THE WYANDOT INDIANS OF OHIO

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Including a Report of the People Who Helped Them Adjust to Their Changing Conditions

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PREFACE

In July of 1843 a number of people living along the route from Upper Sandusky to Bellfontaine and then on across country to Dayton and Cincinnati were witnesses to an interesting but sad sight. They were able to view the removal of the last of the Indians from Ohio. The Green County Torchlight for July 20, 1843 gives the following account.

> The remains of this once flourishing tribe of Indians passed through our town on Sunday morning last. They encamped about three miles north of town on Saturday evening, where they had intended to remain over the Sabbath, but some person or persons having injudiciously furnished the intemperate among them with ardent spirits, it was thought best to leave in the morning, for fear that their peace would be seriously disturbed by those few who had become intoxicated. The general appearance of these Indians was truly prepossessing. Every one of them, we believe, without an exception, was decently dressed, a large proportion of them in the costume of the whites. Their deportment was quite orderly and respectful. We are informed that nearly one-half of them make a profession of the Christian religion. They appear to be well fitted out for their journey, having a convenient variety of cooking utensils, and provisions in abundance. The whole number of persons in the company, so far as we could learn, was about 750. The number of wagons, carriages and buggies owned by the tribe about 80. Hired wagons 55. Horses and ponies near 300.[1]
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> Our citizens seemed to look upon the scene of their departure from among us with feelings of melancholy interest. To reflect that the last remnant of a powerful people, once the proud possessors of the soil we now occupy, were just leaving their beloved hunting grounds and the graves of their ancestors--that their council fires had gone out and their wigwams were deserted--was well calculated to awaken the liveliest sympathies of the human heart. No one, we are sure, who felt such emotions, could refrain from breathing a devout aspiration to the "Great Spirit" that he would guide and protect them on their journey, and carefully preserve them as a people after they shall have arrived at their new home in the far, far west.[2]

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[1]News item in the Green County Torchlight [Xenia, Ohio], July 27, 1843.

[2]Ibid.

What had happened to these people that had brought them to such a plight? How had their living conditions changed over the years? Had they improved or had they become worse? Had they brought this situation upon themselves or was it something beyond their control? Where had these people come from originally? How were they related to the rest of the Indian tribes and what had been their position in relation to them? Had they been responsible for the whites wanting them out of the Ohio Country or had their removal been something that they could have in no way prevented regardless of what they had done? Was their plight just a product of the times?

These are questions which have been brought up in class discussions over the years and they needed more adequate answers than are readily available in the average textbook or reference book. The material was available, however, in records in the National Archives; in books that were written by people who had lived in or about the times of the Wyandot Indians in Ohio and in research reports of various historical societies. This thesis is compiled from that source material.

There is much diversion in the spelling of certain names among the Wyandots. People tried to write them as they sounded and so various people write about them differently. It should also be noted that Lower Sandusky is now Fremont and not the Sandusky of today. Upper Sandusky was the name applied to several regions around the present town of the same name. Captives Town or Old Sandusky was three miles up the river. At the time of Tarhe, Upper Sandusky was an area about five miles down river from the modern day town. It was located where the Sycamore Road

crossed the Sandusky. Upon the death of Tarhe, the council house was moved to the present location on the bluff overlooking the river.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

A RESUME OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE WYANDOTS

To the people who explored what is today Canada, the Wyandot Indians were known as the Hurons. The first of the French to come into contact with the Wyandots was Jacques Cartier who came to the St. Lawrence region in 1535.

> Soon after, Cartier and his men extended their explorations along the Huron Lake, where, on its southern shores, they suddenly discovered themselves to be intruders upon the territory of a powerful tribe of savages, who called themselves, as did the New York Iroquois, Ontwaonwes, meaning 'real men' but known in French and English history as the Huron Iroquois, or more commonly the Hurons from their proximity to the lake of that name. The immediate territory occupied by them (lying about 100 miles south of the mouth of the Ottawa or French River), was only about sixty miles in extent, yet, according to French writers, they then had twenty-five towns, and were about 30,000 in number.[1]

In 1615, Champlain visited the Hurons on the shores of Lake Manitouline. The Franciscan order also established missions in this same area.

About 1625, Jesuit Father Sigard visited a group of Indians whom he called the Quatoghal or Huron Nation. This group lived on the southern shores of Lake Huron and called themselves "Yendots" but because of their location the French called them Hurons. Father Sigard lived with them for some years and made quite an impression on the tribes. In 1639 the whole group of Indians fell under the scourge of smallpox. It is said that about 1200 died. It is believed at this time that there were 700 cabins and two

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[1] The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conaway and Company, 1884), p. 231.

thousand families.[2] The Jesuits visited most of these familes and were successful in getting many to unite with the Catholic Church.

> The Wyandots were willingly made converts to the preaching of the Jesuits, and showed a rapid advancement in civilization, particularly in agriculture, to which they paid a good deal of attention. They were more amiable than the Tribes of the Five Nations, and were more readily induced to embrace the tenets of the Catholic Church as expounded by Father Brebeauf and his successors. By the advice and instruction of the missionaries, a number of churches and schools were established in their most populous villages, and stockades were erected to protect them from surprise by the Five Nations. The villages of St. Louis and St. Ignatius were esteemed the most important.[3]

From these villages around Lake Huron, the Wyandots would make yearly visits back to Quebec. They would go to seek advice from the Jesuits, and to take their furs to exchange for various goods. Usually the trip was made by canoes across Lake Huron and Georgian Bay and then through the peninsula of land lying between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario by means of the Ottawa River and various smaller rivers that connected with it. The trip covered about 1600 miles but was shorter than the trip through the lakes. The course was through dense forests and along rivers that at places were quite shallow. Food was very scarce along the route. Then as they ascended or descended the St. Lawrence, they were frequently attacked by other Indian Tribes.

In 1649, they were attacked by Mohawks and Father Isaac Jaques, who was with them, was captured because rather than trying to escape, he stayed with some injured Wyandots. Ahasistari, a chieftain of the Wyandots, was killed while trying to help him. This attack by the Mohawks thus

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[2]A. J. Hare, Atlas of Wyandot County, Ohio, (Philadelphia: Harrison and Hare, 1879), p. 13.

[3]Ibid.

started a new war between the Wyandots and the Five Nations who had not forgotten their defeat some years earlier at the hands of the French and the Wyandots. In 1648 the Iroquois, by a treaty with the Dutch, became well supplied with firearms and they were ready to go on the warpath first against the Eries who were destroyed and then against the Hurons. The Mohawks, as members of the Iroquois Confederacy launched a series of attacks against the convoys of furs going east. As a result of the repeated attacks by the member of the Iroquois Confederation the route to the east by way of the Ottawa River was no longer open to the Wyandots. The Iroquois also defeated the Wyandots in various other places and the outcome was that the Wyandots consolidated their forces in a few large villages which further infuriated the Five Nations and in 1654 this Confederation resolved to destroy the Hurons. They invaded their country, seized most of their fortified towns, and massacred many of the inhabitants. This went on for several years until the Wyandots were dispersed. Some of the Hurons went eastward to be protected by the guns of the French at Quebec; some went north to the region of Hudson's Bay and still others reached the comparative safety of the upper part of the lower peninsula of Michigan. Many went to the land of the Ojibways and Chippewas south of Lake Superior. About the year 1671, after having been driven out of the Lake Superior region by the Sioux, they gathered, due to the urging of Father Marquette, at Mackinaw [Michillimacinac] where they stayed until 1701. In that year, Detroit [Fort Ponchartrain] was started by La Motte Cadillac and he urged the Indians to move into the vicinity of the new fort so that he would have the help of the Indians and could direct the course that their actions

would take. This offer was accepted by the Hurons of Mackinaw, by Hurons and Dinondadies from the Charity and Great Manitouline Islands, and the group became known as the Wyandots. They were also joined by the Ottawas and the Pottawatomies and this started a friendship that lasted for more than a half a century.

The Iroquois still trying to dominate all the other tribes and rule them, in May 1712 attacked the fort at Detroit. Most of the Indians were away hunting but Du Buisson, the French leader, hung on until they returned and the assailants were driven back to their own defenses. For nineteen days they fought and then the invaders fled.

H. C. Shetrone, a former assistant curator of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society in Columbus, gives a slightly different account of the outcome of the war between the Hurons and the Iroquois. He says that the Tionontati or Tobacco Nation of the Hurons escaped destruction because they were the furthest west group of the Hurons and were not so easily accessible to their enemies. The scattered remnants of the other group of Hurons took refuge with the Tobacco Nation. Then they all fled west to the Island of St. Joseph and on to the Straits of Mackinac about 1670. From Mackinac they pushed south to Detroit and finally into northern Ohio around the Maumee and Sandusky Bays.[4]

The fighting around Detroit brought to an end thirty years of conflict between the French and the Iroquois. The Five Nations were greatly weakened and the Wyandots gradually spread out, carrying the "Wendat"

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[4]H. C. Shetrone, "The Indians In Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XXVII (1919), p. 317.

[Wyandot] name into the lands south of Lake Erie. By 1725 they laid claim to much of the area that is today Ohio. In 1740, they gave permission to the Delawares to move into the Muskingum area of Ohio. The Shawnees were also allowed to come into southern Ohio. The Wyandots

> extended their activities far down the Scioto Valley and as far south as the Valley of the Hocking. In short they were to become the dominant tribe of the country between the Ohio River and the lakes and while at no time able to muster more than a few hundred fighting men, their counsel, advice, and cooperation was held paramount to that of any other tribe among the Indians of the Northwest Territory. The presence of the Delawares and Shawnees in Ohio was entirely with their consent, as most of the territory occupied by these was considered as belonging to the Wyandots.[5]

In 1744 war broke out between the English and French in North America. Most of the Indian tribes in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes joined the French as allies and fought against the English and the Iroquois. They laid waste to the frontier region of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The English traders pushed their way into the Ohio wilderness to try to turn the Indians to the side of the British. Each side wanted the control of the area around Maumee Bay because it controlled travel east and west by way of the lakes, down the Maumee where they portaged to the Wabash and from there down the Ohio to the Mississippi. Whoever controlled Sandusky Bay and the mouth of the Sandusky River also controlled the route up the Sandusky by portage to the Scioto and down that river to the Ohio from where the route connected with the Great Warriors Trail which led into the southland.

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[5]H. C. Shetrone, "The Indians In Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XXVII (1919), p. 318.

Part of the Wyandots had been led from their settlements around Detroit by Chief Nicolas [Orontony]. In 1745 this chieftain allowed the English to build a trading post in the vicinity of what is today Port Clinton in Ottawa County because he was angry at the French at Detroit who had worsted him in a conflict near that fort. The building of the trading post was soon followed by a block house which controlled a portage from Sandusky Bay to Lake Erie. Most every one crossed this portage rather than going around the tip of Catawba Island and Marblehead.

The carefully planned conspiracy of Nicolas by which he intended to attack the various French posts collapsed due to the French becoming suspicious and tightening their defenses. A squaw from Nicolas' tribe also told a French missionary what had been planned. Consequently, Nicolas was deserted by his allies. Seeing that the French were determined to destroy his villages and palisades, he along with 119 warriors and their families withdrew to the region of the White River in Indiana. Celoron claimed the territory for France and took over the old fort. They renamed it Fort Sandoski in 1751. In 1754 the French also built Fort Junundat on the east or right side of Sandusky Bay. They held the area until it was turned over to the English at the end of the French and Indian Wars.

Despite this set back by the French in regard to the Indians, the English continued to try to get the Indians on their side. Conrad Weiser was sent by the government of Pennsylvania to carry messages of good will plus presents to the amount of $5,000.00. He met all the important Indian tribes at Logstown on the Ohio River, a few miles across the Ohio Line in Pennsylvania.

> Here, amid scenes of feasting and merrymaking, during which the Indians were liberally supplied with rum and tobacco, the spokesmen for the assembled tribes aired their grievances and made known their demands, while the English emissaries forcefully presented the advantages to the Indians of an alliance with the colonies. Thus was successfully consummated the first mission of the English to the Ohio Indians.[6]

Two more conferences were held with the Indians at Logstown in the spring of 1752 and 1753. The Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, and Miamis were present in force, and shared in the rich gifts. By the Lancaster Treaty of 1744, these Indian tribes had given the Virginians permission to make settlements south of the Ohio and to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. This agreement was ratified by the Indians at Logstown in 1753. When the English and French clashed over the building of the fort at the forks, the French and Indian war was brought into the open.

This friendship and cooperation between the English and the Indians was lessened because of the way in which the English conducted the war, and by the blunders they made. Finally the Indians deserted the English and the French strengthened their hold on the Ohio country.

As far as the Wyandots were concerned, this seemed to be the only thing that affected them in the French and Indian wars but at the end of the war after the defeat of the French, the English sent General Rogers with two hundred rangers to take charge of the western forts. Ensign Pauli and fifteen men were left at the fort at Sandusky. The Wyandots joined Pontiac in his conspiracy to drive all of the whites out of the region when they realized that the English were going to garrison and hold on to all of

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[6]H. C. Shetrone, "The Indians In Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, XXVII (1919), p. 329.

the forts. Early in May of 1763 these forts were consequently attack by all of the Indians gathered together by Pontiac. "Nine forts yielded instantly, Detroit and Ft. Pitt alone escaping capture and the savages drank, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, the blood of many a Briton--Sandusky was the first to fall."[7]

According to the report of Lucy Elliott Keeler:

> on the 16th of May, Pauli, the commanding officer, was informed that some Indians were waiting at the gate to speak to him. As several of the number were well known to him he ordered them without hesitation to be admitted. Arriving at his headquarters, two of the treacherous visitors seated themselves on either side of the commandant, while the rest were disposed in various parts of the room. The pipes were lighted and the conversation begun, when an Indian who stood in the doorway suddenly made a signal by raising his head. Upon this the astonished officer was instantly pounced upon and disarmed, while at the same moment a confused noise of shrieks and yells, the firing of guns and the hurried tramp of feet sounded from the area of the fort without. It soon ceased and Pauli led by his captors from the room, saw the parade ground strewn with the corpses of his murdered garrison. At nightfall he was conducted to the margin of the lake where several birch canoes lay in readiness, and as amid the thick darkness the party pushed out from shore, the captive saw the fort lately under his command bursting into sheets of flame.[8]

Pauli was carried to Detroit where that fort was being besieged. He later managed to escape into the fort.

On May 28, Lieutenant Cuyler with ninety-six men and twenty-three batteaux laden with supplies tried to come to the rescue of the besieged garrison at Detroit but they were intercepted by a band of Wyandots at Point Pelee. The British had camped for the night, were ambushed and

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[7]Lucy Elliott Keeler, "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and the Sandusky Country," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XVII (1908), p. 385.

[8]Ibid., pp. 387-389.

forced to flee. They managed to float five boats. Thirty men escaped and returned to Niagara.

The following July 26, Captain Dalyell and a detachment of 260 men arrived at the ruins of the fort at Sandusky. Furious at what they found, Dalyell marched inland to the Wyandot Villages at the lower falls of the Sandusky River [at what is today Fremont, Ohio] and burned the village and its adjacent fields of standing corn to the ground.

Two armies under Bradstreet and Bouquet were ordered into the area as a result of the uprisings connected with Pontiac's Conspiracy.

Colonel Bradstreet was sent into northern Ohio. As a result the Indians promised to deliver their captives to him at Lower Sandusky within twenty-five days but Captain Thomas Morris, an English officer of the 17th Regiment was visiting the Indians along the Maumee and Wabash Rivers and he wrote in his journal that the Indians were at the same time trying to stir up those tribes against Bradstreet. This journal was captured by Bradstreet men.[9]

The Wyandots then promised Bradstreet that they would deliver their captives to him and make their submissions to him at Detroit. Bradstreet thus arrived at Detroit on August 26, 1764. He accomplished nothing. But in September he returned to Fort Sandusky and part of the troops under the leadership of John Montresor, an engineer, went to Lower Sandusky to explore the region. They planned to stay in this area

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[9]Lucy Elliott Keeler, "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and the Sandusky Country," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XVII, (1908), p. 389.

until Colonel Bouquet joined them. According to Montresor, the Indians at the upper rapids were planning to assemble about 1,000 warriors to surprise Bradstreet and the other Indians when they were in council at Sandusky and to murder the whole group. Since one group wanted to fight and one group was willing to make peace, Colonel Bradstreet did not succeed. The Indians could not gather in council, but Colonel Bouquet finally forced a peace with both groups.

Bouquet pushed forward with his army to Coshocton where he established Camp 16. To this place the Wyandots along with all the other tribes of Indians, came with their prisoner. In all they returned more than two hundred prisoners. Bouquet also made arrangements for a council of all the tribes to be held the following spring.

The next five or six years were comparatively quiet. But the Indians were laying plans for another uprising to drive the white settlers out. Too many white were coming into the area south of the Ohio. The Ohio Indians had not agreed when the Six Nations, by signing the first Treaty of Fort Stanwix at present day Rome, New York, in 1768, had ceded to the English the territory of Kentucky, West Virginia and part of Pennsylvania. Accordingly, at the urging of the French and of the Renegades, the Indians held meetings in 1770-71 and laid plans for another attempt to drive the English out.

Events between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to which colony owned the land around Fort Pitt caught the Indians in between and all the tribes, Wyandots included, made many raids on the frontier settlements.

To stop these raids, Lord Dunmore and General Lewis led troops

into Ohio. While they were recruiting and training men, Cornstalk summoned the Indians, including the Wyandots commanded by Chiywee and crossed the river to the area around what is today Point Pleasant. There on October 10, 1774 they surprised the whites who thought the Indians were back along the Scioto. The ensuing fighting was fierce but Cornstalk and his cohorts finally had to retreat. Cornstalk then talked his warriors into asking for peace. On October 19, at Camp Charlotte, Dunmore met the Shawnee leader and his followers and the next day Dunmore gave the terms of peace.

> The Indians were to restore all white prisoners, horses, and property in their possession; they must agree never again to make war upon the Virginia border, nor to cross the Ohio into Virginia for any purpose except that of trading. They were to secure these promises through hostages, who were to be conveyed to Fort Dunmore (Pittsburg) and there held until the Virginians were satisfied that the Indian pledges would be fulfilled. On his part, Dunmore agreed that no white men should be permitted to hunt in the Indian country north of the Ohio.[10]

Cornstalk and his warriors had to accept the terms. On October 31, 1774, Dunmore started his journey eastward and there was peace for awhile.

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[10]H. R. Shetrone, "The Indians In Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XXVII (1919), pp. 361-362.

