AMERICAN INDIANS ON RESERVATIONS
IN THE STATE OF OHIO

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by
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Law and the Land</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Missions</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Quakers</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Methodists</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Presbyterians</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Agents, Annuities, and</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Ohioans and Removal</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A new era was beginning in Ohio in 1818—an era of canal and road building, of commercial and agricultural expansion, and of population growth. War had rendered the boundaries safe from the British; soldiers from the East remained to farm and to speculate in Ohio lands. But among the irritating problems yet to be overcome, such as the financial disasters of the banking crisis, the epidemics of cholera, and the virtually impassable Black Swamp, was the very presence of Indian tribes within the boundaries of the state. Most of the pressing problems would be alleviated or eliminated as white civilization moved westward. Accordingly, by 1843, the Indian population no longer troubled Ohioans, and Indian lands were absorbed by the expanding state.

The story of the actual removal of the Indians from Ohio can readily be traced through federal government documents and the papers of Indian agents. The conditions under which these Indians lived out their last years in Ohio, their relationships with missionaries, traders, state officials and surrounding settlers are somewhat more difficult to discern. Contemporary concepts of savagery and civilization, memories of recent

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frontier warfare, religious and economic concerns were all involved in shaping white attitudes toward the Indians.

No longer could these red men be considered a real physical threat. Ohio had a total of 581,295 inhabitants according to the Census of 1820; the Indians numbered less than three thousand. Certainly a militia of over seventy thousand men was strong enough to resist any last outburst of revenge had it occurred. It did not. The Indians were painfully aware of their depressed condition, partly due to the fact that some of their annuities authorized by treaties had not been paid during the war years. They had ceded the greater part of their Ohio lands, and with the loss of the lands went the loss of political autonomy. Intimate contact with whites was now inevitable; the nature of the contact would be determined by the whites.

By the treaty of Maumee Rapids made on September 29, 1817, and a supplementary treaty made the following September at St. Mary's the Indians of Ohio were confined to reservations. The Wyandots were located at Upper Sandusky on a twelve-mile square with an adjoining 55,680

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4 The Delawares and Shawnees who remained friendly to the United States received regular annuities; the tribes whose annuities were payable from Detroit such as the Wyandots and Ottawas were not paid between 1811 and 1815. American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs, II, 72-81.

5 U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 160-170, 178-180.
acres, on the 16,000-acre Big Spring reserve, and on a one-mile square tract on Broken Sword Creek. The Shawnees were granted a ten-mile tract at Wapakoneta plus adjoining 12,800 acres, and twenty-five square miles including a Shawnee settlement at Hog Creek. Senecas and Shawnees together received forty-eight square miles plus 8,960 acres around Lewistown. Senecas alone were granted 40,000 acres on the Sandusky River. Ottawas received reservations of thirty-four square miles on the south side of the Miami River, a five-miles-square tract on Blanchard's Fork of the Auglaize, and a three-miles-square plot on the Little Auglaize River. The Delawares were reserved nine square miles adjoining the Wyandot land on the Sandusky River. Individuals received a total of 9,480 acres by the treaties; these tracts were generally granted to former captives, heirs of chiefs and half-bloods living among the Indians. Provisions of the Treaty of Detroit of November 17, 1807, which allowed the Ottawas to retain six-miles-square on the Maumee above Roche de Boeuf, three-miles-square including Presque Isle, and a four-miles-square section overlapping into Michigan were not affected by these treaties and remained as Ottawa reserves.6

Except for these areas the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, Potawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippeway claims to lands within Ohio boundaries were extinguished. By a treaty of October 6, 1818, the Miamis ceded their last small plot in Ohio. State officials were optimistic about the future

of the ceded area. Even before the first treaty was ratified Governor Thomas Worthington reported to the General Assembly his certainty that as soon as the lands were brought into the market they would be settled with "great rapidity."

II. The Law and the Land

The reservation land and its Indian occupants remained under the care of the United States government. Federal law stipulated the terms for trade and intercourse between Ohio settlers and their Indian neighbors. The tribes then were largely exempt from the operation of state and local laws under the Constitution which vested in the national government those powers most commonly utilized in managing redmen—war-making, treaty-making, and regulation of commerce. Although there would be no more wars between Ohio citizens and the federal wards, there would be future treaties of cession and removal as well as extensive trade. Further, by the federal acts of March 30, 1802, and March 3, 1817, which were both encompassed in the Act of June, 1824, legal channels were established for prosecuting crimes against Indians and Indian crimes against whites in violation of federal law. This federal authority, even if not later enforced, was staunchly upheld by Chief Justice Marshall in the

8See U. S. Department of Interior, Federal Indian Law (Washington, D.C., 1958), or U. S. Statutes at Large, I-IV, for the acts passed in 1802, 1817, 1822 and 1834.
9Federal Indian Law, 3.
now-famous Worcester v. The State of Georgia case of 1832. Any regulation of trade or prosecution of criminal offences concerning Ohio citizens and Indians must then be carried out in accordance with federal statutes.

But because of the exclusion of state jurisdiction and the Constitutionally-limited jurisdiction of lower federal courts, there existed a "jurisdictional vacuum." Simple expediency seems to have been the rule for determining jurisdiction within Ohio. When one of the parties in both civil and criminal actions was white, appropriate state or county courts accommodated them. In fact, even if not expressly stated by law, federal regulations allowed Ohio government officials and judges to exercise limited legal power over the state's Indian inhabitants.

In matters where both parties were Indian, the tribe itself exercised jurisdiction. Their own criminal code was used to execute practitioners of witchcraft and to protect tribal property in disputes between Indians. The state of Ohio never formally extended its authority over Indians on reservations for the purpose of either civil or criminal actions. In 1835 Ohio legislators did pass an act attaching the Wyandot reservation at Upper Sandusky to Crawford county and extended state laws for all "civil, criminal, and military" matters as well as taxation over the whites residing within the reserve. Their apparent purpose was to expedite Indian removal as blame for opposition to the plan was attributed

10 Ibid., 217.
11 Ibid., 307.
12 Laws of Ohio, XXX, 295.
to the white influence. This extension of authority thus must have included the whites adopted or intermarried into the Wyandot tribe and living on the reserve as well as those leasing or squatting on Indian lands.

Bloody frontier conflicts before and during the War of 1812 played an important part in shaping combatants' later attitudes toward each other and in forming white concepts of the nature of "savagery." Future Ohio governors and congressmen procured some assistance from, or at least required the neutrality of, leaders of Indian factions in the fight against the British who also had Indian allies. The American-Indian alliances were products of necessity as the efforts of Tecumseh and the Prophet to form an Indian confederacy aroused the alarms of white frontiersmen. Opinions formed during this period reflected all the fear and distrust common in early stages of Indian-white relations when the redmen still possessed the numerical strength to inflict physical injuries. Scars left by bloodshed between the two peoples had far-reaching effects on the whites involved. Although the main body of Indians later on reservations in Ohio remained neutral during the War of 1812, many Ohioans continued to view the Indians as a whole rather than making distinctions between factions. The whole they thus perceived represented a threat to their safety.

Partly out of fear of Indian retaliation, Ohio officials leaned toward protecting Indian rights directly after the cessation of hostilities.

13 See Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 (Columbus, 1957), for letters transcribed by Richard G. Knopf revealing the war activities of prominent Ohioans.
In April of 1815 Governor Thomas Worthington issued a proclamation to prevent the murder of friendly Indians. The immediate cause for this measure was the murder of three peaceful redmen by Ohio citizens. Worthington first protested these "gross outrages on humanity and civilization;" he then asserted that these murders "tend to excite retaliatory measures on the part of the savages, by which innocent and unoffending citizens may fall as sacrifices to the tomahawk and scalping knife and harmless women and children be inhumanly butchered."¹⁴

Out of a similar concern for the results of injustice to the Indians, Nathaniel Young wrote to Worthington the following year requesting his intervention to ensure justice to the Wyandots in a dispute over an Indian mare. Pleading for some means of redress, Young argued that the value of the mare was negligible compared to the evil which would follow if whites allowed Indian property to be taken without a fair chance of defense. Young pointed to such inequity as the "general cause of trouble and war among nations, neighborhoods and families...."¹⁵

With the confinement of Ohio Indians to reservations plus their diminished numbers resulting in a demise of the threat of physical retaliation, the likelihood of receiving unfavorable legal decisions increased. Dr. Robert G. Wilson, a Presbyterian clergyman, recognizing this fact, communicated to Worthington in 1818 his approval of the

¹⁴ "Proclamation to Prevent the Murder of Friendly Indians," April 7, 1815, Thomas Worthington Papers (Ohio Historical Society). Hereafter referred to as Worthington MSS.

¹⁵ Nathaniel M. Young to Worthington, ibid., March 10, 1816.
sentiments expressed in the 1815 proclamation. In discussing a recent murder of a white, Wilson observed that had the death blow been inflicted by a "savage" the inhabitants of Ohio "with one voice would call for revenge..."\textsuperscript{16}

Now the "peace and safety of the frontier settlements" was thought to be best promoted by bringing to justice Indian offenders; similar prosecution for white lawbreakers, however, would be rare. Huron county was accordingly remunerated by the state for the six-hundred dollar expense incurred in apprehending three Indians and convicting two of them for the murder of two white citizens in the spring of 1819.\textsuperscript{17} Ten years later Peter Pork of the Senecas who knifed a white for refusing him liquor was convicted of "stabbing with intent to kill" by the Seneca County Court of Common Pleas. The redman was sentenced to three years in the Ohio penitentiary.\textsuperscript{18}

Indians had trouble gaining similar redress when their own people were murdered in Ohio. Despite the fact that a white man was jailed to await trial for ambushing a party of Oneidas travelling through the state and so killing a pregnant woman, there appears to be no record of his conviction. The infant child who survived her mother was, however,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Robert G. Wilson to Worthington, \textit{ibid.}, April 2, 1818.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} See \textit{Ohio House Journal}, XVIII, 297, 311, 343 and \textit{Laws of Ohio}, XIX, 68.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} H. S. Knapp, \textit{History of the Maumee Valley} (Toledo, 1872), 497, quoting \textit{Butterfield's History of Seneca County}.
\end{itemize}
provided annual support and a legal guardian by the Ohio legislature, and the attending physicians were paid for services rendered to the Indian mother.¹⁹

That law officials were reluctant to prosecute their fellow whites for crimes against "savages" was even more obvious by 1841 when the Indian population was becoming intolerable within the state boundaries. When the Indian couple Summudewat and his wife were robbed and then axed at their hunting camp by three white men, the murderers were allowed to break jail thus escaping punishment. Apprehended by other Indians accompanied by white witnesses, John Anderson and James Lyons implicated an accomplice John Ellsworth who had already fled west eventually to become a judge. Anderson divulged a full confession; he and Lyons then escaped. Lyons, admitting to eight murders, was afterwards hanged in California.²⁰

This permissiveness toward obviously guilty white offenders was apparently common; John Johnston, longtime Indian agent, reported knowledge of only one instance of conviction and execution of a white for Indian murder. Again the fear of retaliation prompted justice. Nine members of an Ohio Seneca hunting party camped in Indiana were "basely murdered" by five whites. When the crime became known among the Indians, they vowed satisfaction from innocent whites if the guilty were not punished. Johnston himself directed the prosecution, conviction and execution of

¹⁹ William Faux in Reuben Thwaites, Early Western Travels (Cleveland, 1905), XI, Entry of Oct. 18, 1819; Ohio House Journal, XVIII, 268, 326-327, 442; Laws of Ohio, XXI, 39 and XVIII, 66-67.

four of the killers. This exception to the normal leniency according to the agent was the result of the prompt support and intervention of Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, indicating that such federal concern was infrequent.

Indian property was also little protected by Ohio courts. James Montgomery, Methodist minister and assistant Seneca agent, brought suit in the Sandusky County Court of Common Pleas to prove Indian ownership of a horse in the possession of a white man. The Seneca claim was supported by five Indian witnesses plus an examination by three white "experts" who determined the age of the animal to coincide with Indian testimony. The information given by the white defendant conflicted with the findings of the physical examination of the horse. The verdict returned by the jury was nevertheless in favor of the white. Despite the subsequent purchase of the horse by concerned settlers who returned it to the Seneca, Indian confidence in white law could not have been bolstered by such uncertainty. Johnston frequently found himself compelled to remunerate whites from Indian annuities for depredations on property, but Indian losses were harder to recompense. In 1825 he believed it would have required one thousand dollars to satisfy just Indian claims; in 1829 he requested 1,539.25 dollars for the same purpose.

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22 Knapp, 507-508.

23 Hill, 109-110.

24 John Johnston to Thomas McKenney, March 10, 1829, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Documents relating to the negotiation of ratified treaties with various tribes of Indians in Ohio, Record Group 75 (National Archives, 1960).
Convicted redmen were imprisoned along with white and Negro criminals in the Ohio state penitentiary. Two Indians were listed on the prison roll for 1840.\textsuperscript{25} An Osage found guilty of horse-stealing in Hamilton county received a ten year sentence in 1842.\textsuperscript{26} Punch, an eighteen-year-old Wyandot convicted of burglary in Crawford county, was sentenced to a three year confinement in July of 1842;\textsuperscript{27} the next year he was pardoned by Governor Shannon on the eve of Wyandot departure from Ohio.\textsuperscript{28} Executive clemency was at the same time granted to an Indian serving five years for manslaughter.

