were of pure blood.¹⁸

The Kickapoo were a tribe of the central Algonquin group, forming

17. "Handbook of American Indians", Bureau of Ethnology, BulletinXXX, p240

18. Ibid, p240.

a close ethnical and linguistic division with the Sacs and Foxes.¹⁹ They came from the same general area as the Sacs and Foxes being first mentioned about 1670 as near the watershed between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers. There were two groups: the Vermillion band which lived on the entrance of the Vermillion river into the Wabash river, and the Prairie band living toward the west. Both were followers of Tecumsah and fought against the United States in Blackhawk's war. The Kickapoo's first removal was to the State of Missouri where they located on the Osage river. In 1832 they were given treaty rights to an area in Kansas defined, in the treaty, thus:

"Beginning on the Delaware line, six miles westwardly of Fort Leavenworth, thence with the Delaware line westwardly sixty miles, thence north twenty miles, thence in a direct line to the west bank of the Missouri, at a point twenty-six miles north of Fort Leavenworth, thence down the west bank of the Missouri river to a point six miles nearly southwest of Fort Leavenworth and thence to the beginning."²⁰

In 1852, after all had gone to Kansas, a large number of the Kickapoo, along with some Potawatomie, went to Mexico and became known as "Mexican Kickapoo". Some of them returned to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1873. Meanwhile, 1854, the greater part of the Kickapoo reservation outlined above was surrendered to the United States leaving a tract of 150,000 acres on the headwaters of the Grasshopper river. Much of this was in present Brown county in which the Presbyterian Mis-

19. Connelley, William E., History of Kansas, State and People, Vol. I, p. 243-244.

20. Ibid, p. 244.

sion also was located.²¹

In 1905 the population of this group was nearly 500.²²

Briefly, then, the Presbyterian Church established missions among seven tribal groups of Indians in this area. The Missions among the Osages were: Harmony, Bates county, Missouri; Union, near the border of Wagoner and Mayes county, Oklahoma; Neosho and Boudinot in Neosho county, Kansas. The Mission to the Wea and Piankeshaws was in Miami county, Kansas. The Mission in Doniphan county, Kansas was for the Iowa, Sac and Fox, while Brown county, Kansas, contained the Kickapoo Mission.

THE OSAGE MISSIONS

UNION - HARMONY - NEOSHO - BOUDINOT

21. Ibid

22. Ibid, p. 138.

THE OSAGE MISSIONS

UNION HARMONY NEOSHO BOUDINOT

The United Foreign Missionary Society¹ began preparations for the establishment of its missionary work among the Osage Indians west of the Mississippi and in this area in 1819. In that year the Society despatched the Reverend Messrs. Chapman and Finall² on an exploring trip into this region for the purpose of discovering desirable locations for projected Mission stations which were to be located in what was then known

II

THE OSAGE MISSIONS

Rev. Finall went to the mouth of the Arkansas river and proceeded along its course for about 400 miles to a point where they finally selected a site on the west side of the Grand (Neosho) river, about twenty miles above Fort Gibson in the Cherokee country.³ This is the first notice we have of the Osages as attracting the attention of Christian people, or of any endeavors to carry the Gospel

UNION - HARMONY - NEOSHO - BOUDINOT

1. Supra, p1.

2. Andrews, A.F., History of Kansas, p62.

3. The report contained in the Missionary Herald, Vol. XX, (1819), states that the station was located about 700 miles above the junction of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers. That distance is evidently one arrived at following the river course. The report, while it correctly places Union twenty-five miles above the confluence of the Grand (Neosho) and the Arkansas, locates Union in latitude 36° 20' West. Such a position would be, roughly, twenty-five miles Southwest of present Oklahoma City and, roughly, 225 miles from the actual site. An explanation is that the government survey had not been completed at the time (1826), in fact it had not been started.

THE OSAGE MISSIONS

UNION HARMONY NEOSHO BOUDINOT

The United Foreign Missionary Society¹ began preparations for the establishment of its missionary work among the Osage Indians west of the Mississippi and in this area in 1819. In that year the Society despatched the Reverend Messrs. Chapman and Vinall² on an exploring trip into this region for the purpose of discovering desirable locations for projected Mission stations which were to be located in what was then known as the Missouri Territory. Rev. Chapman and Rev. Vinall went to the mouth of the Arkansas river and proceeded along its course for about 400 miles to a point where they finally selected a site on the west side of the Grand (Neosho) river, about twenty miles above Fort Gibson in the Cherokee country.³ This is the first notice we have of the Osages as attracting the attention of Christian people, or of any endeavors to carry the Gosp-

1. Supra, pl.

2. Andreas, A.T., History of Kansas, p63.

3. The report contained in the Missionary Herald, Vol.XXI, (1825)p4, states that the station was located about 700 miles above the junction of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers. That distance is evidently one arrived at following the river course. The report, while it correctly places Union twenty-five miles above the confluence of the Grand (Neosho) and the Arkansas, locates Union in Latitude 35°20' West. Such a position would be, roughly, twenty-five miles Southwest of present Oklahoma City and, roughly, 125 miles from the actual site. An explanation is that the government survey had not been completed at the time (1825), in fact it had not been started.

el to them.⁴ In this vicinity the Rev. Vinall passed away due to the ravages of a disease and inadequate medical attention. Following this sad circumstance, Rev. Chapman continued northward along the selected route, to the towns of the Osages on the Neosho and Verdigris rivers on the way back to the East.⁵

Following the observations which Rev. Chapman reported back, the United Foreign Missionary Society determined to send out a "Mission Family" to begin missionary operations among these people. The field was rather large. An estimate of the Osage population in the vicinity, (they were the Osages of the Arkansas), gives their number as 2,000.⁶ Of course, not all of the Osages of the Arkansas were in the immediate vicinity of the Union Mission which, as a matter of fact, was located about twenty-five miles distant from the principle Osage village.⁷ The tract of land which the Mission occupied was four miles square, bounded by the Grand (Neosho) river on the north and east and by a high range of hills on the South and west, while the buildings of the Mission were erected on an eminence approximately one mile from the river. According to the official report (annual) dated October 30, 1821, the value of the Mission

4. Hill, John B. p. 100.

5. Missionary Herald, Vol. XXI, p.4.

6. Ibid.

7. Andreas, A.T. p.63, Andreas does not give the name of the village to which he refers.

11. The list of the Union Mission society's personnel comes from the Missionary Herald, XXI, p.2. The names of the ladies, were not available.

12. Mr. Hill has included a number of biographical sketches in his book (Footnote continued on next page)

including buildings, stock, produce, tools, furniture, books, etc., was estimated at \$20,000.⁸ Eight women and nine men volunteered to the Society to organize the Mission company and set out from the East in 1820 arriving at their destination in the same year, although two of the ladies did not reach the destination, having died on the outward journey.⁹ The Rev. Epaphras Chapman, who had, with Vinall, explored the region in the year preceeding, and the Rev. William F. Vaill (occasionally, Vail) headed the company as the missionaries. Marcus Palmer, M.D., a consecrated physician and surgeon, accompanied the group. At a later date, Dr. Palmer was ordained as a minister of the Gospel.¹⁰ The Messrs. William Comb Requa,¹⁰ Stephen Fuller, Abraham Redfield, John M. Spaulding, Alexander Woodruff, and George Requa, were the assistant missionaries to Chapman and Vaill.¹¹ A few of these names will be referred to later on as they perchance were transferred to other fields of missionary endeavor with which we treat. William C. Requa, especially continued in service with the Osages until the very end of the connection with them by the Presbyterian Church.¹² Dr. Palmer, also, served long and faithfully.

8. Ibid

9. Hill, John B., p100

10. Hill, p102-----Wm C. Requa was at Union and Neosho Missions during the life of the Osage Mission work. He was the last to leave the Neosho Mission. In November, 1823, the Missionaries in Harmony and Union Missions and the Dwight Mission to the Cherokees, formed an association which they called the "Indian Mission Presbytery." That Mission Presbytery received and finally ordained Dr. Marcus Palmer and Wm.C. Requa.

11. The list of the Union Mission company's personnel comes from the Missionary Herald, XXI, p5. The names of the ladies, were not available.

12. Mr. Hill has included a number of biographical sketches in his book (footnote continued on next page)

(footnote 12 continued)

of the ministers in the Presbytery of Kansas City. In the group are some who were, earlier, the missionaries to the Osages. A few of these appear in reduced form in footnotes in this chapter. Following is some information concerning (Rev.) William Comb Requa, for which see Hill, p. 211-213.

✓Rev. Requa was the longest lived member of the Presbytery being a member of the first Missionary band sent out to the Osages from New York in 1820. He was transferred from the Union Mission to the Harmony Mission and in that latter neighborhood spent the remainder of his long and useful life. A notice in the family genealogy (The Family of Requa, 1678-1898, pp. 41-42) says: "The Rev. William Comb whose picture is here given, studied at North Salem Academy, N.Y., and went out in 1820, under the direction of the Presbyterian Board [United Foreign Missionary Society] as missionary to the Osage Indians at Fort Gibson, Ark., [now I. T.] Washington Irving, in one of his works, pays a high compliment to his former neighbor and friend, Rev. William Comb Requa, whose Mission station he visited in one of his excursions to the far West. Two years later, in 1822, the Rev. William Comb married Susan Combstock, by whom he had three children. In 1832 the Mission was disbanded, and Mr. Requa removed with his family to [the vicinity of] Butler, Bates county, Mo., where he took up Government land, being allowed a bounty for his services in the War of 1812. In 1833 his first wife died; and in 1837 he married Jane Montgomery who lived one year. In 1840 he married Sarah A. Nutting, by whom he had nine children. He was farmer, physician, and preacher, having erected a church in which he held services on the Sabbath.

"During the Civil War his church and buildings were burned, and his family compelled to seek safety in Kansas. Mr. Requa enjoyed a long and eventful life. Born under the administration of Washington, he outlived both Lincoln and Grant. A soldier of the War of 1812, he also suffered much in the War of the Rebellion. From the classic halls of North Salem Academy, N.Y., he volunteered to go as a teacher and physician to the Indians on the frontier. Parts of the New Testament he translated into the Osage tongue, and gave twelve years of his early life exclusively to the Missionary work."

Dr. Timothy Hill also prepared a sketch of Mr. Requa a part of which Mr. Hill includes in his book. "Mr. Requa was the last of the Mission band to abandon the Osages, and only gave up when repeated removals and continued opposition rendered it apparent that little could be done for their welfare. He did not see the measure of success that he expected; but in his case, as in many others, the Foreign Missionary was the pioneer Home Missionary, and the work done for the Indian prepared the way for the Church with the Indians' stronger brother, the white man. In a quiet and peaceful age, this man who bore untold and long continued hardships, descended to his final rest, falling to sleep in Jesus, June 3, 1886, at the ripe age of 92, much the senior in age of any in this Synod....."

Dr. Timothy Hill, by the way, would be one of the outstanding figures in a history of Presbyterianism in this state. Following the Civil War Dr. Hill had the Superintendency for the Board of Home Missions over its work in the Southwest. In this capacity a great deal of Dr. Hill's work was done in Kansas. (Hill, John B. p. 165)

Rev. Chapman was not long with the Mission at Union. In spite of as careful attention as the limited equipment of Dr. Palmer would allow, a seige of typhus fever caused his death, which occurred on January 5, 1825.¹³

The Rev. William F. Vaill, in reports to the Corresponding Secretary of the United Foreign Missionary Society, makes some interesting comments on the Osage Indians which are of some value as they come from one who, by that time, had lived with his subject for several years.¹⁴ According to Rev. Vaill, the original Osage claim extended from the Kansas river on the north to the Red river on the south, and from the White river on the east to the Rock Saline on the west. This great area lay between 33°39' north latitude and 95°100' west longitude. On this large claim were several villages of Osages, most important of which were the four on the Grand (Neosho) and two on the Verdigris river. The Grand (Neosho) river, by the way, was navigable with keel boats about 200 miles above its junction with the Arkansas, while the Verdigris was navigable only to the falls located four miles above its entrance to the Arkansas.

The Osage country is described as healthful and inviting with good, pure air to breathe. Some parts of the claim are rough and hilly, being covered with timber, while other parts have stretches of dry prairie grass for their vegetation.

The Osages, he says, call themselves Wau-sau-she, hence the American version, Osages. The group is of a semi-wandering character, settling in villages in the spring and summer in order to plant and harvest their corn

13. Ibid, p259.

14. The complete reports from which the excerpts are taken may be found in the Missionary Herald, Vol.XXI, pp267-271, and, Vol.XXIII, pp146-148

crop. In the fall and winter they sally forth once or twice on a great and extended buffalo hunt toward the southwest. On these excursions the Osages usually engage their hostile enemies, the Pawnees on the Red river, in a few skirmishes. During the hunt temporary camp is set up in the form of a village where all congregate for mutual protection. All of the supplies for the village such as the coverings for the houses, the cooking utensils and a great deal of provisions are carried along:

"Though they love hunting, and delight in war, they have never been known to torture prisoners", says Rev. Vaill. Continuing, "If they decide on war, they will go to war, and kill, or take all they can; but it is soon over; and prisoners are well treated. If anyone has lost a child, the prisoner is made to supply its place. A Pawnee boy, or girl, sometimes receives, if possible, more affection and attention, than an own child because adopted in the room of one dead."

Rev. Vaill believed the Osages mild and temperate. "In six years, I have not seen one of them drunk." As a matter of fact, they were afraid of the whiskey which they called "Firewater". A significant statement occurs in this paragraph in which Rev. Vaill says that "The morals of the Osages were untainted by intercourse with the whites."¹⁵

Rev. Vaill justifies some of the actions of the Osages which were severely criticised by their white neighbors. Many of the latter hated the Osages because of their plundering and killing, but Rev. Vaill contends that the Indians were forced to do it since the white hunters, regardless of the treaty rights of the Indians, were crowding into their

15. By way of contrast compare this with the Ioway Indians with whom Rev. Irvin worked at a later date, see *Infra* p. 79.

country. Frontier settlers often left their plantations to hunt buffalo - to destroy what to the Indians is "subsistence". It was quite common, indeed, for hundreds of whites to kill thousands of buffalo for their hides and tongues only; the remainder of the carcass being left on the plains to rot.

In their government, the Osages allowed their chiefs only advisory powers. The organization of justice was very poor among them, states Rev. Vaill, for criminals were usually able to make an escape unless they voluntarily submitted to punishment. Murderers, of course, were sometimes punished by near relatives of the murdered known as "blood avengers." In his experience thus far Rev. Vaill had discovered one or two instances of death for committing adultery. An interesting statement concerning the carriage of justice among these people is worth quoting:

"A female became exceedingly vile and none could reclaim her. At length an old man plunged a knife into her bosom and she died on the spot. He then went to the brook, washed his knife, returned to his lodge, and all acquiesced."

Rev. Vaill enjoyed observing the Indians in their council meetings in which they assume a great dignity, "their gravity being a delightful spectacle." An interesting method of counting the votes in the council meeting has been devised by the Osages. To arrive at a council decision a teller goes to each member of the group and asks, in a low voice, his opinion on the matter before the assembly. After making the rounds, the teller reports to the chief all the comments and the chief declares the opinions a vote.

The Osages were living in extreme poverty when the missionaries went

among them. The chief property of the Indians seemed to be in dogs and horses, the former being like "many hungry wolves". Because of the lack of clothing the boys and, to some extent, the girls, generally go naked until they reach the age of six.¹⁶ Reducing the equation to dollars and cents, Rev. Vaill, estimates the value of a child's clothing for his first fifteen years at not a penny over one dollar. The poverty of the people necessitated the systematization of begging, which, also, became an honorable means of making one's living. A not unreasonable logic led the Indians to assume that all white people are rich - their system of trading with the white people was to "trade some and beg much." The little group of missionaries at Union were rather sorely tried at times with an excess of begging at their door.

A brief review of part of the war ceremonial is given in a portion of one of the paragraphs in the report of Rev. Vaill. "Before going to war they have many ceremonies - counsel much--consult the oracle; and on this occasion their doctors have much to do. Dreamers relate their dreams; and conjurers ask counsel of the sacred bird, which they now expose to view. They then paint their faces and tie to their hair the deer's tail. In the onset they raise the whoop of war. On their return from war they approach the town with proud feelings, and the youth hold the dish from which they drink water....."

Although the Indians did observe a plurality of wives, it was not very common for an Osage to have many; they were expensive then as now. The original marriage was, of course, the great event. After that, if

16. Infra, page 40.

the Indian man were sufficiently wealthy, the sisters of the first wife, when they became eligible for marriage, automatically came to join the family. No great respect was held for the woman, who, incidentally, did all the manual labor while her husband engaged in the sports of the chase and of battle, and who was condemned to drudgery for the remainder of her existence when she married.

The services of the medical missionary were tremendously important and are not likely to be over emphasized. The suffering of the Indians was great. The popular household remedy and cure-all of the Osages, as also of other tribes, was a practice known as "cupping."¹⁷ To carry out this operation, which was used for all and sundry ills, an incision was made in the arm, leg, or elsewhere on the body, with the blade of a hunting knife. A buffalo horn tip was then inserted and the blood was withdrawn through it. The field of activity of the medical missionary is as obvious as it was large.

In mourning it was customary for the mourning to continue until the time when some enemy was sacrificed. Rev. Vaill, with rather dry humor, suggests that most of the expeditions against the Pawnee were simply for the purpose of comforting some poor soul who was in mourning for a lost one.

17. "Cupping", however, was not a practice common to the Indians alone. Along with the internal administration of calomel it was the standby of most of the early frontier doctors until about 1830, if a definite date may be assigned for its disappearance.
(Riegel, America Moves West, p. 196)

From the annual report of the Society¹⁸ a few paragraphs concerning the welfare of the Mission, the boarding school, and the staff are taken:

"While many here are apparently discouraged by the unsettled state of the Indians¹⁹, your missionaries, who are sustaining the trials of their patience, are pursuing their object without depression or dismay; and every journal they write affords increasing evidence of co-operation on the part of the public authorities in that region, in their benevolent exertions, and of confidence in their ultimate success.

"The secular concerns of the mission were in a prosperous state, though the labors of the missionaries had been considerably interrupted by sickness. Several of the Osages had been induced, by the example and persuasions of the missionaries, to substitute agriculture for the chase. Several Indian women had sought and obtained instruction in various branches of household economy. The number in the school had been increased from 7 to 14. Rev. Chapman had begun to communicate religious instruction in the Osage language."