CHAPTER II

THE POSITION OF THE WYANDOTS DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE WAR OF 1812

The American Revolution as far as the Ohio country was concerned, took the form of Indian raids upon the frontier settlements, to be followed in turn by counter expeditions against the Indian centers of activity; against the Shawnee on the Scioto, the Delawares on the Muskingum, and the Wyandots on the Sandusky. During the year 1775 and the first part of 1776, the Indians remained comparatively quiet. The English were exerting quite a bit of influence in the region particularly on the Wyandots. To counteract this the Virginia House of Burgesses instigated a gathering in September of 1775 to which the Wyandots sent a delegation headed by Chief Dunquod, the Half-King. This meeting confirmed the treaty by which the Six Nations gave up their claims to the lands south of the Ohio.

1776 was fairly peaceful but Henry Hamilton in Detroit was trying to stir things up.

> Detroit became a wide open town for the Indians were not slow to avail themselves of the hospitality, in a very substantial form, which was offered them. Rum, tobacco, provisions and firearms were theirs for the taking, provided only they should show themselves adherents of the British as against the Americans. The dark-skinned guests were always welcome to return--provided they brought with them their meal tickets in the form of a few American scalps.[1]

1777 was not as peaceful. Cornstalk was killed when on a peaceful

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[1]H. C. Shetrone, "The Indian In Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XXVII (1919), p. 369.

mission. In retaliation the Indians twice raided Fort Henry [Wheeling]. The first time various tribes were included but the second time it was the Wyandots under the leadership of the Half-King. Raids from both sides followed. The Wyandots, Shawnees, and Mingoes under the leadership of Simon and George Girty and Matthew Elliott, raided the Kentucky area and "in October they intercepted and attacked a party of 70 Virginians under David Rogers...More than forty of the party were killed and scalped, amid scenes of the greatest barbarity.[2]

As can be surmised from what has preceded this, the Indians in the Ohio Region worked together. In many cases it was hard to say just what group of Indians did what. As they were pushed ever into smaller areas, the Indians moved in together and worked and fought together. The British too moved in and according to Shetrone maintained a sort of secondary headquarters at the Wyandot Towns on the Sandusky from which raids to the south and east were launched.[3]

To this region along the Sandusky came the Delaware under Captain Pipe and after the destruction of a group of Delawares at Coshocton by troops from Fort Pitt, it was the British at the Wyandot Villages who decided to bring the Moravian Delawares to the Sandusky region where they could not aid the Americans toward whom they seemed to be turning. Accordingly a force of approximately 150 men consisting of Wyandots under Dunquad, Delawares under Captain Pipe, plus a few other Indians and a few

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[2]H. C. Shetrone, "The Indian In Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XXVII (1919), p. 380.

[3]Ibid., p. 386.

British and French from Detroit under the command of Captain Matthew Elliott, went to the Tuscarawas Region and ordered the Moravians to return with them to the Sandusky Valley. "The movable property and personal effects of the inhabitants of the three towns were appropriated and divided among the Indians. The Wyandots dressing themselves in the clothing of their victims, vainly paraded themselves for the admiration of their fellows."[4]

For days they feasted upon the provisions stored up by the Moravians. On September 11, 1781, the Christian Indians were finally moved northwestward into the land along the Sandusky, a short distance south of Upper Sandusky Old Town. When they got there they were left to shift for themselves. They had to build their own shelter at this place which came to be called Captive's Town. They had to find food where they could.

Butterfield, in his book concerning Crawford's Campaign Against Sandusky--1782, tells us in a footnote:

> In Moravian History, Upper Sandusky Old Town--the Sandusky of the borderers, but found deserted by Crawford--is a point of interest; as just below it, on the bluff bank of the river, in the woods, the remnant of the Christian Indians, with their teachers, passed the gloomy winter of 1781-82 in some miserable huts, suffering terribly from the cold and hunger.[5]

As the winter progressed, conditions became worse. It was hard to prevent starvation. Finally in February 1782 Pomoacan, the Wyandot Half-King, gave permission for about 150 people to return to the old villages

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[4]H. C. Shetrone, "The Indian In Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XXVII (1919), p. 388.

[5]C. W. Butterfield, An Historical Account of the Expedition Against Sandusky Under William Crawford (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1873), p. 155.

along the Tuscarawas. Here, as they were gathering corn, they were set upon by Americans under the leadership of David Williamson [March 6, 1782] and all but two were killed. Williamson and his men seemingly had a reason for their action. During the preceding winter, Indian raids on the border settlements in Virginia and Pennsylvania had been bad and many of the raiding parties from northwestern Ohio used the Moravian towns on the Tuscarawas as a convenient stopping place both going and coming. The Moravian Indians made all groups welcome.

After the ninety-eight captured by Williamson were killed, the raiders went on to Schoenbrunn where they burned houses and destroyed property because the Indians who had been working there had been warned and fled. Returning to Pennsylvania, they killed a number of Delawares living on Smokey Island, opposite Fort Pitt.

By the summer of 1782, fighting had generally stopped east of the mountains but activities west of the Alleghenys were carried on by the Indians living near Lake Erie who were aided by the English under De Peyster who still controlled the fort at Detroit.

> The British operating from Detroit were loath to abandon their dream of taking Fort Pitt while the Americans at the latter post, continued to realize the desirability of sacking Detroit. In the meantime the Muskingum Valley having been transformed into a 'no-man's land' through the removal of the Delawares to the Sandusky, the slaughter of the Moravians, and voluntary withdrawal westward of the other tribes, the principal center of Ohio Indian activity came to be the Sandusky River region, the home of the Wyandots, principal henchmen of the British in their operation against the Pennsylvania and Virginia border. The principal town of the Wyandots, at this time, known as Sandusky or Sandusky Old Town, was located on the west bank of the Sandusky River, about five miles north of the modern Upper Sandusky. Here, located on the great water route between Lake Erie and the Ohio River (via the Sandusky River across the Portage and down the Scioto) at what was an important British trading post, the latter had estab-

lished their supply depot, and recruiting head quarters for the purpose of facilitating their campaigns to the east and south.[6]

The British trading post at Sandusky was in charge of John Leith who was employed by its British traders. As a boy of 15, Leith had hired himself to an Indian trader who planned to go into the region beyond the Ohio. Here Leith was captured by some Indians who liked him and he was adopted into the tribe. He lived for awhile in the area of the Miami Indians where he married Sally Lowry, also an Indian captive who had been taken by the savages when she was 20 months old. In 1781 they were living with their family at one of the Moravian towns but were taken to the Sandusky when the Moravian settlements were broken up. Here Leith was employed as before stated by the British, at the Half-King's Town. He spent three years at Sandusky. It was Leith who told of the British hastily packing their goods upon the advent of the army under the command of Crawford. He figured that the agents packed up approximately seven thousand dollars worth of silver trinkets, furs, powder, lead, and clothing and took it by boat down the river to Lower Sandusky.[7]

The traders at Sandusky came from Detroit where they obtained a license to traffic with the Indians from the commandant, who also required them to give bond and to report themselves at his post at stated periods. The furs taken in exchange for the goods were packed on horseback to Lower Sandusky and thence by boat to Detroit.[8]

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[6]Shetrone, "Indian In Ohio," pp. 398-399.

[7]Butterfield, Historical Account of Expedition Against Sandusky, p. 180.

[8]Ibid., p. 165.

One trader, who seemingly exerted a lot of influence with the Wyandots, seemed to enjoy their confidence to a degree and who was doing a thriving business among them was Alexander McCormick, who had his headquarters at the Half-King's Town.

Several other very interesting people acted as agents between the British at Detroit and the Indians in the Sandusky Valley. Simon Girty and his brothers, George and James, were such people. Their first contact with the Indians came when they were taken prisoners during the French and Indian Wars. Simon, adopted by the Senecas, was one of the captives returned by Colonel Bouquet but he liked Indian life and ran away to rejoin the Indians. During Dunmore's War he returned to help the Virginians and in this situation he became a close friend of Simon Kenton whose life he later saved. He also visited a number of times in the home of William Crawford on the Yougiogheny. In 1775 Girty was commissioned an officer in the regular army. He wanted to be a captain, but possibly because of a lack of education he was not promoted; so he and Matthew Elliott, Alexander McKee and a squad of twelve soldiers deserted. On their journey westward they stopped at the Delaware towns along the Tuscarawas and told the inhabitants that the war in the east was practically over; Washington badly defeated; the Continental Congress disbanded and that the British possessed the whole area east of the mountains.[9] Girty went on to Detroit where he was employed by the British and sent back to the Sandusky area to assist the savages with their border warfare.

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[9]Butterfield, Historical Account of Expedition Against Sandusky, p. 185.

> He took up residence with the Wyandots and his influence soon began to be felt in the Indian Confederacy. In their murderous forays into the border settlements, he was always a leader with them. His name became a household word of terror all along the border, from Pittsburg to the falls of the Ohio. With it was associated everything cruel and fiendlike. To the women and children in particular, nothing was more terrifying than the name of Simon Girty. Although he called himself 'Captain Girty' yet whether he ever received a commission from the British Government, as did his associate Elliott is a mooted question. It is certain, however, that he was in the regular pay of Great Britain.[10]

Girty made his headquarters at Sandusky and exercised great influence over the Half-King, head chief of the Wyandots. In July of 1779 he, at the head of a party of Indians, tried to kill David Zeisberger and in October of 1781 when the Moravians were brought to Captive's Town, Girty delighted in treating them as rudely as possible. The Moravian, Heckwelder, made this comment about Girty and his treatment of the Moravians.

> At one time, just as my wife had set down to what was intended for our dinner, the Half-King, Simon Girty, and another Wyandot entered my cabin, and seeing the victuals ready, without ceremony began eating. In the final removal of the missionaries from the Indian Country to Detroit...Girty was one of the chief instruments, a willing tool in the hands of the Half-King, the power behind the throne. Pomoacan was determined to drive the Moravians from the Sandusky.[11]

It was through the schemings of Girty that De Peyster was convinced that the Moravians were his enemies and he asked Girty and the Half-King to get them to Detroit. Girty planned to treat them cruelly on the trip.

> On the morning of the 13th of March, a French-man named Frances Levallie...informed the missionaries that Girty had gone, with a war-party of Wyandots, against the border settlements on the Ohio, and that he had been deputed to take his place. He told them also, that Girty had ordered him to drive them before him to Detroit the same as

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[10]Butterfield, Historical Account of Expedition Against Sandusky, p. 187.

[11]Ibid., p. 192.

> if they were cattle and not make a halt for the purpose of the women giving suck to their children; and that he should take them around the head of Lake Erie and make them foot every step of the way.[12]

The Frenchman, however, treated them nicely and took them by boat. When Girty heard of this, he was furious and tried to kill the Frenchman.

Matthew Elliott and Alexander McKee also served the British in a similiar capacity. During the American Revolution they divided their time between Detroit and the country of the Ohio. McKee was in command of the assembled Delawares and Wyandots at the time of the Crawford expedition and the fighting at Battle Island. He had an intimate acquaintance with their language and customs and also had a fine knowledge of the surrounding country.

The Americans living on the frontier were not ready to stop fighting either. They had suffered much at the hands of the Indians and consequently were in favor of punishing the tribes. They made several expeditions into the stronghold of the Indians west and north of the Ohio. They built Fort Laurens and Fort McIntosh in 1778 and they joined under the leadership of William Crawford in an expedition against Detroit in the fall of 1778.

In 1779 the two forts had to be given up because they were too difficult to maintain. "It was always a perilous undertaking to reach that post, [Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas]. For as long as it was garrisoned, the vicinity was infested by Indians who seldom spared a captive."[13]

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[12]Butterfield, Historical Account of Expedition Against Sandusky, p. 192.

[13]Ibid., pp. 109-110.

> The savages still glutted their vengeance upon the unwary borderers. The Tomahawk and scalping-knife still brought death in all the brutality with which the Indian was capable; to young and old--to either sex, Crawford could not remain an indifferent spectator of the terrible scenes still enacting in the exposed settlements.[14]

With the murder of the Moravian Indians as punishment for these earlier Indian raids, the Indians of all tribes stepped up their activity against the settlements. The Frontiersmen began to talk of an expedition to attack the home territory where these sorties were being planned. In 1781 and early 1782 plans were made, volunteers were recruited. Crawford took a deep interest in the plans and contributed much because of his first hand knowledge of the country but he felt that others should make the actual trip. He had done his share in earlier expeditions. The Colonel also felt that to be successful, they would need at least 400 men.

Because of the insistance of many he put his private affairs in order and joined the group at Mingo Bottoms across the Ohio. Here he was elected leader with David Williamson (leader of the men at the Moravian Massacre) as second in command. This was a well planned expedition sanctioned by George Washington and General Irvine, the commander at Fort Pitt.

The volunteers were all mounted on horseback. They were planning on rapid movement to take them quickly into the Sandusky River area, thus they would be able to surprise the Indians. To maintain this element of surprise, they stayed away from the usual routes of travel. From the area of Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas, they moved westward across southern Wayne, Ashland, and Richland counties. Crossing Crawford County they followed a route along the river that later came to bear the name Broken

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[14]Butterfield, Historical Account of Expedition Against Sandusky, pp. 109-110.

Sword. They followed this small river to its junction with the Sandusky and then followed down the river.

> Crossing the river (the Broken Sword) Crawfords course was along the east bank of the stream, following the Indian trace in a direction a little west of north, into what is now Pitt Township. The army moved with great caution. Not an Indian, however, was seen. Crawford was assured by Stover that the Wyandot Town was close at hand. As yet there had not been discovered any indication of an Indian settlement, except a sugar camp, where maple sugar had evidently been made the previous spring. Passing a bluff bank, the river made a sudden turn, flowing almost directly west. A little farther on, just where the river enters what is now Crane Township, suddenly an opening in the woods before them was discernible and the Wyandot Town was reached. To the utter astonishment of the whole army, it was found uninhabited... The log huts had apparently been deserted for some time.[15]

Butterfield tells of talking with William Walker of the Wyandots who said that the Indian Village was on the east bank of the Sandusky, opposite the upper south rim of what is known as "Armstrong's Bottom" where the Indian, Silas Armstrong, in 1840, built a brick house. This Upper Sandusky Old Town which was the Sandusky that the borderers referred to and which Crawford found deserted was a point of interest because just below it on the river banks the remains of the Christian Indians and their teachers spent the gloomy winter of 1781-82. But the spot was abandoned sometime in April.[16] At that time the Indians moved their headquarters to a site five miles below the present Upper Sandusky and to the opposite side of the river.

This new location was in what is now Crane Township where the Kil-

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[15]Butterfield, Historical Account of Expedition Against Sandusky, p. 153.

[16]Ibid., pp. 154-155.

bourne or Sycamore Road crosses the Sandusky. This site became Sandusky when Pomoacan, the Half-King, moved from Detroit. It was sometime after this that the Indians and the remnants of the Moravians abandoned the Old Town and joined the Half-King. It was here that the Indians received the news from runners, that the expedition to punish them had started.

> Their villages were soon in a wild state of excitement--from the lower Wyandot Town...to the lower Shawanese Village, upon a spot where the town of Piqua, in Miami County, is now located. Skulking savages cautiously, and undiscovered by the volunteers, reconnoitered the camp at Mingo Bottom...However, one thing was clearly evident, the Americans were gathering in such numbers as to require a concentration of all the forces the Indians could possibly muster to repel them. Runners were immediately dispatched from Sandusky to Detroit,...They also brought the earnest entreaty of the Wyandots for immediate help.[17]

According to Butterfield the Wyandots at the time numbered about 700 of which about 400 could be mustered as warriors by Zhaus-Shoptoh the warchief. They rendezvoused near Sandusky and waited for reinforcements from the Miami and from Detroit. Until this help could come, they, along with the Delawares, hoped to be able to slow up the Crawford Expedition which was, on the fourth of June, some eleven miles away, encamped at Old Town. The Delawares under the leadership of Captain Pipe, who was out for revenge of an earlier capture by Colonel Bouquet, numbered about 200.

Arentz Schuyler De Peyster, the commander at Detroit, dispatched a considerable force consisting of Butler's Rangers to help the Indians. These troops were mounted and had two field pieces and a mortar.

John Leith, who had been captured by the Indians when a boy of

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[17]Butterfield, Historical Account of Expedition Against Sandusky, pp. 159-160.

fifteen was employed by the British traders at Sandusky. On his trip down river he met the British Rangers coming to help the Wyandots.

When Crawford and his cohorts found nothing at Old Town, they held a council and decided to go forward. As they neared Sandusky, some of the men decided that they didn't have enough supplies and wanted to turn back, but after discussion, they agreed to go forward for the rest of the afternoon. At this juncture a reconnoitering group discovered the Indians about two miles away and moving rapidly toward them. The Wyandots and their allies were heading for a grove area on the bluff overlooking the river valley and planned to make their stand there. The two groups clashed and the whites won the area which was later called Battle Island. The fighting started about 4 P.M. and lasted until dark.

Crawford and his men retained the grove area during the night but suffered horribly from thirst. The next day the fighting continued sporadically. The Indians didn't want a decisive battle until reinforcements could arrive but during the day they were joined by the Shawnee and Butler's Rangers. When the Americans learned about this, they decided to retreat under the cover of darkness, [starting at 9 P.M.]. Dr. Knight writing in the Democratic Pioneer for Friday, November 14, 1845, gives a first hand account of some of this action. He writes as follows:

> Just as the council broke up a messenger arrived from these spies, bringing the news that they had journeyed about three miles when they met a great number of Indians advancing. The spies joined us soon after, and about a mile ahead we met the Indians occupying a forest before us. While we were in the open plain; our men dismounted, advanced and drove them out of their position.
>
> The enemy after being reinforced, wheeled to the right, and a part of them attacked us in the rear, which gave the fight a serious turn. The contest grew hotter on both sides, and lasted from 4 o'clock until

> dusk, each party keeping their ground. The field officers met next morning and concluded, that as the enemy were increasing in numbers continually, and as many of our men were wounded already, it would be best to retire. The whole force was to form three columns, and to take the wounded men in the middle...[18]

The Indians discovering the retreat fired upon the group from various points. This confused the Americans and this retreat became a rout with the Indians pursuing. The retreating whites gathered at Sandusky Old Town where they checked on the missing: Colonel Crawford; his son John; his son-in-law; Major William Harrison; and his nephew William Crawford; also a Lieutenant Rose and a Dr. Knight. Of this incident Dr. Knight wrote as follows:

> Scarcely a quarter of a mile from the battlefield, I heard Col. Crawford calling upon his son-in-law, Major Harrison, and nephews, Major Rose and William Crawford. I went to him and told him that they were probably before us. He asked me, 'Is it you Doctor?' I answered 'Yes' and he replied that they were not ahead, and asked me not to leave him, which I promised. We now waited and called continually for those men, till all the troops had passed. The colonel now said, that his horse was nearly exhausted, that he could not keep up with the troops, and requested that some of his best friends might stay with him. He then accused the militia of starting in such an abrupt manner, leaving the wounded men behind against his orders.[19]

Dr. Knight then went on to tell of what happened:

> The colonel and I went ahead on foot; one mile and a half further on, several Indians jumped up, about fifteen or twenty paces before us. Seeing but three of them at first, I went behind a big black oak, and tried to get an aim at them with my rifle but the Colonel called twice not to fire; one of the Indians then went up to him and grasp his hand. The Colonel now desired me to lay down my rifle which I did. They told us to call those men in, or they will kill them, which the Colonel did, but they ran off and escaped for the present...The Colonel

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[19] The Democratic Pioneer, [Upper Sandusky, Ohio], November 14, 1845, p. 1.