Sections of the Federal Trade and Intercourse Act of 1802 were used in 1834 to prevent recovery of a note given in payment of rent for lands on the Wyandot reservation at Upper Sandusky. Joseph Chaffee leased one half of the "Walker place"\textsuperscript{29} to G. Garrett. Both men were white.\textsuperscript{30}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 25\textit{Annual Report of Directors and Wardens of the Ohio Penitentiary,}\textsuperscript{a}
\item 26\textit{Ohio Executive Documents, No. 33, V, 15.}
\item 27\textit{Ibid.}
\item 28\textit{Ibid.}
\item 29\textit{William Walker, early a prisoner of the Delawares, was adopted into the Wyandot tribe and married Catherine Walker, part Wyandot.}
\item 30\textit{The G. Garrett of this case is almost certainly the George Garrett who was granted a patent in fee simple for land west of the Mississippi by the treaty of March 17, 1842, indicating he was Wyandot by adoption.}
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Chaffee's claim to the land was derived through his white wife Rebecca who had been married to Issac Walker, part Wyandot, before his death in 1829. When Garrett's note fell due, he refused payment, and Chaffee sued for recovery. As Issac Walker's will had provided for his wife and their son to receive one half of his estate, Chaffee's lawyers argued that by right of his marriage he succeeded to her interest in the land. Ruling on the basis of the 1802 Act which stipulated that no purchase, lease, conveyance, or title of, or to land from, an Indian should have any validity unless made in a treaty, presiding Judge Lane determined that the lease transferred no title because Chaffee had no title to transfer and could not then recover payment.

The question of the court's jurisdiction in the case was raised showing the confusion which existed due to the "jurisdictional vacuum". The defense contradictorily argued both that, assuming Issac Walker was a Wyandot, the court had no authority to enforce his Indian will, and since Walker was white he had possessed no right at all even to "make boundaries" on the reservation. Chaffee's legal representatives protested that the court could not refrain from exercising jurisdiction in a suit

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31 Issac Walker, son of William Walker, claimed United States citizenship and voted in elections; when settlers of Crawford Township of Crawford County gathered in 1821 to elect officers, Issac Walker was chosen constable. See Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of Ohio, VI, 422, and Hare, 23.

32 J. Chaffee v. G. Garrett, Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of Ohio, VI, 421-426. This case was an appeal from Crawford County Court.
upon such a contract even if between two Indians should they choose to resort to that court. 33

The legal right of Garrett to lease Indian lands apparently was not contested, probably because he was connected by marriage or adoption to the Wyandots. Other whites not so related to the Indians were, however, also leasing Indian lands; in 1841 C.T. Pierson, listed among the pioneers of Wyandot County, purchased a two-year lease on an improved section of land with a tavern stand at Upper Sandusky from Delaware chief Silas Armstrong. 34 John Johnston reported the same year that besides those remotely related to the Indians there were also renters and crop­pers holding land by the authority of the chiefs. Too, he confessed, some squatters had infiltrated the reserve. 35 These whites served to adversely affect removal procedures. But the following year the Wyandots ceded their Ohio lands leaving the area open to settlers free of the bother of securing an Indian lease.

Attempts to prevent Indians from procuring liquor were made virtually from the time white man first came in contact with an intoxicated redman. Originally for the protection of whites against drunken savages, the measure later came to be viewed as a humane act for precluding any further "degradation" of the Indians. Under the federal acts for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians the President was authorized to take necessary measures to prohibit or restrain the vending or trading of spirituous liquors among Indian

33 Ibid., 424-425.
34 Knapp, 485.
35 Hill, 122.
tribes. The state of Ohio periodically passed acts imposing fine and imprisonment for bartering or selling liquor to the redmen. By an act of 1809 the fines were to range from five to one hundred dollars; in 1824 the penalty involved either fine or imprisonment up to ten days or both. Terms of this provision did not extend to Indians travelling through the state if they were sold only small quantities of the intoxicating beverages. Again the law was thus for the protection of whites as well as for any benefit to the Indian which might result. The same stipulations were encompassed in Ohio law in 1831.

Prominent Indian leaders themselves recognized the dangers of allowing the less stable members of their tribes to secure liquor at will. As early as 1807 the Shawnee chiefs Black Hoof and Big Snake begged Governor Tiffin to prevent it being given to any of their people. The problem, however, seemed to increase through the years rather than be stemmed by the Ohio laws. In 1820 William Walker sadly reported that the "vagabond" Wyandots as well as the Delawares continued to drink whiskey sold them by settlers around the reserve. He asserted that there was no way to prevent them from doing so because little concrete evidence could be collected. Methodist missionaries among the Wyandots repeatedly

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36 Laws of Ohio, VII.
37 Ibid., XXII, 185.
38 Salmon P. Chase, ed., Statutes of Ohio, III, 1732.
39 Black Hoof and Big Snake to Edward Tiffin, June 28, 1807, Vertical File Materials 608, (Ohio Historical Society).
40 William Walker to John Johnston enclosed with John Johnston to Governor Brown, Brown MSS., July 8, 1820.
railed against the liquor vendors. Reports of tavern brawls between drunken Indians and whites indicate that securing liquor involved only minor difficulty. 41 The laws of prohibition were thus a recognizable failure; Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stated in 1833 that the distance of the Indian villages from the locations of the courts and the consequent expense had prevented any prosecutions under Ohio law. 42

Added to their legal insecurity, the Indians faced the uncertainty of the very boundaries of their reserves and the continued possession of the improvements they were being encouraged to make on their lands. Ohio was experiencing growing pains in these years; the need for an adequate transportation system haunted state officials. The Indian reservations were just one more obstacle standing in the way of progress. The Treaty of Maumee Rapids had granted "to the proper authority" the right to build roads through any section of the reserved Indian lands. 43 But in the treaty negotiations the Senecas were persuaded to abandon their improvements on the west side of the Sandusky River and remove to the east bank so that the public road could pass through on the west. At this time both the commissioners of the treaty and the Indians thought that the road would continue on the west bank or on the route of an older road; no deliberate deception was seemingly involved.

41 Rhea M. Knittle, Early Ohio Taverns (n.p., 1937), 24–25.
42 Report of Elbert Herring, Nov. 28, 1833, Documents Accompanying the President’s Message, Register of Debates in Congress, Appendix, 46.
43 U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 165.
44 John Johnston to Governor Brown, Brown MSS., July 6, 1820; August 19, 1820.
Sometime in the next three years the decision was made to build the road on the east bank. By July of 1820 workmen had begun cutting a road through the reservation at Upper Sandusky and Seneca town without regard to the Seneca improvements. William Walker as Johnston's interpreter imparted their protest to the agent. He asserted that the Wyandots could not understand why this problem had arisen as they had granted to the United States a road leading to the same point before the cession. Further, the Senecas who had been moved off the west side of the river in consequence of the road had now forbidden the road commissioners to continue.\footnote{William Walker to Johnston, \textit{ibid.}, July 8, 1820.}

Johnston was already corresponding with Governor Brown concerning the construction. Pointing to the inability of the Indians to distinguish between whites' verbal and written agreements, Johnston informed Brown that the redmen, especially the Senecas, held the government accountable for the words spoken by its commissioners at the treaty negotiations. Further, the sites of their houses and best fields were included in the land to be used for the new road. Johnston assured Brown that he was confident that the Governor would direct what was equitable.\footnote{John Johnston to Governor Brown, \textit{ibid.}, July 18, 1820.}

But just to be certain, Johnston bolstered his plea for Indian justice with the testimony of white persons in the Sandusky area who were convinced that for practical reasons the road should continue on the west bank. Whites testified to the difficulties caused by the heavy growth of timber and wet soils of the proposed location as compared to the "beautiful landscape" and gentle prairie land should the road run on the west side.
of the Sandusky River. This argument must have been sufficient to keep the road on the west bank; in 1824 the Wyandots were persuaded to relinquish 160 acres on this side of the river and to receive in its place similar territory in a less strategic area.

The decades of the 1820's and 1830's likewise saw a boom in canal building in Ohio. Again problems of securing permission of Indians to pass through reservation lands arose. Commissioners appointed to explore the route for a canal connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River were conscious that some arrangement would have to be made by the state with the federal wards, preferably as quickly as possible. But by the time contracts were finally awarded the Maumee lands had been ceded by the Ottawas for three years. The increased value of these northwestern lands due to the land speculation in anticipation of the canal provided an incentive for Ohioans to encourage removal of the Indians.

Also the need for procuring sufficient funds even to keep the work on the Miami Canal in progress served to add one more pressure against the very presence of the Indians in Ohio. Authorized by Congress in 1828 and again in 1830 to select alternate sections of land within five miles of the proposed line of the canal north of Dayton, state officials eyed covetously portions of Ottawa and Delaware territory.

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47Ibid., September 19, 1820.
48U. S. Statutes at Large, IV, 75.
49Canal Commissioner Schenck to Governor Brown, Brown MSS., April 20, 1820.
50Francis P. Weisenberger, The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850 (Columbus, 1941), 101.
John Johnston himself was instrumental in the land selection. Serving on the Board of Canal Commissioners for eleven years after 1825, his knowledge of the territory was used to plan the route for the Miami and Erie Canal which would pass his own farm at Piqua. After removal of the Indians the state did select all the lands in the two small Ottawa reserves in the Maumee area as well as portions of their land at Roche de Boeuf and Wolf Rapids.

III. Missions

To the Indians the rapid settlement of surrounding lands would mean more than merely being maneuvered to make way for white expansion. It would mean attempted culture change directed by their more numerous neighbors. The whites, however, by no means presented a united front; neither did they produce a single response among the Indians. Even among the white subculture of Christian missionaries were there different approaches to the problem of accommodating tribal societies of men who spoke other languages and who held different concepts of property, religion, family life, and means of securing livelihood within a stronger and expanding white civilization.

The Quakers

The Shawnees of Ohio had been in contact with Christian missionaries before they were settled on reservations in 1818. Shakers living at Union Village as early as 1807 were received by the Shawnees but made

52 Hill, 140.

no sustained effort to spread their beliefs among the Indians. By October of 1816 John Johnston, Ohio Indian agent, reported that the Presbyterians, Methodists and Quakers were all contributing to the aid of the Indians in his charge. The Society of Friends, however, devoted by far the greatest amount of time and money to the task of bringing their civilization to the Shawnees.

The Baltimore Society's Indian Committee reported to the Yearly Meeting in 1810 that a request had been received from the Shawnees at Wapakoneta asking that the Friends extend their work among them. Consequently a grist mill was erected at Wapakoneta the following year. The Shawnee request was probably attributable to their agent John Johnston's preference for the Quakers. Johnston conferred with the Society in Baltimore early in 1812 about his plans for helping the Indians. War interrupted this work; the mill at Wapakoneta was dismantled, and the Indians who remained friendly to the United States were collected at Piqua under the care of Johnston. The Friends did


55 John Johnston to Secretary of War, Oct. 10, 1816, Records of the War Department, Selected Letters Received. Hereafter referred to as War Dept., SLR.


57 Hill, 53. Johnston was married to a Quaker, Rachel Robinson.

58 Ibid., 62.
feel that their efforts for the civil and religious "improvement" of the savages bordering the Ohio frontier were instrumental in securing Indian friendship beneficial to the American cause during the War of 1812.  

In 1815 the Ohio Yearly Meeting appointed its first Indian Committee, and plans were begun to coordinate efforts with the Baltimore Indian Committee to renew the work among the Shawnees. By the end of the same year the Shawnees had generally returned to their homes at Wapakoneta. Finding their mill destroyed and most of their agricultural tools either missing or ruined the chiefs again applied to the Baltimore Indian Committee. The Quakers then requested government permission to resume their labors among the Shawnees; the deputation they sent to Washington informed officials of the harrassment of the Shawnees during the war. The Friends were given full liberty to continue their attempts to bring to the savages the benefits of what they recognized as civilization.

Quaker efforts among the Indians were directed by their belief that civilization must come before the savages could comprehend and accept the doctrines of Christianity. The civilization they envisioned for the Shawnees involved a step upward in their unilinear theory of social

59 See William Wood and Ben W. Ladd to Thomas Worthington, Worthington MSS., Sept. 20, 1818.
60 Kelsey, 138.
61 Report of the Indian Committee for 1815, Society of Friends, Baltimore Yearly Meeting MSS. Hereafter referred to as BYM MSS.
evolution, from the savagery of support by the chase to an agriculturally-based society where property was individually owned and the value of man was based on his industry and sobriety. It necessitated an entire change in their manner of living and a "steady and industrious attention" to their farms; the Quakers spared no words in imparting this fact to the Indians.63 At least some of the Indians early understood that their only alternative to extinction by starvation or at least removal from Ohio lands was to accept the aid offered, to learn agriculture, to settle on separate farms and raise cattle and hogs. But the old chief Black Hoof fully realized and expressed the difficulty of the task of bringing his whole nation to this same understanding. The Shawnees were, as early as 1816, divided over the question of adopting white civilization.64

When a combined deputation of the Quakers from the Baltimore and Ohio Indian Committees visited the Shawnees at Wapakoneta and Lewistown in 1816, they found the obstacle of the Indians' "prejudice against civilization" largely removed. Although there was definite opposition, the Friends felt confident that it was the minority and that:

63 BYM MSS., Aug. 3, 1816.

64 Ibid. The work of Tecumseh and the Prophet before and during the War of 1812 had caused a division among the Shawnees. The issue then was not solely a matter of adopting white civilization, however, due to the added elements of British-American conflict, hopes for an Indian confederacy and Indian numerical strength.
They are themselves now fully convinced that they have no alternative but to abandon their former habits and apply themselves to agriculture, or, become totally extinct as a people, at the same time many of them feel the force of their antient habits, opposing itself to the change which they know to be essential to their very existence.  

