PEACE, POWER AND PERSISTENCE: PRESIDENTS, INDIANS, AND PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN THE AMERICAN MIDWEST 1790-1860

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation explores the relationships between the Shawnee and Wyandot peoples in the Ohio River Valley and the Quaker and Methodist missionaries with whom they worked. Both of these Indian communities persisted in the Ohio Valley, in part, by the selective adoption of particular Euro-American farming techniques and educational methods as a means of keeping peace and remaining on their Ohio lands. The early years of Ohio statehood reveal a vibrant, active multi-cultural environment characterized by mutual exchange between these Indian nations, American missionaries, and Euro- and African-American settlers in the frontier-like environment of west-central Ohio. In particular, the relationships between the Wyandot and the Shawnee and their missionary friends continued from their time in the Ohio Valley through their removal to Indian Territory in Kansas in 1833 and 1843.

While the relationships continued in the West, the missions themselves took on a different dynamic. The teaching methods became stricter, the instruction observed religious teaching more intensely, and the students primarily boarded at the school. The missionary schools began to more closely resemble the notorious government boarding schools of the late-nineteenth century as the missions became more and more entwined with the federal government.

This work further allows an evaluation of the role that the U.S. government and the missionaries played in the shaping of Indian Removal and U.S. Indian policies, and

examines the methods of Indian removal that go beyond the traditionally held images of the 1838 forced removal of the Cherokee nation.

For my Dad Bill and my Mama Pat

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back and forth between Ohio and Michigan, and spent boring hours at copy machines as my “research assistant,” but your love and your patience never failed. You are pretty darn amazing, and I’m so glad to be on this journey with you. Finally, at the risk of sounding like a first-time-Grammy-award-winning musician with my trophy thrust skyward, I really do want to thank God, apart from whom I am incomplete.

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INTRODUCTION:

Indian Education, Removal, and the Forgotten Midwest

In 1803 Shawnee Peace Chief Catehecassa (Blackhoof), who settled his Shawnee community along the Auglaize River in west-central Ohio, requested the assistance of the Quaker community to aid in a shift to Euro-American-style agricultural methods and to instruct some of the village children in western education, particularly English reading and writing. The ever increasing white population in the Ohio River Valley motivated Catehecassa's request as he attempted to keep peace among his Euro-American neighbors and prepare the youth for the reality of Indian-white negotiations in the future. As Indian peoples quickly became the minority in Ohio, this arrangement between Indian nations and religious organizations was a common occurrence in the region as Indian communities exhausted any means to persist peacefully in Ohio country. Further into the twentieth century, Indian removal loomed into the future and as Indian communities migrated west, many took with them the ties to the religious mission groups with whom they had become entwined. These relationships between the Ohio Indian communities and the missions spanned most of the twentieth century.

The purpose of this dissertation is multi-faceted. The close study of the last two major Indian nations to reside as a group in Ohio (Shawnee and Wyandot) reveals a rich, animated picture filled with relationships and exchanges that can occur in a landscape defined by a rapidly changing frontier. Indians who wanted to keep the peace and their homes melded with Missionaries who felt they were answering a call for the needy. The result was the mingling of lifeways and a sense of dependence on one

another. The story is both exciting and revealing. This work aims to do the following: first, it will show a frontier landscape in the Ohio River Valley in which Indians, whites, and African Americans learned from one another and depended on one another for basic needs. Second, it will examine the method in which the Shawnee and Wyandot utilized Protestant missionaries to pick and choose the methods of Euro-American lifeways to which they would adhere as a means of keeping peace and remain on their reservation lands. Third, it will show how the history of Indian Removal is more than the tragedy of the Cherokee Trail of Tears, and how Protestant religion and American expansionism influenced the development of federal Indian policy. Lastly, it will show how the mission experience significantly changed when the Indian nations were removed west to Indian Territory; the mutual benefit of the Indian/missionary relationship that taught and nurtured at the choosing of the Indian peoples in the East quickly became an early reflection of the culturally exterminating government boarding school of the late 1800s.

Stephen Warren's 2005 monograph, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors* was the initial inspiration for this work. Warren first moved forward Ohio Valley Indian historiography, which had previously ended with the story of Tecumseh and Tenskatawa and with Tecumseh's death and the collapse of the pan-Indian movement in 1813. Warren looks at the Shawnee and "their neighbors" including the Wyandot, through this event and then further into the twentieth century as the Indian nation faced ongoing land appropriations, varied attempts to persist in the Ohio region, and eventually, removal west. He successfully shows the Shawnee nation not as a united group, but as a series of autonomous villages with a decentralized governance.

Individual Shawnee communities coalesced not only with other Shawnee villages, but with factions of neighboring Indian nations and even white settlers to meet the needs of their individual communities. In the same respect, the Shawnee disagreed among themselves as readily as they did with enemy tribes or the white community. The Shawnee nation was divided between five different groups, to which the Shawnee were born and remained. These divisions, the Chalagawetha, Thawegila, Piqua, Kispokotha, and Maykujay Clans (of which Chief Blackhoof was a member), lived autonomously, but were loosely led by War Chiefs from the Kispokotha (of which Tecumseh was a member) and Peace Chiefs from the Thawegila and Chalagawetha Clans. [1] The Maykujay served for the most part as medicine men in council gatherings.[2]

Warren's work follows in the steps of historians such as Richard White, author of *The Middle Ground*, and Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*, who not only gave Indian nations agency in history, but also demonstrated their relationships with Europeans as a place of mutual exchange as each group met the needs of the other for their mutual benefit.[3] Warren continues this exposition as he shows how individual Shawnee communities made alliances and friendships with those from whom they could benefit as they persisted in their respective villages. Warren's work inspired

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[1] Depending on the publication, accepted spellings and pronunciations for these divisions are as follows: Chalagawetha: Chalakatha, Chalakathawa, Chillocothe; Thawegila: Hathawekala; Piqua: Pekowi, Pekuwe, Pekowitha; Kispokotha: Kispoko, Kishpoko, Kishpokotha; and Maykujay: Mekoche, Mequachake, Machmachee, Maguck. I have chosen to adhere to the spellings and pronunciations used in the Warren text.

[2] Stephen Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors, 1785 to 1870,* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

[3] For more on the arguments of White and Sleeper-Smith, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground:Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region 1650-1815,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and, Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes,* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

me to take a much closer look at the agency of Ohio Indian peoples after the territory became a state, and to add to this burgeoning historiography. I have in turn examined two individual Indian communities-- a Shawnee group who lived along the Auglaize River near Wapakoneta in west central Ohio and a Wyandot community approximately sixty miles to the northeast—through the lens of removal and education as a way to show how each community independently chose to accommodate or eschew Euro-American life ways that enabled their continued existence in the Ohio Valley. I chose these two communities for several reasons. First and foremost, these two communities were among the very last to remove from the State of Ohio. Second, they both became intrinsically involved with Missionaries as a means of persisting in the Ohio Valley. Third, they offer a comparative of missions that were administered by evangelical (Methodist) and less evangelical (Quaker) ministries. Fourth, the Wyandot were friends and allies of the Shawnee and referred to the Shawnee as their "nephew" or "younger brother." And finally, there is very little literature on the subject of the Wyandot in the early nineteenth century.

Another component of this work closely examines the pedagogy and administration of early mission schools. U.S. historiography provides little research on pre-removal, and early post-removal mission schools. The few works that do exist focus on colonial mission education with an emphasis on the praying towns of Massachusetts.[4] Studies that move beyond the Praying towns tend to focus on the

[4] See for example, Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the Colonies, 1607-1783*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007) and Jean O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts 1650-1790 (*Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1980, 2003).

religious influence of the missionaries and their role in the development of "civilizing policies" directed at changing Indians and transforming them into Americans via the traditional image of the Indian boarding schools of the late- nineteenth through twentieth centuries.[5] In Native American historiography there is an emphasis on the outcome of the "civilizing process" and a focus on the boarding school experiences administered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) that examines federal assimilationist policies in the 1880s.[6] Few scholars have examined education in the pre-removal Midwest. Even when John Reyhner and Jeanne Eder's *American Indian Education: A History* focuses on early missionary education, it mentions only one 1830s Baptist mission school in Sault Ste. Marie. The bulk of their discussion centers on Cherokee education before and after removal.[7] This dissertation will provide a more complete picture of the mission education experience, especially as schools travelled west with Indian removal.

[5] See for example, Francis P. Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Robert H. Keller, *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-1882* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); and Clyde A. Milner, *With Good Intentions: Quaker Work Among the Pawnees, Otos, and Omahas in the 1870s,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

[6] For examples of the most prominent works on the boarding school experience, see: Adams, David Wallace, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas); Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940 (*Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988); D. F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Alice Littlefield, "The B.I.A. Boarding School: Theories of Resistance, and Social Reproduction" *Humanity and Society* 13(4) 1989:428-441 and "Learning to Labor: Native American Education in the United States, 1880-1930" in J. Moore, ed., *The Political Economy of North American Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993) 43-59; K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native Ameran Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006); and Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, Lorene Sisquoc, eds. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

[7] John Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

One of the most thorough evaluations of Indian mission education prior to removal is the 1998 work of Margaret Connell Szasz. She argued that colonial relationships between New England Indian communities and Europeans were developed in part through the Indian education experience, and emphasized the cohesive role of religion, civilization, and education. She examined the Iroquois Praying Towns and the development of collegiate studies such as Harvard and Dartmouth, Indian colleges that soon became European venues for study. Cultural exchange occurred when missionaries first sought to Christianize Indian peoples as a means of civilization, which also required their need to read and write. The Christian leaders justified themselves successful if they could effectively educate and Christianize even a minute number of students. In this region and time period, education and the church were promoted in parallel. However, even though Native peoples participated in limited numbers, they did so as a specific means of promoting exchange. Literacy meant knowing more about the culture of their white neighbors as well as securing benefits in trade and economic exchange. In turn, the opportunity for Euro-American higher education came in the guise of Indian civilization.[8]

I have modeled the framework of this project in format similar to Szasz's work, *Indian Education in the American Colonies.* Szasz presented her analysis by first examining the larger picture of Indian/white encounter and colonial education in the early chapters of her work. Her subsequent chapters narrowed the lens to examine the details of individual micro-studies within the context of the broader issues. The micro-

[8] Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607 to 1783*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998)

studies served as an exemplary slice of the bigger picture.[9] My project is thus framed as chapters three and five discuss the larger issues of Indian Removal in the Midwest and the role of religion in the development of Indian policy. The remaining chapters narrow the lens to examine the experiences of Ohio Indian communities as they relate within the historical framework of Removal and involvement with missions.

The supporting evidence for this work consists primarily of personal diaries, published county records, Quaker meeting records, state histories, and documented church records. The challenge of this type of work lies in the attempt to extract an accurate Indian voice from overtly Euro-American documents. One must, in some ways, "read between the lines" so to speak, to glean the Indian voices. In some ways I emulated the methodology of Ann Little in her comparative of the views of Indian nations and New Englanders on the issues of warfare and masculinity in, *Abraham in Arms*, in which she used captivity narratives to study the Indian perspective. These sources were indubitably biased from a Euro-America standpoint; however, Little deftly developed a compelling picture of the Indian perspective on gender and war based on the responses and observations of white captivity narratives.[10] I observed a similar technique as I closely examined the abundant materials left by missionaries, churches, and local historians. For example, Quaker missionary Henry Harvey notes in his observations that Shawnee Chief Checolaway, who often spoke on behalf of Chief Catehesaca in the elder chief's final years, promised the backing of the Shawnee

[9] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies.*

[10] For more on Little's methodology, please see "Introduction" to Ann Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

council to “use all our influence with the parents, particularly the mothers, to send [their children]” to the mission school.[11] This simple quotation speaks volumes about the individual agency of each Shawnee family, especially the mother of the family, when it came to decisions about western education for their children. It suggests that families were neither coerced by tribal leaders or missionaries, but made individual choices as they saw fit.

Chapter one uses both primary and secondary sources to reveal a multi-cultural Ohio region with a co-mingling of Indians, whites, and African Americans. Missionaries often served as the conduit for these multi-cultural exchanges. This chapter challenges the traditional imagery of the early Ohio Valley as a landscape that was quickly devoid of Indian nations, particularly following the War of 1812, and presented itself as a staid, white, pioneer community that picked up the hoe and held it fast through present day. Instead of a region that has sometimes unconsciously held the antiquated Turnerian philosophy of frontier, this country was rich with Indians, African Americans, and white settlers from all walks of life that, for a time, made their homes quite comfortably with one another. For the majority of the cultural groups, they assessed one another, accommodated one another, and helped one another to meet their common needs of survival and friendship on a terrain that could be lonely and inhospitable. Missionaries were more than preachers and teachers; Indians were more than the stereotypical ignorant savage who needed correcting; and African Americans were more than runaway slaves seeking freedom. This section examines the relationships between

[11] Harvey, Henry. *History of the Shawnee Indians: From the Year 1681 to 1854, Inclusive*. (Cincinnati: Ephraim Morgan and Sons, 1855) pg. 28.

Indians and their settler neighbors, African Americans who lived and worshipped with Indian peoples, Quaker and Methodist faiths, the individuals who worked in the role of missionary, and their involvement with Indian and African American slavery issues in Ohio and again in Missouri.

Chapter two focuses on the Shawnee and Wyandot communities. Based on primary and secondary sources, including church records, published diaries, and county histories, this chapter examines the diverse, multiple Indian and white communities that existed with and among one another. As the demographic landscape quickly changed, the Shawnee and Wyandot embraced select Euro-American practices, generally taught by the ever-willing missionaries, as a means of peace keeping. These Indian communities sought out missionaries they had come to trust over many years of interaction and shaped the mission's policies and provisions to meet the needs of Indian communities. The study reveals Indian education on Indian terms with missionaries who encouraged participation without violence or coercion. In these early years, the missionaries provided whatever the Indians agreed to, from teaching farming techniques to the adults to educating young people in a school setting. Implements, teachers, and buildings were provided often at the expense of the church. These groups served to meet one another's needs. The Indian communities needed the missionaries to help them establish accepted Euro-American practices to remain at peace with their neighbors and the missionaries needed to fulfill their inherent mission to assist those they perceived to be in need.

In chapter three, I explore Indian Removal in the Ohio Valley. Most secondary sources focus on the forced removal of the Cherokee and are silent about the other

forms of Removal that took place throughout the colonial and Early Republic eras. History fails to acknowledge the tragedy of Indian removal for many of the tribal groups living in the Midwest since their actions appear to be motivated by treaty agreement and land sales. The issues of coercion, violence, and unrelenting pressures to relinquish land holdings are too often absent from the conversation. This chapter attentively tells the story of Midwest removal, the spirituality of land loss, as well as the policies wielded by U.S. Presidents that would forever change the future of Indian peoples. Nonetheless, Indian peoples resisted and persisted in the Ohio Valley well into the twentieth century.

Chapter four incorporates both primary and secondary sources and concludes the examination of the Shawnee and Wyandot after they began their lives anew in Kansas. It evaluates the mission influences that were brought from Ohio to the West and shows how these influences were manifested in Indian communities. If further looks at the fundamental changes in Indian education and suggest that the church mission schools in Kansas begin to resemble the policies and practices of the well-known boarding schools of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. It was at this time that schools began to serve only Indian children and abandoned work among the adults. As youngsters left their families and boarded with the missionaries their lives became enmeshed in western traditions and in many instances were put in situations that attempted to destroy their “indianness”. These schools evolved to the point that young people were forced into religious studies as a part of the curriculum, and were stripped of their traditional dress in exchange for western clothes. The Methodist mission at this point went so far as to prohibit Indian languages. The co-community

vision of the mission as a helpmate in the Ohio Valley became mission boarding school in the West.

The final chapter surveys the broad development of Indian education from the colonial era to the boarding school movement through the lens of the mission experience. Based primarily on secondary sources, the chapter contends that the issues of Indian policy and religious missions were ultimately interwoven. At one point, the formal federal civilization policy was administered by missionaries in 1869 at the behest of President Grant. In many ways the idea of the Indian Mission of commodified as denominations sought to secure the Indian education funds issued to run the schools. For nineteenth-century Americans, the ideals of civilization consisted of two factors: farming and Christianity. Mission societies neatly promoted both ideals, and incubated civilization policies that came to fruition with the cultural genocide of the boarding school movement.

CHAPTER ONE:

River Valley Tapestry: Relationship, Race, and Religion from Frontier to Early-Republic Ohio

The perception of the social, political, and physical landscape of the Ohio River Valley has seemed to change very little over the past two centuries. The common conception holds the vision of flat, rich farmlands; staid, hardworking, pragmatic, primarily rural peoples with vastly conservative political leanings. However, this landscape that encompasses modern day Ohio, eastern Indiana, and northern Kentucky has been marvelously richer throughout its history. This chapter will show the depth of socio-political diversity in the Ohio region that has existed since the turn of the nineteenth century. Multiple Indian communities co-existed with settlers, traders, and missionaries sometimes under violent circumstances, but more frequently under much more amicable terms. Weaving in and out of these settler and Indian communities were representatives from multiple religious groups, each espousing their own brand of Christianity, as well as government representatives, free blacks, and escaped slaves. The banks of the Ohio River provided a natural border between the oppression of southern slavery and the freedom of the North, and became a hotbed of political activity on both sides of the slavery debate. As the work of the Underground Railroad expanded with the rising white population, many of its most ardent supporters, such as the Harvey family of Harveysburg, Ohio, some fifty miles northeast of Cincinnati, seemed to share an affinity for the social causes of the day and found themselves

entwined with abolitionism and the Underground Railroad as well as with concerns on the education and treatment of Indian peoples.[12]

While the conception of the Ohio Valley situated as a part of the Midwest as a whole may be a monolith of beige, the sparse historiography of the region portrays a population of settlers from New England, the upland South, and western Europe in the form of soldiers, farmers, missionaries and enterprising souls whose goals were to take advantage of the potential of trade, industry and transportation along the lucrative Ohio River.[13] Historian Edward Watts goes so far as to relate the Midwest, as represented by the Old Northwest Territory, to a colony of the original eastern states. He identifies the Old Northwest as the first American colony and argues that it parallels colonialism with the imperial motive of economic and geographical expansion, the issuance of a secondary constitution in the form of the Northwest Ordinance, the Northwest's role as a testing ground for republicanism and the regions geographic location cut off from the 'mother country,' the East, by a mountain range.[14] These histories however, tend to

[12] The Harvey family will be discussed in detail throughout this dissertation.

[13] For more on these individual studies see for Yankeeism: Ronald Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties, Michigan 1827-1861*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); Susan Gray, *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier, (*Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Amy DeRogotis, *Moral Geography: Maps, Missionaries, and the American Frontier,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). For Upland Southern culture: Frank Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Nichole Etcheson, *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest, 1787-1861,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996) and John Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). For Immigrant culture: Kathleen Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976) and Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Patterns of Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). For the development of trade and Urban culture: Richard Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959) and Kim Gruenwald, *River of Enterprise: The Commercial Origin of Regional Identity in the Ohio Valley, 1790-1850,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Pres, 2002).

[14] Edward Watts, *An American Colony: Regionalism and the Roots of Midwestern Culture,* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002), xii-xxii. For more on the influence of back country concerns in the

compartmentalize micro-regions and miss the interaction between cultural groups; further they fail to take into account the exchanges between Euro-Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans.

Even though Ohio attained statehood in 1803, in many ways, early Ohio, resembled more closely a frontier exchange rather than a staid government entity. In 1921 Frederick Jackson Turner laid the foundational work for the study of the American frontier as he conveyed the image of a fairly simple, linear, every-moving demarcation between the uncivilized and the civilized, or Native America vis-à-vis Euro-America. As American 'conquered' the physical and political landscape, their independence, ingenuity, bravery and skill created the American identity.[15] It is later historians who began to complicate the image of the frontier in America. Beginning with Richard White's seminal 1991 work *The Middle Ground*, the concept of the frontier began to involve the diverse individuals meeting face-to-face. Instead on one culture dominating and overriding another culture, the two (or three or more) groups of individuals often sought "the middle ground" as a means of existing in the most productive means possible. This work was followed by historians such as Susan Sleeper-Smith, Stephen Aron, Andrew R. L. Cayton, and Michael Witgen who provided us with glimpses into the frontier landscape that included pragmatic marriages between cultural groups, lucrative trade agreements, diplomacy, and even simple friendship.[16]

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development of the New Republic see Ed White, *The Backcountry and the City: Colonization and Conflict in Early America,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

[15] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History,* reprint, (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1971).

[16] Richard White, *The Middle Ground;* Susan Sleeper-Smith*, Indian Women and French Men;* Michael Witgen, Ian Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)*;* Andrew R. L. Cayton, *Frontier Indiana*,

Helen Hornbeck Tanner recognized this vision of exchange long before the White's definition of the middle ground. She describes a similar setting in her article "The Glaize in 1792: A Composite Indian Community," in which she shows a diverse, multi-cultural environment consisting of French and English traders and Shawnee, Miami, and Delaware villages that all intermingle with one another near Defiance, Ohio at the confluence of the Miami and Auglaize Rivers. Tanner unveils these communities that consist of Indians and Europeans who live peaceably and sometimes intermarry. Further, she shows how both white and black captives are adopted into the Indian nations. These relationships coincided with the stresses brought on by warfare between the American military and the Indian nations during the U.S.-Indian Wars, and the vibrancy of this frontier exchange was curtailed only by the advances of U.S. military action following the Battle of Fallen Timbers when many of the Indian groups voluntarily dispersed to Missouri to settle under then Spanish rule. The largest of the Indian villages were those of the Shawnee led by Chief Bluejacket. Bluejacket became a significant leader and negotiator during those turbulent years and easily moved between the Indian and white communities. Tanner notes many incidents when U.S. government and military leaders briefly housed with Bluejacket as well as among other Shawnee and Delaware, while the French living in the area housed Indian warriors.[17]

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay,* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, Eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mowhawk Valley to the Mississippi 1750-1830*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[17] Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "The Glaize in 1792: A Composite Indian Community," *Ethnohistory,* 25:1, Winter 1978, p. 15-39.

Further, African Americans were drawn in part to the frontier, and possibly to Indian communities in particular. William B. Hart discusses the cultural dynamics of Indians and African Americans in the frontier exchange. He recounts the story of an African American-Seneca who served as a go-between or spy prior to the Revolutionary War, bringing back to the colonies pertinent information gathered during Seneca hunting trips in the Ohio Valley. The cultural identity of Sun Fish was never in question, or considered an oddity. Sir William Johnson, a superintendent of Indian Affairs simply referred to him as Mullatto when he was offering free papers for safe passage or as Seneca when he was gathering information on interior Indian nations. Hart notes that the fluidity of the frontier environment allowed individuals to morph their identities if they so desired. Thus we see whites or African Americans adopted into Indian households who then become ethnically Indian. Or, those who, through kinship networks via blood, marriage, or adoption become part of two different ethnic communities, travelling easily between the two or adhering to one and averting the other.[18]

This American "frontier," as it were, was not a clear-cut line spatially, culturally or temporally. Unlike Turner's frontier that marched in orderly conquest from sea to sea, the reality was a frontier that existed in spaces or enclaves and could exist before and even after a location reached statehood. Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute talk about the frontier as,

> contested spaces, not as a stage in the progress of the world according to Europeans. . . . [T]he essence of a frontier is the kinetic interactions among many peoples, which created new cultural matrices distinctively American in their eclecticism, fluidity, individual determination and differentiation. Attention centers, not on the ultimate domination by white Americans of the frontier, but on

[18] William B. Hart, "Black 'Go-Betweens' on New York's Frontier," in *Contact Points*, pg. 88-113.

> the multi-sided negotiations of power involved in forming that most distinctive of American landscapes, frontiers. [19]

Parts of the Ohio Valley remained "contested spaces" with "multi-sided negotiations of power" well into the early- nineteenth century. Two of these spaces in the central Ohio Valley, Indian communities at Wapakoneta and Upper Sandusky, Ohio are discussed at length in this work.

These two spaces are of particular interest for several reasons. First, they are federal Reservation lands laid out via treaty negotiations, they are inhabited by two associated, but different Indian communities, the Shawnee and Wyandot, they both negotiate peace and persistence through the interaction of religious communities, and they represent the largest populations of the last two significant Indian communities to reside en masse in Ohio. The chapters that follow will narrow the lens to examine closely the individual pedagogy and religious instruction of the missions among the Indian peoples, including the manner in which the Shawnee and the Wyandot balanced the power between themselves and the Americans to stay at peace in a American society that was beginning to quickly close in. This chapter, however, looks at the complexity of the Ohio population as Ohio missionaries, settlers, African Americans and Native Americans negotiated their roles and relationships to live in relative peace with one another. The Indian wars were over. White America began taking their places on the physical landscape bringing with them their own ideas of a civilized life, and free blacks, former slaves, and runaways were trying to find their way through the ever-changing milieus. In the scenarios that follow, this chapter will show how these

[19] Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, "On the Connection of Frontiers," in *Contact Points,* pg. 2.

individual homogenous settler groups did exist in their individual communities, each with their own motivations for survival in the Ohio Valley, but often mingled, exchanged, and even lived with other cultural groups in this amalgamation of separate goals, needs, and practices. It explores these diverse relationships and introduces the rich complexity of the social landscape as a means of laying the groundwork for the chapters to follow.

Everyday Life

As the U.S.-Indian Wars came to end, violence in the Ohio region diminished. At the risk of painting an all-to-perfect picture of peacefulness, Indian communities, African Americans and white settlers for the most part managed to accept and accommodate one another, even to the point of developing friendships. Serious land pressures came more from the federal government in their zeal to move the country westward in fulfilment of its perceived 'Manifest Destiny'. In the early 1800s, white settlers in the new state were simply trying to establish their own lives. They sought good land; they built homes; they looked for places to grind their meal and water their livestock. For the most part they may avoid the Indian Reservations, or they would engage with Indians for help and on occasion friendship, especially in the sparsely populated early years of settlement. Of course, as in any society, there were moments of distress. Naturally vile individuals who would attempt to take advantage of people or create disputes involving land or goods. There was also some retribution violence that carried over from the Indian/white hostilities and prejudices that resulted from the Indian Wars and the War of 1812. However, by and large, in the period between 1800 and 1843 these groups lived and worked effectively among one another.

Local friendships and hospitalities began with those individuals who had direct relationships with Indian peoples via the government or missions. John Johnston (figure 1), for instance, was a long-time agent to the Ohio Indians including the Shawnee and Wyandot. He and his cousin George Johnston, who ran the trading post, were friends with the Shawnee and Indian leaders as they were a part of each other's daily exchanges. They trusted one another. These trusting relationships gave Native American communities a voice in government matters, and made easier work for federal representatives. The Shawnee at Wapakoneta trusted Johnston's input in government

Figure 1: John Johnston, Indian Agent
(Source: Ohiohistorycentral.org)

matters; they also trusted white men such as their long-time friend, Frenchman, Francis Duchoquet who acted as their interpreter in numerous negotiations. Trusted relationships made diplomacy possible. These relationships were beneficial to both parties. Some of the most heinous treaty negotiations, such as those that forced the Shawnee to give up their Ohio reservation were directed and interpreted by little known government officials and interpreters.[20] However, when a good relationship was established it held long and well. Johnston recounts a message he received from a Potawatomi Chief, Caldwell who refused to treat with President Van Buren and was waiting on fulfillment of the rumor that William Henry Harrison would become President. Calwell wrote (parenthetical expressions are Johnston's):

> My old friend and father Johnston, I still hold you fast by the hand, even up to the shoulder, (meaning that nothing could break his friendship for me). I have been for three years past invited by my father, (meaning the representative of Mr. Van Buren) to come and make a treaty with him. I have shut my ears against him, for he is a liar and speaks with two tongues. But I hear my old friends and father, Harrison, is soon to become President, and when he becomes my father again, I will go and settle the business of my nation with him. And although I fought hard against him last war, I know him to honest, and will not cheat and tell me lies.

Unfortunately for this Indian chief, Harrison did not live long enough for him enter into negotiations with him, but the incident illustrates the importance of relationship in formal agreements.[21]

Johnston also shares accounts of regular movement of various individuals of multiple walks of life that made their way through his agency's headquarter in Piqua,

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[20] This negotiation will be discussed in detail later in this work.

[21] John Johnston, *Recollections of Sixty Years by John Johnston, Indian Agent for the U.S. Government at Piqua, Ohio from 1806 to 1853*, Reprinted from Cist's Miscellany, Cincinnati, 1842, together with account of the state of the Indian Tribes inhabiting Ohio. Charlotte Reeve Conover, Ed., (John Henry Patterson Publisher, 1915) 47.

Ohio. On the frontier it was not unusual for travelers to seek shelter at the established homes they encountered. During the War of 1812, General William Henry Harrison and his staff often stayed with Johnston in his Piqua home. He provides a colorful image of a house filled wall-to-wall with people from many walks of life.

> There was but one fireplace in the house . . . and in the cold weather the family and guests made quite a circle. The women, in cooking the supper, were often compelled to step over the feet of the General and his aids; and then at bed time such a backwoods scene! The floor would be covered with blankets, cloaks, buffalo robes, and such articles as travelers usually carry with them for the purpose of camping out. No one ever looked for a bed in those times. It was not unusual for twenty and thirty persons to lodge with us for a night. The Indians frequently were of the number. Missionaries of denominations, Catholics and Protestants, were alike welcomed. We lived on the extreme verge of the frontier, where travelers could nowhere else find accommodations.[22]

Settlers in Wyandot country also note the commonality of taking shelter in area homes as one travelled through the countryside. Further, the Delaware and Wyandot made assumptions that the white homes they approached would be friendly and labeled those who may prove otherwise.

> The Delawares as well as they Wyandots, when journeying from their reservations in search of game, almost invariably stopped at all the houses of the white settlers, and when they came to a white man's cabin, expected to receive the hospitality of its inmates; if they did not, they were much offended. They would say "very bad man., very bad man." . . . Often they would leave those who had sheltered them a saddle of venison or some other commodity which they had to spare. [23]

Accommodation and fair exchange was an everyday experience in Ohio country.

The Indian communities in this region for the most part did what they could to remain peaceful with the increasing numbers of white settlers. White settlers relied on

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[22] Johnston, *Recollections*, 47.

[23] *The History of Wyandot County, Ohio*, (Chicago: Leggett, Conaway & Company, 1884), 294.

Indian peoples for early survival on the early, sparsely populated frontier. The Indian communities respected individual properties and even helped newcomers find good land on which to settle. For instance, and 1829 settler, Frances Stephenson built and stocked a new home for his family. He left large amounts of meat and corn stored at the empty property for several months as he travelled to bring his family to their new home. He seemed quite surprised that none of the provisions had been looted, and noted that he became friendly with his Indian neighbors who in his words, "always knocked" and "never stole."

The Shawnee made immediate acquaintance with newcomers to the area, and would help those looking for land and helped white settlers find food, establish gardens, and grind meal. Isaac Shocky recounted a time that Shawnee men helped him choose the best land on which to settle. They directed him to an area with several springs that the Indians visited during sugar season and remembered the Indians as "good judges of land and very kind neighbors." Shocky occasionally stayed with the Shawnee in his travels and noted that they seemed to be offended if he tried to compensate them in any way.[24] There are records of Shawnee who led hunting parties for their white neighbors, and provided seed corn for newcomers, and providing mill services. When "settlers had no road [to the Wapakoneta mill], Shawnee leader, Quilna assisted them to open one."[25] Further, several individuals were quite simply friends with their neighbors. Shawnee developed relationships with area whites, such as Wayweleapy who "cultivated the

[24] *History of Allen County, Ohio*, (Chicago: Warner, Beers, & Co., 1885), 228-229.

[25]Charles C. Miller, Samuel A. Baxter, Eds. *History of Allen County, Ohio and Representative Citizens,* (Chicago: Richmond and Arnold Publishing, 1906), quote 56, 106, 154.

friendship of pioneers" and shared his gifted singing voice that was "so musical, that surveyors and other strangers passing through the country listened to him with delight."[26] Or Quilna, a Shawnee who was "popular among the white pioneers. . . [and] shared in all their sports and industries," and was known among the children of the white communities.[27]

Finally, deaths of Indian neighbors were mourned by both Indians and whites, and death ceremonies were attended by both as in the case of Chief Black Hoof's death that saw white missionaries and neighbors. However, it was not only the most venerable Chiefs to be honored in this way. For instance, settler John Cole noted that he attended the burial of Chief Pht (pronounced Pe-aitch-ta) and other Indian funerals as well.[28]

African Americans in the Ohio Valley intermingled with Indian and white communities as well. Most records show that they were particularly present when missionaries were involved. While significant aspects of relationships with African Americans in the form of the Methodists and Black minister John Stewart, and Quakers and African American education and the Underground Railroad, there are also indications that African Americans were part of the more casual aspects of day-to-day life. Methodist records note that near the Ohio Wyandot mission both white and Indian ministers preached to white, Black and Indian parishioners on a fairly regular basis. Missionary Elliott talks of questions that Wyandot Chief Warpole brought to him one

[26] *History of Allen County*, 212.

[27] *History of Allen County*, 214.

[28] *History of Allen County,* 238.

afternoon. Amidst questions concerning meeting places, and Christian fault with Indian dress, was a question that reveals the regular worship of African Americans in the settlement. He asks,

> I have been at three camp meetings, and observed, that after the preachers had preached, exhorted, and prayed, they very frequently went into their tent, and left the meeting to be carried on by the common people; beside, the black people exceeded all the others in shouting and various exercises: these things I want to know about.[29]

Warpole shows that not do these groups worship together, they bring with them and share their own methods of sharing and worship.

The Quaker Experience

Moravian, Baptist, and Catholic missionaries worked with Indians in the Ohio River Valley, but the most prominent were the Quakers and Methodists. This chapter will focus on and compare these two groups based on their work with the Shawnee in west central Ohio and the Wyandot in north central Ohio, as well as the individuals who followed the religious teachings and shared their lives with Indian communities. Even though each group held similar protestant beliefs of a personal relationship with God through the belief and teachings of Jesus Christ, the groups diverged in their methods of sharing their faith. Methodist missionaries sought first to reform the personhood of a non-believing individual through salvation in Jesus Christ, which in turn would naturally be followed by "civilization". The Quakers, in contrast, believed that their example of fruitful, Christian living would speak for itself in terms of prompting religious convers ion; their example would inspire in their charges, the desire to adapt not only "civilized"

[29] Rev. Charles Elliott, *Indian Missionary Reminiscences, Principally of the Wyandot Nation*, (New York: Land & Scott, 1850), 59-60.

living practices, but “civilized” religion as well. Since the Quakers avoided overt proselytizing, their immediate position in mission work appeared to be simply teacher and helpmate.

Further, in acting out their faith at their specific mission sites, the multiple, white, religious leaders crossed and co-mingled with people of color and augmented their mission work to varying degrees with the inclusion of African Americans. While the Northwest Territory and the later state of Ohio never legally allowed slavery, it was home to free African Americans, freed slaves, and escaped slaves. Ohio’s proximity as a free state in the antebellum period created a hotbed of abolitionist activity. In the narrow confines of west central Ohio, these communities, Black, White, and Indian, occasionally converged, resulting in relationships that spanned mistrust, racism, and acceptance. The association of white religious leaders and free blacks in the religious community appears to be different in these Ohio Valley communities as opposed to the nation as a whole. Beyond the instances of uplift and aid societies, these Ohio religious communities extended involvement on a broader and more personal level. For instance, Quaker missionaries saw to the advanced education of a slave owner’s mulatto children and the Methodists ultimately ordained an African American and two Wyandot lay ministers. This chapter will explore the ideologies of nineteenth-century Methodist and Quaker faiths and show how these divergent social and evangelical theologies influenced the individuals serving the missions as well as the mission populations.

Both the Methodist and Quaker religions were rooted in the Old World, with the Quaker faith originating with the teachings of George Fox. Quakers held that the light of

God was within every individual, thus all had the opportunity for a personal experience with the Deity. This belief in the Inner Light implied a sense of equality for humankind as no one was exempt from the light, be they English, American Indian, African American, male or female. This egalitarianism played out in the right to believe, and somewhat in the right to preach as women did play a role in meeting.[30] Meetings separated the men from the women in proximity-- one gender on either side of the room with a female entrance and a male entrance to the building; however, women could be called to ministry and could be leaders on a local level. Even though men, for the most part, controlled the financial and business decisions of the denomination on a divisional level, this method of messaging gave women a role in Christian leadership and teaching that was unmistakably absent from most religious groups of the era.[31]

The Quakers adhered to a rigorous doctrine of rules and instruction derived from biblical teaching. The Society of Friends, through their adherence to meetings, oversaw the conduct, education, and religious experience of its membership. Though not a completely exclusive entity, the church was cautious in the admittance of new members and required a long period of close scrutiny in regard to the adherence of church doctrine before they would allow acceptance into the church. Exogamy was frowned upon and Church membership was predominantly by birth. Quakers place significant emphasis on pious living, discipline, education, and foremost honesty, as their word

[30] The Society of Friends (Quakers) do not refer to regular gatherings as "worship" or "church services" as you would see in other Christian faiths, but as "Meetings". This terminology pervades the faith's hierarchy: individual communities hold the weekly meeting; local congregate groups attend the Quarterly Meeting; and regional congregates gather for the Yearly Meeting. Meetings have components of worship, teaching, and business.

[31] See Ryan Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820-1865.*

alone was the replacement for their abstinence concerning oaths. It was vehemently against the beliefs of Quakers to take a sworn oath. This is represented not only in their refusal to take public oaths, but also in their personal lives as well. For instance, marriage in the church did not occur as a separate celebratory event with the traditional spoken oath to marital obligation, but was instead a simple moment of approval acknowledged and witnessed by the church during a regular meeting time. This stricter, insular aspect of the American Society of Friends grew out of an eighteenth-century revivalism that hoped to buoy a weakening, or "watering down" of American Quaker doctrine.[32]

The church was thus in a position to fulfill its philanthropic aspirations without the encumberment of proselytizing. While the church may have looked to allow the emergence of the Inner Light among American Indians and African Americans, they did not seek to expand their numbers through church admittance. This arrangement made the Quakers an appealing choice of missionaries for some Indian communities, as exemplified by the Shawnee of Wapakoneta, Ohio. However, this hands off approach may have impeded their potential work with the Wyandot of central Ohio, where the Methodist church found much more success. The Quakers had attempted to establish an uninvited presence with the Wyandot with little response. The Wyandot were more open to the evangelical methods of the Methodists, entertaining both the ideals of a Christian faith and agricultural sponsorship. Perhaps the Wyandot's prior involvement

[32] Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 15-26.; Baltimore Yearly Meeting, *Faith and Practice: Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends,* (Sandy Springs, Maryland: The Quaker Heron Press, 2011) Kindle Edition I. Living Our Faith 1. A Brief History.

with the Catholic Church in the late eighteenth- early nineteenth centuries and the prior adoption of some Christian practice and symbolism by a minority of the community made the Wyandot much more receptive to the proselytizing message of the Methodist faith.[33] The Quakers found a much more welcoming and hospitable environment when they were asked by the Wapakoneta Shawnee to be a part of their community.