[20] Ibid.

> and myself were taken to the Indian camp, about half a mile off. On Sunday evening five Indians who had been stationed further on, brought in Captain Biggs and Lieutenant Ashley's scalps.
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> June 10th we marched to Sandusky about thirty-three miles distant. [Apparently he was wrong on the distance.] The Indians were seventeen in number and had eleven prisoners and four scalps.[20]

Dr. Knight and Colonel Crawford were taken prisoner by the Delawares under the leadership of Captain Pipe. They stopped at the Half-King's Town on their way to the Delaware Village on the Tymochtee. Colonel Crawford had asked if he could talk with Simon Girty, but nothing came from this encounter.

Since the ensuing events were in the hands of the Delawares and not the Wyandots, nothing will be said of the burning of Crawford at the stake. Dr. Knight was turned over to the Shawnees from whom he escaped. The Wyandots didn't have a direct part in the martyrdom of Crawford but they gave their tacit approval to the subsequent events and they were present. This was necessary because the Wyandots were regarded as the original owners of the land occupied by the Delawares both along the Tymochtee and at Captain Pipe's Town on the Broken Sword. There is no record of the Wyandots ever having treated any of their captives in this manner but they did nothing to try to stop the vengeance of the Delawares.

The Treaty of Paris signed in 1783 gave the United States the Northwest Territory but because several provisions of the treaty were not carried out by the Americans, the British refused to surrender all the forts in the region. Consequently the Indians in Ohio continued to be influenced by the English.

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[20]The Democratic Pioneer, [Upper Sandusky, Ohio], November 14, 1845.

The Americans met with the Indians first at Fort McIntosh in January of 1785 and then on January, 1787 at Fort Harmar to try to get the Indian's promise to give up the southern part of the Northwest Territory and to stop their raiding but these agreements amounted to nothing. The savage warfare continued. The Americans sent three different expeditions into the area under the leadership of General Harmar, General St. Clair, and finally General Anthony Wayne. First Harmar and then St. Clair were defeated and the Indians gained confidence. The Indians fought together as the Northwest Confederacy and included such tribes as the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies.

This same organization of Indians also attacked Anthony Wayne who had a force of about 2,000 regular troops and 1500 mounted volunteers. The Indians had about 2,000 warriors collected near a British fort at the foot of the Maumee Rapids.

> They were well supplied with arms and ammunition, obtained at the British posts at Detroit and on the Maumee, and felt confident of defeating Wayne. But 'Mad Anthony' was a different kind of general from those who had previously commanded in the West, and when on the 20th of August, the hostile forces of red men and white men met at the Maumee Rapids, or 'the battle of Fallen Timbers' the former were completely routed and fled in utmost precipitation from the field.[21]

In the summer of 1795 a Council was held with the Indians at Greenville. The contents of the Treaty will be discussed in a later chapter. The Wyandots were one of the main tribes present and Tarhe, the Wyandot chief, did much to get the other tribes to give in. According to

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[21]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 260.

Emil Schlup:

> Tarhe saw that there was no use in opposing the American arms, or trying to prevent them planting corn north of the Ohio River. At that disastrous battle (Fallen Timbers) thirteen chiefs fell and among the number was Tarhe who was badly wounded in the arm. The American generally believed that the dead Indian was the best Indian, but Tarhe sadly saw his ranks depleted, and at once began to sue for peace. Accordingly, on January 24, 1795, the principal chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottowatomies, Miamis, and Shawnees met. The preliminary treaty with General Wayne at Greenville in which there was an armistice, was the forerunner of the celebrated treaty which was concluded at the same place on August 3, 1795. A great deal of opposition was manifested to this treaty by the more warlike and turbulent chiefs, as this would cut off their forays on the border settlements.[22]

After the signing of the Treaty of Greenville, the Wyandots kept their pledge to the white men to stop their hostilities and to remain north of the Greenville Treaty Line. In 1812 when Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were trying to line up all the Indians against the Americans, a great Indian Council was held at Brownstown in Michigan. The Wyandot leaders attended. Tarhe and Between-the-Logs were the Wyandot representatives. They refused to join the other tribes in a war against the Americans.

Chief Tarhe always lived true to the treaty obligations which he so earnestly labored to bring about. When Tecumseh sought a great Indian uprising, Tarhe opposed it, and awakened quite an enmity among the warlike of his own tribe, who afterwards withdrew from the main body of the Wyandots and moved to Canada. From 1808 until the War of 1812, Tarhe steadily opposed Tecumseh's treacherous war policy, which greatly endangered Tarhe's life, and it is claimed he came near meeting the same fate that Leather Lips met on June 1, 1810. He even went so far as to offer his services with

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[22]Emil Schlup, "Tarhe-The Crane," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XIV (1905), p. 133.

fifty other chiefs and warriors to General Harrison. "So earnest was he in the success of the American cause, so sincere did he keep all treaty obligations, that General Harrison in after years, in comparing him with other chiefs, was constrained to call him, the most noble Roman of them all."[23]

Leather Lips was also a Wyandot Indian Chief who opposed Tecumseh and what he was trying to do, so it was decided that he must be removed. They accused him of witchcraft. On June 1, 1810 a band of Wyandot Warriors, who had been bribed to the traitorous act arrived at the camp of Leather Lips, about twelve miles north of Columbus on the Scioto River. James Finley says that Leather Lips and his family were on a hunting trip. After taking the aged chief captive and pronouncing the sentence of death upon him, the captors dug a shallow grave. Leather Lips was forced to kneel at the edge of this grave, and while engaged in prayer to the Great Spirit, was struck from behind with a Tomahawk and killed. The body was hastily buried and the traitors, members of his tribe, took their departure.[24]

The Wyandots allowed Harrison to move north through their territory and to build Fort Feree and Camp Meigs at what is today Upper Sandusky. This area Harrison used as a supply depot and training field for his Americans going further north. The Wyandots also permitted the Americans to build Fort Stephenson at Fremont. From there Harrison went on to the

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[23]Emil Schlup, "Tarhe-The Crane," A. H. S. Volume 14, Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XIV (1905), p. 133.

[24]Shetrone, "Indian In Ohio," p. 433.

foot of the Maumee Rapids where he learned that General Winchester had been defeated at the River Raisin. Taylor says that this battle was one of the most disasterous of all our Indian Wars.[25] Harrison then withdrew to the Portage River but soon returned to the Maumee and built Fort Meigs which the English, and Indians besieged before the hoped for troops from Kentucky and southern Ohio could get over the winter roads. The siege failed after nine days. Proctor and Tecumseh returned to Canada and Harrison garrisoned Fort Meigs.

In July Tecumseh's legions returned to the fort which was now under the command of General Clay. Harrison had returned to central Ohio to deliver an ultimatum to the Indians Chiefs. He met them in a conference on June 21, 1813 at Franklinton, Ohio. He wanted them to take a decided stand whether they were for or against the Americans.

> The principal chiefs of these tribes had remained true to their obligations of neutrality under the Treaty of Greenville, but so many had been lured away from their obligations by British pay and British bribes and promises and such was their strength when commanded and guided by that able and energetic warrior Tecumseh that it became necessary for General Harrison to know as exactly as possible what proportion of the military strength of the powerful tribes would remain neutral or if necessary join the American force. They were not called upon to take an active part in the war, but as a matter of fact several of the chiefs of these four great tribes with a considerable number of their warriors, of their own volition, accompanied Harrison in his campaign which ended in the Battle of the Thames. Chief Tarhe, the grave Sachem of the Wyandots, whose village was then near Upper Sandusky and who was spokesman for all the tribes at the conference at Franklinton, although seventy-two years of age, went with General Harrison on foot with a number of his warriors to Canada and was present at the Battle of the Thames although he took no active part in that battle.[26]

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[25]E. L. Taylor, "Harrison-Tarhe Peace Conference," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XIV (1905), p. 127.

[26]Ibid., p. 129.

Tarhe's trip to Canada was primarily to try to convince the Michigan Wyandots, under Walk-in-the-Water, to leave Tecumseh and rejoin the group around Sandusky. However he was not successful and it was not until the Indians went west of the Mississippi that they were joined by the Detroit Wyandots.

Several men such as Emil Schlup, Basil Meeks, Colonel E. L. Taylor wrote with highest regard concerning Tarhe and his influence on the Indians of northwestern Ohio, particularly the Wyandots. Such was not the case of Dr. Charles E. Slocum of Defiance. He also reported on the Harrison-Tarhe peace conference at Franklinton in 1813. He had no use for Tarhe and the Wyandots. He characterized Tarhe as mean, drunk, grasping, and said that he would turn to which ever group offered him the most. During the Revolution he sided with the British because they supplied him with guns and supplies and paid them for scalps and prisoners and as payment in return were willing to conduct raids on the border settlements. But when the Americans finally sent in a powerful army under General Wayne, the Indians wanted to be on the winning side and then too, Wayne was offering them more supplies. "To his prestige [Wayne's] as conqueror was added his very important overbidding of the British in supplies and the discoursing of his agents on the growing power of the United States." [27]

Slocum goes on saying that in the years following Wayne's treaty, the Indians were satisfied with the American annuities and with their un-

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[27]Charles E. Slocum, "Tarhe, the Wyandot Chief and the Harrison-Tarhe Peace Conference," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XIV (1905), pp. 313-314.

restricted hunting area in northwestern Ohio. But he also says that Tarhe tried some tricks to get help from other sources. He particularly made use of some members of the Society of Friends who had been present at the treaty signing at Greenville. He sent to the Friends a "speech with a large belt and ten strings of white wampum" in the latter part of 1798 and invited them to come visit at Upper Sandusky. Seven Friends accepted and arrived at Upper Sandusky on June 3, 1799. Here they were met by scenes of drunkeness on the part of the Indians. Dr. Slocum reports that Tarhe, himself, was so intoxicated that he couldn't meet the Quakers until the next day. The Friends in return for gifts were asking that they be allowed to instruct the Indians in religion, agricultural and mechanical arts and the like. These representatives from Baltimore, however, left without a decision as to the wishes of the council which Tarhe said wouldn't be called until the end of the month. The Friends either couldn't or didn't want to stay that long and the Indians never sent them any word that they wanted them to return. Slocum felt that the Indians along with Tarhe, didn't think that they were being offered enough for this privilege.

Even though the Friends were treated thus by the Indians, the following winter they were again asked for help and the Quakers living in Western Pennsylvania responded to the plea and sent food to the Wyandots whose hunting in the upper valley of the Mahoning River was not successful.[28]

During the War of 1812, and shortly before, many of the tribes turned again to the British because the gifts were larger.

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[28]Charles E. Slocum, "Tarhe, the Wyandot Chief and the Harrison-Tarhe Peace Conference," p. 315.

> And then, as has ever been that case with these wretched people, the side that bid the highest in sensual indulgences, including savagery, obtained their aid for savage work. The exceedingly lavish gifts of guns, ammunition, intoxicating liquor, food and gaudy raiment at Malden (Amherstburg, Canada) to the Wyandots and other tribes of this western country by the British long before the war was declared, attracted and allied to the British support during the War of 1812 practically all of the active warrior aborigines. The old and decrepit, like Tarhe, and many women and children were left behind and the United States continued to feed and clothe these non-combatant remnants, and to treat with them, in the hope thereby to win back to neutrality the warriors from the British ranks.[29]

A table of annuities due, paid and delivered to the different aborigine tribes from March 3, 1811 to March 3, 1815 shows that the Wyandots had annually $1,400.00 appropriated by various acts of Congress. In 1811 they were paid $1,400.00. In 1812 they were paid $1,010.28 but in 1813 and 1814 they received nothing because part of the tribe had deserted the American cause. In addition the Americans spent $496,647.14 at places like Sandusky, Fort Wayne, Detroit, Mackinaw, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Chicago to keep all the tribes neutral but the British appealed to and gave free rein to their savagery and thereby won their alliance.[30]

Then when the Americans appeared to be on the winning side, they again reversed their allegiance and wanted to go on record as being in accord with the winners.

With the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, following the Battle of Thames and the death of Tecumseh, Indian resistance stirred up by British officialdom ceased. The Indians appeared content to live in the northwestern part of

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[29]Charles E. Slocum, "Tarhe, the Wyandot Chief and the Harrison-Tarhe Peace Conference," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XIV p. 316.

[30]Ibid., p. 317.

Ohio and the Wyandots settled down into two main areas. A small group continued to live near what became Detroit. The larger group lived in their villages in the Valley of the Sandusky. From this region the Indians entered into various pacts or treaties with the Americans.

CHAPTER III

THE MAJOR TREATIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE WYANDOT

As a result of the many years of fighting between the Indians and the French and the English, or the Indians and the English against the Americans, it was necessary to draw up treaties. The Indians were treated in the same manner in which the United States would treat any foreign country. It should be noted that each time a treaty was agreed upon, the area allotted to the Indians decreased in size.

The Wyandots were included in a number of early treaties between the English and the Indians in the years following the French and Indian War. One of these treaties was an agreement which would allow the Virginians to settle the Kentucky and Tennessee region. This was the Lancaster Treaty of 1744. It was ratified by the Indians who met at Logstown in 1753 but it wasn't adhered to by the Indians and it never went into effect because of continued warfare on the frontier.

In 1784 the Iroquois gave up their claim to the Kentucky area when they signed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. But, none of the Ohio tribes would join in the agreement.

On January 21, 1785, the Wyandots along with the Delawares, Chippewas, and Ottawas concluded a treaty at Fort McIntosh. This set up the boundaries of the Indian area as follows: a line was to be drawn beginning at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, following up the river to the portages and then down the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum to Fort Laurens. From

there the line was to be drawn west to the portage between the Big Miami and the Auglaize, along said portage to Great Miami of the Lake [Now the Maumee] and along its southern bank to its mouth. All lands enclosed inside these lines were to belong to the Wyandots, Delawares and to such Ottawa as lived there [most Ottawas lived in Michigan]. The United States reserved for the establishment of trading posts an area six miles square at the mouth of the Miami of the Lake, a similar area at the portage between the Auglaize and Big Miami; another six square mile area on the lake of Sandusky [Sandusky Bay] where Fort Sandusky formerly stood and area two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of the Sandusky [Fremont].[1]

January of 1789 saw the signing of a Treaty at Fort Harmar between Governor St. Clair and the Leaders of the Wyandots, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Sacs, and others. This treaty was to affirm the Treaty of Fort McIntosh in the hope that this would stop the Indian raids that were being levied against the newly formed settlements in southern part of the Northwest Territory. It was a failure and the settlers found it necessary to build Fort Washington plus a number of blockhouses to protect their settlements. The failure of this attempt finally resulted in the expeditions led by Harmar, St. Clair and Anthony Wayne.[2]

The success of Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers and his subsequent devastation of the Maumee and Auglaize River Valleys led the Indians to ask

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[1]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 258.

[2]Ibid., p. 259.

for a Council which was held at Greenville in Darke County, Ohio, in the summer of 1795. A preliminary armistice was agreed to and then a Grand Council was held culminating in the agreement signed on August 3, 1795. More than a thousand Indians were present representing the Wyandots, the Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias. The latter were tribes who lived in Indiana and Illinois.

The government of the United States authorized Anthony Wayne to provide the supplies necessary to feed and house this large assemblage. Gifts were also provided. Interpreters were hired.[3] Finally after many days of discussion during which Wayne listened to much outstanding oratory listing the grievances of the Indians, and much smoking of the peace pipe, the Treaty was signed by ninety odd chiefs and representatives of the Indians after which General Wayne, his aides and interpreters did likewise. The Indians who signed included Tarhe of the Wyandots; Little Turtle of the Miamis; Blue Jacket of the Shawnees and Buckongahelas of the Delawares.

The Greenville Treaty provided for the cessation of hostilities, the exchange of prisoners, the establishment of boundary lines, the immediate delivery to tribesmen of $20,000.00 in goods and the annual payment in goods of $9,500.00 thereafter.

The basis of the Treaty of Greenville was that hostilities were to

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[3]John Johnston, "Selected Documents and Letters, 1805-1843, Relating to John Johnston and the Administration of the Fort Wayne and Piqua Indian Agencies," National Archives Microfilm (Columbus: Ohio Archaeological and Historical Library).

cease and all prisoners be restored.[4]

Article 3 provided for: the boundary between Indian lands and the United States. This line came to be known as the Greenville Treaty Line. It followed the same line drawn from the mouth of the Cuyahoga, up river to the portage and then down the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum to the crossing place above the Fort Laurens. From here it extended in a southwesterly direction

> "to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami River running into the Ohio at or near which fork stood Loramie's store and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's River, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery...thence southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Cuttawa River.[5]

The Indians also ceded to the United States various small tracts surrounding military posts both existing and planned. The people of the United States were also given the right to travel by land and water through the territory still owned by the Indians. In return the Indians received goods; some had already been delivered, some was to be delivered on a yearly basis. The United States also promised to pay for injuries and expenses sustained during the war.[6]

On July 4, 1805 a treaty was made at Fort Industry on the Miami of the Lake. This treaty changed the eastern boundary of the Indian territory from the valley of the Cuyahoga westward to a meridian line 120 miles due west of the western boundary of the State of Pennsylvania. A new line was

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[4]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 263.

[5]Ibid., pp. 263-264. [6]Ibid., pp. 263-264.

to be drawn from the Greenville Treaty Line northward to the boundary of the United States. Article 4 of this treaty provided that in return the United States would deliver to the Wyandots, Shawnees, Muncies, and Delawares, goods valued at $20,000.00 and a perpetual annuity of $9,500.00 payable in goods reckoned on the cost at the place they were bought.[7]

The Treaty of Brownstown, November 25, 1808 which Governor Hull of Michigan made with the Indian tribes, gave the United States permission to build a road 120 feet wide to run from Lower Sandusky to the Greenville Treaty Line. It also gave the United States permission to take timber and other building materials from the land along the side of the road.[8]

As far as the Wyandots were concerned, one of the most important treaties they made was promulgated on September 29, 1817 with Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur as Commissioners of the United States, and the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Wyandots, Seneca, Delaware, Shawanese, Pottawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippewa tribes of Indians. This treaty was referred to as the Treaty of the Foot of the Rapids on the Miami of the Lake. In Article 2 these tribes gave up their claim to the entire region given to them by the Treaty of Greenville. Article 6 said that:

> the United States agreed to grant by patent, in fee simple, to Doanquod, Howoner, Rontondee, Tauyau, Rontayou, Dawatout, Mononcue, Tauyandautauson, and Haudauwaugh, chiefs of the Wyandots tribe and their successors in office, chiefs of the said tribe, for use of the persons and for the purposes mentioned with annexed schedule, a tract of land twelve miles square at Upper Sandusky, the center of which

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[7] The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1844), p. 264.