Further, the council of chiefs at Lewistown on Stoney Creek proudly informed the Friends that they had banished liquor from their village of four hundred. The Friends underestimated their opposition. Action of the chiefs would not be sufficient to keep liquor away from their people, especially the younger Shawnees, as agitation for removal became more intense in the later years of their stay in Ohio.

Following this joint visit to the Indians the Baltimore and Ohio Committees resolved to unite their efforts. Assurances were made to the Ohio Committee that due to their proximity to the Shawnees they would be allowed to superintend the civilizing process after the first establishments were completed. The Baltimore body insisted, however, that communications with the Indians be directed exclusively through the channels specified by the government—the agent John Johnston. Johnston was also committed to enforcing an agricultural life for the "improvement" of his charges. The ultimate defense he could make for them in asserting their superiority over other tribes was the fact that many were "considerable farmers," and that several individuals were caring for cattle.

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65BH MSS., Aug. 3, 1816.

66The village, predominantly Shawnee, included Mingo, Senecas, Cayugas, Munsies, Onadagas, and Delawares. Ibid.

67Ibid.

68John Johnston to the Secretary of War, Oct. 10, 1816. War Dept., SLR.
The Treaty of Maumee Rapids establishing boundaries for the Indians had little effect on the Quaker work among the Shawnees. If anything it served to reinforce the Indians' intentions to cooperate; for although hunting rights were reserved by the treaty, the prospects of success by the chase were growing dimmer as white settlement advanced. Families of Friends were therefore located at Wapakoneta and Lewistown to superintend the mills and teach by example the manners of white civilization. 69 These families were so well-received that when Mrs. Rhodes of the Wapakoneta Friends died in 1817, Black Hoof wrote to the Baltimore Meeting expressing regret over their loss. 70 It was hoped that teaching the Shawnees to operate the saw mill would serve to stimulate interest in building neat homes while the grist mill would provide incentive to grow more grain.

Rumors of impending dispossession of their lands immediately before the conclusion of the Treaty of St. Mary's in 1818 so upset the Shawnees that the Baltimore and Ohio Yearly Meetings appointed a subcommittee to intervene with the government in their behalf. Asserting their intention not to interfere with government policy, the Quakers explained to President Monroe the distress and suffering which would accompany loss of the reservations. 71 These efforts reassured the Shawnees, and the year 1819 saw them in more comfortable circumstances than they had known in many years. They were even able to return corn paid them by whites for use of the grist mill to the Friends. Proudly they requested

69 Kelsey, 139.

70 EYM MSS., Oct. 14, 1817.

71 Memorial to James Monroe, 1818, EYM MSS.
that their surplus be divided among the white families of Robert Broadrick, the blacksmith, and Jacob Taylor whose daughter was engaged in instructing the young Indians in the English language.72

In accordance with the Quaker principle that only after the Indians were acquainted with the arts of civilized life could they be receptive to Christian doctrines, little effort had been made by 1819 to instruct them in Christian concepts. Indeed the Shawnees as a whole were bitterly opposed to Christianity as a religion unsuited for red men.73 Thus the school being considered in 1819 was intended to "render important facilities to their civilization," not to propagate the gospel, although instruction would be shaped by the Quaker sense of religious duty.

Minor assistance toward Indian education had already been given in the form of primers for the use of Miss Taylor in teaching the children English, but by the end of 1819 the Quakers determined the time had come for the encouragement and establishment of schools among them.74 The chiefs at Lewistown were eager for their sons to be educated. Some were already sending their children to be taught by a Friend at a white settlement on the Mad River.75 The Committee therefore concluded that schools

72 Committee Report to the Yearly Meeting, 1819, BYM MSS.
73 John Johnston, Recollections, in Hill, 187.
74 Committee Report to the Yearly Meeting, 1819, BYM MSS.
75 Ibid.
might well be established at Lewistown, Wapakoneta and Upper Sandusky for the Wyandots;76 "The Indians at all these places being advanced to a considerable degree of social improvement." 77

A difference of opinion between the Ohio Friends and the Baltimore body over financing the schools led to a reevaluation of the principles guiding the Quaker effort to civilize the redmen. When the Committees learned that Congress had appropriated ten thousand dollars to be employed for Indian education,78 they prepared an answer to the Secretary of War's request for advice on the application of the funds. Having learned from John Johnston that the probable expense at each school would be approximately fifteen hundred dollars annually, they reported to the Secretary that board must be provided at the schools to preserve the authority of the teacher and to ensure regular attendance, but that the cost was not prohibitive. 79 The Ohio Committee proposed to accept the government funds almost certain to be granted them due to Johnston's request that the allocation to his agency be entrusted to the Friends. 80 The Baltimore faction, however, firmly stated that they could accept no government funds and thus commit themselves to forwarding government policy. Their

76 Committee Meeting, Feb. 5, 1820, BYM MSS. The Methodists were already working among the Wyandots, and this part of the Quaker plan thus came to nothing.

77 Ibid.

78 See American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs, II 200-201.

79 Committee Meeting Feb. 5, 1820, BYM MSS.

80 John Johnston to Calhoun, April 19, 1820, War Dept, SLR. Johnston wished to prevent the conflict between sects, and several societies had requested his aid in procuring establishments for propagating the gospel and opening schools among the Indians.
principles were derived from a "sense of religious duty," and in their opinion government policy was not so guided. In fact, they continued, it often had the "opposite effect." If the Friends then became connected with federal funding, "We shall be involved in its view, to our own great detriment." Ohio Quakers must have acquiesced because they continued to cooperate and no money was taken from the government. The school was financed by the combined efforts of Friends in Ohio, Baltimore, and Indiana. Generous gifts were also received from Friends in Ireland and England.

While the Quakers were haggling over money, the desire of some of the Shawnees to educate their youth in white ways was heightening. A visit to Wapakoneta late in 1821 revealed that only five acres of land were actually under cultivation due to the influence of "persons of depraved habits and hostile to our views." The pro-Quaker faction hoped that the school would lessen this influence and remove the children from "idle associates."

The Quakers then resolved to open the school in 1822. Based on the premises that those habits the Quakers felt unsuitable for civilized adults would not yet have been formed in the children, the school would board and clothe the students. This opportunity would be used to

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81 Letter sent to the Ohio Yearly Meeting, Nov., 1820, BYM MSS.

82 The Indiana Yearly Meeting was organized in 1821, and a Committee on Indian Concerns was appointed to cooperate with the Friends of Baltimore and Ohio. Harlow Lindley, "Friends and the Shawnee Indians at Wapakoneta," *Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Quarterly*, LIV (1945), 33.

83 Kelsey, 139. Also see a letter to the Ohio Friends, Aug., 1821, BYM MSS.

84 Letter received from Ohio Friends, Aug. 13, 1821, BYM MSS.
"inculcate the social, civil, and the religious duties" thought necessary to improve the Indian. To the male pupils agricultural skills and other forms of manual labor were to be taught along with the regular studies in the English language. The girls would likewise be instructed in the manner suited to their sex as viewed by "civilized" people; the domestic duties they learned would assist them in keeping their future homes and children clean and godly. It was thought best to remove the children from their immediate surroundings. Accordingly 214 acres of land were purchased adjoining the reservation at Wapakoneta. Buildings for the school and the superintendent's family were erected.

Attendance only gradually increased from twelve scholars in 1823 to an average of sixteen or seventeen in 1827. Considering that the population of the settlements at Lewistown, Wapakoneta, and Hog Creek together totaled over six hundred at the time of their removal in 1831, this attendance record does not seem to show significant participation. It is probable that the school was largely composed of the children of chiefs as they were the ones pressing for the establishment of the school.

Agitation for removal resulting in divisions among the Indians frequently interrupted the operation of the school. Captain Lewis, a Lewistown chief, led a small band westward in 1825, but he assured the Quakers that they intended to retain the agricultural skills they had learned. Most of those who remained in Ohio stubbornly clung to

85 Ibid.
86 Committee Report to Yearly Meeting, 1822, 1827, BYM MSS.
their newly learned skills and sober habits and relinquished the idea of moving west. The Quakers heartily encouraged this as they too were opposed to removal.\textsuperscript{87}

The Baltimore Yearly Meeting released its Committee on Indian Concerns in 1828. For several previous years the Ohio Friends had provided the superintendent for the school and whatever other aid was required.\textsuperscript{88}

The last years of the Shawnee school in the state were directed by Henry Harvey of the Ohio Society who moved with his family to Wapakoneta in 1830. He reported that there was much interest in the school and in acquiring "useful knowledge." Naively he advised that if the Shawnees refused to sell their lands in 1831, the government would probably give up the matter entirely.\textsuperscript{89} Nevertheless the treaties were concluded, and the Friends followed their charges to Kansas to again attempt to inspire the redmen to accept white civilization.

The first phase of Quaker missionary activities had attained some degree of success by 1822. In the beginning their main objective had been to teach the adults a more civilized life based on an agriculturally-centered society. In 1821 a chief had been placed at the mill to learn management, and the Indians were informed in June of that year that the time had nearly come when they would be ready to control their own farming.

\textsuperscript{87} Committee Report, Nov. 1, 1825, BYM MSS.

\textsuperscript{88} Letter to Lewis Walker, Ohio Friends, Nov. 1, 1828, BYM MSS.

\textsuperscript{89} Henry Harvey, History of the Shawnee Indians (Cincinnati, 1855), 185, 190-191.
The Friends proposed to withdraw but would remain available should they be needed.\(^{90}\) The Committee report the following year stated that the mills were running well under their new management. The adult Indians were now presumed self-sustaining agriculturally; the Quakers then entered the second phase of their activity. Efforts to civilize the Shawnees were centered around the children in schools. Their aim, now including shaping child behavior and attitudes in molds precast by Quaker ideas of civilization produced by an intertwining of their religion and nineteenth-century white-American social philosophy. Removal from Ohio interrupted this phase before the Quakers reached this goal.

The Methodists

The Methodist-Episcopal missionaries to the Wyandots of Ohio were guided by the same philosophy of social evolution which led the Quakers to endeavor to bring the benefits of an agricultural society with appropriate sex roles to the savages. They differed from the Quakers, however, on the order of the introduction of civilized life and Christian doctrine. James B. Finley, the most persevering of the missionaries in contact with Ohio Indians, thus expressed the Methodist principle:

A man must be Christianized, or he never can be civilized. He will always be a savage until the grace of God makes his heart better, and then he will soon become civil and a good citizen.\(^{91}\)

\(^{90}\) Committee Report to the Yearly Meeting, 1821, BYM MSS.

This principle directed every activity of the Methodist missionaries and is reiterated throughout their records. Charles Elliott, who managed the Wyandot mission when Finley's health failed, ended his journal with a long "proof" that "Christianity is suited to every nation of every description whether barbarous or civil." He assembled testimony from other missionaries, clergymen, politicians and Indians themselves to demonstrate that attempts to civilize men without the aid of religion had always failed. He further asserted that the effects of Christianity on the Wyandots "show its efficiency both to civilize and moralize."

The character of Methodist missions to the "rude sons of the forest" was radically affected by this underlying principle. Unlike the Quakers who depended heavily upon an inner light to reveal God to man, the Methodists felt it necessary to impose a strict discipline and form classes of the believers. Almost from the beginning of their stay among the Wyandots visible distinctions were thus made between those choosing to seek Christ and those "doomed" to savagery. The lines were drawn and hardened as the Heathen party also desired to wrest temporal power

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94 Heathen and Pagan will be used interchangeably to designate all Indian non-Christians.
from the Christian Indians, believing they had betrayed their own people by accepting white man's religion. Whatever the individual differences among the Methodist missionaries, all felt it their duty first to bring Christ to the savage expecting civilization to follow automatically.

The position of missionary to the Indians carried little prestige in the years immediately following the War of 1812. Perhaps it was for that reason that the introduction of Methodism to the Wyandots was left to John Stewart, a "coloured man," who was unable to persuade any church to sponsor his efforts. Stewart was a free mulatto born in Powhatan County, Virginia. Licensed to exhort by the Methodists in Marietta, Ohio, he was inspired to minister to the Indians following a recurring dream and a subsequent sick-bed promise to his God. Wandering northwest he stumbled upon the Wyandots. Certain that these were the people he had seen in his dream he began his preaching although with little immediate effect. From November of 1816 until 1819 when the Methodist Conference appointed Rev. James Montgomery to assist him, Stewart painstakingly won converts. He gained the support of Jonathan Pointer, a Negro living among the Indians. Pointer became converted through interpreting for Stewart. Moses Henkle replaced Montgomery who, at the request of John Johnston, was made sub-agent for the Senecas in Ohio. Henkle was

95See Elliott, 5-31, for the career of Stewart. Finley, Wyandott Mission, 74-108, gives a similar account. Stewart is sometimes spelled Steward.

96Finley, Wyandott Mission, 96.