The Society of Friends had a long history with American Indians. George Fox noted a desire to minister to the Indians upon his early visit to North America in 1671, and the church in Europe extended mission work and mission funds to New World.[34] The church further established committees specifically to oversee the mission work to American Indian communities. Each Yearly Meeting had their own committee by 1795, with the Pennsylvania Meeting focusing on Indian Nations in the East. The Baltimore Meeting focused its work on the Northwest Territory and in 1795 established the Indian Affairs Committee, which still exists today. Its initial purpose was to manage and distribute funds paid by the Quaker residents of the Shenandoah Valley. Unlike the Quakers who purchased their land from the Indians in Pennsylvania, the majority of the Indian nations in Virginia had already lost their land holdings years prior. Since the Quakers could not determine how their lands were originally obtained, they eased their conscious and the risk of hypocrisy by providing funds for Indian peoples. They intended the money, "'for the benefit of the Indian who was formally the Native Owners

[33] Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission,* 34,37.

[34] George Fox and Rufus Jones, *George Fox, An Autobiography*, (Philadelphia: Ferris and Lead, 1909) 482-535; Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, 19-22.

of the land in which we now live, or their descendants if to be found, if not, for the benefit of other Indians.'"[35]

American Quakers published their Yearly Meeting proceedings concerning their work in Indian country under the title, "A Brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee, Appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends . . . for Promoting the Improvement and Civilization of the Indian Natives" in both the United States and in England. These accounts were generally positive in their approach to reporting; they emphasized events and statements that the church considered successful, downplayed conflict, and stressed the dire necessity of religious intervention in the civilization process.[36] The American church likely presented their work in the brightest light of hope in an effort to secure and continue the church's support. Their efforts were not in vain as both the church and individuals in the United States and Europe helped to fund mission work in the Ohio Valley. The local church in Harvesyburg helped to fund the Wapakoneta mission as well as providing funds to help sustain the Shawnee when they were preparing to move west. The church in Europe would continue to support Quaker efforts well into the nineteenth century. For instance, funding for the establishment of the grist mill and mission house at the Wapakoneta site came, in part, from donations by Quakers in Ireland and England.[37]

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[35] Quoted in: Baltimore Yearly Meeting, *Faith and Practice,* Kindle Edition area 235.

[36] "A Brief Account of the Proceeding of the Committee, Appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in Baltimore for Promoting the Improvement and Civilization of the Indian Natives" (London: Phillips and Fardon, 1806) A2-A3. Note: in 1821, the Monthly Meetings of the Miami Valley in Ohio began to meet with the newly organized Indiana Meeting.

[37] Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, 39.

Quaker missionaries at the Wapakoneta location worked on the periphery of the community. Though they didn't live in the village proper, they often served as intermediaries or places of refuge during disputes between Indian peoples. Quaker missionary and historian, Henry Harvey recounted a long-shared story of missionary Isaac Harvey who sheltered a panic stricken Indian woman who sought protection from the Shawnee villagers accusations of witch craft. The young woman, blamed for the unexplained death of a prominent leader's child, begged the missionary to hide her, while villagers sought to kill her. Harvey hid the woman and her child and after much discussion and debate with village leadership, helped to dissuade those intent on the woman's death. The accused returned to the village unharmed.[38] This story was celebrated by the Quaker community as not only a moment of physical salvation for the women in question, but a victory over the superstitions of witchcraft that pervaded the Indian communities at that time.

The influence of witchcraft was often an accusation hurled at members of the community who supported opposing factions during a volatile period in the Shawnee community. In the early nineteenth century, the teachings of the Shawnee Prophet, Tenskwatawa and his militant brother, Tecumseh, pervaded the Indian communities in the Northwest Territory and caused schisms in the Shawnee community at Wapakoneta. Tecumseh met Black Hoof's people and tried to persuade the elderly chief to abandon his attempts to make peace with the Americans and to join him and his brother in their attempts to separate themselves from the American government, through violence if necessary. Tecumseh was an influential leader and some chose to

[38] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians,* 169-179.

follow his course of action. Of those several left the Wapakoneta community and chose to reside with Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa at Prophetstown in Indiana, while others stayed in Black Hoof's community, but remained wary of the efforts toward peaceful co-existence. This rift between pro- and anti- American Indian groups was further strengthened during the War of 1812, when divisions pitted not only Indian Nation against Indian Nation, but divisions within individual Nations as well. [39] These divisions are clearly exemplified by many Wapakoneta Shawnee who took refuge with Quakers in southern Ohio during the War years, as a young Harveysburg settler noted in her memoir, "During the War of 1812, several Indian tribes were hostile to each other. The Friends had a mission among the Shawnees at Wapakoneta. The destruction of this body of Indians was threatened by another offended tribe, and for their protection, John Shaw, agent of the Friends, brought the Shawnees to Caesar's Creek Valley. When the danger was over they returned. My father took possession of their camping ground soon after they had gone."[40] This era in Shawnee history was rife with anxiety, fear and distrust, and the mill and mission at the Wapakoneta village was destroyed during the war years.

The Quaker missionaries also re-established the grist mill and the mission house on non-reservation property after the war, where they trained the Shawnee in the milling process. Village Chief John Perry was ultimately in charge of the day-to-day workings

[39] For more information on Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa please see: R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* Second Edition, (New York: Pearson and Longman, 2007); Stephen Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Henry Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians, From the Year 1681-1854, Inclusive* (1855).

[40] Campbell, *Quaker Ministry,* pg. 42-43.

of the mill that served not only the Indian community, but the surrounding white community as well. Both Indian and non-Indian peoples would come from thirty-plus miles to have their corn and wheat ground at the Shawnee mill. At the recommendation of the Shawnee community, the Quakers placed Perry as supervisor to alleviate the necessity of securing another Quaker family to the full-time position of grist miller. Perry moved into the house that was the residence of the prior Quaker mill superintendent and was in charge of the daily workings and repair of the mill. A Quaker report shows that Shawnee adopted a community-governed policy for the mill, noting that they "had adopted a policy for the mill concerns, similar to the first institutions of Pennsylvania." Perry served as governor and directed a council of five other Shawnee representatives whose business was "to make such rules and regulations, from time to time, as may tend to the mutual interest of the whole."[41] These economic exchanges between the Shawnee and the surrounding community helped to establish a sense of relationship with some of the white community.[42] Mills on the frontier were in many ways a hub for interaction. Everyone, Indians and whites, required milled grain for survival on the progressing frontier and this mutual need encouraged peaceful cohabitation.

Further, the missionaries themselves established relationships with Individual Shawnee villagers. For instance, Quaker, and mission worker, Joseph Rhodes notes in

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[41] *Some Particulars Relative to the Continuance of the Endeavours, on the Part of the Society of Friends in the United States of North America, for the Improvement and Gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives.* (London: Printed and Sold by William Phillips, George Yard, Lombard Street, 1823). 23, 29 (quote 29)

[42]Kelsey,*Friends and the Indians*, 138-139; *History of Allen County, Ohio,* (Chicago: Warner, Beers and Co., 1885) 228-230.

his 1817 journal that the Shawnee regularly helped him clear timber and rubbish and set head gates asserting, “today, [I] went in to the Shawnee town and told the Indians I wanted some help to put in the head gates, we had 36 of them at dinner and Martha [Joseph’s wife] seemed as much delighted in waiting on them as she used to be in waiting on Friends at quarterly meeting time.”[43] Further, upon his wife’s untimely death, funeral proceedings took place in the presence of Indian peoples, his wife was buried in a Shawnee cemetery, and he was called on by numerous members of the Indian community. He notes, “on the 8th of the mo and the 6th of the week at four oclock this afternoon we very decently and solemly [interred her] in the presence of all the Chiefs of that nation and with the principle men in the Shawnee town they behaved very becoming [sic]. I suppose it was a great curiosity to them, the next day there was near 50 of the nation paid us a visit.”[44] Many Shawnee villagers looked upon the missionaries as a part of their community.

Individual missionary workers at Wapakoneta were motivated in part by a spiritual calling and by their assumed duties as directed by their church. As noted earlier, the Quakers had a long history of work among North American Indians, and carried on this mission through multiple generations, often within the same family. The family surnamed Harvey is one such multi-generational mission family. The first Harvey to make America his home was William Harvey, born in 1678 in Worcester, England. In 1712, William sailed to the United States, to settle in Pennsylvania country to the

[43]Diary of Joseph and Martha Rhodes’ Mission to the Shawnee Indians 1817, transcribed manuscript, Ohio State Archives, Box 637.

[44] Ibid.

dismay of his English family. Two years later, William would marry Judith Osborn, a 31-year-old English Quaker immigrant widow with four children who had originally sailed with William along with her then husband. Later generations of Harveys relocated from Pennsylvania to homes in Virginia and North Carolina. According to family records, many of these individual families were uncomfortable living in slave states, even though other groups of Quakers were known to hold slaves in the late eighteenth century. Part of a lineage hailing from North Carolina, it is likely that the Harveys were part of the migration of Virginia and North Carolina Quakers into the Ohio territory. As noted in a Quaker travel journal, "[t]here is much to induce Friends of the Southern States to remove to this new country; for added to the consideration of the superior quality of the land, and the cheap and easy terms upon which it is to be purchased, there is an invaluable regulation in the Constitution of Ohio, prohibiting slaves."[45] Multiple families quickly made their homes in the Ohio Valley when the area was broadly opened to white settlement following the end of the Indian wars, with the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. It was from this Ohio group that multiple Harvey family members became involved with Indian missions and abolitionism.[46]

The Harvey families who had settled in the Clinton County Ohio region (figure 2) possessed the social privileges and opportunities that came with being Anglo-American. They were economically sound, and secure in their staunch beliefs both to 'civilize' American Indians and to uplift African Americans. These Harveys devoutly held to their

[45] Gerald T. Hopkins, *A Mission to the Indians from the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting to Fort Wayne in 1804,* (Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell, 1862) 34.

[46] News clipping, *Daily Local News* "The Harvey Re-Union" Friday, September 6, 1878, W. H. Hodgson, Proprietor, W. W. Thomson, Editor (Harvey Family Folder, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana); "Harvey Family History," *The Families of Eli Harvey & Ruth Fisher Harvey with Diaries, Letters and Poems,* compiled by Phyllis Gyre Jones (Waterville, Maine: self published 2001) 9-10.

Quaker upbringing and multiple branches and generations from the family chose to cross racial and cultural boundaries to fulfill what they saw as their moral obligation as

Figure 2: Location of Harveysburg, Ohio
(Source: sperlingsbestplaces.net)

believers in the Society of Friends, united by the belief that the Inner Light of God was equally entrusted in the hearts of all people. These families often exchanged the comfort of established homes, farms, and incomes for a life in temporary housing, separated from their family and occasionally met with hostility by Indians who resented their presence in the community and traders who begrudged the missionaries' interference in their sometimes questionable business practices.[47] Multiple branches of the Harvey family served as teachers and superintendents at the Shawnee Missions in Ohio and in Kansas after Shawnee's 1833 removal west.[48] The choice of Clinton

[47] Campbell, *Quaker Ministry in the Wilderness.*

[48] Harveys serving as superintendents or teachers: Isaac and Agatha Harvey, superintendents 1819 and 1825; Henry Harvey and Nancy Madden Harvey, superintendents 1830, but actively involved

County Quakers to serve as superintendents of the agricultural mission and school entailed a journey of 80 miles over difficult undeveloped terrain in the Ohio country and later 800 miles of isolating travel west, to settle in a home devoid of the comforts of customary social circles, religious gatherings, families and established homesteads, and required a minimum two-year commitment. Neither did superintendents receive substantial economic gain from the mission field. In the case of the Quakers, all of the non-reservation land was owned and budgeted by the aggregate church. Any profits from the farms or the mills were used to support the mission. By 1837, after the Quakers followed the Shawnee west to Kansas, the couple who would act as the mission caretakers together received $500.00 annually and mission teacher was eligible to receive $20.00 a month.[49]

Henry Harvey, a patriarch in the Harvey family was an active participant in the lives of the Shawnee throughout his lifetime and authored the Shawnee history, *History of the Shawnee Indians, From the Year 1681-1854, Inclusive,* and as discussed in the previous chapter, served as mission superintendent in 1830, oversaw the Shawnee's preparation for removal, lobbied Washington with Shawnee leaders for a more equitable cash settlement for the dispossessed land, and helped to re-establish the mission in Kansas.[50] Though Henry remained involved with the Indian mission throughout his

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with the Missions from early 1800s through the closing of the Kansas mission in 1862; Dr. Jesse and Elizabeth Burgess Harvey, superintendents 1847, teachers from 1830s through Dr. Harvey's death in 1847; Simon and Mary Burgess Harvey superintendents 1857-1861; Caleb and Rebecca Jeffries Harvey teachers 1858; Elma Harvey, teacher 1859; Moses and Martha Stanley Harvey, teachers 1859.

[49] From *Further Information Respecting the Aborigines Containing Extracts from the Proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, And of the Committees on Indian Affairs, of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia and Baltimore* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1839) *21*-22.

[50] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee.*

lifetime, he eventually left his position as superintendent and permanently settled with his family in Kansas where he resumed work for the abolitionist cause.

Henry, like others in the Harvey line, divided his work among the Shawnee and African Americans. The proximity of his home in Clinton county Ohio to Cincinnati placed him in the heart of abolitionist movement and it was rumored that his home was an established stop on the Underground Railroad. [51] Harveysburg proper was occasionally the site of abolitionist rhetoric and was visited by abolitionist speakers the likes of Frederick Douglass and Harriett Beecher Stowe.[52] Further, the western mission lay in heart of the 1850s Bleeding Kansas. The Quaker mission, unlike the nearby Methodist mission to the Shawnee did not allow slavery. The Methodist mission owned and was served by several slave workers. Border Ruffians harassed the Quaker mission, damaged property and stole several horses. The rebel rousers further threatened the residing superintendent and his wife.[53] Henry Harvey extended his abolitionist activities to include his residence in Kansas. He served as a delegate in the 1855 free-state convention and actively participated in the Underground Railroad.[54] A traveler on the Underground Railroad noted an 1860 stop at the Harveys in Kansas saying, "We made Dragoon Creek Station on time. The depot-master here, Friend Henry Harvey had spent a lifetime in the anti-slavery struggle. . . . At some time he had been a missionary of the Society of Friends among the Shawnee Indians out here. He

[51] Campbell, *Anti-Slavery,* 72.

[52] Campbell, *Quaker Ministry,* 95.

[53] *Miami-Visitor* Newspaper, Waynesville, Ohio October 1, 1856 as quoted in Campbell, *Quaker Ministry*, fn. Xi, pg. 133.

[54] Campbell, 62.

lived ever true to his principles and was a tireless coworker in the great cause of humanity." [55] Harvey continued his efforts toward abolitionism and periodic involvement with the Indians for the remainder of his lifetime.

Dr. Jesse Harvey and his wife Elizabeth eventually took up the mantle of labor for the Shawnee and integrationist activities in the footsteps of Jesse's cousin, Henry. Both Jesse and Elizabeth hailed from families deeply rooted in the traditions of abolitionism and Indian education. Jesse's father, Caleb Harvey, served on the Committee for Indian Civilization, established by the Ohio Valley and Indiana Meetings and made frequent visits to the Wapakoneta mission, while Elizabeth's mother, a particularly devout Quaker, felt so strongly about the inequities of slaveholding Quakers that she convinced her mother to free the slaves she owned. With this lineage, Jesse and Elizabeth in many ways carried on the work of their respective parents. Active in both the Underground Railroad and in the abolitionist movement, the couple opened the first black school in Harveysburg in 1831 and the Haveysburg Academy in 1837. At the same time, they taught and worked among the Shawnee of Wapakoneta at the mission school and eventually became superintendents of the Quaker Shawnee School and Farm in Kansas in 1847.[56]

Elizabeth was particularly moved by the desire to teach the African American children who lived in and around Harveysburg. With their own funds, the couple opened the Black school for all people of color (figure 3), serving both African American and a

[55] Quoted in Campbell, *Quaker Ministry,* 62.

[56] Campbell, 73, 74, 100; "Elizabeth B. Harvey," *Ohio History Central—A Product of the Ohio Historical Society*, http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=2979; "Jesse Harvey," *Ohio History Central—A Product of the Ohio Historical Society,* http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=2980.

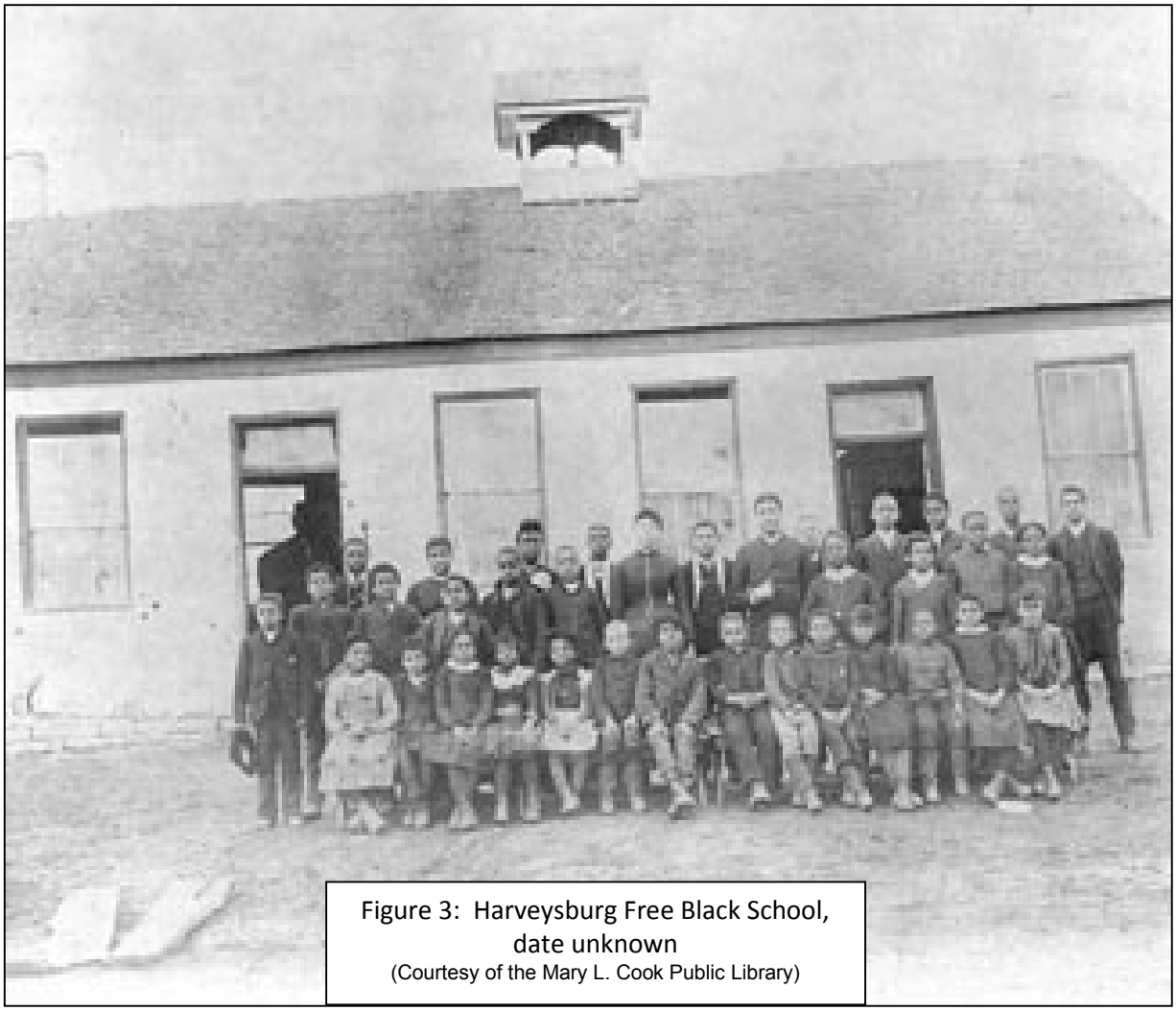

Figure 3: Harveysburg Free Black School, date unknown
(Courtesy of the Mary L. Cook Public Library)

few Native American children who lived nearby as noted in family histories. In the one-room school house, both Elizabeth and Jesse taught classes, which included writing, reading, and the sciences. Although they provided some instruction in domestic arts, this curriculum was not dominant, and there seems to be no provision for teaching agricultural arts. The free black school resembled more closely a traditional preparatory school, with a focus on citizenship, general education and potential college preparation.[57]

[57] "Elizabeth Harvey"; "Jesse Harvey"; Campbell, 77; "Harveysburg Free Black School" Ohio History Central http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=2981; Campbell, *Anti-Slavery and the Underground Railroad~Taking a Risk for Freedom: The Third Annual Quaker Genealogy & History Conference, April 2007* (Waynesville, Ohio: The Mary L. Cook Public Library, 2007) 177-191.

In 1837, they expanded to the Harveysburg Academy, which they attempted to integrate. Despite the abolitionist activity in the Quaker community, the ideals of equality and integration were not universal. At this point, the Harveys' had reached an impasse in their efforts to expand and combine the black and white school. So many white families protested the integration that they refused to send their children. Attempting a solution, Jesse separated the African American and white students. While this arrangement satisfied the white community, it enraged radical abolitionists who accused Jesse of kowtowing to white supremacists.[58] The decisions the Harveys made were consistently under a blanket of distress as their actions were repeatedly refuted by either pro- or anti-abolitionists in their community. Nonetheless, the Academy proceeded and served approximately 25 students, including five mulatto children born to a North Carolina slave owner, Stephen Wall and three of his female slaves. It is quite possible that word of Jesse's work in African American education had indeed travelled throughout the region in light of the intensity of abolitionist activity in southern Ohio. It is as equally likely, that Wall had known Jesse personally or knew of him based on Jesse's previous ties to North Carolina. Whatever the case, Wall had hoped to provide for his children, and he could not obtain a legal education for them in North Carolina, and turned to the Harvey family for aid. The slaveowner/father left the children in the care of Jesse. Jesse and Elizabeth proved trustworthy in their commitment to the well-being of the young people. The children found comfortable homes with the couple themselves or with other members of Jesse's immediate family. The Wall offspring, including the eldest Orindatus Wall (figure 4), successfully completed their education at

[58] Campbell, *Quaker Ministry,* 97-97; Campbell, *Anti-Slavery*, 177-191.

the Harveysburg Academy, continuing their studies at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, the progressive academy that was among the first to admit African American and female students. Wall the elder's last will and testament formally entrusted his children to Jesse; he trusted that the Harveys would not only care for and educate them, but also oversee their inheritance, their land purchases and their establishment in the free Ohio community.[59] Unlike their fervent support for the Indian missions, the Quaker community was more reluctant to endorse formally Underground Railroad or integrationist activities. Though they believed in the equality of humankind, they also refused to condemn slave owners. Breaking laws and instigating political unrest were considered offenses within the church. Numerous individual Friends worked for the abolitionist cause, but rarely with the consent and often with the censure of the church as a body. In some cases, outspoken abolitionists were even forced to leave the

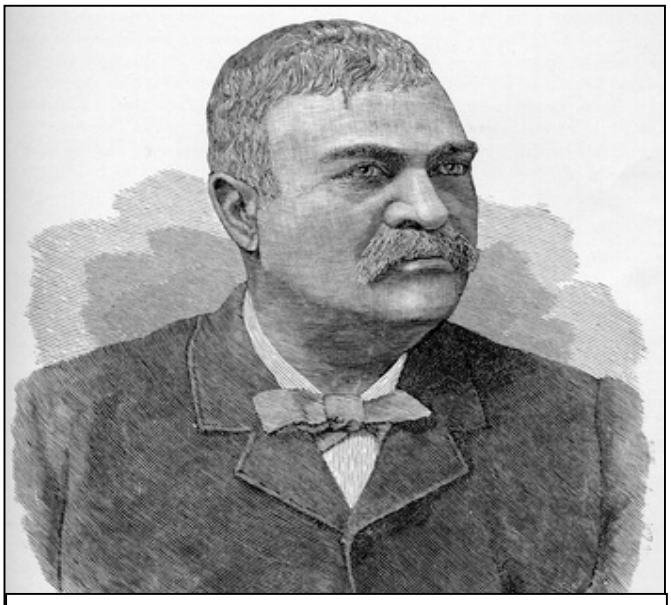

Figure 4: Orindatus Wall, eldest of the Wall children.
(Source: dcentric.wamu.org)

[59]Campbell, 80-91.

Society of Friends.[60] Therefore, it is not surprising that while the Quakers funded the establishment of the Shawnee schools, they did not contribute to Elizabeth and Jesse's academies. After seven years of personal funding, Jesse was near broke and publically incorporated the Harveysburg Academy, thereby relinquishing his sole right to the property and the curriculum.[61]

Amidst their time spent teaching African Americans in Harveysburg, Jesse and Elizabeth regularly travelled the 90 miles to the Wapakoneta mission to teach and work among the Shawnee. They assisted in the 1833 removal and by 1847 the couple and their children moved to Kansas, accepting the two-year position of superintendent at the Mission school. Jesse succumbed to illness and died within a year of relocating, but Elizabeth and the children remained for their full two-year term. [62]

The role of Quakers in the lives of African Americans and Natives Americans, as illustrated by the Harveys, is complex. Their story spans the most internally tumultuous years of Quakerism, witnessing not only the major Hicksite and Orthodox schism, but the Wilberite/Guerneyite divisions as well.[63] Amidst the religious struggles over the role of the church in leadership, evangelical and political endeavors, the Harveys focused on their roles within the African American and Indian communities. In their education of

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[60] Ibid., 92-95; see also, Ryan Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820-1865.*

[61] Campbell, *Anti-Slavery,* 178.

[62] Ibid.

[63] In 1828, the Society of Friends formally split into two separate entities: the Hicksite Quakers, and the Orthodox Quakers, both claiming lineage to the original teaching of Fox. Elias Hicks led a movement that supported active participation in abolitionism, emphasis of the Inner Light over scripture, and the adherence to the separation of Quakers from society in the form of dress and speech. The Hicksite reformation further embodied the cultural differences that began to divide urban (Orthodox) and rural (Hicksite) Quakers. Most of the Harvey family were Hicksite Quakers.

free blacks, the educational motivations reflect a certain sense of equality that, although marginal, stressed the fundamentals of traditional instruction, while Native American education heavily emphasized religious and agricultural studies. By their own standards, these Quakers considered themselves mediators working toward the betterment of Native Americans and African Americans in relation to white society.

Education was the key component of the Quaker arsenal that shaped the lives of American Indians and African-Americans. The intergenerational involvement of many Quakers, represented here by the Harvey family, reflects long-held deeply rooted religious beliefs that directed individuals whose personal actions influenced the lives of both Indians and African Americans. Though the pedagogy differed between the two minority groups, the motivation to service each community seems to fall under the singular desire for social and economic betterment in the lives of those without Euro-American opportunities. Though their work is easily scrutinized by the hind sight of twenty-first century thought and knowledge, these nineteenth-century Quakers attempted to create a realm of improved living for those they assisted. Their work reveals a multi-cultural environment in which early attempts at integration and equality existed along with a sense of respect for the Shawnee. The Harveys administered Indian education at the discretion of the Shawnee and the Wall children's education at the Harvey's Free Black School contradicts the traditional narrative that posits freedmen as being trained only for domestic service. Moreover, the Harveys represent Quaker involvement with American Indians and with African Americans both freed and enslaved, that occurred both simultaneously and generationally throughout their family's lineage.

The Methodist Experience

Like the Quaker faith, American Methodism grew out of English doctrine; however, the Methodist faith represented a much younger doctrine, coming into its own as an established faith as late as the early-nineteenth century. Methodism grew out of the evangelical Wesleyan theology and was rooted in the individual experience "through a conversion experience in which God was the prime mover, Christ the mediator, and the individual a full participant as responder."[64] American Methodism developed not under the auspices of the English Anglican, John Wesley, but by unauthorized lay preachers who took the teachings of personal experience upon themselves. History dates the earliest emergence of the American version of the faith in the mid-1760s. It was not until 1784 that the Methodist Episcopal Church was formally established under a bishopry with Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke serving as the first Bishops. Further, early American Methodists were known for their series of circuit riders. These ministers traveled into the more remote and less populated regions of the country to minister to parishioners, and to evangelize non-believers. These circuit riders could be ordained clergy or lay ministers and would preach with or without the backing of the church hierarchy.[65] It was through this method of lay ministry that the Methodists became involved with the Wyandot community of Upper Sandusky.

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[64] Frederick Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), 17.

[65] For more on the development of the Methodist Church, see: *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies,* William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, Eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and*

The Wyandot had a long history of involvement with the surrounding white community. They had previous, brief experiences with Catholic missionaries and Quaker missionaries, and like the Shawnee, the Wyandot worked and traded among the settlers living near their communities. For instance, correspondent, Don Seitz recollects the recounted stories of his father who grew up in a trader's cabin run by his grandmother near the Wyandot mission at Upper Sandusky. Seitz's

> great-grandmother, coming, widowed , with her children, from Maryland, established a home near the tribe, and soon became very friendly with the people. My father had long a vivid memory of old warriors who fought St. Clair and Wayne, sitting in a half circle above the fireplace, while his pioneer grandmother stepped through a trap door in the log house floor, which reached a half-cellar beneath the rough hewn planks, to bring out articles from her store to trade for wild fowl and game.[66]

Observably, the Wyandot were in many ways comfortable with their white neighbors and open to relationships with those outside of their community.

The work of a free African-American, self-proclaimed lay minister named John Stewart[67] introduced the Methodist faith to the Wyandot community at Upper Sandusky. Raised a Baptist, Stewart, himself was a Methodist convert and accordingly felt he was led by the transforming Spirit of God to share the gospel of Jesus Christ with unbelievers. Stewart emerged from an emotionally depressed state when he was robbed of all of his assets and resources near his Marietta, Ohio home. An African American, faced with the prospect of poverty, Stewart was at his lowest point. It was

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Their Relations, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974); Heitzenrater, Richard P. *Wesley and the People Called Methodists,* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995).

[66] "The Wyandots: Being the History of an American Indian Nations Whose Warriors Never Surrendered" unpublished manuscript by Don C. Seitz, n.d., VOL 710, Ohio State Archives.

[67] Also known as John Steward

from these emotional depths that Stewart found solace and spiritual salvation through the Methodist faith and felt divinely called to work with the Indian communities in the Northwest. Unsure of exactly where he was to go, he simply began to journey north. He first settled briefly with a Delaware community, who in turn directed him to the Wyandot at Upper Sandusky.[68]

Stewart's work began as a strictly evangelical, proselytizing mission to convert non-believing Wyandot peoples to the Christian faith. Not only did he confront those with no belief in the Judeo-Christian God, he further combated what he considered the demoralizing affects of Catholicism that crept into the religious experiences of some of the Wyandot peoples. He taught against the use of what he viewed as symbolic idolatry by way of the crucifix and rosary, as well as the process of confession and absolution of sin through the an earthly person. He faced opposition from not only those who opposed Christianity, but also from those who embraced the symbolism of Catholicism. Stewart met with little success in the early months, but he persevered. Stewart's friendship with an Indian department employee, William Walker, Sr. and his wife, a half-Wyandot woman of education and means proved beneficial to the missionary's credibility. The influential couple publically supported Stewart and reassured questioning Indians that Stewart's Bible was indeed, the one true Bible. With this endorsement, the numbers of Wyandot who came to hear his sermons began to increase over time, due in part to Stewart's apparent renowned singing voice. The

[68] James B. Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission under the Direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* (Cincinnati: J.F. Wright and L. Swormstedt, 1840) 78-80., Huber, "White, Red and Black." 5-11.

missionary peppered his sermons with numerous hymns. The Wyandot would visit for the music as much as for the message.[69]

Stewart was aided in his work by an African-American interpreter named Jonathon Pointer. Pointer was taken captive and adopted into the Wyandot tribe at a young age. He lived as a Wyandot and retained his ability to speak English. He proved to be an effective interpreter for Stewart even though he vehemently failed to welcome Stewart's evangelical message in the early moments of his ministry. It was not until much later, after the conversion of many Wyandot leaders that Pointer, too, embraced the Methodist faith as discussed in the previous chapter.[70]

Though Stewart worked alone in the beginning months of his ministry, he soon garnered the attention of the nearby Methodist minister, James Finley. Finley took note of the increasing numbers of congregants and the apparent acceptance of Methodist teachings by several of the Wyandot, particularly interest by Wyandot leaders, Between-the-Logs and Mononcue. Stewart petitioned the Methodist hierarchy, who ultimately ordained Stewart as a Methodist minister, with encouragement from Finley. The ordination of an African American minister was unique in the young, Methodist denomination, which would later bifurcate into the Methodist Episcopal Church serving mostly white congregants and the African Methodist Episcopal church serving people of

[69] Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission*; Huber, "White, Red and Black." 5-11; N.B.C Love, *John Stewart, The Pioneer Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* (New York: Missionary Literature Publication Society, date unknown).

[70] Ibid.

color.[71] One could speculate that Stewart's service primarily to Indian peoples in the backwoods of Ohio influenced the church's decision to ordain Rev. Stewart.

Regardless of the reasons for ordination, Stewart did impress the church's hierarchy. His success in ministering to the Wyandot was lauded on a national level and prompted a significant development in the Methodist denomination. In 1820, the Methodist church authorized a separate, funded mission society to spread the Gospel to other Indian nations. For the next several years, Indian missions emerged throughout the nation, including a mission to the Shawnee in Kansas in 1829. Shawnee had been migrating in small groups to Kansas territory for several years. The Mission (near present-day Kansas City) became a Manual Labor School that was designed to teach agriculture, trades, and domestic skills. The school was supported in part by the Methodist church and in part through self-support via farming. The school was staffed with missionaries and slave labor.[72] Interestingly, the same body that ordained an African-American minister in the Ohio country, enslaved African Americans at their church-sponsored Indian mission school in Kansas.

Methodist missionaries, like the Quakers, did not answer the call to serve Indian missions for economic gain. Once Indian missions came under the auspices of the general church, limited funding was made available to the mission and the missionary. These funds were conservative and deemed inefficient by the Reverend Finley who suggested in his report to the Church that the current state of the missionary in 1828

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[71] Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission*; Huber, "White, Red and Black." 5-11; N.B.C Love, *John Stewart, The Pioneer Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* (New York: Missionary Literature Publication Society, date unknown).

[72] Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission*, "Advertisement"; Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism*, 177; Campbell, *Into the Wilderness,* 14.

with his income and his intense responsibility was kin to slavery; he writes, " While the Missionary is made Superintendent of the farm and of the School while all the money which is designed for the Support of the Institution is put into his hands and he made responsible for the proper laying of it out While he is required to feed and clothe so large a family he must he will be a slave."[73] Though it is apparent that these missionaries did not work as volunteers, they received enough to sustain themselves and little else. It is unlikely that the financial opportunity, or lack of opportunity, would serve as a motivation for life as a missionary in Ohio's Indian Territory.

However, the reality of personal income or propriety did not squelch the criticisms of some neighboring whites, particularly traders. Ohio remained replete with traders hailing from France, Britain, Canada, and the States, some of whom relied on alcohol to ply Indians and in turn cheat them in their transactions. As the missionaries preached the woes of alcohol with the drive for temperance, it is clear that these two entities vying for the attention of the Wyandot and Shawnee would indeed clash. Traders in the case of the Wyandot attempted to undermine the integrity of Stewart claiming that he was inferior to the Indians because he was an African American, going so far as to claim he was an escaped slave with the Wyandot guilty of harboring a criminal. Moreover, they argued that his position of leadership disgraced the tribe. Some of the Wyandot, spurred by this perceived revelation, determined that there were three distinct religious entities, one each for Indians, whites, and African Americans. While Stewart was accepted as a trusted, enlightened leader by most in the Wyandot community, a few continued to question a message from an African-American minister. Some argued that

[73] James B. Finley, Report manuscript: Report from Sandusky Mission, 1828.

a Black man should teach other African Americans at Negro Town, a nearby free black community. A few further contended that the Methodist church failed to respect them because they provided an inferior leader in the embodiment of a Black man. Though such accusations did not squelch Stewart's work, they did dampen its progress.[74]

Despite the difficulties noted by Stewart, the Methodist mission to the Wyandot residing in the Sandusky River Valley at Upper Sandusky was a multicultural environment. As noted previously, tensions arose among some of the Wyandot concerning the presence of an African American missionary, fed by the likelihood of resentment and racism among the neighboring traders; however, the tribe was well-known for adopting African American captives as illustrated by Rev. Stewart's Wyandot interpreter, Jonathan Pointer who had been captured in his early youth. Moreover, Rev. Finley noted that the religious services at the mission were regularly visited by both Indian and African American parishioners (likely from nearby Negro Town). Perhaps the presence of an African-American minister and interpreter tacitly encouraged Black visitors. Regardless the reason, diversity existed. As Rev. Finley notes, "I . . . administered the sacrament to white, red, and black people, who all sympathized together as members of the same spiritual family."[75]

Conclusion

Many images of the Ohio Valley emerge throughout history. Some versions imagine a region devoid of an Indian presence and replete with white settlers. Others

[74] Huber, "White, Red and Black" 8.

[75] Choules, *The Origin and History of Missions*, 508.

imagine a dark world of Indian threats and savagery. Even fewer imagine the African American community living within the confines of the free state. A study of the Wyandot and Shawnee missions in the Ohio Valley instead unveils a multi-cultural environment in which Black, White and Indian cultures often converged. Peoples did not reside in insular communities, but moved freely about, crossing paths, experiencing distrust, or embracing friendships. What becomes clear is that the Ohio region was not a homogenous, stagnant region, but was a broad, vibrant social conglomerate that was significantly influenced, in part, by the involvement of individual missionaries and mission societies, that in many ways abated cross-cultural taboos and encouraged a sense of co-mingling in the Ohio River Valley.

CHAPTER TWO:

Agency and Resistance: Indians and Burgeoning Missions in the Nineteenth-Century Ohio River Valley

Between the praying towns of the colonial east and the formal government-sponsored Indian boarding schools of the post-Civil War west lay the often-ignored Indian mission schools of the early nineteenth-century Midwest, institutions that reveal a burgeoning mission presence in the Ohio Valley region. This chapter examines an early-nineteenth-century regional landscape populated by diverse inhabitants including multiple Indian populations who strategically chose to remain among the encroaching white population and explores how their intricate relationships with the missionaries led to strategies of persistence. This chapter assesses the structure and history of the Shawnee and Wyandot communities to show how Indian peoples had accepted select American practices and ideals by the early-nineteenth century, an acceptance which encouraged assistance and support by various mission societies in the Ohio Valley. The exchange between Ohio Valley Indians and missionaries suggests a variety of methods that Indians relied on to adjust to the quickly changing Euro-American demographic.