[8] Ibid., p. 264.

> shall be the place where Fort Ferree stands, and also a tract of one mile square, to be located where the chiefs direct, on a cranberry swamp on Broken Sword Creek, and to be held for the use of the tribe.[9]

Article 8 of the same agreement gave special areas of land to people who were in various ways connected with the Indians by blood or adoption. They had been prisoners originally. Some who received land in this manner were Elizabeth Whitaker who received 1,280 acres of land on the west side of the Sandusky near Fremont, and Robert Armstrong who received 640 acres. He was a prisoner who married into the Wyandot tribe. Catherine and John Walker, who had been wounded fighting for the United States at Maugaugon each received 640 acres as did William Spicer.[10]

The lands granted to the chiefs was not to be taxed in any way as long as they continued the property of the Indians.

The chiefs of the Delawares, John and Silas Armstrong were given a tract of land [nine square miles] just south and east of that received by the Wyandots. It included the location of Captain Pipe's Town on the Broken Sword.

A perpetual annuity of $4,000.00 was to be paid to the Wyandots and the United States agreed to erect a saw mill and grist mill for the use of the tribe.[11] This mill is still in existence, being maintained by the Ohio Historical Society as a state park, located along the river north of Upper Sandusky. The United States also agreed to provide two blacksmiths and their necessary supplies.

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[9]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 266.

[10]Ibid., p. 267.

[11]Ibid., p. 268.

The last main provision took care of the damage done to the Indians and their property during the War of 1812. For this the Wyandots received the sum of $4,319.39.[12]

In September of 1818 a supplementary treaty was made with the Wyandots. At the time the original treaty was made at the Foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, the Wyandots had not been in favor of selling their land.

> At this juncture the Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Ottawas without right or justice whatever, laid claim to a great part of the lands owned and occupied by the Wyandots; and Gabriel Godfroy and Whitmore Knaggs, agents for these nations, proposed in open council, in behalf of the Chippewas, etc., etc., to sell said lands. Cass and McArthur, the Commissioners, then declared that if the Wyandots would not sell their lands, they would buy them of others...The Wyandots, finding themselves so circumstanced, and not being able to help themselves, were thus forced to sell on the terms proposed by the commissioners.[13]

As soon as the original treaty was signed, some of the Wyandot chiefs, under the leadership of Between-the-Logs went to Washington D. C. This was done without the help or approval of any Indian agents and they surprised the Secretary of War who at that time was handling all Indian affairs.

> "When they were introduced to the Secretary of War, he remarked to them that he was surprised that he had received no information of their coming by any of the agents. Between-the-Logs answered...'We got up and came of ourselves. We believed the great road was free for us."[14]

Their effort paid off when the additional treaty was made at St. Marys in September 1818. The Wyandots received 55,680 acres of land in two tracts. The first tract added land to the north side of the reservation and the

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[12]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 268.

[13]Ibid., p. 269. [14]Ibid., p. 269.

other was added to the east side of the original twelve square miles. The United States also reserved for the Wyandots who lived around Solomon's Town 16,000 acres at the head of Blanchard's Fork. The center of this area was to be at the Big Spring on the trace leading from Upper Sandusky to Fort Findlay.

The Wyandots promised not to dispose of this land without the consent of the President of the United States. The Wyandots also received $500.00 more on their yearly annuity.[15]

After these treaties were signed and fighting ceased in the Northwest Territory, the Indians lived, for the most part, peacefully on their reservation. It seemed to be common knowledge that once an Indian made an agreement he kept it. These formal treaties made between the United States and the Indians were kept by the Indians until they were either replaced by a subsequent treaty or broken by the white people. This was particularly true of the Greenville Treaty and the Treaty at the Foot of the Maumee Rapids. White men crossed the line into Indian Territory in search of either land or of trade with the Indians. Many unscrupulous traders settled around the borders of the reservations so that they could profit by trade with the Indians. The sale of liquor was forbidden by law on the reservation but it was available at the trading posts. Here the traders also took advantage of the Indians in buying their furs.

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[15]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 269.

CHAPTER IV

LIFE ON THE RESERVATION

Many stories have been written about Indian life. Some are accurate, some are not. Life on the reservation has been described in part by various writers. William Connelley, who was regarded as an authority on the Wyandots, tells about the set up of the clan system in his book entitled Wyandot Folklore.

From the time the Indians came into the Ohio region, they had had a pure democracy. They were divided into clans which met and decided problems at mass conventions that were convened according to custom or law. In these meetings the women had as much voice and authority as the men.

Originally there were twelve clans or gentes each of which was headed by a clan council made up of five or more people, usually four women and one man. The four women regulated clan affairs and they selected the clan chief although the job was in a measure hereditary.

Over these groups there was a tribal council made up of the clan chiefs, hereditary sachems and other men of renown. In the tribal council they voted by clan and not as individuals and it ordinarily required a unanimous vote.

Usually when they laid out an encampment or village it was formed "on the shell of the Big Turtle" in order starting where the right fore leg of the turtle was, 1. Big Turtle Clan, 2. Little Turtle Clan, 3. Mud Turtle Clan, 4. Wolf Turtle Clan, 5. Bear Clan, 6. Beaver Clan, 7. Deer

Clan, 8. Porcupine Clan, 9. Striped Turtle Clan, 10. Highland or Prairie Turtle Clan, 11. Snake Clan, 12. Hawk Clan. The Wolf Clan commanded the march and were often placed in the center of the enclosure on the turtles back. The clan also served as the mediator and umpire.

In the early days the clans were divided into two phratrys or groups. The Bear, Deer,Snake, and Hawk belonged to the first group and the remainder to the second phratry. The members of one group must marry someone from the opposite group. In later years this law was modified somewhat and they could marry someone from any clan except their own.

The gens always followed the woman. It was a Matriarchal form of government. The men went to the woman's clan. Descent and distribution of property followed through the woman of the family. A son could not inherit from the father. Children belonged first to the clan and then to their parents. The clan would bestow the names on the children. This was done at the Green Corn Feast, which was one of their most important festivals. It was also at this feast that they adopted people into the tribe and the Wyandots were particularly noted for adoptions rather than destroying their prisoners. At the time they moved west of the Mississippi, there were no pure blooded Indians left. The last full blooded Wyandot Indian died in Canada in 1820.[1]

The last hereditary Chief of the Wyandots was from the Deer Clan. He was known to the white people as Pomoacan or the Half-King. It was this leader that moved his headquarters from Detroit to Lower Sandusky and then

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[1]William E. Connelley, Wyandot Folklore (Topeka, Kansas; Crane and Company, 1899), p. 15.

to the area which was referred to as the Half-King's Town, on the left bank of the Sandusky about four miles below the present town of Upper Sandusky where the Kilbourne Road crosses the Sandusky.

The Half-King was followed by Tarhe [the Crane] who belonged to the Porcupine Clan. Due to the decimation of the clans by fighting, liquor and disease, the clans were too small. It was necessary to pick the best man for the job and Tarhe was chosen. On the death of Tarhe, Deunquot became the head chief of all the clans. At the death of the later, they had difficulty in choosing a successor.

> As a result of it the Wyandots changed their form of government and mode of choosing their governors. Instead of being obliged to take their head chief out of the royal clan, they then agreed to have the head chief and eight councelors chosen by election, on New Years Day of each year. The first head chief elected according to the new plan was Warpole.[2]

Warpole died shortly before the Wyandots left Ohio and was replaced by Jacques.

Rev. James B. Finley, in his History of the Wyandot Mission, page 34, says that the Wyandots were made up of ten tribes or clans. That every tribe has its totem or some animal which was the distinguishing mark of the tribe. Each of these tribes had its chief or patriarch and they composed the grand council of the nation. Out of one of these tribes always was chosen the head chief and they were the royal tribe. When this head chief was picked, he had the power of presiding in all councils and of choosing his aide who was called a little chief and of appointing the

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[2]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 296.

war pole or war chief. Finley went on to say that it took the council to declare war but once war was declared, the chief and his war chief had complete command and everyone had to obey. The chief and the war chief had however to answer for their conduct of the war to the council.[3]

The chiefs settle all civil matters between their tribes in council; and any difficulty within the tribe is settled by the patriarch of the tribe. The patriarch appoints town chiefs who have the job of keeping order in the towns or where they are out on hunting parties.[4]

The office of the chief of a tribe was also often inherited and if a chief of a chief had no direct heir, the next in line would be the oldest nephew. But these town chiefs could be removed for bad conduct or neglect of duty.

The people who belong to the clan were considered the same as members belonging to the same family.

> There is no law or custom amongst Indians that is so scrupulously regarded, and adhered to with so much tenacity, as the tribe law. No person is allowed to marry in his or her own tribe, or to have any sexual intercourse with one of his own tribe. No crime that Indians could commit, would so effectually destroy their character, or disgrace them so much as this. Nothing can ever restore them to their lost character. Murder, adultery, or fornication, is not half of the crime in their estimation as a violation of the tribe law; and in some instances they have been put to death for it.[5]

Rev. Finley tells that when he and his wife were adopted by the Wyandots, they were adopted into different tribes so as not to break tribal

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[3]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, (Cincinnati: J. F. Wright and L. S. Swormstedt, 1840), p. 34.

[4]Ibid., p. 34. [5]Ibid., p. 34.

law. Rev. Finley was adopted into the Bear Tribe and called Re-waw-waw-ah. Mrs. Finley went into the Little Turtle Tribe and was given the name Yar-rah-quis.

> Such was the influence of this tribe law on the Wyandotts, that even after they had embraced the Christian Religion, and were willing to give up all their Indian traditions, yet they were not willing to give up this.[6]

A grand-mother has the principle authority over her children and grandchildren. These constitute her true riches; and her own importance arises from this source.[7]

The Wyandot Indians were usually monogamous. They might keep a wife only a short period of time but it was very unusual where they had more than one at a time. When a man wanted a wife he must have the consent of her tribe. Rev. J. A. Easton in an Article entitled American Aborigines and Their Social Customs, says:

> that among Wyandots a man seeking a wife first consults her mother. Sometimes he does it directly and sometimes his request goes through his mother. A council of the women would be held and the young people would give in to their decision. It was customary to consumate the marriage before the end of the moon in which the betrothal was made and to give a feast in which the gentes of both parties participated.[8]

Most generally the man went to live with his wife's clan. They did not pool their property. She kept hers and he his. If, or when, they separated, he could not take her property or any of the children without her

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[6]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 38.

[7]Ibid., p. 59.

[8]J. A. Easton, "American Aborigines and Their Social Customs," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XVI (1907), p. 432.

consent or the consent of her clan. This was quite different from most of the laws of the white people of that time where a woman's property became the property of her husband upon their marriage. The wife's property consisted of everything in the lodge or wigwam except the implements of war or the chase. As long as the Indian couple were married, she served the husband in the manners of a menial servant. Her husband always came first, But she was not bound to live with him any longer than she pleased and when she left him she could take her children and property with her. The ease of divorce of course really was nothing much but a cover up for licentious living. One of the things that was accomplished by Rev. Finley in his working with the Indians was the cutting down on divorce and the maintaining of the marriage vows. However the Indians never reached the point where they frowned on divorce. In the Journal of William Walker which he kept when he was in Kansas, he told of granting divorces to members of his tribe.

Besides serving on the Council and making decisions the women of the gens had the job of cultivation of the soil. It was considered beneath the dignity of the Indian warrior or hunter to work in the fields, but the women were assisted by the children and at times by prisoners taken by the tribe.

The men of the tribe were the warriors and hunters. On feasting days, it was the job of the hunter to bring in the necessary supplies of meat. The women furnished the vegetables.

If a person would have wanted to find the Indians in their villages, they would have had to go in the summer and then they might not have found the men there because that was the time of year that they

generally went to war or on expeditions against the frontier settlements.

When the Indians determined upon a war expedition they usually started with a war dance. Following this they set out for their objective but they did not travel in a large compact group. There were several reasons for this. They had to live from the land and many areas could not support a large group. Then too there was more likely to be an element of surprise with a smaller group. They could strike when not expected and disappear as quickly as they had appeared.

During the summer the older men, women, and children remained in the villages and the women and children raised the necessary vegetables. The main crop was corn. They also raised beans, peas, and a kind of potato. They would gather nuts and berries. They particularly liked the black walnut, hickory nut, and black haw. The area around Upper Sandusky contained many cranberry bogs and the Indians made much use of the berries. When they were placed on the reservation, one area of land that they wanted comprised many cranberry bogs.

During the winter the villages were usually deserted. It was their custom to separate into small groups such as would be considered a close family. Then they would pick an area that they thought would be a good hunting region.

> They would go into different localities and select a spot usually along a stream of water or by the side of a lake or spring where in the autumn or early winter they would erect a lodgment where the old men, women and children might sojourn through the winter. The hunters would then separate and go in different directions and select a place or camp from which to hunt or trap so as not to impinge upon each other. They would of course change these camps according to their pleasure or their necessities, but at the end of the season they would

gather the results of their winter's hunt and proceed back to their villages.[9]

When they had trapped and dressed as many furs as they could handle, they would build a high platform and cache the furs there. These would seldom be disturbed by another Indian. According to James Smith the Indians did not steal from each other but were dishonest only in their dealings with the white man. It is to be wondered if they learned this from their contact with the whites and so applied it only to them.

Rev. Finley in his History of the Wyandot Mission, told about the late winter and early spring with the Indians. In February they would go into the woods to trap and to make sugar. These expeditions usually lasted until sometime in April. Finley visited with them one winter and was surprised at their comfort. He described these camps for us:

> They are built of poles, closely laid together, by cutting a notch in the upper part of the pole, and so laying the next one into it, and then stopping the cracks with moss from the old logs. They are covered with bark, a hole being left in the middle of the roof for the smoke to go out at. The fire is in the centre and the beds round three sides. These are raised from the earth by laying chunks of wood on the ground and covering them with bark laid lengthwise. On the bark is spread skins of some kind, and these are covered with blankets. The beds are three feet wide, and serve also for seats. These camps are always pitched in rich bog bottoms, where the pasture is fine for horses, and water convenient. Round them you will often find a flock of domestic fowls, which are taken on horses from the towns, for the purpose of getting their eggs, and to secure them from the dogs, which generally swarm around an Indian camp, the Indian women make baskets of bark, and drive down stakes into the ground on which they hang their baskets.[10]

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[9]E. L. Taylor, "The Ohio Indians-An Address at Franklinton Centennial September 15, 1879," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, X (1902), p. 88.

[10]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 126.

Rev. Finley went on to tell about the gathering of maple sap. He said that they caught it in troughs which they made from bark and then they emptied it into larger troughs made from the same substance. The women would then make the sugar in brass kettles. The Wyandots had a large sugar camp along the Sandusky above Captive's Town.

While the women were thus employed, the men tended the traps. Finley said that one man would usually have about three hundred traps scattered over an area about ten miles in extent. The traps were of a "Dead falls" variety made of two saplings and set over a log which laid across some branch or creek or by the edge of a pond. The hunter would generally get around to all his traps twice a week and would hunt for other game on the way. A good hunting season would bring in from 300 to 600 racoon plus deer, turkey, and bear.

The Indians particularly prized the bear because when they would find them in their lair in the winter, they would have from one to two gallons of clear oil in the intestines. They would eat the flesh of young bear.

> The oil of a bear fattened on beech nuts is the most diffusive and penetrating of all oils. The Indians eat it until their skin becomes as greasy as if it had been rubbed externally. It is preserved for summer use by frying it out, and putting it into a cured deer skin with the hair grained off when the skin is green. Deer meat is sliced thin, and dried over the fire until it can be easily pounded in a mortar. This, mixed with sugar and dipped in bear's oil is the greatest luxury of an Indian table. This, with corn parched in a kettle, and pounded to meal, then sifted through a bark sieve, and mixed with sugar, makes the traveling provision of an Indian in time of war.[11]

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[11]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 126.

Finley also told of eating fat racoons that were boiled whole and dipped in molasses. Each Indian would continue dipping and eating until he had consumed at least one fourth of a coon.

Both Rev. Finley and Colonel James Smith, who was captured by the Wyandots and lived with them from 1755 through 1759, wrote about another type of hunt conducted by the Indians. The Indians allowed Colonel Smith to keep a journal which he published in 1799. He was captured while helping build Braddocks Road across Pennsylvania and was taken to the Muskingum area where he was adopted into a tribe which he called Caughnewago. A member of this tribe was married to a Wyandot and in his company Smith traveled through the Wyandot Indian territory, visiting one Wyandot Village at the mouth of the Sandusky. Here they were well received and were fed potatoes peeled and dipped into racoon fat. They also had a kind of hominy made of green corn, dried, and beans mixed together.

The ring hunt was held in the area between the Sandusky and Scioto Rivers [seemingly in the area that is today known as the Kildeer Plains]. James Smith described it thus:

> We waited until we expected rain was near falling to extinguish the fire, and then we kindled a large circle in the prairie. At this time, or before the bucks began to run, a great number of deer lay concealed in the grass, in the day, and moved about in the night, but as the fire burned in toward the centre of the circle, the deer fled before the fire. The Indians were scattered also at some distance before the fire, and shot them down every opportunity, which was very frequent, especially as the circle became small. When we came to divide the deer there were about ten to each hunter, which were all killed in a few hours. The rain did not come on that night to put out the outside circle of the fire, and as the wind arose, it extended through the whole prairie,

> which was about fifty miles in length, and in some places nearly twenty in breadth.[12]

Mr. Smith also told of hunting duck, geese, turkeys, and swan in the marshes along Sandusky Bay and at Cedar Point. They hunted for bear, for racoon and deer. Sometimes they found plenty and sometimes they starved in their winter camps. What ever they had they willingly shared with all who came to their camp.