97Elliott, 17.
reappointed in 1820; the Indian mission was now incorporated into the Ohio Conference, and regular quarterly meetings were held after the first one at the home of Ebenezer Zane, half-Wyandot, was attended by sixty Indians.\(^98\) Henkle, however, did not reside among the Indians but made monthly visits.

In 1821 Bishop William M'Kendree appointed James B. Finley to the Indian mission, and the real work to Christianize and civilize the Wyandots began in earnest. Finley had preferred an appointment to the Detroit district, and he went to the Wyandots against his "own judgment and feelings."\(^99\) Having hunted with a Tuscarora boy in his youth Finley was, however, more familiar with Indian life with Charles Elliott who replaced him at the mission in 1822. Elliott had "never seen a squaw," and he too was not particularly pleased with his appointment.\(^100\) Later missionaries included James Gilruth, John C. Brooke, Thomas Thompson, and Finley who retained close ties with the mission until 1828.

Although the Wyandots were the predominant tribe in the Sandusky area, the Methodist missionaries included the Senecas and Delawares in their labors. With the Christian Wyandot chiefs Finley traveled to the small village of Honey Creek composed of Senecas and a few Mohawks, then on to the Seneca sub-agency and council house where with the help

\(^98\) Finley, _Wyandott Mission_, 97.

\(^99\) Finley, _Autobiography_ (Cincinnati, 1859), 357.

\(^100\) Elliott, 45, 51.
of Montgomery they met some success. The Senecas later sent several youths to the Upper Sandusky school. By 1828 the Senecas were "improving slowly" and one chief had been converted. Frequent visits were also made to the Delawares; a small number joined the Methodist society.

The men who carried their religion to the Indians shared an intense sense of duty. Viewed their work as a difficult task given them by God, and their distaste for living and eating among savages as their crosses to be borne, the missionaries stress their own self-denial and physical inconvenience throughout their records. The strange foods eaten by the "savages" was at first especially trying to Finley. On one occasion he was revolted when confronted with a dish of young locusts fried in bears' oil and sugar. Only when he remembered that John the Baptist had eaten the insects was he able to do so. Finley did adjust to his new way of life and became intimate with his converts while Elliott appears to have remained more aloof. Finley's description of Harriet Stubbs who assisted him at the mission provides an example of the emphasis of self-denial. Miss Stubbs, according to Finley, "volunteered to leave as peaceful and happy a home as could be found in

102 Finley, Report for 1828, Methodist Episcopal Church in Ohio, Records of the Wyandot Mission. Hereafter referred to as MEC Records.
103 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 181.
104 See Elliott, 73.
105 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 70-71.
the state, with every thing to make her happy, and become the matron and instructor of the poorest of the poor outcasts, trodden under foot by vicious white men.\(^1\)

The missionaries were set apart from most of their white contemporaries by their fervent religious convictions which led them to search for personal fulfillment working among people they regarded as savage. Nevertheless they held in common with other whites of their day the view that tribal life supported by the chase was inferior to a society where land held as private property was itself somehow sacred. The communal cultivation of crops practiced by Wyandot women as heads of households\(^2\) was as alien to the missionaries' way of life as Indian feasting, gambling, drinking, gaudy dress and a belief in the Great Spirit Ho-men-di-zue\(^3\) were to the Christian gospel taught by missionaries.

Divisions occurred among tribesmen and within families with the introduction of Methodism to the Wyandots. Given the social changes inseparably linked with the acceptance of a religious doctrine which filled its Indian subscribers with sense of righteousness and a missionary zeal of their own, strife was inevitable. Indeed the divisions were justified and even desired by the missionaries. Charles Elliott, when

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\(^1\) Finley, Autobiography, 358. See Elliott, 86, describing the hard labor performed by his wife and young women helping at the mission.


\(^3\) Finley, *Wyandott Mission*, 49.
questioned by the Pagan leader Warpole why his religion produced not harmony but contention, answered that truth had always been opposed to error. He asserted that the divisions were proof that Methodism came from Christ, and he supported his assertion with a reference to Luke 12:49-53 in which Christ warns that his teachings will divide families. 109

Finley himself precipitated the first major split between Pagan and Christian factions. As early as 1819 he had visited the Big Spring settlement to hold a religious meeting. He decided then that there would be insurmountable difficulty in enforcing any of the rules of his Discipline unless there were some form of church organization. 110 From the time of the first setback for the Indian religion with the acceptance of Stewart until the formation of classes, the Methodists only gradually had gained support.

Resistance to Methodism as represented by John Steward had first been led by those Indians earlier influenced by Roman Catholics. These returning from Detroit had been reassured that only the Catholics possessed the true word of God. But when William Walker, whom the Wyandots trusted, 111

109 Elliott, 63-64.

110 Finley, Autobiography, 352-353.

111 William Walker was married to a Wyandot woman and had a large family. He served as interpreter and assisted John Johnston for many years. His son William Walker, Jr. later became a chief; another son Issac was for some time a teacher. Both sons were Christians.
examined the Bibles of both the Methodists and Catholics to report the only difference was the language, Stewart gained stature. During this period three of his foremost adversaries were the influential fullblood chiefs Bloody-Eyes, Monocue, and John Hicks who defended the religion of their Indian fathers. But by the time Finley determined to establish a class of recognized Christians, he was able to convert four powerful chiefs—Monocue, Hicks, Between-the-Logs, and Peacock. Bloody-Eyes, in Finley's words "notorious old drunkard," continued to oppose his brother Between-the-Logs for several years before he finally joined the Methodist society.

The formation of Methodist classes was intended not only to identify the Christians and to help resist encroachments from the Pagans who held firm to the Indian faith, but also to create a "more thoroughly-organized state of society." The rules to which class members must subscribe included regular meeting attendance, observance of the Sabbath, frequent family and private prayer, and total abstinence from all liquor. Finley reported that the separation by public commitment of the Christians and Pagans caused many uncommitted to investigate religion thus shaking their old faith. But he admitted that the offense given to many by

112 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 81, 92-93.
113 Finley, Autobiography, 360-361.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid.
116 Ibid.
forcing an open choice strengthened the hopes of the Pagans led by Scionta as high priest.  

Lines were now clearly drawn between the two factions; from this time on both competed for support among the undeclared and attempted to convert each other.

Because Methodism required temperance, use of liquor became a convenient outward sign of an Indian's spiritual condition. Liquor to Finley was symbolic of all the evil he was attempting to combat. Besides the practical fact that annuities spent on alcohol were not devoted to farm or home improvement, drunkenness itself seemed to Finley to be responsible for virtually all crime and moral degradation among the savages. "Drunken" then became synonymous with "heathen." When old Scuteash "fell" to drinking, Finley lamented that the former class leader was never "reclaimed."  

Finley therefore set himself firmly against the whisky traders. When they were present at the religious services, he denounced them publicly. Throughout his writings Finley portrays these dealers as always conniving with the weaker segment of the savages to oppose Christianity. According to him the traders were responsible for most of the resistance to his formation of classes and for encouraging the Pagans to retain their old habits.

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117 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 122.

118 Although selling liquor to the Indians was illegal, the practice was evidently common.

119 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 334.

120 Ibid., 121

121 Finley, Autobiography, 360.

122 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 137, 241.
As the Christian faction grew Wyandots at both the Upper Sandusky and Big Spring settlements were led to desire a school for their children. Some of the youth had been taught to read and speak English by Harriet Stubbs at Upper Sandusky, but before the establishment of a boarding school in 1822 few had been reached. Only fourteen Indian children were being taught at the mission in November of 1821, and there were twelve scholars working under Stewart at Big Spring. Also twenty Senecas had attended a free white school in Huron county under the superintendence of the Presbyterians until parental fear for their health caused them to be removed.

The Methodists, for administrative reasons as well as out of a desire to instruct the children in an entire way of life, planned to unite the scattered efforts into one large school. Finley had easily received permission from the four Christian chiefs to enclose common ground for a farm to be used to support the mission and demonstrate agricultural techniques to adults. He had more difficulty, however, persuading them to accept this idea of a boarding school established on the principle of manual labor. The Wyandots wanted a school at both major settlements, but when faced with refusal and convinced that the delay was injuring their children, the chiefs relented.

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123 Finley to Bishop Soule, Nov. 4, 1821, Methodist Magazine, V (1821), 30.
124 Moses Henkle, Sept. 4, 1821, MEC Records.
125 Ibid.
126 Finley, Autobiography, 352.
Seven chiefs signed the letter of request to the Conference for a boarding school to be erected at Camp Meigs one mile below Upper Sandusky on the west side of the Sandusky River. Children of whites living among them were also to be admitted. Finley was appointed by the Conference to comply with the chief's stipulation that the teacher also be a minister. Illness prevented him from fulfilling his duties, and at the Marietta Conference of August, 1822, Charles Elliott was charged with the responsibilities of teacher and missionary to the Wyandots. Finley, however, later returned to the mission and provided the guiding force for many years.

On October 22, 1822, the school at Camp Meigs was finally opened. Elliott viewed the undertaking optimistically; through instruction the young women would learn religion, reading, and domestic skills and thus become "industrious and economical wives, submissive to their husbands, and affectionate parents." For the boys he envisioned a bright future when they would become "industrious farmers, good citizens, intelligent men, tender parents, affectionate husbands, and obedient children, and thus people their nation with a generation equal, as men, citizens, or Christians, to any perhaps in the United States."

For the Indian child life at the mission school must have been a bewildering, if not altogether unpleasant situation. Despite the

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128 Ibid., 155-161.
129 Elliott, 76.
130 Ibid., 81.
benevolent intentions of the teachers they were asking for a radical change in the personal habits, language, dress and sex roles of the children. Finley dimly realized, however, that time was necessary for the transformation from savagery to the civilized living he expected. He wrote to the Conference in 1828 that, "So opposed however were their former habits to the regular habits of industry that it will require time to make them habitually industrious." \(^{131}\)

Because their "native names sounded so strange and harsh," the Indian children received English names on first entering the mission school. \(^{132}\) Elliott apologetically reported that the children appeared pleased with their new names. Frequently the names to be given them were selected by distant Methodists who contributed to mission support. For example, it was for the purpose of forwarding Indian education that a Juvenile Finleyan Missionary Mite Society was formed in Baltimore in 1822. The first year the Society appropriated funds to educate four Wyandots with the stipulation that the children be named after certain prominent Methodists. \(^{133}\) Among the names thus chosen for mission scholars were Francis Asbury and James Finley.

Considered part of the mission family, the youth were given the household and farm duties normally allocated to children in white families. The oldest boys spent one day per week on the farm and one day cutting wood, making fires, and tending stock. Girls spent a

\(^{131}\) Finley, Report for 1828, MEC Records.

\(^{132}\) Elliott, 92.

\(^{133}\) Finley, Wyandott Mission, 269.
corresponding amount of time spinning, sewing, cleaning and cooking. 134 If they found these tasks distasteful and rebelled, the "regulatory" measures taken by the missionaries were deliberately mild. Even Elliott, so unfamiliar with the nature of his charges that he feared they were all like the "profilgate" who pilfered small articles from his wife, recognized that Wyandot parents were generally more permissive with their young. 135 Finley too decided against physical punishment realizing Indians thought it degrading. Instead he "reasoned" with wayward youth. Force, he declared, would never work with these people. 136

Besides the difficulties of maintaining the desired order, of overcoming the "unconquerable passion" for hunting, and simply keeping the youth in the school, the teachers faced problems in the classroom itself. Communication presented the first obstacle. Elliott who taught the school for the first six weeks was himself ignorant of the Indian language. But just as he found the Wyandot names unpronounceable, they stumbled over the "b" and "p" sounds in the English language. 137 Further, the blame for the lack of comprehension when reading was placed on the dearth of literature translated into the Wyandot language. Finley and Elliott both had discussed translating with the aid of the Christian chiefs religious writings to be distributed among the Wyandots in Ohio and Canada. 138

134 Ibid., 184.
135 Elliott, 76-77.
136 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 205.
137 Elliott, 77.
138 Ibid., 93.
but little success had been reached. Even literature in English was lacking. Some books were supplied them by the Female Missionary Society of New York. In 1826 they sent 256 volumes to begin a circulating library, hoping soon to raise the total to one thousand. Despite the lack of literature, reading and spelling came easier for the children than mathematical concepts which were harder to convey with limited vocabularies. 

Cooperation of a committee of chiefs appointed to examine the school and reassure parents was vital for maintaining the discipline desired by the Methodists. Near the end of 1822 the visiting committee were persuaded by Elliott to support the following rules; no student would be admitted unless he and his parents were willing for him to remain until he at least learned to read; the missionary was to determine the length and time of home visits; complaints from parents would be heard by the committee at the mission house; the missionary and teachers would see that the children were employed both in and out of school with study and work; the missionary and the committee could agree to expel the uncooperative. These regulations did not suffice to keep the children in school. Attendance was sporadic. As late as 1828 Finley reported that parents were taking their children home too often for any real progress in learning.