In the late-eighteenth century, the Ohio territory was a community of multiple Indian nations, Euro-American traders, individual settler families, and missionaries. While individual religious denominations sought to establish churches and travelling ministers among the white settlers, Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, Catholics and Moravians seized the opportunity to bring the Christian Gospel to Native communities. In many instances, the mission work among the Ohio Valley Indians was no more than

an extension of their churches' broader mission work in Africa, Asia, South and Central America. This early work in the Ohio Valley was aimed at the Christian salvation of individual souls as the missionaries proselytized among the Indians. Early mission experience was marked by the mid-eighteenth century work of Moravians among the Delaware in what is now Eastern Ohio. David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder administered missions in Schoenbrunn, Lichtenau and Gnadenhutten, which ended with the tragic "Gnadenhutten Massacre" in 1781 in which Pennsylvania militia mistakenly blamed ongoing Indian attacks on the Christian Indians, and retaliated by killing 96 men, women, and children residing at the Gnadenhutten mission. Despite this tragic end to the Moravian mission, the efforts to Christianize never ceased. Proselytizing continued with "civilization" of the masses an added goal that churches deemed would come with Christian conversion. The missionaries entered into the Indian communities on their own accord and presented the Christian Gospel.[76]

However, during the early-nineteenth century the Indian mission experience began to change. Anthony Wayne's final victory against the Indians at Fallen Timbers in 1794 opened the Ohio Territory to white settlement. Euro-American encroachment

[76] For works on individual missions see: Charles Elliott, *Indian Missionary Reminiscences, Principally of the Wyandot Nation, In Which is Exhibited the Efficacy of the Gospel in Elevating Ignorant and Savage Men* (New York: Lane & Scott for the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1850); Errol T. Elliott, *Quakers on the American Frontier* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1969); Karen Guenter, *"Rememb'ring Our Time and Work is the Lords": the Experiences of Quakers on the Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania Frontier,* (Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press, 2005); John Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians from Its Commencement in the Year 1740 to the Close of the Year 1808* (Philadelphia: McCarty and Davis, 1820); Isaac McCoy, *History of the Baptist Indian Missions: Remarks on the Former and Present Condition of the Aboriginal Tribes; Their Settlement Within the Indian Territory and Their Future Prospects* (Washington: William H. Morrison, 1840); John G. Shea, *Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States* (New York: E. Dunigan and Brothers, 1857); David Zeisberger, *David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians,* Ed. Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1910).

shaped the Indian response and rather than the uninvited proselytizing of earlier years, some Ohio Valley Indians began to invite church missionaries to live among them. Though often surrounded by internal controversy, some Ohio Valley tribes became more agreeable to Euro-American agriculture and Western education to insure their survival in the changing social landscape. Multiple religious groups responded to the requests of the Ohio Valley Indians. Catholics, Moravians, and Quakers had already established early ties, but now the American Board of Foreign Missions, brought Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Protestant Episcopal, Freewill Baptist and Presbyterian Church missionaries to work among American Indians as part of their larger mission efforts. The Catholics continued work among the Ojibway to the North, and the Potawatomi and Miami to the North and West, but the most prominent of the Ohio Missionaries in this early-nineteenth-century Ohio landscape was the Methodists and the Quakers. The American Board of Foreign Missions was an independent and ecumenical mission society formed in 1810 and was designed to spread Christianity worldwide. When confronted with a request from the Delaware Indians "that missionaries be sent to them," the American Board deemed that "'independent and unevangelized tribes of Indians, occupying their own land, whether without or within the limits stated in the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, are, with other objects, embraced by the act of their incorporation.'"[77] Thus, the American Board classified Indian nations in the United States as 'foreign' mission opportunities and focused substantial effort toward funding and administering Indian missions.

[77] Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," in *History of American Missions to the Heathen, from their Commencement to the Present Time* (Worcester: Spooner and Holland, 1840), 48.

As a result of the American Board ruling, the Baptists and Methodists established missions in the western Ohio Valley. In 1817, Baptist Isaac McCoy (figure 5) stationed himself near Ft. Wayne, Indiana and later on the shores of the Wabash River to be nearer the Miami and Kickapoo villages. After a year of living among the Miami, McCoy began to educate a handful of Miami children. He taught “nine or ten native

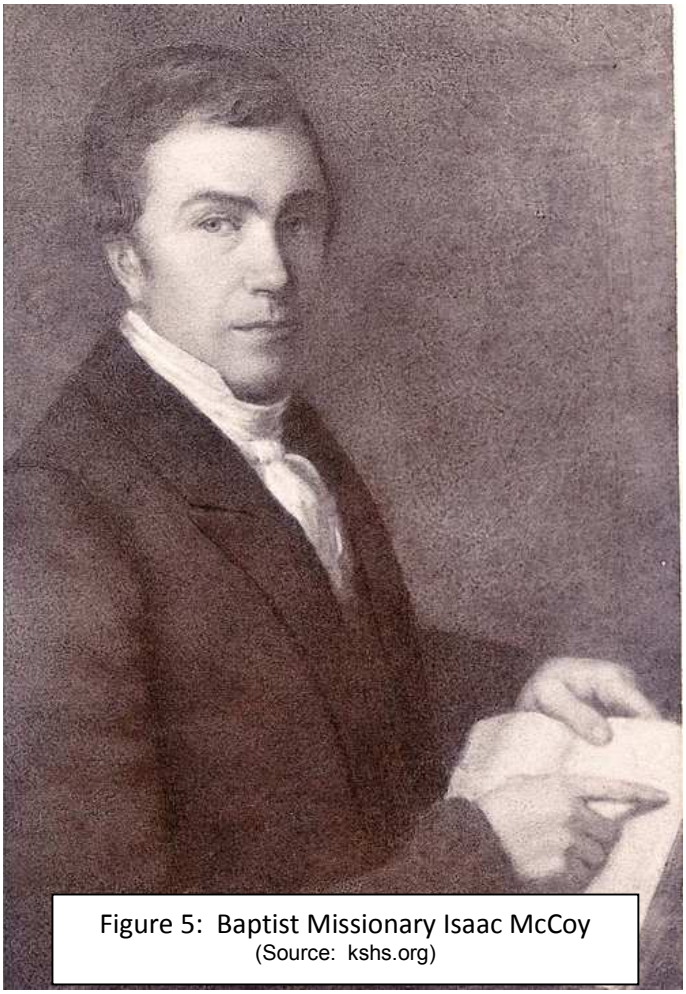

Figure 5: Baptist Missionary Isaac McCoy
(Source: kshs.org)

children, whom he boarded and instructed in his own family."[78] In 1820, he returned to Ft. Wayne to take advantage of United States Government provisions. This area was not only central to the Miami, Potawatomi, Ottawa (now known as Odawa), and Shawnee, but was also a place where the United States Indian agent provided land and rent-free housing for the establishment of a mission.[79] McCoy began his school in May of 1820 with eight, mostly mixed-ancestry juvenile students. Soon, Indian children from nearby communities began coming to the school, and by July forty-eight students were in attendance. Within the next few years, the Baptist mission expanded northward into the lower Great Lakes, McCoy erected a school for the Potawatomi and Ottawa at the Carey Mission near present-day Niles, Michigan in 1823 on land that the Indians provided. Within a year the Carey school had 37 male and 16 female students of which McCoy noted, "21 could read the bible with tolerable facility, 7 imperfectly; 18 wrote a tolerable hand, and 13 were studying arithmetic. The girls were taught to spin, weave, knit, sew, and perform domestic labor, and the boys to work on the farm; two of them were apprenticed to the blacksmith trade."[80]

McCoy encountered difficulties when he attempted to extend missionary education to the Ottawa residing on the Grand River in Michigan territory (figure 6). The Ottawa were cautious about Baptist influence. McCoy reports that these Ottawa first

[78] Solomon Peck, "History of the Missions of the Baptist General Convention," in *History of American Missions to the Heathen, from their Commencement to the Present Time,* (Worcester: Spooner and Holland, 1840), 386, 48.

[79] Ibid.

[80]Peck, "History of the Missions" 384.

sent an adult, Gosa, and two children to the school and requested that a missionary in turn come to Grand River to discuss their circumstances. When the missionaries and the Ottawa convened, Chief Noonday expressed the desire for a mission presence that he offered 600 acres of land, on which the Baptists built a school and established a branch of the Carey mission for the Odawa.[81]

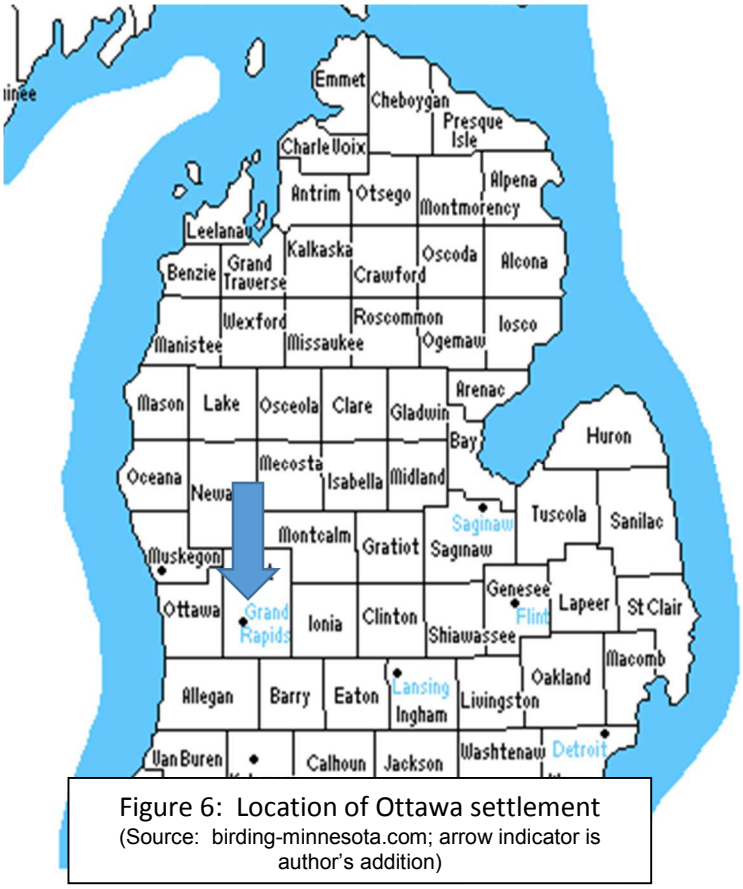

Figure 6: Location of Ottawa settlement
(Source: birding-minnesota.com; arrow indicator is author's addition)

By 1826, McCoy also began to send students to schools in the east; he placed eight Ottawa boys at the Hamilton Institute in New York. The Odawa leadership agreed to the education, but they sent along a chaperoning adult to report back to the village on

[81] Peck, "History of the Missions" 386.

the boys' well-being. These children were sent east to learn new professions. For instance, McCoy deemed that Indian physicians were crucial for the continuance of "civilization" and therefore sent two boys to medical school in Castleton, Vermont, where they boarded with Christian families. Notably, McCoy gave the boys western names before sending them away. Conauda was renamed Thomas Baldwin, and Saswa was renamed Francis Barron. The boys and their families probably accepted these name changes since naming was a flexible and on-going process among Indians.[82]

While the work of the Baptists suggests that the Ottawa and Potawatomi Indians sent a limited number of their children to these schools and even to the east, other villages in early-nineteenth-century Ohio sought the aid of mission societies as well. Some sought religious instructions and a western education for their children, while others perceived the work of the missionaries as a tool to enhance their lives and livelihood, and believed these changes would allow them to remain on their lands. Shawnee and Wyandot of West Central Ohio, for instance, recognized and attempted to replace their diminishing hunting territories with greater reliance on farming. They also sought English language instruction to ease the tensions of communication with government representatives and with incoming emigrants.[83] In turn, these mission societies became agriculturalists and teachers. Wyandot leader Between-the-Logs

[82] Peck, "History of the Missions" 386-387.

[83] Elliott, *Indian Missionary Reminiscences*; Steve Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870,* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

addressed the Methodist mission society (a member of the American Board for Foreign Missions), about this pressing need for teachers:

> This being the day appointed to hear us speak on the subject of our school and mission, which you have established among us, we think it proper to let you know that when our father, the president, sent to us to buy our land, and we all met at fort Meigs [1817 treaty ceding Indian Territory lands to the United States], that it was proposed that we should have a school among us, to teach our children to read; and many of the chiefs of our nation agreed that it was right, and that it was a subject on which we ought to think: to this, after consulting, we all consented. But government has not yet sent us a teacher. Brothers, you have; we are glad and thankful the mission and school are in a prosperous way, and we think will do us much good to come.[84]

For these Ohio Indians the missionary societies became a means to acquire English language skills.

The Shawnee Mission at Wapakoneta and the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky

The Shawnee and Wyandot of Ohio represent the different strategies that Indians applied to early-nineteenth century mission experiences. Both became pro-American after the Seven Years' War, following a long history of American opposition, and both sought to remain in the Ohio Valley, living in the midst of incoming Americans. Among their multiple similarities, however, lies a significant difference: the Wyandot favored a more evangelical approach to Protestantism while the Shawnee sought assistance from the Quakers, a religious group that sought to share the Gospel through example rather than active proselytizing. Both strategies suggest a dichotomy in both their approach to

[84] Rev. John O Choules, A.M. and Rev. Thomas Smith, *The Origin and History of Missions; a Record of the Voyages, Travels, Labors, and Successes of the Various Missionaries, Who Have Been Sent Forth by Protestant Societies and Churches to Evangelize the Heathen: Compiled from Authentic Documents; Forming a Complete Missionary Repository,* Vol. II, (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, and Crocker and Brewster, 1837), 509.

educational instruction and in their adherence to the Christian religion. These two

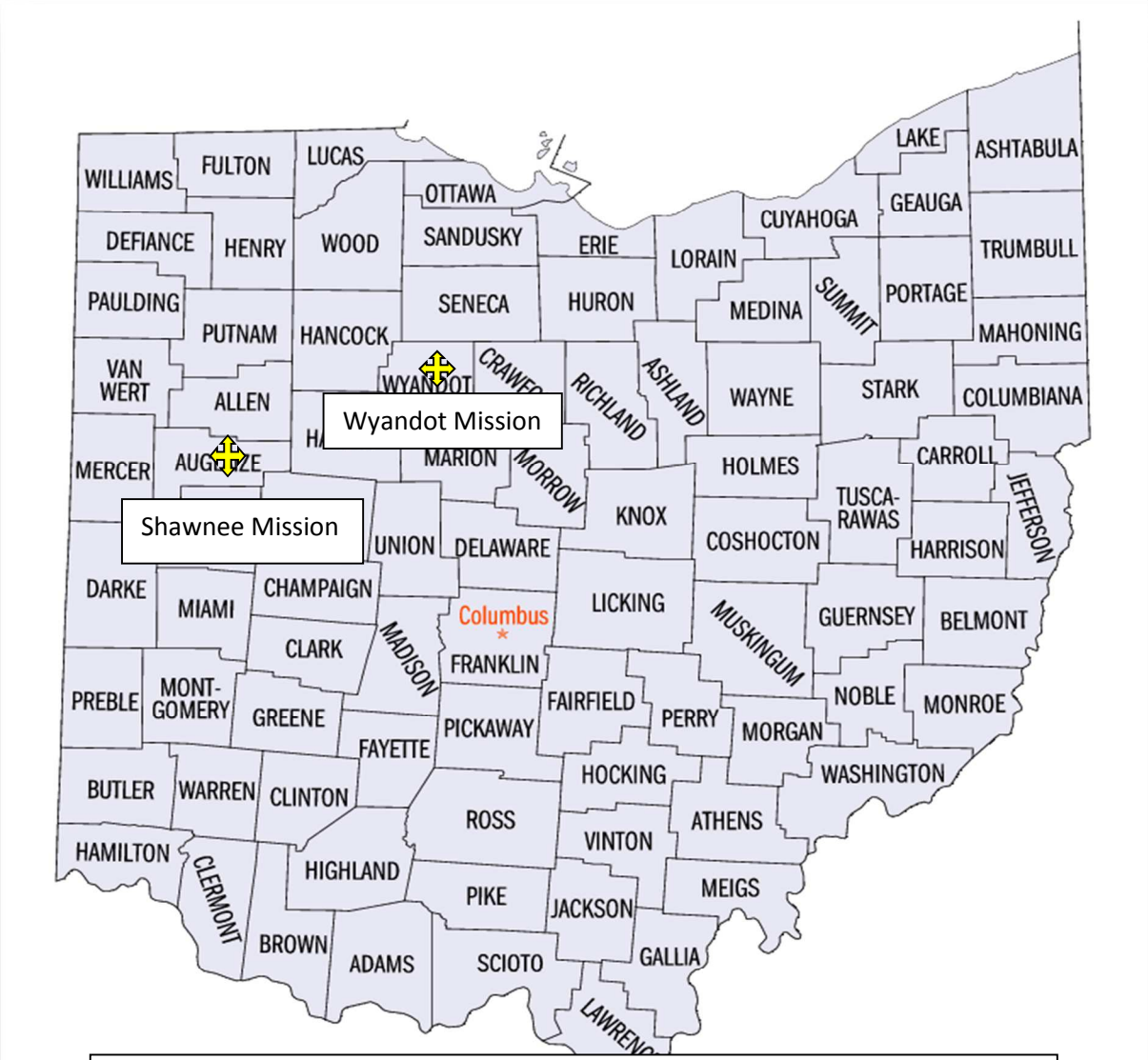

Figure 7: Location of the Wapakoneta Mission and the Wyandot Missions
(Source: censusfinder.com; yellow indicators and mission tags are author's addition)

missions (figure 7), the Quaker mission to the Shawnee at Wapakoneta and the Methodist mission to the Wyandot at Upper Sandusky, are emblematic of both the agency and the adversity each village experienced. These missions suggest the diversity of the Indians' decision-making as they selective chose particular Euro-

American practices as a strategy of survival, but they also represent the confluence, competition and complexity that arose from the multiple religions embodied in the region. A tension existed as these religions expanded and contracted against each other, often creating conflict, mistrust and division within these villages. A mission driven by the pursuit of religious conversion, as in the case of the Wyandot, contrasted with the Shawnee mission approach that relied less on an evangelical approach and more on a subdued approach to Christianity.

After years of upheaval and, dispossession, accompanied by inter-tribal warfare, many Shawnee and Wyandot in the early 1800s did not wish to relocate yet again. Furthermore, a westward removal involved a treacherous, year-long walk of over 800 miles. Many Shawnee had already voluntarily removed west , and those Shawnee who remained at Wapakoneta were the product of repeated migrations. Though many argue that the Shawnee are descended from the Fort Ancient culture of what is now modern-day southwestern Ohio, they moved as a people from 1600 to 1800 and travelled through the areas of what is now Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia and Maryland. By the time of the Seven Years War, the majority of Shawnee had been pushed from their eastern homelands by white settlers and collectively resided in today's Ohio and Indiana, with regular journeys into Kentucky for trade and hunting.[85] The Shawnee existed as a series of autonomous, individual villages or regions, with tribal power held in the hands of local chiefs. As scholar Stephen Warren argues, the Shawnee had lived hundreds of years intermingling with multiple other

[85]Bruce G. Trigger, Ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Northeast,* Vol. 15, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) 630.

peoples, existing as individual, multi-ethnic, self-governing communities with Shawnee society as a whole, "characterized . . . as a world in which loyalty to kin and village determined belief and behavior." The Shawnee were more united "by language and culture than by politics and leaders," as various communities maintained multiple and varied alliances with different villages scattered throughout the Ohio River Valley.[86] The Shawnee relied on multi-ethnic mingling to not only offset the losses of tribespeople, but also to strengthen political and economic ties.[87]

The Shawnee maintained an egalitarian political structure that was divided into five patrilineal descent groups: the Chalagawetha and Thawegila, who administered political leadership; the Piqua, who maintained rituals and religious affairs; the Kispokotha, which included Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, provided war chiefs; and the Maykujay, Catehecassa's people, specialized as medicine men. Prior to the Revolutionary war, theses five divisions resided independently in their respective villages, with war chiefs, from the Kispokatha and Peace Chiefs, from the Chalagawetha and Thawegila given theoretical leadership over the entire Nation. Warren describes the Shawnee Nation as "a constellation of independent groups that had negotiated the formation of an organized tribe." Village, or peace chiefs were responsible for general leadership during peace time and for treaty negotiations, while the war chiefs pursued leadership during times of war. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, the lines between these divisions and between the power of peace and war chiefs began to blur. Two generations of warfare that spanned the Seven Years War, the

[86] Warren, *Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 15.

[87] Warren, *Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 18. See also McConnel*, A Country Between*, and White, *Middle Ground* for more on multi-ethnic alliances and kinship.

Revolutionary War, and the Indian Wars kept the nation's power under the jurisdiction of the war chiefs and as war chiefs continually negotiated with nation-state leaders. Many war chiefs, like Tecumseh also became the village chief. Further, as a majority of members of the Kispokatha, Thawegila and Piqua, voluntarily removed to Missouri and Alabama, those who remained were absorbed into the Chalagawetha and Maykujay, who were concentrated in the Ohio Valley, far from their Missouri kin. As such, the Chalagawetha and Maykujay began to appropriate the duties of absent leaders. Individual villages also began to maintain their own leaders, which included both a village or peace chief, generally an older man whom the village considered wise, and an individual war chief, a younger man known for his prowess in battle.[88] This change in the leadership structure of the Shawnee Nation further decentralized the nature of Shawnee governance.

The history of the autonomous leadership among the Shawnee people was foundational to the divisions and inter-tribal grievances of the nineteenth century, particularly in light of the pressures from the United States government to rescind land claims and to conform to western ideologies. Shawnee villages were already divided over adherence to traditional Shawnee lifeways and the adaptation of some Euro-American economic practices that led to the self-removal of 1,400 Shawnee to Missouri, and left approximately 800 Shawnee in the Ohio Valley. Unfortunately, federal leadership refused to negotiate with smaller individual entities during the treaty process. While the Shawnee recognized village leadership, the United States government

[88] R. David Edmunds, "'A Watchful Safeguard to Our Habitations': Black Hoof and the Loyal Shawnees," in Frederick E. Hoxie et. al., eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 164-166; Warren, 16-17; Trigger, 623-624, 627.

demanded a unified nation with one authoritative voice, a voice they created when necessary.[89] Thus explains why national leaders courted Wapakoneta Chief Catehecassa, or Chief Blackhoof, as they referred to him.

The Shawnee community at Wapakoneta, Ohio was the largest in the region and the Maykujay leader, Catehecassa (figure 8), was an elder and leader who had participated in years of Anti-American warfare including the Seven Years and

Figure 8: Catehecassa (Black Hoof)
(Source: Ohiohistorycentral.org)

[89]R. David Edmunds, "'A Watchful Safeguard", 163; Warren 13-14, 17-18.

Revolutionary Wars. After decades of bloodshed and migration, the elderly chief, then in his nineties, accepted the reality of encroachment and land loss and sought to live in peace among his neighbors. He aspired to make his Wapakoneta community an intermediary between the Shawnee and the Federal government. In doing so, Catehecassa's community, among other pro-American neighbors such as the Miami and Delaware, controlled the distribution of the annual Federal annuities to the respective villages that remained. The strength of Catehecassa's character throughout the local Indian communities, as well as the Shawnee community benefits he derived from the federal annuities, enhanced his authority and helped him to convince his people to stay in the Ohio Valley and to either remain neutral or fight for the Americans in the War of 1812, a decision that was in direct opposition to their Shawnee neighbors led by Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa.[90]

The War of 1812 proved to be a difficult time for the pro-American tribes in the Ohio Valley. Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa wreaked havoc and planted fear not only in the hearts and minds of the white population, whom they vehemently opposed, but also in the Ohio Valley Indians who remained at peace with the U.S. The Shawnee, Miami, Delaware, and Wyandot found themselves at odds with Tecumseh's coalition of anti-American forces. Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh viewed accommodationist Indians as responsible for the problems that plagued the Indian communities. They relied on accusations of witchcraft and trickery to split tribal communities. Since pro-American sentiment was tenuous at best, the brothers were somewhat successful in their divisive

[90] Warren, *Shawnee and their Neighbors,* 37; Dowd *Spirited Resistance;* Edmunds, "Watchful Safeguard," 167-168.

efforts. These divisions, witch hunts, and the murder of twelve Ohio Delawares and five Wyandots, including the Wyandot leader Leather Lips instilled fear among Ohio Indians and whites alike. Efforts by Catehecassa, Wyandot leader, Tarhe, the Miami leader Little Turtle, and the Potawatomi leader, Gomo to peacefully coexist among their white neighbors became more and more difficult. White neighbors lived in distrust of the "friendly" Indians and often failed to differentiate between the various Indian groups, either by choice or by ignorance; that distrust never fully diminished, even after the war.[91]

By 1817 and the Treaty of Ft. Meigs, the United States had in a sense succeeded in consolidating pro-American villages. In the case of the Ohio Shawnee, Catehecassa was a likely leader as he had been an ongoing intermediary between the United States and the Wyandot, Delaware and Miami communities in the Ohio River Valley since the 1795 Treaty of Greenville, following the battle of Fallen Timbers. The U.S. government strengthened the local power of village leaders with annuity payments held and distributed by the local leadership. The community's resources and their distribution were now in the hands of the local chief. His ability to distribute or withhold funds encouraged him to fund those who supported his convictions and to withhold funds from his opposition, thus empowering him to garner support and speak on behalf of the entire community. The United States referred to Catehecassa not as a village chief, but instead imposed the title of Grand Chief of the Shawnee nation. This change angered those Shawnee who had supported Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa and those who had already removed to land west of the Mississippi River, decisions that alienated

[91] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 20, 26-37, 45.

them from the economic development monies administered by the federal government and under the control of Black Hoof.[92] For the United States, Catehecassa became the single voice they were seeking.

By the turn of the eighteenth century, Catehecassa was an elderly leader who had lived a life that included fighting against the Americans in the Seven Years War, and the Revolution. He embraced the Shawnee life ways, but desired to live finally in peace, acknowledging, as did many of the elderly leaders of the Ohio Valley Bands, that Shawnee ways did not fully serve the future of the young people in his care. Indian Agent John Johnston described Catehecasa as a traditional Shawnee leader who himself eschewed the accoutrements of white society. He never converted to Christianity and contrary to the formal portraiture of the leader, Johnston claims that Blackhoof "dressed entirely with buckskin" and "[d]isdained to wear white men's manufacture" noting that such things were appropriate only for the women of the tribe.[93] Although Blackhoof did not wear "white men's manufacture," he would likely have worn western dress in formal, government interactions (refer to figure 10, which shows Blackhoof in western clothes). Historian, Timothy Shannon demonstrated that Indian leaders often used western dress as a 'civilized' costume when they went to the capital for negotiations.[94] However, Catehecassa was pragmatic in adapting to practices that would help ensure his band's existence in their homeland. He established a relationship with the Pennsylvania Quakers in the late 1700s, and trusted their

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[92] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 55- 57.

[93] Transcription of "The Papers of John Johnston, Indian Agent, from the Draper Collection Vol.llYY, Historical Society of Wisconsin" 11.

[94] Timothy Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mowhawk Frontier," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3:53, 1996, 13-42.

character, inviting the Society to help in his attempt to establish plow agriculture on the Shawnee land. The Quakers, in turn, considered teaching Indians how to cultivate their fields as a means of promoting Christianity by both teaching and example.

The Quakers had a long history of working with multiple Indian nations in the East and as early as 1795 they formally made a concentrated effort to establish connections with the Ohio Delaware, Wyandot and Shawnee of the Ohio River Valley. Unlike the more evangelical missionary societies, the early work of the Quakers among the Ohio Indians did not focus on proselytizing.

> A weighty concern having been opened . . . respecting the difficulties and distresses to which the Indian natives of this land were subject, it obtained the serious attention of Friends and many observations were made, relative to the kindness of their ancestors to ours in the early settlement of this country . . . there was not something for us, as a society, to do for them towards promoting their religious instruction, knowledge of agriculture, and useful mechanic arts?[95]

The Quaker missionaries sought to fulfill what they saw as their moral obligation as believers in the Society of Friends, united by the belief that the light of God was equally entrusted in the hearts of all people. They expressed a sincerity in the belief that through their efforts they were improving the lives and the livelihoods of the Indians whom they considered both friends and charges, a conviction likely experienced by other denominations as well. The Quakers desired Christian conversion, but they chose in essence, to preach by example, believing that the observance of the perceived wholesomeness and wellbeing of their life in the Quaker faith would incite a desire for change in the Indians among whom they lived. Although internal conflict existed in the

[95] From *A Brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee, Appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Baltimore, for Promoting the Improvement and Civilization of the Indian Natives,* (Baltimore Printed: London: Reprinted and sold: Phillips and Fardon, 1806), 5-6.

Wapakoneta community, it existed to a lesser extent that with their Wyandot neighbors. Warren, in his book, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors 1795-1870*, argues that the Quakers existed more peacefully with the Shawnee because the Quakers' goal was to change the Shawnee village, and not necessarily to change the individuals. Conversion was a gradual process, not the immediate radical change that had a tendency to bifurcate kinship ties into 'us' versus 'them'. In turn, both the federal government and the Quakers saw the examples of farms and farm labor as a means of communicating a Euro-American value system to the Indian communities.[96] Ironically, very few, if any, of the Shawnee at the Wapakoneta mission converted to Christianity.[97]

With concern over the real or perceived poverty of the Ohio Indians and with little apparent appreciation for traditional Indian life ways, the Quaker representatives from the Committee on Indian Affairs conveyed this message to the annual Indian Grand Council, a coalition of several Ohio Valley Indian nations with common history and close proximity, who convened as a council group, but still maintained individual autonomy. This council included the Miami, Shawnee and Wyandot and was convened on the Wyandot reservation. Once again, the Quakers encouraged Euro-modes of agriculture:

> [W]e are affected with sorrow, in believing, that many of the red people suffer much, for the want of food, and for the want of clothing. . . We are fully convinced, that if you will adopt our mode of cultivating the earth, and of raising useful animals, you will find it to be a mode of living not only far more plentiful and much less fatiguing; but also much more *certain,* and which will expose your bodies less, to the inclemencies (sic) of the weather, than *hunting*.

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[96] Warren, *Shawnee and Their Neighbors*, 53, 55.

[97] From an *Account of the Present State of the Indian Tribes Inhabiting Ohio in a Letter from John Johnston, Esq. United States Agent of Indian Affairs, at Piqua, to Caleb Atwater, Est., Communication to the President of the American Antiquarian Society*, June 17, 1819.

The Quakers argued that farming would in turn create domestic stability, and couched the ideals of civility in the terms of shelter and security, "It will lead you, brother, to have fixed homes. You will build comfortable dwelling-houses for yourselves, your women, and children, where you may be sheltered from the rain, . . .frost, . . .and snow. . . ." To the Quakers, the Indians were no different from their own ancestors:

> We will here mention, that the time was, when the forefather of your brothers, the white people, lived beyond the great water, in the same manner that our Red Brethren now live. . . . [T]hey went almost naked, when they procured their living by fishing, and by the bow and arrow in hunting; and when they lived in houses no better than yours. They were encouraged by some, who came from towards the sun-rising, and lived amongst them, to change their mode of living. . . . We are not ashamed to acknowledge, that the time was, when our forefathers rejoiced at finding a wild plum-tree, or at killing a little game, and that wandered up and down, living on the uncertain supplies of fishing and hunting. . . .[98]

The Quakers believed that the knowledge of agriculture and husbandry had changed the lives of the Europeans and that it would change the lives of the Indians. They hoped the Indians would follow the Quaker way, "We hope your *eyes will be open*, to see clearly the things which are best for you; and that you will desire to pursue them."[99]

However if the Indians relied on Quaker "knowledge of agriculture and husbandry" this entailed a reversal of traditional Shawnee and Wyandot cultural practices, as Euro-Americans assigned men to what the missionaries deemed the more laborious work of the fields, and contended that women were "not as able to endure fatigue and toil as men." Indian women were to be employed instead "in our houses, to

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[98] From *A Brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee, Appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Baltimore, for Promoting the Improvement and Civilization of the Indian Natives,* (Baltimore Printed: London: Reprinted and sold: Phillips and Fardon, 1806), 28-31.

[99] A Brief Account, 31.

keep them clean, to sew, knit, spin, and weave; to dress food for themselves and families; to make clothes for the men and the rest of their families. . . and to take care of the children."[100] Grand Council representative, Indiana Miami leader Mishikinakwa or Little Turtle (figure 9), responded positively to the Quakers suggestions, but expressed his concern over the complexity of this change, and cautioned the Quakers against acting too quickly, "[y]ou have been very particular in pointing out to us, the duties of ourwomen. . . . [T]ell your old chiefs, that we are obliged to them for their friendly offers to assist us in changing our present mode of living. Tell them it is a great work, that cannot be done immediately; but that we are that way disposed, and hope it will take place gradually."[101] Little Turtle's response anticipated the difficulties that could face the Council if and when they made the choice to completely alter the social and economic structure of their communities. Never the less, this was a choice the Council was willing to pursue.

The Shawnee, led by Catehecassa ultimately responded to the Quaker's interest in their community. The Society of Friends began to work among the Shawnee Nation at Wapakoneta in 1801, and established a mission in 1807 when Friends William and Mahlon Kirk were appointed as government agents. Catehecasa's Shawnee community resided in West Central Ohio for many years and the Shawnee reservation at Wapakoneta was formally established following the 1817 Treaty. This band of

[100] A Brief Account, 33.

[101] A Brief Account, 36.

Shawnee, U.S. allies during the War of 1812, chose the Quakers as a strategic accommodation to remaining on their fertile land.[102]

Figure 9: Mishikinakwa (Little Turtle)
(Source: ohiohistorycentral.org)

A marked difference in adaptive strategy occurred among the Wyandot. Like the Shawnee, the Quakers, as well as Catholics and Baptists, also worked among the *Wyando*t in the Sandusky River Valley, but it was the Methodists who successfully established mission ties when their reservation was formally established in 1817.[103] In

[102]Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors,* 2-11, 61-64.

[103] The Wyandot had a long history of removal prior to their settlement on the Grand Reserve at Upper Sandusky. The Ohio Wyandot were descended from the Huron and Tionontati living near Lake Huron, settling at Michilimackinac in the seventeenth century, migrating south to Detroit in the mid-nineteenth century.

many ways the Wyandot had an organization structure that was much like the Shawnee. Based on Huron political organization, historically, the Wyandot maintained a civil chief and war chief for each individual clan residing in the village. As such, one Wyandot village often had multiple leaders. Like the Shawnee, the tribe selected the civil chief based on his wisdom and his ability to speak among the people, while the war chief was selected based on examples of bravery and leadership. Each division met in separate councils, with the war council attended by senior warriors only. All village men over the age of thirty attended civil councils and were all permitted to speak. The tribe made decisions based on consensus, though the elders may have held sway. Further the Huron held annual confederacy councils with allied tribes designed to strengthen ties of community and alliance.[104]

For more than 200 years, the Wyandot, like the Shawnee, had an economic system that was based on the fur trade. While the Shawnee were most aligned with English traders, the Wyandot had close ties to the French in the Upper Great Lakes. Much of their movement to the south was based on shifting alliances in the trade. They survived the conflicts between French and English in the Great Lakes through repeated relocations. In 1701 they removed south of Detroit and gradually migrated into present-day Ohio. The Wyandot (as well as the Ottawa) were among the primary Indian inhabitants and at the French post at Detroit. Allied with the French, the Wyandot hunted in the region that included modern-day Ohio in the early eighteenth century. However by the mid-eighteenth century, Wyandot conflicts with the Ottawa, led them for

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[104] Bruce Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 15*. (Northeast, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 371-372.

a short time, to align themselves with the British.[105] However, like the Wapakoneta Shawnee, the Wyandot, under the leadership of Tarhe (figure 10), referred to as "The Crane" by whites, then allied with the United States during the War of 1812. Faced with declining hunting grounds and encroaching white settlement, the Wyandot too accepted the aid of the mission to assist in their transition to plow agriculture.[106]

Figure 10: Tarhe (The Crane)
(Source: Ohiohistorycentral.org)

[105] Trigger, *Handbook,* 590-591.

[106] Donald L. Huber, "White, Red, and Black: They Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky," *Timeline* Vol. 13, No. 3 (May-June, 1996): 2-17.

Self-proclaimed preacher, John Stewart, a free African American hailing from Virginia, introduced the Wyandot at Upper Sandusky to the Methodist faith. Stewart was born to free African American parents in Powhatan County, Virginia. He was raised Baptist, but did not take the faith seriously until he encountered highway robbers in his young adulthood who stole all he had. He experienced a period of depression and drinking when a friend encouraged him to stop drinking and to attend Methodist services. Stewart embraced the teachings and converted to Methodism, joining the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had contented himself with the study of the Gospel and had no early intentions of becoming a minister, until he experienced a personal epiphany to travel to the Northwest and teach among Indian peoples. He journeyed on foot, stopping at various homes and communities enroot to his destination. When he came to the home of William Walker in Upper Sandusky. Walker was the son of a Wyandot mother and a white father and served as a sub-Indian agent for the Wyandot community. Though Walker first thought Stewart was an escaped slave, he was soon convinced otherwise and encouraged the would be minister to pursue his endeavors among the Wyandot in the community.[107]

During his initial efforts, Stewart was not yet an ordained Methodist minister, but was only a follower of the faith: none the less, he was zealous in his proselytizing efforts, even though his religious instruction was initially rejected because the Wyandot believed the coercive arguments of the white traders who convinced some that Stewart was ineffectual because he was a black man. However, Stewart was persistent and

[107] X. B. C. Lorn D. D., *John Stewart, Pioneer Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* (New York: Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, nd).

following the religious introductions of the Catholics and Quakers, Stewart found some converts to Methodism, eventually garnering the attention of the church's hierarchy. He was there to save souls and not to plant farms. Perhaps this emphasis on conversion helps to explain the prevalence of internal conflict and resistance from the Wyandot early on. These Indian peoples had been proselytized by many different faiths, sometimes adopting them and sometimes eschewing them. Conflicts arose on a reservation that held adherents to Wyandot faith, Catholicism, and Indian Revitalization Movements. Further, denominations each fought for the purity of their beliefs and generally opposed, sometimes vehemently any faith other than their own.[108] In later years, this competition could be connected to the federal funding attached to the missions in Indian Territory that would support both the missions and the missionaries. However, these early missions in the Ohio Valley were largely run without benefit of significant federal funds. These oppositions were generally prejudice in nature. Most Protestants accused Catholics of pedaling idolatry. Protestants entered mission fields teaching against both Catholicism and Indian religions, and Catholics did the same in regard to Protestantism. Among the Protestants, Presbyterians found the Baptists and Methodists as unenlightened and guilty of fanaticism. Robert F. Berkhoffer, Jr. argues that the competition was widespread as "Baptists complained about Methodists, Quakers about Presbyterians, Presbyterians about Quakers, and Methodists about Baptists." The only thing these various Protestant groups held in common was that they all opposed the Catholics. [109]

[108] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862,* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 58.