Having successfully established the Mission among the Osages of the Grand river at Union, the United Foreign Missionary Society decided to extend their work among the Osages with another enterprise; they promptly organized a Mission company to be sent to the Osages in Missouri. This company, consisting of twenty-five adults and sixteen children, was considerably larger than the one of the preceeding year. In it were three ordained ministers: Rev. Nathaniel Brown Dodge, Jr., of Underhill, Vermont; Rev. Benson (occasionally Benton) Pixley, of Williamstown, Vermont; and the Rev. William B. Montgomery, of Danville, Pennsylvania. Dr. William N. Belcher accompanied this group as the physician and surgeon. Daniel H. Austin, Samuel B. Bright, Samuel Newton, Otis Sprague, and Amasa Jones were the assistant missionaries. Afterwards Amasa Jones was

18. Missionary Herald, XX (1824), p257-258.

19. The report refers to the recent Osage-Cherokee war.

ordained by the "Indian Mission Presbytery", as were Dr. Palmer and William C. Requa. Included in the company, also, were Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Charlotte Slocker Bright, Mrs. Benson Pixley, and a Miss Comstock. Besides the ministers and the doctor, there were farmers, mechanics, schoolmasters, and homemakers.²⁰

This company left New York on March 7th, 1821, arriving at the site of Harmony Mission on the 9th of August,²¹ after traveling along the Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri, and Osage rivers by keelboat. As in the instance of the Union Mission family, not all reached their destination. This time one of the ladies died on the boat and was buried in Shawneetown, Illinois, which oddly enough, was reputed to be one of the wildest and most lawless towns in the West,- A typical tough river town.²²

The place selected for their station was on the Marias des Cygnes river, in what is now Bates county, Missouri, near the site of former Papinville.²³ The Mission is located in the Missionary Herald²⁴ as being

20. Stringfield, E.E. Presbyterianism in the Ozarks, p. 17.

21. Ibid

22. Riegel, p. 164.

23. In this instance, as in the location of the town of White Hair, there is considerable division of opinion. Various writers place both Papinville and Harmony Mission in either Bates or Vernon county, Missouri. Mr. Connelley, whom we took for authority on the location of White Hair's village because of his reference in that case to the official government survey in the same article quoted above page 8 places Harmony in Vernon county. Miss Doris Denton, in her thesis on the Harmony Mission, in which she has a lithograph reproduction of the survey map of 1838, demonstrates clearly that the Mission was in Bates county. It occupied Sections 8 and 9 and a part of 17 in Township 38, Range 30.

24. Vol. XXI, p. 5.

among the Great Osages on the north bank of the "Marias de Cein" about six miles above its entrance into the Osage river and about 80 miles southwest of Fort Osage.

Immediately after their arrival the missionaries began to prepare for the winter by building log cabins for their shelter, 10 of which were erected before winter set in. The mill site belonging to the Mission and the United States trading house were located one mile below the Mission site and were on opposite banks of the river. In 1822 a saw-mill and a grist-mill were built.

The ministers began to preach as best they could while laboring under the difficulties the use of an interpreter necessitated, meanwhile setting themselves to the painstaking task of learning the language in order to approach the Indians with the Gospel in a more personal way. Exactly twelve months after the arrival of the group at Harmony, August, 1822, a church of twenty members was organized. The congregation and church membership was, however, mainly composed of the members of the Mission family. Undoubtedly the organization of this frontier church brought great joy into the hearts of the missionaries for the winter had sadly depleted their ranks. Four of the adults, besides the lady who passed away enroute from New York, and five children were taken before the year was out. Truly their faith must have been great.

The wandering habits of the Osage people made the work of the missionaries all the more difficult. A school was soon organized, of course, but it was a task to maintain the contact with the pupils for the instruct-

25. Andreas, A. T. p. 63

26. Hill, John B. p. 101

ion was rather soon forgotten in the excitement of the chase. "This was no poetic Mission work" and the missionaries worked hard and patiently to keep up the boarding school, which, in 1825, had eighteen pupils.²⁷ By this date, too, the work was probably more effective for four of the missionaries had paid considerable attention to the task of learning the Osage language and were able to communicate religious instruction in that tongue "with some degree of fluency". Religious impressions were made upon the children but little progress religiously was evident with the men for they were too often hunting the buffalo, or worse, on war parties. On the hunts the Osage men were often accompanied by Rev. Pixley and Rev. Montgomery who desired a more intimate contact with their red friends and who also wished ample opportunity to master the Osage language.²⁸

Of this the Missionary Herald, says, "The Rev. Messrs. Pixley and Montgomery have devoted their time principally to the study of the language; the latter, for the attainment of this object, having lived several months with the Indians, accompanying them on their hunting expeditions, and depending for subsistence upon their precarious sources of support."²⁸ However, Rev. Pixley should be included as he too was as active in this respect as was Rev. Montgomery.²⁹ In due course of time Pixley and Montgomery were able to reduce the language to writing.³⁰ Small portions of

27. Missionary Herald, XXI, p. 5.

28. Missionary Herald, XX, (1824) p. 258.

29. Infra, p. 35.

30. Hill, John B. p. 103.

the scriptures were translated into the language.³¹

An interesting incident of this school is the fact that some of the pupils were descendants of the Indians of New Jersey to whom David Brainerd had preached. In fact, the mother of the children remembered Brainerd well. Brainerd had lived among them, she said, and had won the hearts of all of them for he was intent only to tell them the story of the Gospel.³²

In his History of Kansas,³³ Andreas says that the missionaries at Harmony cooperated with the Catholic missionaries who came to that vicinity a few years after the Harmony Mission was established and used some of the log cabins which had been erected at Harmony until some for their own

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31. The first book ever printed in the Osage language was known as the "Osage First Book" one of the original copies of which is in the Boston Library. It was printed in Boston in 1834, according to the Missionary Herald, Vol. XXXII, p269, and contained 126 pages - 500 copies were printed. As this date implies, the book was not prepared until after Pixley and Montgomery had left Harmony Mission - they went to Neosho Mission. The Osage book was entitled "Washashe Wageressa Pahugreh Tse." The Bureau of Ethnology, in Bulletin 109, p403, gives a group of quotations and translations from "Washashe Wageressa Pahugreh Tse." Typical of the group are these two:

"Zhiⁿ - ga Zhiⁿ - ga o-shkoⁿ pi-zhi zho-wa-gtha zhi thiⁿ hau"
(Go not with bad children).

"Sho-she e-zha-mi moⁿ-hiⁿ toⁿ - ga thu-wa-ts'e-ga i-ku-tsa ba - zhi i - tse o (i)"
(I wonder the Americans do not try to tame big game. (Buffalo)).

32. Hill, p101

David Brainerd was the second foreign missionary of the Presbyterian Church in America. The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge founded in Scotland, 1709, organized a "Board of Correspondents" in New York in 1841. (This Board represented the Presbyterians until 1818 when it was replaced by the United Foreign Missionary Society.) Brainerd was ordained in the Presbytery of New York, on the 12th of June, 1744, and immediately started missionary work among the Indians of Long Island under the direction of the "Board of Correspondents." (Encyclopedia of Missions, Vol. II, p243)

33. p826.

use could be constructed at the site of the Catholic Mission which was a short distance below the Presbyterian Mission.

The church which had been organized in 1822 struggled along for ten years receiving only two additional members into the congregation. At the end of that time, and at the conclusion of great revival services in the school, five Osages, three Delawares, one Omaha, two colored people, and seven from the Mission family, entered the membership of the church.³⁴ It was said that "walking out morning or evening you would hear the voice of prayer in almost any direction." Mr. Hill relates an incident of note concerning the Harmony Mission.³⁵

".....among the persons brought under the influence of that Harmony Mission was a slave, who was so devout a Christian and so able a man that he was trained to preach the Gospel. But even then they did not dare to recognize him as having a name. As a man they simply called him Nicholas, and they hoped he would ultimately be sent as a Missionary to Liberia. His clerical life thus begun enlarged in influence, and he sought ordination by the Presbytery of Missouri; but there was one man in that Presbytery who would not consent to ordain a colored man, and he was refused. He went to the Cumberland Presbyterians, who ordained him, and he appears with a full name, Nicholas Carper. He became free; I think it was through the agency of the Mission, but I have not full proof of that as a fact. Having become free, he diligently toiled until he secured the freedom of his family, and soon after died. He was said to be a modest man, a pleasant speaker and an interesting preacher. He evidently had some humor, as he said he had heard that a negro had no soul, but as he was three-quarters white, he thought he might have three-quarters of a soul."

In 1826 the Union and Harmony Missions were transferred to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in consequence of the union just consummated between the United Foreign Missionary Society

34. Hill, John B., pl02.

35. Hill, John B., pl03.

and the A.B.C.F.M.³⁶ At the time of the transfer there were only eleven persons at the Mission at Harmony. A number of the families, especially those connected with agriculture, had left after only a short stay. One of the reasons for their leaving was the fact that in these early years the valley was frequented with inundations which often and completely destroyed their crops and their property. Rev. Benson Pixley and Samuel B. Bright with their families had gone to establish the Mission at Neosho which will be considered presently.³⁷ The report of the A.B.C.F.M. for 1827 says of this Mission, "no modern effort among the American Indians has been attended with more trials of various kinds."

In 1836 the Mission at Harmony was abandoned. Mr. Hill gives several reasons for the discouraging result of the work at Harmony, the main one of which was the constant encroachments of the white settlers. The Osages were not at all hostile to the white people, nor were they intemperate at first, but the traders who were the advance guard brought whiskey and other evils among them. In time, of course, the Indians were all moved across the Missouri border and away from the site of Harmony Mission with its Christian influence. For much the same sort of thing, the Union Mission was given up in the same year, 1836.³⁸ The Missionary Herald³⁹ says:

"Owing to the inconvenient location of the Union and Harmony Stations, each being forty or fifty miles from the present Osage territory, it has been thought expedient to discontinue missionary operations at both; and, as the Osages are at present in a state very

36. Supra, p /.

37. Hill, John B., pl02, footnote no.1.

38. Hill, John B., p.102.

39. Missionary Herald, XXXII, pl94.

unfavorable for enjoying the benefit of Christian instruction, on account of the uncertainty which exists relative to their future residence, Rev. N.B. Dodge and Messrs. D.H. Austin and A. Redfield with their wives, have signified their desire to retire from that field of labor, and they have accordingly been honorably released from further service of the Board. Rev. A. Jones will for the present labor in the white settlements near Harmony, though without any immediate connection with the Board; and if there should be a favorable opening among the Osages, he will resume his labors."

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Gradually the Harmony church disintegrated. The Dodges and some

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40. On pages 148-150, Dr. Hill presents a sketch of the life of Rev. Nathaniel Brown Dodge. In a sense, says Dr. Hill, the Rev. Dodge was the founder of the Presbytery of Kansas City because he was the original superintendent at the Harmony Mission.

In the sketch was some material taken from the "Genealogy of the Dodge Family" (pp. 197-8). It supplies this information: Rev. Dodge was born in Winchester, New Hampshire, June 5, 1781 and died at Little Osage, Missouri, September 3, 1848. He rendered some service in the War of 1812. From 1816-1821 Rev. Dodge preached as a Congregational Minister in Underhill, Vermont. He was called to New York City to organize the party which was to establish the Harmony Mission. "They went to Philadelphia by sea, thence to Pittsburg by large wagons. At Pittsburg they built boats to go down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. They went up the Missouri in keel boats to the mouth of the Osage, and up that as far as they could cordell, and till the stream became too shallow to go farther." The journey consumed four months. The narrative continues: "In the course of six or seven years the Government moved the Indians to Neosho, in what is now Kansas, to which place he followed, there founding the Boudinot Mission. In five or six years it became unsafe to remain, and he returned to Little Osage, where he built a church, preaching and teaching as long as he lived. He married Sallie Gale, 22 March, 1803. She was born at Princeton, Mass., 21 July, 1784, d. 20 Dec. 1866."

From the "Presbytery Reporter", July, 1860, pp. 321-325, Dr. Hill made the following extract. "Mr. Dodge, who was always interested in the welfare of the neighboring settlements, made the natural transition from the Foreign to the Home Missionary, still remaining in the same place. His first commission from the A.H.M.S. American Home Missionary Society was April 25, 1836, 'to labor in the vicinity of Harmony Mission Station.' Some time previous to this he had formed a Congregational Church in that neighborhood....."

In the "Home Missionary" for 1841 appears this notice of Rev. Dodge. "Mr. Dodge was a man of good natural ability, and a pious earnest and devoted man. The life of seclusion as a missionary naturally gave a distinct individuality of character, and he was affected by it in the same way as others. There was the appearance of rigidity in his manners and his forms of thought. A lady who was herself from New England once remarked of him, that he was the best (footnote continued on next page)

others formed the nucleus of the Little Osage Church, the Jones⁴¹ and

(footnote 40 continued)

preserved specimen of an old-fashioned New England country Minister she had met in the West---his manners, his dress, and all together suggested a generation passed away--one of the old-fashioned type. He was unwilling to depart from the ways of New England even among the pioneers. A sacramental meeting was once held in his Church, and several of his brethren were with him. A number of persons were hopefully converted, and his brethren urged him to admit them to the Church then; but he declared that such was not the custom in Vermont, and he would not do it. Soon the Methodists came and held a meeting, sweeping in all his converts, some of them members of his own family, into their fold."

41. According to Dr. Hill's sketch (ppl76-178) Amasa Jones was also one of the founders of the Presbyterian Church in Missouri. His life covered the entire period from the establishment of the first Mission station to the Reunion of the Old and New Schools of Churches in 1870. Rev. Jones had the longest continuous service of any minister in the bounds of the Presbytery of Kansas City. He was forty-nine years a missionary in this general field. Rev. William C. Requa lived a few years longer, but a part of his service was in other missions in Kansas and in the Indian Territory.

Rev. Amasa Jones was born in Rindge, New Hampshire, on the 28th day of April, 1796. In 1812 he was apprenticed to a shoemaker in Weston, Massachusetts. Soon after that he opened a shoe repair shop at Schaghticoke Point, New York. In 1817 he went to Woodstock, Vermont, where he taught school and received instruction from the Pastor of the church there. In 1820 Mr. Jones entered the Andover Theological Seminary where, because of his previous study, he was able to complete the course in a year having been entered on an advanced rating.

On February 21, 1821, he married Miss Roxana Stearns, of Ashburnham, Massachusetts, and started at once for New York City, where they joined the company under commission from the A.B.C.F.M. The company arrived at the site of the Harmony Mission on the first of September, 1821. Mr. Jones was the Mission teacher although his work was by no means confined to that and in February, 1822, he wrote: "I have established three preaching places, and devote my time on the Sabbath exclusively to them. During the week I am engaged in teaching our school, and various duties belonging to me in our work."

When it became necessary for Dr. Belcher to leave the Harmony Mission Mr. Jones, after some very concentrated study of medicine under Dr. Belcher's instruction, succeeded him in that capacity. Mr. Jones soon became a skillful physician, says Mr. Hill's account.

Following the dissolution of the Harmony Mission, Dr. Jones was commissioned by the A.H.M.S. and labored in the vicinity of the old mission. Rev. Jones is remembered there for his connection with (footnote continued on next page)

Austin families were among the early founders of the Deepwater church, the Requas performed the same service of the Double Branches (Lone Oak) church, and the Redfields went to the Marmiton church. All of these localities are near by to the site of Harmony Mission. More than one generation of the families have been active in those churches since then and, Mr. Hill says, "Descendents of all these families still live in that region."⁴²

(footnote 41 continued)

the Deepwater Church (still in existence).

Dr. Jones, in the later years of his life, received nearly all of his compensation from the returns of his medical fees. In 1857 he wrote: "It is exceedingly difficult to collect the smallest sum for any benevolent object. The most that a Minister may expect is a night's lodging and a horse fed. I have spent a large portion of eight years past in preaching to the destitute settlements in this vicinity, and all that I have ever received from the people is \$29 - and \$25 of that was given by one individual. Even marriages are often solemnized without any offer of compensation.....In this section of the country it would be a deathblow to a Minister's usefulness to have it known that he received a salary (though ever so small) from the people."

The concluding paragraph in Dr. Hill's sketch of Dr. Jones is a splendid tribute in which he says, Dr. Jones was a remarkable man in a great variety of ways....He was a skilled mechanic, not merely in the trade he learned in youth, but in cabinet-making and carpentry as well. Though never trained in the schools, he was a good scholar, a beloved physician, a deep theologian, a good preacher. Though for nearly fifty years an exile on the frontier, he was well posted on the progress of mankind, especially of the Church. Though poor in this world's goods, he was a liberal giver, an unselfish worker, a persistent Missionary....."

42. Hill, John B. p. 102, footnote no.2.

43. It was at Hopefield, in fact, that the Rev. William B. Montgomery died on August 17, 1834. Hill, John B. p. 43.

44. Missionary Herald, XLII, pp. 267-268.

45. The reference here is to the Rev. Mr. Piley and the Rev. Dr. West-gorey.

The missionaries at Harmony were encouraged to establish a new mission station in the territory recently acquired by the Osages just beyond the western limits of the State of Missouri since the Hopefield station, which had branched from Union earlier, had been such a great success.⁴³ Accordingly, with an introductory paragraph concerning the state of affairs at Harmony station in 1825, the *Missionary Herald*⁴⁴ says:

"During the last year, the school at this station has been favored beyond any reasonable expectation. To the 18 scholars mentioned in your last report, more than 20 have since been added. Although several had been taken from the school, yet 36 interesting native children, rescued from the forest, were enjoying the privilege of literary and religious instruction - were undergoing a course of mental and moral culture, which may promote their temporal and eternal benefit and render them the instruments of conferring incalculable blessings upon their tribe.

"Early in the last year, several Indian families commenced a settlement in the immediate neighborhood of the station. They erected two or three comfortable log dwellings and made preparations for cultivating the soil.....At their request a number of their children were admitted to the school.

"In the course of the last summer, your missionaries projected the plan of establishing a branch of their mission on the Neosho river, within the immediate vicinity of the present Indian village. It was thought, that a measure of this kind would furnish greater facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the language, communicating religious instruction to the tribes, and inducing them to abandon the chase and seek a less precarious subsistence from the cultivation of the soil. The plan was approved by your managers. In the month of September, [1824] the Rev. Mr. Pixley removed his family to the new station; and Mr. Bright was instructed to follow as soon as his aid should be required.

"The two junior missionaries at this station have made considerable progress in the acquisition of the Osage language.⁴⁵ In pursuit of this object they have subjected themselves to many privations and hardships, residing, much of their time, in the cabins of the Indians,

43. It was at Hopefield, in fact, that the Rev. William B. Montgomery died on August 17, 1834. Hill, John B. p. 45.

44. *Missionary Herald*, XXI, pp. 287-288.

45. The reference here is to the Rev. Mr. Pixley and the Rev. Mr. Montgomery.

or accompanying them on their hunting expeditions, exposed to the dangers of the climate and often without shelter and food. By persevering and laborious study, they are enabled to converse on ordinary subjects and to translate and read their prayers and discourses."