140 Finley, Report for 1828, MEC Records.
141 Elliott, 101-103.
142 Finley, Report for 1828, MEC Records.
As the white population in Ohio grew and the agitation for removal heightened, the Methodists realized the mission education was not fully adequate. For the older boys to learn a trade in order to assist their nation in becoming more similar and therefore more acceptable to white civilization, the 1825 Conference arranged for twelve of them to be sent to live with white families.¹⁴³ The following year those boys who wished to return home were permitted to do so while those learning trades continued to be supported by the Conference.¹⁴⁴

The unwillingness of Indian parents to part with their children for long periods of time and the inadequacy of education at the mission school prompted Finley to propose a new plan in 1828. The chiefs and church members of the tribe approved the erection of small, cheap school buildings in different neighborhoods to be operated as day schools only. The boarding school at Camp Meigs would then be available for the most promising scholars to gain advanced study.¹⁴⁵ Thomas Thompson, taking charge of the mission the next year, reported that the branch schools had been established including one at the Big Spring reservation.¹⁴⁶ By 1834 Thompson reported a more steady school attendance.¹⁴⁷

In accordance with the Methodist principle of Christianizing and then civilizing the Indians, religious instruction formed an important part of the school activities. The missionaries describe

¹⁴³ Finley, Wyandott Mission, 336.
¹⁴⁵ Finley, Report for 1828, MEC Records.
¹⁴⁶ Thompson, Report for 1829, MEC Records.
¹⁴⁷ Thompson, Report for 1834, MEC Records.
with pride the "religious excitement" among the youth in the schools. A Methodist class was formed of the school children in 1824 with William Walker, Jr. as their leader. Sometime later when young Hannah Armstrong died at the school Finley dutifully recorded, "This was the first of our mission children that died, and the first of our labors among the children, who entered into heavenly glory." ¹⁴⁸ The interest in religion shown by the students was viewed with hope for its effect on the rest of the Wyandots, with the school serving as "a nursery where piety may be transplanted through the whole nation!" ¹⁴⁹

Conflict between Christians and Pagans continued through these years. After the main chiefs were converted they attempted to enforce Methodist morals and ideas of civilization in the form of civil regulations. Liquor was banned. Land was eventually divided among individual families. Finley himself kept records of individual ear marks to prevent disputes over private cattle and hogs. Further, he urged them to adopt a national brand in order to facilitate identification of Indian horses which they were forbidden to sell to whites without the consent of the agent. Other regulations concerned drawing weapons and endangering lives. The usual penalty for breaking these regulations was forfeiture of annuities. ¹⁵⁰

The Christian faction had desired the division of tribal lands as early as 1824. Uneasy over the prospect of being removed and feeling that improvements on land would make their position more secure, they

¹⁴⁸ Finley, Wyandott Mission, 246.
¹⁴⁹ David Young, Sixth Annual Report of the Wyandot Mission, 1827, MEC Records.
¹⁵⁰ Finley, Wyandott Mission, 199, 202-203.
asked Finley to apply for government approval. In 1827, however, Lewis Cass wrote to Finley that the individual families held only the right of possession with the Wyandot nation retaining its rights to the land.\textsuperscript{151} The Pagans opposed all of these new "white men's laws." Earlier they had tried to weaken the influence of the Christian chiefs by arguing that the newly converted group should withdraw from civil offices to devote themselves to their preaching. Finley prevented this by convincing the Christian chiefs that they were needed to maintain the authority which would otherwise go to "wicked white men who managed wicked Indians."\textsuperscript{152}

Strife between the factions threatened to split the nation itself when the Christian Between-the-Logs told the head chief Deunquot, a Pagan, to take his company and go his own way. Between-the-Logs piously warned Deunquot that if he did so, the entire blame would be his if the Christian party were lost. Deunquot then resolved to remain neutral as head of the nation thus steadying both factions.\textsuperscript{153} He did not continue to maintain this neutrality. Instead he again joined the Pagans to hold rival services and compete with Christians for influence. The letter of request for the school at Camp Meigs written to the Methodist Conference did, however, bear his name. Later when the committee of chiefs visited the school Elliott stated that Deunquot expressed pleasure and approved the regulations.\textsuperscript{154} Deunquot together with

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\begin{enumerate}
\item Finley, Wyandot Mission, 274-279, 392.
\item Ibid., 137-138.
\item Ibid., 167-168.
\item Elliott, 101.
\end{enumerate}
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Warpole and Scionta continued to encourage feasting, dancing, and painting which were all sternly disapproved by the Methodists, but the nation remained at least nominally united.

One of the Pagan arguments against accepting the teachings of the Bible was that its references to plowing, sowing, and reaping were not understood by red men. Their rejection of the Bible did not prevent the Pagans from benefiting from the agricultural instruction given by the Methodists. Profit from the chase dwindling, they had no real alternative to farming. Warpole improved his own land and built a hewed log house just as the converted Indians did. This emulation was so widespread that Finley thought by 1826 that most of the tribe could have provided for themselves without hunting.

In the later years in Ohio the influence of the Pagans appears to have lessened. Finley reported in 1830 that some Wyandots remained "heathenish and wild", but that they "are generally in the woods so that we are not much troubled with them." Only one chief remained Pagan in 1827. Even those who refused Christianity often adopted the same spirit of improving their lands to grow crops. But the Pagans were still numerous enough in 1830 to gain equal representation on the firing squad at a military-style execution. When the tribe voted 112 to 12 in favor of executing Soo-dee-nooks for murdering a Christian

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155 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 237-238.
156 Schedule of Indian Improvements, MEC Records.
157 Finley, Report for 1828, MEC Records.
158 Elliott, 184, quotes a letter from Rev. James Gilruth, May 31, 1826.
over a jug of whisky, three Pagans and three Christians formed the
firing line which carried out the sentence. 159 It was this equal
participation in the national affairs which held the Wyandots together
in a tribal society while they were divided over religion. Even when
the Christian chiefs used their increasing influence to enforce civil
regulations, a complete separation was avoided.

Both Finley and Elliott professed dismay at the attempts to
remove the Wyandots from Ohio. Finley wrote to Cass in December of
1826, "Their present prospect for civilization is very promising; and
little doubt can be entertained, but in a short time, these people will
be well prepared to be admitted as citizens of the state of Ohio; and
to remove them at this time, contrary to their wishes would be, in my
judgment, a most cruel act." 160 When Elliott completed his reminiscences
in 1835 he feared that removal would be forced on the remaining
Wyandots. Deploring their "persecution" by whites infringing on their
lands he predicted that, if it continued, all the gains toward Christianity
and civilization which he attributed to the work of the Methodists would
be lost. With no hope of continuing to live in Ohio and faced with the
prospect of being moved across the Mississippi to reside with less
"civilized" Indians, Elliott felt the Wyandots would have no incentive
to continue to "improve".

Although uncertain about the future of this particular venture of
Methodist missionaries, Elliott was certain that the principle was

159 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 395-396. Emil Schlup, "The Wyandot
Indian Jail," describes the same execution but he gives the date
as 1840.

160 Finley, Wyandott Mission, 301.
fully established that their duty was still to 'introduce religion among all men, whether civil or barbarous, and thus extend the blessings of the Gospel to every nation under heaven....'  

Elliott's fears for his work appear to have been partially realized, at least according to the testimony of James W. Taylor, a young Cincinnati lawyer, who entered in his diary these comments:

We have had an interesting spectacle in the streets today. The Wyandot Indians, about 700 in number, the last relic of a tribe in the North western part of the state, in removing beyond the Miss[is]ippi, passed through Cincinnati. There are some fine figures among them but most look low and brutal. They are half civilized, and their costume is not aboriginal mainly, although occasionally may be seen a trace of Indian finery--the women wearing hats, with tin bands and feathers. They leave tonight in two steamboats, chartered to take them to the Upper Miss[is]ippi. I hear that many of them were dead-drunk on the landing this afternoon. They are the last of their unfortunate race in Ohio. A half-century has seen them completely supplanted and removed.

The Presbyterians

Like the Quakers and Methodists, the Presbyterians could also be found working among Ohio Indians following the War of 1812. At first interested mainly in the Wyandots and Delawares of the Sandusky area, they sent Rev. Joseph Badger to explore the possibilities of opening a mission as early as 1800. The Yale graduate later returned to the area with his family and preached to scattered Indian communities.

161 Elliott, 115.
162 James Wickes Taylor, A Choice Nook of Memories (Columbus, 1950), 35-36.
In 1805 the Pittsburgh Synod determined to appoint Badger as a standing missionary and also to secure the services of Cephas Case as schoolmaster if Congress would grant land to accommodate them. It appears that no such grant was made, but Badger continued his own efforts until his fervency directed him to become a chaplain during the War of 1812.

It was through the Western Missionary Society, incorporated for the purpose of "promoting and spreading the knowledge of agriculture, literature and Christianity among Indian tribes," that the Presbyterians finally realized their desire to establish a mission. Still interested largely in the Wyandots, in January of 1818, the Western Missionary Society received a communication from Rev. Alvin Coe stating that the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky were eager for such a mission and school to be created. Evidently the Society did not act on this request, but Coe himself began an Indian and white school at Greenfield in Huron county. The aid he received from the Portage presbytery as well as from interested settlers was not sufficient. In April of 1820 the Western Missionary Society resolved to donate to Coe's venture twenty dollars each month toward the purchase of clothing, books and stationery for his students.

164 J. Haldane Brown, "Presbyterian Beginnings in Ohio," (University of Pittsburgh, 1952), 79-84, found no records of a grant before 1825, the date he ended his research.


166 "Extracts from the Records of the Western Missionary Society," Ibid., 615.

167 Ibid., 615-616.
Although continuing to provide meager assistance to Coe, the Society had no mission of its own by 1821. Therefore early in that year Elisha Macurdy made a reconnaissance tour of the area to report on the expediency of establishing a permanent mission among the Wyandot, Chippewa or Ottawa Indians. As a result of Macurdy’s evaluation the Greenfield school was taken completely under the direction and patronage of the Society; Coe was asked to remain in charge. But still anticipating its own project the Western Missionary Society then sent Macurdy and two other ministers to make inquiries in the area of the Sandusky and Maumee rivers.¹⁶³

The Presbyterians now came in contact with the Methodists who by this time had come to consider the Wyandots their private charges. Moses Henkle of the Upper Sandusky mission jealously reported in September of 1821 that it was evident that the Presbyterians were "using great exertions to supplant us in the school and the mission."¹⁶⁹ Further, he described the attempts of two unidentified Presbyterian preachers to use the influence of the William Walker family to persuade the Wyandots to accept a Presbyterian school rather than be "deceived" by the Methodists. Henkle asserted that twenty Seneca youth who had previously attended the Greenfield school would quite probably turn to the Methodist boarding institution soon to be established.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³Ibid., 617-619.
¹⁶⁹MEC Records, September 4, 1821.
¹⁷⁰Ibid.
This competition for students and converts between Christian denominations made the Indians more aware that the doctrines they preached did not automatically bring harmony even among believers. As Indians accepted the basic premises of Christianity, they thus began to question the differences they found between sects. James Finley was compelled to explain the finer points of his Methodist theology when the converted Wyandot chiefs Monocue and Hicks became concerned. The Presbyterians would probably not have approved Finley’s simplified explanation of the differences between them:

The Methodists believe that all men may obtain religion, if they will seek it; and persevering, may finally be saved; but if unfaithful after they have obtained religion, they will lose it and perish forever. The Presbyterians believe that none can experience religion but the elect, or those whom God has made for the purpose; and that when they have obtained religion they cannot lose it.

Those who are not of the elect, he continued “are left to perish—the devil gets them.”¹⁷¹ Later after both the Ottawa and Wyandot schools were in operation in Ohio, there were also accusations by the Methodists that the Presbyterians at Maumee waylaid Canadian-Wyandot pupils on their way south to Upper Sandusky.

Finding the Methodists thus firmly entrenched in the Wyandot community, the Western Missionary Society members transferred their interest to the Maumee area where the Ottawas resided. The Board of Missions authorized Coe either to suspend the Greenfield school or to rent property occupied by James Montgomery in a Seneca village until a

¹⁷¹ Finley, Wyandott Mission, 171.
decision could be reached concerning the Maumee mission. Little
encouragement came from the Synod of Ohio which found the plan "highly
laudable" but promised no financial support. 172

Finally, on January 15, 1822, the Western Missionary Society resolved
to establish a mission among the Ottawa population on the Maumee River. 173
Almost the entire year, however, was spent in selecting the site, purchasing
the desired 320 acres, erecting buildings and filling staff positions.
It was not until late November that the little group met at the mission-
house *to commence our labors among the poor Ottawas.* 174 Samuel Tait,
Alvin Coe, Issac Van Tassel, Leander Sackett and Hannah Riggs formed
the first community of missionaries. 175 Each had his own duty; the
presence of a farmer, blacksmith, and carpenter among them indicates
that they too planned to cultivate the soil as they cultivated souls.

The mission family, charged with being "sacredly devoted to the
object of civilizing and Christianizing" 176 the savages, was instructed

172 Oct. 20, 1821, The Records of the Synod of Ohio, 135, quoted
in Brown, 88.

173 The "Extracts from the Records of the Western Missionary Society",
edited by W. W. Sweet state that this mission was established in the
Michigan territory. Other sources consulted including American State
Papers, Indian Affairs; the Missionary Herald; and writings of con-
temporaries Dresden Howard and Lucia Van Tassel place the mission in
Ohio at the western end of Lake Erie on the north side of the Maumee River.
This discrepancy is probably due to the Michigan-Ohio boundary dispute
which was not settled until 1837. The mission was then definitely within
Ohio.

Mrs. Van Tassel was the daughter of Joseph Badger.