[109] Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation and the Savage, 94.*

Wyandot chief Between-the-Logs describes the complexity of their religious background in this somewhat lengthy, but telling address given at the first Methodist quarterly meeting for the benefit of the Indians in November 1819. At this point, Between-the-Logs is a converted Methodist, so the report is not without bias; however, it does show how a community can become confused and apprehensive of new religious ideas when they have been bombarded with differing religious messages from all walks of individuals. Between-the-Logs begins his address as follows:

> Will you have patience to hear me, and I will give you a history of religion among the Indians for some time back, and how we have been deceived. Our fathers had a religion of their own, by which they served God and were happy, before any white men came among them. They used to worship with feasts, sacrifices, dances and rattles; in doing which they thought they were right. Our parents wished us to be good, and they would make us to do good, and would sometimes correct us for doing evil. But a great while ago, the French sent us the good book by a Roman priest, and we listened to him. He taught us that we must confess our sins, and he would forgive them; that we must worship Lady Mary, and do penance. He baptized us with spittle and salt, and many of us did as he told us. Now, we thought, to be sure we are right. He told us to pray, and to carry the cross on our breasts. He told us, also, that it was wrong to drink whisky. But we found the he would drink it himself and we followed his step and got drunk too. At last our priest left us, and this religion all died away. So, many of us left off getting drunk, and we began again to do pretty well. The Seneca prophet arose and pretended that he had talked to the Great Spirit, and that he had told him what the Indians ought to do. So we heard and followed him. It is true, he told us many good things, and that we ought not to drink whisky; but soon we found that he as like the Roman priest—he would tell us we must not do things, and yet do them himself. So here we were deceived again. Then, after these cheats, we thought our fathers' religion was still the best, and we would take it up again and follow it. After some time the great Shawanese prophet [Tecumseh's brother] arose. Well, we heard him, and some of us followed him for a while. But we had now become very jealous, having been deceived so often, and we watched him very closely, and soon found him like all the rest. Then we left him also and now we were made strong in the religion of our fathers, and concluded to turn away from it no more. We made another trial to establish it more firmly and had made some progress when the war broke out between our father, the President, and King George. Our nation was for war with the king, and every man wanted to be a big man. Then we drank whisky and fought; and by the time the war was over we were all scattered, and many killed and dead.

> But the chiefs thought they would gather the nation together once more. We had a good many collected, and were again establishing our Indian religion. Just at this time, a black man, Stewart, our brother here . . . came to us, and told us he was sent by the Great Spirit to tell us the and good way. But we thought he was like all the rest, that he wanted to cheat us, and get our money and land from us.[110]

Between-the Logs goes on to say how for almost a year, the Wyandot treated Stewart poorly they "treated him ill, and gave him but little to eat, and trampled on him, and were jealous of him. . . ." Stewart's persistence toward his calling is what finally won over the soon-to-be Wyandot converts. They came to believe that Stewart could only endure his treatment so effectively if he had been sent by "the Great God."[111] Both the Catholics and Quakers had previously proselytized the Wyandot with little success and in these early years of Stewart's teachings, tribal leaders attempted to counter the influence of Christianity with feasts and dances that reinforced the traditional religious practices of the Wyandot.[112]

Despite initial setbacks, Stewart was successful in befriending the Wyandot and garnered the attention of the Methodist church when he oversaw the conversion of influential Wyandot leaders including Mononcue, who became a Methodist preacher and Between-the-Logs, who also became a religious leader in his own right. These men were council chiefs; they were prominent leaders who helped to maintain the day-to-day experiences of the Upper Sandusky Wyandot. The community trusted their

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[110] The History of Wyandot County, Ohio (Chicago: Leggett, Conaway and Company 1884), pg. 281. Significant portions of this speech are also quoted in Charles Elliott, *Indian Missionary Reminiscences, Principally of the Wyandot Nation* (New York: Lane & Scott, 1850), pg. 30-37. This work is the published journal and reminiscences of The Rev. Charles Elliott during his time as missionary to the Wyandot.

[111] The History of Wyandot County, Ohio, pg. 281.

[112] Huber, "Red White and Black," 8-17.

leadership and guidance. It was only after the insistence of Rev. James Finley, district superintendent that Stewart became ordained and the mission placed under the formal direction of the Methodist church in 1819. In the years that followed both Finley and Stewart worked among the Wyandot and the mission, under the tutelage of both Methodist and Wyandot leadership, took on the combined elements of conversion, agriculture and education.[113] The Wyandot had already had a history of Indian farming and some had command of the English language, and John Finley expanded on this, moving the Wyandot more toward Euro-American farming. With this head start, Finley kept the Wyandot mission in the forefront of the news and used the mission as an indubitable example of the civilizing mission.[114]

It was not until 1821 that the Methodists established a formal school, and this was done with the approval of the Wyandot Chiefs who had met in council (figure 11). They encouraged the building of the school, and provided land, but retained their rights to improvements made on the land. By acknowledging and preserving "improvements," the Wyandot already had begun to adopt some western ideals concerning land. Council Chiefs De-un-quot, Between-the-Logs, John Hicks, and Mononcue made their wishes known in a formal letter to the Methodist Episcopal Church, stating the following:

> 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 . . . 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 afford: Provided, the same does not intrude on any

[113] Elliott, *Indian Missionary Reminiscences;* Huber, "Red, White, and Black"; James Finley, *History of the Wyandott Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio; Under the Direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (J.F. Wright and L. Swormstedt for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1840).

[114] Warren, *Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 48.

former improvement made by our own people, which are not to be intruded upon. . . .[115]

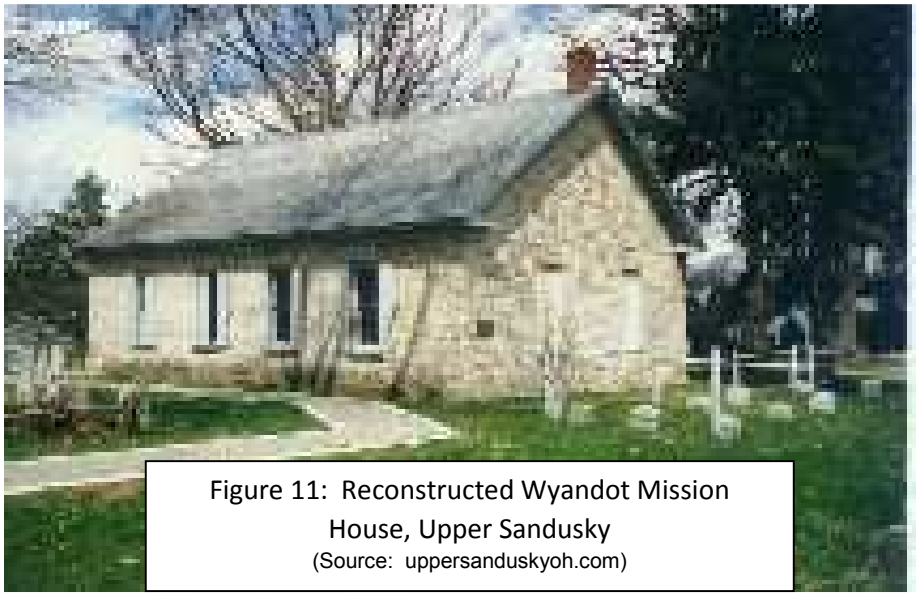

Figure 11: Reconstructed Wyandot Mission House, Upper Sandusky
(Source: uppersanduskyoh.com)

Unlike the Shawnee, the Wyandot actively sought religious instruction; they requested a teacher who was also a Methodist minister. The Council aptly noted that this would also benefit the Methodist church at large because the Wyandot would no longer require a travelling minister. The council also indicated that they would do what they could to encourage parents to send their children to the Methodist school and argued that "if the children are boarded and clothed as our brethren have proposed; and if our teacher be a good and wise man, we may expect more children."[116] In this respect, the council put the success of the school in Methodist hands.

[115] James Finley, *History of the Wyandott Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio under theDirection of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, (Cincinnati: J. F. Wrightland L. Swormstedt), 1840. 110, 111. The letter was signed by seven council chiefs in this order: De-un-quot, Between-the-Logs, John Hicks, Mononcue, An-dau-you-ah, De-an-dough-so, and Ta-hu-waugh-ta-ro-de.

[116] Finley, *History of the Wyandott Mission at Upper Sandusky*, 110.

Despite the apparent acceptance of these missionaries, there were many Wyandots who resisted the intrusion of the Methodists. For instance, Bloody-eyes, the brother of converted Chief Between-the-Logs, threatened his brother's life if he did not return to Wyandot life ways. Consequently, the Methodists highlighted these divisions by bifurcating the Indians into two groups: the Christian Indians and the "heathen party" and blamed the divisions in part on the socio-economic success of the mission. Rev. Finley recounted the brothers' altercation as he outlined the issues of those who opposed the missionaries, "The prosperity of the Church excited a great opposition in the heathen party, so that we had some long combats on the subject of religion. Bloody-eyes, the brother of Between-the-logs, went to his brother's house one day to kill him for departing from their Indian religion. He seized him by the hair, and stood with his tomahawk drawn." Between-the-Logs, however, was much more personal when he recounted the story to missionary Charles Elliott (the italics are those of Elliott):

> When I first. . . embraced Christ's religion my brother Bloody-Eyes was exceedingly mad against me for leaving the *old religion,* and for taking up with this *new* religion. He often endeavoured to persuade me to quit this new religion, by all the arguments in his power, as he loved me much, and was anxious for my welfare. I argued with him in this way:-- 'Brother, you know that before I embraced Christ's religion I was a very wicked man, aw we all were then. I used then to get drunk, and in a drunken fit I killed my first wife. I was guilty, like others, of a great many other sins. But you also know, brother, that since I became a Christian , Jesus saved me from these and all my other sins—and now brother, I find great peace in my soul. . . . I feel very happy in being a Christian. . . . I would recommend it to every on of our nation. . . .'
>
> When my brother bloody-Eyes could not persuade me to leave this new religion, as he called it, he began to be very mad at me. He forgot all the good feeling that a brother should have to a brother. . . . He came to me and said, 'Brother, unless you will give up this new religion , I will kill you.' I said, 'Brother, the Gospel is the power of God to my salvation; and Christ himself said, He that loveth life more than me is not worthy of me. If you kill me I cannot help it. I

cannot deny Christ. He loved me so well as to die for me, (and for you too, brother,) therefore, I cannot forsake his religion.' This made him madder yet.[117]

After much discussion the altercation ended with Bloody-Eyes pronouncing that he would "'give [Between-the-Logs] one year to think and turn back.'" [118] However, before the year expired, Bloody-eyes had, in an emotional, prayerful, and tear-filled event converted to Methodism.[119]

Others that opposed the Methodists and did not convert were personified by the Head Chief of the Upper Sandusky Wyandot, De-un-quoti. Like the Shawnee Catehecassa, De-un-quoti was an elderly chief who encouraged the building of the school and mission, but did not embrace the religion for himself. De-un-quoti formally protested one Sabbath when he and others attended service dressed in traditional Wyandot garb consisting of, according to the missionary, James Finley, painted faces, "their head bands filled with silver bobs, their head-dress consisting of feathers and painted horse hair." De-un-quoti wore several hanging silver ornaments, "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." Upon entering the meeting house he "addressed the congregation in Indian style, with a polite compliment; and then taking his seat, struck fire, took out his pipe, lighted it, and commenced smoking." Finley acknowledged that this action, was "done by way of opposition, and designed as an insult." The Reverend attempted to combat the protest with scripture and teaching about the inherent evil of the human spirit and the need for the good that comes from

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[117] Elliott, *Indian Reminiscences,* Pg. 120-123.

[118] Finley, *History of the Wyandott Mission at Upper Sandusky*, 163.

[119] Elliott, *Indian Reminiscences*, Pg. 146.

God to make one happy, arguing that the dress and paint of the "grandfather, the head chief" could "do him no good, but to feed a proud heart." As De-un-quoti rose to his feet he responded:

> My friends, this is a pretty day, and your faces all look pleasantly. I thank the Great Spirit that he has permitted us to meet. I have listened to your preacher. He has said some things that are good, but they have nothing to do with us: we are Indians, and belong to the red man's God. That Book was made by the white man's God, and suits them. They can read it—we cannot; and what he has said, will do for White men, but with us it has nothing to do." [120]

Finley, encouraged and supported by converted Wyandot chiefs, Mononcue and Between-the-Logs attempted to refute the protests of De-un-quoti. He argued that there were not separate gods for the different races, but that the Judeo-Christian God was the one true God to all people, regardless of whether they were white, African American, or Indian. He further confronted the Chief again and focused on his painted face. He emphasized the inherent sin of pride, and said "my friend does not think the Great Spirit had made him pretty enough—he must put on his paint to make himself look better. This is a plain proof that he is a proud man, and has an evil heart." De-un-quoti became agitated, according to the minister, but held to his claim that he would continue his adherence to Wyandot religion.[121]

This Chief, however, did not abrogate the practice of Christianity. It is as if he was simply hearing the minister, evaluating his own faith, and making his desires known to both the missionary and the community. At the conclusion of the meeting he asserted that as "head of the nation," he could "take hold of both parties, and try to keep

[120] Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky*, 164-168

[121] Ibid.

[them] both steady." De-un-quoti, himself, never converted and was true to his word that "'[t]his religion may go into all the houses on this reservation, but into mine it shall not come.'"[122] Much like Catehecassa, De-un-quoti, an elder Chief, did not choose to change his own beliefs, but he was willing to help secure the future of the younger Wyandot generation by permitting their pursuit of a western education and even going so far as to tolerate their religious choices.

Indian Education, Indian Approval

As previously noted, both the Wyandot and the Shawnee desired education for their children; however, in these Midwest mission years, education was administered solely at the discretion of the Indians. The Shawnee proved more reluctant to encourage western education for their children and focused instead on agriculture. For many years the crux of Quaker teaching was in farming techniques, with little or no formal educational efforts on behalf of the community's children. While the Quakers began work with the Shawnee in 1801, it was not until 1823 that they were permitted to establish a day school.[123] Faced with their inability to "Americanize" the adult Shawnee, the Quakers, much like the Methodists, understood the value of educating children and noted that once one "attains the meridian of life, his habits are too deeply rooted to be completely removed by such means as have been yet tried." Once they obtained approval from the Shawnee, they pushed the church hierarchy to fund the

[122]. Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky*, 168.

[123]*Some Particulars Relative to the Continuance of the Endeavors, on the Part of the Society of Friends in the United States of North America for the Improvement and Gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives, (*London: Printed and Sold by William Phillips, 1823), 21.

school and argued that, “Were the rising generation taken under our immediate care at an early age, the habits which we wish to remove in the older ones will not have been completely formed in them, and consequently their minds will be more easily prepared to take a proper direction.”[124]

Further, the Quakers felt that it would be more beneficial to locate the school off of the reservation grounds, and separated the students from both the traditionalists and the traders in the community. They argued that the farm and the school would benefit from some distance between the institution and the reservation where “[p]ersons of depraved habits and hostile to our views [whiskey-bartering traders] find access to the Indians and represent our conduct as governed by motives of self-interest,” and where “the more indolent Indians” destroyed the farm crops that were meant to support the mission family. The Quakers reportedly were supported by Shawnee leaders and quoted the Shawnee leader Checolaway, who often spoke on behalf the elderly Chief Blackhoof, as saying, “We were glad to hear you say that you . . . would erect a school [on land joining the Reservation]. It is well pleasing to us, for we conceive that it would not have answered so good a purpose here as it will there, as they [the children] would have been exposed here to the company of those who are given to do bad.”[125] Those “given to do bad” according to Chief Checolaway were those who used alcohol on the reservation, especially those who failed to embrace or accept western change. He claimed that “[o]ne reason particularly that has retarded us from doing away this evil [alcohol] is our own blood relations, that are intending to remove away from among us.

[124] *Some Particulars*, 22-26.

[125] *Some Particulars*, 27.

When we call for them to come into council, they refuse to listen to us, and encourage bringing in liquor among us, and bring it in themselves."[126] Both the Quakers and the Shawnee recognized that the children were readily influenced by these Indians, which suggests continuing resistance among some of the Wapakoneta Shawnee. Moreover, the divisions over alcohol and the adoption of western ideals further divided the Shawnee and culminated in early removal by a portion of the community.

The attempt to curtail the use of alcohol is a theme that runs through many Ohio Valley mission stories. Indians, missionaries, traders, and the federal government correlated a reduction in alcohol with the establishment of missions. The Shawnee shared with the Quakers their concerns over "spirituous liquors,",

> We received an admonition from our friend [agent] John Johnston, In July last, to the same effect as you have delivered to us, on the subject of spirituous liquors. We received the same talk that you have given us, from the Wyandots about the same time. When we came together to consider on it, we seemed like we were worse than any of the rest; we concluded one reason was this, that made us so; we, the old men, made use of spirituous liquors ourselves, and for that reason we have concluded our admonition to them had not a good effect. We have set a resolution now to put away every thing that is bad among us, and to use our utmost endeavours to follow the counsel that you have just given us, that the Great Spirit may assist you and us in the undertaking, and if we continue faithful, we have no doubt but he will, and we can see one another with a better face when we meet.[127]

Even though many of the Shawnee chose not to embrace the Christian faith, they sought spiritual guidance in ending the problems associated with alcohol abuse.

The Society of Friends reported similar concerns in the Wyandot villages and noted the "baneful effects of spirituous liquors . . . supplied with it in almost every

[126] Some Particulars, 26.

[127] Some Particulars, 25-26.

village, by Canadian traders, residing amongst them (sic)."[128] And as early as 1802, Little Turtle of the Miami addressed the Society of Friends on the pernicious effects of the alcohol that was introduced by white men. According to the Miami leader, white American had a responsibility to help end the Native destruction they had created. Little Turtle argued, "We plainly perceive, that you see the very evil which destroys your red brethren; it is not an evil of our own making; we have not placed it amongst ourselves; it an evil placed amongst us by the white people; we look to them to remove it out of our country." Little Turtle evaluated alcohol as detrimental to Indian survival because it impeded health, welfare, and trade and was "more to be feared than . . . guns and the tomahawk." He noted that more were "dead since the treaty of Grenville (sic)" than were "lost by the six years war before."[129] These Ohio Valley Indians sought help from the Society of Friends and in exchange noted that they were more willing to "engage in the culture of their [euro-American] lands" and acknowledged that they "would be compelled to take hold of such tools as they saw in the hands of the white people."[130] Consequently, the Friends lobbied Congress in hopes of passing the short-lived Act that would to end the sale of alcohol to Indians.[131] Once passed, Quakers distributed farm implements "as a present from the Society of Friends, and [these were] thankfully received by the Indians."[132]

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[128] A Brief Account, 14.

[129] A Brief Account, 17.

[130] A Brief Account, 19.

[131] Reference to the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1802.

[132] A Brief Account, 21.

School Attendance

Unlike the government boarding schools of the post-Civil-War West, attendance at these early mission schools was optional and was at the discretion of the individual families, though fully endorsed by Indian leaders. The Shawnee Council, led by Checolaway, in the absence of an ill Catehecassa, expressed the community's decision to employ the use of education for their youth as a means of easing the children's transition into a world newly surrounded by Euro-Americans. As Checolaway argued, "We consider that in educating our children, we are qualifying them to pass through the world with satisfactions and ease, and fitting them, in part for any sphere of life. We are fully convinced the life *we* have lived, will in no wise suit *them*."[133] However, even though the Quakers were ultimately granted permission by the tribal leaders to establish their school, attendance remained an individual family choice even though the council promised they would "use all our influence with the parents, particularly the mothers, to send [the children]."[134] It was Shawnee women that probably had the final say in regard to school attendance. Mission reports reflect that attendance at the school was regular, but low. Although the population of children at the Shawnee mission exceeded 250, regular attendance varied from nine to 20 students.[135] The Quakers even closed the school occasionally because of poor attendance. In 1826, the administration

[133] Some Particulars, 29.

[134] Some Particulars, 28.

[135] Warren King Moorehead, "The Indian Tribes of Ohio Historically Considered," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. 1., no. 1, 1898; Harlow Lindley, "Friends and the Shawnee Indians at Wapakoneta," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Volume 54, 1945.

blamed the lack of interest in schooling on the anxiety caused by the prospects of removal, ". . . towards the latter part of the winter the Indians became unsettled in their minds and it was found impracticable to continue the school to advantage. . . . About two hundred of the Indians had left the Reservation, and were then on their way to join those of their nations who have settled in the country west of the Mississippi."[136] There were constant tensions in the Wapakoneta community concerning removal; tensions that may have impeded the educational process. The Shawnee was often split as to whether they would fare better removed to lands west.

The Wyandot families of Upper Sandusky also regulated their children's school attendance. Even though the school, in 1828, had sixty-four students in total attendance, they never attended at the same time. The missionary lamented "[t]his is indeed one of the difficulties connected with that institution, some of the parents take their children home too often and there by prevent their progress."[137] It becomes increasingly clear that education, just like agricultural change was not instigated by the missionaries, and that they had very little influence over how Indian people responded to the education of their children. The dignity of choice was in the hands of the Native leaders and ultimately, decided by the individual families. From the standpoint of educating the Shawnee and Wyandot children, the Quakers and the Methodists faced the same obstacles as they did in introducing farming to men—they would supply tools

[136] Lindley, "Friends and the Shawnee Indians at Wapakoneta," 36.

[137] A. Bigelow, Manuscript, "Report of the Wyandott (sic) Mission for the year ending September 15, 1828 presented to the Ohio Annual Conference held in Chillicothe September 18, 1828."

and training, but it was up to the Indians how and to what extent they would utilize these resource.

The school curriculum for both missions involved basic educational techniques, particularly teaching children to read and write. Reports often glowed with success, magnifying any advances that might have prompted benefactors continue funding their efforts. Methodist leader Bigelow reported, "a large proportion of the scholars have made considerable proficiency[.] they learn to read and spell nearly as fast as other children and they learn to write with remarkable facility [sic]."[138] However, the 'civilizing mission' was far from complete. The goal ultimately was to get the men off of the hunting grounds and into the fields and to get the women out of the fields and into the home. As the Quakers so aptly claimed, with the establishment of a school, "[a] fit opportunity would be secured successfully to inculcate the social, civil, and religious duties. The boys might be instructed in agricultural pursuits, and the girls in such branches of industry as belongs to them."[139] Some of the children were sent away to be trained in trades, but this too, was at the discretion of individual parents as an 1826 Quaker report noted, "four Indian boys, at the request of their parents had been taken into the neighborhood of Springfield, Ohio and placed in school there."[140] However, for the most part, the boys were trained on the farm, and the girls were taught the white-version of nineteenth-century domestic arts.

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[138] Bigelow, Manuscript.

[139] *Some Particulars Relative to the Continuance of the Endeavors on the Part of the Society of Friends,* 22.

[140] Lindley, "Friends and the Shawnee Indians at Wapakoneta," 35-36.

The farms and the schools were fairly successful by the missionaries' standards. Both of the missions had thriving mills, the farms produced an abundance of crops and livestock to support the missions and many families had indeed taken to building log homes and fencing their property. The Shawnee reported to the Quakers that they had individually "picked out farms," clarifying that they were only living communally for a short time longer, "We are only now for a small time together, gathering and putting up our corn, and go out and hunt now a little while, and when we return from hunting we will immediately move out to our farms, the places we have chosen to settle on."[141] Similarly, according to Methodist mission reports, over 200 Wyandot families had

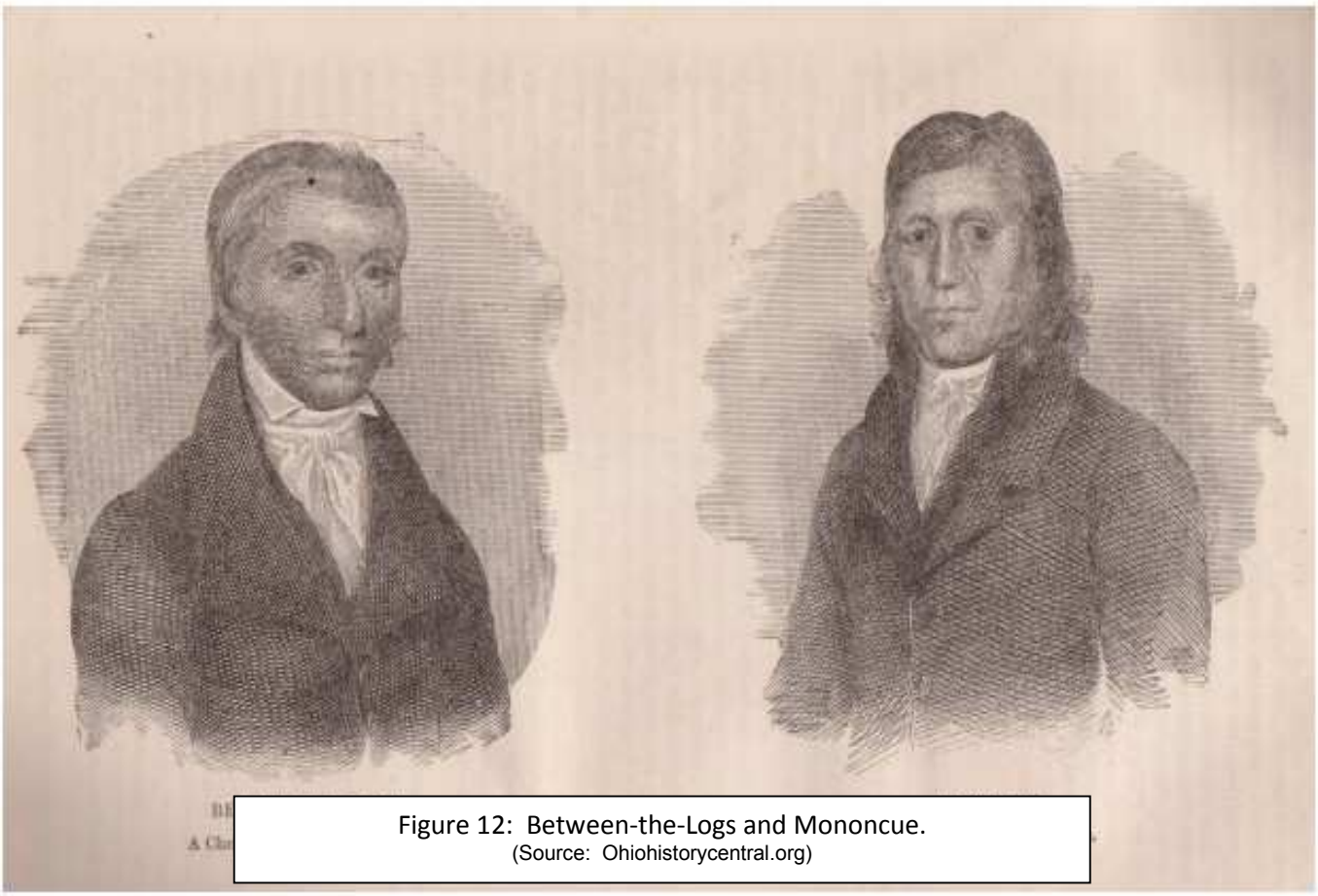

Figure 12: Between-the-Logs and Mononcue.
(Source: Ohiohistorycentral.org)

[141] Some Particulars, 27.

converted to Methodism, and were "building hewed log houses, with brick chimneys, cultivating their lands, and successfully adopting the various agricultural arts."[142]

It was the Wyandot who embraced the Christian faith more fervently than the Shawnee and the Wyandot leaders maintained a noted presence in the mission school and the church. Mononcue, for instance, became a licensed Methodist minister and Between-the-Logs remained a strong proponent of education and Christianity, even to the point of proselytizing other Indian nations (figure 12). Rev. Finley notes,

> To the labors and influence of these great men, the chiefs, may also in some degree be attributed the good conduct of the children in the school. Three of the chiefs officiate in the school as a committee to preserve good order and obedience among the children. I am told that Between-the-logs, the principal speaker, has lectured the school children in a very able and impressive manner, on the design and benefit of the school, attention to their studies, and obedience to their teachers. This excellent man is also a very zealous and useful preacher of righteousness. He has, in conjunction with other of the tribe, lately visited a neighboring nation, and met with encouragement.[143]

In order to be marked as converts to Methodism, the Wyandot had to renounce their Indian religious life ways, embrace the teaching of Jesus Christ and accept the Judeo-Christian God as the Supreme Being. Following close observation and a probationary period, the Methodist leadership judged their conversion. Mononcue and Between-the-Logs appear to have made faith-based decisions as they embraced the process of education and were judged to have adopted the Methodist faith. Methodist leaders encouraged these new converts to use their position in the community to further drive the mission's goals of adherence to Methodism. While Mononcue and Between-the-

[142] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee,* 144; Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians,* 145; Quote: Choules, *The Origin and History of the Missions,* 51.

[143] Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission,* 92.

Logs, may have simply shifted their leadership skills as Indian leaders to Christian leaders, the church opted to take advantage of their positions in the community.

Removal West of the Mississippi

Even though the Shawnee and the Wyandot maintained a peaceful existence among white settlers, they tired of the pressures placed on them by the United States government and by the ever-increasing white population to relinquish their lands. The Ohio population escalated from approximately 45,000 in 1800 to over one-and-a half-million in 1840. In order to avoid forced removal the Shawnee and Wyandot eventually sold their Ohio lands, in 1833 and 1843 respectively, and removed to reservation lands west of the Mississippi.

With the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, The Wapakoneta Shawnee were immediately thrown into disarray. There had been no prior talk between the United States and the Shawnee about formally selling their land, but now they received a letter from the Ohio capital indicating that a commissioner was coming to discuss land sale proposals. They had had no intention of selling their land and warily trusted the government to protect the land tract ceded to them by treaty. Missionary Henry Harvey observed,

> [t]he message surprised them, and although it was what they had always dreaded, and indeed, expected, judging from the past, yet they had no reason to look for such a course, if any confidence was to be placed in the American government on account of the assurances they had so repeatedly made to them of forever remaining in the unmolested ownership of this land, and this

> pledge, made, too, as a guarantee to them, in order to induce them to improve their land, and thus to change their manner of life.[144]

The Shawnee sought advice from their Quaker friend and missionary, Henry Harvey who was as confused as they, and advised them to simply refuse the sale. He anticipated that the government would not pursue a difficult land sale for such a small tract. Unfortunately, the Shawnee encountered traders that had debts to settle with the community who had gotten wind of the possible land sale and moved in to demand they sell their land and pay them the money they owed. In Harvey's words, "[t]hey just told the Indians in plain English that they wanted money, and would have it."[145] The Shawnee were in a state of confusion and panic by the time the Commissioner Gardner arrived to offer land sale proposals.[146]

Henry Harvey was present for the meeting and recorded negotiations as Gardner painted a bleak picture for the Wapakoneta community.[147] Empowered by the Indian Removal Act and the recent issues concerning the Georgia Cherokee, Gardner warned the Shawnee of the likelihood of a similar incident if they did not agree to sell. Gardner insisted that if they remained, Ohio would insist on taxing them without benefit. For instance, they would pay taxes and provide labor for the Ohio roads, but they would retain no protection in regard to legal issues between themselves and white men. While white men would be able to sue them, they could not sue whites; they could not collect

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[144] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians,* 190.

[145] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians,* 191.

[146] It should be noted here that Commissioner Gardner did not use the traditional interpreter, a French man named Duchouquet. Duchouquet was a long-time interpreter for the Wapakoneta Shawnee and was trusted by the community. Instead, Gardner insisted on, and provided, his own interpreter (Harvey, 192).

[147] Further, Harvey will eventually testify to this coercion before Congress.

debts from white men unless they could prove the debt by another white man. In turn, if white men destroyed Indian land by grazing cattle and horses in Indian grain fields, the Shawnee would have no recourse unless they could prove the incident occurred by the testimony of another white man. Insisting that relationships with the neighboring whites would deteriorate, he capped off his speech with the argument that the federal government would guarantee Ohio's right to regulate their own affairs and the ultimate outcome if they stayed would resemble the removal as it was playing out in Georgia. The answer Gardner provided to all of this was the Shawnee's removal to the "good rich country" in the West. This land, he claimed, was reserved especially for them and would never fall under the auspices of statehood, was rich with game and would provide the opportunity for wealth.[148]

In exchange for the sale of their Ohio land, Gardner promised 100,000 acres of land in Indian Territory, which they were guaranteed they could keep forever. The state would in turn sell the Ohio land for the best price possible with the proceeds, after the expenses of surveying, selling, and the cost of providing food and provisions for removal, were deducted from the price, would go directly to the Shawnee. Further, they promised a grist and saw mill on the new land as well as all of the tools and guns necessary for provision and survival, since the Shawnee were leaving improved lands and functioning mills. Gardner finally tried to create a sense of inferiority in the Shawnee as he advised them to heed the advice of white men as they were innately wiser than Indians, just as the "red people were wiser than blacks." [149]

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[148] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians,* 190-195.

[149] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians*, 195-197 (quote 197).

After consideration of the treaty options, as well as a period of drinking alcohol by some, as it was gifted to them by the traders seeking usury payments, a Chief known as an eloquent speaker by the name Wayweleapy spoke on behalf of the Wapakoneta Shawnee. His first response was a reference to the indignation of Gardner's comment concerning the reduced intellectual abilities of both Indians and African-Americans. He was quick to express his opinion that all peoples were provided by the Creator in equity. He went on to argue that if, indeed, individuals were created with varying abilities, he was certain the Indian would rate superior to white men. Further, he borrowed, in sense an amalgamation of Quaker teachings as he explained that God placed light in the world to expel the darkness. As the light rose higher into the sky it "burst and entered into every one's heart—and from time to time, every one is enlightened, and [were] all on the same equality." This understanding is reflective of the Quaker teaching that the light of Christ is present in the hearts of all people. [150]

Unscrupulous traders took advantage of the confusion and any factions in the Shawnee leadership when they continued to pressure the council for payment of debts and bribed some of the chiefs (these chiefs are not identified by name) to keep the payment of trader debt in the forefront of the negotiations. Waywaleapy conveyed to Gardner that the Shawnee would agree to sell the land at the price indicated provided the government would also pay any outstanding debts the Shawnee owed. The Commissioner readily agreed and hurried the signing of the treaty. He argued that time was running out to sign as the night was approaching and that he would soon have to return to Columbus. Instead of confirming a definite amount of payment, he advised

[150] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians,*197- 198 (quote 198).

that the Chiefs go ahead and sign and then gather confirmation of the debt amounts, which would then be determined for payment. Though the Shawnee were clearly hesitant and uncomfortable in signing a document that they had not thoroughly covered they did so for fear that in delaying the action, some of the offers, including debt payment might be rescinded. They signed the treaty agreement.[151]

The Shawnee made what they thought was an equitable agreement for the government to purchase their lands, but not surprisingly, they later discovered otherwise. They learned that the land promised to them was actually land that had already been secured for the Shawnee by the 1825 Treaty of St. Louis,[152] by the Shawnee bands that had already voluntarily relocated west. Further the Shawnee would not receive a fair payment for their Ohio land as the government claimed more deductible expenses than the land value, nor would the government honor the usury amount of debt claimed by traders. As a result, Chief John Perry (Perry would become the primary leader of the Wapakoneta upon the death of Chief Blackhoof in September of 1831) requested that the Quaker missionary Henry Harvey assist them as they would try to lobby Washington for a more agreeable financial settlement on behalf of the Shawnee. The Shawnee chiefs John Perry, Wayweleapy, Blackhoof, and Spybuck,

[151] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians,* 197-199.

[152] The 1825 Treaty of St. Louis was signed by William Clark, U.S. representative and multiple Shawnee delegates. Article 2 of the Treaty states: "It is further agreed by the contracting parties, that, in consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States do, hereby, agree to give to the Shawnee tribe of Indians, within the State of Missouri for themselves and for those of the same nation, now residing in Ohio, who may hereafter emigrate to the west of the Mississippi, a tract of land equal to fifty (50) miles square, situated west of the State of Missouri, and within the purchase lately made from the Osages, by treaty bearing date the second day of June, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, and within the following boundaries: Commencing at a point (2) two miles north-west of the south-west corner of the State of Missouri; from thence, north, (25) twenty-five miles; thence, west, (100) one hundred miles; thence, south, (25) twenty-five miles; thence, east, (100) one hundred miles, to the place of beginning."

along with interpreters Francis Duchouquet (who died of an illness *en route*) and Joseph Parks accompanied by Friends David Baily and Henry Harvey trekked to Washington to contest the treaty. In Washington they first pled their case to Secretary of War Lewis Cass, who after reviewing the treaty agreed that it was designed to claim the Shawnee land without any significant financial benefit. They, along with Cass attempted to take the issue to President Jackson, who adamantly refused to give credit to the complaint, arguing as Harvey noted, "the Shawnees should fare no better than the Cherokees did."[153] When they garnered no support from the President they took their plight to Congress, and secured the assistance of Ohio Representative, Joseph Vance. After three attempts, Vance convinced the Ways and Means Committee to consider the Shawnee's request to evaluate the fairness of the treaty agreement. The Shawnee sought $100,000 in compensation from Congress, but asked only for $30,000 at that time, for fear that requesting more would put any positive decision into question with the President's veto powers. Congress acknowledged the unfair treatment of the Shawnee and passed the resolution to provide an additional $30,000.00 for the Wapakoneta land (thought this money was actually several years in coming**).** Harvey proved a beneficial participant in the proceedings since he was present for the negotiations, documented the exchange in writing, and served as a signatory witness on the treaty itself.**[154]**

When the Shawnee along with Henry Harvey and his family did make the 800-mile trek to Indian Territory, they discovered more deceitfulness in regard to the treaty. They ended up paying for the majority of the move themselves, and while the

[153] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians*, 212.

[154] Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians*, 208-214, 266.

government did pay some of their debts, they did so from Shawnee funds. The clause to pay the traders that was promised by Gardner and which served as the tipping point for the Shawnee's decision to sign, was never inserted into the agreement by the commissioner. They were also to be provided housing for a blacksmith, a blacksmith shop, and a saw and grist mill at no expense as replacement for their Ohio improvements, but were instead charged a fee.[155]

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The government delayed the Shawnee's journey west on several occasions citing one difficulty or another that slowed the progress. These delays meant that the community did not begin their trip until very late in season, with their arrival occurring in winter months. Since they sold their goods in anticipation of a spring journey, they found themselves left with the bare necessities to sustain them. Since the Shawnee sold a majority of their livestock and provisions to pay for the trip west, along with the additional expenses they faced once they got to their new home, they found themselves somewhat distraught over their state of affairs once they arrived at their new home. However, they settled themselves to begin their new lives in Kansas and built log homes, split fence enclosures and planted crops.[156]

Since the Quakers had originally purchased the land on which the Ohio Shawnee mission was located, they sold the mission farm and offered to build a new school for the Shawnee in Indian Territory with the proceeds from the land sale. They consulted with the Indian council who agreed and within two years, a school and farm were re-

[155] Harvey, *Shawnee History*, 221-226.