> They have no such thing as regular meals...but if anyone, even the town folks, would go to the same house several times in one day; he would be invited to eat of the best; and with them it is bad manners to refuse to eat when it is offered. If they will not eat it is interpreted as a symptom of displeasure, or that the persons refusing to eat were angry with those who invited them. At this time hominy, plentifully mixed with bear's oil and sugar or dried venison, bear's oil, and sugar, is what they offer to everyone who comes in any time of the day; and so they go on until their sugar, bear's oil and venison are all gone, and then they have to eat hominy by itself, without bread, salt, or anything else, yet still they invite everyone that comes in to eat while they have anything to give.[13]

At one time they fed so many that all they had left to eat was corn pounded into coarse meal or small hominy; this they boiled in water, which appeared like well thickened soup, without salt or anything else. From this they went to a starving condition.[14]

At another time Smith told of winter hunting with snow shoes. The snow shoes were made like a hoop net and wrought with buckskin thongs. Each shoe was about two feet and a half long and about eighteen inches broad before, and small behind with cross-bars, in order to tie them to their

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[12]John Frost, Indian Wars of the United States from the Earliest Period to the Present Time (Auburn: Derby and Miller, 1851), pp. 223-224.

[13]Ibid., p. 202. [14]Ibid., p. 203.

feet. After the snow had lain a few days, the Indians could pursue the deer on snowshoes and kill them. Then they would fix "carrying strings in the fore feet and nose of the deer and lay the broad part of it on their heads or about their shoulders, and pull it along; and when it is moving it will not sink in the snow much deeper than a snow shoe."[15]

The Wyandots had a number of festivals or feasts during the year. Possibly the most important was the feast of first fruits or as it was often called the Green Corn Feast. This, as can be surmised, was held in the summer when the corn was in roasting ears and just as the squash and other fruits were beginning to be fit to eat.

> Before any are allowed to partake of these fruits of the field, they must bring some of them to be offered to the Great Spirit. On the day appointed, each person brings with him to the place fixed on some of these fruits. They are all thrown into a pile and then the women go to boiling, a part of which is poured out on the fire to the Great Spirit, and thanksgiving is offered to him for sending them those blessings; after which they all partake of what remains and then a song of thanksgiving, and then the dance.[16]

It was during this feast that the clan gave names to the children. These names were the official ones. They could later earn or acquire others that they would go by but they never changed these original ones.

They had feasts for the sick and the dead, a feast for war and one for hunting. There was a feast of dreams. In the spring of the year they held a solemn feast. This took place in the council house. The celebration

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[15]John Frost, Indian Wars of the United States from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, p. 214.

[16]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 42.

lasted two days and two nights. Nothing was eaten but hominy and that sparingly. The chiefs sat in a circle; the men formed a circle around the chiefs and the women around the men. At this feast the history of their nation and their wars was told.

> Their memory is remarkably retentive; and this may arise from their being destitute of the knowledge of letters, and having to commit all to memory. The correctness with which they can retain is most astonishing. In a speech made to them, every point is retained, considered, and answered distinctly. Their history and traditions are kept in this way. They comprehend with great acuteness what belongs to their interest; and have given unnumbered specimens of their native strength of mind, and of their eloquence.[17]

At the solemn feast no notoriously wicked sinner was allowed to enter the council house especially if they had recently been found guilty.

The Buffalo Feast was held to cure fits. Some members of the tribe would don false faces, wrap themselves in the skins of the buffalo and try to scare the person having the fit. They hoped thus to drive the evil spirits out of the person. Many of the other Indians would give them presents such as tobacco so that they wouldn't drive some of these evil spirits into their house. But if they did not receive presents, they would spatter the houses with dirt.

The main Indian Villages were moved from time to time. When they first came into what became Ohio, they located their main villages near the mouth of the Sandusky River but as time went on they moved inland. Sometimes they were down near Bellfontaine and sometimes over closer to the Muskingum area. Their main center would be wherever the chief would decide to settle.

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[17]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 49.

The Indians mode of living was of course drastically changed after September 29, 1817, when the Treaty at the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake was signed and the Indians were confined to a reservation which centered around Fort Ferree.

While Tarhe was head chief he moved his headquarters to the area not far from Battle Island, four and one half miles northeast of the present Upper Sandusky. [South of the Upper Sandusky of the Half-King or Pomoacan.] It was called by the Americans--"Crane Town." Here was located the council house and the gauntlet track. A short distance south of the cabin of Tarhe was the old gauntlet ground, oblong and about 300 yards long. Tarhe died here in November 18, 1818.

> The exact spot where the council house stood is not known, but a mile and a half north from Cranetown are a number of springs bubbling forth clean water which forms Pointer's Run. They are still called the Council Springs and the bark council house was likely in this vicinity.[18]

Colonel Johnson, who for nearly a half century acted as Indian agent for the various tribes of Ohio, was present at a great Indian Council which was summoned at the death for the burial of Tarhe. He gave this account in his Recollections.

> On the death of the great chief of the Wyandots, I was invited to attend a general council of all the tribes of Ohio, the Delawares of Indiana, the Senecas of New York, at Upper Sandusky. I found on arriving at the place a very large attendance...The first business done was the speaker of the nation delivering an oration on the character of the deceased chief. Then followed what might be called a monady, or ceremony, of mourning or lamentation. Thus seats were arranged from end to end of a large council house about six feet apart. The head men

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[18]Emil Schlup, "Tarhe, The Crane," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XIV (1905), p. 136.

> and the aged took their seats facing each other, stooping down their heads almost touching. In that position they remained for several hours.
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> Deep, heavy and long continuous groans would commence at one end of the row of mourners and so pass around until all had responded; and these repeated at intervals of several minutes. The Indians were all washed, and had no paint or decoration of any kind upon their persons, their countenances and general deportment denoting the deepest mourning. I had never witnessed anything of the kind before, and was told the ceremony was not performed but on the decease of some great man.[19]

Following the death of Tarhe, the Indians abandoned this council house and built a new one just south of Fort Ferree on the crest of the bluff overlooking the Sandusky River Valley. It was located about 250 feet north of the present Pennsylvania Railroad tracks. This structure was erected about 1818 and was very crude. It consisted of planks set between uprights and the top was covered with bark. One side was open to the elements. There was an earthen floor and no fireplace but a hearth in the middle. Logs were laid on the ground on each side for seats.

In 1830 the last Council House in Ohio was built on this same location with timber from a saw mill built for the Indians. This was a small frame structure two stories high with one room on each level. An outside stairway went up to the upper floor. The lower door opened into a small vestibule and then into the room. A chimney of brick was built into the frame work of the building at the east end. The planks for building this were prepared at an Indian Mill which the government had built for the Indians three miles northeast on the river. The council house was destroyed

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[19]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis (Columbus: Stoneman Press, 1957), p. 174.

by fire in the fall of 1851. At the time the lower floor was being used for a school.[20]

As the Indians moved to the present Upper Sandusky they settled down and lived a much different type of life. Some settled in the village and some lived at various places within the reservation. Of course it did not happen over night. In June of 1823, Bishop McKendree, of the Methodist Church, visited the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky. He wrote to the Rev. Thomas Mason at Chillicothe, Ohio on August 13, 1823.

> Reverend and Dear Sir...:
>
> Our missionary establishment is at Upper Sandusky, in the large national reserve of the Wyandot tribe of Indians, which contains one hundred and forty-seven thousand eight hundred and forty acres of land; being in extent something more than nineteen miles from east to west, and twelve miles from north to south. Through the whole extend of this tract, the Sandusky winds its course receiving several beautiful streams. This fine tract, with another reservation of five miles square at the Big Spring, head of Blanchard's River, is all the soil that remains to the Wyandots, once the proprietors of an extensive tract of country... the first successful missionary that appeared among them, was Mr. Stewart, a colored man, and a member of our church. The state of these Indians is thus described by him, in a letter to a friend dated in June last: 'The situation of the Wyandot nation of Indians, when I first arrived among them, near six years ago, may be judged of from their manner of living. Some of their houses were made of small poles, and covered with bark, others of bark altogether. Their farms contained from about two acres to less than half an acre. The women did nearly all the work that was done. They had as many as two plows in the nation; but these were seldom sued. In a word, they were really in a savage state.'
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> But now they are building log houses, with brick chimneys cultivating their lands, and successfully adopting the various agricultural arts. They now manifest a relish for, and begin to enjoy the benefits of civilization; and it is probable that some of them will,

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[20]A. Baughman, Past and Present of Wyandot County (Chicago: S. J. Clark Publishing Company, 1913).

this year, receive an ample support for their families from the produce of their farms.[21]

Of course all kinds of Indians lived on the reservation. Some responded to John Stewart who came to the Indians in 1816 and later to the Rev. John B. Finley who came to establish a mission among them in 1819. Other Indians had nothing to do with this effort and continued to go steadily down hill, led on by the traders who lived around the boundaries of the reservation and from these places they encouraged the Indians to buy liquor, exchanging for it all the furs they could gather and also their share of the annuity paid to them by the government.

In June 1827, Bishop McKendree visited the mission for the last time. One of the chiefs spoke on that occasion and gave Indian views. He said:

> ...religion has done much for us in another way. It has made us more industrious. In old times our women had to do all the work; raise our corn, cut our wood, and carry it, cure our skins, make and mend our moccasins and leggins; cook our victuals, and wash our clothes. The men did nothing but hunt and drink, feast and dance. But now men have seen it was their duty not to make pack-horses of their wives and children, but to work themselves. So you see, father, since you first came among us, how our houses have changed. Instead of the wigwams, we have hewed log houses, shingled roofs, and good brick chimneys. We have beds to sleep on at night, and chairs to sit down on, and tables at which to eat; and these are kept clean by our wives. They now work in the house, and we work out in the field...Before it came among us, we were a lazy and dirty people. You see our fields are made large and well fenced with good rails, instead of brush. We have horses and oxen, and plows to work them with, instead of our squaws with their hoes. You see that our plains have much increased in stock, which we used to starve to death in winter; but now we cut and make hay for our cattle, and we have a great increase, we are a happier people now than we ever

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[21]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky p. 187.

were; and we think we are a much better people now than we ever were. There is another thing we were accustomed to do in our dark state. We used to change wives whenever we chose to do so; sometimes for the slightest offense, and often to gratify our evil passions. Some men and women changed their wives oftener than they did their dirty clothes. This we did ignorantly, for then we did not know it was any harm...we now see plainly that those who ran about so, and were not contented with anyone but for a few weeks or days, never raised any children. They always died when they were young. Now this practice is almost entirely done away with, and our people get lawfully married, and live happy.[22]

The chief goes on to say that:

we were a nation of drunkards, both men and women, and children with but few exceptions...for as soon as whisky and rum got into us, it brought murder into our hearts; and when drunk, we were all out of our senses. Sometimes we killed our wives, children and friends. It made us poor, starved our wives and children, made us beggars and thieves and brought the worst of evils upon us. Many of our people, by running their horses while drunk, have been thrown off and killed. Many others have been frozen to death when drunk. Some have fallen into the fire and were burned to death. We call this firewater the destroyer of our nation. Yet the whites brought it in barrels all around us; almost in every house and gave it until we got a taste; then there was no stop until all we had was taken from us.[23]

When the Indians settled around Fort Ferree, they built quite a community. In addition to moving their council house here, they build in 1828 a jail northeast of the Fort Ferree Spring. It was made of squared timbers seven or eight inches thick. It was two stories in heighth and the upper floor was reached by an outside stairway.

Until the Indians settled on the reservation and adopted some of the white man's ways, there seemingly wasn't any need for a jail. There seemed to be a law existing through all the tribes though nobody knows the

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[22]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky p. 372.

[23]Ibid., p. 372.

origin of it and that law was that if one Indian killed another, the right to punish the murderer by death belonged to the nearest of kin and the relative could inflict the death penalty whenever he found the culprit. As far as Rev. Finley was able to discover, the culprit never tried to defend himself and he never offered any resistance. He would submit to the tomahawk or the knife. There were occasions when the murderer could not be found. Then the avenger would dispose of the nearest relatives, often more than one. If friends of the murderer could reach an agreement with the family of the victim whereby they could pay them property until the family was satisfied, then the matter was dropped. There were also instances where a murderer was adopted into the family of the deceased and would hunt and keep the family. Some of the earliest traders who had contact with the Indians said that there was a town of refuge located on the Mississippi called Choate and if the murderer could reach there, he was safe.[24]

Neither did the Indians have occasion to use a jail for cases involving civil property. If one Indian would steal from another, the victim could reclaim his property wherever he found it, and he could take from the thief as much more as would pay him for his loss and his trouble. But this action was seldom necessary because very little was stolen among the Indians. At one time shortly after the defeat by the Iroquois, there was quite a bit of stealing but punishments were made very severe. Usually it was death. So that by the time of life on the reservation, an Indian

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[24]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, pp. 61-62.

would seldom touch anothers property unless he was "abandoned to dissipation."[25]

The Indians had another unusual law they followed. The original owner could always hold property for security until it was all paid for even though it had changed hands several times since then. Rev. Finley ran up against this when he purchased a yoke of oxen from an Indian woman. The next spring an Indian man from whom the woman had first bought the oxen, came after them because the woman still owed him some money for them. He had the right to take them. "When I examined into the law, I found I must pay or lose my oxen; so I paid him and drove them home."[26] Finley could have tried to get his three dollars back from the woman.

In the fall of 1830 the jail was used by the Indians. A young brave killed John Barnet's half brother. The murderer was Soo-de-noohs, the son of Black Chief. A council was held and the chiefs decided that the murderer should be banished and his property confiscated but the nation didn't agree, so the sentence was set aside. He was arrested and brought before the assembled nation, all men over the age of 21 that vote tried the case--112 favored his death--12 favored his living, so the death sentence was passed. He was shot by six men chosen for the purpose. They were Francis Cotter, Lump-on-the-Head, Silas Armstrong, Joe Enos, Soo-cuh-guess and Saw-yau-wa-hay. The guilty man knelt on the edge of his grave and when

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[25]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky p. 62.

[26]Ibid., p. 62.

he was shot, fell into it. The grave was directly east of the jail in the lowland along the river. It was filled and smoothed over so that no one could find it. They obliterated such a man as a warning to others and to prevent future crimes.[27]

The Government Indian Agency was located on the site of Fort Ferree. The same building was later occupied by the Government Land Office. Actually, the Indian Agency occupied one of the blockhouses of the fort.

William Walker started a store in Upper Sandusky as a place there the Indians could buy what they needed without having to deal with the Traders who also sold whisky and rum. Judge Leib, a United States Government agent, visited the Wyandots in 1826 and sent a report to the Secretary of War. (At that time, this was the government department which dealt with the Indians). He told about the Indians "fitting up" a store on the reserve which was furnished with every species of goods, suited to their wants and purchased with their annuities.[28]

One of the good dwellings in the new Upper Sandusky was that of William Walker. It was a frame structure, one and a half stories high, on a good brick foundation. There were log cabins of Chief Hicks, Armstrong's cabin and Chief Sum-mun-de-wats home, which was a two story frame. "It was a typical frontier village, differing little from those of the whites. The business and domestic life of the Indians centered about the springs and on

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[27]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 396.

[28]A. Baughman, Past and Present of Wyandot County (Chicago: S. J. Clark Publishing Company, 1913), p. 266.

and near the bluff overlooking the valley of the Sandusky. The Garrett Tavern was the rest house for the weary traveler, and Archie Allen was the village barber and man of all work about it."[29]

The Garrett Tavern was a double log building, two stories high. It was run by George Garrett, a white man who was married to a sister of William Walker and was partially white and partly Indian. The tavern was a stopping place for the Overland Stage, which ran from Buffalo to Sandusky City, by boat, and then by stage to Columbus and Cincinnati. The old inn extended length-wise north and south. William Walker Jr. wrote from Wyandot City Kansas, July 22, 1861. This article was sent to the Democratic Union paper in Upper Sandusky and was published August 3, 1861. He said that the south end was built first. It contained two fireplaces, one below and one above. The timbers for the floors, stair cases, doors, windows, sashes, etc. were hauled from Meeker's mill five miles below Delaware, Ohio. The stone for the chimney was quarried and hauled from Rock Creek three miles north of town. Lime was burned in the mammoth log pile at the same place. William Walker Jr. helped to work on the building.[30]

In 1842 Charles Dickens stayed at the Inn. It impressed him (unfavorably). He told about it in a book entitled American Notes. Dickens traveled northward through Ohio. The people at the Inn had gone to bed and Dickens had trouble awakening them. The proprietor got tea for them in a sort of kitchen or common room which was papered with old newspapers.

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[29]A. Baughman, Past and Present of Wyandot County, pp. 276-277.

[30]The Democratic Union [Upper Sandusky, Ohio], August 3, 1861.

He said that: "the bedroom was a low ghostly room with a quantity of branches on the hearth and two doors without any fastening, opposite to each other, both opening on the black night and wild country, and so contrived that one of them always blew the other open,"[31] Dickens continued to write that he was concerned because he was carrying a considerable sum of gold but that he piled the luggage against the door and went to bed. However, a friend didn't fare as well. The friend had been put someplace else where he was bothered by snores and lice, so he decided to sleep in the stagecoach in the yard. Here he practically froze to death. One version says that pigs rooting in the yard scared him.

Just south of the Garrett Tavern and north of the Council house was the Indian burial ground. It was about an acre in size. Here were buried members of the Garrett, Walker, Hicks, Williams, Clark and Brown families. Some of the stone markers are still there, however, they no longer mark the location of the graves but are placed around the central monument.

About two miles south of Upper Sandusky, in what used to be called Armstrong's Bottom, Robert Armstrong who was taken prisoner by the Indians about 1786 when he was four years old, built the first brick house in the area. Armstrong married the daughter of Ebenezer Zane. She was a half breed. They came from Solomon's Town on the Mad River to the Wyandot Reservation. While in the former area, he became acquainted with Christianity and was influential in getting missionaries to come to the

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[31]A. Baughman, Past and Present of Wyandot County, pp. 268-269.

reservations. He also was a very good interpreter between the other Indians and the white people. His daughter, Hannah, was one of the first children to attend the mission school. They both died of consumption. She was eight, he forty-two. They were buried on the hillside behind their home, along with his wife.

Another building much used by the Indians was the grist and saw mill which the government built for them somewhere around 1820, about three miles northeast of Upper Sandusky on the Sandusky River. These mills were provided for by the treaty of September 29, 1817, at the foot of the Maumee Rapids.[32] This mill is still in existence; not in use, although it could be used. It is a state park under the Ohio Historical Society.

To people of the present day, the best known of the buildings constructed by or for the Indians is the Wyandot Mission and its surrounding Cemetery. The mission church was built after a trip to Washington by James B. Finley. He talked to John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, who gave him permission to use $1,333.00; that was the governments share of supporting the mission, to build a church. Calhoun wished the building to be made of strong and durable materials. It was built of blue limestone which was quarried from the river a short distance away. The material was transported to the building site by ox teams. The necessary wood was hauled to the Indian mill, three miles north, where it was sawed.