175 Ibid., 665-666.

176 Sweet, 621.
first to endeavor to teach the young Indians the English language.
The Presbyterian school was to begin simultaneously with the opening
of the mission itself. Unlike both the Quaker and Methodist mission plans,
here there would be no time period devoted exclusively to the adults.
The problems created by giving the school priority were evidenced by
Mrs. Van Tassel's statement that the necessities imposed for merely
feeding and clothing the children left her little time either to
minister to adult Indian women or to pursue her own study of the Indian
languages. Also by not first creating some atmosphere of approval among
the adults the Presbyterians made their task more difficult.

Only six scholars first attended the school situated in the heart
of a large Canadian and American Indian population, but the number
gradually increased at times to fifty. Fluctuations in attendance
were common; in 1825 records showed twenty-five regular students.
The following year the number had risen to thirty-one. Of these only
four were Ottawas. Wyandots, generally from Canada, Chippewas,
Potawatomies, Miamis, Shawnees and Munsies all were taught at the school. Whites were also accepted at the Maumee mission. One white youth, Dresden Howard who at age eight was deposited by his father at the school, later vividly described the prevalent feelings of displeasure and discomfort at being removed from the freedom of play in the forest to confinement and discipline in a classroom. Neither did the personalities of the mission teachers afford relief, according to Howard who said of the

177 Knapp, 666.
178 Missionary Herald, XXI (Jan., 1825), 8.
179 Ibid., XXII (April, 1826), 119-120.
Presbyterian staff, "Good souls they were, but I think, with an entirely too stiff and sanctimonious a religion to train a set of wild Indian boys and girls." ¹⁸⁰

Religious instruction was emphasized in the mission school. Twenty of the thirty-one scholars were reported to be able to read the Bible in 1826 while only four or five were studying arithmetic, geography or grammar. Along with Bible-reading, however, the English dictionary was studied. ¹⁸¹ The kinds of knowledge imparted by the mission teachers demonstrates their inability to alter their own concepts of proper lessons for young white children to suit the needs of their new pupils. Proudly Van Tassel reported to the Missionary Society that his geography students could recite the boundaries of all the states of the Union.

The missionaries hoped to transform the Indian culture as well as tribal society by indoctrinating the youth. This desire is most evident in the specimens of student essays selected for publication in the Missionary Herald. A young Indian girl, Eliza Holmes, wrote:

O how thankful that we have friends to teach us how to work, how much better off we are than the poor Indians in the wilderness, no house to shelter them from the storms of the weather, and are destitute of the comforts of life, O when will they be in from the wilderness and live like the white people and do like them, and when will they be civilized. ¹⁸²

No where is it more obvious that the missionaries motivated by a genuine concern for the Indians in a state of "savagery" and with the most benevolent intentions were attempting to impart the comforts of

¹⁸¹ Missionary Herald, XXII (April, 1826), 119.
¹⁸² Ibid., 120.
"civilization" as they viewed it. But Indian parents, not educated in "civilization" were reluctant to entrust their young to the mission family.

Reports of the Maumee mission hint of frustration and disappointment over its accomplishments. According to Howard, education in agriculture and animal husbandry were more successful than attempts to convert the Ottawas to Presbyterianism. Finding it necessary to protest that the mission was not a "failure," Mrs. Van Tassel maintained that the "hopeful conversion of about thirty souls, and the triumphant deaths of at least nine of these," justified the expense of time and money. 183

No strong personality dominated the Maumee mission as James Finley had guided the Wyandot community of converts. The first superintendent Samuel Tait remained only seven months. 184 Ludovicus Robbins who replaced him asked to be dismissed two years later. With the transfer of the Maumee mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1826 Issac Van Tassel became superintendent, and he continued to hold that position until the dissolution of the mission in 1836. But sickness in his own family impeded and interrupted his labors.

School attendance had dwindled as low as ten by the end of 1826; 185 it rose slowly but by 1829 only eighteen were pursuing their studies at the mission. This "embarrassment" felt at the station, reported Van Tassel, was due to illness and a difficulty in obtaining suitable personnel. 186

183 Knapp, 666.
184 Sweet, 628.
185 Thomas McKenney, Nov. 20, 1826, American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs, II, 675.
186 Missionary Herald, XXV (Jan. 1829), 52.
Members of the mission family now alternated in the classroom; Alvin Coe had been dismissed as a teacher in 1823 after a controversy with the Board over his desire to devote his entire efforts to the study of the Indian languages. Further, after the first years the farm activities as well as most of the other manual tasks were left to hired laborers. Unable or unwilling to adapt either to the climate or local eating habits, these missionaries suffered from lack of "proper" food and "sickness incident to the climate." Thus poor health, constant shifting of personnel, and inflexibility of the missionaries themselves all added to their ineffectiveness.

On August 30, 1831, a treaty of removal was made with the Ottawas of Ohio. One band located on the Maumee River was unwilling to stipulate a time for removal or a specific tract west of the Mississippi; two of their chiefs were granted tiny temporary reservations subject to United States sale in three years. Therefore after 1834 many Ottawas remained in Ohio without any claims to the soil they occupied.

Van Tassel still resided at the Maumee mission, and in the fall of 1834 he proposed a plan of settling the families living nearby on the mission lands. Promising to erect houses and clear the fields a few families agreed. But due to "counteracting influence" exerted by white settlers and the multiplication of "shops for vending intoxicating liquors," the Indians became "dissipated and less inclined to labor." When his

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187 Sweet, 629.
188 Knapp, 667.
189 U.S. Statutes at Large, VII, 359-364.
190 Missionary Herald, XXXI (Jan., 1835), 29.
plan thus failed, the boarding school was disbanded, and preparations were made to dispose of the mission property. In January of 1836 Van Tassel still occupied the mission house, but little religious work was being done. The Ottawas were moving west, their only alternative according to Van Tassel was "poverty, misery, and extinction."  

IV. Agents, Annuities, and Trade  

Agents and personnel to intermediate between the redmen and the surrounding world of whites were the responsibility of the federal government rather than the state of Ohio, but they were drawn largely from Ohio citizens. Like the missionaries they attempted to direct a cultural and societal change among Ohio Indians although they supported less the missionary attempts to prepare Indians for full integration into Ohio white society. Rather they pursued the added goal of removal to lands west of the Mississippi. John Johnston was certain that the Indians wished to remain a separate people that it was "unquestionably" in white interest to keep them so.

Johnston, who had long been in intimate contact with the state's Indian population, held his position as agent to them until he lost the job to John W. McElvain in June of 1830. McElvain's major method for dealing with his charges was removal. Although the primary reason for the change of Ohio Indian administration was Johnston's political

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191 Ibid., XXXII (Jan. 1836), 28.  
192 Ibid., XXXI (Jan., 1835), 29.  
193 John Johnston to William H. Crawford, July 4, 1816, War Dept. SLR.  
194 Hill, III.
opposition to Andrew Jackson who used the Indian removal plan as a campaign issue, this does not mean that Johnston himself was opposed to removal. In fact he was a commissioner for the Wyandot treaty of 1842. But his stance was based on his opinion that eventually "their interest as well as ours will call for the measure," thus he would remove the Indians west of the Mississippi but at his own time and by his own method. 195 His plan also involved "civilizing" the unfortunate savages. By this he meant encouraging Quaker work among them, inducing them to break up their villages and scatter over the reserves on detached farms, 196 and educating them in the English language and manual skills. 197

Johnston felt himself perfectly suited to the task he had set for himself. Assuring War Secretary John C. Calhoun that his longtime contact had afforded him "singular opportunities" 198 to understand the nature of his charges, he bitterly resented any interference in his management of Indian affairs. By 1825 he was employing and supervising eleven men in Indian service. Two of the sub-agents, James Montgomery and James Finley, were Methodist ministers. His interpreters included part-Indians or former captives such as Issac Walker, Robert Armstrong, James McPherson and Joseph Parks, 199 all of whom possessed intimate

195 John Johnston to Calhoun, Jan. 15, 1820, War Dept., SLR.
196 John Johnston to Calhoun, Jan. 20, 1819, ibid.
197 John Johnston to Calhoun, Jan. 15, 1820, ibid.
198 John Johnston to Calhoun, Jan. 20, 1819, ibid.
knowledge of Indian life. As part of the civilizing plan two blacksmiths, Robert Broadrick at Wapakoneta and John Lewis at Upper Sandusky, also received government payment for their services. The need for laborers to live among the Indians and instruct them in farming was recognized both by Johnston and the Shawnee, Wyandot, and Delaware chiefs who apologetically divulged that they had no one among them who could make a plow. They also requested that their tribal lands be divided into individual plots; the Wyandot chiefs dissented and consequently their land was not divided until several years later when Finley persuaded them to do so.

Less than two years had passed after the Treaty of Maumee Rapids granted sections of land to certain individuals when many of them requested permission to sell their tracts. The procedure involved first applying for a patent to the land itself and then for authorization from the President to dispose of the land. It often required more than a year to gain the proper approval through the Secretary of War. Nancy Stewart, daughter of a late Shawnee chief Blue Jacket, was among the first to request through the sub-agent McPherson permission to sell her 640-acre plot. McPherson himself soon applied for approval to sell his grant. Similar requests were made by the large family of the deceased Shawnee Captain Logan, Robert Armstrong, and Elizabeth Whitaker who had

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200 John Johnston, VFM 1219.
201 John Johnston to Crawford, Oct. 22, 1816, War Dept., SLR.
202 Speech of Shawnee Black Hoof, May 5, 1820; Ibid.
been captured forty years earlier by the Wyandots. Some who sold lands desired only to move west while others more sophisticated in their business transactions simply wanted profits. But gradually the lands passed from the original owners, and white settlers spread over the area.

Financial support for the Indian tribes on reservations in Ohio was again the responsibility of the federal government. The major provision came in the form of annual payments stipulated by various treaties. By the Treaty of Maumee Rapids the Wyandots were to be paid four thousand dollars annually and "forever." The Seneca tribe, also drawing annuities through a New York agency, were to receive a yearly payment of five hundred dollars; the Shawnees, two thousand dollars. The Ottawas, however, were granted the sum of one thousand dollars annually for only fifteen years to be paid at Detroit. The treaty allowed the Delawares five hundred dollars for the year 1818. All annuities due these tribes by former treaties were to continue unaffected. Further, the treaty provided for the payment of damages incurred during the War of 1812 by loyal tribes. Dissatisfaction over this settlement resulted in the granting of additional annuities by the Treaty of St. Mary's; the Ottawas now received their increased yearly allowance "forever." When all sums due were combined, the Indians still did not receive adequate support according to Johnston. The Wyandots were paid 6,900

203See James McPherson to John Johnston, June 19, 1820; John Johnston to Calhoun, March 20, 1821; Aug., 21,1821; Sept. 3, 1821; Sept. 28, 1822; and Dec. 22, 1822, ibid. The delay in even getting patents for the land to be sold accounts for the numerous letters.

204U. S. Statutes at Large, IV, 160-170.

205Ibid., 179.
dollars in 1825; using the figure for the number of Wyandots in Ohio given by Thomas McKenney from the Office of Indian Affairs as 542, this amounts to little more than 12.70 per individual. The Shawnees and Senecas at the same time received one thousand dollars. Further financial assistance was supplied by Congress by the indirect means of paying salaries of blacksmiths, strikers, and laborers. Under the Act of 1819 appropriating ten thousand dollars for Indian education, the Wyandot and Ottawa mission schools received benefits. Presents such as blankets and clothing were also distributed at times.

But divided among individual Indians the annuities proved inadequate although perhaps part of the problem lay in the lack of widespread interest in agriculture which was intended to supplement incomes. Too, the inadequacy of incomes was reported by Johnston who probably disapproved the consumption practices of some of the Indians who preferred to spend their portions on liquor and bright beads rather than "proper" apparel and livestock suitable for a small farmer. The problem was not helped by the fact that those Indians like Issac Walker who claimed the rights of whites due to their mixed blood and even received government payment for interpreting also continued to accept their dividends of the annuities. Repeatedly Johnston begged for more funds for the Indians' personal needs as well as to continue his civilization program. In 1822 he was forced to discharge the strikers employed in the blacksmith shops of Wapakoneta and Upper Sandusky.

206 John Johnston, VFM 1219.

207 John Johnston to Calhoun, March 20, 1821, and Sept. 24, 1822. War Dept., SLR.

208 Ibid.
The result of their meager allowance was that the Indians accumulated large debts to men engaged in Indian trade. After 1822 when the federal factory system was abolished, traders need only show American citizenship to receive the proper license. Many of the traders were themselves former captives who remained among the Indians, some of whom were adopted into the tribes. Peter Minor, or Yellow Hair, adopted by an Ottawa chief, presented a one-thousand dollar claim to be incorporated into the Ottawa treaty of August, 1831. 209 Elizabeth Whitaker and her husband, captured in infancy and living with the Wyandots for over forty years, carried on extensive trade. 210 George C. Johnston, adopted Shawnee, was also a licensed trader; his records attest to the widespread use of credit. 211 By an act of Congress in 1843 he recovered from Shawnee annuities the debts owed him. 212

Bartering their corn and furs for cloth, blankets, lead, powder, beads, salt, and obviously in some cases for whiskey although traders hardly admitted it, the Indians managed partially to provide for themselves. Professional men such as Dr. G. W. Sampson, who practiced among the Wyandots and rendered his services but kept accounts which indicates he expected payment, 213 and Dr. Oscar White, who vaccinated about eight hundred Ottawas in 1833, 214 were probably paid by government funds entrusted to the agents for such purposes.