In September, 1824, the Rev. Benson Pixley and family left the Harmony Mission and located on the west bank of the Neosho⁴⁶ at a place which, from description, must have been north of where Shaw, Kansas, now is. A French trader, probably one of Augustus Choteau's, let Rev. and Mrs. Pixley and their two children have a log house which had been erected some time before for another purpose.⁴⁷ During the winter of 1824 the Pixleys were alone, but in the following spring carpenters came from Harmony and built two log houses for the station. At this time also came Mr. and Mrs. Samuel B. Bright who became part of the permanent personnel of the Neosho Mission.⁴⁸ Rev. Pixley immediately set about the business of teaching the Osage children and a school was established. It will be remembered, of course, that at this time Rev. Pixley was rather proficient in the Osage tongue.

On one of the trips with the Indians, Rev. Pixley relates that the season was stormy and cold causing the Indians to become glum and reticent - all but refusing to talk. Rev. Pixley lived with them on this trip exactly as one of their number. His equipment consisted of the usual Indian blanket and the necessities of the hunt. On the trip Rev. Pixley was delighted with the rigor of the Indian youths of fifteen and sixteen years of age, who broke the ice on the rivers each morning and enjoyed a rather cold morn-

46. Missionary Herald, XXI, p288

47. Mr. T.F. Morrison (see footnote 13, page 10, Chapter I) is the authority for this statement.

48. Missionary Herald, XXII, p6

ing-constitutional. In keeping with his usual custom Rev. Pixley ate the same food that the Indians did. The weather conditions hindered the hunt and there were times when food was insufficient and not in a good state of preservation. The itinery of this hunt extended well over into Arkansas where the Indians were able to procure a number of deer, but no bear were found.⁴⁹

The Mission at Neosho was located among some ten Indian families.⁵⁰ At this location an agricultural community was set up and Rev. Pixley states that in 1826, after some considerable amount of ground had been cleared and plowed, the Mission group raised 266 bushels of corn. In all probability, this was the first corn raised by white people in that vicinity.⁵¹

The Missionary Herald presents some letters of the Rev. Pixley which are an insight into the activities of the missionaries at Neosho.⁵² The first letter, dated October 24, 1827, was addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the A.B.C.F.M.⁵³ It follows in part:

"It is now full three years, since I came upon this ground with my little family. We found the natives in appearance to have nothing of that savage ferocity so often described as inherent in the features and manifested in the manners of the red men of the forest. They seemed to be bold and pleasant, frank and hospitable. A stranger, just passing through their towns with but a superficial acquaintance,

49. Mr. T.F. Morrison is the authority for this statement.

50. Missionary Herald, XXI, p287

51. Mr. T.F. Morrison is the authority for this statement.

52. Missionary Herald XXIV, pp28-81 and 125-126.

53. The Neosho Mission, along with the rest, was now in care of that organization which had replaced the United Foreign Missionary Society in 1826.

would have a most favorable opinion of their character and could scarce conceive the moral turpitude and degradation, in which they were involved. He would think, that if only the means of improvement and civilization were put into their possession, nothing would be wanting to make them equal to their more highly privileged white brethren.

"But alas, how mistaken have been the opinions of many with respect to the virtue and happiness of the children of nature. Possessing a country scarcely surpassed by any in facility of cultivation and capable of producing almost every delicate and nourishing fruit and vegetable, these children of nature nevertheless are often reduced to the last extremity, as a white man would suppose, for the want of food and are found to subsist for weeks together, on acorns, and on roots dug out of the prairie; and for no other reason, than their idleness and improvidence.

"Vice reigns everywhere. The shameless effrontery with which they pollute their common discourse, is not to be known, except to a man who understands their language; for no interpreter feels himself at liberty to communicate fully the ideas they express.

"So common also is their thieving, not from white people and their enemies only, but from one another, that there is not the least encouragement to labor and acquire property, since he who plants does it under expectation that depredations will be practiced upon him, with the addition of being laughed at, and called a man of no spirit, if he complains."

"As it respects the kinds of labor they perform, I might say, speaking generally, that they perform none. They are lamentably destitute of ingenuity and aptitude in contriving and making things for their use and comfort. They seem in this respect to be inferior to the Indians who formerly inhabited New England. Such a thing as a basket, I never saw among them. Their dress, excepting such as is used in their dances, exhibits deplorable negligence and laziness. Their game has been so abundant that they have felt little need of agricultural labor and have consequently established a habit of considering it dishonest for a man to do much besides hunting and going to war. Other employments being upon him an insuperable derision. Indeed it is hardly possible to make you understand with what an iron-handed despotism the airy phantom, Ridicule, holds this people in subjection and drives them miserably along perdition. I offered large wages to a young Osage, Millindoler, who has long attended school at Harmony, to induce him to remain with me during the present winter, and assist me in acquiring his language, he, at the same time, learning the English. This, he said, he would be glad to do, but remarked, The Osages call me a fool. Although he understands much of our language, he can hardly be persuaded to speak a word of it in the presence of the Indians.

"Their accommodations are few and simple. A few wooden dishes, two or three horn spoons, a knife and a kettle or two, make up the amount of their household furniture. Their houses and manner of building them is equally rude. They set two rows of the little poles in the ground, of sufficient width for their accommodation, and bring them together in a curve at the top. These they cover with flags or buffalo hides, and when in their towns have mats laid upon the ground

to recline and sleep upon. Their food, while in the town, is principally jerked meat, boiled corn, dried pumpkins, and beans, wild fruits, acorns and other nuts, in the season of them, make up what is lacking when their provisions are exhausted they move off on their hunts. If they kill nothing the second or even the third day, they are not alarmed. Acorns or roots of the prairie are still at hand to supply them with a supper, so that the fear of starving is the last thing that would be likely to enter an Osage mind.

"The women plant the corn, fetch the wood, cook the food, dress the deerskins, dry their meat, make their moccasins, do all the business of moving, pack and unpack their horses, and even saddle and unsaddle the beast on which their husbands and other male kindred ride, while the men only hunt and war and, when in their towns, go from lodge to lodge to eat, and drink, and smoke and play at cards and sleep, for with them it is no mark of ill manners to doze now; just to go through their towns on a tour of inspection, you would probably find more than four fifths of the men employed in gaming and scarcely one engages in any useful purpose.

"Of a future state of rewards and punishments they have no conception. Some indeed, perhaps the generality of them, have some confused ideas of a future state of existence, and suppose if they are painted when they die according to the peculiar mark of their family, they shall be known and join those of their relatives who have died and gone before them. But these ideas are only what might be called the traditions and superstitions of the common people, and are regarded as foolishness by others, who, in their philosophic pride, treat it as a chimera. Only a few days since, I was declaring to an Osage the fact, that the soul existed after death in a separate state from the body. For some time he seemed, I know not why, strangely intent upon catching a fly. Having at length succeeded he crushed the insect to death between his fingers, then laying it on the floor and rubbing it about until not a vestige of it remained, he triumphantly exclaimed, 'What remains to exist? Where is the soul?' - drawing his conclusions that men died and returned to nothing in the same way.

"In case of the death of any relative, they send for such as they choose should come and mourn for them, though others often join as volunteers. I was witness to a ceremony of this kind where a child had recently died. While some were preparing the child for burial, five women of their choosing, as I was afterwards informed, stood around crying, or pretending to cry, making a doleful lamentation. At length they ceased, and each went to a skin of buffalo grease, standing in one corner of the lodge, and took two or three pounds apiece, as a remuneration for their services in mourning for the dead, and then quietly and cheerfully returned to their homes....."

The Rev. Pixley evidently did not welcome the Catholic missionaries into the territory in which he was engaged. Father Van Quickenborn, who

had been one of the original Catholic missionaries at Harmony where they had been well received by the members of the Harmony Mission, came into the neighborhood of the Neosho Mission and established, with others, a Mission called "Osage Mission." St. Paul, Neosho county, Kansas, has replaced Osage Mission, occupying the same site, and today is a strong Catholic community. Referring to the advent of the Catholics,⁵⁴ Rev. Pixley says,

"As if it were not enough for us to have to contend with the native prejudices of the Indians, strengthened by the uniform ill treatment which from the earliest times has uniformly characterized the conduct of the whites who have had dealings with them,--we have recently had a Jesuit Catholic priest out here, baptizing the half-breed children, giving out medals, and telling the Osages that we do not teach the truth and are not the true ministers of religion, and that he only is the man to whom they should listen."

Rev. Pixley relates an incident which gives a splendid insight into the character and personality of the Indians among whom he labored.

"A boy of ten or twelve years of age, was lounging about my house, with out clothing, and apparently without shame. When I inquired the cause of his being thus destitute, his mother gave as a reason, that they were poor, and had no clothing. I accordingly gave him an old gray garment which would have been an abundant covering, according to the Indian fashion. But as he still continued to go in the same condition as formerly, I inquired the cause and was told by his mother, 'That he was ashamed to put on the cloth I gave him, because it was not blue' - that being the color of cloth uniformly sold by the traders to the Indians. Poor creatures! They are ashamed of nothing of which they ought to be ashamed, but are ashamed of everything that is virtuous and praiseworthy."⁵⁵

Another letter of Rev. Pixley's, dated December 25, 1828, is of interest.

"I have never felt myself more at home among the Osages than at present. I never had more of their confidence, and indeed never had

54. It must be understood that Rev. Pixley did not mention any name in this letter. Father Van Quickenborn's work among the Osages has been mentioned here, however, as it was accompanied with a good measure of success.

55. Missionary Herald, XXIV, p81

higher hopes of eventual success. Some of the principal men told me yesterday they would never more think so lightly of what I say to them. I see nothing why the Gospel should not take as complete effect here, as at the Sandwich Islands, or elsewhere, when the communication shall be fully made, under circumstances sacculated to inspire them with a belief of its truth. Two evenings since I went into alodge for the special purpose, as I often do, of trying to communicate something in order to enlighten their benighted minds. After talking awhile, at their request, I sang a hymn of my own composing in their language, relative to the omniscience and omnipresence of God, as judge of the world, and with respect to the future state of the righteous and the wicked. But what made the scene peculiarly pleasant was the fixed attention of two children between nine and twelve years old, who came from the other end of the lodge, and drawing close to me, listened with great interest, and seemed to understand and drink in all that I said. Dark and gloomy as this valley is, sometimes a ray of hope shoots across my cheerless path, that, ungrateful and unworthy as I am, I should greatly add to these, if I did not acknowledge that my cup is mingled with consolations neither few nor small, and that the bitterest trials and self-denials of missionaries are more than made up to them, in the inward comfort and peace they are permitted to enjoy. It is no uncommon thing now to hear this people when they smoke, call upon God to give them good thoughts and lead them in the right hand path, instead of asking for success in killing Pawnees and stealing horses; not that they have laid those aside, but it shows that what is said to them is taking root and is conversed about. Who would think it strange if, in these days of God's working, this valley of dry bones should all at once begin to move? Indeed, I think it more likely I shall not be prepared for such an event, than that it will not come. God's promises are sure, but, alas, too often his people are not ready, waiting and preparing for their accomplishment!"⁵⁶

The portions of Rev. Pixley's letter just quoted above comprise one of the very last bits of correspondence from him. In the following year, 1829, "Circumstances caused the committee to deem it expedient to relinquish for the present the station called Neosho and Rev. Pixley and his family are now laboring among the white settlements in Missouri, but will probably resume his labors among the Osages."⁵⁷ However, Rev. Pixley did

56. Missionary Herald, XXIV, pl25-126

57. Missionary Herald, XXVI, pl2

not return to "his labors among the Osages" and the Neosho Mission was never reopened. Rev. Pixley left Neosho and the Osages "by a difficulty with the United States Agent. It is not known that Pixley was in fault. He still had confidence of his fellow laborers. The United States Agent was removed from his office."⁵⁸ The fact that the United States Agent was removed from office may indicate a complete exoneration of the Rev. Pixley. At any rate the "difficulty" was not of a character which brought about any sort of excommunication for the Reverend, for beginning in 1829 Rev. Pixley entered the service of the American Home Missionary Society. He preached at Independence, Missouri, for some time among the white settlements there.⁵⁹ In the Missionary Herald, an undated and unsigned letter mentions the fact that Rev. Pixley attended a meeting among the Shawnee nation at the mouth of the Kansas river.⁶⁰ That is one of the last times Rev. Pixley is mentioned; undoubtedly he passed away soon after that, 1834.⁶¹

The Boudinot Mission to the Osages was located on the east bank of the Neosho near the junction of the Four Mile Creek and the river.⁶² The Rev. N.B. Dodge, former superintendent at the Harmony Mission, was authorized to organize this new Osage station in 1830 and the establishment was

58. History of American Missions, p194.

59. Hill, John B., p102.

60. Missionary Herald, XXX (1834) p454

61. It was my desire to include a sketch of the Rev. Benson Pixley in this paper. However, none is available, there being more in this account than Dr. Hill gives in his little biography.

62. "History of Neosho and Wilson counties, Kansas" p10.

made in that year.⁶³ The reason for this new Mission was to place Rev. Dodge in closer contact with the Osage adults who had by the '30s left the vicinity of Harmony Mission.⁶⁴

By the first of January, 1831, Rev. Dodge had been able to establish a morning worship service at White Hair's town and an afternoon service at the station each Sabbath.⁶⁵ The Mission work was not particularly encouraging in the early months, however, for Rev. Dodge writes that he "cannot say this field is ripe for harvest." Although the attendance and attention of the people was good, the mass of the people seemed to be concerned in heathen rites and customs. Still, Rev. Dodge is able to say, "I cannot but hope that they are increasing in Christian knowledge." A little more heartening was the request of a small band of Osages who formerly resided close by Harmony Mission. In mid April (1831) they asked Rev. Dodge to visit them for they wanted his assistance. It was their purpose to take up the white man's ways, especially agriculturally, and they needed his help in getting the necessary tools and equipment. Rev. Dodge does not tell us anything concerning the results of his visit, but does say that some of the women and children from the band often attended the Sabbath meetings at Boudinot.⁶⁶

In the spring and early summer of 1831 Rev. Dodge, accompanied by the

63. Missionary Herald, XXVII, p46. Mrs. Dodge accompanied her husband.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid, p287. This further substantiates the fact that White Hair's village was not near present Oswego, but in Neosho county for the distance from "Boudinot" to Oswego would be too great for such a rapid trip.

66. Ibid

Rev. Messrs. Vaill and Washburn from the Union Mission, made an extended tour of the Osage country, preaching frequently in the various villages. The tour, including the stops at such places as the Union Mission, Clermont's village, the new Hopefield station, LaBett, Wasooches town, White Hair's village and Walk-in-Rain's town, extended over some three to four hundred miles.⁶⁷ In the fall of the following year Rev. Vaill and Rev. Washburn returned to Boudinot Mission and the following excerpts from Rev. Dodge's letter dated Dec. 1, 1832 to the Missionary Herald describes their visit.⁶⁸

"On the 5th of Sept. Mr. Vaill and Mr. Washburn came up to visit the several villages and preach the Gospel to the people. This occasion was peculiarly interesting on account of some of the young converts from Harmony station coming over to attend with us. The first Sabbath of Sept. was spent at White Hair's town. We first collected all we could of every description and preached to them; and afterwards we assembled the women in one place and the boys in another, at the same time. A girl, one of the Harmony converts, interpreted to the females, and she also conversed with some of her female friends and endeavored to direct their minds to the great salvation of the Gospel.....

"This is a new era in the Osage Mission. The people never before, to my knowledge, heard one of their own number pray in their own tongue; and it is new also to hear exhortations upon the subject of religion from their own kindred.⁶⁹

"What effect this interesting meeting may have upon the minds of the people we are not yet able to determine; but with the blessing of God we are sure it will produce fruit unto everlasting life. Destitute of this we know that nothing can be accomplished."

Under date of March 1, 1834, Rev. Dodge sent another letter-report to the A.B.C.F.M. reflecting both pessimism and optimism. Extracts from the letter appeared in the Missionary Herald⁷⁰ as follows:

67. Ibid, p. 287.

68. Missionary Herald, XXVIII, p. 61.

69. For a similar instance see Infra, p. 51.

70. Missionary Herald, XXX, p. 258-259.

"As it respects the effect of the Gospel among this people there is nothing more than formerly to cheer the hearts of our patrons or the religious public. If anything I think the prospects have been more gloomy than ever before in some respects.

"Regular worship has been kept up at the station on the Sabbath, and when Indians have been present, the discourse has generally been interpreted. The commissioners of government are negotiating a treaty with the Osages; and if it goes into effect, they will be removed from their present reservation some distance to the northwest of this. There is a strong probability that this will take place in the course of the coming year.

"Miss Choate came to this station last fall for the purpose of teaching my own children, and using what influence she could to induce the children of the Osages to receive instruction. In this business she has never wearied. A number of the Indian children have been in occasionally and some of them have committed the greatest part of the alphabet, and have received instruction by pictures and in various other ways; but from the total indifference of the parents and the fickleness of the children, they have attended so unsteadily that they have received very little benefit. I believe however, that if suitable accommodations were provided and the children could be taught in their own language, something could soon be done by schools in the midst of them.

"There is now quite a company of young people who have been benefited more or less by the schools, numbers of whom are regularly married and some of them doing very well. The first marriage among the Indians on the Neosho took place on the 6th of last month. I was requested by the agent to visit the agency in the day to join in marriage Joseph Lasweese and Julia Mongrain, the former a half-breed, educated at Union, and the latter a daughter of the United State's interpreter, but without an education. The marriage was solemnized in the presence of a large collection of Osages. The remarks and ceremony were interpreted into the Osage language, as the bride did not understand English. All appeared highly gratified with the new mode of marriage. The agent provided a dinner for 40 or 50 persons, 8 or 10 of whom were chiefs and head men of the Osages and the next day he feasted something like 100 Osages."

The Boudinot Mission was abandoned in 1836 after some five years of rather precarious existence. Rev. Dodge remained at the Boudinot until it became unsafe to stay longer (1835), at which time he returned to Little Osage, (Balltown), Missouri. In this vicinity Rev. Dodge was commissioned to labor by the American Home Missionary Society, after having been discharged by the A.B.C.F.M. in the spring of 1836.⁷¹

71. Missionary Herald, XXXIII, p23

The school, taught so long by Miss Choate, was discontinued about the first of March.⁷² From the same source, we learn that "one assistant missionary is now the only remaining individual at the Osage Mission. Should the effort soon be made to remove the Indians to their reservations it will be closed."

The missionary to whom the "Herald" refers was Mr. William C. Requa. In all probability his field of labor was near "Harmony", although at that time (1837) all of the Osage Indian Missions had been closed. Of the final work of the Presbyterians with the Osage Indians of that vicinity the following parting comment in the Herald is valuable.⁷³

"As it seemed probable that the Osages would soon be gathered up on their reservation, and be permitted to reside there permanently, Mr. Requa returned to their country last spring and commenced a new agricultural station, where he hoped soon to have 50 families settled around him. The buildings, improvements and lands at Harmony and Union, if advantageously disposed of, and the avails [proceeds] wisely applied, were likely to furnish an important fund for aiding missionary operations among this tribe.