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[32]The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conway and Company, 1884), p. 268.

into the planks. The laying of the stone walls was done by John Owens, an Englishman, and his assistant, Benjamin Herbert. They completed the masonry and plastering in early fall and received $800.00 for their work.[33] These then were the buildings which helped to bring a new kind of life to the Wyandot Indians; the Council House, the jail, the Garrett Tavern of Charles Dickens fame, the homes of the leaders and the Wyandot Mission.

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[33]Emil Schlup, "The Wyandot Mission," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XII (1906) pp. 163-181.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE WYANDOTS UNDER JOHN STEWART AND JAMES B. FINLEY

The erecting of the Mission Church was the climax of the mission work with the Indians. From very early times there were records that the Indians were influenced by missionaries. The Franciscans established missions among them as early as 1615. About 1625 Father Sigard visited them and Father Brebeauf converted many of them to Christianity at the time of the small pox epidemic. Pere Marquette also worked among them in the area of St. Ignace and the Manitoulin Islands.

Joseph Badger, a Presbyterian Missionary in the Western Reserve, made a trip through the land of the Wyandots to the Maumee in September of 1801. He preached in a Wyandot Village along the Huron River where he was kindly received. On the Maumee he visited in the home of the Shawnee, Blue Jacket. Here they discussed the matter of schools with a company of Indians. In the year 1806 he made a trip to the Sandusky where he was entertained by Rev. James Hughes, who was already working in this area. Here he met Tarhe and Walk-in-the-Water who were on their way to a council at Detroit. In conversation with these leaders, Mr. Badger made arrangements for a "season of prayer and preaching" with the Indians at the Council House. He also met a man by the name of Barnett, who had been brought up by the Indians. Barnett and Mrs. Whitaker helped Badger in his work with the Indians.[1]

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[1]Byron R. Long, "Joseph Badger, the First Western Reserve Missionary," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, XXVI (1917), p. 34.

In May 1807 Badger took his family to the Wyandot Country. Here he asked permission of the Wyandots to build a mission. "They gave free consent to the erection of a building west of the river but stipulated that no land should be improved beyond the reserve land and no other white people should be brought in except those necessary to carry on the work of the mission."[2]

Rev. Badger covered a tremendous area, working with the Wyandots from Upper Sandusky to Maguago near Detroit. Sometimes he went as far south as Franklinton on the Scioto. He was exposed to inclement weather and the annoyances of camping out in disagreeable places and traveling over rough and dangerous ground. The opposition to this work was not found among the Indians themselves except as they were deceived and bewildered by the traders who came among them to despoil them of their belongings.[3] But he worked on and taught the Indians. "The educational work branched from teaching them how to read and write and calculate in figures to the practical tasks which they would perform in the getting of their sustenance under a constantly changing order of things."[4] Badger had the intimate acquaintance of many noted chiefs and he was their advisor in times of emergency. Seemingly he talked to them trying to convince them not to join Tecumseh and the following War of 1812. In 1812 he received word that the Indians around Sandusky were wounded and sick. He secured help for them and made them confortable in the block-

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[2]Byron R. Long, "Joseph Badger, The First Western Reserve Missionary," p. 34.

[3]Ibid., p. 35, [4]Ibid., p. 35.

house. Then he joined Harrison as a chaplain. In July of 1813 he returned to his family in eastern Ohio. However, during the last ten years of his life (1836-1846), he lived in the Perrysburg area where he helped the Indians.[5]

In the year 1816, circumstances lead John Stewart, a free born mulatto, whose parents claimed to be part Indian, to Goshen on the Tuscarawas River. He had had a battle with liquor, had straightened up and attended Methodist prayer meetings at Marietta and then he backslid. This was terminated by a serious illness during which he promised that if he recovered, he would set out as a missionary. When he was able, he packed a knapsack and set out to the northwest and ended up at Goshen. "It was here no doubt that-Stewart learned something of the Indians farther to the north; for these Delawares had many friends and relations that lived on a reservation on the Sandusky River, called Pipetown after the chief who lived there and to this place he directed his course."[6] The next day he went on north and soon arrived at the home of William Walker Sr. at Upper Sandusky. Wm. Walker was a half breed who was the United States sub-agent and interpreter.

Mr. Walker suspected that Stewart was a run away slave but the colored man convinced him that he was free and had good intentions. Mrs. Walker, a half Wyandot of good education, was very favorable impressed by

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[5]Byron R. Long, "Joseph Badger, The First Western Reserve Missionary," pp. 39-40.

[6]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, (Cincinnati: J. F. Wright and L. S. S. Swormstedt, 1840), p. 74.

him and she used her great influence with the nation to have them receive him. Later on the entire family with the exception of Mr. Walker became members of the church.

John Stewart used as an interpreter, another colored man who was living with the Wyandots. His name was Jonathan Pointer, a prisoner of the Indians. Quite a few negroes lived with the Wyandots, some in separate villages of their own around Negro Run. Some were captives but some were runaway slaves. Pointer told Stewart that:

> it was a great folly for him, a poor colored man, to pretend to turn these Indians from their old religion to a new one; for many great and learned white men had been there before him, and used all their power, but could accomplish nothing and he could not expect they would listen to him. But Stewart believed that God had sent him, and though of himself he could not do anything, God could work by him, and he was unwilling to give over until he had made a trial.[7]

It was a long slow process. The thing the Indians liked best was to hear Stewart sing. They would return to hear this but not to hear him preach. Some of them, eight or ten, did come to hear the preaching. They began to remember some of their earlier training by the Catholics and by the Presbyterians. Some of the better trained would compare the Catholic Bible to the Bible used by Stewart. It developed into quite an argument as to which was the better. Finally it was settled by Mr. Walker, who said the English Bible was all right.

Stewart spent the winter of 1816-1817 with the Wyandots and awakened a religious interest in some of them. Little by little, they were convinced. Both Hicks and Mononcue felt that the Christian Religion was sent to the

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[7]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, pp. 78-79.

white people and that the Indians had their religion of the Great Spirit. They felt that if the Great Spirit had wanted them to have the Bible, he would have sent it to them, directly, and not through John Stewart or the Catholics or Presbyterians. Finally Stewart convinced them. Then Mononcue said to Hicks: "I have some notion of giving up some of my Indian customs, but I cannot agree to quit painting my face. This would be wrong as it would jeopardize my health."[8]

The Indians on the reservation split into two groups or parties which lasted as long as they were in Ohio and each tried to stop the work and influence of the other. One group was the Heathen Party, while the other group was known as the Christian Party. Because of this, Stewart decided to leave and he did go to Marietta. When he returned he found that most of the Indians had gone back to their old habits. Mononcue in particular felt it was wrong to desert their old ways and beliefs. But Stewart continued his work until the spring of 1818 when the Indians went north for the making of the Treaty of Fort Meigs.

In the winter of 1818-1819, Stewart visited with another tribe of Wyandots living at Solomon's Town on the Great Miami. It was here that he came into contact with Robert Armstrong. He met Methodist families living near Bellfontaine and he was licensed to preach by the Methodist Church.

August of 1819 saw the appointing of James B. Finley as head of the Lebanon District of the Methodist Church. This district extended from the Ohio River to Michigan and included the mission of James Stewart at Upper

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[8]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 79.

Sandusky. Thus did Finley first make contact with this group although he did not minister to them directly at this time. The actual mission work was started by Moses Henkle Sr.[9]

Before the Conference of 1820, which was held at Chillicothe in August, Rev. Finley wrote to the Indians asking them if they wanted the Conference to continue sending them missionaries. Consequently Henkle was reappointed to help the Wyandots. He would make the trip north from his home on Buck Creek in Clark County once a month and he would usually stay for two Sabbaths. Stewart continued to live among them and work with them. They worked on the principle that they must first be civilized and then they could be christianized but they did not accomplish this. The men tried to get the Indians to submit to having a school, on the manual labor principle, but they did not succeed until July of 1821. They tried to show them that their children would benefit. Their hunting was now gone, they were upon a small tract of land, and must work or starve. The church, the government and all were waiting to afford them help.[10] They promised that they would give Finley an answer when he came back from Detroit. Accordingly, on his return, they presented him with an address, to carry to the conference to be held at Lebanon.[11]

As a result of this letter to the conference, James B. Finley was sent to them. They just sent him, nothing was planned, no provisions were made for the mission family; no house had been built to shelter them nor

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[9]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 79.

[10]Ibid., p. 109. [11]See Appendix A.

were any supplies sent in. The conference appropriated all of $200.00 for the benefit of the mission. Knowing that no plans had been made Finley still set out for the mission. He had a wagon made, bought a yoke of oxen and other necessary things, loaded his household goods and started north. Besides Mrs. Finley, he hired two men and took Miss Harriet Stubbs with him. The trip took eight days. When they arrived, Mr. Lewis, the blacksmith employed by the government, let them live in a new house he was building for his family. It had no doors or windows and it had not been chinked.

Soon they were at work building a mission house. The site picked was on the location of the Camp Meigs of the War of 1812. This was on the west bank of the Sandusky River about a mile down stream from Upper Sandusky but today it is within the city limits. The cabin they built was twenty by twenty-three feet without door, windows or loft and on the day snow began to fall, they moved in. Because the following winter was so cold, they repaired one of the old block houses as a shelter for the animals. The winter was then spent in cutting and hauling logs to put up a double house. This one was to be forty-eight feet long and twenty wide and a story and a half high. They sawed the timbers for the floors and joists themselves at the saw mill. Finley says that they were in bed by nine because they were usually up by four A.M. By daylight they were ready to work and they always ate their evening meal by candle light. In addition to this Finley said, he also preached on Sunday, met a class, held prayer meeting once a week and helped to rear up the church.[12]

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[12]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 117.

After Finley had lived among them for three months, he tried to make a distinction between those who were really Christians and those who were lukewarm. He had all the true Christians come forward. He also insisted on the rule of total abstinence. This caused many to leave his group and some even showed violent opposition. "This opposition was urged by traders and whisky sellers that had settled around the reservation."[13]

During the first winter they weren't able to do much with the school because of the lack of space. They did take six children to live with them. This number was increased to ten in the spring and classes were held outside by Harriet Stubbs. John Stewart also taught a small group at his home at the Big Spring.[14]

In August of 1822, Charles Elliott took active leadership of the mission. Finley had evidently worked too hard at building the double house. While burning the necessary lime down by the river, he was taken ill. However, the work continued and a school committee was appointed. It was the job of these men; Between-the-Logs, Hicks, Mononcue, Peacock and Squire Gray-Eyes, to oversee the conduct of the children and to settle any grievances between parents and the school. The big need of the school at this time was clothing for the children. They also needed to hire two more teachers, Lydia Barstow for the girls and William Walker Jr. for the boys.[15]

Between-the-Logs was one of the finest Indians connected with the mission. In later years he served it as a minister. His brother, Bloody-

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[13]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 121.

[14]Ibid., p. 141. [15]Ibid., p. 161.

Eyes, and Deunquot the Head Chief led the resistance to it. On Sunday they came to church to try to break up the service and encourage some of the Indians to leave.

> They were dressed up and painted in real savage Indian style, with their head bands filled with silver bobs, their head dress consisting of feathers and painted horsehair. The chief had a half moon of silver on his neck before and several hanging on his back. He had nose-jewels and ear-rings and many bands of silver on his arms and legs. Around his ankles hung many buck-hoofs, to rattle when he walked. His party were dressed in a similiar style. The likenesses of animals were painted on their breasts and backs, and snakes on their arms.[16]

The mission school was founded on the system of manual labor. The boys that were old enough and large enough were taught how to farm. The girls were taught house-work, sewing, knitting, spinning, cooking and the like. For this purpose, as well as for order, every child was put in a class. The eighteen oldest boys were put in six classes of three each. Through the winter, each class worked one day in every week on the farm with the work hands. They all also had everyday chores to do such as cutting wood, making fires and feeding the live stock. Smaller boys had to carry water and help with the feeding. They also took care of the cows and calves. It was the job of the very small boys to gather chips for the fire. The girls were also divided into groups with a white person at the head of each group to set the example. One week they would have one kind of job and the next week they would rotate. They did cooking, washing, sweeping, making beds, spinning and knitting. All knew in the morning what their jobs would be without being told and they were expected to do them.[17]

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[16]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 162.

[17]Ibid., p. 184.

The Indian boys did not like to labor at first; but instead of force stratagem was used. "When I went out to work, I almost always divided the hands and the work. Then I had no difficulty, for each would do his best to excell the others."[18]

John Johnson the agent for the Indian affairs visited Upper Sandusky August 23, 1823. He reported on the excellent condition of the Indian Mission Farm and upon the sixty children that were in attendance. He said that the children were orderly and attentive. He went on to say that according to the teacher they were apt in learning and that they were making satisfactory progress.

> They attend with the family regularly to the duties of religion. The meeting house, on the Sabbath, is numerously and devoutly attended. A better congregation in behavior, I have not beheld; and I believe there can be no doubt, that there are very many persons, of both sexes, in the Wyandot Nation, who have experienced the saving effects of the Gospel upon their minds...A spirit of order, industry and improvement appears to prevail with that part of the nation which has embraced Christianity, and this constitutes a full half of the whole population.
>
> John Johnston
> Agent for Indian Affairs[19]

The cost of the mission had been carried by the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the balance made up by the Philadelphia Missionary Society and individual collections. It cost $2,254.54 to take care of between fifty and sixty children. This was a few dollars more than they took in [$93.68] so James Finley asked the Secretary of War for a part of $10,000 appropriation made by Congress for the improvement of

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[18]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, p. 184.

[19]Ibid., pp. 192-193.

all Indians. He was given the sum of $500 to be paid in quarterly installments.[20]

On November 12, 1825 Judge Leib, a government agent visited the mission schools. He made a very favorable report on the work of the mission. They were very successful in reaching the parents through the teachings of the children. Leib was amazed at the way the Indians were living and at the prosperous look of their farms. The Indians dressed for the most part the same as their white neighbors outside the reservation. The Judge said that a stranger would believe he was passing through a white population, if the inhabitants were not seen. He commented on the neatness of their houses, with chimneys and glazed windows. He told of seeing horses, cows, sheep and hogs, grazing everywhere, and wagons harness, plows and other implements of husbandry. "In short, they are the only Indians within the circle of my visits whom I consider it a cruelty to attempt to remove. They ought to be cherished and preserved as a model of a colony."[21] He went on to tell that there were at the time seventy children ages four to twenty at the school. There were also 265 Wyandots who had become members of the church.

Of course there were always Indians on the reservation who did not become Christians and in the years between 1827 and 1843 when the Indians left Ohio, conditions on the reservation had taken a decided downward turn. Some Indians left the church after Finley retired. Finley had

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[20]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, pp. 198-199.

[21]Ibid., p. 365.

served them seven years, two as presiding elder and five as missionary. The Indians had liked him so much that they gave him the name of Re-waw-waw-ah. They were much disappointed when he had to leave because of ill health. He was replaced by Rev. James Gilruth with Finley coming occasionally to check on things. In the following years other missionaries came to serve. They were Messrs. Thompson, Shaw, Allen and Wheeler.[22]

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[22]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky. p. 365.

CHAPTER VI

THE ATTITUDE OF THE INDIAN LEADERS

One of the matters of Indian attitude was already discussed in the previous chapter. It was the idea that not all the Indians were in favor of the work of James Finley and the others at the mission. This opposing group was called the Heathen Party and was led by Deunquot. They objected to most anything that the other group tried to accomplish.

Individual Indians disagreed with each other and there was also opposition to what the white leaders were trying to do. In the early 1820's the question of the Indians giving up their land came up. On May 5, 1820 the Shawnees and Delawares sent a letter to John Johnston, the Indian Agent in Ohio, stating that it was far from their wishes to leave this place,

> we wish that you would make it known that it is our intention to remain where we are. We desire to have our land divided among our people that it may not be taken from us. We depend on you to do these things for us, our confidence is great in you as we have never found you to deceive us, another thing was told us at the Treaty of Fort Meigs, that after it was satisfied, we should get a strong writing, that words without a strong writing would have no force, we expect to get Deeds for our lands as it was promised to us at the Treaty.[1]

Johnston added a note to this saying that the Wyandots were fully represented at the council that wrote the foregoing letter and concurred in all that was said. "The speech of Black Hoof herewith transmitted will

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[1]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis (Columbus: Stoneman Press, 1957), p. 105.

show that they are not disposed at this time to part with their reservations."[2]

In 1824 Finley said that a plan was projected for removing the Indians. The Indians were utterly opposed and they had Finley send a letter to the War Department, reminding the Secretary of War that at the Treaty of Fort Meigs they had been promised that if they would cede all of their lands to the government, except their present reservation, they would never be spoken to again on this subject; that Governor Cass who was handling the matter promised that "the President would make a strong fence around them and maintain them in the peaceable and quiet possession of that spot forever."[3] The War Department replied by telling them that what Governor Cass had told them was true. That they should have a "strong fence put around them." He later said that they would never be removed by force but that if they wanted to leave, they would be allowed to do so.

But still there was agitation, particularly from the white people who were settling all around the reservation. These people stirred up trouble with some of the Indians and there was difficulty over the ownership of cattle and horses. Reverend Finley finally devised a plan of branding these animals. It seems that the Indians were not allowed to go into court to testify that the cattle and the like were theirs.

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[2]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis (Columbus: Stoneman Press, 1957), p. 106.

[3]James B. Finley, Life Among the Indians (Cincinnati: Curts and Jennings), [n.d.], p. 443.

The Indians were also greatly disturbed because the people who were moving in around the reservation were trying to make things so uncomfortable for the Indians that they would want to leave. They tried to extend their laws over the reservation and they would come in and take Indian property which they said was in payment for debts they owed. To help them, Finley wrote to Governor Cass, of the Michigan Territory, who was the main agent in charge of the Indians. Cass replied from Detroit on October 26, 1825 that the laws of the State of Ohio did not operate on the Indian Reservations. He gave Finley permission to hire a lawyer to conduct anything that might be necessary.[4]

The Indian Sachems at this same time were agitating for the lands of the reservation to be divided among them. These Sachems felt that if this were done, there would be more incentive to work. They wanted to send four of their members to Washington to talk this over direct with the President. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Thomas McKinney, sidestepped this plan and said he would discuss it with the President but that the Indians could go ahead and divide the land. They should make a map of the reservation marked with the lots laid out to each family.[5] They allowed them to do this in the face of trying to talk them into leaving their lands.

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[4]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, (Cincinnati: J. F. Wright and L. S. Swormstedt, 1840), p. 302.

[5]Ibid., pp. 274-275.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS

Up to 1830, there was talk of removal of the Indians and various groups were agitating to have it accomplished but the government in Washington did not come out and take an actual stand. President Monroe had proposed it in a special message to Congress on January 25, 1825, but the War Department just continued to urge them to voluntarily go west.