209 U.S. Statutes at Large, VI, 383.
210 John Johnston to Calhoun, Sept. 28, 1822, War Dept., SIR.
212 U.S. Statutes at Large, VI, 901.
213 Hare, 26.
214 Knapp, 656.
The certainty of government reimbursement by acts of Congress or by provisions in the treaties of removal sure to be negotiated served to lead traders to encourage Indian purchasing on credit. Sardis Birchard even loaned money to the Senecas on the basis of their annuities despite his difficulty in conveying to them the concept of interest. And at age twenty-nine Mr. Birchard considered himself wealthy enough due to his Indian trade to retire although he did not do so.

John E. Hunt, prominent in the Maumee area as Ohio state senator, postmaster, and one-time county treasurer, also carried on trade with nearly all the Ohio tribes. In 1834 he petitioned Governor Lucas to assist him in liquidating his claims of two thousand dollars when the annuities for that year were paid. On another occasion he presented for payment an itemized list of debts totaling $506.51. Hunt was included in the group of creditors to be paid from Ottawa land sales following the treaty of August, 1831. His chief competitors for the Ottawa trade were the Hollister and Forsyth families. Both John Hollister and Robert Forsyth, at one time Hunt's partner, had served as sub-agents and were active in negotiating the treaty of removal by which their claims were to be settled. These men were all authorized payment for the accumulated debts and assistance in the move westward by a Congressional act of March 1, 1843.

216 Ibid., 20.
218 Ibid., n.d.
219 U.S. Statutes at Large, VI, 887.
Doubtless many Ohio citizens thus profited financially from their dealings with the Indians. But Indian purchasing power was limited to the funds gained in various forms from the government, plus their dwindling proceeds from hunting. Generally Ohio profit-seekers looked to land speculation and expanding commerce utilizing the new banking institutions and transportation facilities in which the red man in his present condition could have no part.

V. Ohioans and Removal

Following the War of 1812 the weakened position of the Indians in states east of the Mississippi River compelled them to deal with the whites solely on terms stipulated by the stronger. Many were immediately removed to areas west of the muddy waters as yet sparsely settled by white men. Those Indians who stubbornly clung to their eastern homes were reserved tracts much smaller than they had formerly possessed and were exposed to the concentrated efforts of their white neighbors to change their entire way of living. Largely untrained in utilizing the soil in the manner of whites when the diminished size of their reserves itself forced a change from a hunting society to an agricultural one, the Indians became heavily dependent on whites for their very survival.

American citizens virtually with one voice called for the "civilization" of the redmen. Ohio Congressmen added to the cry giving national expression to the opinions of their constituents. In 1818 Representative Samuel Herrick presented a memorial of the Quakers in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois praying that schools be established among the Indians.

In the same session Ohio Senator Jeremiah Morrow read three such petitions from private citizens. 221 Senator Benjamin Ruggles likewise vocalized the desires of many inhabitants of his state when he introduced two more requests that Congress adopt measures to promote Indian "civilization and improvement." 222

If white Americans generally professed the belief that their duty was to civilize a race of unfortunate, if inevitable, victims of the expansion and progress of the nation, the policy of their removal beyond the Mississippi aroused furious debate with both sides presenting arguments in the interest of the Indian. Partisan considerations, sectionalism, greed for land as well as concern for the survival of the Indian, however, entered into the decisions made by individual men on the removal question. Presidents James Monroe and John Quincy Adams approved the policy, but with the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 the fate of the Indians east of the Mississippi River was decided. Congress sanctioned the policy in 1830 after long, bitter debates with the Removal Bill designed to provide for the exchange of lands and emigration of the Indians with compensation for their improvements on their homelands. This public espousal of the removal plan and the continual pressure upon the Indians to relinquish their lands lent a sense of immediacy to the civilization process and, at least in Ohio, limited its possibilities. On one hand whites were extending the hope that cooperation and the acceptance of a sober, Christian life based on cultivating the soil held as private property would make the Indian suitable to remain among white society. Many older Indians, tired of

221 Ibid., Jan. 21, 1819.
warfare and well aware of the increasing power of whites over them, grasped at this extended aid and used their authority to encourage appropriate behavior among their tribesmen. But meanwhile the increasing clamor for removal was overshadowing and hindering efforts toward any real culture change. It would soon become apparent to even the most optimistic missionary and Indian chief that due to the mounting tide toward removal, sufficient time and security of tenure would not be permitted them to make such a complete transformation. If the Cherokees of Georgia who represented the "most-bultivated" redmen were not to be permitted to maintain themselves on their eastern homelands, little incentive could be found to inspire other Indians to conform and emulate white ways. The Wyandots of Ohio were the last in that state to relinquish the hope that conformity would produce acceptability. The story of the removal of the Indians as it occurred in Ohio can only be seen as one segment of a nation-wide process.

As early as 1810 Ohio senators and representatives were requested by the state legislature to endeavor to extinguish by treaty the Indian title to lands in Ohio. In March of 1814 Thomas Worthington, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, actually submitted a plan signed by the Congressional delegations from Ohio and Indiana calling for settling the Indians west of Wabash. Only those Indians loyal to the United States during the War, he asserted, need be compensated for their lands. But the time had not yet come when Congress would approve such a proposal, and Worthington's plan was defeated.

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Worthington as Governor of Ohio, however, had more success with Indian removal. The treaties of Maumee Rapids and St. Mary's were both negotiated during his term of office. Worthington's plan for the future of the Indians was more the product of his wartime frontier experience with them than his Quaker background. In early 1819 he answered with curious logic his Quaker friend John Ellicott's plea for assistance to the redmen with the statement that although he felt a strong desire to do so, "So long as their people are considered in degraded situation and in fact so treated I despair of their civilization." 225

General, later Governor, Duncan McArthur's inclination for Indian removal from Ohio led him to encourage the redmen to beg for permission to travel to Washington, D. C. Johnston was furious at this "improper" interference and wrote unfavorably of McArthur to War Secretary Calhoun in 1820. 226 Describing the man as a "land speculator" not esteemed in Ohio, 227 Johnston declared that he was exploiting the influence he had gained among the Indians while a commissioner for the treaties of Maumee Rapids and St. Mary's. McArthur's only consideration according to Johnston was his interest in the Virginia Military Lands which joined the Lewistown Reserve. Reaffirming his own support of removal, Johnston told Calhoun that McArthur's interference would hinder rather than expedite the plan. Further, there needed to be some uniform rule concerning Indian visits to the Capitol as every year the Indian chiefs desired to make the trip.

225 See John Ellicott to Worthington and Worthington's reply, Worthington MSS., Feb. 27, 1819 and March 14, 1819.

226 John Johnston to Calhoun, Jan. 15, 1820, War Dept., SLR.

227 Johnston's charges were not unfounded, McArthur did have extensive land claims in Ohio. See Weisengerber, 130, 220-224.
The Shawnee chiefs of Lewistown, Wapakoneta and Hog Creek were alarmed by McArthur's ill-concealed designs. They were quick to make known that their request to visit Washington was not based upon any thought of selling their Ohio homes. Rather they hoped to be permitted to divide their lands among individual Shawnee families, secure their plots with deeds and procure additional agricultural assistance. Johnston angrily noted that if McArthur would only refrain from upsetting the Indians, it would be a simple matter to remove them within a few years. 228

Although Johnston succeeded in postponing the journey until more funds were available, the deputation of six Shawnees and one Seneca left for Washington March 21, 1821. Mrs. Lewis whom Johnston considered the most cultivated Indian woman in his agency was included in the party. Stopping in Baltimore the group requested two Friends to accompany them. Little was accomplished, however, by the trip to Washington. Head chief Black Hoof, by now over ninety years old, was firmly set against removal; Calhoun was just as firmly decided in favor of at least eventual removal. But in September of 1822 Johnston confidently expressed his belief that when the old men of the Shawnee nation died, the Indians would readily go west. 230

By the end of 1826 interest in removal was steadily growing on the national scene. William McLean, Ohio Congressman, proposed a resolution

228 Speech of Shawnee Chief Black Hoof, May 5, 1820; John Johnston to Calhoun, May 16, 1820, War Dept., SLR.

229 John Johnston to Calhoun, March 20, 1821 and Philip E. Thomas to Johnston, April 11, 1821, ibid.

230 John Johnston to Calhoun, Sept. 24, 1822, ibid.
directing the Secretary of War to collect information relating to the disposition of tribes to move westward, the known obstacles to removal, and the attitudes of teachers in Indian schools toward the policy. With an amendment added by Samuel Vinton, also of Ohio, calling for information concerning the progress of tribes in the art of agriculture, their ability and willingness to support themselves without the chase and to hold lands in severalty, the resolution was passed. 231

The Congressional debates over the Indian appropriations bill for 1828 revealed, however, that for various reasons Ohio representatives did not generally support removal. John Woods, who upheld the Adams-Clay Administration on most matters, took a firm stand against the principle of removing the Indians west of the Mississippi; he vowed he would as soon place them all northwest of the Ohio. Part of his concern lay in the questionable method of attaching statements of policy to an appropriations bill, but he further argued that if the bill were really intended to benefit the Indian, it would provide for their "elevation and improvement" on the lands they already possessed.

Samuel Vinton, also anti-Jackson, brought the question of sectionalism into the debate. His argument centered on the troubles which would be caused by removing Indians from one area (meaning Georgia) thus opening it to expansion and adding pressure to the area which included the new home of the redmen. Certain that the attempts to civilize the Indians who were "ignorant, averse to labor, irregular in their habits," would fail, Vinton felt that if they were concentrated in one area west of the

231 Register of Debates in Congress, 19th Cong., 2d Sess., Dec. 18 and 20, 1826, 537-538, 547.
Mississippi River, "You have executed, by a single movement, the greater plan of Tecumseh, that carried terror and dismay to every cabin beyond the Alleghenies." His solution was to give the Indian a 320-acre farm and thus "make a man of him." Vinton firmly denied any motive other than his concern for the fate of redmen; if he were guided by selfish reason, he asserted, he would vote for removal as Indians still occupied the "very heart of Ohio." It must be considered, however, that despite Vinton's statements, the Indians could hardly be said to control the heart of Ohio. The state had received extensive lands by the cessions of 1817 and 1818 which were still not flooded with white settlers. The estimated 2,350 Indians in Ohio held only 409,501 acres or an average of under 175 acres much less than the 320-acre plot Vinton proposed would "make a man" out of a savage. Although certainly many Ohioans desired removal, there was less intensity for the movement than in Georgia which was the real case being debated as the southern state was eager to expand into Cherokee territory.

Too, the Ohio Congressional elections of 1828 evidence the fierce power struggle between rising Jacksonians and the Adams Administration. Any public statement on removal in this period must be weighed in light of the speaker's political stance. In the Presidential election of 1828 Andrew Jackson received 67,597 popular votes in Ohio as opposed to 63,396 for Adams, but a Jacksonian Democrat was not elected governor of the state until 1832.

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233 Ibid., 18th Cong., 2d Sess., Appendix 61.
234 Weisenberger, 233.
One of the first officials to be replaced in Ohio by Jackson's Administration was John Johnston. Jackson had made well-known his stand for immediate removal. His choice to fill the vacancy left by Johnston was John McElvain. However it was Johnston who negotiated the first and the last in the series of treaties which removed redmen from Ohio. In 1829 the Delawares ceded their tiny reserve of three miles square adjoining the Wyandot tract at Upper Sandusky. Thus the first of the land cessions occurred even before the Indian Removal Bill of May 26, 1830 was passed by Congress.

Memorials poured into the House of Representatives concerning the Removal Bill being debated in February and March of 1830. Citizens of Miami County expressed favor toward the policy as the "best plan" to prevent the "utter extinction" of the "unfortunate race" by colonizing them in the West. During the same period, however, a group of Steubenville ladies appealed for Congress to prevent removal and "save this remnant of a much injured people from annihilation;" some 210 inhabitants of Brown County and citizens of Trumbull County also

235 U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 326.


petitioned against removal. Both sides professed concern for the Indian as their only motive. It should be noted that John Johnston's Indian agency was located at Piqua in Miami County, also the place where loyal Indians had been collected during the War of 1812, while the three petitions opposing removal came from areas of the state long free of Indian population. The Removal Bill was passed in the House with only two Ohio votes, those from confirmed Jacksonians James Findlay and James Shields. 240

The following year Andrew Jackson appointed James B. Gardiner commissioner to effect the removal of Ohio Indians. The methods used by Gardiner to negotiate the treaties of 1831 were so questioned especially by the Quaker missionaries that the Committee on Indian Affairs investigated the matter. Gardiner was nevertheless given further responsibility by Jackson to superintend the actual removals. 241

The efforts of Gardiner and McElvain resulted in the treaty made in Washington with the Senecas of Ohio on February 28, 1831, by which they ceded their 40,000 acres for 67,000 acres near the Cherokees west of the Mississippi. 242 In July the three hundred Lewistown Senecas and Shawnees received 60,000 acres contiguous to the western Seneca lands in return for their claim to the Ohio reserve. 243 The next month saw the cession of the Shawnee reservations at Wapakoneta and Hog Creek and


241 See Klopfenstein, Hughes, Foreman, Abel (See n. 1) for accounts of the methods used to negotiate the treaties and for descriptions of the trip west.