"Under these circumstances Mr. Requa, the only remaining individual of the Osage Mission and who had himself nearly determined to abandon his work there in discouragement, visited their towns last autumn. It seemed to him that the providence of God was clearly calling to a re-establishment of the Mission; and accordingly after correspondence, with the Committee, he examined their reservation, and selected a favorable spot for a large agricultural colony and made considerable progress in preparing the requisite buildings and other improvements. A preacher and school teacher were expected to join him as soon as circumstances would permit. But during the past summer the hostility of other portions of the tribe to the new establishment, and apparently to all measures for introducing Christian knowledge and the arts of civilized life among them, became manifest. So great was the annoyance suffered, and so little prospect of usefulness, or even of safety to the settlers and the Mission property did there seem to be, that in the month of July [1838] Mr. Requa removed his effects and left the reservation. No mission station is maintained

72. Ibid

73. Missionary Herald, XXXIV, pl3

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74. This chapter on the Osage Missions would not be complete without some further comments on the Rev. William B. Montgomery. Dr. Hill's account relates that Rev. Montgomery was born at Danvill, Pennsylvania and died at the Hopefield Mission, August 17, 1834. No further information is found in Dr. Hill's account except the following excerpt from the Missionary Herald, XXX, p452.

"A Frenchman by the name of Beatt (who has an Indian family and is one of the settlers) was the only assistant Mrs. Montgomery had through her husband's sickness. His unremitted exertion to save the poor Osages who were falling around him proved too great. In the midst of his endeavors for their temporal and spiritual good, he was taken from among them and from his earthy labor. The messenger of death came suddenly and unexpectedly, yet it found him with his lamp trimmed and burning. He died a most triumphant death. 'Oh!' said Beatt, 'I never saw a man die so happy as that man.' Soon after the attack he exclaimed: 'Can it be that in less than twenty-four hours I shall be walking the streets of the New Jerusalem?' 'I know', said he, 'Whom I have believed.' He left messages of love to his Missionary brethren all around, exhorting them to fidelity and perseverance in their work. To the Osage Missionaries he said 'Tell them not to give over the Osages, and not to count any sacrifice too great for their salvation.' This is a truly mysterious dispensation of Divine Providence, just as our dear brother had so far completed the Osage language as to be able to communicate to them in their own tongue, he was called away....."

THE MISSION TO THE WEA AND PIANKESHAW INDIANS

The Western Foreign Missionary Society,¹ to which previous reference has been made, on the 4th of November, 1833, organized its "Western Mission." The organization was made in the First Presbyterian Church at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, which was so active in missionary endeavor,² according to the *Missionary Herald*,³ only five days elapsed before the mission company, composed of the Rev. Messrs. Felix Jacknall, and Joseph Kerr, with their wives, and the Misses III the Seal and Nancy Henderson left Pittsburg on the way to their field of labor.

THE MISSION TO THE WEA AND PIANKESHAW INDIANS

In the previous year, the Rev. S. B. Smith had been commissioned by the Society to visit the Indians and to determine the expediency and practicability of establishing a Mission among them. In his report he suggested the possibilities of working with the Wea and Piankeshaw Indians located on their reservation which lay, in present Miami county, just below that of the Shawnee Indians immediately south of the Kansas river.⁴ It was toward this ultimate destination, then, that the little party set out from Pittsburg on the 9th of November, 1833.

The party started down the Ohio river on a steamboat, which were almost at the height of their brilliant career on the Mississippi, and Ohio, at this time. At a point about 100 miles below St. Louis, Missouri, one of the boilers burst, a rather common occurrence in that period. The

1. *Supra*, p. 2.

2. They, too, established the "Isaw Mission." *Infra*, p. 61.

3. *Missionary Herald*, XX, p. 68; *The History of American Missions*, p. 723, gives the date of the departure as November 6, 1833.

4. *History of American Missions*, p. 722.

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3. Missionary Herald, XX, p. 68; The History of American Missions, p. 723, gives the date of the departure as November 6, 1833.

4. History of American Missions, p. 723.

missionaries then undertook an overland trip to Independence, Missouri. In the course of this journey Miss Martha Boal was badly injured in an accident which occurred when one of the horses took fright and overturned the wagon. Without any further difficulty of note, the arrival at Independence was made on the 21st of December, 1833.⁵

No active Mission effort was made during the winter of 1833. A Mr. Barnett had early been engaged to erect a sturdy mission house on the Wea reservation. Some trouble was experienced in getting the delivery of a government permit for the building and construction was necessarily delayed until the following spring. The Weas were, however, visited occasionally during that winter on trips from Independence. Finally, the Mission house was made habitable and ready for occupancy. The Mission moved into their permanent quarters on April 17, 1834,⁶ - just a century from the present writing.

Following the usual procedure, the missionaries immediately set about the arduous task of acquiring the Indian language, and a school for the Wea children was organized. Miss Nancy Henderson taught the school, which, unfortunately, had to be abandoned during the hunts of the winter of 1834-35. It was resumed, of course, in the following spring.⁷

Mr. Henry Bradley came to the Wea station early in the year of 1835⁸

5. Ibid, p. 724.

6. Ibid. The Rev. F.S.McCabe, D.D., in an address to the Kansas Historical Society states, "The Presbyterians founded their first Mission in Kansas in 1835, among the Wea Indians, who lived near where Ottawa now is." (Publications of Kansas Historical Society, Vol.I, p. 230)

7. Ibid.

8. Green, Ashbell, D.D. "Presbyterian Missions", pub. 1838. p. 79
Compare this date with table on page 52.

bringing in many needed supplies from the East. In June Mr. and Mrs. Francis Lindsay, with Mr. and Mrs. Aurey Ballard, left Pittsburg with the Wea station as their destination. They arrived in the summer, and in the same year Mr. Ballard and Mr. Lindsay journeyed to the "Ioway" station which was about 90 miles to the north. An early arrangement was then reached between the two stations whereby the Ballards were retained at the Iowa Mission while the Lindsays remained among the Wea Indians. Mr. E.M. Sheppard, an assistant missionary at the Wea station was transferred to the Iowa Mission, while the Rev. Kerr and Miss Nancy Henderson divided their work among the two Indian groups. Mrs. Henry Bradley joined Mr. Bradley at Wea in 1838, at which time the Wea Mission was abandoned and they continued their work after going to the Iowa station.⁸

Rev. Dunbar, in a letter dated July 29, 1834, referring to June 14 of the same year, affords an outside view of Rev. Kerr and Rev. Pixley.⁹ After mentioning the existence of a Mission station among the Wea and Piankeshaw Indians, Rev. Dunbar relates something of the story of an early cooperative conference of the missionaries. At this conference the Rev. Messrs. Berryman, Perry, and Johnson of the Methodist Church; the Rev. Messrs. McCoy, Lykins, Meeker, Simmerwell, and Blanchard of the Baptist Church; and besides the author, Rev. Kerr and Rev. Pixley of the Presbyterian Church. In his diary⁹, item for July 25, 1834, Rev. Dunbar says that Rev. Kerr, who was made moderator of the conference, preached the opening sermon in the morning, while Rev. Pixley filled the pulpit in

8. Ibid

9. Kansas Historical Collection, XIV, p.576-589, Dunbar was a member of the Pawnee Mission in Nebraska.

the afternoon.

The "History of American Missions" prints, from correspondence, an interesting incident which occurred in the work at Wea.¹⁰ On the 14th of July, 1835, the missionaries were rewarded in part for many months of earnest endeavor by hearing one of the Indians at the Wea Mission, Kemaassa, chief of the Kaskaskias attempt a prayer. The missionaries stated that this was the first time any of those Indians had ever heard one of their own number offer a prayer to God in their native language.¹¹

Rev. Joseph Kerr evidently did a great deal of study in the Wea language for he had some printing done for the Wea station on the Meeker press located at the Shawnee Baptist Mission. Rev. Jotham Meeker was one of the early Baptist Missionaries coming to this field in 1835, bringing with him the first press to be operated in present Kansas. In "A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas" McMurtrie and Allan say that in the old records left by Rev. Meeker are items referring to a series of printing transactions between Rev. Meeker and Rev. Kerr in which at least two orders were given and filled for books in the Wea language.

For the first two or three years the work progressed well at the Wea station. In March, 1836, the missionaries were able to establish a rather flourishing church. At the very beginning ten¹² Indians joined the congregation.¹³ But in the same year sad events came to the little

10. p. 724.

11. For a similar incident, see Supra, p. 44.

12. Authority for this number is the "History of American Missions", p. 724. In his "Presbyterian Missions," however, Dr. Green says there were only five native converts.

13. Compare with the Indian membership of Harmony Church; Supra, p. 30.

group. Mrs. Joseph Kerr, whose health had been failing since her arrival at the Wea station, was forced to return to Pittsburg. After having received an honorable discharge from the Society, Rev. Kerr left the Mission to join his wife in February of 1837. Rev. Kerr was replaced by the appointment of Rev. John Fleming.¹⁴

The following table gives the length of service of some of the persons engaged in the work at this place.¹⁵

Miss Martha Boal, 1833-34

Rev. Wells Bushnell and wife, 1833-35

Miss Nancy Henderson, 1833-36

Rev. Joseph Kerr and wife, 1833-37

Mr. Henry Bradley, 1834-38

Mr. E.M. Sheppard, 1834-35

Mr. and Mrs. F.H. Lindsay, 1835-36

Rev. John Fleming, 1837-38

Mrs. Henry Bradley, 1838

Mr. James Duncan, 1838

Rev. Wells Bushnell did not remain long at the Wea station. Of his later life, this excerpt from the correspondence of Rev. John Dunbar referring to April 29, 1834, tells something.¹⁶ "Here Independence, Mo. we found Rev. Mr. Bushnell, who with his family had recently left the

14. "History of American Missions", p725. After Wea Mission was given up, Fleming went to the Great Lakes Mission.

15. "Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions" p321.

16. Kansas Historical Collections, XIV, p592. Obviously the date "April 29, 1834," is not correct. It must have been at least one year later.

Wea and Piankeshaw Mission, where he had been stationed as the associate of Mr. Kerr. The reason he assigned for leaving the Mission, were the small number of Indians that could be influence by it, and the peculiar circumstances of his family....."

At any rate, the Mission did not have an extended existence being abandoned in 1838.¹⁷ The missionaries of the Methodist Church were already established among the Wea and Piankeshaw before the creation of the "Western Mission" in 1833. In the report of Rev. Thomas Johnson, an active Methodist Missionary, to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, dated December 29, 1831, we find this ".....brother Wm. Johnson and myself were appointed to labor together among the different tribes of Indians living on and near the Kansas river, viz., the Shawnees, Delaware, Kansas, Peoria, Piankeshaws, and Wea. Our work thus laid off was called 'The Mission on the Kansas'".¹⁸ At a later date this "Mission of the Kansas" was subdivided and the Rev. E.T. Perry, writing from the Delaware Mission, July 24, 1843, says, "The Peoria Mission, situated some 40 miles southwest of the Shawnees, and operating among several fragments of tribes is doing well. The missionary has two stated preaching places twelve miles distant from each other, the one with the Peorias, the other with the Weas, each of which he visits twice a week."¹⁹

Commenting on this situation, the History of American Missions²⁰

17. History of American Missions, p. 724.

18. Kansas Historical Collection, XVI, p. 255.

19. Ibid, p. 256.

20. p. 725.

points out that the work was not progressing as well as might be because of the close proximity of the Methodist Mission among the Peorias. The members of both tribes attended the school and services of either indiscriminately. Hence, after the Presbyterian Mission was abandoned the Peoria missionary had a "stated preaching place" among the Wea; because of this condition, and the opportunity for a free hand at the "Ioway" station which was by now getting a splendid start on its long career, the Mission was given up. The several buildings at the station were sold to the United States Government. As the station was nearby, many of those laboring at the Wea station were agreeable to a transfer to the Iowa Mission in which connection they will be mentioned again.

THE KICKAPOO MISSION

Very little seems to be known of the Kickapoo Mission; Andreas does not mention it at all, although he does say that a Rev. F.D. Russell was located in Brown county and was in the service of the Presbyterian Mission Board; one volume of the Kansas Historical Collections¹ relates that a boarding school was established by the Presbyterian Church for the Kickapoo Indians in 1866. The latter narrative continues by saying that the work was persevered in until June 1869. The building was again used from 1866 until November, 1871, during which time, at the expense of the Indian Fund, a school for the Indians was carried on. The old boarding school building was dismantled at the latter date to make way for the erection of a new school building.

Although meager, there is a little more available information regarding the Rev. F.D. Russell who organized the Kickapoo Mission in 1866.² Rev. Russell had just been graduated from the seminary school of Drs. Breckenridge, Murphy, and Renssler at Danville, Kentucky, when he came to Kansas in 1864, having previously attended Miami University at Oxford,

1. Vol. 13, p588

2. Beginning in July, 1881, and running at intervals until April, 1882, a series of articles were published in the Atchison "Weekly Champion" which were written by Russell relating some of his experiences in Kansas. Unfortunately, most of the material refers to more mundane affairs than mission work. Still much of the following information has been gleaned from them.

THE KICKAPOO MISSION

Very little seems to be known of the Kickapoo Mission; Andreas does not mention it at all, although he does say that a Rev. W.H. Honnell was located in Brown county and was in the service of the Presbyterian Mission Board: one volume of the Kansas Historical Collections¹ relates that a boarding school was established by the Presbyterian Church for the Kickapoo Indians in 1856. The latter narrative continues by saying that the work was persevered in until June 1860. The building was again used from 1866 until November, 1871, during which time, at the expense of the Indian Fund, a school for the Indians was carried on. The old boarding school building was dismantled at the latter date to make way for the erection of a new school building.

Although meager, there is a little more available information regarding the Rev. H.W. Honnell who organized the Kickapoo Mission in 1856.² Rev. Honnell had just been graduated from the seminary school of Drs. Breckenridge, Humphry, and Reasar at Danville, Kentucky, when he came to Kansas in 1856, having previously attended Miami University at Oxford,

1. Vol. IX, p566

2. Beginning in July, 1881, and running at intervals until April, 1882, a series of articles were published in the Atchison "Weekly Champion" which were written by Honnell relating some of his experiences in Kansas. Unfortunately, most of the material refers to more mundane affairs than mission work. Still much of the following information has been gleaned from them.

Ohio.³ At this time, as he states, St. Joseph was only a small town. Rather frequent trips were made to St. Joseph to procure supplies for the Mission. On these trips Rev. Honnell says that they often camped near the Cottonwood spring about two miles south of present Troy.

A considerable group of persons were engaged in the labor at the Kickapoo station. A publication of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, "Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions," lists the people there and the length of their service:

Rev. W.H. Honnell, 1856-57

Rev. and Mrs. A.E. Thorne, 1857-1860

Mr. and Mrs. E. Hubbell,⁴ 1856-57

Miss Hortense Cogan, 1858-1860

Miss Mary Conover, 1857-58

Miss Margaret J. Shields, 1857

This is probably an incomplete list, for Rev. Honnell also mentions a Miss Angie Bashford and a Miss Jennie Moore. According to Rev. Honnell's narrative, the latter married his brother Henry, which was, he says, the first marriage of a white couple in the whole area.

A school was established immediately, but Rev. Honnell says, "We had only boys in our Mission school, and could not secure the attendance of girls, because the few who lived beyond childhood's diseases were kept at home, in assisting their mothers in work, as men were hunters

3. Andreas, p748

Along with Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, Miami University was of the more important colleges in the West. Miami University was opened in 1824. (Riegel, Robert, America Moves West, p207)

4. In one of his articles in the "Weekly Champion" Rev. Honnell mentions the Hubbells, although he calls the name "Hubbard."

and lords." In 1856 one of the first pupils at the Mission school was the son of Mashena, principal chief of the Kickapoo Indians at that time.⁵

"We had hardly settled down to work in the Mission till one of these peculiar Indian customs demanded our attention.....", Rev. Honnell said. "An Indian had killed another in a drunken spree. The brother of the slain man, according to their hereditary law, became the avenger of blood, unless satisfaction could be rendered, or the slayers escaped to some friendly tribe, as a place of refuge. Baldwin, the agent, sought my influence to stay the shedding of blood, at least until the law should be established in our region,.....After a long parley, the avenger of blood accepted ten ponies to stay his hand until a trial of the case should be had in court, and manslaughter was thus virtually condoned, as the case never came to trial."⁶

In a letter dated January 10, 1857, and written from Lodianna, Kansas, Rev. Honnell preserves some valuable information concerning the beginning of the work at the Kickapoo station.⁷ Rev. Honnell evidently came to Kansas in the June of 1856 at which time he promised such a letter to the Leavenworth newspaper. In this epistle Rev. Honnell locates the Mission on the headwaters of the Grasshopper river among the half-civilized, though upright and very interesting, Kickapoo Indians. The country surrounding the Mission he described as rich and beautiful, being well-watered.

5. Atchison "Weekly Champion", Sept. 24, 1881.

6. Ibid

7. The letter was written to the editor of the Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth, and appeared in that paper on the last day of January, 1857.

The Mission he says was established under the care of the Old School of the Presbyterian Church and located in an easily accessible place. Both the nearby town of Lodianna, from which he wrote, and the Mission were on the newly completed government road, which stretched from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Laramie. This federal road, by the way, was a well traveled one for it was used not only by those going to Fort Laramie, but also by the traffic bound for the far West; Salt Lake City and southern California. A new road which crossed the government road on the Kickapoo Reserve was just surveyed in 1856 from Nebraska City, Nebraska, to Lawrence, Kansas. As a consequence of these transportational facilities, the Mission, says Rev. Honnell, was as well known as it was easily reached and "has already attracted much attention among the emigrants of that the Presbyterian denomination." It was expected by Rev. Honnell that a great deal of the Free State emigration from the northern states would pass along the Nebraska City - Lawrence Road and hence traverse the Indian Reserve.⁸ And, of course, the same was true of the east-west traffic along the government road, including that traffic bound for St. Joseph as well as that for Fort Leavenworth.

Besides his duties as a missionary, Rev. Honnell must have been much interested in the other aspects of his life near Lodianna. In fact, he considered the town with its Emigrant, Government, Mission and Indian trade as one of the best inland towns in the Territory. For any emigrant Presbyterians who were interested he rather minutely defines the

8. In the series of articles published in the Kansas Weekly Champion (see footnote number 2, page 47) Rev. Honnell refers to many incidents which happened during the years of the Free State migration.

location of Lodiana as being "45 miles northwest of Leavenworth, 24 west of Atchison, 27 west of Doniphan, 35 southwest of St. Joseph and 26 southwest of Iowa Point." The fact that his distances are hardly correct probably matters little. There were three settlements at Lodiana and all were living "in peace, and are in a very contented and prosperous condition", truly this would do credit to a real estate agent. As a matter of fact, Lodiana was in the midst of a boom. The country in which it was located was rich in limestone and stone coal, well-watered and fairly heavily wooded. Because of the limestone a great deal of concrete work was done there as it was thus cheaper than using brick masonry and not much more expensive than frame. The Mission, Rev. Honnell states, was a concrete structure, but unfortunately he does not tell us anything further about its size, form or equipment. Town shares were being sold in Lodiana at the time of his writing for the price of one hundred dollars each, "the proceeds of the sale of the town shares we expect to expend in building on the townsite mostly of this concrete work."