[156] Harvey, *Shawnee History, 230-235.*
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established in the Kansas territory. By 1840, Henry Harvey's family had again taken up residence as superintendents at the mission, which now more closely resembled a traditional boarding school where the community children lived full-time at the mission, separated from their parents. The emphasis on education no longer included agricultural training for the adults, but was solely focused on the education of Indian children.[157] The children continued to learn agricultural and domestic skills through farm work. Their labor also financially supported the school. Though the Quakers did not require conversion to Quakerism at the Kansas mission, they now made worship and scripture a part of the daily schedule for Indian children. Further, they often sent children they deemed as "exceptionally bright" to white Quaker families in Ohio to learn a trade. Harvey provided an arguably biased glimpse into the daily events the school in his superintendent's report, "The Indians thus far are well pleased with the school. The meetings for worship have been kept up, and the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures in the family, has been attended to. The children are kept at their books five or six hours in each day, out of five days in every week; they are allowed a recess of an hour or two every day, and the remainder of the day they are kept at work, and bid fair to be helpful. . . ." [158] There is little indication that the Indian children were being prepared for post-secondary education, as the focus remained on agriculture and on the home with an even stronger emphasis on religious instruction.

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[157] Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians,* 145.

[158] Henry Harvey, *Superintendant's Report, Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 1840.*
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The Wyandot also resisted removal for as long as possible; however, they too, tired of the pressures placed on them to leave by the United States government and by the ever-increasing white population. Even though the Wyandot were able to maintain a relatively peaceful existence among white settlers, they experienced escalated pressures to relocate following the passage of the 1830 Removal Act. Faced with the prospects of moving west, they considered selling their lands in 1831 and after an exploration of the Kansas lands, they chose not to move. According to the Methodist reports,

> The Wyandots became somewhat unsettled, by propositions made to them to remove west of the Mississippi. They deputed six of their chiefs[159] to explore the country where they were invited by government to remove. They decided not to remove for the present. They appear to be assuming more stability, and the church members were 302.[160]

The party likely deemed that the expense of removal and the loss of established homes, farms, schoolhouse, and mills would return enough benefit to be worthwhile. However, their white neighbors and the federal government continued to press for removal and argued that the Indians (now 600 – 700) were not fully utilizing the several hundred square miles of reservation land as only a small portion was cultivated.[161]

The question of removal caused strife and division within the community. Those who chose to adhere more closely to traditional Wyandot lifeways pushed for removal. They hoped that locating far from the immense white population would allow them to re-

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[159] Although the report does not indicated the names of each chief, Head Chief William Walker led the expedition.

[160] Enoch Mudge, "History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church," in *History of American Missions to the Heathen, from Their Commencement to the Present Time*, (Worcester: Spooner & Holland, 1840), quote 537.; Huber, "Red, White and Black," 17.

[161] Huber, "White, Red and Black," 17.

establish their traditions without interference. However, those who had embraced cultural adaptations, much like the Chief William Walker, who had become a prominent community member and ran the Wyandot Post Office, were less inclined to relocate. Finley and the Methodist church supported the Wyandot who desired to stay, arguing to officials that the issue of removal should be moot as the Wyandot had handily met or exceeded the expectations of both the church and the government. They were in fact an example of successful acculturation and "well prepared to be admitted as citizens of the State of Ohio."[162] Nonetheless, the Wyandot succumbed to the constant pressures to relocate with repeated inquiries from the state as to when they would agree to sell, increasing public pressures to relinquish land, especially since the large tract of fertile land was only partially under crop. Further it was likely that the images of the Shawnee and Cherokee experiences still resonated in their thoughts. They ultimately accepted 148,000 acres in Kansas, $17,500 in annuities, and 23,000 in debt relief in exchange for their Ohio Reservation land. In July of 1843, the last organized Indian nation in Ohio left the state to begin life anew in Kansas.[163]

Conclusion

Both the Shawnee and the Wyandot discerned that involvement with American missionaries was an effective means of communicating their commitment to living peacefully with whites in the Ohio Valley. Amidst distrust among some of their white neighbors who were unable to separate pro-American Indian groups from anti-American

[162] Quoted in Huber, "White, Red and Black," 17.

[163] Finley, *History of the Wyandot Mission.*; Huber, "White, Red and Black", 17.

Indian groups, the Shawnee and Wyandot sought to strengthen their pro-American stance by serving as interpreters, military scouts, and diplomats, as well as following western techniques in farm production. They seemed to feel that involvement with missionaries confirmed their commitment.[164]

Simultaneously, the U.S. government strengthened their relationships with one or two prominent families by offering further education and by issuing land grants to family members. For instance, Catehecassa took advantage of these offers by sending his son and two other young men from a leading Shawnee family to an American school. Further, Nancy Stewart, daughter of Blue Jacket received a 640 acre land grant. These young people, coming of age surrounded by American influence, became prominent leaders once the Shawnee removed to Kansas.[165]

The relationship between missionaries and Indian communities as presented in this chapter reveals a complexity that goes far beyond the simple teachings of plow agriculture. They suggest the reality of an environment of exchange, resistance, division, friendship and agency. They allow one to see the ready adherence to change exemplified by the Chiefs, Checolaway, Mononcue, and Between-the Logs, as well as the respect of elderly Chiefs, such as Catehecassa and De-un-quoti who refused to compromise their own beliefs and principles, but were nonetheless open to preparing the youngest generations for the prospects that would come with the changing demographic landscape. A closer comparison of the Wapakoneta and Upper Sandusky missions help to explain the immediate difference in the mission experienced based on

[164] Warren, *Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 48-49.

[165] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 58.

the level of proselytizing. While the Shawnee and Wyandot mission communities are similar in size, significantly fewer Shawnee frequented the mission school. The varying success of the missions in western terms might be understood in part by the adoption of Christianity. A significant number of the Wyandot, including multiple leaders, embraced Methodism and were perhaps more eager to promote Bible reading and Christianity. Meanwhile the Shawnee fostered traditional leadership patterns and did not endorse religious conversion or become Christian. Their use of the school and agricultural training seemed to be used only for the practical matters of survival in the changing community.

The inclination or lack of interest in religion may have resulted from the differing proselytizing methods of the Quakers and the Methodists. The Methodist's primary objective was conversion as demonstrated by Rev. Finley and Rev. Stewart. The tenents of Methodism allowed a more direct line to conversion and allowed new converts to teach and preach from an evangelical standpoint. It was as if success for the Methodist missionary was measured in the number of religious converts more than in the number of acres planted. The Quakers on the other hand were more pragmatic in their approach to mission work. The way a Quaker showed honor to God was through his or her efforts toward the betterment of mankind. Quakers were tolerant of other religions, and themselves did not adhere to formal worship or preaching. Anyone in a Quaker meeting, male or female, could rise and speak as the Spirit of God led them. There was not church leader, per say. They further believed that the "Inner Light" was God's presence that was present in all people; they considered everyone equal in the eyes of God, and there was little pressure to "convert". This lack of religious hierarchy

coupled with tolerance for others' religious beliefs may help explain why the Shawnee were drawn to the less intrusive leadership of the Quaker faith.

The persistence of Quaker and Methodist missionaries presents an early stage in the development of the mission school that suggests agency among the Shawnee and Wyandot in the Ohio years. Things began to change after the communities moved west when the schools began to look a bit more like the image of the traditional Indian boarding school model, sponsored by the federal government at the end of the nineteenth century that attempted to exterminate Indian culture.

Nonetheless, in the Old Northwest Territory and in the state of Ohio particularly, the Wyandot and Shawnee initially attempted to shape their own destiny. After evaluating the rapidly changing social landscape, the leaders from these Indian communities adopted the means they thought would allow them to remain on their homelands. Unfortunately, those efforts failed due to pressure from the federal government and their encroaching white neighbors.

CHAPTER THREE:

Beyond the Cherokee: Multiple Forms of Forced Removal and Presidential Power in the Midwest

As countless high school and university history classes across the United States discuss the actions and consequences of Indian Removal, the time period in question most generally temporally covers the era following the 1830 passage of the Indian Removal Act, focusing on the five southeastern tribes of Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole who removed to reservations lands west of the Mississippi River spanning the period 1831 through 1847. Historically, the term used to describe these nations is the Eurocentric term "five civilized tribes". Historians may have examined these tribes more closely because they had changed to a significant degree: they used European technology for farming, established formal governments, and, with the exception of the Seminole, were slave holders. Of those tribes, the Cherokee are noted in particular. While the written historic record contains more documented evidence via court records, witness accounts, and Cherokee writings, there were probably 4,000 tragic deaths along the journey.[166] With the period and actors in place, teachers focus on the political manifestations of removal and the tragedies of the forced march. This Euro-centered teaching method is completely understandable as these elements of removal are important aspects of the historical record and are based on the long-held foundational works of historians such as Grant Foreman and Ronald Satz.

[166]Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of of Tears,* (New York: Viking Press 2007), xiv. For more information on the Trail of Tears, please see Neugin, Rebecca. "Recollections of Removal, 1932." In *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, 2nd edition, edited by Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin, 2005; and Perdue, Theda and Michael D. Green. *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*. New York: Viking Press, 2007.

Foreman's 1932 work, *Indian Removal* is now in its eleventh printing followed by Satz's 1975 (updated in 2002), *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, each of which are considered in some academic circles to be comprehensive works on the removal period. However, both of these academic endeavors , though providing the necessary foundations of policy, do not provide in-depth analysis from the indigenous perspective, nor do they emphasize the breadth of formal Indian removal policies that precede the official 1830 date. This chapter provides an in-depth look at the story of Indian Removal, and examines that history within the context of the Ohio River Valley. It considers the issues of land loss in the realm of Indian history and spirituality, examines the policies of Presidents George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, William Henry Harrison (then governor of Indian territory and U.S. Indian liaison), Andrew Jackson, and Martin VanBuren, provides examples of Indian resistance and persistence, and serve a contextual setting for the studies of the Shawnee and Wyandot Removal.

The loss of land is considerably more violent emotionally than the simple loss of commodity. Although every Indian nation does not hold the exact same attitude toward land, there are tribal similarities. For many nations, the land itself, holds the history of its peoples. Keith Basso looks at this concept of land as history in *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. He encourages readers to look beyond the western concept of land as a commodity and attempts to grasp the Apache's perception of land as the spiritual and moral history of their people. Name-place theory from the indigenous perspective connotes not only feelings of remembrance, but a deep history that serves to teach and guide generation after

generation in Apache life ways.[167] Theda Perdue and Michael Green note a similar world view concerning the Cherokees: "The Cherokees associated spiritual power not only with plants and animals but also with rivers, mountains, caves and other land forms. These features served as mnemonic devices to remind them of the beginning of the world, the spiritual forces that inhabited it, and their responsibilities to it."[168] In applying this version of place name theory to removal, one can begin to appreciate more the depth of loss beyond the euro-centered agricultural utilitarianism of the landscape. Land loss is much more intense than Satz's notation that Indians had an "understandable *nostalgic* desire to remain on the land where his ancestors died" [emphasis added].[169] By demoting native attachment to the land as "nostalgic" Satz robs Native Americans of their history and the centrality of land to their history.

In the same respect, removal education should address the process in its entirety. Formal removal considerations were established with the foundation of the nation. Although historians emphasize the formality of the Indian Removal Act and the demise of nations who had been successfully "civilized," almost as if their removal was more unjust than that of other Indian nations, they are omitting the historic truth of the depth of removal and its integral part in the development of the United States. The removal histories of the North, East, and West are often missing. For instance, this notion is clearly postulated in Foreman's book when he argues that "[i]n the North

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[167] Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache,* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

[168] Perdue, Theda and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of* Tears, (New York: Viking Press, 2007), 4.

[169] Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975, 2002), 2.

weaker and more primitive tribes yielded with comparatively small resistance to the power and chicane of the white man….[whereas] At least four of the tribes of southern Indians had so far advanced in learning and culture as to establish themselves permanently on the soil…."[170] Much like Wilson's argument in her provocative work *In the Footsteps of our Ancestors*, she laments the ignorance of western history concerning the U. S. Dakota war of 1862.[171] If the story is conveyed at all, it is done so from the Minnesotan perspective. In the same manner, settler historians not only recount removal history from a Euro-American standpoint, they tend to limit its temporal and geographic location to the mid-nineteenth-century South.

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The action of Indian Removal is a complex process that begins long before Andrew Jackson's official passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which provided the Federal Government the funds and the authority to use military action to remove Indian peoples from lands deemed to be ceded to the United States, without regard to the legality of the said cessions. Though the painful and dramatic mark of the United States' deadly, forced removal of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole from their Southeast homelands in 1838 is the most deliberated subject of removal, it does not represent the sole picture of the Indian Removal period. The process of removal began as early as the colonial era and continued throughout the early republic as the U.S. government pressured or swindled land from Northeast, Great

[170] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932, 1989), preface.

[171] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, "Manipi Hena Owas'in Wicunkiksuyapi" in Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, Ed., *In the Footsteps of our Ancestors:The Dakota Commemorative Marches of the 21st Century,* (St. Paul: Living Justice Press, 2006).
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Lakes and Ohio Valley Indians, pushing them southward and westward to allow for Euro-American settlement. A study of these early forced and voluntary acts of removal reveals a telling prelude to the 1838 culmination of Cherokee removal. With the complexity of treaty issues and Indian resistance, as well as the continual movement of peoples in and out of territories, a narrower focus on one geographic location helps to put early removals into perspective. Nancy Oestreich Lurie did so in her study of Wisconsin Indians. In the introduction to her book, *Wisconsin Indians*, Frances Paul Prucha ruminates on Lurie's claim that the Indians of Wisconsin represent a microcosm of the Removal period as he posits, "[Lurie] notes that Wisconsin, again and again has become a national laboratory for government policies, so much so that Wisconsin becomes in her words, 'an astonishingly representative illustration of the historical development of federal Indian policy and Indian reaction to it'".[172] The veracity of Lurie's argument is valid concerning the complexity of Wisconsin policy prior to the official Removal Act; however, one could easily present a similar argument for most of the Indian populations from the East to the Midwest, including my Ohio Territory studies.

According to Lurie, Wisconsin does indeed boast a broad Indian history that encompasses multiple tribal affiliations and Indian communities. As such, the region's multiplicity as well as its relative westward location created a prime environment for the U.S. government to first use the area as a relocation point for eastern tribes followed by the ultimate relocation of the Wisconsin Indians to lands even further west. For instance, many Oneidas, Stockbridge-Munsees, and Brothertowns were moved from the East to Wisconsin while other existing Wisconsin Indians such as the Sauks, Foxes,

[172] Lurie, Nancy Oestreich, *Wisconsin Indians*, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2002), vi.

Kickapoos, and Santee Sioux were located farther west with the Potawatomies and Ho-Chunk, split between Wisconsin and reservations west of the Mississippi River.[173]

Similarly, the Ohio Valley Indians, were groups who relocated by choice or by force. Much of the Ohio Valley, particularly present day Ohio and Kentucky, were long held hunting lands for the Shawnee and Cherokee, but were also used for bison hunting by other communities from the North, South, East and West, and did not serve as permanent homes for most tribes. To complicate the demography, by the late-eighteenth century, Iroquois tribes (Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora) inhabited the territory and ultimately ceded the land to the United States in the 1784 Treaty of Ft. Stanwix.[174] This action would come to create intense animosities between the Iroquois and the Shawnee who disputed their claim to the territory.

Thomas Jefferson, George Washington and Indian Policy

Thomas Jefferson, who valued the cultivation of land as the pinnacle of American success, considered the Indian hunting lands as a waste of tillable space. Faced with the desire to expand white settlement into the west, Jefferson considered ways to deal with the difficulties of "uncivilized" Indian groups who possessed these large tracts of lands that could be cultivated by the yeoman farmers he deemed the backbone of democracy.[175] The Old Northwest was in the eighteenth century a cultural mosaic

[173] Lurie, *Wisconsin Indians,* 1,18,22.

[174] Tanner, "The Glaize in 1792," 31.

[175] For more on Jefferson's ideals of yeomanry, see: McDonald, Robert M.S., *Light and Liberty: Thomas Jefferson and the Power of Knowledge,* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Sheldon, Garrett Ward, *The Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991).

landscape of various Indian nations, Indian factions, and Euro-American settlers. Following the Revolutionary War, the Old Northwest Territory, including the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley territories-- parts of Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio—were "in a state of flux [as,] [p]ushed westward, remnants of tribes that had once occupied the northeastern frontier of European America . . . mixed with natives of the Great Lakes and Ohio River Valley as settlers continued pouring into the valley."[176] Tensions continued to mount and conflict arose when incoming settler colonists encroached on Indian hunting grounds. As early as the 1780s Algonquian-speaking nations including some of the Shawnee and the Delaware began to escape the encroachment of Euro-American settlers in the northwest Ohio country near modern day Defiance, Ohio. After these towns were destroyed by General Harmar in 1790, whereby he "burned 300 houses and 20,000 bushels of corn at the temporarily abandoned villages. . . . The Indians rebuilt their homes, but soon began to transfer to safer locations," which was near Captain Johnny's Shawnee community, the Glaize, located at the mouth of the Auglaize River. By 1792 the Glaize encompassed seven main towns all within ten miles of the river mouth: three Shawnee, two Delaware, one Miami, and a European trading town."[177] Smaller groups hoped to leave the warfare behind them and relocated westward into the lower Mississippi River country. These migrating Indian peoples knew that they faced a constant battle in the face of American expansion and "crossed the Mississippi, in the words of one Shawnee descendent, 'because they were weary of

[176] Marks, Paula Mitchell, *In a Barren Land: American Indian Dispossession and Survival,* (New York: William Morrow, 1988), 43.

[177] Tanner, "The Glaize," 16.

warfare with the Americans and wished to settle in a region in which they could live in peace.'"[178] Clearly, the definition of *removal* came in many forms quite early.

Jefferson, like many of his era, took a paternalistic approach to the "Indian problem. He felt justified in his desire to uplift Indian peoples to his society's perceived levels of success. He thought that he would better their lives if leaders taught them the skills of husbandry, agriculture, and domesticity. The result, in his plan, would be the ultimate amalgamation of American Indians with the Euro-American populations. Jefferson's goal was to incorporate these American Indians as U.S. citizens or to move them west of the Mississippi. In his perception, Indians could remain among the white populations only if they could assimilate and eventually amalgamate into white society. If they could not, then their place should be far away from the Euro-American communities, where he justified they could live in peace as they continued their Indian life ways, while simultaneously freeing the land for the more productive measure of Euro-style cultivation. He made these vast conclusions with no regard to the fact that almost all of the Indian communities already did some sort of farming along with gathering and hunting, and lived at peace, provided they remained unprovoked by white settlers. It was Jefferson who first proposed a Constitutional amendment to "permit and facilitate removal," but Congress rejected the proposition. He did, however, continue to

[178] Faragher, John Mack, " 'More Motley than Mackinaw': From Ethnic Mixing to Ethnic Cleansing on the Frontier of the Lower Missouri, 1783-1833," in Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell, editors, *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, Second Edition, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 668.

pursue removal by encouraging Indian delegates to sell their lands and move west, free from the influence of white society.[179]

He proposed this rationalization to Indian delegates in Ohio as early as 1805, as land cessions began in the Western Reserve, rich farmlands in Ohio and Kentucky that were deeded to Connecticut investors even though Indian rights had not been relinquished. Pressured by Thomas Jefferson and the Connecticut landowners, the Wyandot, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Delaware and Shawnee signed the Treaty of Fort Industry (1805) ceding their lands to the U.S. government.[180] History often credits Andrew Jackson with the establishment of Federal Indian removal; however, it is apparent that Thomas Jefferson already had the concept of moving Indians outside of U.S. settlement, onto lands that would not interfere with the advancement of American civilization.[181] However, though Jefferson had sown the seeds for a formal, preferably peaceful in his opinion, removal policy, seeds that could grow to fruition in the vast lands he obtained in the Louisiana Purchase, declarations of the "Indian problem" began following the Revolutionary War by President George Washington.

Washington found himself with a number of issues and significant power when it came to the Old Northwest Territory. The new country needed money and the means to garner those funds came with the selling of public lands. While the nation was eager to expand, land speculators with financial means, including George Washington hoped to

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[179] French, Laurence Armand, *Legislating Indian Country: Significant Milestones in Transforming Tribalism,* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 33-35; Wallace, Anthony F. C., *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 274.

[180] Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, 234-275.

[181] Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians,* 275.

line their own pockets as well. As speculators rushed to grab up massive tracts of land, Washington hoped to slow the movement and establish a purposeful, orderly settlement of the territory that would not be scarred by massive numbers of squatters and unscrupulous speculators. As the territory was sectioned off into neat and orderly land lots, the Indian peoples living on the land did not take kindly to the advancements of the Euro-American population. Disputes ensued over who actually owned the land as the majority of the Indian nations residing there argued that the lands ceded by the Iroquois were not theirs to relinquish. They refused to recognize the Peace of Paris and held to the Ohio River land boundary established by the 1768 Treaty of Ft. Stanwix.

Washington found that if he wanted to open up the Northwest Territory to profitable settlement he would have to take authority not only over the nation, but over the Indian nations as well. They had to be removed or at least contained. He used his authority as President to make enemies of the Indian peoples and remove them from their homelands. If they would not agree to treaty negotiations and persisted on lands that he deemed as belonging to America then they would be exterminated. Forced removal at its most violent. He authorized military action, but found that the armies under the leadership of General Harmar and later General St. Clair ended in sound defeats when confronted with the Miami confederacy of Indians led by the Shawnee Blue Jacket.

These losses motivated the federal government even more. Speculators were panicked by the possibility that the Indian nations would not be subdued and Washington saw that dominance over Indian nations through violence or coercion was necessary not only for settlement in the Ohio Valley, but also for the time when and if

the United States chose to move even further west.[182] It seems as if it was never the intention of the United States to live at peace with Native America.

Early Acts of Forced Removal

Many U.S. historians pay little academic attention to these early acts of removal, relegating them often as footnotes to the historic narrative; however, they serve to establish the colonial and early-republic objective of the nation-state's desire to terminate the "Indian problem" without indigenous recourse. In the few cases where these events are a part of the historiography, they are recounted much as illustrated above, from a Eurocentric political standpoint with little if any consideration of the Native perspective and loss.

In the same respect, western historiography dismisses many of the tragedies of removal beyond the "Trail of Tears." Much like Wilson's discussion concerning the omission and misrepresentation of the U.S.- Dakota war, the removal discourse omits the tragedy of the Potawatomie "Trail of Death." The standard western historiography contains little if any information on this 1838 two-month long, 600-mile forced march of roughly one thousand Pottawatomie from Indiana to Oklahoma. Of those who marched west, exhaustion, disease and abuse at the hands of government agents led to the deaths of five to six individuals each day, thus its name, the "Trail of Death".[183] By omitting this tragedy from the history books, historians disrespect the Pottawatomie and

[182] Colin G. Calloway, *The Victory With No Name: The Native American Defeat of the First American Army*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). For more, see also Wiley Sword, *President Washington's Indian War: the Struggle for the Old Northwest, 1790-1795*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

[183] Patty Loewe, *Indian Nations of Wisconsin: Histories of Endurance and Renewal,* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2001), 89-91.

the students are left unaware of the extended history of removal. If diligent, a student of history can locate these individual stories of Indian removal in the library shelves, nevertheless they are not a part of the general discourse in Indian Removal history, as they should be.

Again and again, we can read about the trauma of Removal for the "Five Civilized Tribes" without regard to the magnitude of loss for those Nations trying to persevere and preserve their lifeways in the Ohio River Valley. Missionaries are often lauded in the literature as those who spoke out against removal as compassionate individuals working on the side of "right." For instance, Foreman imparts this impassioned view of the missionaries in Cherokee country: "The sympathies of the missionaries burned with a sense of the injustice put upon the Cherokee and they probably went outside their legitimate field as teachers and spiritual guides, to give encouragement and advice to sustain them in the unequal fight [with the federal government]."[184] Even more unsettling is Perdue's and Green's commentary in their more recent volume as they discuss formal political opposition to the removal act by Edward Everett and Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen with arguments based on Jeremiah Evarts' "William Penn" essays:

> Frelinghuysen and those who joined him were well armed with arguments. For a year, public interest in the northern states. . . had been focused on defeating the measure. Jeremiah Evarts, the chief administrative officer of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, had taken the lead. . . . Evarts attacked removal by defending the rights of the Cherokees and condemning the claims of Georgia. . . [arguing] that U.S. recognition of the sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation had been affirmed repeatedly in treaties. . . .[185]

[184] Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 234.

[185] Perdue, *The Cherokee Nation,* 61-62.

While these statements are true, they tell only a part of the story. Missing is the colonial motivations behind the benevolent actions. For instance, none of these supporters argue for the Cherokee based simply on what is ethically and morally right, they do so because they feel the Cherokee have reached a level of Christian civilization of which entitles them to remain. For instance, Heidler presents a congressional document from Edward Everett opposing removal that is telling to the astute reader; however, the author fails to highlight the colonial rationale that motivates him, as the congressman argues, "[such] are the people we are going to remove from their homes: people, living, as we do, by husbandry, and the mechanic arts. . . the experiment of a people rising from barbarity into civilization."[186] In the same respect, neither Foreman nor Perdue reveal that Frelinghuysen is a political adversary to Andrew Jackson, and a staunch supporter of the Congregationalist leader Evarts, who believed unreservedly in the "civilization" of the southern Nations and held the "patriotic view that God had called [the United States] to a special mission—to be a special beacon of goodness in a corrupt world."[187] One must speculate if the same sense of urgent opposition would have existed if the Cherokee were considered to be among the "wandering nomads" of Foreman's West.

Thomas Jefferson and His Chief Indian Agent, William Henry Harrison

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[186] Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Indian Removal: A Norton Casebook*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2007), 137.

[187] Prucha, Francis Paul, ed., "introduction," Jeremiah Evarts, *Cherokee Removal: The "William Penn" Essays and Other Writings*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), Introduction.

Although, Jefferson attempted to show the public a gentle and reasonable hand, he showed another side when discussing the acquisition of Indian land with his chief Indian land agent, William Henry Harrison. Harrison was a Virginia-born 'gentleman' and the son of a Revolutionary War hero. Like many of his generation, he grew up with the vision of American Indians as enemies of the state. However, this was an unfair moniker assigned to Indian nations as many sided with the Americans and those who didn't aligned with the British, often in retaliation for local brutality, bad land deals and broken promises by Americans. American patriots ingrained into the minds of many the imagery of Indians as savage weapons of the British. The War propaganda machine further exploited the unfortunate death of Miss Jane McCrea as a means of perpetuating the "savagery" of the Indian peoples. Miss McCrea, daughter of a Patriot and fiancée of Loyalist, was among a group in upstate New York who was mistakenly ambushed by the Indian allies of General John Burgoyne. The death of McCrea was immediately translated as a brutal, tortuous, rape and murder at the hands of savagery, even though the true details of the incident were never uncovered. It remains unknown as to whether she was killed immediately during the initial attack or if she was, indeed, murdered outside the battle. Extracting the truth of the event was not the intent of the Patriot message. In 1804, John Vanderlyn immortalized the Jane McCrea story, complete with torn dress indicating the likelihood of rape, and two intense barbarian, near demonic-looking Indian men with knives and tomahawks raised on the pleading, virginal McCrea, in his oil painting, *The Death of Jane McCrea* (figure 13). Without question, the McCrea death was tragic, and the issue is not with the immortalization of her image. The problem is that McCrea was more likely killed by gunshot in the early

moments of the ambush and further, considering the 18th century Indian war customs, it is not likely that Jane would have been raped.[188] The juxtaposition of McCrea's innocence with Indian brutality was solidly portrayed, and burned into the American vision of "the other".

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Following the Revolutionary War, through the Peace of Paris 1783, the British, without Indian consent, ceded all lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. Americans, driven by their desire for the rich, fertile farmland of the modern-day

Figure 13: *The Death of Jane McCrea,*
John Vanderlyn 1804
(Source: studyblue.com)

[188] Robert Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer: William Henry Harrison and the Origins of American Indian Policy,* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011) xiv, 3, 8-10.
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Ohio/Indian region, assumed settlement would be conflict free; however, for many Indian nations, the war had not ended. Even though their British counterparts had claimed defeat and turned over their land assets, the Indians had not. This dilemma led to the Indian Wars of the late 1790s. Regardless of Indian resistance, the new United States was intent on selling the lands West of the Appalachians as it was the only means of feeding the empty government coffers that followed the Revolutionary War.[189]

William Henry Harrison (figure 14) became quite popular in the political arena due, in part, to his influence, and his desire to support land settlement in the new

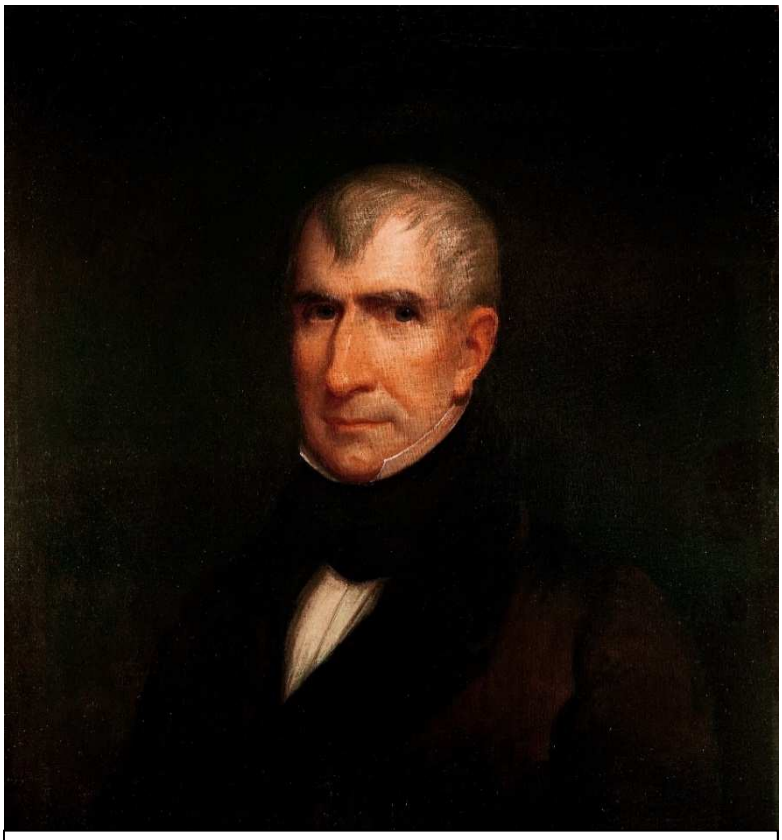

Figure 14: William Henry Harrison
(Source: Presidential Portrait)

[189] Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer*, 15, 22-26; Douglas Hurt, *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest,* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998).

western territories. In June of 1798, President John Adams appointed Harrison as secretary of the Old Northwest Territory and as the Territory's congressional representative a year later. By 1800 he chaired the House Committee to examine the laws regarding land sales. He proposed a means of land transfer to make it easier for Americans to purchase and to settle the Ohio/Indiana farmlands, and included the option to sell in smaller sections, spread payments over four years and make land sale offices more accessible. The subsequent passing of the Land Act of 1800 was referred to by Congress as the "Harrison Land Act".[190] Harrison established a pro-settler stronghold that he nurtured throughout his political career, leading to his ultimate election as President in 1841.

Thomas Jefferson, serving first as Vice President and then President in 1801 found an ally in William Henry Harrison, and began to mold him into the purveyor of Indian policy in the Old Northwest. Harrison moved into the position of the Governor of Indian Territory and Commissioner of Indian Affairs as a late term appointment by President Adams, assuming his duties in June of 1801 under President Jefferson. Harrison's powerful position allowed him to negotiate land cessions with the Indian tribes of the Ohio/Indiana territories. He came to value his success at land cessions, from the American standpoint, as a means of political advancement, and he didn't fail to accommodate Jefferson's desire for expansion of the yeomanry. Jefferson gave full authority to Harrison to establish government lands as quickly and as cheaply as possible, and was known to ignore any issues of illegitimacy. And illegitimacy came into play. One of Harrison's favorite techniques was to court smaller tribes that held little

[190] Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer* 45-51.

power and were not closely connected with those who had official authority over the land. He would secure their signatures to land cession in exchange for nominal benefits. As Indian territories narrowed and resistance answered with violence, Harrison secured masses of land, sometimes in small increments. Few government leaders, including Jefferson, ignored the means, provided the end result met the needs of the Federal Government.[191]

As Thomas Jefferson feared a French invasion, his foreign policy became an Indian issue. Jefferson wanted to quickly fill the lands surrounding the Mississippi River and he knew that the Indian peoples along that route were not welcome as hunters and travelers. He tried to encourage the Indians either to move into western lands or to completely convert to yeoman farming. He argued that this would be of great benefit to the Indian peoples without regard to the cost. Further, the voting population fully supported this Eurocentric view. When land negotiations failed, Jefferson chose to secure the land through forced debt peonage. He introduced laws that allowed only federal traders to exchange with the Indian communities, which forced them to purchase and borrow from the government's factory stores. These traders then sold goods on credit at increased prices and usury rates. When Indian communities could no longer pay back the credit, the government conveniently accepted land as payment. To further his up-stepped efforts, Jefferson put Harrison to work to act as his strong arm and intensify land acquisitions.[192]

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[191] Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer,* 49-66.

[192] Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer* 76-78: Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans,* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2001). See also, Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011),

Harrison's long series of treaty negotiations began with the 1803 Treaty of Vincennes. After the Revolutionary War, the United States claimed that roughly 1,500,000 acres of the Vincennes tract of land (located in modern day Indiana) was spoils of war, following the Britain's defeat; however they did agree to pay for the ceded lands in 1790. When the official boundaries came into question, Jefferson wanted to clarify with the affected Indian nations, primarily Wea, Miami, Delaware and Shawnee that this land did, indeed, belong to the U.S. When council Chiefs[193] showed little interest in negotiations, Harrison "motivated" them by threatening to withhold prior treaty annuities.[194] Further, when the Shawnee vehemently opposed the new treaty, arguing that the Delaware were the true owners of the land as it had been given to them by the Piankeshaws, Harrison threatened to remove any protection the United States provided. In response the Shawnee wanted to send a delegate of Chiefs to Washington D.C. to speak with President Jefferson. However, before this could come to fruition, the Shawnee relented, pressured by both the Federal government and by neighboring Indian communities. As a means of persisting on their lands, some Indian leaders became loyal to Harrison after the Battle of Fallen Timbers. For instance, Miami Chiefs Little Turtle and Richardville were responsible for Harmar's and St. Clair's defeats, but once they acknowledged that security was not going to come through battle, they would

[193] Council Chiefs are those empowered by their respective Indian nation to consider the issue in question, confer with other members of the council and render authoritative signatures in formal agreements.

[194] Treaty of Greenville, 1795 was signed at the end of the Indian Wars following the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The agreement delineated Indian lands and lands set aside for white settlement. The agreement provided goods and services to the Indian peoples in exchange for their relinquished land. The agreement was between the United States and the following Indian nations: Wyandot, Shawnee, Delaware, Potawatomie, Ottawa, Chippewa (Ojibway), Wea, Kickapoo, Kaskaskia and Miami.

do what had to be done through diplomacy and negotiated the best set of circumstances for themselves and for their communities. They, along with Potawatomi Chiefs Topinabee and Winamac sought and received security in exchange for their commitment to Harrison.[195] Those who opposed still signed the treaty, partly in consideration of the relationship between these four leaders and Harrison. They likely feared that actions would and could be taken on their behalf without their consent or input.[196] The treaty secured 1.152 million acres or 1,800 square miles, even though the tribes insisted that the originally ceded lands totaled only 8,000 acres or 12.5 square miles.[197] This first Vincennes Treaty directed by Harrison set the stage for many years of negotiation tactics and aggressive land acquisitions. In fulfillment of Jefferson's urgent desire to populate the lands up to the Mississippi River with U.S. citizens to serve as security against possible French aggression, the Indian communities suffered significant losses while William Henry Harrison established himself as a crack negotiator and territory leader on the political scene, with his future presidency honing into site.

Both Jefferson and Harrison held the belief that Indian peoples would be acceptable citizens, provided they adhered to the American traditions of domestic farming and religion. Those that would not comply were considered to be enemies of

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[195] Examples of security: Richardville, who maintained a lucrative trading empire by controlling the trade route between the Wabash and St. Mary's Rivers, received a $600 fund toward the building of a new home in 1827 from the Federal Government based on his standing a 'significant leader' in the Indian community. When Richardville died in 1841 he was the wealthiest individual in Indiana; the government gifted Little Turtle an additional $50 a year and a slave for his loyalty in 1805 (Harrison brought slaves into the Northwest Territory with him and they were 'grandfathered' in after the NW Ordinance of 1787).

[196] Those who signed the Vincennes treaty: Delaware: Buckongahelas, Hockingpomska, and Kechkawhanund; Shawnee: Black Hoof, Neahmemsieeh, and Maethawanasice; Potawatomies: Five Medals; Miami: Little Turtle and Richardville (Little Turtle's nephew); and Potawatomi: Topinabee and Winamac.

[197] Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer*, 76-79

the United States and treated so. They dealt with those they deemed aggressive through out-and-out violence as seen in Harrison's actions toward the followers of Tecumseh (figure 15) and Tenskatawa (figure 16) in the 1811 battle at Prophetstown (Indiana), otherwise known as the Battle of Tippecanoe. This cemented Harrison's image as 'U.S. defender against Indian aggression' with his force against the Indian settlement, declaring victory and ultimately running for president based on his skills in dealing with the "Indian problem". One will recall the elementary school lessons that hailed the slogan of Harrison's campaign: "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!"

Figure 15: Tecumseh
(Source: Ohiohistorycentral.org)

Figure 16: Tenskatawa,
Also known as The Prophet
(Source: Ohiohistorycentral.org)

Harrison's mistrust and dislike of those he considered rebel Indians grew and was augmented by his level of political power. Then Governor of Indiana, he led military forces intended to serve as a deterrent toward any Indian aggression. The most significant perceived threat to any unrest lie in the leadership and teachings of Shawnee

War Chief, Tecumseh and his brother Tenskatawa, also known as the Prophet. Tenskatawa, a one-time alcoholic who had lost an eye in a hunting accident, was emotionally transformed when he experienced a vision during a blackout. The vision, which is later identified as a mix of Christian and Indian teachings, put an emphasis on Indians returning to "traditional" ways (i.e. Indian life ways rather than culturally adopted Euro-American life ways), religion, and hunting. According to this vision, all of the difficulties Indian peoples experienced throughout the past generations was due to the amalgamation of Indian and European cultures. If the Indian communities were to prosper they had to separate themselves from and oppose white culture. Many Indian peoples, searching for answers to the injustices they experienced at the hands of American leadership, clung to the hope of Tenskatawa's teachings. The Prophet himself immediately stopped drinking and became the spiritual leader of the movement. The strong arm came in the form of his eloquent and charismatic brother Tecumseh, who seized the opportunity to attempt a unification of Indian Nations to coalesce against the United States to secure their rights and their independence.