President Jackson took more definite action and on May 28, 1830, Congress passed a Removal Act. This authorized the President to have the territory west of the Mississippi divided into districts suitable for exchange, to negotiate such exchange and to aid in the removal of the Indians. As a result of this, treaties were soon negotiated with the Shawnees and the Ottawas in 1831. The Wyandots were not so inclined.

> The Wyandot leaders were reluctant even to discuss the subject, though they did give some indication of willingness to consider his propositions providing the government was willing to defray the expense of sending a delegation of chiefs to examine the country designated for them in the west.[1]

A group led by William Walker Jr. spent over a month examining the area. When they came back to Ohio, they brought an unfavorable report.

James B. Gardiner who had negotiated the treaties along with John McElvain and had tried to settle with the Wyandots, then tried to deal with just the Indians living on the Big Springs Reservation. He made a

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[1]Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots From Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, LXVI ( ), p. 121.

treaty with them on January 19, 1832. By this treaty the government paid the Indians $1.25 per acre for 16,000 acres which today comprise parts of Hancock and Seneca counties and Crawford Township in Wyandot County. They also paid the former owners for some of the improvements that they made on the land. These Indians however did not want to move west so they made the necessary arrangements and moved in with the Wyandots on the Grand Reserve at Upper Sandusky. In return they shared their money with the Wyandots along the Sandusky.[2]

The government kept on trying to deal with the Wyandots but their attempts were received by deaf ears. The Shrimplin Manuscripts in the Ohio Historical Library in Columbus give an excellent insight into these dealings in 1834. The Ohio Legislature had asked the government to remove the Indians on January 18, 1834. As a result of this action by the legislature an appropriation of $1,000.00 was made to carry forward this work and Lewis Cass, now Secretary of War, appointed Robert Lucas, the governor of Ohio to do the work. A warrant was issued to Lucas for this amount. [Requisition No. 5290, United States Treasury Department.] Lucas' compensation was to be at the rate of eight dollars a day while actually employed upon the business and eight dollars for every twenty miles traveled. He could also employ a secretary who would be paid five dollars per day and the same amount for every twenty miles traveled.[3]

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[2]Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots From Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, LXVI ( ), pp. 122-123.

[3]W. B. Shremplin Manuscripts, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library, (Columbus).

Lucas was given orders as to negotiations. The size of the new reserve was to be the same as what they had in Ohio, but if necessary, he could increase it by fifty percent. If the Indians wanted to, they could take charge of their own removal and then the government would reimburse them. But this was not to exceed what it had cost to remove the other tribes. Each of their warriors was to be allowed a rifle, wipers, a small supply of ammunition and the families were to have a reasonable supply of blankets. If the government moved them, then these provisions did not apply.

> The President is perfectly willing, that the whole proceeds of that reservation should be applied to their benefit, so that the United States shall not be compelled to encounter any expense from their translation from their present to their western residence...You will provide for their removal and subsistence, together with the other articles before stated and you may then fix the value of the land at a sum not exceeding fifty cents per acre and allow such an annuity therefore payable during twenty years, as the principle sum may be worth. Or if they prefer it...the ceded lands to become a fund and to be sold to the United States, seventy cents per acre to be retained to compensate the United States for the expense of removal and for other considerations allowed to the Indians. The residue to constitute a fund for the use of the Wyandots. The interest of which at the rate of five percent to be paid to them by the United States for a period not exceeding twenty years...At the end of which period the principal shall be paid to them.[4]

On July 31, 1834, Robert Lucas wrote to Colonel John McElvain, the sub agent at Upper Sandusky, asking him to make the pertinent arrangements for a council meeting which Lucas could attend to start negotiations.

Consequently on August 6, 1834 he met some of the Wyandots to set up preliminary details. Jack [Jaques] the principal chief plus several

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[4]W. B. Shrimplin Manuscripts, Letter from Lewis Cass to Robert Lucas Governor of Ohio, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Library, (Columbus).

others met. They decided not to call the whole nation together until the investigating committee had returned from west of the Mississippi.

The following entries are from the Journal of Proceedings kept by John Bryan and found in the Shrimplin Documents in the Ohio Historical Society Library in Columbus. They give a most interesting insight into the negotiations.

> September 16, 1834, Gov. Lucas accompanied by John McElvain Esq. Indn Agt. and John A. Bryan secry. of the commission arrived at the agency house this day. The nation is to meet the commissioner for the purpose of entering upon the negotiations on Thursday the 18th (or rather, as soon after the concluding the payment of the annuities, as may be made most convenient to the nation.)[5]

Finally after many delays, the annuities were paid and the Governor opened the negotiations. He brought a welcome from Washington and then he proceeded to explain in general terms his views and opinions. He tried to paint a rosy picture. William Walker acted as interpreter. This was done on Friday afternoon September 26, 1834 at 1/2 past 1 o'clk [sic] according to the Journal of Proceedings in the Shrimplin Manuscripts.[6]

The next day, Saturday September 27, 1 o'clk P. M., Thomas Long, one of the chiefs, rose, and said in behalf of the council, they had decided to postpone any decision until three weeks from Monday, next.[7]

Accordingly they met on Wednesday, October 23, and Jacques, the principal chief, gave the answer. He said that the nation had met, discussed and examined matters and that they had decided not to sell, Lucas

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[5]W. B. Shrimplin Manuscripts, Journal of Proceedings, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Library, (Columbus).

[6]Ibid. [7]Ibid.

then questioned other chiefs to find out how they stood. He felt that the men who went west had not brought back a favorable report because from the beginning they were the ones that were not in favor of moving.[8]

Governor Lucas finally had to give up. Negotiations just were not satisfactory. However he did express the belief that the majority of the Wyandots were willing to migrate. The Heathen party which did not have the personal property that the Christian party possessed and hadn't developed their holdings, were willing to go.

William Walker became the principal chief in 1836. He then contacted Governor Lucas relative to a renewal of negotiations. A short time later this chief advised the governor of the probability of the chiefs going to Washington to obtain the assent of the president to the sale of sixty sections from the eastern end of the Grand Reserve.[9] They made their trip and John Bryan was appointed to make a treaty with them. By this treaty, the Indians turned over to the United States, for sale to the public, a strip of land five miles wide along the entire eastern side of the reserve. From the sale of the land the Indians were to use a sum of money, not to exceed $20,000.00, to rebuild mills, repair and improve roads, and establish schools. Some money was also to be used for other improvements as they came up and were thought necessary. "The Wyandot leaders thus secured funds with which to improve the condition of the tribe and to forestall its

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[8]W. B. Shrimplin Manuscripts, John McElvain to Robert Lucas Aug. 27, 1834. (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Library, Columbus).

[9]Karl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots From Ohio," p. 124.

removal for a few years longer."[10]

The government in Washington still tried to get the Indian to leave voluntarily. The Shawnees and Delawares were gone but the Wyandots hung on.

On March 26, 1841, John Johnston was appointed to see if he could come to an agreement with the Wyandots.

> By direction of the President, you are appointed a commissioner to negotiate a treaty with the Wyandot Indians, for the cession of their remaining lands in Ohio and their removal to the Territory, southwest of the Missouri River, your compensation will be five dollars for every twenty miles of travel and eight dollars for every day actually and necessarily otherwise spent in the execution of your duties.[11]

Thomas N. Crawford Commissioner of Indian Affairs sent the terms to be presented to the Indians, to Johnston who traveled directly from Washington to Upper Sandusky where he held many conferences and addressed the chief.

Johnston found that many people on the reservation were opposed to the removal. This was partly because there were living on the Reserve people who had only a remote connection with the Indians. The Indians had rented some land to these people. There were squatters and there was John Baer. Baer was sub-agent to the Indians. The microfilm of the National Archives reveals voluminous correspondence regarding Baer's incompetance and his replies to the charges. He was first given a leave of absence and was finally relieved of his appointment. Johnston wrote of him.

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[10]Karl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots From Ohio," p. 124.

[11]John Johnston, Selected Documents and Letters, 1805-1843, Relating to John Johnston and the Administration of the Fort Wayne and Piqua Indian Agencies, National Archives Microfilm (Columbus: Ohio Archaeological and Historical Library).

> It is very evident we cannot progress in the removal of the Indians so long as Mr. Baer remains in the Agency, he is doubtless opposed to the emigration of the Wyandots, this was suggested to me when last in the Nation. He can render us no service was he even willing; for the whole surrounding Country, as well as the educated and influential persons resident on the reservation are in direct hostility to him.[12]

Johnston and the Indians kept discussing and dickering. The chiefs of the nation used these figures as the basis for their discussion. It is to be remembered that some of the Indians were well educated and had become quite well to do as individuals. The basic figures were as follows:

For Improvements on the Reservation	$50,000
For Removal (cost of)	25,000
For payment of debts	15,000
For support for 1 year s.w. of Missouri	30,000
For surveying and selling land here	5,000
Cost to Government	$125,000

They estimated that their reservation would bring $4.00 per acre.

109,520 acres @ $4.00	430,080
Less expenses to Gov't.	125,000
	$305,080
	5
This funded at 5% per annum gives	$1,525,400
Add to that their present annuity	690,000
	$2,215,400

Johnston had offered to pay their debts, build them a grist and saw mill, to pay for their improvements, remove the nation of [at] the expense of

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[12]John Johnston, 'Selected Documents and Letters, 1805-1843, Relating to John Johnston and the Administration of the Fort Wayne and Piqua Indian Agencies, National Archives Microfilm (Columbus: Ohio Archaeological and Historical Library).

the United States, subsist them for one year.[13]

Two things seemingly held up the completion of the negotiations, although on November 29, 1841 the nation authorized and empowered the chiefs to make a treaty with the United States. (1) The chiefs wanted a definite location in the West preferably near the Delawares and Shawnees in eastern Kansas. They had been given their pick of the remaining lands the government held but they didn't like any of them. (2) They could not agree on the amount of the annuity. Johnston was offering them $13,000.00. They were asking $20,000.00. Some Indians also wanted more for their land because the Mad River and Lake Erie Railroad was practically completed and they felt that this would raise the value of the land.[14]

When Johnston offered the Indians an annuity of $13,000.00 he was reprimanded by Crawford, the head of the Bureau of Indian affairs. Crawford came up with new terms. The United States would advance to the Wyandots the necessary funds to meet the payment of their debts, the cost of their removal and the expense of their subsistence for one year thereafter. The Indians were now to be offered a quantity of land equivalent to their present reservation rather than a grant of 320 acres per head of family or adult Indian. From the proceeds of the sale of land ceded to the United States, the United States would deduct the several sums advanced to the Wyandots and payment at $1.25 per acre for any lands granted them in the West. On the balance from the proceeds the United States would pay an interest of

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[13]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis (Columbus: Stoneman Press, 1957), pp. 124-126.

[14]Ibid., p. 128.

five percent as an annuity.[15]

The Wyandots agreed to all these new terms except, they insisted on having an annuity of $17,500.00 per year permanently and before everything was final, they were to successfully terminate an agreement with the Delawares and the Shawnees for part of the land which they held in the West.[16]

The War department positively refused to consider this, so Johnston on his own made a Treaty with them on March 17, 1842. He informed the War department he felt it was necessary to take this chance because the Shawanese delegation was on the reservation and were using this influence to get the Wyandots to agree to terms. Also the Indians would never make a treaty "on the basis of selling the land, investing the net proceeds and paying them an interest of five percent [as an annuity], on this head they have been unmovable from the beginning."[17]

The Treaty which Johnston offered the Indians and hoped would be ratified by the Senate contained the following provisions:

> (1) All of the Wyandot lands in Ohio and Michigan were to be ceded to the United States. They kept three and one half acres which contained the stone meeting house and the burial ground. They also kept two other burial places, one in Upper Sandusky by the Council House.
> (2) They were to receive 148,000 acres West of the Mississippi.
> (3) A part of the nation was to leave in 1842 and the rest in 1843.
> (4) The Wyandots were to bear the cost of the transfer of the Indians except for $10,000. Five thousand of this was to be paid when they left Ohio and the rest when they reached their new home west of the

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[15]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis, p. 129.

[16]Karl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots From Ohio," p. 126.

[17]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis, p. 130.

Mississippi. Johnston felt that this saved the U. S. not less than $70,000.[18]

(5) They were to have a permanent annuity of $17,500 to be paid in current specie. This also included all other annuities.

(6) $500 annually was to be paid for the support of their school. This did not start for three years.

(7) The United States agreed to pay the debts of the nation which were estimated at $20,000. They actually amounted to $21,000. When the Senate ratified the Treaty, they had inserted the sum of $23,860. Congress then appropriated the amount of $55,660 for carrying the Treaty into effect on August 17, 1842.[19]

(8) The United States agreed to pay for improvement the Indians made on the land in Ohio.

(9) The government was to provide and support a blacksmith and an assistant; provide their houses and place of business. They were also to furnish annually sufficient quantities of iron, steel, coal, files, and tools such as they would need. They would also provide a sub-agent and an interpreter.[20]

The Indians signed the Treaty on March 17, 1842 and it was approved by the Senate, August 17, 1842 subject to some changes which the Indians needed to approve and they did so on September 16, 1842. The treaty was signed by Henry Jacques, James Washington, Dr. Grey Eyes, George Punch, Tauroomu, James Big Tree and Francis Hicks.[21]

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[18]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis, p. 131.

[19]Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots From Ohio," p. 130.

[20]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis, p. 133.

[21]Ibid., p. 133.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS

By March, 1843 the Huron River band of Wyandots had moved to Upper Sandusky where they joined the others of the tribe in getting ready to move. The Indians disposed of what property they could not take with them, such as cattle, hogs, farm implements, furniture. They hired a second blacksmith at their own expense to help get things in shape to move. They asked the government for more iron but since their allowance for the year had been used up, they were refused.

The Wyandots held frequent meetings at the council house and religious services at the church. They brought the body of Summundewat, who had been murdered in 1841, and the body of John Stewart, who had died of consumption on December 17, 1823, to the cemetery near the mission. They cared for the graves of others in the area and marked them with stone or marble tablets. The last day before they left Ohio, the Indians held a final service. Reverend Wheeler preached as did Squire Grey-Eyes. Grey-Eyes had been one of the men opposed to moving west but they finally convinced him the move was for the best.[1]

When the Indians left, they deeded the church, the surrounding cemetery and the two other cemeteries to the Methodist Church, but the deed was not recorded. The church was kept up until about 1860 and then they neglected it. Vandals wrecked many of the stones. The roof of the church

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[1]Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Indians From Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, LXVI ( ), pp. 130-132.

finally caved in. No group wanted to take the responsibility for rebuilding and repairing it. In 1886 Dr. N.B.C. Love, at that time pastor of the Methodist Church in Upper Sandusky, found the deed among some worthless papers in the church basement. It was then recorded. As a result, in 1888 the General Conference of the Methodist Church decided to restore the building and grounds as far as possible to their original appearance. Twenty-one thousand dollars was appropriated and the building was rebuilt. It was re-dedicated in 1889 with Mother Solomon, the last of the Wyandots to live in Ohio, present. She lived in a small home north of the town. Mother Solomon was the daughter of Squire Grey-Eyes and had been the first little girl to receive instruction at the mission school. She died in 1890 and was buried at the Mission Cemetery.[2]

On July 9, 1843 the Wyandots began to load their wagons; and those which they rented from settlers living in the vicinity. The Indian chiefs were on horseback. Many women and men were on foot. They went by way of Grass Point in Hardin County, Bellfontaine, Urbana, Springfield, Clifton, and the sixth night they were within four miles of Cincinnati. The seventh night they spent on the wharf waiting for their steamers. As they went along, different newspapers reported on their passage. The Green County Torchlight for July 20, 1843 says that they camped three miles north of town on Saturday night planning to remain over Sunday but some injudicious persons sold them liquor and a few became intoxicated.

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[2]I. F. King, "Introduction of Methodism in Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, X (1902), p. 202.

> The general appearance of these Indians was truely prepossessing. Everyone of them, we believe, without an exception, was decently dressed, a large proportion of them in the costume of the white. Their deportment was quite orderly and respectful. They appeared to be well fitted out for their journey, having a convenient variety of cooking utensils, and provisions in abundance. The whole number of persons in the company, so far as we can learn, was about 750. Hired wagons 55. Horses and ponies near 300.[3]

At Urbana the chiefs left the tribe and went to Columbus to meet the chief executive and other state officers. Jacquis, the head chief of the Wyandots, gave a farewell address which was in part as follows:

> We part with the people of Ohio with feelings the more kind, because there has not been any hostility between your people and ours ever since the treaty of General Wayne at Greenville. Almost fifty years of profound peace between us have passed away, and have endeared your people to ours. Whatever be our future fate beyond the Mississippi wither we are bound, we shall always entertain none but feelings the most kind and grateful toward the people of Ohio. Before Wayne's Treaty there had been one long war between our father and your ancestors. At that treaty, our people promised peace and they have kept that promise faithfully. We will forever keep that promise as long as the sun shines and the rivers run... we shall always take a great pleasure in telling the Indians of that vast western region, how peaceful, how true, faithful and honest your people have been to our people.
>
> If at any future day, any of our people should visit this State, we hope that your people will see that they do not suffer for food, or any of the necessaries of life, that when thirsty, you will give him drink-when hungry, you will give him food-or naked, you will give him clothes or sick, you will heal him. And we, on our part, promise the same kindness to any of your people should they visit us in our far western future home."[4]

The Wyandots spent their last night in Ohio, on the wharf at Cincinnati. The next morning John Hicks fell through a guard rail and drowned because he was intoxicated. Three others died on the journey down

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[3]The Green County [Xenia, Ohio] Torchlight, July 20, 1843.

[4]The Western Star [Lebanon, Ohio], August 4, 1843.

across Ohio; a woman, a child and Warpole, the venerable chief, who was 113.[5]

The Indians were moved on two steamers, the Nodaway and the Republic. They left Cincinnati on July 21. When they passed the tomb of William Henry Harrison at North Bend, they requested that Captain Cleghorn, of the Nodaway, fire a "big gun" salute. As the vessel neared the hallowed spot, the chiefs and braves gathered on the hurricane roof, formed a line, and faced the grave. When the ship, with its engines stopped, drifted past the tomb, the Indians uncovered and waved their hats in silence. The head chief then stepped forward and exclaimed impressively, "Farewell Ohio and her brave."[6]

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[5]The Green County [Xenia, Ohio] Torchlight, July 27, 1843.

[6]The Western Star, [Lebanon, Ohio], August 4, 1843.

CHAPTER IX

THE REACTION OF THE INDIANS TO THEIR REMOVAL

The steamers carried the Wyandots down the Ohio, up the Mississippi to the Missouri, then up that river to the area of present day Kansas City. They encamped on a military reservation on the east bank of the Kansas River at its mouth. William Walker told of their first days in Indian territory in a letter written to some friend in Columbus and published in the Statesman. This letter was reprinted in the Lebanon, Ohio, Western Star in August 25, 1843.