242 U.S. Statutes at Large, VII, 348-350.

243 Ibid., 351-354.
the provision of homes in the West for the four hundred Indians. 244

By the end of August, 1831, the Ottawas too had agreed to release their claim to lands in Ohio although those at Roche de Boeuf and Wolf Rapids would not yet stipulate either a definite time for removal or a specific tract of land west of the Mississippi River. 245

Only the Wyandots stubbornly refused to become party to a treaty of cession. Because they had not agreed to removal when visiting Washington, they were refused reimbursement and were forced to request Congress to make special provision to defray the expenses incurred by the Wyandot chiefs. Joseph Vance, whom the Indians considered an old friend, represented their interest in Congress. 246

But Wyandot resistance was not uniformly strong. In 1832 Gardiner succeeded in separating the band of Wyandots holding the Big Spring reserve from the main body of the tribe. One of the oldest Wyandot chiefs Roe-nu-nas signed the treaty; he was personally granted 320 acres in Ohio including the site of his home.

Sympathy with Andrew Jackson's forcible removal policy was demonstrated by Ohio citizens who offered their aid to fellow whites in Illinois struggling to exterminate Black Hawk's band of Sacs and Foxes. The old war chief, denying the validity of an 1804 treaty, attempted to return his people to their Rock River village in 1831 thus precipitating the Black Hawk War. 247

244 Ibid., 355-358.
245 Ibid., 359-363.
246 Register of Debates in Congress, 22d Cong., 1st Sess., 2314, 2328.
It was for defense against the "aggressions of the Indians," not for the protection of Indian rights that "several young gentlemen" of Champaign County requested Governor McArthur's permission to form a company and march to Illinois. The former Indian fighter praised their "patriotic spirit" and assured them that if the hostilities continued, their services would probably be welcomed. He also received a petition from the cadets at Miami University who were eager for the excitement of war and realized that without McArthur's assistance the faculty would compel them to remain in the classroom.

By this time the Upper Sandusky reserve and the one-mile-square plot at Broken Sword Creek were the sole remaining tribal lands in Ohio. Although not a prominent issue in the Ohio elections of 1832 which resulted in the Jacksonian Democrat Robert Lucas becoming governor and a popular majority of 4,198 votes for President Jackson, Indian removal efforts increased with these men in power.

Because Jackson was known as a champion of Indian removal, to some extent their elections reflected pro-removal sentiments of many Ohioans. In early January of 1834 the state legislature through Lucas instructed Ohio senators and requested their representatives to effect the purchase of the Wyandot reservation. Accordingly the Act of

248 Israel Hamilton to Duncan McArthur, June 7, 1832, McArthur Papers (Ohio Historical Society). Hereafter referred to as McArthur MSS.

249 McArthur to Israel Hamilton, ibid., June 9, 1832.

250 Petition of Cadets of Miami University, ibid., June 10, 1832.

251 Weisenberger, 270.

252 Laws of Ohio, XXXII, 434; Lucas to Congressman, Jan. 25, 1834, Lucas MSS.
Appropriations for the Indian Department passed in 1834 included a provision for one thousand dollars to be used to treat with the Wyandots.253 Jackson appointed Robert Lucas to carry it into effect.

Lucas, adding the weight of his authority as governor to the role of United States Commissioner to negotiate with the Wyandots, received detailed instructions from Secretary of War Lewis Cass. If possible, Lucas was to allow a Western reserve no larger than the Wyandot holdings in Ohio, but if forced to do so, he could add up to fifty percent.254 Immediately Lucas began proceedings with McElvain to "prepare the minds" of the Wyandots for removal, noting impatiently that nothing could be done until the chiefs returned from an exploratory journey in the West.255

Even before the chiefs had arrived Lucas paid a visit to Upper Sandusky. Not surprisingly he found considerable division among them. Those who had committed themselves to improving their lands and to Methodist teachings were least likely to desire to be uprooted. But Lucas realized the influence a favorable report on the western lands would have on those as yet undecided.256

The description given by the Wyandots who explored the territory of their proposed reserve was not encouraging to the pro-removal faction.

253 1. S. Statutes at Large, IV, 678.


255 Lucas to Lewis Cass; Lucas to John McElvain, July 19 and 31, 1834, Lucas MSS.

256 Lucas to Lewis Cass, Aug. 19, 1834, ibid.
McElvain seemed to expect such a qualified report; he later confessed to Lucas that he had known when the trip was planned that its two instigators only desired to show a willingness to cooperate with those in favor of removal and had never intended to find the country suitable. 257

Lucas met with the chiefs in council in September of 1834. The first few days were spent in distributing annuities. In accordance with the act reorganizing the Indian Department in June of that year 258 the Wyandot chiefs were given permission to choose whether they would accept annuities as heads of the tribe or allow payments to heads of families. The chiefs determined to continue to supervise the allocation of the annuities; this function provided a means to retain their tribal authority as forfeiture of annuities was the main penalty they could enforce for violations of tribal laws.

When Lucas finally opened the treaty negotiations with William Walker, Jr. acting as interpreter, he proceeded to give them "a concise view of the benevolent intentions of the President of the United States with regard to the Indian tribes generally." Stressing the difficulties they would encounter in their relationships with whites if they remained, he urged them to accept the "liberal offer." Leaving with them appropriate maps, reports of the Committee on Indian Affairs and United States Commissioners describing the territory in the West, Lucas requested an answer in three weeks; he privately noted that if they refused, it would be wise to wait for a new election of chiefs before making another attempt to negotiate. 259

257 John McElvain to Lucas, Aug. 29, 1834, ibid.
258 U. S. Statutes at Large, IV, 735.
But before the stipulated three weeks had passed Lucas was informed that the decision would be against removal. Blame was placed on the white influence; Charles Garrett had made a long speech against the sale of lands, and the Wyandots allowed the whites tied by marriage or adoption as well as half-breeds to exercise a vote on the question. An influential settler in the area Joseph McCutcheon urged Lucas to address himself to the whole nation saying that the whites had succeeded in keeping many of the Indians from knowing the full government terms.260 McCutcheon after consulting with his neighbors asserted that the Pagan party as well as a considerable number of Christians would accept the bargain if Lucas would come without warning before the full tribe in the spring of 1835 when the hunting party returned.261

By spring, however, the funds for negotiating were exhausted. Lucas realized that the tribal law forbidding individuals to discuss the sale of their lands had hindered his efforts; the chiefs had "maintained a degree of obstinate silence." He requested permission to keep the negotiations open feeling that removal was now "highly probable" as the legislature of Ohio had recently attached the reserve to Crawford county, and could extend its authority over the whites living among the Indians.262

The next step toward Wyandot removal was taken by the Council of Chiefs who authorized Walker, now head chief, to secure Lucas' permission for them to visit Columbus.263 Lucas forwarded Walker's letter to Andrew

261 Joseph McCutcheon to Lucas, Feb. 4, 1835, ibid.
262 Lucas to Lewis Cass, March 24, 1835, ibid.
263 William Walker to Lucas, Jan. 13, 1836, ibid.
Jackson promising his "cheerful" attendance to any forthcoming instructions. Accordingly Lucas was granted authority to treat with the Wyandots but only on the conditions given in his instructions of July 11, 1834. No appropriation was made, but Lucas was so eager for success that he volunteered to incur the responsibility of defraying the expenses himself. When Lucas learned that the convention of chiefs desired to sell only a section of their reserve totaling almost 38,000 acres, he sent them to Washington to lay their plan before Jackson.

The Governor was highly desirous, partly for political reasons, that the cession be made. The tribe, he asserted, held much more land than they could "use to advantage," meaning more than they were farming, and the proposed sale would be "highly gratifying" to Crawford county settlers. The resulting treaty of April, 1836, provided for the sale of five-mile strip lying on the east end of the reserve at Upper Sandusky plus the one-mile square on Broken Sword Creek. Money received from the sale of lands was to be applied under the direction of the chiefs to the rebuilding of mills, repair of roads, and the establishing of schools with the remainder to be distributed among individuals.

The Wyandot negotiation of this treaty was prompted by a desire for the money derived from the land sale rather than a change of opinion in favor of removal. The Wyandots still hoped to remain in Ohio and were encouraged by the election of Joseph Vance to replace Lucas in 1836.

264 Lucas to Andrew Jackson, Jan. 20, 1836. ibid.
266 Lucas to Lewis Cass, March 28, 1836, ibid.
267 U. S. Statutes at Large, VII, 502-503.
But the Congressional appropriation of one thousand dollars to defray expenses of a treaty and the appointment of commissioners H. C. Brish of Lucas county and Joseph McCutcheon of Crawford county dashed their hopes.

This time, however, the governor of the state interceded in behalf of the Indians. William Walker in July of 1837 had inquired "whether the people of this State positively require our removal to the West?"

Recalling that the Act of 1802 regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians had given them jurisdiction to enact such laws among themselves as they deemed necessary, Walker informed Vance that it was a criminal offense for an individual Wyandot to enter into any contract or treaty of cession for all part of the reserve. In accordance with this tribal law, the chiefs had arrested two individuals for discussing such a sale and signing a spurious treaty with the newly appointed commissioners. Walker realized that the commissioners were attempting to "divide and conquer" and feared they would succeed as fifteen or twenty of the "improvident and vagabond class" were listening to the commissioners. The Wyandot leaders were further outraged when the commissioners secured a writ of habeas corpus from the judges of the Crawford County Court of Common Pleas to release the imprisoned individuals. When the chiefs refused to surrender their prisoners, the issue was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who ordered the District Attorney to "enforce such legal process" as necessary to ensure the accomplishment of government policy. According to Walker, the District Attorney found on examining the case that the Council had no right to pass any laws and were entirely under the jurisdiction of the state of Ohio.268

268 William Walker to Joseph Vance, July 9, 1837, Vance MSS.
The Council with John Barnett now head chief begged their old friend and neighbor Joseph Vance to use his influence to intervene in their behalf. Those Wyandots who had signed the treaty, said the chiefs, were minors and persons with no real title to the reserve. The commissioners were also meeting with them off the reserve at McCutcheonsville at times unknown to the chiefs.

Vance did attempt to "make their condition and character" known to Secretary of War Joel Poinsett through Ohio Congressman Elisha Whittlesey. The highest compliments he could pay the Wyandots was that many were engaged in agriculture, connected by marriage with respectable white families, professors of Christianity and obedient to United States law. Speaking perhaps more for himself than many Ohioans, he also asserted that the feelings of the people of his state toward this "remnant" of a once powerful race were most friendly. The whites were not so selfish, he felt, as to wish to wrest from the Wyandots the small spot they now inhabited.

Poinsett assured Vance that he would not sanction a treaty not made in the proper manner, but he wondered if Ohio could not extend its laws over the Wyandots. Whittlesey replied that to do so would break down their "national character" and that as far as he knew the majority of Ohioans did not desire the Wyandots to leave the state unless they "preferred" to do so. Poinsett then added that he would investigate the

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269 Chiefs to Vance, July 29, 1837, ibid.
270 Joseph Vance to Joel Poinsett and Elisha Whittlesey, Sept. 25, 1837, ibid.
matter, but that in other cases complaints against the commissioners had been "unfounded." There was little more to be done from the state level. The Wyandot chiefs thanked Vance for his efforts and promised that if their fate was removal, they would remember with pleasure "the peace and friendship" which had existed between them and the people of Ohio.

On March 26, 1840, John Johnston again entered into Ohio Indian affairs. Appointed commissioner to negotiate a final treaty of removal he was successful on March 17, 1842. The Wyandots ceded the last part of Indian territory in the state; present at the signing of the treaty was James Wheeler, last of the Methodist missionaries to the Upper Sandusky reserve.

The Indian reserve which had stood "like a mote in the eye of the State" would soon be open to public sale and absorbed into the state of Ohio. Similarly those people remaining in Ohio who carried Indian blood were absorbed into the political society. In December, 1842, the Ohio Supreme Court decided that the offspring of a white man and a half-breed Indian woman was a legal voter. The next year a youth

271 Elisha Whittlesey to Vance, Oct. 3, 1837, ibid.
272 John Barnett, Head Chief to Vance, Jan. 5, 1838, ibid.
273 Foreman, 94.
274 U. S. Statutes at Large, XI, 581-585.
276 Jeffries v. Ankeny, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Ohio, XI, 372.
of Indian, Negro, and white blood but of "more than one half white blood" was entitled to receive the benefits of the common school fund.227

American Indians on reservations in Ohio, confined within definite boundaries, were forced to come to terms with Ohioans and their civilization. From the missionaries they were exposed to Christianity and an agricultural society; the traders taught many a new way of business—credit, interest rates and debt. Government agents and settlers alternated genuine benevolence guided by their nineteenth-century philosophy of social evolution and pressure for removal. It was hoped the Indian would become sober, Christian small-farmer and educate his children in the English language and white civilization. But present from the beginning of reservation life was the shadow of impending removal. Many whites out of sincere concern for the Indian chose either to press for removal or to protest against it. But few except the missionaries ever expressed publicly the belief that the efforts to "civilize" the Indian would be successful enough so that he could become socially integrated with whites. The reservation period in Ohio merely served as a waiting period before the Indians would be moved West to begin anew.

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227Lane v. Baker, ibid., XII, 238.
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