Tecumseh became a polarizing figure within the communities he visited, especially among his own Shawnee peoples. While some Shawnee placed their loyalty in the hands of Tecumseh, others, including the Wapakoneta Chief Black Hoof, eschewed any talk of potential violence against the United States. Some of the older leaders such as Black Hoof had spent literally a lifetime in near constant conflict and warfare with British or U.S. forces. They yearned for a period of peace, and would occasionally sacrifice accommodations to American methods, as we shall see in later chapters, in order to keep that peace.

Tecumseh himself had seen the effects of continued violence, losing his father in battle during Lord Dunmore's War, and his village later destroyed by American forces, led by George Rogers Clark during the Revolutionary War.[198] Coming of age in post-Revolutionary America, he knew the experience of warfare, loss and deceit. His residence in the Glaize and his early life as part of the first Pan-Indian Confederacy, and his encounters with U.S. treaty cessions hardened his heart against the U.S. government. A skilled warrior and orator, Tecumseh likely came closer than any other Indian leader in trying to formulate a coalition of Indian nations to stand against the Americans and establishing Indian Country on the lands north of the Ohio with the river as the boundary line with the U.S. His military arm was strengthened by his brother's teachings. The message was clear: Indian association with white culture weakened the Indian community, making them susceptible to warfare and deceit. It was only through the purging of white relationships, trade, methods, and alcohol that the Indian peoples could become re-empowered by the Creator. Tenskatawa preached the message and Tecumseh used the message, along with his charismatic leadership, to attempt to gather multiple Nations together under on offensive umbrella to unite against the United States. Tecumseh met with those who refused alliance, and he established alliances with Ohio River Valley Indians and southern Indian communities like the Creek, Chickasaw and Choctaw, they were significant enough to garner the fear of both white settlers and the Federal Government.

[198] For more on Lord Dunmore's War see Gregory Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) and John Sugden, *Blue Jacket: Warrior of the Shawnees*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).

With the direct influence of Tecumseh and Tenskatawa in the Indiana and Ohio regions, William Henry Harrison took their actions as a personal issue and hoped to stamp out the movement by any means necessary. Jefferson backed Harrison's actions as there remained the constant fear that the British were behind the actions of the brothers, deeming them a potential threat to U.S. security. The brothers became a thorn in Harrison's side. He attempted to discredit the Prophet by reminding the people of his past weaknesses and he emphasized Tenskatawa's depression and alcoholism. However, the people had already seen the almost metamorphic change in the religious leader. Harrison further made matters worse when he attempted to "challenge" the Prophet by demanding that the man stop the sun if he was indeed the powerful leader with a direct connection to his Creator. Ironically, this action played right into the hand of Tenskatawa, who was indeed familiar with the astronomical predictions. In a bold and dramatic statement, the Prophet claimed that he would indeed darken the skies as the ultimate proof of his divine ability. A natural eclipse of the sun followed the declaration and cemented Tenskatawa's role as the divine, spiritual leader of his Indian disciples, much to the chagrin of Governor Harrison.

Harrison, however, made a significant move toward weakening the potential confederation in November 1811. Tecumseh had left Prophetstown (in modern-day Indiana on the Wabash River, several hundred miles north of Vincennes), the settlement of Indian settlers from various communities who had gathered in support of the Prophet's teachings, to attempt the recruitment of Cherokee in Georgia. When he left, he made it clear to Tenskatawa that no military action was to take place in his absence. Tecumseh was skilled at military strategy and while he did not eschew

warfare by any means, he planned to lead an insurgency at an appropriate and more beneficial time. He knew, however, that his brother was known occasionally to act or react irrationally, especially in the absence of the more steady-handed Tecumseh. Harrison, who was also aware of the character of Tenskatawa took this opportunity to assert influence over the religious leader and his followers. He hoped a show of military power would convince the Indians that movement against the United States was a winless option. He led a group of 1000 men to march on Prophetstown.

Concern on the part of the confederation at Prophetstown quickly moved to agitation. Anxiety levels were high as this group of armed soldiers found their way to the village. Tenskatawa feared an attack and sent warriors with a white flag to Harrison asking that no warfare take place before they had the opportunity to talk peace the next morning. Harrison agreed, but he stationed his troops on the perimeter of Prophetstown and stationed guards to watch through the night. The Prophet's people were certain that the intimidating forces that surrounded them would, without question, attack and destroy them all. They had no reason to trust the cease fire that was agreed upon between Tenskatawa and Harrison. After much deliberation, Tenskatawa went against his brother's wishes and determined with his cohort that the only way to avoid a major battle was for a select few warriors to sneak into Harrison's tent and assassinate him. With the help of an African-American spy, the plan was put into action. However, the strategy did not come off as planned. It is historically unclear how the battle actually began; it could have been high levels of anxiety, unclear orders from Tenskatawa, or rogue Winnebago warriors as Tenskatawa later claimed, but a few Indian warriors engaged in an exchange of gunfire with American forces. As the battle ensued,

Tenskatawa ordered an attack by his warriors and promised that he would entreaty the gods to protect the warriors, claiming that they could not be harmed by enemy bullets, and that a spell of confusion would weaken Harrison to the point that he could be overcome. Empowered by this declaration, the warriors fought, but many died (the numbers are undetermined but it is estimated that approximately 60 lost their lives with many others wounded).

Although Harrison's losses were comparable, he considered the battle a personal victory against the Indian insurgency. Fearing Tecumseh's return, he wanted full control of the confederate community before he was forced to deal with the retaliation of the better trained brother. Although Harrison lost more men in the battle than did Tenskatawa, Harrison secured the perimeter of the village, but later found that the Indian peoples fled the village in the night. This withdrawal of Indian forces followed by Harrison's total destruction of the village including any food stuffs put aside for the quickly approaching winter, secured the victory in Harrison's mind, and became his visible badge of strength against the Indian peoples who could collude with the British and attempt to infiltrate the security of the American people; a badge on which he later based his 1840 presidential campaign.[199]

Ultimately, Tecumseh and his followers took advantage of the impending war with Britain. Although initially Tecumseh did not ally with Britain, per se, but he did use the U.S. involvement in war to their benefit. In a sense, the United States was fighting

[199] Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer* 121-140; John Sugden, *Blue Jacket: Warrior of the Shawnees,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity 1745-1815,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); David R. Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

two forces in the War of 1812: Britain, and Tecumseh's coalition. This war further split the tribes of the Ohio River Valley as some opposed the warfare and sided with the Americans or did their best to remain neutral and safe from the fighting. For instance, while Tecumseh's band of Shawnee fought against the Americans, Shawnee leader Blackhoof's band who lived just 80 miles east of Prophetstown chose to remain neutral, fighting with the Americans only when necessary. Most abandoned their Wapakoneta, Ohio village and found refuge with friendly whites in areas safe from the fighting. Many of Blackhoof's people waited out of the war with trusted Quakers in the farming community of Harveysburg in south central Ohio.[200]

Could peace between Indian peoples and the United States have been possible in the region? One can never be certain as the land lust of Washington, Jefferson and Harrison created constant upheaval. President Madison (1809-1817) recognized the real threat that current land policies posed to Indian/white relations. He feared the retaliation in the form of Indian uprising, particularly under the leadership of Tecumseh. He took seriously the issues Tecumseh set forth and he formally halted the questionable practices of Harrison. However, it was too little, too late. The policies of Jefferson and Harrison already had set in motion the wheels of warfare and paved the way for an alliance between Britain and Tecumseh. He chose not to formally ally with Britain initially because he did not want a direct war with the United States; he simply wanted to pressure the U.S. to stop the land purchases that were driving out the Indian

[200] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 17 ; Memoirs of Jane F. Wales Nicholson, 13-16, quoted in Karen S. Campbell, *Quaker Ministry in the Wilderness: Commitment to Faith, Courage to Educate, Daring to Care* (Waynesville, Ohio: The Mary L. Cook Public Library, 2006).

communities and splitting the alliances between Indian nations in the Ohio River Valley. However, the unscrupulous Fort Wayne treaties infuriated him and he was ready for fight. He had been searching for a peace that the U.S. leadership could never allow.[201]

The Presidencies of Monroe and Adams

Presidents Monroe and Adams continued to promote an informal policy proposing that any removal should remain voluntary. However, volunteering to relocate often came as a result of coercion and deceit. Equating civility with farming, these administrations deemed that civilized Indians would recognize the intrinsic value of farming over hunting and be willing to exchange tribal hunting grounds for farmland. The Indian Civilization Act of 1819 encouraged "civilized" farming by providing federal funds to benevolent societies to teach Euro-American farming and to acculturate children by teaching them to read and write in English. However, Monroe deemed that there would not be enough time for eastern tribes to acculturate before substantial white encroachment began, arguing that the best solution was voluntary removal to the West. In his words, "'It was right that the hunter should yield to the farmer, for the earth was given to mankind to support the greatest number of which it is capable."[202] Indian tribes

[201] Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer, 140-141, 211.* Further, the Fort Wayne Treaty of 1809 between the United States, represented by William Henry Harrison and representatives from Delaware, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Eel Rivers, Wea, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias. The treaty secured approximately 3 million acres of land for the United States. Tecumseh addressed William Henry Harrison on August 20, 1810 arguing that the treaty was not signed by authorized persons and further, Indian lands belonged to all Indians not just select groups. A copy of the handwritten transcript of this speech is held at the Indian Historical Society and located online at http://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/assets/timeline/000/000/294/294_w_full.jpg .

[202] Weeks, Philip, *Farewell My Nation: The American Indian and the United States, 1820-1890,* American History Series, (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc.), 18-19.

continued to leave the Old Northwest. The Sac and Fox Indians voluntarily moved out of Wisconsin, and by means of the 1818 Treaty of St. Marys, multiple tribes moved from Ohio and Indiana including remaining Delaware, Miami, Wea, Kickapoo and Kaskaskia, virtually emptying the Ohio region of organized Indian occupancy. The Wyandot and Shawnee remained the largest organized India groups in Ohio. Indians from the East and the Northwest steadily moved west throughout the early nineteenth-century. According to historian Paula Marks, "through the decades of intense struggle in the eastern heartlands, from the 1810s to mid-century, more than a hundred thousand natives, members of thirty tribes, were removed or removed themselves, across the Mississippi in response to white pressure."[203]

The Wisconsin region was the recipient of many of these westward moving tribes, as the Oneida moved into the territory. Following the War of 1812, the Oneida of New York were pressured by the government to vacate their homeland and relocate into Menominee and Ho-Chunk lands in Wisconsin. Promised a new homeland, free from white pressure, and with the support of the U.S. government, the Oneida struck agreements with the Menominee and Ho-Chunk and small groups began to migrate into the area as early as 1823. However, the Oneida soon found that Wisconsin suffered with the same problems of land lust, as did their New York home. In addition, they now existed within a tenuous environment among Wisconsin's native Indian communities who mistrusted the Oneida immigrants from the east, a distrust of which worked to the advantage of the U.S. government. Uncomfortable with the Oneida presence, the Menominee and Ho-Chunk located themselves on either side of the Oneida settlements

[203] Marks, *In a Barren Land*, 90.

as a means of keeping track of their new neighbors. Eventually, the Menominee, never happy with the Oneida arrangement, negotiated a new treaty with the United States (the Oneida were not present) reducing Oneida's land holdings; yet another means of removal through fraudulent and misrepresented land sales and treaties.[204] By the mid-1830s, the location of the Wisconsin Oneida was fragile at best. Wisconsin became a separate territory in 1836 and became increasingly more popular for white settlement, especially for those seeking its rich timber and mineral resources. Again, this influx of white migration coupled with Indian conflicts worked together to solidify U.S. desires for permanent removal.

Meanwhile, other New York Indians, the Mohicans of Stockbridge-Munsee, and the Brothertown joined the Oneida in their journey westward. The groups settled along Lake Winnebago. Intensely pressured to relocate after the passing of the Indian Removal Act, two-thirds of these Indians sold 23,000 acres of their land to finance their voluntary move into Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. While many perished on the trip, others were absorbed into different tribes and still others, slowly made their way back into Wisconsin. Some remaining Mohicans as well as many Brothertown Indians accepted citizenship as a means of retaining their land. With the establishment of citizenship, the reservation became an incorporated town and the tribe was stripped of their power to legislate their own laws or to participate in cultural practices.[205]

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[204] Bieder, Robert E., *Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600-1960: A Study of Tradition and Change*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 128-129, 145; Hauptman, Laurence M. and L. Gordon McLester III, *Chief Daniel Bread and the Oneida Nation of Indians of Wisconsin*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 44-47; Loew, Patty, *Indian Nations of Wisconsin: Histories of Endurance and Renewal,* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2001), 104-106.

[205] Lowe, *Indian Nations of Wisconsin*, 117-119.

The removal of Wisconsin Indians was hastened further by perceived fears of Indian uprising. White fear intensified with the attempted unity of Indian groups by Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa during the War of 1812 and following the Blackhawk War of 1832.

The Sac and Fox War

Difficulties for the Sac and Fox Indians began when, plied with alcohol, they were forced to sign questionable treaties in 1804 relinquishing their northern Illinois lands in the event that white Americans began to settle in their territory. For two-thousand dollars and one-thousand dollars worth of trade goods, they "agreed" to vacate their lands and move west of the Mississippi at the point when white settlers began to settle on Sac homelands. Almost twenty-five years passed before white America encroached upon their land in large numbers. During this time span, the Sacs deflected questions concerning their eventual removal by simply denying the validity of the treaty, contending that it was signed under duress by unofficial representatives with no tribal authority. Meanwhile, Black Hawk (figure 17), a Rock Island Sac, had inadvertently confirmed the legitimacy the 1804 treaty when he signed a second treaty with the U.S. following his involvement in Tecumseh's movement. He thought he was signing an agreement of peace, but the treaty contained confirmation of the questionable 1804 agreement. By the time the Sacs moved back to their Rock Island summer home in 1828, they found it inhabited by white settlers.

Black Hawk and his people tried to co-exist with the whites who invaded their lands; however, the settlers appropriated the best farmland, encouraged alcohol abuse among the Indians, disrespected them, and beat them for small infractions such as

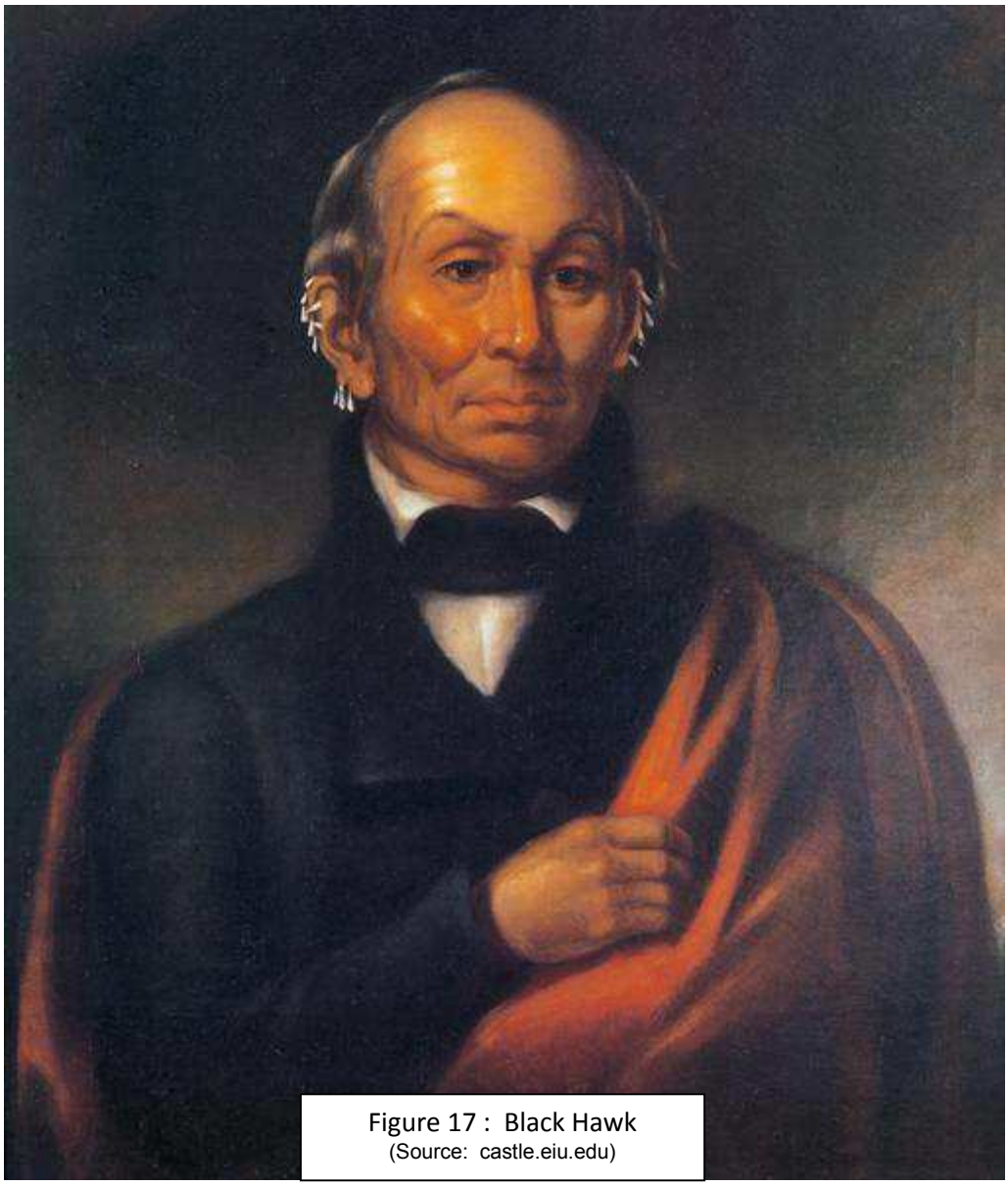

Figure 17 : Black Hawk
(Source: castle.eiu.edu)

taking an ear of corn. Eventually, the encroaching settlers declared that if the Sacs returned the following year they would be forcibly removed. Nonetheless, during winter camp, Black Hawk and his group decided that they would return to Rock Island in the spring and resist removal, convincing the Fox to help them in their undertaking. Many other regional Indian groups motivated by their own frustrations and struggles with government oppression joined with Black Hawk and his fellow Sacs. The result was a

brief, confused war that culminated when the U.S. Army and Illinois Militia attacked the relatively small band of Sacs and Foxes in modern-day Wisconsin. They massacred the Indians in the hopes of ameliorating white fear. However, this fear of Indian insurrection solidified in the minds of Euro-American settlers, and precipitated a step-up in moving the Indians out of the Northwest Territory for their own good.[206]

The United States was empowered by the success and authority they gained following their unmitigated success in the Black Hawk war. White America desired the rich timber and mineral deposits of Wisconsin. Villages now offered little resistance and, pushed by settler demands, the government now moved swiftly to remove them. By 1833 most of southern Wisconsin was in white control, and by 1836 four-million acres of Menominee land was ceded to the government at the price of twenty-thousand dollars a year for twenty years. However, the largest land transaction occurred in 1837 as most of western Wisconsin was ceded by the Ho-Chunk, Santee Sioux and Ojibway through coerced treaty methods.[207]

The Ho-Chunk were the first to lose the bulk of their territorial homeland. A delegation of Ho-Chunk representatives traveled to Washington in hopes of securing the right to their land. However, just the opposite ensued. Government official intensely pressured the delegation to cede their lands to the United States, going so far as to threaten them with being unable to return to Wisconsin without signing the treaty. They signed under duress arguing that they had no authority to sign treaties on behalf of the

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[206] Bieder, *Native American Communities in Wisconsin*, 130-131; Heidler, David S. and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Indian Removal: A Norton Casebook*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 32-34; Marks, *In a Barren Land*, 59-65; Trigger, Bruce G. Volume Editor, *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 15, Northeast, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 651-653; and Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, 337.

[207] Bieder, *Native American Communities in Wisconsin*, 131.

Ho-Chunk nation, assuming that the government would not be able to enforce the treaty. Even if the U.S. did pursue its validity, the delegation thought they had agreed to leave their lands after eight years, giving them ample time to fight the legality of the coerced document or to strike a new agreement with government officials. Unfortunately, the delegation misunderstood the accord, which only provided for eight months instead of eight years, and unable to negotiate otherwise, the Ho-Chunk were removed to lands in Iowa and Minnesota in the spring of 1838. Wisconsin tribes, just like most eastern tribes, were not eager to relocate in the West amidst war-time enemies. A group of Ho-Chunk refused to relocate and used the questionable validity of the 1837 treaty as their right to stay. Even though they were forced to leave—relocating to the Rock River Reservation that had been established for Portage Ho-Chunks in 1832, many slowly drifted back into their Wisconsin homelands.[208]

In relinquishing Wisconsin lands to the U.S. government, the Ojibway persisted by selling only the lumbering rights to the government. They preserved their ownership of the plant roots, and thus retained their claim to the land. Though the government failed to recognize this technicality, future generations of Ojibway maintained the fishing and ricing rights. When time came for the Ojibway to relocate west, they simply refused to move. Certain of their ultimate demise among their enemies in the west, they simply chose to remain as they preferred the prospect of decimation on their own homeland rather than on foreign western lands. Missionaries and friendly whites pressured the United States who later allowed the Ojibway to remain in their Wisconsin home. Nonetheless, as white settlers recognized the value of timber and copper found on

[208] Bieder, *Native American Communities in Wisconsin*, 131-133; Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians*, 702.

Ojibway lands, the Indians were coerced into selling off more and more of their territory. When the Ojibway contemplated the decision not to sell, Indian agents threatened to withhold annuities and to impede their existing trading outlets. By endangering their very economic structure, the Ojibway were forced to cede the bulk of their remaining land to the United States.[209]

The Potawatomi also ceded most of their Wisconsin lands to the U.S. government by 1833. Throughout the early nineteenth century, the Potawatomi had progressively faced disadvantages that differed from their neighboring tribal groups. With a long history of direct relationships and inter-marriage with the French, the Potawatomi existed in this early removal era without unity. The United States regularly negotiated and accepted treaties from Potawatomi acting individually, often without any authority to represent their nation as a whole. Coupled with the lack of a governing body, unscrupulous metis[210] also jeopardized Potawatomi land rights, as a number of mixed-bloods "represented an elite class of Potawatomi who used education and the favor of American officials to exploit tribal resources for personal gain".[211] The Potawatomi had also become dependent upon their trade relationship with the French. As the fur trade declined, individuals were faced with high winter debt that could not be repaid with spring pelts. Abject poverty motivated the Potawatomi to sell off the majority of their lands. By 1833, the Potawatomi relinquished the last of their land, and faced

[209] Bieder, *Native American Communities in Wisconsin*, 133, 146-147; Satz, Ronald N. *Chippewa Treaty Rights: The Reserved Rights of Wisconsin's Chippewa Indians in Historical Perspective*, (Madison: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1991), 41.

[210] *Metís* is the term used to describe peoples of French and Indian mixed ancestry, particularly in the Great Lakes region.

[211] Loew, *Indian Nations of Wisconsin*, 90.

with removal only a few of the southern Wisconsin Potawatomi went west; the majority "fled to northern Wisconsin and Canada."[212] Much like their Ojibway counterparts, those Potawatomi in northeast Wisconsin simply refused to leave. They resided in their original homeland until an 1862 Indian disturbance in Minnesota again sparked fear in white America prompting a second push for immediate removal. Some Potawatomi acquiesced and moved west, while others went by way of the 1833 Potawatomi who escaped north. Of those who moved west abuse at the hands of government agents led to the deaths of five to six individuals each day. This tragedy had been termed the "Trail of Death."[213]

The Menominee, in turn, were determined in their efforts to remain on Wisconsin land and persisted by constant pressures on the Federal Government. For instance, even though they had agreed to sell three million acres of land to the United States in 1831, the Senate attempted to redraw the boundary lines. The Menominee were adamant in their refusal to sign a treaty that hampered their established trade routes. Their protest was effective as the U.S. representatives changed the boundaries under Menominee pressures. In the same respect, as Wisconsin neared statehood, the United States declared that the Menominee were to be removed to Minnesota. Finding the Minnesota lands inferior, the Menominee refused removal and lobbied the President to temporarily rescind the order, after which they managed to keep the order lost in

[212] Loew, *Indian Nations of Wisconsin*, 91.

[213] Loew, *Indian Nations of Wisconsin*, 89-91.

bureaucracy for the next several years. Their tactics were effective; by 1854 the Menominee were allowed legally to remain in their Wisconsin homeland.[214]
Much like removal events in other parts of the East and Midwest, reaction to land removal polices varied in Wisconsin based on differing tribal groups and their ultimate goals. Some groups answered removal with little resistance and with the hopes that a life free from white influence would result; some assimilated into the white society accepting citizenship at the expense of relinquishing a sense of tribal identity, while others fiercely resisted removal hoping to maintain their cultural identity and ancestral homeland. The issue that remained constant was that Wisconsin tribal groups eventually accepted the difficulties they were handed and worked through the treaty process to provide for themselves as much benefit as possible.[215]

Considering the complexity of Wisconsin removal policies, Lurie was correct in her assertion that Wisconsin could indeed represent the whole of Indian removal. From the influx of multiple tribal groups moving into and through the region, various attempts at tribal alliance, the complexity of treaty negotiation and diplomacy, to the devastation of forced removal and abuse in the early nineteenth century, Wisconsin did represent the removal tragedies yet to come. Nonetheless, in consideration of the events occurring in the Old Northwest including Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, it is clear that one could easily make the same claim for any of these isolated regions. The scholarly community is remiss in the lack of historical attention aimed at these pivotal Great Lakes occurrences occurring on the preface of the official legislation. Clearly,

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[214] Loew, *Indian Nations of Wisconsin*, 27-29.

[215] Mason, Carol I. *Introduction to Wisconsin Indians: Prehistory to Statehood.* (Salem, Wisconsin: Sheffield Publishing, 1988), 288.

Indian removal, in Wisconsin or otherwise, began long before the formality of the Cherokee Removal of 1838.

Conclusion

As this chapter concludes, the issues of Indian Removal are far beyond the initial conception of the Trail of Tears. While the earliest removals of Eastern tribes began from the first claims of Europeans on North American soil, the removal of Ohio Valley communities came with calculation and with the backing of a federal government that was intent on expansion. Thomas Jefferson fathered the formal policies that remained in place throughout the Removal era. He tried to ameliorate the devastation of removal by claiming that any movement by Indians into the West would provide a safe and secure new homeland in which they could practice any means of living they saw fit. Otherwise, Indians would be welcome among the white people quickly moving in around them provided they transformed their lifeways to fit those of Euro-America; all of which was considered to be in the best interest of the Indian peoples. Jefferson sowed the seeds of Indian policy and used William Henry Harrison as the strong arm to enforce it.

Harrison sought to secure land by any means necessary. A devout patriot to the Federal cause, Harrison sought a life in the service of the United States and padded his resume as a no-nonsense Indiana governor and Indian liaison who would and could expand U.S. landholdings and open up vast regions of lucrative farm land to Jefferson's yeoman farmers, the true image of a democratic republic. It is clear that Harrison acted without respect to the rightful needs and desires of the Indians with whom he negotiated. If Indian communities failed to embrace land policies for the good of the

nation, they were considered enemies of said nation, and Harrison treated them so. His threatening actions and unscrupulous treaties served to keep the possibilities for real peace at bay and kept the Indian nations in a constant state of unrest. He added to the anxieties of said communities and inadvertently strengthened the resolve of Indian resistance leaders such as Tecumseh and Tenskatawa. Further this chapter shows that the scenarios of deceit and land loss affected both the Old Northwest and Ohio Valley lands and resulted in the forced removal of Indians from their homeland. However, despite the bloodshed, Harrison ultimately accomplished what he set out to do. He secured large tracts of land for the United States, successfully drove groups of Indian peoples from their land, and cemented in the eyes of his constituency his role as skilled Indian liaison and fearless Indian fighter. His movement up the political ladder culminated in his election as the ninth President of the United States.

CHAPTER FOUR:

After Removal: The Shawnee and Wyandot in Kansas/Missouri

The majority of Shawnee and Wyandot removed from Ohio to the prairie plains of Kansas by the mid-1840s. Both groups settled into the region and re-established lifeways that met the needs of their individual communities. These two diverse nations further transplanted from Ohio their differences in Indian-White relations and their positions regarding education and western religious practice. The mission schools, in turn, morphed into a much different image than their Ohio counterparts. This chapter will discuss these differences between the western adaptations of the Wyandot and Shawnee and their ties to the divergent mission methodology in Ohio country, as well as the changing role of the mission school in Indian Territory. As discussed in earlier chapters, many Wyandot, while living in Ohio, embraced not only Western education, but evangelical Methodism as well. While they preserved their indigeneity, they adapted western faith and education to meet their needs and promoted both ideologies to fellow Wyandot through teaching and preaching and involved themselves with the surrounding community. Wyandot leaders, such as Chief Mononcue and Between-the-Logs became the teachers and ministers and other leaders, such as William Walker served as an Indian agent and postmaster in the village. The Shawnee, on the other hand, were more selective in adapting western teachings and technology and relied more heavily on a shift in the agricultural practices promoted by the Quaker mission. They, in turn, more adamantly rejected Quaker religious practice. In essence, the Wyandot met their needs by embracing and adopting significant Western practices,

while the Shawnee selected particular aspects of Euro-American systems and became less invested in white culture.

These differences in western adaptation manifested in the way each community re-settled in Kansas territory. The majority of Shawnee re-established lives similar to those they left in West-Central Ohio as they built log homes and continued in subsistence farming. The mission still held a prominent role in their community and provided an outlet for western education for their children, but was used primarily to care for children whose parents could not financially meet their basic needs. Children would come and go as their needs presented. One missionary noted that the school's student population notably decreased when the crops were good and the families could care for themselves and increased during times of need. Ultimately, the Quaker's Shawnee mission became a home for orphaned Indian children.[216]

The Wyandot segregated themselves from the mission and established their own community in Kansas that provided trade instruction, religious direction, and western education from within their own community. A few Wyandot children took part in a mission education, but not the majority. The Wyandot further established themselves in the Kansas political scene when they took positions in the territorial government and lobbied to bring the railroad through their community to enhance their economic growth.[217]

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[216] Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917,* (Philadelphia: Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917), 132-161.

[217] William E. Connelley, Ed., *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory,* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Sate Journal Company Printers, 1899).

This chapter will examine the Shawnee and Wyandot communities as they established their new lives in Kansas territory. It will evaluate the changes in the Shawnee mission format from a completely voluntary day school to a more familiar boarding school and trade school format, and will show the significant differences in the lives and livelihoods between the Wyandot, hailing from their more evangelical mission experience, and the Shawnee, who were more hesitant in accepting both the secular and religious practices of Euro-America. The Wyandot maintained their autonomy, but became a part of the American system through religion, political position, and economic choices. The Shawnee maintained their livelihood with the assistance of the missionaries as their economic needs dictated.

The Shawnee Missions

The Shawnee were served by two mission sites in Kansas territory. The first was a mission established by Methodists seven years earlier when the first of the Ohio Shawnee voluntarily removed from the Ohio Valley.[218] At this time, the Quakers had not yet made the journey west and were still working among the Wapakoneta Shawnee in Ohio. The Methodist mission to the Shawnee was located in Johnson, County in eastern Kansas. It was the largest school and took the position of a Manual Labor School (figure 18). This format was a new endeavor and was developed specifically for the training and education of Indian students. The pedagogy was designed to prepare male students for work outside the mission in trades and farming and to train female

[218] As noted earlier in this dissertation, two bands of Shawnee voluntarily removed to Indian Territory. They had hoped to re-establish their community free from white pressures.

students in domestic arts. The system further functioned as a means of support for the establishment.[219] The Indian children in Kansas Territory came from multiple communities. The Methodist mission taught Shawnee children as well as Kanza, Odawa, and Wyandot. The mission school housed, clothed and fed Indian students and trained them in western academics and preparation for careers in farming and skilled trades such as sewing, blacksmithing, and coopering. The children labored for the school to help fund the school. They worked in skilled positions in training as well as providing general household and farm labor. The children dressed in western clothing at the mission and were encouraged to embrace Christianity and western ideals. While this school was established well over forty years prior to the infamous Carlisle Institute, it resembled the basic pedagogical concepts.[220]

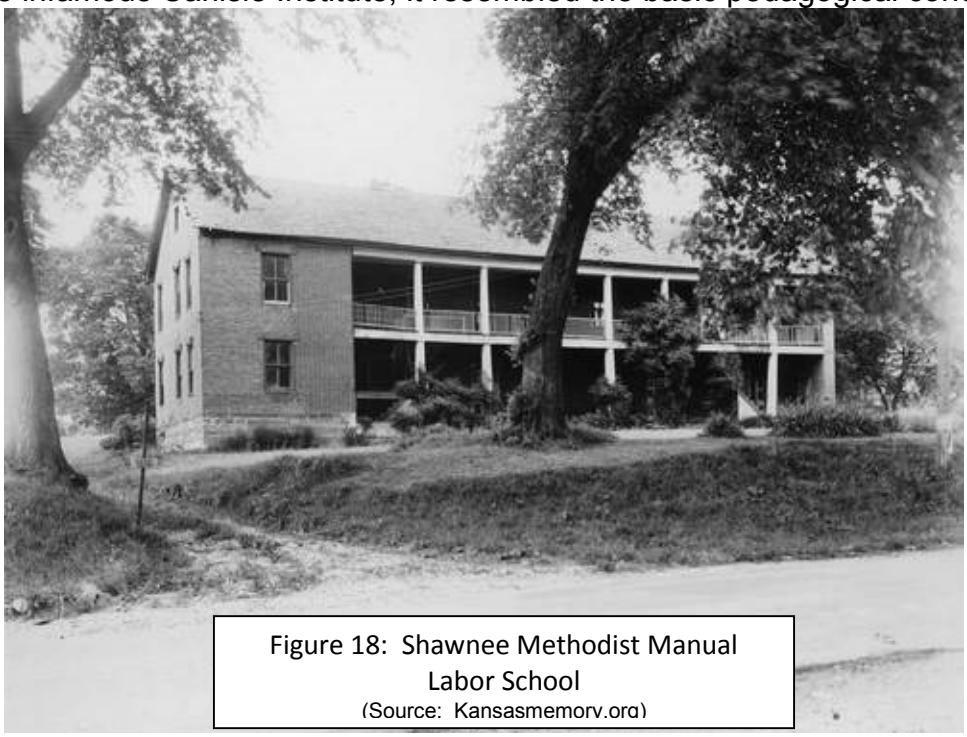

Figure 18: Shawnee Methodist Manual Labor School
(Source: Kansasmemory.org)

[219] Martha B. Caldwell, *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School*, (Topeka, Kansas: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1939).

[220] The Carlisle Indian School was established in Carlisle Pennsylvania 1879 by Richard Henry Pratt. Known to be the first off-reservation Indian school as children were sent to the school from all over the United States, sometimes against their will. The boarding school segregated the children from their

The Methodist Shawnee mission was established in 1830 to work with the Shawnee voluntarily moved from Ohio to Kansas after the Revolutionary War and the Fish Band of Shawnee who removed from Indiana in 1830. The Fish Band, including Tenskatawa, concluded that they would experience more freedom from white encroachment if they located west, away from the heavy Euro-American populations in Ohio and Indiana.[221] Once in Kansas they met with the existing Kansas Indian communities including the Kanza, Wichita, Kiowa, and Osage. Eastern missionaries had already shown interest in these Kansas Indian communities and were eager to become involved with the relocated Indian groups with whom they had connected in the east. A sort of competition ensued as different denominations presented their plans and expectations for their potential mission to community leaders who would then decide which congregation best met their needs.[222] When the Fish band of Shawnee expressed interest in a mission in their new location, they were first courted by Isaac McCoy, the previously discussed Baptist minister who had mixed successes with the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley Indian communities in the preceding years.[223] When McCoy was passed over by the Fish band in favor of the Methodist's proposal for a school, McCoy established a small Shawnee Baptist mission to the north. Though it is unclear as to why the Fish band selected the Methodist offer, it may have been simply a

Indian families and lifeways and was known for destroying the children's Indian-style clothing and forcing them to wear Euro-American dress. The school was known for the founder's adage "kill the Indian, save the man".

[221] The Fish Band of Shawnee are the group that voluntarily left Ohio/Indiana, Tenskatawa was a member of the Fish band.

[222] Caldwell, *Annals,* 11-12.

case of logistics. The Methodists proposed their immediate attention to building a school while McCoy was on a self-imposed tour of the territory.[224]

The Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church established a missionary society that was directly charged with the administration of four mission sites in Indian Territory. The church established missions in Kansas, and Shawnee communities and later in Wyandot and Delaware communities. The Shawnee site was by far the largest and most significant in both numbers and buildings. Funding for the mission was a shared expense between the Episcopal Church and the Federal government. The Shawnee community held the power to choose the mission's administration as well as their financial support of the institution. For instance, they met as a community to discuss their options and to hear the "sample sermon" provided by

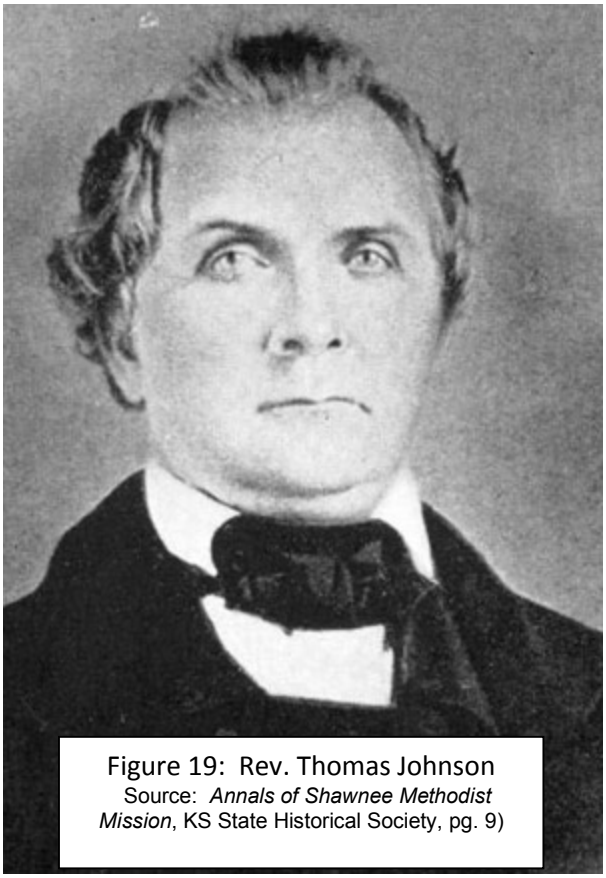

Figure 19: Rev. Thomas Johnson
Source: *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission*, KS State Historical Society, pg. 9)

[224] Annals of Shawnee mission 7-9.

the local minister. They had the power to approve the ethics and reliability of the administration; however, the choice of curriculum and pedagogy belonged to the administrators.[225] The Shawnee accepted the established mission, but expressed some reluctance to their whole hearted participation.