> My Dear Sir: We have landed near our future home...I have been employed busily since we landed in collecting and getting under shelter my household goods and getting a house to live in temporarily till our chiefs make a permanent location. I have rented a "Log Cabin" of a Virginian at $3.00 per month.
>
> My company are all about two miles above this place, some in tents, some in houses, and some under the expanding branches of the tall cottonwood trees. You cannot imagine my feelings on landing and separating from our 'jolly ship's crew', and hunting a shelter for the family--faces all strange--we felt truly like 'strangers in a strange land'.
>
> Farewell!
> W. Walker--[1]

The Wyandots had been assigned to a tract to be located on the Neosho but upon investigation they found it to be unsatisfactory because they wanted to be near civilization. They moved onto Delaware lands in the fall of 1843 and on December 14 of the same year, they reached an agreement with the Delawares. From the Delawares they received thirty-nine sections of land beginning at the junction of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers and running westward between the rivers sufficiently far so as to include the thirty-

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[1]The Western Star, [Lebanon, Ohio], August 4, 1843.

nine sections. They paid the Delawares $46,080.00 for thirty-six of the sections. The Delawares gave them three sections as a 'thank you' for the Wyandots letting them settle on their land in Ohio when the Delawares were driven out of Pennsylvania. This purchase was approved by the United States on July 25, 1848.[2]

To settle up with the Wyandots who were living with the Delawares, the government officials met with four Wyandot Chiefs at Washington, D. C. in 1848. By a treaty made at that time, the Wyandot Nation gave up all claim to land as provided for in the Johnston Treaty of 1842. In place of the 148,000 acres they were to get west of the Mississippi, the government paid the Wyandots $185,000--$85,000 directly and $100,000 to be invested in government stock at five percent per annum. Thus, they got back what they had paid to the Delawares.[3]

As soon as the purchase was made from the Delawares, the Wyandots began to move from the military reserve at Westport, Missouri where they had been temporarily living. The various members were given definite tracts of land. Land was also set aside for a public burial ground, a Methodist Episcopal Church and a tract was given to the Wyandot Ferry Company.[4]

The Indian leaders then started to build homes. Governor Walker

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[2]William Connelley, "Wyandot and Shawnee Indian Lands in Wyandotte County, Kansas," Kansas State Historical Society Collection, XV (1919-1922), pp. 103-104.

[3]Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Indians From Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, LXVI ( ), p. 136.

[4]Ibid., p. 158.

took the Old Delaware pay house for his home. John M. Armstrong and Charles B. Garrett built in the same vicinity along Jersey Creek. Matthew Walker built a home on the highlands overlooking the Missouri, and near here George Fowler also settled. George Clark, White Wing, Mrs. Hicks, the Zanes, the Robatailles, and the Browns settled along what is now Quindaro Boulevard in Kansas City as did Driver. They soon erected a council house as the seat of government. It stood near the intersection of Fourth Street and Nebraska Avenue.[5]

When the Wyandots came to Kansas no member of the tribe was more than one-fourth Indian, according to Connelley. The tribe was Indian in its setup but the people were three-fourths white. They brought with them their church, their masonic lodge and they set up their other institutions.

> The church was both church and school and most of the children of the Wyandot were educated there and those men and women who composed the nation in 1843 had been through its educational, its civilizing, its christianizing courses. It was the light of the nation, its central point and focus.[6]

During the winter of 1843-44 they built cabins, erected a blacksmith shop, a school, a dwelling for the missionary and a hewn-log meeting house. By 1845 they had cleared a sufficient quantity of heavily timbered land to raise an abundant supply of corn, potatoes, and other vegetables. They also had enough beef and pork to lessen their dependence on others for these provisions.[7]

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[5]William Connelley, Kansas City, Kansas, "Its Place in the History of the State," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-1922, XV (1923), p. 185.

[6]Ibid., p. 186.

[7]Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Indians From Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publication, LXVI (N. D.), p. 136.

The Wyandots did have some difficulty getting adjusted to the climate. William Walker kept a Journal and under the date of Tuesday, February 24, 1846 he writes:

> Does the climate of Upper Missouri agree with me? I am sometimes induced to think not. My health has not been good since I came to this country, but still this may be properly attributed to other causes. I would fain think so. I like the country and would wish to spend the remainder of my days in it.[8]

At various places Walker mentioned that he couldn't do things because he was sick and yet he was a comparatively young man, in his early forties. He went on to tell, however, about setting out different kinds of fruit trees, making garden and the like.

William Walker was very much connected with the life on the reservation. He attended council meetings, granted a number of divorces. On June 12, 1847 he told that the council decided not to take up the war tomahawk offered by the Winnebagos and Pottawatomies against the Sioux. Men from the tribe, however, did go to fight in the Mexican War.

On June 18, 1847 Walker bought two lots in Kansas City and on December 3 Mr. Phips, a pianist, called upon him and spent the day tuning the piano.[9] Walker's Journal told other things about the early settlement in Kansas. Walker, himself, maintained a ferry across the river. J. Walker started a general store in Kansas. John W. Grey-Eyes, son of Squire Grey-

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[8]William E. Connelley, (ed). "The Provisional Government of the Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of the Nebraska Territory," Nebraska State Historical Society, III (1899), p. 170.

[9]Ibid., p. 220.

Eyes, studied law at Kenyon College in Ohio. But he ruined his law practice by strong drink. John McIntyre Armstrong practiced as an attorney with John Sherman of Mansfield. He also taught school in the Nation but died in Mansfield in 1852.[10]

In the winter of 1851-1852 some of the Wyandots asked Congress to establish a territorial government over the Indian country. This had first been suggested in 1848 when a Great Council of the tribes was held at Fort Leavenworth. This council revived the northwestern confederacy and the Wyandots were again made the keepers of the council fire. Henceforth any movement for the future modification of conditions in their country would be likely to originate in the Wyandot Nation.[11]

The Wyandots did take the initiative in organizing the territory when they elected a Mr. A. G. Gutherie to represent them before Congress. The group at Fort Leavenworth tried to stop him by putting up the name of another candidate but Gutherie defeated him fifty-four to sixteen. Gutherie was not admitted to a seat in the house but he was influential in getting things started that made Nebraska an organized territory.[12]

In July of 1853 a meeting was held at the Wyandot Council House. It had a two fold purpose--(1) they discussed the route of the railroad that

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[10]Connelley, "The Provisional Government of the Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker Provisional Governor of the Nebraska Territory," Nebraska State Historical Society, III (1899), p. 246.

[11]Connelley, Kansas City, Kansas, "Its Place in the History of the State," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-1922, XV (1823), p. 188.

[12]Ibid., p. 188.

was in the process of being built to the coast. (2) They formed the provisional government of the Nebraska Territory. William Walker was appointed governor, George I. Clark, territorial secretary. A council was composed of R. C. Miller, Isaac Mundy and M. R. Walker.[13]

The Walker family had a tremendous influence on the tribe of Wyandots. The father had been an Indian sub-agent and interpreter and he along with Robert Armstrong had brought Christianity to the Wyandots. His son, William, was educated at Worthington, Ohio under the guidance of Salmon P. Chase. He was a teacher at the Mission school and an interpreter. After the death of his father, William Walker was the most influential man in the Wyandot Nation. Intellectually he was one of the greatest men of that tribe of Indians, a tribe acknowledged strong in Council.[14] This article goes on to say that Walker was an eloquent speaker, a forceful writer on political subjects. He was an ardent Democrat and a slave holder. He hated abolitionism and contended for the rights of slavery as he understood those rights, to the commencement of the War. But he was never in favor, so far as anyone has been able to ascertain, of secession. Walker was elected a member of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention and was present and participated in the proceedings. He was appointed first provisional governor of the Kansas-Nebraska Territory in 1853.[15]

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[13]Connelley, Kansas City, Kansas, "Its Place in the History of the State," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-1922, XV (1923), p. 189.

[14]Connelley, "Provisional Government of the Nebraska Territory," p. 13.

[15]Ibid., p. 16.

William Walker was married twice. He lost both wives and all his children by death. He died in Kansas City, Missouri on Friday the 13th 1874.

In 1853, the Wyandots accepted the allotment of their lands in severalty and dissolved their tribal relations. Taurome opposed the land being divided among the people and having them come into full citizenship. He felt that in a short time many would be homeless. But because most of the Indians wanted it, he signed the Treaty. It was true that before long many were in need of the necessaries of life. Their chief succeeded in getting 20,000 acres of land, some 200 miles south in the Oklahoma Territory, by buying it from the Senecas. About 300 of the tribe went there to live and still do live on the reservation. The rest stayed around Kansas City and many of the present day inhabitants are descendants of the original Indian settlers.[16]

Every once in a while some descendents of these Indians will return to the Ohio lands. As was said before, Mother Solomon returned and was buried at the Old Mission. In 1963 Lawrence Zane returned to visit Upper Sandusky. He was a direct descendent of Tarhe, [his greatgrandson].

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[16]Connelley, Journal of Governor Walker, p. 170.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

Were the Wyandots mistreated? Had their living conditions become better or worse?

It was felt that the Wyandots were mistreated in that the government made treaties and then broke them to make new ones more in their own favor. The Indians were mistreated in that land which had been theirs for many years was taken away from them and they finally were pushed west of the Mississippi River. The Redmen were mistreated in the price they were paid for their lands. The United States paid them at the rate of $1.25 per acre. The land was later sold to the whites at the land office for $2.00 or $2.50 per acre. The government thus made a profit on the land.

From the standpoint of health, they suffered. The Indians were ravaged by white man's diseases. Consumption took a much greater toll among the Indians than among the white people. Smallpox decimated the tribes from time to time. Then of course they fell victim to the greatest disease of all-liquor, thanks to the white man. However, in the matter of food the white man helped the Redman. In the earlier years the Indian feasted at times, the rest of the year he starved. With the coming of the white man he was usually well fed.

Be that as it may, about 1800 it was reported that there were 2200 Wyandots. In 1843 there were between 700 and 800 and after the Civil War there were 300.[1] This last number refers to the ones who were living on

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[1]Leonard U. Hill, John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis, (Columbus: Stoneman Press, 1957), p. 156.

the reservation. Many were living as individual citizens in the Kansas City area.

As far as other problems were concerned; the Wyandots didn't seem to have too great a variety of problems until he came into contact with the white man. Then he had to decide whether he was going to give in to the white man and adopt his ways or whether he was going to continue fighting a losing battle against much greater numbers who were much better equipped to fight and survive. In other words was he willing to give up his way of life, his civilization, in exchange for a new way of life?

The Wyandots, at least the majority of them, did adapt to changing times. They accepted the white man's way of doing things. As a tribe they decreased in numbers but as individuals they prospered and took their place in our American Society.

The Wyandots left us a heritage we should be proud to remember and pass on from generation to generation.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A.

The chiefs of the Wyandot Nation, in Council Assembled at Upper Sandusky to Head Minister and Fathers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to meet at Lebanon, Ohio:

'We, your Wyandot Bretheren, acknowledge former favors thankfully, and wish peace and health to attend you all. We farther sic. inform you that lately our council have resolved to admit a missionary school, to be established amongst us, at Upper Sandusky; and have selected a section of land for that purpose, at a place called Camp Meigs, where there is spring water and other conveniences; and all other necessary privileges that may be required for the furtherance of said school, shall be freely contributed, as far as our soil affords: provided the same does not intrude on any former improvements made by our own people, which are not to be intruded upon. More over we will endeavor to supply the school with scholars of our own nation sufficient to keep it in action; and we will admit children of our white friends who live amongst us...But many more will, we hope come in, especially if the children are boarded and clothed as our bretheren have proposed; and if our teacher be a good and wise man, we may expect more children. We would further let the conference know, that we wish our teacher to be a preacher, that can teach and baptize our children, and marry our people; a man that loves our nation; that loves us and our children; one that can bear with our ignorance and weakness. And if conference sends a preacher, as we have requested, to be our school-master, we think there will be no need of a traveling missionary to be continued amongst us, as we expect our house will be taken into Delaware circuit at conference, which is our request. And in hope that our good and worthy fathers, and all that wish peace and prosperity to our nation, are well and doing well, and will always pray for us, and help us; by sending us good men and good counsel, we subscribe ourselves your humble fellow servants in our great and good Lord God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen.

(Signed) De-un-quot, Chief
Between-the-Logs, Chief
John Hicks, Chief
Mononcue, Chief
An-dau-you-ah, Chief
De-an-daugh-so, Chief
Ta-hu-waugh-ta-ro-de, Chief

Done in the presence and by the interpretation of William Walker, United States Interpreter; Moses Henkle, Sen., Missionary.[1]

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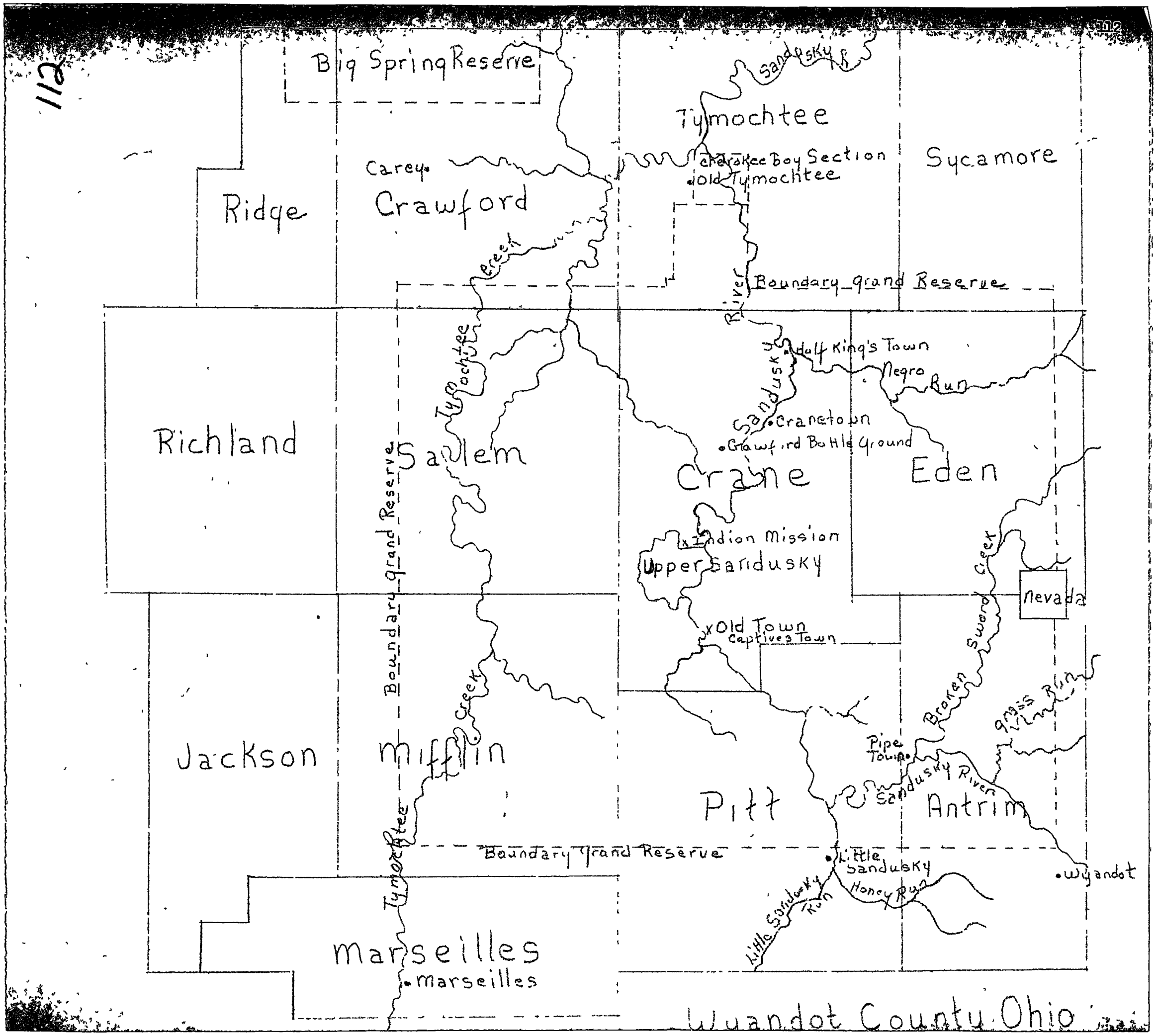
[1]James B. Finley, History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, (Cincinnati: J. F. Wright and L. S. Swormstedt, 1840), p. 109.


Big Spring Reserve
Sandusky R.
Tymochtee
Cherokee Boy Section
Old Tymochtee
Sycamore
Carey
Crawford
Ridge
Creek
Boundary Grand Reserve
River
Tymochtee
Sandusky
Adolf
King's Town
Negro Run
Richland
Salem
Crane
Eden
Crane town
Crawford Battle Ground
Grand Reserve
Indian Mission
Upper Sandusky
Nevada
Old Town
Captives Town
Boundary
Creek
Broken Sword Creek
Grass Run
Jackson
Mifflin
Pipe Town
Sandusky River
Pitt
Antrim
Tymochtee
Boundary Grand Reserve
Little Sandusky
Little Sandusky Run
Honey Run
Wyandot
Marseilles
Marseilles
Wyandot County Ohio

THE WYANDOT INDIANS OF OHIO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Including a Report of the People Who Helped Them Adjust to Their Changing Conditions

Martha L. Bowman

An Abstract of
A Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment
The Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY

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The Wyandot Indians of Ohio in the Nineteenth Century. Including a Report of the People Who Helped Them Adjust To Their Changing Conditions. No. 1056
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Faculty Adviser: Wayne S. Huffman

The conflict between the American people and the American Indians seemingly has been one of the dark spots in the history of the United States. The question arose in Ohio History class as to whether or not the Indians were mistreated by the government and by the white people with whom they came in contact. The students also wanted to know more about the lives of the Indians than the material available in the textbooks. Seemingly there was a need for research in this area.

The materials for the syudy was taken from books that were written by people living and working with the Indians. Some material was obtained from letters and manuscripts that had not been published. Many of the letters were on micro-film from the National Archives. Much of this material was available in the Ohio Historical Library in Columbus and from the Historical Societies of Kansas and Nebraska.

The Wyandots received the short end of the treaties. They fell prey to white man's disease such as consumption, smallpox and liquor. They were better fed than in former years. Many of the Wyandots were assimilated into the white man's civilization. They adapted to changing conditions and took their place in American Society. This seemed to be true of the Wyandots to a much greater extent than with other tribes.