The Rev. Honnell was engaged in some army work during the Civil War, but returned to the general neighborhood of his first missionary work afterwards.⁹ One of the earliest Presbyterian churches in Kansas was organized by Rev. Honnell near Kennekuk, Atchison county, in 1870. Along with the Rev. William Hamilton, of whom more will be said in connection with his labors at the Iowa Mission, Rev. Honnell was one of the "church fathers" of Kansas as, with a few others, they helped to establish the first presbyterial and synodical organizations in the state.¹⁰

9. Andreas, p748

10. Rev. Honnell relates some rather sketchy points of this work in the Kansas Weekly Champion in the last article appearing in April, 1882.

Mr. George A. Root, who has charge of the newspaper section at the Kansas Historical Society Library, told me that his uncle, Frank Adams who became the first secretary of the Kansas Historical Society, was at one time the Indian Agent for the Kickapoos. Mr. Root said that in this capacity Mr. Adams knew and highly esteemed the whole Honnell family and on occasion would refer to their work in that section of the state.

THE MISSION TO THE IOWAY, SAG AND FOX INDIANS

THE MISSION TO THE IOWA, SAC AND FOX INDIANS

The sources differ on the date for the beginnings of Presbyterian mission endeavor among the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians of what has become northeastern Kansas. In some places 1833 is given as the date, in others, 1837. In some respects each is correct. In the year 1833 Mr.

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and Mrs. Jurey Ballard had come out to the Sac and Fox Indian station

THE MISSION TO THE IOWA, SAC AND FOX INDIANS

but not exclusively to that of the Sac and Fox Indians. The arrangement which placed the Ballards at the Iowa Mission left the Lindeays at the Sac station, and divided the time between the two stations for the Rev. Joseph Kerr and for Miss Nancy Henderson has been referred to above.¹ The Ballards were forced to retire from the field of native work in 1837 due to the failing health of both. In 1837 also occurred the departure of the Kerrs because Rev. Kerr received, at his own request, an honorable discharge from duty which enabled him to return to Pittsburg where he might join his wife. Mrs. Kerr's poor health had made it necessary for her to leave some months previously. Miss Henderson had left the service in 1835.² In 1837 Rev. and Mrs. S.M. Irvin came from Pittsburg to continue the work. Thus, the real date for the beginnings of the Iowa, Sac and Fox Mission is 1835, but, because of Mrs. Irvin's great work, it is often considered to be 1837.³

1. Supra, p. 30.

2. Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions, p. 40.

3. Although I refer to S. M. Irvin all through this chapter as Rev. S. M. Irvin, his ordination as a minister of the Gospel did not take place until some few years after his work at the Iowa station was begun. See references concerning this which Rev. Irvin makes in the excerpts given from his diary on pages 36, 37, and 38, of the appendix.

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The sources differ on the date for the beginnings of Presbyterian mission endeavor among the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians of what has become northeastern Kansas. In some places 1835 is given as the date, in others, 1837. In some respects each is correct. In the year 1835 Mr. and Mrs. Aurey Ballard had come out to the Wea and Piankeshaw station but went immediately to take up work with the Iowa Indians. The arrangement which placed the Ballards at the Iowa Mission left the Lindsays at the Wea station, and divided the time between the two stations for the Rev. Joseph Kerr and for Miss Nancy Henderson has been referred to above¹. The Ballards were forced to retire from the field of active work in 1837 due to the failing health of both. In 1837 also occurred the departure of the Kerrs because Rev. Kerr received, at his own request, an honorable discharge from duty which enabled him to return to Pittsburg where he might join his wife. Mrs. Kerr's poor health had made it necessary for her to leave some months previously. Miss Henderson had left the service in 1836.² In 1837 Rev. and Mrs. S.M. Irvin came from Pittsburg to continue the work. Thus, the real date for the beginnings of the Iowa, Sac and Fox Mission is 1835, but, because of Rev. Irvin's great work, it is often considered to be 1837.³

1. Supra, p. 50.

2. Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions, p. 40.

3. Although I refer to S. M. Irvin all through this chapter as Rev. S. M. Irvin, his ordination as a minister of the Gospel did not take place until some few years after his work at the Iowa station was begun. See references concerning this which Rev. Irvin makes in the excerpts given from his diary on pages 96, 97, and 98, of the Appendix.

As the Neosho Mission for the Osages was established before all of the Osages were transferred to their new treaty reservation, so with the work at Iowa Mission. Although the Ballards, Rev. Kerr, and Miss Nancy Henderson were able to work with them as early as 1835, the treaty giving them the reservation to be described was not negotiated until 1837 and not until that date were all the Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri located on that reservation.⁴ "In 1837 the government of the United States removed the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians from the Platte Purchase in Missouri, to their new reservation west of the Missouri river, and located them on the public domain between the northern boundary of the Kickapoo lands above Fort Leavenworth and the Great Nemaha river, along the 40th parallel, which was established by act of Congress in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as the boundary between Kansas and Nebraska. With these Indians the Presbyterian Board of Missions sent the Rev. Samuel M. Irvin, a Pennsylvanian by birth, as missionary, and he established the Iowa and Sac Mission north of the public road which now connects Highland and Highland Station, and about midway between these two places....."⁵

Rev. and Mrs. Irvin began the journey to the Iowa country in the spring of 1837, leaving Pittsburg on the 14th of March and reaching their destination on the first of November. Rev. William Hamilton, their co-

4&5. So Mr. Pryor Plank describes the founding of the Iowa Mission in his article "The Iowa, Sac and Fox Indian Mission and its missionaries, Rev. Samuel M. Irvin and wife", Kansas Historical Collections, Vol.X, pp312-326. This article contains the only pictures I have seen of Rev. Irvin and Mrs. Irvin.

worker who became the close friend of the Irvins, arrived with his wife (Julia Ann N. McGiffin) on the 29th of December.⁶

The Irvins did not proceed directly to the site of the Iowa Mission in present Doniphan county, Kansas, but first visited those Indians with whom they later worked on their reservation in the Platte Purchase, Missouri. The Irvins arrived at this point in April, 1837.⁷ Rev. Irvin describes the 830 Indians which they found there as "a wild warlike roving people and in a most wretched condition, depending mainly on the chase for a subsistence. Their habitation were of the most frail and temporary kind. They were shelters in the form of huts or houses made of the bark of trees stretched over slender poles and tied together with bark strings, or they were tents or lodges made of the skins of the buffalo or elk and sewed together with the sinews of these animals. These bark houses were mainly for summer shelter, and would in a few years yield to the wear of time, when they would be abandoned and a new location sought. The skin tents were carried with them, and made their habitations wherever they chanced to stop. They were strictly a migratory and unsettled people."⁸

Such was the type and condition of people with whom the Irvins and the Hamiltons were to labor for many years. Rev. Irvin, however, did not expect to be there long because of his ill health. Fearing

6. History of American Missions, p723.

Mr. Plank also dates the arrival of Hamilton with Dec.29, 1837.

7. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p319.

7. Letter of Rev. Irvin. Historical Collections, X, p312-314.

8. Ibid.

consumption, and afflicted with poor health, Rev. Irvin decided to spend the few remaining years of his life in aiding the Indians who had not been reached by the Gospel.⁹ The entries in his diary for the early years at the Iowa Station indicate the state of his mind and body for he frequently refers to the varying condition of his health. Typical of the sort of thing he confided to his diary while in a despondent, or rather reflective, mood is this little excerpt from an entry on New Years Day, 1841. "This is the first time in my Journal which I have written 41 and perhaps before that date shall seece my fingers may be stiffened by the chill hand of death. One thing is clear I am a year nearer my grave than when I commenced to write 1840. How solemn should I feel on this occasion. The year past I have been wonderfully favoured with health and favours and I ought to have made great advances towards the kingdom of Glory. But I have but two much reason to fear that little or no needful preparation has been found. But upon this the new years address which is prefixed to this volumn will more fully express my fear and resolutions. To see how this issue of my life will meet what I now expect should I be spared through this year I have thought god to write my prospects. I am now sitting in the west room of my house where I hope if spared to be on next new years day." While Rev. Irvin was probably never a very well man, he did recover sufficient of his lost health to live a good many years after he wrote the above quotation in his diary. He did not die until he had reached the age of seventy-five, 1887. His wife, Mrs. Eliza, preceeded him in death

9. McMurtrie and Allan, p13.

as she passed away in 1886. The Irvins are entered at Highland, Kansas, near the place in which they labored so long and faithfully.¹⁰

Rev. Irvin found, as his letters and diary indicate, that the Iowa men like their distant relatives the Osages, took great delight and found their chief employment in warfare. Needless to say, the Iowa Indians indulged in their favorite pastime and sport as often as the opportunity presented itself. Frequently the opportunity was created. In the Iowa system, writes Rev. Irvin, a considerable part of the war spirit expressed itself among the "females" who had their full share in the war dance. The more honored Indian men would carry a large shrub or the branch of a tree in the dance from which they suspended mutilated parts of the anatomy of previous victims of their prowess in warfare. Generally the fingers or toes of such were hung pendant from the shrub or branch, but occasionally even hands or feet decorated the ceremonial foliage.

The ignorance of the Indians, as exemplified by their destruction of their own property is almost unbelievable. The year after the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians left Missouri to go to their new homes, 1837-1838, the government began the erection of five double log houses in fulfillment of treaty obligations to the Indians.¹¹

After their completion, Rev. Irvin describes them as having "..... a passage of ten feet between being equal to ten houses of sixteen by eighteen,....." The log houses were an excellent piece of construction especially for the frontier

10. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 322.

11. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 314 (letter from Rev. Irvin)

country. Each log house was equipped with doors and glass windows, a good stone fireplace and chimney, wooden floors and a shingle roof.¹² In addition to the buildings for the Indians the Government fenced and broke 200 acres of land for farming which were divided into ten acre plots. In further interest of their progress agriculturally the Indians were furnished with 100 head of milk cows and 100 head of stock hogs, and a large quantity of farming utensils. At a cost of \$2,800 a large water mill was built for their use about five miles northwest of the Mission on Mill Creek. Rev. Irvin relates that for a short time the Indians occupied the log houses but they soon returned to their old living methods and used the bark or skin huts. The doors and windows, as well as the wooden flooring, were taken out and traded off for trinkets or sold to obtain money with which to purchase quantities of that delightful beverage the white man has urged upon them. The rails of the fences and the logs from the houses were soon moved off to be consumed for fuel. In their state of half-civilization the Indians could hardly have been expected to keep up the fields which had been broken out and "in a few years", says Rev. Irvin, "the houses were not to be found, and the place where the fields had been could not be distinguished." The cattle and hogs were soon devoured for food and a fire consumed the water and grist mill in 1837 reducing it to ashes.¹³

In the midst of the reservation of such a group of Indians the permanent structures for the Mission were set up. The 320 acre tract on which the mission building stood was located about a mile east and

12. Ibid, p313

13. Ibid

a little north of the town of Highland, in Doniphan county, Kansas. A small watercourse bearing the name of Mission Branch and tributary to Wolf creek flows through this acreage and helps to further identify the site. In addition, a part of the brick and stone structure which was erected and completed in 1846 still remains as a land mark.¹⁴ Near this location the rude beginnings of the Mission were built in 1835 under the auspices of the Western Foreign Missionary Society of the Synod [Presbyterian] of Pennsylvania.¹⁵ By 1837, when Rev. Irvin came, the transfer of the W.F.M.S. to the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church had been made.¹⁶ The first mission building was constructed in true frontier style. The logs were hauled out of the forest and "scalped" afterwards. The building was only a one-story structure covered with clapboards which were held in position with weight poles. The holes and cracks between the wall logs were filled in with mortar made from Mother Earth. The Mission building was even denied the sort of board flooring with which the government had furnished the log houses they built for the Indians and a puncheon floor was the best sort of floor they could have, nor was there the stone fireplace and chimney of the government-built houses. The Mission was forced to be content with a chimney of sticks held together and made fireproof with clay mortar.¹⁷

After the end of the first year (1837) the mission staff was in-

14. McMurtrie and Allan, p. 14.

15. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 314.

16. Supra, p. 2.

17. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 314.

creased by three. Mr. Henry Bradley, who had been stationed at the Wea Mission since 1834, and his wife, who had just joined him there, came to the Iowa Mission by transfer. Mr. Bradley was particularly interested in the agricultural aspects of the work with the Indians, while his wife, in the three years of their work at the station (1838-1841) was of general assistance.¹⁸ Miss Rosetta Hardy also joined the Mission family in 1838 but she completed her term of service there in one year.¹⁹

Among the manifold difficulties of mission life was the trouble experienced in getting the mail through to the station. In his diary Rev. Irvin often mentions the fact that he has just written a letter to some friend or a report to the Foreign Board because he had learned that some neighbor or acquaintance was expecting to make the overland trip to St. Joseph or to Fort Leavenworth on the following day. Until 1840 the missionaries received all of their mail through the Post Office at Liberty, in Clay county, Missouri. The method of availing themselves of this frontier service was to travel on horseback the fifty some miles to Liberty. This trip was made twice a year; one trip in the fall, one in the spring. In June, 1840, however, a Post Office was established at Robideaux's trading post, called "Blacksnake Hills", now St. Joseph, Missouri.²⁰ The mail service was thus speeded up considerably because of the lesser distance, and the trips, which were made more frequently,

18. See diary entry for June 7 & 10, 1842, Appendix, pp. 94-95.

19. Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions, p. 40.

20. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 319.

only occupied two days with an ox team and wagon.²¹

Neither Rev. Irvin nor Rev. Hamilton were familiar with the technique of operating a printing press yet they early solicited the Board of Foreign Missions for a printing press. They were willing to undertake the operation of such a small press if it could be procured for their use at the Mission. The request was finally granted and the 1843 Report of the Board of Foreign Missions carried this item, "The whole expense of the press of the size wanted, including type and fixtures, did not exceed \$250. The press arrived in April, 1843." It can readily be seen that such a press was rather meager equipment but the mere incident of its entry into what is now Kansas is noteworthy in itself. This press was the second one to enter the state. One preceded it in 1833, that one being the press operated by the Rev. Joathim Meeker at the Methodists' Shawnee Mission.²² No time was wasted after the press was installed in 1843 before it was put into operation. Rev. Irvin and Rev. Hamilton, especially the latter, had spent many months of hard concentrated effort in acquiring the Iowa language and by 1843 they had composed a syllabary of the language used by the Iowa, Otoe and Missouri Indians. Some of the first books ever printed in that tongue were struck off in 1843. The first book published at the "Ioway and Sac Mission Press", a primer-type of text book for use in the mission school, came out under the title "An Elementary Book of the Ioway

21. Ibid

22. McMurtrie and Allan, p12. This little book is a study of Meeker's press at Shawnee Mission especially, but it also includes much material of more general interest.

Language". This book contained 101 pages, while one of 62 pages, "Original Hymns in the Ioway Language", was also printed in the same year, 1843. The "Ioway Primer", perhaps more well-known, a book of 150 pages, was printed in 1847.²³ The title page of that book contained this information:

AN IOWAY GRAMMAR,

illustrating the principles of the language

used by the Iowa, Otoe and Missouri.

Prepared and printed by Rev. Wm. Hamilton

and Rev. S. M. Irvin under the direction of the

Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions

Ioway and Sac Mission Press 1848

Rev. Hamilton relates something of this phase of their work in a letter which he wrote in 1891, shortly before his death.²⁴ "I remember I often thought part of my preparation for the Sabbath was washing the boys on Saturday evening, and getting them clean for the Sabbath. I taught them both in English and Iowa - the books in Iowa were prepared by myself, and the type set by Mr. Irvin; and we together struck off the sheets and folded and bound them. I then taught the children to read them, I often thought that if all authors had first to study a language then write a book and print it, and then teach the children to

23. Andreas, A. T., p. 472.

24. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 315.

read it there would not be as many trash books published as there are. We prepared and printed an elementary book of 101 pages, a translation of the childrens catechism, a grammar of 150 pages, and a hymn book of fifty hymns in Iowa. I printed about sixteen pages of Matthew's Gospel."

A series of fragmentary entries are dotted through the diary of Rev. Irvin which concern the work of translation and printing. On June 7, 1842, is this entry: "On Thursday I went on to Liberty and put up at the tavern of Mr. Isenhour.....Friday I made contract for doing the printing for the school and from this until Thursday I was employed mainly in seeing to the printing and correcting proofs." That, of course, was about a year before their own press arrived. During January, 1844, such items as the following appear in the daily comments in the diary: "In the office setting type, etc."; "Spent the day in the office at type setting and study....."; "Finished setting up one form of pages for the primary book....."; "Struck off 160 sheets of 16 pages to make 2460 in all....."²⁵

The Iowa Mission was better favored for a building in which to carry on the requisite operations for the work than were any of the previously studied stations. Partially to account for this good fortune is the explanation that the Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, Presbyterians were interested in the Iowa Mission. It will be recalled that the Western Foreign Missionary Society, so closely connected with Pennsyl-

25. Much of the original diary left behind by Rev. S.M. Irvin is in a splendid state of preservation and may be found in the manuscript section at the Kansas Historical Society Library. It is through the courtesy of the Rev. Robert R. Irwin, now pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Highland, Kansas, that so much of this diary, in facsimile, was made available for my personal use during the past few months.

vanian Presbyterians, organized the Iowa Station. Consequently a great deal of financial aid came from this more or less wealthy group who had such a vital interest in the fellow-townpeople who were laboring in the West.²⁶ Probably the successful financing of the Mission can be completely explained with the further information that for nearly twenty years the Indians donated an annual sum of \$2,000 from their annuities to the Mission. In 1860, however, this contribution was withdrawn a new treaty having meanwhile been signed with the United States Government (1854) which arranged for their removal in the near future.²⁷ As a consequence of this treaty a number of the Indians had left the reservation by 1860 and the further granting of the sum to the Mission seemed impractical. Thus, without any great outlay of money on their own part, the Presbyterian Board was able to begin the erection of a splendid building for the Iowa Mission in 1845.

This new mission building was a three-story structure of ample size being 106 feet long and 37 feet wide. The dining hall on the first floor and the chapel on the second floor were each 34' x 30'; the largest of the thirty-two rooms the building contained. The first floor, which was part underground, was constructed of dressed limestone taken from a quarry in the nearby hills. The two upper stories were built of brick.²⁸ As the structure was originally, a belfry was placed over the center so that the overall height of the building was fifty-two feet. The shingles, door and window frames, and all of the finishing lumber were ship-

26. Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions, p42.