The Methodist mission opened in the spring of 1831 and was administered by the Reverend Thomas Johnson (figure 19) and his wife, Sarah. The Federal government assigned an Indian agent to the communities in Indian Territory to oversee the "civilization" process for these local and relocated Indian tribes. It was the job of the agent to ensure that the tribe's needs were met regarding education and training and that they were in the process of developing western ideology in exchange for their long-held Indian economic, social, and religious practices. The agent assigned to the Shawnee territory was Richard Cummins, who noted in his report that the facility would serve as an effective aid in the civilization of the Shawnee community.[226] Unlike the Ohio missions, the Methodists designed this establishment to teach and house only children. There were no programs that focused on the adult population. The location served as both a day school and as a boarding school, with an emphasis on the boarding aspect. While the Shawnee were the primary participants in the school, there were students from all surrounding Indian communities including the Kansa, a few Wyandot, and the Delaware. While the children were not forced to attend this school, the image that begins to develop is that of the boarding school movement of the late

[225] Caldwell, *Annals,* 9-11.

[226] Ibid.

1800s.[227] The children living at the Shawnee mission came from different communities including, Shawnee, Delaware, Kansas, Peoria, Piankashaw, Wea, Osage, Odawa, and Wyandot. They were stripped of any image of their indigeneity and were clothed and housed in western styles. While the community could continue to speak their native language when they attended church or religious meetings—hymns and religious material was printed in the various Indian languages—the mission children were instructed in English and were not permitted to speak their own language at the school. This requirement was unique to the Methodist school and Johnston continually defended his choice. He thought that the children would benefit from immersion in western ideals and having them learn and work among white children (generally the missionaries' children). The agreement to allow religious materials to be printed in Shawnee were meant as a sort of compromise.[228]

While the school was overseen by the Methodist Episcopal Church, the establishment was funded by the Church, by farm profits and by the Federal government. The United States provided funds to help create the infrastructure and promised a yearly payment based on the number of Indian children enrolled and attending. The school was further funded by the assignment of individual education stipends. For instance the Delaware financially supported the mission when they

[227] Indian Boarding Schools were government-sponsored schools built off the reservation and part of the United States' federal Indian policy beginning in the latter nineteenth century. The schools were notorious for attempting to strip away Indian culture. Reservation children were required to attend and when they did they were no longer permitted to wear any culturally-related clothing, their hair was cut if they were boys, and they were punished for speaking their native language. English immersion was the method of teaching and the youths were taught the standards of reading, writing, and arithmetic, along with skilled labor training in some circumstances.

[228] Caldwell, *Annals,* 30; Bowes, *Exiles,* 170.

assigned their annual education stipend to the school, which was administered by the American government as a partial fulfillment of their treaty obligations.[229] The Federal Government funding was based in the ideals of "civilization" of the American Indian, and they assigned a Federal Indian Agent to whom the school was accountable in annual visits and reports.[230] Some years the numbers of students were low because of epidemic illness or, more often because the Shawnee resisted sending their children to the western school and often took advantage of it only in times of economic difficulty. They were more interested in the services the Mission provided rather than religion. For the most part, the bulk of the Shawnee did not accept western religion or the trappings of the mission school. As Stephen Warren noted, "In 1838, three-fourths of all Shawnee continued to practice their 'ancient religion' in spite of Methodist gains." To help offset the loss, the mission adopted abandoned and refugee children or children from families who could no longer afford to care for them.[231]

Both the government and the Methodist committee agreed that the most economically and logistically efficient way to conduct the business of education was to provide a regional school by which various tribes would attend together.[232] This method differed from the Ohio missions, by which the individual missions served only one community, but proved to be a fiscally successful move on behalf of the mission itself because administrators could utilize the federal education allotments of multiple tribes.

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[229] Caldwell, *Annals,* 41-43, 60.

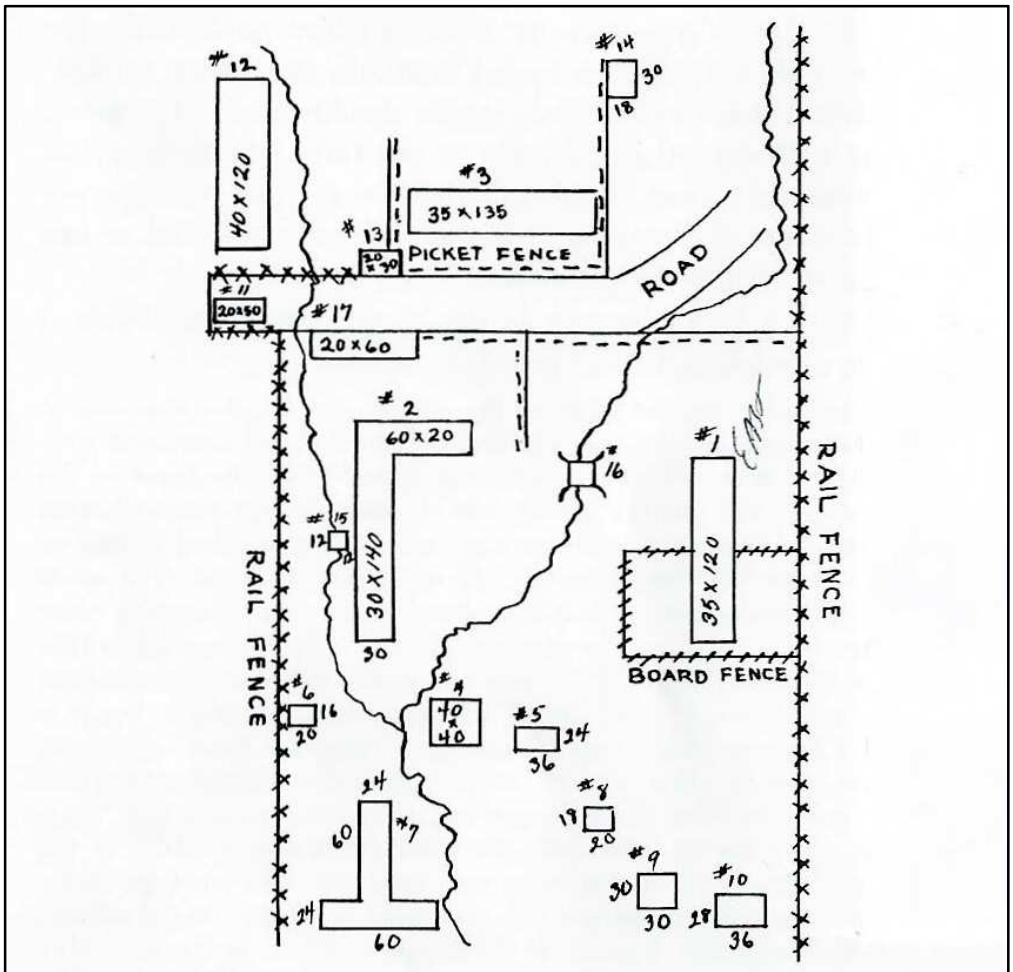
[230] Caldwell, *Annals,* 30.

[231] Warren, *Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 121; Bowes, *Exiles*, 169; Caldwell, *Annals,* 75.

[232] Caldwell, *Annals,* 30.

Over the course of its history, the school served twelve Indian nations in Kansas.[233] The nascence of pan-Indian education began to develop in western Indian country.

Unlike the missions in Ohio, the Manual Labor School turned a substantial profit. In 1851, D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis evaluated the



AN OLD DRAWING OF THE SCHOOL GROUNDS AS THEY WERE ABOUT 1855

(Locations and dimensions are only approximately correct.)

1. East building—boys' dormitory, chapel, classrooms, legislative chambers.
2. West building—superintendent's home, boarding house.
3. North building—girls' dormitory, executive offices.
4. Washhouse.
5. Smokehouse.
6. Carpenter shop.
7. Mill.
8. Log cabin.
9. Blacksmith shop.
10. Wagon shop.
11. Wagon shed.
12. Stable.
13. Carriage house.
14. Woodhouse, beehouse.
15. Springhouse.
16. Walled spring.
17. Storeroom.

Figure 20: Shawnee Manual Labor School buildings and their dimensions.
(Source: *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission*, Kansas State Historical Society, pg. 92)

[233] Stephen Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 121.

mission and deemed that it was clear that the mission was profitable and that school superintendents were known to become quite wealthy within four to five years of serving at the mission. He advised that the money should go toward the labors of the Indians who worked the land instead of bettering the individual economies of a few administrators. Shawnee leaders, John Perry and Peter Cornstalk commented in a report to agent, William Clark that Superintendent Johnson "'cultivated too much of our land and builds too many houses and cuts too much of our timber.'" [234]

This mission was indeed well funded. In addition to the federal and church funding, the labors of the school farm, manned by upward of one hundred plus young people, turned a significant profit. The property boasted seventeen buildings. The largest of which were the buildings housing the dormitories, classrooms, superintendent's home and offices, which measured 35 feet by 120 feet; 35 feet by 135 feet; and an L-shaped edifice 30 feet by 140 feet with a 20 foot by 60 foot wing (figure 20).[235]

The Methodists designed the Shawnee Manual Labor School as a working establishment that taught through experience. While all the students participated in the farming and homemaking requirements at the school, the male students were assigned additional labor projects that suited their abilities. Some were

[234] Caldwell, *Annals,*70-71, 92; Quote from Bowes, *Exiles*, 171

[235] Caldwell, *Annals,* 70-71, 92.

trained as blacksmiths, coopers, shoemakers, and wagon builders. Most of this work was administered on the mission campus (figure 21); however, a few students were assigned positions outside of the school grounds in the homes

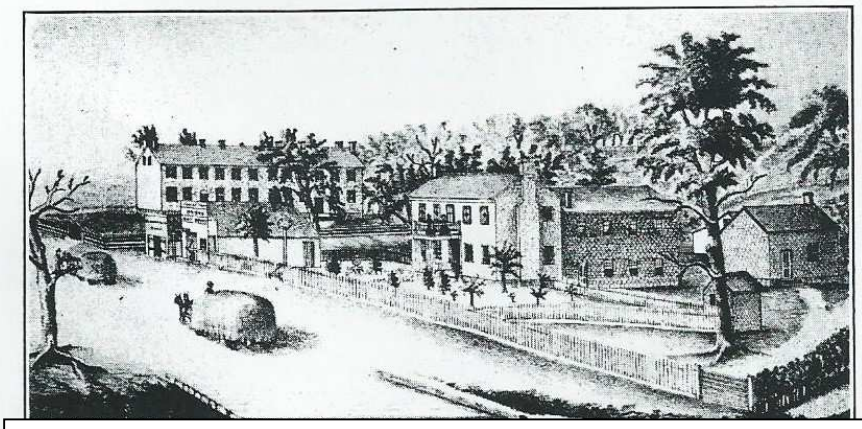


Figure 21: Sketch of the southern section of the mission campus
(Source: *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission*, published by the Kansas State Historical Society, pg. 70)

and communities of church member in regions east of Kansas. The young girls living at the school learned how to spin, weave, cook, and housekeeping in addition to their farming chores. A few of these students were also let out into the homes of church members in the East. Once their education was complete, the church intended that the new tradesmen and home-keepers would return to their Indian communities to practice their crafts in an effort to create insular, self-sustaining Euro-American-style farming communities among the surrounding Indian groups.[236]

Johnston had high ideals concerning the school's curriculum and to cater to the more elite in the Indian communities as well as the white settler families who were

[236] Caldwell, *Annals,* 22-23.

moving into the region. Much like the old Indian schools of New England two hundred years prior, white students were given the opportunity to appropriate the educational benefits initially intended for the Native communities. The new curriculum would include a classical department teaching English, Latin, and Greek. The tuition as taken from the schools advertisement was

Terms Per Session of Five Months

Primary…….. $6.00
Common English Branches……..... 8.00
Higher English Branches…… 10.00
Latin and Greek Languages…….. 12.00
Extra per session, for the purchase of Apparatus.. 1.00
Boarding, including washing, lodging, lights, fuel etc……..... $1.25 per week.

Thomas Johnson, Sup't F. L. Ind. M. L. School
August 17, 1848[237]

The school accepted both Indian and white students and though the cost was considerable, the advanced education was well received by the settler community.[238]

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The second Shawnee Mission was established a short distance west by the same Quaker community that worked with the Shawnee at Wapakoneta and over saw the journey to Missouri (figure 22). However, since a number of the Ohio Shawnee were already involved with the Methodist mission, they were joined by many family and

[237] Caldwell, *Annals*, 62.

[238] Ibid.
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friends who left the Ohio Valley in the final 1832 emigration. The Shawnee who adhered to the Methodist faith, however, remained a minority. This loyalty to the Quakers came from their long history together and their trust in Quaker missionaries. But it also stemmed from religious policy. The Quakers in the past did not pressure individuals for conversion, thus the Shawnee were free to practice their faith without persecution. Further, the Quakers took a stance against slavery. Slavery was in contrast to the ways of both the Shawnee and the Wyandot, who espoused full adoption into the tribe over slavery. The Methodist mission not only promoted slavery, Johnston held slaves who worked to maintain the farm.[239]

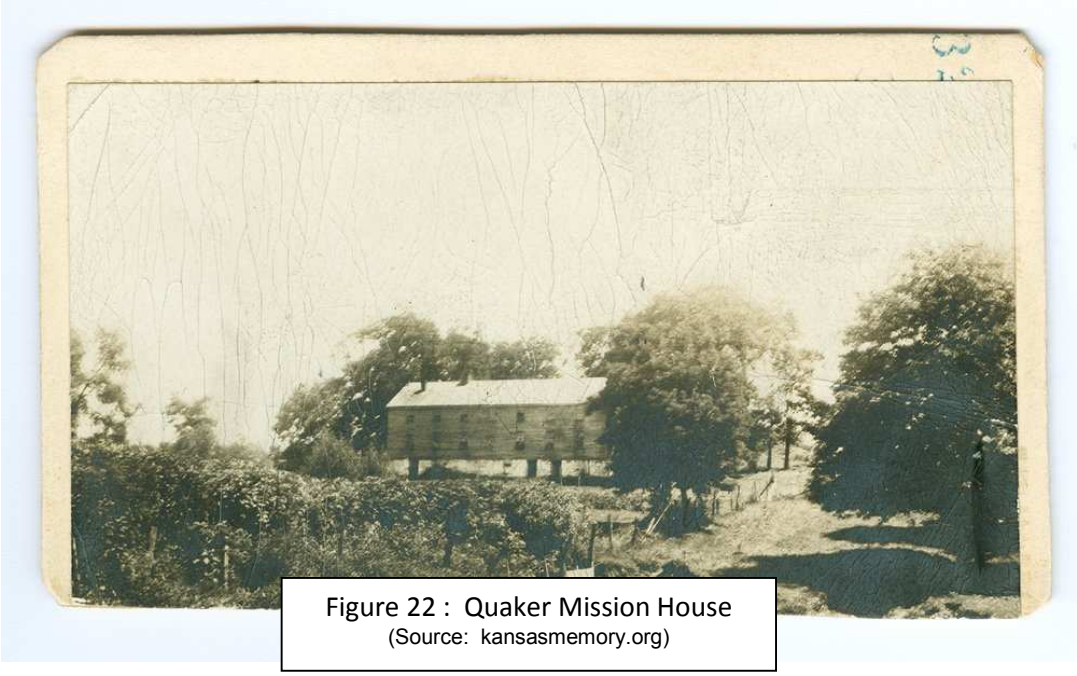

Figure 22 : Quaker Mission House
(Source: kansasmemory.org)

However, the character of the Quaker mission transformed once they established the school and working farm in Kansas. The Quakers changed the way they taught.

[239] Bowes, *Exiles*, 172-174.

When the mission school existed in Ohio, the missionaries emphasized training in agricultural practices for the adults of the community and provided education for the children as a secondary component. Once in Kansas, the school was for children only. It provided day school activities but was a boarding school as well and children left their homes to live, study and work with the missionaries twenty-four hours a day. This shift removed the Native parents from their daily influence.[240]

While the Methodist mission overshadowed the Quaker school both in prestige and in numbers of students, the Quaker school had enough students to keep afloat. While some years the count was in the twenties, the average number of students in any given year was in the neighborhood of forty five. The Wapakoneta band of the Shawnee were those that were most interested in the Quaker mission. The other Shawnee, if they participated in mission training at all, frequented the Methodist mission with a few attending the Baptist mission. However, even the Wapakoneta band for the most part stayed away from the mission education. Perhaps this was due in part to the new policies of the mission that implemented a heavy-handed religious component to their education efforts. Quaker historian, Rayner Wickersham Kelsey noted:

> When Friends first began to work among the Shawnees in Ohio their principal effort was directed toward teaching the adult Indians the elements of practical agriculture. That stage had passed by the time the work was begun in Kansas and the principal work centered in the school for the Indian children. This work consisted of teaching them the elements of a literary education and training them outside of school hours in the practical duties of life. At this time too, as in the later years of the work in Ohio, more and more stress was laid upon teaching the Indian children the doctrines of evangelical Christianity.[241]

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[240] Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians,* 142-147.

[241] Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians,* 145.

Their reports go on to say that the Christian instruction is the "'primary object'" of the mission goals. Indeed children spent a period of time every day in Bible reading and prayer and were expected to participate in religious activities.[242]

The mission was comfortably funded and was substantially smaller than the Methodist Shawnee Manual Labor School. The farm consisted of 132 acres of cultivated land with one primary wood frame building 70 feet by 24 feet with three stories. While the school was self-sustaining from the standpoint of its farming activities, it was primarily funded by the Friends Yearly Meetings in Baltimore and Indiana, but they also received funding from Friends in London, Philadelphia, New York, New England and Iowa Yearly Meetings. These groups provided financial funding and also provided food and clothing during difficult economic periods for the Shawnee. While the Shawnee did not send many of their children to the school, they clearly took advantage of available assistance if their needs warranted.[243]

Like the Shawnee Manual Labor School of the Methodists, the Quaker school eventually opened its doors to children from any tribe in the region. This change for the Quakers was out of the necessity to stay open because they could not maintain the mission with so few students from the Shawnee alone and had "to receive any Indian children they could get to fill up the school."[244] Working with multiple groups at the same time was an unusual set of circumstances for the Quakers as they, like other

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[242] Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians,* 144-145, 150, 152.; From Superintendent's Report to the Baltimore Yearly Meeting 1847 in Campbell, *Quaker Ministry in the Wilderness*, 101-102.

[243] Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians,* 146.; From Superintendent's Report to the Baltimore Yearly Meeting 1847 in Campbell, *Quaker Ministry in the Wilderness*, 101-103.

[244] Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians,* 152.

missionaries, had previously focused their attentions on one single community. With this type of change should have been an understanding and appreciation for each of the different communities with whom they had in their charge, but was likely not the case. All of the children, regardless of differing language or culture were grouped together as one unit. The mission housed children from the Shawnee, Odawa, Seneca, Wyandot, Brotherton and Stockbridge nations. Many of these students were orphans that were brought to the Quaker mission for care and support.[245]

The Shawnee would look toward the Quakers if they had a particular need and one of those needs was a place to house their orphaned children. When the school could not sustain itself with Shawnee pupils from the communities it became a virtual orphanage. The mission was a safe place for the children to live where they were provided an education, clothing, food and shelter as well as training in the art of agriculture. These were necessities that the often financially struggling Shawnee families could not absorb on their own. The school took advantage of this need and began to house more orphan children than it did village children. At one point, when the school was preparing to close in 1862 for financial reasons, the Shawnee specifically asked the school if it would remain to care for the tribe's orphans, to which the Quakers agreed. It remained a Shawnee orphanage until it permanently closed in 1870.[246]

Both the Quakers and the Methodists changed their methods of teaching and preaching when they followed the Indian nations west. The schools were formalized as full-time boarding schools geared toward teaching youths, and followed a rigorous

[245] Ibid.

[246] Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians,* 152, 156.

curriculum augmented with strict religious instruction. It is not entirely clear as to the cause of this shift, but the research suggests that perhaps their work with the adults in Ohio had met the original goals as most of the relocated Indian peoples practiced some sort of plow agriculture and lived in Euro-American style log homes, and many practiced some sort of plow agriculture and made money cutting and selling wood, or working in the trades. Or there was simply no interest on behalf of the nations for adult education. The churches also may have focused their efforts on the children because of their increasing evangelical message. The children of the communities may have proven to be more pliable candidates for adherence to the Christian faith. Whatever the reason, this shift created missions that began to take on the resemblance of the late-nineteenth-century boarding schools.

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As discussed previously in this dissertation, the Shawnee experienced divisions based on their differences concerning their involvement with the United States. These divisions only intensified once the last number of Shawnee, the Wapakoneta band, moved west. Removal west consisted of three primary groups: the Western Shawnee who left in the in 1770s in an attempt to avoid white encroachment; the Fish[247] band of Shawnee, which included Tenskatawa who removed in 1828; and the remaining Ohio Shawnee, who removed from 1830-1832. This final removal included the Wapakoneta

[247] Paschal Fish, Sr. (also known as William Jackson) was a white man who as a young man was taken captive and adopted by Chief Black Fish in Ohio. He married a Shawnee woman and was an integral member of the Shawnee community becoming the leader of the band of Shawnee who removed in 1828. Fish, Sr. died in 1833. His son, Paschal Fish, Jr. also became a prominent leader in the Shawnee nation after removal.
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Shawnee who left in 1832. As the eastern tribes began to settle in Missouri their goals often clashed with the Shawnee who had now lived there going on sixty years.

The western Shawnee held much more closely to Shawnee lifeways and traditions. While many would selectively adopt white practices if they found that such practices enhanced rather than detracted from the Shawnee practices. They settled in small villages rather than in a centralized location and they maintained their traditional ways while still utilizing Euro-American techniques as needed. For instance Warren demonstrates the juxtaposition of women, who maintained their traditional gender role as agriculturalists, planting and tending large fields in common with the other Shawnee women, while also having a very American-style log home and kitchen garden. In the same respect, the men continued as hunters, leading great hunting parties throughout the winter, but tending to domesticated stock during the summer months. This group wanted to support U.S. Indian policies, but not at the expense of their culture. Further, these Shawnee coalesced with other emigrant peoples from the Delaware, Cherokee and Creek tribes, an alliance recognized by the U.S. government.[248] These early migrants to the west established tribal governments with a loose alliance for political and military purposes. They sought independence from the United States but agreed to collaborate with U.S. policies if those policies were in their best interests. Warren acknowledges the rather unique arrangement when he posits, "[w]hat sets this political movement for a sovereign confederacy apart from earlier pan-Indian efforts is its large size, it definitive blend of traditional and progressive political ideas and the way in which

[248] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 69-72, 77.

its leaders inverted American goals to suit the need of thousands of emigrant Indians." The leaders of this coalition were the western Shawnee and the Delaware.[249]

A subset of the western Shawnee eschewed any Euro-American influence and coalesced with small factions of other tribes who also opposed the reservation system and the assimilation programs of the federal government. Eventually this group would separate themselves from the Shawnee in Missouri and relocate to Texas and are now federally recognized as the Absentee Shawnee.[250]

The western Shawnee had long held animosity toward the Ohio Shawnee. First, the government recognized the remaining Ohio Shawnee as the national authority for the tribe, as such, the government issued annuities to them. The western Shawnee lived without the benefit of these funds. Second, these Shawnee adhered more closely to some mission influences as they had begun to adopt a shift in gender roles.[251] This animosity continued as the remaining Ohio Shawnee weakly attempted to exert an authority that existing Shawnee devalued.

By 1845 the Shawnee faced tensions and losses that began loosely to bring them together in a common stance against the possibility of yet another federal removal as the American population began a relatively massive movement west. As the white population quickly followed the Indian communities into the West, some of the once eastern Shawnee in particular began to take financial advantage of the circumstances. The Santa Fe Trail went through the reservation carrying foot traffic from the Southwest;

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[249] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 73-74, quote 73.

[250] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 70.

[251] Ibid.

further, the head of the Overland Trail was at Independence, Missouri thirty miles north of the reservation.[252] A few among the elite became quite wealthy as they catered to the migrating Americans, one of whom was Paschal Fish, Jr. A Methodist preacher and missionary, and a leader of the Fish band of Shawnee Fish possessed a large, productive farm and made a more-than-comfortable living by providing lodging and a blacksmith, running a Kansas River ferry service, and selling surplus farm produce and meat to travelers. Men like Fish had a vested interested in keeping their interest in the Kansas/Missouri reservation and were a bit apprehensive about the possibility of yet another government relocation to make way for an ever-growing population of white Americans in the West.[253]

These tensions were augmented by great loss. In 1845 the region was hit by intense floods that destroyed crops, fences, and homes. The devastation was rampant as "more than 170 Shawnee families, close to two thirds of those on the reservation, lost everything. Malaria and cholera followed the economic and physical destruction." Chaos, economic disparity, and white encroachment created a stressful environment that forced the divergent bands to work toward a shared interest.[254]

The Wapakoneta and Hog Creek bands were especially concerned over the possibility of a second removal. Again, the 1825 Treaty of St. Louis came into question. The eastern Shawnee were described as "guests of the Missouri Shawnees," thus they would be left out of any future land settlements unless they could gain enough power to

[252] Three hundred and fifty thousand migrants travelled the Overland Trail 1841-1866. (Warren, 128).

[253] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 128.

[254] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors,* 127-128, quote 127.

influence the support of the western Shawnee to overturn the old treaties. This precarious situation for the former Ohio Shawnee and the economic power and influence of the elite western Shawnee who wanted to preserve their farms and comfortable incomes worked together for the formation of the Shawnee national council. However, this council was far from peaceful as the struggles for power between the old and the new Shawnee continued over the next twenty plus years. The council-based leadership, influenced by the elite of the communities, left the majority of the Shawnee displeased and lamenting the loss of their autonomous villages with individual tribal leaders.[255]

Wyandot Removal

The Wyandot were the last Ohio tribe to remove to Kansas in 1843. The group was independent and governed their situation in the west with foresight into economic future. They maintained their relationship with the Methodist church and retained the elected, constitutional government that they established in Ohio. The Wyandot settled in centralized villages and, in many ways, reinstituted the lives and government they experienced in Ohio, with the exception of the mission school. While a few children may have attended the mission schools, the majority attended local schools and did not participate in the newly formed boarding schools. For the Wyandot, or at least the Wyandot elite, western removal catapulted them into the American system of life and government.

[255] Warren, *The Shawnee and Their Neighbors*, 128-130; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 176.

The Wyandot made their journey west in a vastly different fashion than their Shawnee neighbors as they were selective in their land holdings and maintained a euro-centric style of business and rule, while maintaining their individual Native autonomy. When the government determined that they had promised land in Indian Territory that had already been assigned to the Delaware, the Wyandot chose to purchase their land using their allotted federal funds from the Senecas, rather than risk the land selection of the U.S. government. This land was strategically located in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas Rivers. Further, rather than focusing their location on a mission, they re-established from their Ohio residence, a Methodist Church, Free Masonry, local laws and a formal government. The legal system outlined the constitution of crime and the subsequent punishment as well as guidelines for the election of a Council of Chiefs and a means of providing public order. A few years later, when the Wyandot were offered land allotments, they accepted their lands in severalty, a full 32 years before the U.S. government enacted the Dawes Act.[256] The majority of Wyandot chose this route and dissolved tribal relations. Only a small number of approximately three hundred Wyandot refused and together purchased land from the Senecas, where they re-instituted tribal government and practices.[257]

Disparity remained among the Wyandot and the life-changing decisions of the Wyandot government were motivated by a handful of the wealthy elite including William Walker, Jr. (figure 23). These men may have considered their work to be in the best

[256] Connelley, William E., Ed. *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and The Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory,* Lincoln, Nebraska, State Journal Company Printer 1899. , pg 2-4. The Dawes Act of 1887 offered Indian lands in severalty. Those who took land in severalty were granted U.S. citizenship. It was designed as a means to weaken tribal affiliation, and strengthen American assimilation.

[257] Connelley, 3. Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 85.

Figure 23: William Walker, Jr.
(Source: Nebraskahistory.org)

interests of the tribe as a whole, but their choices in some ways undermined the coalition of the Wyandot tribe. They looked toward American-defined progress and hoped to profit from the proximity of their land location to the inevitable movement of the Americans west. The nation lobbied for the land to be declared a U.S. territory (later established as the Nebraska Territory) and, more significantly, for the much talked about transnational railroad to come through their region providing income and resources to the residents. These changes would open up business opportunities and legal rights as many entrepreneurial Wyandots were already making a comfortable

living providing goods and services to the travelers moving through the territory. Further, Walker hoped that by making the Wyandot an integral part of the United States and its development that they could avoid the likelihood of yet another removal.[258]

The council moved forward wholeheartedly in their attempts to "Americanize" their situation. After agreeing to take their lands in severalty, they further moved to obtain U.S. citizenship for those who chose to take their lands in severalty if they dissolved the Wyandot nation. This proposal met with intense opposition from the Wyandot people, and even the Commissioner on Indian Affairs, Orlando Brown argued that such a decisions "'would be an entering wedge to the extension of our [U.S.] settlements into the Indian country.'"[259] The first council vote represented only eighty-three votes cast out of six hundred and six members of the community (167 were men and head of households). While the vote was carried, it represented only a fraction of the nation and put into question the validity of the vote. Congress agreed that it was not representative and denied citizenship. However, this decision did not deter the Wyandot council as they again returned to deliberations and emerged with a two-thirds majority vote that was ultimately recognized by the United States government. In 1855 the Wyandot became American citizens; however, this decision remained a point of contention among the bulk of the Wyandot because many disputed the agreement for more than twenty years.[260]

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[258] Bowes, *Exiles,* 183-186.

[259] Quoted in Bowes, *Exiles*, 203.

[260] Bowes, *Exiles*, 178-184, 204-206. Note: a group of the Wyandot remained together and voluntary moved to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. It is this group that makes up the Wyandot nation recognized today.

With the establishment of the Nebraska Territory and the individual citizenship of Wyandot peoples, the Wyandot elite met their goal of becoming an integral part of the United States and its government. The aforementioned leader of the Wyandot, William Walker became the first territorial governor of the newly formed Nebraska Territory in 1853. Walker was a slave holder and a Democrat and served as an elected member of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention. He vehemently supported state's rights, but he was not in favor of secession. He spent his remaining years as a statesman, a political journalist, and as an informant on the Wyandot tribe in the efforts of Henry Schoolcraft's work.

This image of the Wyandot shows a community that changed significantly from the late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth centuries. However, as Indian romanticism began to grow in the East, one would not recognize those changes based on the lamenting notions of Ohioans as they report on the Wyandot as they passed through their community on their journey west:

> The remains of this once flourishing tribe—the last of the Aborigines of Ohio—passed through our village on Thursday afternoon, on their way to their new homes west of the Mississippi. . . . But few could look upon it, and not reflect upon what the red man of the forest once was on this, his native soil. . . . In the space of about three centuries they have fallen victim to the rapacious cupidity of the white man or fled before the advances of civilization. . . . Their council fires have gone out, their wigwams are deserted; no more their shrill whoop resounds through the interminable forest, starting the game from its lair to meet the fatal ball of the hunter. They have passed away![261]

[261] "The Wyandot Indians," *The Scioto Gazette*, Chillicothe, Ohio Vol. XLIV .Whole No. 2238, 9:6, July 27, 1843.

This condescending lament has little resemblance to the reality of the Wyandot either in Ohio or in Kansas/Nebraska whose decisions did not reflect a running away from civilization but were instead concentrated, logistical decisions made to deter from or take advantage of the aggressions of the American people.

Conclusion

This chapter suggested that the Ohio Indians reflected much of their Ohio lives in their new homes in Kansas. While the schools changed significantly in their motives and in their teaching as they moved to a more evangelical, boarding school format that taught only the children, each Indian community chose paths in their efforts for independence and security that closely resembled their mission experiences in the east. The Wapakoneta Shawnee kept their cards close and used the mission to meet help meet needs as they arose. As a rule, they continued to eschew the practices of Quaker religion and used the school primarily as a home for the community's orphaned children, while the Wyandot virtually separated themselves from the mission and carried out the more westernized life many began in the Ohio Valley.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Religion, Policy, and the "Road to Civilization" with Primer and Hoe

> *Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plough; and, as their minds become enlightened and expand, the Bible will be their book, and they will grow up in habits of morality and industry, leave the chase to those whose minds are less cultivated, and become useful members of society.* – House Committee on Indian Affairs 1818[262]

Nineteenth-century federal Indian policy emphasized plans to turn Indians into westernized farmers. Farming and Christianity became the recipe for Indian civilization. By the mid-1800s, religion played a crucial role in the development of Indian policy, Congress placed the teaching of plow agriculture into the hands of church missionaries. Religion in one form or another has existed as a crucial component of Indian-Euro relations since the time of encounter and has influenced interaction between Indians and Europeans/Euro Americans. Some of the earliest Indian-European encounter was in the form of "religious" explorers and missionaries, and colonial and early U.S. policy was developed around the concepts and ideals promoted in western religious ideology. In a sense, religion was at the heart of two major themes in Indian-white relations: "civilization" and land. Traditionally, religious reformers sought to "civilize" American Indians by first converting them from their "heathen/pagan" ideology and by transforming them into western farmers. Further, Indian land loss was motivated in part

[262] 1818 House committee, quoted in Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History*, Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2004. Pg. 43.

by sheer greed and in part by the religious drive of Manifest Destiny, the "God-ordained right" for western civilizers to conquer the "wilderness." With these foundational aims, policy makers would be hard-pressed to create Indian policies that were not heavily influenced by this early religious fervor and the zeal for Indian lands. This chapter, based on secondary sources, will look at the interweaving of religion and policy, and evaluate in closer detail the people and events that shaped Indian policy and the development of the Indian Boarding School phenomenon. This chapter provides a lens for understanding events at the local level and more place particular instances of such policies.

American Indian nations established relationships with early missionaries. Protestant missionaries arrived as early as 1607. The Colony of Virginia's Royal charter proclaimed its appreciation for Protestant missionary work and praised the colony leaders for their "'desires for the Furtherance of so noble a work. . . in propagating the Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God [with the hope that they] may in time bring the infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility.'"[263] In the Great Lakes region, early Catholic and later Protestant churches established mission sites as early as the seventeenth century. In her book, *Indian Women and French Men: Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*, Susan Sleeper-Smith discusses the presence of involvement of French men and Indian women, who often converted to Catholicism. Both the French and the Indians relied on these unions as a means of strengthening trade relations. The sacraments of Catholic unions and baptism created kinship

[263] Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education,* pg. 25.

networks that paralleled and supplemented those of Indian communities, although some of these women may have sincerely converted to the faith, they created an Indian/Euro hybridization of the faith.[264] In a similar manner, Richard White (*The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*) describes this encounter with "the other," the middle ground, as a "joint Indian-white creation" situated in the Great Lakes *pays d'en haut* whereby exchanges, misunderstandings, and attempts to understand the practices of "other" work to create new customs and practices shared by both Native Americans and Europeans.[265] On this cultural (and physical) middle ground both Europeans and Indians communicated and attempted to establish a mutually beneficial society based on the acceptance and modification of the cultural other, either through the abstract of religion and custom or through diplomacy, trade, sex, inter-marriage, and adoption. Further, in *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790,* Jean O'Brien communicates the means by which Natick Indians used one of Eliot's Praying Towns as a "place for Indians to rebuild kin connections and community within their homelands in the wake of English invasion".[266] These Natick inhabitants embraced Christianity on their own terms as a means of remaining in their homeland. Each of these examples represent a cultural exchange between Indian peoples and Euroamericans on Indian terms.

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[264] Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes,* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

[265] White, Richard, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[266] O'Brien, Jean, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts 1650-1790,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

In the colonial era, Euroamericans sought to teach Indian children in the same manner they educated their own children, hoping to enlighten the youth of Indian communities with what they deemed the superior lifeways of the Western World. Their goal: to enlighten the youth of the communities who would then, in turn, take this civilized enlightenment back into their respective environments. Educators and missionaries deemed that the elders of Indian communities were not as malleable as the youth: western education of Indian young people was considered the key to civilization.[267]

It was not difficult for these early educators to locate at least a few cooperative students. "Student exchange," so to speak, regularly occurred between individual Indian communities and between Indians and Europeans. Indian peoples in the East often exchanged young people from their respective communities to learn from one another. When a young man or women was knowledgeable in the traditions of the opposing community they could take that information back to their homes. These individuals were crucial in the development of trade negotiations, and peace treaties, and they served as interpreters and general liaisons between two opposing communities. Therefore, it was not the least bit unusual for these communities to willingly send a select few young men to the schools of white men. As these men learned to speak English and learned the motivations and traditions of Europeans, they had a better understanding of these visiting peoples and they shared that information with their community. However, this use of the newly acquired knowledge was not the goal of the European educators. While their intent was to affect change in the Indian

[267] Szasz, Margaret Connell, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783*, (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1988) 3-5.

communities, they instead educated liaisons who used the opportunity for Western education to benefit their tribe's relationship with their white neighbors. These students had no intention of abandoning their Indian traditions; they hoped only to strengthen their own communities and ease the means of communication and trade.[268]

Still other Indian youth came with different motives. Some communities, pressured by the Euro-Americans to send students, would send those whom they held captive. They met the pressures of the Westerners without jeopardizing their own culture. Still others who had met with rapidly changing economic situations found the room and board offered by these schools as an opportunity for sheer survival. Although some of the Indian students did indeed embrace western religious practices and education, such was not their intent. Adherence to school policy was mostly the exercise of pragmatism in a vastly, and rapidly changing world.[269]

The education of youth was an ingrained practice in the upbringing of most Indian children, regardless of tribal affiliation. There were, of course, differences in procedure and technique cross culturally, however, as far as the Eastern tribes were concerned, the importance was ubiquitous. Education of youth was a necessary means of ensuring a productive adult member of their society. Education generally followed the lines of skills, heritage, survival and spiritual awareness.[270] Parents taught their culture to their children "through ceremonies, storytelling, and apprenticeship. . . . [and]

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[268] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 3-4, 10

[269] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 4-5*

[270] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, p. 8-15 ; John Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History*, (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2004) 14-15

play."[271] Therefore, the idea of formal training was not an obscure notion for most Indian peoples, and even the idea of education within the context of cultural exchange was a considered opportunity.

New England Praying Towns

Protestant organizations funded and administered early Colonial Indian education (pre 1650s) as a means of educating Indian peoples in the ways of Western religion. Their goal of education was to raise up individual Indians within the church, encourage literacy to enable the reading of Scripture, and then send those individuals back into their Indian communities to further share the Gospel. For Puritan New Englanders, the church was a natural extension of life itself and was intertwined within the practices of daily living, farming, town building, municipal government, socializing, and education. One could not extricate religion from education; the two went hand in hand. Civilization, per se, for the Indians would come with adherence to Christianity. In turn, advancing students (all male) would further their learning with the traditional subjects of western education: mathematics, history, geography, and literature. This plan, however, rarely came to fruition. Even though Protestant leaders encouraged the importance of an education, few families sent their young men to the day schools. For those who did, very few students lived long enough to graduate. Student after student continued to succumb to the European diseases from which they held no immunity.[272]

[271] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, p. 14.

[272] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 57, 75, 127,189.