27. Ibid.

28. Mr. Plank was not certain, but he expressed the opinion that the bricks for the upper stories were made not far from the Mission. Historical Collections, X, p316.

ped out of Pittsburg to St. Joseph where a transfer was made to ox teams which carted the material to the Mission.²⁹ It has been mentioned that a great deal of financial aid for the building came from Pittsburg and, in all probability, the money was converted into materials directly at Pittsburg. According to a publication of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society the school was erected at a cost of \$6,000 to \$7,000.³⁰ Andreas says that the "Ioway Mission" building was sold to J.P. Johnson, Highland, Kansas, in 1868.³¹ At any rate, it certainly changed hands a few times after its abandonment in 1866. After that date a considerable part of the building was removed from time to time and in 1907 a severe windstorm did a good deal of damage.³² However, possibly a fourth of it is still standing as a monument to the labor of those who served there. The Rev. Robert R. Irwin, pastor at Highland, Kansas, writing on the 8th of May, 1934, tells me that there is now "a project on foot to restore this building and [we] look to a suitable recognition of the centennial of the coming of the Rev. S.M. Irvin in 1937."

Rev. Irvin's diary is entertaining in his description of some of the bustle which attended the work of building the new mission school.

"January 1, 1845.

"On last evening Mr. Alfred and Mr. Miller came to our house on business of the building. They are both brick masons and both wish the job. Mr. M. was rather dissatisfied that he did not get the job secured, and Mr. Alfred remained until after dinner when he went across to the point, and I went with him that far. In the evening had prayer meeting at Mr. Hamilton's and owing to the press of business on my mind I did not enjoy myself so well....."

29. Ibid

30. Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions, p42.

31. Andreas, A.T., p472.

32. Connelley, Wm. E., Kansas, p245.

"Friday and Saturday. 3 & 4.

"Went to St. Joseph and made a contract with Dr. Kedy to saw our joist, etc., and also a contract with a kickapoo chef to get what timber from him we would want to make the saw logs....."

"Monday 6th

".....Business seems to press me sore....."

"Tuesday 7th

".....Now six hands which requires not a little care and attention, and seems to distract my mind....."

"Monday 13th St. Joseph, Mo.

".....This morning I started as soon as I conveniently could with Maj. Richardson to St. Joseph on business of the mission or the mission improvement. My main object was to contract for the brick work but not finding the man at home I was detained to no purpose....
....Felt much unhappiness on being so much exposed to strangers on the business of the world which it seems in my situation I cannot well avoid....."

"Friday 17

".....and in the afternoon went to the stone quarry to see how things were getting along there....."

The school was for the children of the Iowa, Sac and Fox reservations primarily, but many others attended the boarding school coming from great distances. Speaking of the scholars thus enrolled, Mr. Plank says that, "they were gathered up from five different tribes ranging over a territory westward from the Missouri river for more than a thousand miles to the Snake river in Idaho.³³ The newly constructed building provided an adequate accomodation for a large number of pupils. Rev. S.M. Irvin naturally made a strong effort to create enthusiasm for the school and for an educational program in general which would include work with the adult Indians, but his effort only met with rather indifferent success in this respect.³⁴ His report to Colonel D. Vander-

33. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 317.
The five tribes were: Blackfeet, Sioux, Sac, Fox, and Iowa. (See letter reproduced on this page)

34. Ibid, p. 320.

slice, agent at the Great Nemaha agency, indicates the character of the work at the boarding school and gives a fine picture of the general situation at the Mission.

"Iowa and Sac Mission, September 20, 1854

Dear Sir - Our school during the past year averaged 42. Up to may we had 44. In that month some Otoes persuaded three of our boys off to their village, and one of our girls died about the same time, leaving us but 40. These children are from the tribes of the Blackfeet, Sioux, Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas, a majority from the latter tribe. We have nearly an equal number of boys and girls, and one-half are half-breeds and a majority of them are orphans, having neither father nor mother living.

Their studies in school are spelling, reading, arithmetic and geography; and nearly all to write. They are making some progress in their studies, as much perhaps as we should expect, in view of the work they do (on the farm and in the house), and the strange language and difficulties they have to meet. But until these people have more settled and industrious habits, work is as necessary as letters. The children all work very well, and we find the more diligent they are in work the more contented and cheerful they seem to be; itself a sufficient reason for keeping them close at work.

Our custom is to rise at five o'clock in the morning, breakfast at six, have six hours at school in the day, commencing at nine, and the hours out of school are spent at work.

Our crop has been well tended and is good for the season; but from the drought it is rather below an average crop. We have about 100 or 115 acres under fence, and one-half is cultivated, and about one-half is pasture. We have 30 head of cattle, over 40 pork hogs, three horses, and one yoke of oxes. Our help the past year has been Mr. and Mrs. Williams, Harriet Wallace, cook, and a part of the time, Mrs. Higley, assistant teacher. Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis reached us a few weeks ago to assist on the farm and in the house. Our expenses ending May last, as reported to the Board, were 2515.64. Care is had to the moral and religious instruction of the children. It is kept in view in the school, and Friday afternoon is still given to this. Besides our common services on the Sabbath, catechising and Sunday-school is uniformly attended to. Most of the scholars succeed well in memorizing Scripture. Three of our scholars are members of the church, and others at times seem serious. Their good order in time of worship is commendable.

Visiting and preaching, or talking to the adult Indians, have been kept up as usual, but with no more marked encouragement

received a salary of \$2000. In addition to this the families received

than in former years; but we still trust the 'set time to favor' these poor people will soon draw near. These hurried statements (for I am just setting out to be absent a few days), together with your personal knowledge of our doing, will, it is hoped, enable you to report intelligently on the condition of our affairs.

Very respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

S.M. Irvin.

Col. D. Vanderslice."

In the teaching procedure the missionaries conducted the learning process by the use of both the Iowa and the English languages. The obvious merits of this system need no explanation other than to state that it combined the advantage of introducing new ideas in the Iowa language and of gradually insinuating the use of the English. The teaching work was handled by practically the whole staff at the Mission and was divided equally among them with due consideration for the various abilities and interests of the individual. In the boarding school the boys and girls were encouraged to do a large share of the work. Most of the boys, of course, were too small to do the heavy work of the farm but many tasks were given to them while the girls assisted in the kitchens. Considerable stress was put on what we today call vocational education and, as well as farming for the boys, the girls were instructed in home economics: cooking, housework and sewing.³⁵

An interesting item relating to the financial situation of the missionaries is found in the report made to the Board of Foreign Missions by Rev. Irvin in 1848. Rev. Hamilton, Mr. John Meyers, and Rev. Irvin, who with their wives constituted the staff in that year, each received a salary of \$200. In addition to this the families received

35. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 318.

an allowance of \$25 for each child. A total of \$175 for this was thus received by the missionaries, as there were seven children at the Mission. Two hired girls used during the year were paid \$50. each.

In his letter to Colonel Vanderslice and in the above report to the Board, Rev. Irvin includes the names of two men, Mr. John Meyers and Mr. Jarvis (and their wives), in the personnel at the Iowa Mission. Neither of them is given in the list of persons serving at the Mission which was printed by the Women's Foreign Missionary Society.³⁶ Following is that list.

Mr. and Mrs. Aurey Ballard	1835-1837
Mr. Paul Bloohm	1845-1846
Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bradley	1838-1841
Rev. S.H. Coon and wife	1845
Miss Elizabeth Diamant	1864-1865
Miss Letitia Donaldson	1853-1864
Miss Martha Fullerton	1855-1860
Rev. William Hamilton and wife	1837-1853
Miss Rosetta Hardy	1838-1839
Mrs. Susan A. Higley	1854-1855
Mr. and Mrs. Francis	1841-1847
Rev. Samuel M. Irvin and wife	1837-1865
Miss Mary Lilley	1864-1865
Rev. William McCain	1855

36. Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions, p40.

Mrs. R. B. McCreary	1855-1864
Rev. Edmun McKinney and wife	1846-1847
Miss Mary A. Patterson	1859-1862
Rev. George S. Rice	1857-1859
Rev. Milliam S. Robertson and wife	1864-1866
Miss Margaret Rubeti	1864-1866
Mr. and Mrs. Elihi M Sheppard	1835-1836
Miss Cora A. Shields	1860-1861
Miss Mary M. Turner	1862-1864
Mrs. Washburne	1865-1866
Miss S.A. Waterman	1850-1854
Miss C. Welch	1865-1866
Mr. James Williams	1854-1864
Mrs. James Williams	1863-1864
Miss Sarah J. Wilson	1855

In 1856 the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Colonel Alfred Cummings, visited the Great Nemeha Agency and reported to the Bureau of Indian Affairs some rather complimentary things about the Mission.³⁷ According to Colonel Cummings' Report the Indians seemed to have been impressed with the necessity of applying themselves to the cultivation of their lands for he found the farms showing an excellent state of care. Directly in line with this progress too was the fact that they

37. Ibid. The great Nemeha Agency was located one mile southwest of the Mission on the Sac lands. The Mission was on the Iowa side of the reservation just between the two tribes. The original agency buildings were made of logs. After 1854 the Indians slowly transferred themselves to their new reservation on the Great Nemeha river, between present White Cloud, Kansas, and Rulo, Nebraska.

were "less addicted then formerly to the use of ardent spirits." At the time of his visit the boarding school was attended by some 40 children of both sexes. His examination of them demonstrated that they had attained considerable proficiency in the general subjects which they were taught. The children, he said, were all health, well clothed, and "polite in their deportment". After mentioning the practical instruction which the girl received, Colonel Cummings says that in that year (1856), the boys had a neatly worked farm of eighty acres under cultivation. A heavy crop of corn had been ripened for the harvest.

Concluding his report, Colonel Cummings is not so optimistic in his outlook concerning the Sacs and Foxes. He says:

"The Sacs and Foxes, who have been in contact with civilization for years, continue unchanged, and are now, as heretofore, distinguished for their courage in war and their indomitable energy in the chase. They have uniformly refused the services of the missionary and the farmer and continue to inhabit bark huts constructed in the rude style of their fathers. They are expert in the use of firearms, and by their adventurous courage have so often defeated the Comanches in the open prairies, though greatly outnumbered by the latter, that the very sound of the name of Sacs causes a panic among those very bands of Comanches long considered so terrible upon the frontiers of Texas."

In 1853 the Rev. Wm. Hamilton, with his wife, left the Iowa, Sac and Fox Mission to relieve Rev. and Mrs. Edmund McKinney who were stationed at the Omaha and Otoe Mission near Bellevue, Nebraska.³⁸ Bellevue was a trading post about nine miles above the Platte river

38. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p319.

39. *Ibid.*, note 2, p319.

40. *Ibid.*, p319.

41. *Ibid.*, p318.

on the west side of the Missouri.³⁹ Following is a letter from Rev. Irvin giving an account of a trip to Bellevue.⁴⁰

"On Tuesday, July 10 [year not given] we set out from the Iowa and Sac Mission for the Indian Orphan institute, as it is now called, for the Omaha mission in Nebraska., a distance of over 200 miles. The trip was made at the instance of Mr. Lowrie, secretary of the board, and his object was to take up some children as assistants to the Omaha mission; also a team and wagon; also to see and advise with the new missionaries who had recently arrived there. Our little company consisted of four persons; Miss Sally McKinney, of the Pawnee tribe; Miss Len Dupec, of the Sioux tribe; W. James Donaldson, of the Pawnee tribe, and the writer. The three young persons named are half-breeds nearly grown, and have been raised and educated mainly at the Iowa Mission. Economy suggested that we make the trip all by land, carry our own provisions, and camp out on the way. With the wagon well covered, plenty of provisions, cooking utensils, quilts, etc., we set out about nine o'clock a.m. Fifteen miles brought us to the Nemaha, where we halted for noon. The girls got dinner while James and I got wood, made the fire, tended horses, etc.

.....
"We met an old and beloved friend, brother Hamilton, with his estimable family. With him and his family I had spent near sixteen years of missionary life."

As has been stated above, the Iowas and the Sac and Fox Indians contracted a new treaty arrangement with the United States Government in 1854 whereby the transferred their place of residence to a new reservation on the Great Nemaha river between White Cloud, Kansas, and Rulo, Nebraska. In the same treaty the Iowas "gave the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions 320 acres of fine land where the mission building stood, together with 160 acres of well-timbered land. This, after being divided into smaller tracts, has long since passed into other hands."⁴¹ The Sacs and Foxes also made a grant of land to the

39. Ibid, note 5, p100.

40. Ibid, p319.

41. Ibid, p318.

Mission. Article V of the treaty of May 18, 1854, between the Sacs and Foxes and the federal government reads: "At the request of the Indians, it is hereby agreed that the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church shall have a tract of 160 acres of land, to be selected by said board at a distance not exceeding two miles in a westerly direction from the grant made to said board at their mission by the Iowa Indians - and the President is authorized to issue a patent for the same to such persons as said board may designate." According to Mr. Plank's account, the Presbyterian Board designated Rev. S.M. Irvin and the patent was issued to him.

The school remained open for a few more years however, From 1860 until 1866, the last six years, the school was a boarding school for Indian orphans.⁴²

At the time that the Mission was closed, 1866, Rev. and Mrs. Irvin had spent twenty-six years of devoted service among their Indian friends. After closing up the affairs of the Mission, Rev. Irvin "devoted the remaining years of his life in the interest of Highland University, a worthy institution of learning located in the beautiful town of Highland, two miles west from where he established the Iowa and Sac Mission in 1837."⁴³

42. Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions, p44.

43. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p320.
Highland University is now a junior college, Highland College. It is no longer in direct care of the Synod of Kansas as it was for a number of years. The University was incorporated under a charter from the Territorial Legislature in 1858. (Andreas, A.T., p487)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

In this appendix are extracts from the diary of the Rev. S. M. Irvin which, while not essential to the main body of information are of no little value as appended material for they portray certain aspects of the mission life which, perhaps, only the intimate confidences of a diary can show.

1841

"Toway Mission, January 1st, 1841.

"This is the first time in my Journal which I have written 41 And perhaps before that date shall see my fingers may be stiffened by the chill hand of death. One thing is clear I am a year nearer my grave than when I commenced to write 1840. How solemn should I feel on this occasion. The year past I have been wonderfully favoured with health and favours and I ought to have made great advances towards the kingdom of Glory. But I have but two much reason to fear that little or no needful preparation has been found. But upon this the new years address which is prefixed to this volume will more fully express my fear and resolutions. To see how this issue of my life will meet what I now expect should I be spared through this year I have thought good to write my prospects. I am now sitting in the west room of my house where I hope if spared to be on next new years day. I hope to be employed all the year in study and teaching without interruption. But what a year may bring forth the Lord only knows....."

"Monday 4th.

"Studied and wrote out a plan for our Boarding School to send to the Board of Missions..... Day could beautifully clear."

"Thursday 7th

"Today W. Hamilton and I went to hold a council with the Sacks in relation to W. [H] Bradleys going among them as teacher but they utterly refused to have anything to do with white men by way of receiving from them instruction. They new how to worship and talk to God themselves and did not wish to here anything more. What a pity

to see more than 600 souls refuse to come to the light.--Day clear and dry. Cold last night. Much frost fall."

"Saturday 9th

"Spent all the day in preparing communications to send to the post office particularly one of a number of sheets to the Board of Missions. It is expected that we have an opportunity of sending to the office next week.--Day could."

"Wednesday 13

"Went to visit the Indians particularly the first Chief and from him I had a warm reception. I was well treated to a cup of tea and some wheat bread baked in English style. When I was about starting home one of the principle chiefs came from the inside of the _____ and he brought one bottle of whiskey. It is a wonderful pity to see these poor Indians so inclined to drink this vile pollution to their own destruction. Meeting at Mr. Hamiltons in the evening. I had some freedom in prayer and the devil tempted me about it. On yesterday we were told that one of the men who was killed by the whites had been dug up and eaten by wolves. The poor Indians were so alarmed and anxious to be off that they would share the same fate that they did not take time to bury them as they ought. ---Day moderate but cloudy."

"Thursday 14

"Half of the day I sat and studied and studied and afternoon I aided Mr. Hamilton in lining his house. In the evening Mr. Ballard came to see us from the Platt country..... "

"Monday 18th

"Hauld some wood and made some at a pair of Buckskin pantaloons.."

"Saturday 23rd

"Spent part of the day in study. Made some homany and spent some hours very agreeably in company with Mr. Hamilton. In the morning I had the misfortune to bruise very badly on of my fingers which was very painful through the day. In the evening I was taken with dysentery and was quite ill. It is good for me thus to feel. I am taught thus to see my mortality. I am poor and tottering on the brink of the grave and soon must fall. Another week is passed and I am coming nearer and nearer to desolation for which God grant that I may be prepared."

"Wednesday 27th.

"Assisted Mr. Hamilton in lining up one of his rooms and in the evening meet at his house for prayer. I was much ashamed and uncomfortable on account of some joking in which I had thoughtlessly engaged during the day with Mr. Hamilton. Jestings though it may seem to be innocent at the time yet is not convenient and has a deadening affect upon the soul.---Day beautiful warm and clear."

"Thusday 28th

"Got out some stuff for a bed sted and spent some time with W. H. in looking for the line between the loway and Sack Indians. Pulled two teeth for Mr. Irvin which pained her moste severely and was not a little trying on me....."

"Sabath 31st

"As soon as I had returned from morning prayer meeting I was informed that a young Indian had been in and that he had brought news that a war party had crosed the river and kibled one whilte man. The party was headed by Whitecloud the principle chief and the conduct of the party was represented as being verry barbarous indeed. We was at something of a loss to decided of the truth of the statement as Indians are not at all times to be relied upon. It was said that the Indians draged the man from his bead and murdered him by shooting and tomahawk while the poor woman and children screamed in all directions. In the evening Jeffry and Capt. Jackson (the Agent) came in and the reports were somewhat confredicted. A man had been shot two nights previous but it was hoped that he would recover and it was not determined wheather it was done by white or red men. But we are led strongly to suspect from statements of the Indians that it was Indians of our nation and headed by our chief. We had at our room a comfortable meeting. We all seem to feel our shortcomings and I hope that the Lord is about to revive his work in our hearts....."

"Saturday 6th [February]

"For the three last days past I have been so busily engaged in making a Bucksin coat that I have not been able to _____ and read but little. Today I finished a fur coat of skin which I hope will be of much service to me. Some may think it humiliations thus to be clad but it is not more humble than that of John. Perhaps the texture of Bucksin is not more course than that of Camelshare. Be this as it may I know it is much better than I deserve. I am poor and vile. I am not a little troubled with temptation. When will the temptor abandon his temptations and my foolish heart resist his suggestions....."

"Tusday 9

"Went to visit the Indians at their encampment. But having no interpreter I could only visit and talk as I could. Was made welcome and fared well.---Day could cloudy and some snow fell."

"Wedensday 10th

"Spent moste of the time in reading and reviewing some composition. In the evening we meet at Mr. Hamiltons for meeting. A num-

ber of french who have become connected with the Indians and who are now in our region came to the meeting and gave good attention and it is hoped that some consern is felt for their souls. They have some in understanding fully our language yet some have such a knowledge of it as to understand considerable and can communicate to the others. For my own part I felt wonderfully unworthy of any favour at the hand of God but when I feel weak and small I feel best....."

"Thursday 11th

"Visited the Indians and found a large portion of them engaged in a sacred dance. Found some ill and several verry low with sore eyes. One man is nearly blind and a child totally so. This I could not but look on as emblamatacle of their spiritual blindness. Was informed that two lodges of perhaps 4 or 5 each of the upper Ioway village had been killed by the Sioux. An express come to have me write a not to the agent informing him of the fact....."

"Sabath 14th

"Meet at our usual time and place for meeting and Mr. Bradly had his son baptised. Mr. Hamiltons remarks were founded mainly on that subject and were quite appropriate. A number of french who are now near us came in and gave good attention. Some of them have some consern for the soul and we hope may yet be seers of Jesus Christ. They are greatly under Catholick influence. Moste of them having been raised in this belief and usually those brought up in this belief receive the doctren. But these all seem to discard the thought of the priest having any power to forgive sins....."

"Thursday 16th

"Waited on Mr. Gillmore in the morning and afternoon went to the Ioway encampment to see the Indians and particularly a young man who appears to be low with consumption or something bearing the same marks. I gave him some medicine _____ three others and gave some eye medicine. They are wonderfully afflicted with sore eyes. It seems to be a sort of distemper prevalent among them. Some eyes have been lost entirely and many others appear to be nearly exhausted."

"Saturday 20

".....I have been strongly inclined to think that I ought to apply for licence to preach the gosple. But my unworthyness and ignorance is so great that I do not know not to say or do. I am pressed with doubts and fears and dulness, and all this time is passing away with great rapidity. Another Saturday night is come"

"Sabath 21st Feb.

"According to previous arrangements it fell to me to make some remarks at our meeting which I did.....I was much embared from fear that I should do or say something which would be out of my proper place as I have no licence to preach, and there is danger of

such persons going two far in such an undertakeing. I strove first to show the particular sort of fear spoken of by the profit and then that those who was influenced by fear would speak to one another. I think I drew some encouragement for what I said and hope it was not lost entirely to all who were present....."

"Tuesday 23rd

"Worked most of the day at a bedstead which I commenced a considerable time ago....."

"Thursday 25th

"Wrought all day at a bedstead. Split some boards for Mr. Hamilton. Last night old pumpkin came and staid all night. This morning we had a long and satisfactory talk and he went off in a good humour which is rather uncommon....."

"Friday 26th

"Completed my bedstead after so long a time and was not a little rejoiced at the fact for it has been tedious and difficult. We here labour wonderfully under disadvantage of saw mill or anything of the sort having to take all our wood from the rough timber with broad axe and _____. But in answer to this it is not necessary according to the fassion of our country that our furniture be verry fine. All that we have is much better than we deserve. The Lord is wonderful in his kindness, health and comfort seems to be ours.--Day some little snow. Cloudy....."

"Saturday 27th

"Emploid with Mr. _____ in making a spout for the eve of my house with a view mainly to secure rain water for washing as the water of our spring is of a character not well suited for this purpose....."

"Friday 5 [March]

"Finished laying the first rail of my fence. I have just completed the foundation of a fense 167 roods long enclosing mostly prairie.--Morn. light rain frose as it fell. Cloudy and cool....."

"Saturday 6

"Spent the day in study and writing letters. Two Caws, a part of 80 who came to visit the Ioways came to the station. One a fine looking young man who talked good english. He told us a great victory they had a short time ago over the Pawnees. He had taken six scalps. They who was killed were all women and children. The men were absent after the Buffalo. He told of cutting of the childrens noses and throwing them into the water cuting their faces so that they would die more intolerable than death itself. He spoke of these dreaded cruelties with great composure or rather

plasure. The other day Rubedeau a french trader told of Sarpee another french trader with whom he was in company that in a fight with the Indians he saw Sarpee run up on a wounded Indian take his knife rip him open when alive, tear out his heart, and bite it with fury while it was beating and smoking with life....."

"Sabath, March 14

,"We all started to the village this morning to have a meeting among the Indians. Jeffry had promised to be present to interpret. When we got to the encampment we found them all engaged in a great feast and a dance in behalf of a great war party which is in contemplation to be in the spring with a number of other nations against the Sioux. After this was over we got a number collected at Wachomonyas for religious servise. We each spoke to the company and dismissed without anything interesting. In the evening met at our house for prayer. Mr. Duchan an old Catholick french man showed great signs of penotence, wept nearly all the time of meeting and was in deep consearn but was unwilling to talk on the subject. In the evening I was quite unwell. Lay in bed most of the time and took some medicine at night.--Day fine....Wind north."

"Thersday 18th

"Emploid all day in working at a wagon bed. I am preparing to start to Liberty which I will do the Lord willing soon in next week. In the evening Mr. Rubiti came from Liberty with some letters and papers but no news of importance.--Day exceedingly windy. Threw down some fence to the ground removing the blocks on which it stood."

"Monday 22

"Spent the day in preparing to start for liberty in the morning, but I am now so unwell that I fear I will not be able to start. It may be that this is the last inscription I will ever make in my diary. I am fast on my journey home, and the last line in this will be soon inscribed.....Cleared up and is pleasant."

"Tusday 23rd

"According to expectation I started to Liberty soon this morning in company with Mr. Duchan (a hired hand) and am now seated writing in my wagon more than 30 miles from home. Through the day I have been quite ill.....But the Lord is wonderful kind and I am so wonderfully insensable I think I never saw myself as dull and if it can be said actually dead. I have done nothing all my life. I have spent some time this evening in reading in the life of Peyson this evening. He speaks of himself as being bad, but how much worse I. I know not what to say. I have been neglecting every thing. I hope my sickness will be a blessing to me..... The present is a token of his temporal kindness while thunder is

rolling not far off and no doubt heavy rain falling near us. We are dry and commodious and I can write and read without inconvenience except from my opposition....."

"Wednesday 24

"Arose soon this morning and prosecuted our journey. I felt some better but suffered much through the day. Expected to be unable to accomplish my journey but I hope my trust was in the Lord. About noon we reached Leavenworth when we crossed the Missouri with but little delay and made about ten miles crossing the Platt, and stopped with Mr. House an acquaintance.---Day pleasant."

"Thursday 25th

"This was a day of not little anxiety. I expected to meet my father and mother at Liberty whom I had not seen for a year, and who was to accompany me to the station and spend some time with us. I think that I was two anxious.....But before I got fairly into the town I saw my father at considerable distance and knew him too well to be mistaken. I found also my aged mother and all well. We had an affectionate meeting. Father so deeply interested spent the evening in enquirey about provisions, faces, etc.....Roads good."

"Friday 26

"Wonderful busy day in buying goods and preparing to start on my homeward way tomorrow.---Some rain. Verry warm."

"Saturday 27th

"Had engaged a team which with my own loaded up as soon as we could and started on our way homeward. We made about 20 miles to my friend Mr. House where we stoped for the Sabbath. This day we were most sinfully favoured in regard to rain. Great appearance of rain in the morning but kept off all day untill we got in the shelter when it commenced to rain with thunder and lightening verry heavy."

"Monday 29

"Went to Westen a small town on the Missouri to buy a load of flour etc. to take to the station.---Showers of rain and snow....."

"Tuesday 30

"Started as soon as we could. At Platt we were detained in crossing and patients was severely tried with my wagoners who were much disposed to idle time. About 5 oclock we reach Missouri at Levanworth and all the teams over by dark.---Day cloudy but dry....."

"Wednesday 31st

"As soon as it was convenient this morning we were on our way to Ioway. We travelled verry slow but were quite successful, having no misfortune, and after makeing about 20 miles we stoped for the night at a beautiful small creek and found a verry choice place for camping.---Day fine and night remarkabely so. Fare and beautiful."

"Thursday April 1 1841

"Started soon on our journey and all things considered was quite prospered. True we turned over once but with no material injury to any of the frate. After makeing about 18 miles we encamped for the night by the side of a beautiful rill which abundantly supplied us with good water....."

"Friday 2

"Last night we lay about fourteen miles from home and our prospects were quite high for reaching home today. Elated with this expectation we started soon after sun rise and about one oclock reach the long looked for and much desired home....."

"Saturday 3rd

"Spent all the dey in devideing and arrangeing the goods which I had procured for our station at Liberty.---Day verry fine."

"Sabath 4th

"Meeting in the morning at our usual place and in the afternoon at our dwelling. Today Mr. Hamilton and the rest of the males at the station except myself went to the village and had a small meeting among the Indians. We labour under maney difficulties on account of an adequate and faithful interpreter many of the Indians came to the station mostly with a view to get some of the provisions as they had understood that I had brought up a supply of provisions...."

"Tusday 6th

"Went with father to the Indian fields to assist him in commencing to plough for the Indians. He has engaged to farm for the Indians this year, or to give them instruction in this department of manual labour while it is my intention to try to give them mental information as far as I can. I ought to be verry comfortable and happy now. I have now my aged father and mother with me..... I think that I now will have much time for study and hope that I may be enabled to improve every opportunity....."

"Wednesday 7

"Accompanied father to the Ioway village and aided him some in

putting in some wheat for White Cloud. Stopped sometime with some of the Chefs and found them I thought some of them more disposed than usual to work and farm for themselves. They are all anxious to have work done, but are lazy about putting two their own hands. Could they be induced to industry I would have strong hopes of them soon becoming a respectable people.---Day fine."

"Saturday 10

"Started soon to the village and made my return as soon as possible and spent most of the evening consulting with Messrs. Brady and Hamilton on business of the mission....."

"Friday 16

"Was prevented from going as soon as ordinary to the village on account of rain. Went in the afternoon and found there all sober and was able to collect more than 20 scholars who gave good attention and I was surprised to find that they have retained so much of what they learned last spring. They can sing and count as fluently as ever and seem to be well pleased with the notion of learning....."

"Saturday 17th

"On last evening an Indian came to our station and said that an Indian woman had died and that it was the wish of the connections of the deceased that we make a coffin and bury the lady in English style. This morning we were prevented from beginning soon to make the coffin by some rain. About nine o'clock an Indian came down to urge us to be in a hurry to go and bury the person. As soon as we could Mr. Brady father two others and I took the wagon and some boards with tools for making and digging the grave. We went to the house and found them waiting with great anxiety. Mr. B. and others went to dig the grave while I & father made the coffin. As soon as it was made we put the body in and took it immediately to the grave which was ready. We buried it all in English fashion though the old man wished a small hole left in the end of the coffin and had all her dress affairs entombed with her. In the case they have shown more entire reliance than usual submitting all to our management and seeming to be well pleased with all that was done. The poor old man wept sorely and gave full evidence of sincerity in his lamentations. Such occasion affords favourable season for religious talks with the Indians but not being able to obtain a suitable interpreter the occasion was passed without improvement....."

"Sabbath 18

"This morning Mr. Brady father and I started to the Indians to try to hold a meeting among them. Mr. Hamilton could not leave. We went doubting but in some respects we succeeded better than was expected. As soon as we landed we found the Agent and government interpreter there. The Agent seems to be very friendly and though not

a professor is willing to cooperate with us in all our undertakings. He willingly let Jeffry the interpreter go with us and was entirely willing to wait until we had a meeting though his anxiety for going on was considerable. We had a meeting at Wachamonyas and there were present more than a dozen men beside the woman and children. We talked to them and was pleased with the attention given..... We were pained at seeing a number of the Ioways and Sack station on a war excursion against the Sioux. We understand they are to be met by the Poowatomies and Otoes. Poor ignorant creatures....."

"Monday 19

"Went to the vilage but did not get more than 13 schollars...."

"Tusday 20th

"Was not able to start to the vilage until near 11 oclock, but favoured when I reached the spot. Found 23 schollars who behaved well and seemed to learn quite well....."

"Wedensday 21st

"About ten oclock word came that a portion of the war party which started out a few days ago had fallen in with some pawnees and that they had killed 9 and this morning had returned with all the tryumphs of victory, bearing with them scalps, ears hands fet etc. At the usual time I started to the vilage and found two much truth in the report. When I cam in sight of the Sacks (which come first to view) they were busly engaged in dancing the scalp danse and which was accompanied by the war whoop not a few. It was a time of recess in dancing when I went but they were preparing for it a soon began. I saw the hand the scalps an ear and a heart cut and stretched on a stick and rosted for feast for who chose to eat of. From all that I can learn I think the pawnees who they killed were on their way to a friendly visit but these blood thirsty reches fell upon them and butchered them all but six who made their excape. In the evening we came by the vilage where men & women were deeply engaged in dancing but they did present a moste wonderful appearence and made impressions on mind which will last as long as memory....."

"Saturday 24

"Went to the vilage at the usual time and was crowded with schollars. I know whi it was but they crowded upon me beyond measure. I would think more than forty....."

"Friday 21st [January]

"Worked all day hard at hauling stones for the foundation of the stable. Had Mr. Gilmores oxen and hauled only two lods from Woolf River.---The day was severly cold on the prairie but clear..."

"Friday 28

"Sometime ago father had bought a yoke of oxen for the Ioway Indians and had kept them on the other side of the river. Several attempts has been made to bring them over but all have hither to failed and they are still there on expense. It was thought that I go down today having an oportunity for company and bring them up together with some flour which was at the river. The Agent went to Robedeaux and we started early together. We reached the ferry at one or two oclock. The Agent went on & I stoped to take over the flour etc. I found the cattle were gone from the place so that I could not do anything at crossing them today. We crossed the flour and encamped on this bank. We had quite as comfortable a night as could be expected in January at a camp without a shelter but few bedclothes and scarce of victels. We had a little meat and flour and one pan was all the vessel of any sort we had. It was difficult to cook but we enjoid ourselves quite well."

"Saturday 29

"Before day the wagon with flour started on before day & I waited untill day light to here if anything was known of the oxen. At day word came that the Ohio had come up last night and so it was necessary that we attempt be corss them. Our craft was a loos platform laid on two canoes wihtout pening or a hand rail. One of the oxen got on after some difficulty and with great care we succeeded in getting him over. We then got the other on but he was restless and after going a little distance he run round one side of the platform and sunk one of the conaes plunged into the river and made for shore. In the scuffle he puled me off too. I fell in the water and first I tried to reach the botom but could not touch. I was then compeled to swim to shore, which took me some time, at least longer than I was desirous of being in the water at that temperature. I had all my heavy clothes on but was able to seim quite easily. There was below me a quantity of drift snages etc. which I feared I would be driven into but I reached the shore in good time. I immediately ran to a house and dried myself as well as I could, whilst they repared the platform took breakfast etc. We afterwards succeeded in swimming him by the side of the platform. I then started homeward...."

"Friday 18th [February]

"This morning about 3 oclock Mr. Rubiti came to our door with

an express from Maj. Richardson requesting that I and Mr. Campbell would appear in Weston this evening at 4 oclock. He had taken a man who had stolen and loway horse and wished our testimony to convict him of the theft. The distance is about 55 miles and the time very short. The morning was so dark that we could not see to travel until brake of day. As soon as we could see we started. Rode verry hard. Crossed the Missouri at Roubedeaux left our horses on this side got fresh horses and went on and reached Weston a little before sun set. It was moste a severe days wride. We got thare in time to give in our testamony and make all possible preparations for an early start homewards in the morning.---Day generally clear but cool and wind north."

"Saturday 19th

"Started as soon in the morning as we could get a little refreshment. Travelled hard and reached Rubedeaux about 6 oclock. As soon as we could get a little _____ we started across the river which we found verry difficult on account of the ice. Got about 6 miles before the sunset and came the rest of the way after night. I was exceedingly tired and no morsel. I had travelled about 110 miles in two days. I could scarcely walk but was blessed with good health....."

"Tusday March 1st

"Assisted Mr. Campbell in puteing up a dwelling house. He is a trader that has been among the Indians for more than 20 years. He has scoured much of the region west of the mountains. particularly towards California. He discribes that country as being verry poor unfrutful sandy and mostly baren furnishing but little vegetation and consequently but few animals. Scarcely anything but rabbits are found thare. He also states that there are imence groves of white pine in the valeys of the R. mountains. May we not imagine in these days of enterprise and impovement the day to be near at hand when this lumber shall be driven like the wind over these planes and steem cars and the west _____ habitable from this now apparently barren and nearly unexplored region....."

"Monday 14

"This morning father started to the river for some flour which is to be thare for us. I spent some of the morning with the Agent and notched down some logs for my building. In the evening assisted Mr. Preston Richardson to lay out his field for the Sac farm.---Day moste beautiful warm and clear."

"Saturday 19th

".....I have a room entirely to myself where there is no noise nor disturbance. In which I have a nice little library of more than a 100 volums of _____ matter....."

"April 11th Monday

"Since the last date I have been prevented from writing regularly in my diary. The forepart of last week was spent in making what leisure time I had at the stable. On Wednesday morning I started to the platt country on some business and partly to see my particular friend Dr. Smith who lives in Buchanan Co. On Wednesday evening I reached Mr. Ballards and spent a pleasant evening. Soon after I crossed the Missouri River I was overtaken with a severe pain which continued almost until sunset and rendered the travelling quite tedious and slavish. I reached my friend Mr. Ballards house a little before sunset and was soon well recd and entertained through the night. We did not go to rest soon having been separate for a long time and much talking to do. The day following I went to Mr. Dixons mill and store where I had some business and where I took breakfast. Mr. Gillmore was sick and I visited him. He was very low and anxious that I should remain with him but my business was urgent and I went back to Mr. Ballards, and what was some singular while I was there Mr. Dixons wife (who is Mr. Ballards adopted daughter and who was then staying) was delivered a very fine son. I started soon as possible on my way. Made about 8 miles and stoped with my kind friend Capt. Hanson. The day following I stoped at Savannah for dinner precured some goods and reach my dear friends Dr. Smith. The day following (Saturday) I started early for home by the point, left my horse at Mr. Hans and with about 3 hours labour succeeded in crossing the Missouri in a canoe and got home....."

"Friday 13 May

"Had but few schollars at the school. They are much away at their corne fields and so loose much of their precious time. If they could be collected regularly and retained any desirable length of time they might and no doubt would learn very fast. But as they now proceed it is very difficult for them to learn at all. But something seems favourable and we hope it will terminate in much favourable and good.---Day cool and cloudy....."

"Monday June 7th

" All the time between this and the last date above I have been absent from the station on a tour to Liberty for the purpose of having some printing done for our school at the station. On tuesday we left home and came to the missouri river at Rubedeaux when we were delayed in crossing untill evening. I found a small canoe in which I crossed Mrs. I & Eliot but we were not able to cross or swim our horses by it. A french man and I made the attempt but in doing so we were thrown into the water and gave up the undertaking. About dark through the politiness of some mill rights and others who had the kindness to aid I succeeded in swimming the horses by the side of a Macanaw Boat. We were compeled to stay there over night and recd. a hospitable treatment

from the woman who was mistress of the house.

"On Wednesday the day following we went only to Mr. Ballards and were much pleased to meet with our old friends. They gave us a hearty welcome and there we spent the night.

"On Thursday I went on to Liberty and put up at the tavern of Mr. Isenhour. In the evening I was so ill that I was utterly unfit for any business. Severe pain in my head and loss of appetite. I found some letters at liberty and among other two from the Board containing instructions for Mr. Bradley to leave the station for Chipaway. Friday I made the contract for doing the printing for the school and from this until Thursday I was employed mainly in seeing to the printing and correcting proofs. My Leisure time was mostly spent in reading the Bible and some paper which I found at the office.

"On Thursday morning about 3 o'clock I started homeward that I might improve the cool of the morning as much as possible. About 3 o'clock I reached Mr. Ballards after making about 45 miles and found all in health. On Friday morning we made early preparations for starting on our way homeward but just as I was about getting on my horse I found that I was so ill as not to be safe for me to proceed farther. I returned and went to bed and took some medicine and was very unwell all day. Saturday we started for home, and when we landed at Rubedeaux we were stopped about 3 hours on account of rain. About 12 we crossed the River by swimming the horses by a canoe and about dark we reached home entertaining as I hope many sincere thanks for the kindnesses shown to us on our journey and in all our absence....."

"Thursday 10th

"This morning before five o'clock we assembled in our room and had communion, after which Mr. Bradley and family took and affectionate and I suppose final leave of all at the station. It was quite affecting. We have spent years together on earth and in all probability will never see each other in this world. They are fine affection and tender people and their departure seems like the loss of an dear friend. After they started I could not suppress my feelings. I had to give them vent in tears....."

"Saturday 12th

"Rode to the village today, it being most severely warm. I had more than 20 scholars but had some difficulty and discouragements. Scarcely know how to proceed. They are taking offence because I do not give more clothes or greater rewards for learning. I am at times almost led to despair of the good of the poor Indians. It seems as if destruction is inevitably their doom. God may have large blessings in store for them but the present condition is deplorable indeed....."

"Tusday 26th [July]

"Went to both villages and had in all 32 schollars. They are now spreading about to there corne fields for the purpose of making sweet corn. This will take many of the schollars out of my reach and will be a drawback to my labour....."

"Wedensday 27th

"Went to the vilage and had thirty one schollars. Some of them are doing well. I did not go to the far vilage because it was late and because I found moste of the schollars from there at the near vilage....."

"Monday Aug. 1st.

"Have just returned from the meeting on the other side of the River. God has been wonderfully kind. He displayed his loving kindness and his tender mercies. How excellent in all theearth is his name. Yesterday was a day spent in the Courts of the Lord.Mr. Carsin earnestly solicited that I should make some remarks which I strove to do and in which I found some freedom and pleasure.....Mr. Carsin insists that I am qualified for being more extensively useful than what I am in my present situation. Declares that he thinks I might with propriety be licenced to preach. This is a calling and truly for which I have a thousand times wished that I was qualified. But how might are the responsibilities and how many and important the qualifications"

"Thersday 18th

".....On yesterday I had a talk with Wawpash. He voluntarily told me that the white crow an Indian who had died a few days ago, had just got home, that the sky was clear. The son shown out and he was now at home inrest, that his heart was rong when he started and hense he had bad weather on his way. I asked him how far the house or country to which he went was off. He said more than four days. That a smart person could travel it in that time. I asked him how infantes and such who ware not able to walk ware transported. He said that at the town or "big vilage" as he called it, they always knew when persons died and would come and carry them away. But suppose a large and infirm one such as Nohwhamonya who is lame and others infirm ware to die how would they be carried? Could one carry a big spirit of this kind or how many does it take. For such said he they bring horses. They have horses pleanty and fine grass for them to live upon. He went on to add that their infirmities would all be heald in that vilage that the blind should receive new eyes that 'they had plenty of good days there', ears and eyes---that good people will near die again but bad may die three or four times and then turn into some bird and fly about. Why do you not go there now? (having discribed the country as on the earth, near to the great water towards the sun rising and not far from the heads of the Mississippi) None go

there untill after they die he answered. Much was said near of the same amount. His sistem is strange but seems to be gathered all together from earthly objects. How evident it is that revelation has never reached their ears or never entered into their sistem of Divinity and swards and punishments....."

"Friday and Saturday 19 and 20th

"Both days attended school with a usual attendance. This evening Father and the Indian Children who had been away at Platt and Liberty came home and brought some letters and a number of papers. We have heard from our friend in P.A. [Pennsylvania] They are all well but religion seems to be in a very low condition indeed. If it is indeed living at all. They say that horse racing is taking much up the attention of the people. This is a lamentable thing indeed. That place when piety and zeal seemed so much to abound is growing careless and sinful...."

"Saturday 10 [August]

"Since the last date I have been wonderfully mentally strained to aid the agent in paying out the annuity to the Indians both Sacks and foxes, and the main part of the calculations etc. left to me. I have not been able to sleep as much as I ought by any means and I am now not fit for business. I must close. Quite unwell. I may be drawing near to sickness and death. Oh that I may be prepared."

"Saturday December 11th

"I have finally through the goodness of most merciful God been permitted to resume my long neglected diary. At the last date I was attack with a disorder of the eyes which rendered me quite unable to see to read or write or in fact to do anything at all for a long time.....Presbytery met at Lexington on the last day of September and after consulting with Mr. Hamilton and the rest of the mission family and I would humbly trust sincere prayer for the way of duty. I consented to go down for advice. The distance must have been more than 120 miles and I was absent 10 days and in the meantime suffered not a little with my eyes. This trip to Presbety has cost much thought. I scarcely know the path of duty. I have for some time and especially at particular times thought of giving up every idea of pursuing my studies any forth or striving to be more extensively useful in the world, but I cannot. It seems I cannot long or well endure that idea and I am not shure that it is not in some degree owing to this on my part that for a long time I have found that vital pity it seems (if it exists at all) is in such a low condition in my soul I seem to be almoste dead and so I do often feel miserable, and at no time do I enjoy that happiness which I could wish or ever once did. At presbety I meet with all the encouragement that I could wish although for want of my regular certificate I could not be regularly and in order taken under thare care yet a resolution was past that I be treated as though I was received and proceed to make preparations for examination in the spring when I have also

my certificate in readiness. The labour which this involves me in is not a little but when I am the most active in usefulness or preparing for usefulness I always feel the best and hence I am encouraged to try in the strength of God to try to go on. The greatest and most difficult undertaking is the greek language but if my designs are pure and it is necessary in the service in which I would engage to have a knowledge of this I have no doubt God in his goodness will give me strength to go through with it. I have not yet tried it sufficient to know much about it but I am sure that it will be hard for me at this age.

"Presbety sat at Lexington Lafayette Co. Mo....."

"Friday 23rd

"This morning I sit down with a view to spend most of the day in writing letters etc. but was soon stoped by a call of Maj. Richardson to go with him to see an unfortunate frenchman who had got into a difficulty with the Indian in a drunken frolick and was said to be severely beaten. On examination he was found to be severely injured. His head was severely cut especially in one place. I had to sew it up. It was so that I could easily probe it to the scalp bone. His hands were badly frozen and we had to poultice them. His nose bled considerable and he was much disposed to sleep. I am affraid that his case is rather dangerous.

1844

"Saturday 6th [January]

"Finished setting up one form of pages for the primary book and in the afternoon went up with Mr. Hamilton to buy the head of the Omahaw which was sticking on a pole near some grave at the Ioway village. The inhuman Ioways who kild the Omahaw in the fall cut off the head and it has been sticking upon the pole ever since in view of the village. We dug a hole and put it under the ground. How desperate is human nature when left to itself....."

"Tuesday 9

"In the printing offise all day. Had some conversation with Noheart about making the Boarding School and having Mr. Ballard stay and take a part in it. He is much pleased with the notion. Says he wants his children to have good eyes--to see a great distance off--menaing the understanding....."

Friday 12th

"Struck off 160 sheets of 16 pages making 2560 in all after which I went to Mr. Ballard....."

".....this morning I started to see as it conveniently could with Maj. Richardson to St. Joseph on business of the mission or the mission improvement. My main object was to contract for the brick work but not finding the man at home I was detained to no purpose except that I was not a little uneasy to go back. Felt much unhappiness on being so much exposed to strangers in the business of the world which it seems in my situation I cannot well avoid.---Day fine but some cooler...Thermometer at 70...."

"Friday 17

"Assisted some in the office today and in the afternoon went to the stone quarry to see how things were getting along there. Am some better and desire to thank the living and true God for all his benefits---Day cold and clear, but beautiful."

"Tuesday 20th

"Since the last date have been busily engaged in business for the building. On last Friday I went to St. Joseph on business of the improvement, mainly to get money. I returned the same day about 11 o'clock. Much fatigued for the ride must have been more than fifty miles which is hard for these days. The press of secular business has not a little distorted my mind, and deranged my calculations for study, but all is right if I am in the line of my duty. I find in my mind a wonderful inclination to run after things of

1845

"January 1st 1845

"On last evening Mr. Alfred and [Mr] Miller came to our house on business of the building. They are both brick masons and both wish the job. Mr. M. was rather dissatisfied that he did not get the job secured, and Mr. Alfred remained untill after dinner when he went across to the point, and I went with him that far. In the evening had prayer meeting at Mr. Hamiltons and owing to the press of business on my mind I did not enjoy myself so well....."

"Thersday 2nd

"Engaged most of the day in writing a communication to Mr. Lowerwith a view of starting to St. Joseph on tomorrow....."

"Friday and Saturday 3 & 4

"Went to St. Joseph and made a contract with Dr. Kedy to saw our joists etc., and also to contract with a kickapoo chef to get what timber from him we would want to make the sawlogs....."

"Monday 13th St. Joseph, Mo.

".....This morning I started as soon as I conveniently could with Maj. Richardson to St. Joseph on business of the mission or the mission improvement. My main object was to contract for the brick work but not finding the man at home I was detained to no purpose except that I was not a little uneasy to go back. Felt much unhappiness on being so much exposed to strangers on the business of the world which it seems in my situation I cannot well avoide.---Day fine but some cooler....Thermometer at 70...."

"Friday 17

"Assisted some in the offise today and in the afternoon went to the stone quarry to see how things were geting along there. Am some better and desire to thank the living and true God for all his benefits---Day cold and clear, but beautiful."

"Tusday 28th

"Since the last date have been busily engaged in business for the building. On last Friday I went to St. Joseph on business of the improvement,--mainly to get money. I returned the same day about 11 oclock. (much) fatigued for the ride must have been more than fifte miles which is hard for these days. The press of secular business has not a little distorted my mind, and deranged my calculations for study, but all is right if I am in the line of my duty. I find in my mind a wonderful inclination to run after things of

this world and to study about the improvement now on hand. It is perhaps the polasy of the Devil to make attention to this business seem of wonderful importance so as to foil me and lead me away from the things which are spiritual and eternal. No doubt he improves every opportunity of doing his work, which is my case in many instances prosecuted with great success.---The weather still continues wonderful fine. On Wednesday evening we had a rain which terminated in a snow of about three inches deep. We all thought that severe cold would follow, but it has again become quite moderate. Roads fine and all very pleasant. It far surpasses what we have ever seen in this country of in any other."

"Friday 14 [February]

"Spent near all the day in the printing office printing off the first sheet of the Testament in Ioway. We struck off half a ream and having taken some pains in putting type and balls in order we made quite a good impression. Had some trial in mind with regard to some occurrence past which Mr. H and I had in conversation. But all is for the best and I would try to improve from all that I learn---Day very snowy....."

"Tuesday 18 -- 1845

"Spent most of the day in my study preparing my trial sermon except some time I assisted the hands in fixing some sleepers for the new house. About 12 o'clock Mr. Craig and Mr. Taber of Oregon came to our house had dinner and some talk and again returned to Oregon that night,...---This day was most fine warm and pleasant. Vegetation is in some places making its appearance."

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Andreas, A. T. History of the State of Kansas, containing a full account of its growth from an uninhabited territory to a wealthy and important state; of its earlier settlements; of its great natural resources. A. T. Andreas. Volumes I and II. Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883. 1616 pages.

Andreas is useful especially for biographical sketches and maps.

Bliss, Rev. Edwin Munsell. The Encyclopedia of Missions, Descriptive,

Historical, Biographical, Statistical. With a full assortment of maps, a complete bibliography, and lists of Bible versions, missionary societies, mission stations, and a general index. In two volumes. Ed. Rev. Edwin Munsell Bliss. New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1891. 661 pages, Volume I; 679 pages, Volume II.

Of minor importance but useful to determine the various agencies through which the work was carried on.

Connelley, William E. History of Kansas, State and People, Kansas at the first Quarter Past of the Twentieth Century. Written and compiled by William E. Connelley, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Kansas biography by a special staff of writers. Illustrated. Issued in five volumes. Chicago, New York, The American Historical Society, Inc., 1928. 2592 pages.

Especially valuable for the material contained here in Chap. II.

Cordley, Richard. Pioneer Days in Kansas. By Richard Cordley, D.D. New York, The Pilgrim Press, 1903. 274 pages.

Of minor importance in this study.

Duncan, L. Wallace, ed. History of Neosho and Wilson Counties, Kansas. Illustrated. Containing sketches of our pioneers, revealing their trials and hardships in planting civilization in these counties, biographies of their worthy successors and portraits of prominent people of the counties past and present. Published by L. Wallace Duncan. Fort Scott, Kansas, Monitor Printing Company, 1902.

Topeka, Kansas, The State Printing Office, 1924 - 1931.

Various articles in volumes of these collections were of great assistance in this study.

922 pages.

The first chapter of this book, on the History of Neosho County, written by T. F. Rager, contains copies of original manuscript material which was of great value in the study of the missions in Neosho county.

Green, Ashbel. Presbyterian Missions. Written by Ashbel Green, D.D.

Boston, Crocker and Brewster, 1838. 241 pages.

Of little value.

Irvin, Samuel M. Journal, Iowa, Sac and Fox Mission, 1841 - 1849.

The journal was available for the following dates:

January 1, 1841 to May 1, 1841

January 1, 1842 to December 30, 1842

January 1, 1844 to March 7, 1844

January 1, 1849 to February 28, 1849

Excerpts from this diary made possible a more human treatment of parts of the subject. A number of excerpts appear in the appendix.

Kansas - State Board of Agriculture. Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture to the Legislature of the State of Kansas, for the year ending November 30, 1875, including a complete census of the State as required by Sec. 26. Art. 2. of the Constitution and Laws pursuant thereto. Topeka, Kansas, The State Printing Office, 1875. 752 pages.

Valuable maps.

Kansas State Historical Society - George W. Martin, comp. Kansas Historical Collections. Volumes I, V, VIII, IX, X, XIV, XVI. Topeka, Kansas, The State Printing Office, 1896 - 1911.

Various articles in volumes of these collections were of great assistance in this study.

Kansas Weekly Herald, January 31, 1857. Leavenworth, Kansas, 1857.

Of minor consequence.

McMurtrie, Douglas C., and Allan, Albert H. A Forgotten Pioneer

Press of Kansas. Chicago, John Calhoun Club, 1930. 84 pages.

Concerned particularly with the Meeker Press at the Shawnee mission. Of interest to this study were items concerning the publications of the Iowa, Sac and Fox Mission Press at the Iowa Mission.

Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. Letters on the Chickasaw and Osage Missions. [No Imprint] 1833. 46 pages.

Of minor importance.

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America - Board of Home Missions. The Presbyterian Home Mission Manual, being the Home Mission Year Book for 1912 of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Published for the Synods, Presbyteries and other agencies cooperating by the Board of Home Missions, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, as directed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. New York, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, 1912. 191 pages.

Of little value.

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America - The General Assembly. Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Third Series, Volume XII, 1933. Including

Part I, Journal and Statistics, Part II, Board Reports. The Reports of the Boards to the One Hundred and Forty-fifth General Assembly, Columbus, Ohio, May 25-29, 1933. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Office of the General Assembly, Witherspoon Building, July, 1933.

Of little value.

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America - Presbytery of Kansas City [Missouri] , The History of the Presbytery of Kansas City and its Predecessors, 1821 - 1901. Historical sketches and statistical matter by John B. Hill, D.D., comp. and ed. Published by the Presbytery of Kansas City, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Kansas City, Burd and Fletcher Printing Co., 1901. 336 pages.

Of considerable importance in this study. Especially for the material in Chapter II bearing on the Harmony Mission.

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America - Presbytery of Ozark [Missouri] . Presbyterianism in the Ozarks, a History of the various branches of the Presbyterian Church in Southwest Missouri, 1834 - 1907. By E. E. Stringfield, Ph.D., Stated Clerk of the Presbytery of Ozark, U. S. A. Maps and Illustrations. Introduction by John B. Hill, D.D., with an appendix containing occasional addresses. Published at the request of the Presbytery of Ozark, U. S. A., 1909. [No Imprint] 1909. 439 pages.

Of little value.

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America - Womans Foreign Missionary Society. History of American Missions to the Heathen, from their commencement to the present time. Worcester, Massachusetts, Spooner and Howland, 1840. 321 pages.

Contains some valuable tables and lists for the earlier period.

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America - Womans Foreign Missionary Society. Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions. Boston, Crocker and Brewster, 1886. 243 pages.

Contains useful tables and lists.

Riegel, Robert E. America Moves West. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931. 585 pages.

Useful for a source of general information.

Thompson, Charles Lemuel. The Soul of America, the contribution of Presbyterian Home Missions. By Charles Lemuel Thompson, D.D., LL.D., Secretary Emeritus of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1919. 252 pages.

General information.

United States - Smithsonian Institution - Bureau of Ethnology.

Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Ed. Frederick Webb Hodge. Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 30, 1912. Washington, The Government Printing Office, 2d impression, October, 1912. 1221 pages.

Very useful source concerning the various Indian tribes. Complete.

United States - Smithsonian Institution - Bureau of Ethnology. A
Dictionary of the Osage Language. By Frances La Flesche. Bureau
of Ethnology, Bulletin 109, 1932. Washington, The Government
Printing Office, 1932. 406 pages.

Contains excerpts from the Osage First Book. Used for illustration.

Weekly Champion, July, 1881, to April, 1882. Atchison, Kansas, 1881 -
1882.

Very valuable auxiliary material on the Kickapoo Mission.