The relationship between the Algonquian people and the New Englanders weakened following the Pequot War (1634-1638), fought between the Pequot and the colonists along with the colonists' Indian allies, the Narragansett and the Mohegan. The end of the war left the Pequot nearly decimated as a nation, killing over 700 individuals and sending thousands more into West Indies slavery, and further straining relations between the Indian nations and the colonists.[273] However, this setback of New Englanders' goals did not end the insistence for Indian education. As Harvard College struggled financially shortly after its establishment, the founders sought to establish a school for Indian students with funds from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (SPG), and from wealthy private donors and endowments from the likes of those such as Robert Boyle, former governor of the New England Company. Again, as in earlier cases, of the few students who attended the Indian College, only a very few survived European disease. However, the funding for the Indian school kept the doors open for the ever-increasing number of white students enrolled in the college.[274]

New England missionaries remained well funded. Parliament guaranteed money for the propagation of the Gospel for the benefit of the Indian peoples when they established the New England Company in 1649. The formal company, run by sixteen representatives, gathered and invested funds from government and private sources for the sole use of funding missionary work in New England. The United Colonies of New England distributed the money once they received it in the colonies. Though there was

[273] For more on the Pequot War see: Alfred Cave, *The Pequot War,* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996; Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675* third edition, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

[274] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 110,132-133,189.

often conflict among the members of this organization, the monies made their way into the missionary services in the region, including the Eliot's praying towns.[275]

John Eliot (figure 24) continued his life's mission to develop what he saw as the security for the indigenous peoples as well as a place of transformative Christianity in the form of the Praying Towns of Massachusetts. These towns began with the establishment of Natick (one of fourteen towns) in the early 1650s. Built on the outskirts

Figure 24: Possible Image of John Eliot
(Source: public.gettysburg.edu)

of white settlements, Eliot attempted to draw the area Indian Nations, including the Nipmuc, Massachusetts, and Pawtucket, into the towns by offering shelter, stability from neighboring conflicts, education and religion. The offer was sweetened with a never-

[275] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 104-106.

ending supply of European goods. Archeologist Magdalena Naum places these Praying Towns on the spectrum of Third Space or frontier space, where cultural exchange molds and develops two encountering groups into new versions of themselves.[276] In many ways, it is much like the way Michael Witten explains the convergence of Indians and Euro-Americans in the West Great Lakes where colonial where kinship ties, mediation, small gestures, and right words signified and brought power. At this place the two groups were changed but Indians retained their identity, as did Europeans.[277]

Eliot had no intention of attempting to preserve Indian identity. Unlike the Jesuits who went into Indian communities to teach and proselytize, Eliot brought people into his own separate, European-style communities, wherein the individuals were asked to eschew all forms of their former life: hair was cut, clothing exchanged for European dress, hunting and gathering exchanged for agricultural farming, and religious practices exchanged for Christianity. Children were taught by way of lecture in the subjects of English, Latin and Greek. The Indian citizens themselves developed their own system of laws and penalties which included fines for fornication, consumption of alcohol, wife beating, lying and stealing. Several Massachusetts Indians helped Eliot in his work as they served as translators, teachers and ultimately preachers. However, Eliot did not pay them as much as he paid the white workers.[278] In contrast to this immersion of

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[276] Magdalena Naum, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (June 2010), p. 101-131.

[277] Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

[278] Kenneth Morrison, "'That Art of Coyning Christians:' John Eliot and the Praying Indians of Massachusetts, *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter, 1974), pp. 77-92.; Reyner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* p. 26-27.

European life, Eliot used the Harvard printing presses to publish Holy Bibles in the Indian languages. He distributed Bibles to the townspeople and sent them out into other communities with newly trained ministers of the faith.[279] Thus was the attempt to put Christian education first and foremost into the hearts and minds of the Indian citizens.

Evidence that the many of the Indians who resided in the praying towns did not choose to renounce their Indian identity is shown by those who found themselves discontent in the English lifeways of the praying towns. As one individual notes, "'After wee pray'd God about three years. . .my heart was not yet right, but I desired to run wild, as also sundry others did."[280] Unfortunately, movement between the praying towns and the neighboring Indian nations was limited. Praying town Indians found little acceptance or refuge in the confines of their neighbors. In some ways they had developed a unique identity of their own that was far from that of the English, but not quite the same as the traditional Indian ways of their neighbors; however, they maintained their individual indigenaity none the less. They used the towns for their needs and kept themselves united. The towns provided a means of gathering scattered community members whose numbers were reduced by disease and warfare and preserved their place as members of the same community.[281]

In contrast to Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, Jr. led a more successful (by European standards) community inhabited by Wampanoags on Martha's Vineyard. This

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[279] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies,* 114.

[280] Morrison, "The Art of Coyning Christians" 85.

[281] Ibid.

community was more isolated from white settlement at the time and because of the location, was somewhat protected from the ravages of King Philip's War. Mayhew's

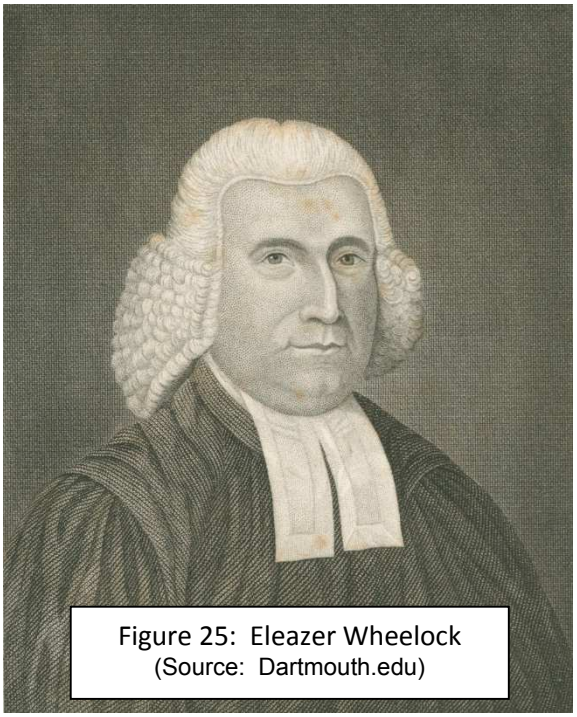

Figure 25: Eleazer Wheelock
(Source: Dartmouth.edu)

methods were not as stringent as Eliot's. While Eliot deemed Christianity as the only means to civilization, Mayhew instead emphasized a belief in God. He allowed converts to hybridize Christian and Wampanoag religion. Further, he quickly integrated Wampanoags into the leadership of the religious community as they participated as deacons, magistrates and preachers. Women and their traditional roles were held in esteem on the Island and they were taught alongside the men in Western education. Women could use their education as teachers and leaders. Mayhew's community maintained an Indian population of between 1,500 and 3,000 people at any given time.[282]

[282] Reyhner and Eder, 28-29; Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies,* 120-123.

Eleazar Wheelock (figure 25), prominent leader of the Great Awakening, and Mohegan Samson Occom (figure 26), emerged as two of the most significant missionaries in the 1700s. Great Awakening teachings sparked the interest of

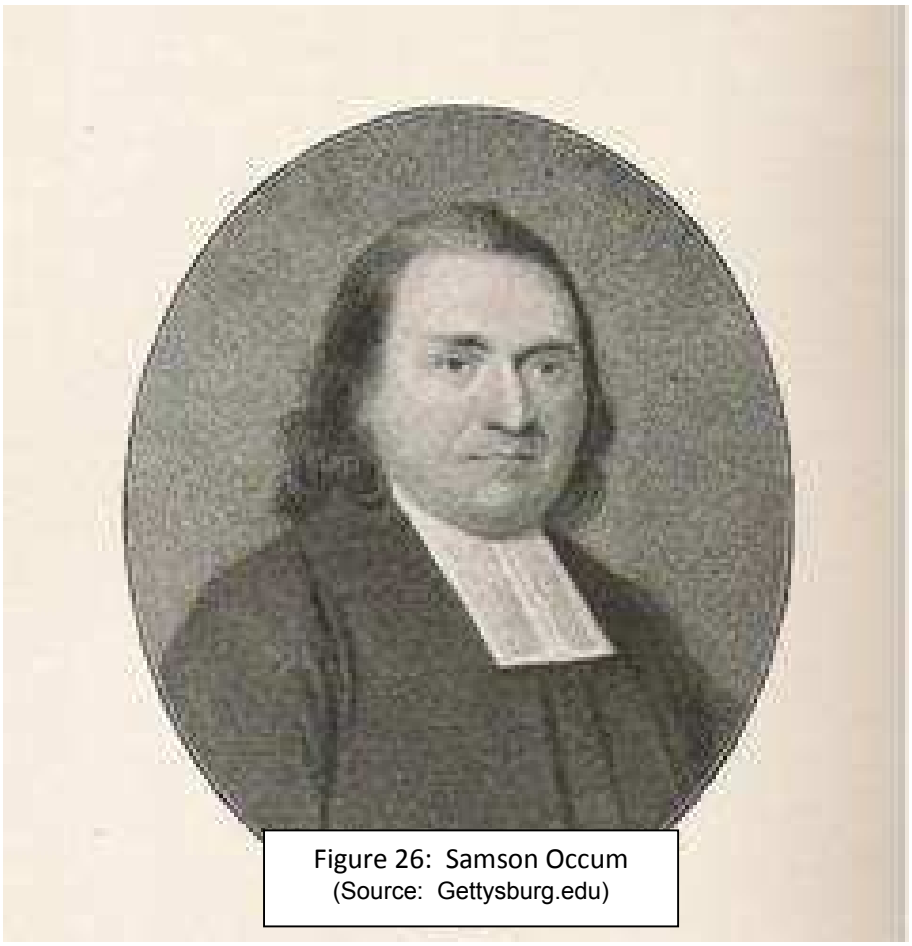

Figure 26: Samson Occum
(Source: Gettysburg.edu)

Occom, and at the age of twenty he voluntarily became a student of Wheelock in the hopes of learning to read English. Wheelock's methods involved the removal of children from their homes and placing them in the Moor's Indian Charity School. They boys were taught husbandry by working on the farm and the girls were taught the elements of Euro-american homemaking. Occum and the other male students were further taught the basics of Western education and religion with an emphasis on Greek,

Latin. The Great Awakening's emphasis on self-interpretation of scripture influenced the language choices for Wheelock's school in the hopes that his students could read not only the English Bible translations, but Greek, Latin and Hebrew texts as well. Occum became a Congregational minister in 1759 and served as an influential missionary and teacher to Indian peoples for many years; however, Occum, like other Indian missionaries was paid significantly less than his white counterparts.[283]

While Harvard and the College of William and Mary (established 1693) provided higher education for Indian students, Dartmouth was established specifically as an Indian college. In 1766 Wheelock sent Occum to England where he not only preached to English audiences, but raised funds as well. He was well received by the English parishioners and with the £11,000 he raised, Wheelock opened Dartmouth College primarily for the education of Indian students. The charter read that it was an institution created for "'the education and instruction of youth of the Indian Tribes in this Land in reading, writing, and all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and christianizing Children of Pagans as well as in all Liberal Arts and Science; and also of English youth and any others.'"[284] Eventually, the college had more white than Indian students, which upset Occum; however, the college continued to educate Indian peoples and still does today.[285]

New Englanders began to open day schools in the Indian communities in the 1650s with limited success. Very few children attended these schools and even fewer

[283] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* p. 31-33.

[284] Quoted in Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* p. 33.

[285] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* pg. 33.

succeeded by Euro-American standards. However, a few were prepared enough to enter Harvard, the goal of the day school administrators. Again, like others who came into the European system, most of these young men did not survive to completion, having succumbed to disease.[286]

Missionaries from other religious groups served during the Colonial Era including, Quakers and Moravians. Both of these groups were pacifist religions and they worked among the Indian peoples a bit differently than the Congregationalists and Evangelicals of New England. These groups had mission fields throughout the East and into the Ohio Valley region in the Early Republic. Quakers centered much of their work on the Pennsylvania frontier, while the Moravians established themselves in the colonial era in New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and in the Western Ohio Valley. Many Indian peoples respected the Quaker communities as they were generally treated fairly, particularly in instances where money or trade was involved. Quakers were known to buy land directly from Indian nations rather than go through the often illicit land speculators. Further, the Moravians, tried to maintain the Indian nation's language. They would learn the respective Indian language and in turn teach their student's the German dialect.[287] While neither group had perfect relationships with their Indian neighbors, they were among the few who could move more easily between Indian and Euro-American cultures.

By the end of the seventeenth century the great experiments in Indian education ended. The Indian College was disbanded and torn down in 1698 and the majority of

[286] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies,* 128-129.

[287] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, pg. 34

the smaller prayer town schools closed their doors. The education process was deemed only a modest success by New England standards at best, but was affected more so by the difficulties with disease and the tragedy of King Philip's War.[288] As a result of the war many of the Algonquian peoples who made up the majority of the school's students killed or enslaved. Survivors were removed from the area because of land loss, migrating into new territories as family bands.[289]

Second Great Awakening

With the Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century, missionaries to the American Indian gained a renewed vigor. Protestant missionaries flooded the new republic and Christianity under this new guise "represented a theology of progressivism and perfectionism."[290] To many, the values of Protestantism equated with values of "Americanization." As protestants brought "'light and life'" to those in "darkness" they attempted to instill the virtues of Christianity and agriculture. However, this shift entailed an overhaul in the means of farming by placing men at the plough and moving women from the field.[291] Interestingly, the success of missionaries appeared to be contingent upon the pressure of white infringement. Missionaries were virtually

[288] For more on King Philip's War please see: Daniel R. Mandell, *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010); James Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676,* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); and Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity,* (New York: Vintage Press, 2009).

[289] Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies* 126-127.

[290] Carol Devins, *Countering Civilization: Native American Women and the Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1991), 45.

[291] Devins, *Countering Civilization,* 45-50.

ignored in areas that were self-supporting and free from the plague of white encroachment. The protestant groups were more successful, by their standards, in regions where white settlement jeopardized the Indian economy and environment.[292] The depth of involvement by multiple Protestant and Catholic missionary societies from the earliest contact with New World Indians lays a foundational groundwork for Indian-White relations and in turn Federal policy through at least the mid-nineteenth century.

Some historians, such as Francis Paul Prucha built on these pre-established relationships and took a somewhat sympathetic approach to the evaluation of reformers. Prucha recognized the detriment to Indian civilization, and stressed the sincerity of humanitarian reformers and their role in the shaping of mid-nineteenth century policy. Following the pain, loss, and expense of multiple United States' military campaigns against Native Americans that failed to accomplish the goal of creating independent, "civilized" farmers, religious leaders began to form formal organizations to evaluate and ameliorate the "Indian problem".[293] As Prucha comments, most missionaries were sincere, albeit misguided in their approach. They were, as he puts it, ". . . sincere, religious-minded men and women who believed intensely that only one solution was possible for the problems they saw facing Indians—complete Americanization."[294] These reformers believed that Indians should no longer be considered separated entities, but should be mainstreamed into American society.

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[292] Carol Devins, *Countering Civilization,* 4.

[293] Prucha, Francis Paul, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865 – 1900*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).

[294] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis* vi.

Indian education became a part of treaty making in the early Republic. The Federal Government seemed to think that western education was a fair exchange for Indian land and most treaties included some kind of provision for Indian education, an example of which is in this quote from the 1803 treaty between the United States and the Kaskaskias in the Indian Territory as quoted in Reyhner and Eden's publication, *American Indian Education: A History*:

> Wheras, The greater part of the said tribe have been baptized and received into the Catholic church to which they are much attached, the United States will give annually for seven years one hundred dollars towards the support of a priest of that region, who will engage to perform for the said tribe the duties of his office and also to instruct as many of their children as possible in the rudiments of literature.[295]

Of the nearly four hundred treaties signed between 1803 and 1885, which ceded almost one billion acres of land, one hundred and twenty five included allowances for education, often at the request of the Indian nation. Congress further passed the Indian Civilization Act in 1819, which provided funds for both religious groups and individuals who agreed to live with and teach Indian peoples, and was used only by the consent of the Indian peoples themselves.[296]

The Reservation System

Humanitarian reformers influenced formal Federal Indian Policy most significantly in the period following the Civil War. Early Federal organization of the Indian Peace Commission, a federation of humanitarian and military leaders, occurred in 1868, with

[295] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* quote pg. 42.

[296] Reyhner and Eder *American Indian Education, pg.* 40-43.

the evangelical protestant, Indian Commissioner Nathanial Taylor at the helm. The report of the Peace Commission revealed an indictment on the United States and the deleterious treatment of American Indians by white settlers. Ironically, the report did not recommend a curtailment of white settlement, but instead sought to expedite the Americanization of Indian tribal members through education and farming. Suggestions in this area brought about the sequestering of plains Indians onto reservation lands, aggressive farming campaigns and Euro-American education for Indian children. Though significant change in policy did not occur, the Commission did have the ear of President and their report taken under advisement. More importantly, the successful influence of the Peace Commission encouraged the emergence of private organizations such as the United States Indian Commission. The Commission, directed by the likes of Peter Cooper, John Beeson, Henry Ward Beecher, and William Dodge sought to influence policymaking citing that the injustice on behalf of the United States toward American Indians was the cause of all of the violence between Indians and the U.S. government. They argued that violence was not an Indian action, but a reaction to unjust and unfair treaties, failure of the government to live up to treaty obligations, murders by white citizens and soldiers and lack of judicial justice for Indian plaintiffs and defendants. The lobbying pressures from independent, influential groups similar to and including the United States Indian Commission demanded governmental changes in Indian Policy.[297]

One significant outcome of humanitarian demands was President Grant's 1872 Peace Policy. The policy reflected the placement of Indians on reservations where they

[297] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis,* v-29.

could be taught agricultural and Euro-American ideals through the aid of Christian organizations as well as restructuring the system of issuing supplies to the various nations in an attempt to ensure good quality and well-priced goods. Most notably, the Federal government would specifically seek Christian agents to administer goods and serve as liaisons between the government and the Indians. The policy sought to establish Christian churches and schools led by Christian organizations who would "[act] in harmony with the government".[298] The President directly intertwined Indian policy with religion, arguing that that long-held history between Indians and religion groups (suggesting Quaker involvement as an example) and trusting that the piety of religious leaders would help to ensure honest relations between the government and the Indian communities.[299] The government had funded mission stations as early as 1789, and in 1819 the Federal Civilization Fund granted $500,000 in mission support over a 30-year span, thus long before the Peace Policy, Indians identified the church with the State.[300]

One of the agencies established by the Grant administration was the Board of Indian Commissions (April 1869), which appointed Indian agencies among church groups to oversee the appropriate disbursement of Indian funds, to visit and inspect tribes as well as the inspections of superintendent and Indian office records, to be present at annuity payments and councils and to supervise superintendents and Indian

[298] Rehner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* p. 113. Quote, Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis,* 31.

[299] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis,* 47.

[300] Robert H. Keller, *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-1882.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 2-5.

agents. In response to the desire to make Indian education, thus Americanization, easier and more effective, policymakers had already begun to concentrate Indians onto fewer reservations. Though these reservation lands were large at first, they were quickly whittled away by white encroachment and land allotments. In the early months of the program, the Administration selected only Quakers as Indian agents based on their early consideration as friends to the Indians. President Grant felt that the Quakers had a better relationship with Indians in general and would provide a fair-handed administration of both funds and education.[301]

In a micro-study of Quaker work among the Pawnees, Otos, and Omahas in the 1870s, Clyde A. Milner II agrees with the Prucha concerning the good intentions of the Quaker reforms, but laments the irreparable damage inflicted on the Indians vis-à-vis their "good work." The Quakers not only 'failed' in their "civilizing" mission, they ignored the real problems that faced these nations—disease, buffalo decline, drought, pestilence and white relations. In the midst of Quaker efforts, the Pawnes, Otos, and Omahas found that they could only meet their own needs by retaining their native identity.[302] The Indians were not a "'helpless and benighted race'" as President Grant claimed, but were "native peoples [who] could act to determine their own future" even if that future meant "removal, schism, or allotment".[303] Regardless of their future place in

[301] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis,* 31-70; Jon and Jeanne Ed, ed. American Indian Education: A History. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 62.

[302] Clyde A. II, Clyde A. Milner, *With Good Intentions: Quaker Work Among the Pawnees, Otos, and Omahas in the 1870s*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), II.

[303] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis,*17; Milner 198.

white society, the Indians would not sacrifice their Native identity in exchange for mission promises.

However, by 1870 the reservation agencies were turned over to multiple religious denominations. The fate of American Indian relations was now solely in the hands of Christian reformers. However, the Christian organizations were wholly unprepared for the enormity of their task and they encountered internal rivalries between denominations. Further, the Catholics found themselves slighted once again by the changes. Not only were they omitted in the first round of Grant's policies, they were shorted in this current assignment of agencies. The government failed to take into account long-standing relationships between particular Indian nations and Christian denominations; they ignored both current and historical connections. The Methodists, for example were given the most reservations (fourteen) even though they were among the newest of the Indian missionaries, entering the field in the early 1800s, while groups like the Catholics had worked among Indians for literally hundreds of years. Perceived prejudice reduced the number of protectorates of the Catholics to only seven. They counteracted this federal prejudice with the creation of the independent Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in 1874.[304] The tension led to inefficiency and the eventual re-emergence of more direct government involvement.[305] This failure is not surprising according to historian Robert Keller who discusses the failure of pre-1870 Indian missions. The underfunded, often ill-conceived missions frequently failed in both

[304] Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 192.

[305] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis,* 31-70, 106-107.

proselytization and “civilization”. However, as the author argues, religious ideals are powerful enough to override failure and the “belief that a Christian commonwealth [the goal for Indian lands]” could effectively set straight the ills of Indian-White relations. The idea of the missionary was embodied in the image of William Penn, “a powerful, effective and patriotic hero”.[306]

With the California Gold Rush followed by the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, white movement into the West grew exponentially. The ideals of Manifest Destiny were at their peak as white Americans saw these successes as confirmation of their Divine right to move westward. The United States no longer considered Indians as individual Nations and ceased treaty negotiations in 1871, and policy shifted from Indian removal to the ‘unsettled’ west to isolation and segregation on reservations. As Indian lands became more and more desirable, and conflicts between settlers and Indian Nations grew, the U.S. Government became more directly involved with Indian containment on the reservations and with Indian education. Congress appropriated one hundred thousand dollars in 1873 for the expenses of day and boarding schools that emphasized industrial education as well as basic math and English reading, writing, and language. The Commission on Indian Affairs stipulated that the quickest means of civilization was through the education of the children, particularly if they were taken from the homes of their parents and settled into boarding schools off the reservations if possible. By 1887, there were “68 government boarding schools with 5,484 students enrolled, 90 government day schools with 3,115 students

[306] Robert Keller, *American Protestantism,* 12.

(but an average attendance of only 1,896), and 5 industrial boarding schools with 1,573 students. In addition, 41 boarding schools with 2,533 students and 20 day schools with 1,044 students were operated under contract, mostly by religious organizations." Seventy percent of the funds were directed to the Government schools, while thirty percent were attributed to the contract schools. The crux of these schools, and the bane to Indian communities was the demand for English only. The government and the willing reformers immersed their charges in English and would not allow any semblance of Indian conversation or ritual. Doing so was a punishable offense.[307]

The Hampton Institute and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a Congregationalist minister, established the Hampton Institute in 1868 an industrial, private school for freedmen. Funded by both the Government and private donations, Armstrong's goal was to instill a Christian work ethic. Ten years later, Lt. Richard Henry Pratt became interested in the Virginia school and proposed bringing seventeen Indian prisoners of war to be educated alongside the African American men. Armstrong agreed and these seventeen along with forty four boys and nine girls recruited from Dakota Territory began their education at the first off-reservation boarding school. Armstrong's philosophy was not to amalgamate his students into white society, but to train and educated them in Christianity so they would return to their homes and "become advocates of Christianity and progress." Because of this he allowed students from the same language groups

[307] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* pg. 67-75. Quote is from pg.73 and is taken from the 1887 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (J. D. C. Atkins).

help one another in spite of the Government ruling to do otherwise. Hampton operated until 1923 and saw 1,388 Indian students from sixty-five nations.[308]

Pratt was dissatisfied with Armstrong's Hampton Institute, in part because he foresaw education as a means of Indian peoples becoming a part of white society. He envisioned his own school and proceeded to secure an abandoned army barracks in Carlisle Pennsylvania. The area was perfect for his needs: far enough from white settlement to avoid border conflicts and adjacent to Mennonite and Quaker communities who were extremely tolerant of Indian communities. With government funding, Pratt opened the Carlisle Indian School in 1879 with 136 enrolled students (figure 27). Pratt pursued an English-only method of communication and he aesthetically transformed his pupils by cutting their hair, and exchanging any traditional dress for the formality of cadet uniforms. He emphasized this "transition" for potential donors and the community alike by juxtaposing pictures of the Indian student "before and after" the influence of a Carlisle education. Pratt hired female teachers because he felt they were more willing than men to take advantage of new methods of teaching and learning, and he instituted a Normal School to train future teachers. Older students were put in charge of enforcing any rules and regulations for the younger students. The curriculum as the basics of the day's western education and included Saturday concerts by the likes of the New York Philharmonic and the Boston Symphony. He also instituted an Outing System by which students spent the school year learning trades, farming, or husbandry from families with whom they lived and attending public schools. All of the education aside, Carlisle was most known for its extra-curricular activities including

[308] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, pg. 115-134; quote pg. 116.

American football and a school band. Pratt used sport to provide both income and publicity.[309]

Carlisle was far from the largest off-reservation boarding school; however, the system became a flagship of sorts and became a model in boarding school

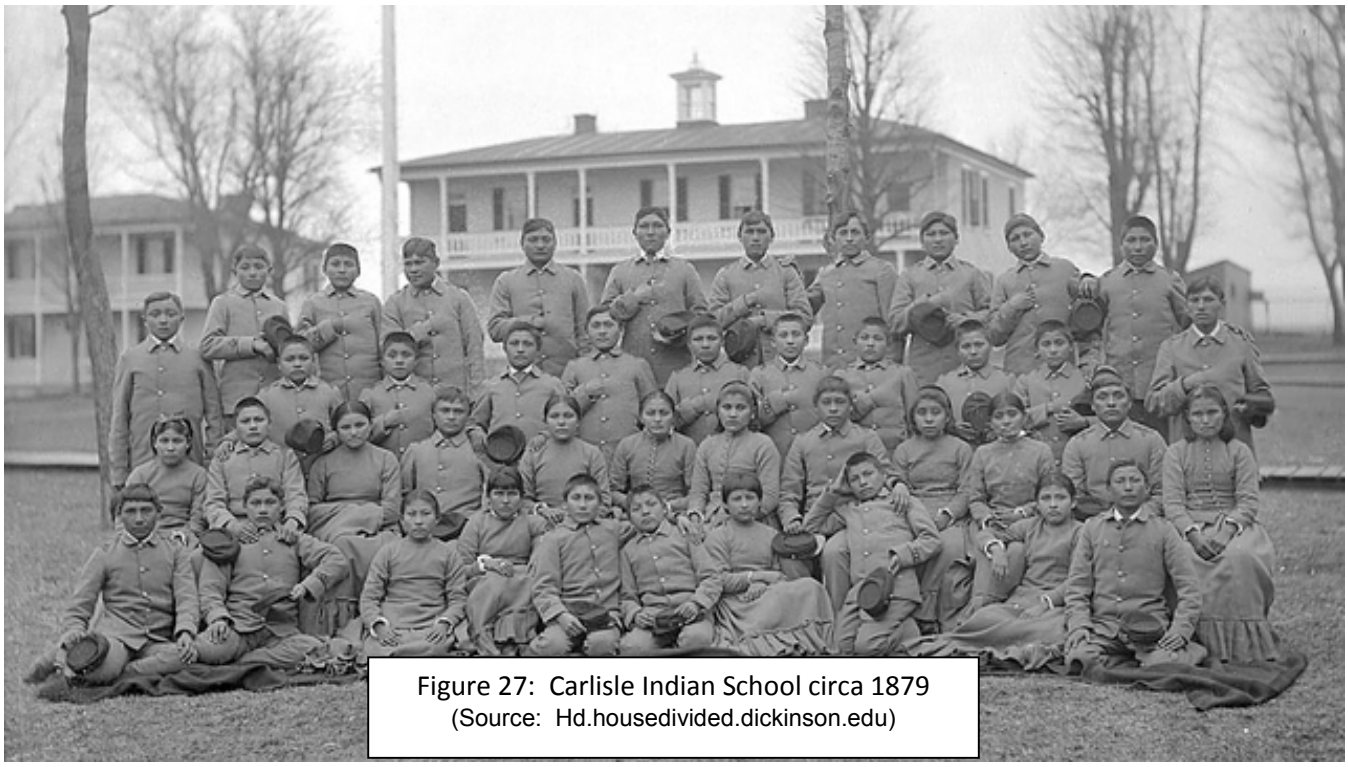

Figure 27: Carlisle Indian School circa 1879
(Source: Hd.housedivided.dickinson.edu)

development. By 1894 the school had 818 students enrolled from fifty-three different Indian nations. Pratt left the school in 1904, and the institution closed its doors in 1918.[310]

Based on the Carlisle model, the federal government funded another twenty-three off-reservation boarding schools throughout the country. These schools were located closer to the reservations that they served and reservation schools taught

[309] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* p. 134-149.

[310] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* p. 142-149.

elementary-aged children in preparation from advancement to the boarding school. After Carlisle closed, the Haskell Institute (established in 1884) in Lawrence, Kansas became the Federal Government's flagship school. Since the school had the eye of the government, it was fairly well funded and boasted up-to-date curriculum and decent supplies of food, unlike some of the lesser well-known schools.[311]

The legacy of these boarding schools includes accolades from some who saw the system of education as a means for living in the twentieth century, while others recognized the detriment to Indian culture. The schools robbed young people of their language and, in many ways, their cultural heritage. White teachers, white-styles of education, white language, and the immersion of white culture systemically epitomized Indian education. The system removed all essence of indigeneity. The goal was total assimilation. This ethnocentric method of teaching created Indian resistance to education.[312] In turn, many Indian nations rooted themselves deeper into their culture as a means of persevering and persisting in the United States.

Into the Twentieth Century

By the 1880s, the United States/Indian wars had virtually ended and with that ending came a renewed strength in Christian Reform movements. Multiple Christian-themed organization arose, including the Boston Indian Citizenship Organization, Indian Treaty-Keeping and Protection Association (Philadelphia), and the Indian Rights Association. These and other Indian humanitarian groups gathered for an annual conference at Lake

[311] Ibid.

[312] Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education,* p. 165-166.

Mohonk in New York. The meetings had a strong religious orientation that expressed concern for individual conversion as a means of overcoming the evils of society. Work, virtue and independence were considered Godly traits and the religious groups came to equate Protestantism with Americanism.[313] According to Keller, most nineteenth-century Americans thought along these lines, promoting a State "enlightened by the Christian Gospel".[314] Such an account is what helped excuse the U.S. government from the binds of Church and State. If Christian education was traditionally expected in the education of white children, it could be funded for Indian children.[315] This vein of Americanism ran through the social and political circles of the day, and as Prucha posits, "It was the fate of the Indian that the solution of the 'Indian problem,' . . . should have been formulated at the end of the century when such a group [evangelical protestants] was in command."[316] Further, emphasizing again the good intentions of the reformers, he argues that these groups sought to exchange "Indianism" for "Americanism," replacing all remnants of tribalism "with an absolute rugged individualism that was foreign to the traditions and to the hearts of the Indian peoples".[317]

In order to promote this Protestant philosophy, reformers aspired to force Americanization through individual land ownership and education. Reformers believed

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[313] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis,* 113-168.

[314] Keller, *American Protestantism,* 2.

[315] Keller, *American Protestantism,* 2-4.

[316] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis* 168.

[317] Ibid.

they were right in their actions and their requests and Congress listened as they called for the discontinuance of treaties, land allotment, a gradual decrease in rations, and the English education of Indian children, all of which were meant to mainstream the Indians into a land-owning, individualist, white society. Congress acted with the Indian Allotment (Dawes Act) of 1887, which also allowed for citizenship (with renaming of Indians with English names) and funds funneled into education systems. Protestant, Americanizing standards were at the root of these changes. Even when the reformers called for the end to the contract system of church sponsored schools, it was not because they no longer wanted to promote Christian values, but because they felt that the close proximity of the schools to the reservations impeded the cultural transformation of their Indigenous charges.[318] Thus, religious reformers were directly tied to all of late-nineteenth century Indian policy and education in the United States. And, though Protestantism may not have direct influence on later policy decisions, it certainly lays in the groundwork.

However, historian Frederick Hoxie directly refutes the arguments of Prucha, Keller and Milner, contending that "allotment, Indian education, and the effort to extend citizenship to Native Americans . . . were not primarily the product of policy experts or reformer lobbyists" but instead "had complex cultural and political origins" rooted in Republican party ideology, anthropological and social theories and the "popular desire to incorporate 'alien' peoples into a homogenous social whole".[319] By placing the "Indian problem" in a larger, political context, he saw the advancement of Indian policy

[318] Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis,* 227-292.

[319] Hoxie, Frederick, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians 1880-1920,* x.

through the lens of a popular political and social culture that was attempting to manage and understand the emerging issues of freedmen, new immigrants, and America's new overseas colonies. Rather than being driven by a handful of reformers, the issue was thrust forward in the momentum of existing political quandaries. He supports this argument with a discussion of the "second phase" of policy that "altered much of the original program".[320] While the first phase of Indian policy sought to transform Indians into civilized citizens melding into the white euro-American culture, the second phase, beginning in the first decades of the twentieth century, shifted to begin identifying Indians as only partial citizens—marginalized from the mainstream. The United States' policy toward Indians became similar to the policies dealing with African Americans, Eastern European and Asian immigrants and colonial "subjects". The early nineteenth-century binary of 'citizen' and 'savage' shifted to 'citizen' and 'partial citizen' represented by non-whites who were incorporated in the society via the lowest rung of the social ladder. In a sense, the language may have remained 'assimilation' but the reality was much different.[321] Though Hoxie agrees that evangelical Protestant reformers played a role in Indian affairs, it was part of a larger political project. One could argue, however, that Protestantism's strength was not in individual lobbies, but was in the overall influence of Repbulicanism and social Darwinism.

A third perception for the assimilation impetus lies in the issues of land. For instance, Janet McDonnell, argues that the motivation for assimilation had little to do with citizenship and immersion in white society and more to do with white land hunger.

[320] Hoxie, *A Final Promise,* xviii.

[321] Hoxie, *A Final Promise.*

Although the early campaigns may have been couched in the concepts of social Darwinism, assimilationists began to wane in their Darwin theories and soon determined that Indians could not be assimilated quickly and sought different methods of "helping" Native Americans establish themselves economically within the reservation system. If they could not farm the land, whites would gladly farm it for them. After Dawes, the motivation was simply the greed for land. The reality of "Americanization" was no longer in the Indian response to assimilation, but was in the American ideal of putting land—anyone's land—into productive use. This policy became even more imperative as whites began to assess the value of the natural resources on Indian lands. Thus, the government claims to assist the Indian who could not or did not want to farm by allowing him or her to sell or lease land was simply a guise to allow a white land-grab. "[T]he policy of assimilation shifted to one of exploitation".[322] As policymakers argued to make Indians independent from the government through the profits gleaned from farming, leasing, or selling fee patents on their lands and resources, the end result (at least by 1934) was that only one third of American Indians owned their own land or were able to sustain themselves economically. Indian land reduced from 138 million acres to 52 million acres—staggering and convincing statistics. Rather than independence, the Indian communities were more dependent upon the Federal government than they had ever been before.[323]

Both religious organizations and the United States failed to eradicate Indian cultures. Indian peoples persevered and kept hold of their cultural differences even

[322] McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian,* 1-3 quote 3.

[323] McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian,* 122-123.

within the confines of federally imposed limitations. Many Indian peoples and cultures persisted into the twentieth century by playing into the white man's curiosity. By the Progressive Era, Indian policy nestled into the broader context of politics, modernization and industrialization. By this time, Indian policy was one in a sea of federal confusions and failures and the ultimate change in policy was motivated not by Christians or social politics but, according to historian Tom Holm, by the "'search for order[;]' a different theoretical and practical foundation for Indian policy had to be discovered."[324] Indians had not been 'transformed' into assimilated Americans. They simply "refused to vanish," retaining their cultural and political identities.[325] Holm further places whites at the center of the 'vanishing' failure arguing that they did not want Indians to vanish either. This era was a time Indian romanticism; whites collected Indian artifacts, visited reservations, bought Indian art and crafts and even played Indian in their clubs and organizations. The government had to change their Indian policy, yet they could only work within the existing framework. If Indians would not vanish into the American mainstream then they would begin to accommodate the Indians differently: If not full citizenship, then marginalized citizenship; if not independent farmers, then landlords or sellers.[326] In consideration of Indian education, the government investigated the weaknesses of the Indian boarding schools and determined that the schools were failing on all levels. Indian children were not assimilated into white culture, nor were they prepared to return to their Indigenous culture. Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder quote Lewis Meriam (1928)

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[324] Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion of Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era*, (Austin: University of Texas, 2005) xi, quote xiii.

[325] Holm, *The Great Confusion of Indian Affairs,* xiv.

[326] Ibid.

"who called for a school curriculum based on 'local Indian life, or at least written within the scope of the child's early experiences.'"[327] When it became clear that American Indians would indeed maintain their cultural and tribal identities, policy shifted again to bring order through the 1934 Reorganization Act and the 1935 Indian Arts and Crafts Board, returning to the Indian nations control over membership, resources and tribal funds, and preserving Native arts and income respectively.

These ever-shifting changes in policy are reiterated by Donald Fixico in *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960.* Fixico too, like Holm and Hoxie places the generation of political change on the larger picture of American society. Following the WWII, the socio-political environment reflected a renewed fear of cultural diversity, a surge in nationalism, and a fear of communism. The ideals encompassed in the communal living of some Native American societies and a recharged anxiety over the "other" created a new, yet ever-fluctuating image of American Indians by white observers. These issues, coupled with the treasury's desire to cut expenses after the war precipitated the termination and relocation policies of the 1950s. Further fed by the patriotic images of Native soldiers, policymakers determined—among themselves of course—that American Indians were again ready to assimilate into white society.[328] However, history shows that this was not the case. Indian nations continued to persist in spite of any Federal or religious efforts to eradicate their cultures and lose their identity in the mainstream of white society.

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[327] John Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education,* .5.

[328] Donald Fixico, *Termination and Relocation, Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960. (*Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986*).*

Though the peoples may have adapted and adopted parts of white America, they did not become “white”. They were able to maintain indigenous autonomy and continue to do so into the twenty first century.

A case study of the White Earth Indian Reservation of Minnesota by Melissa Myer attempts to show that relationships between Indians, economics and politics may have been as significant in creating assimilation policies as Indian-white relations, noting that Indians are not a homogenous group, and are subject to ethnic differences in the same manner as Euro Americans. In the case of the White Earth, some Indians identified with a capitalistic, individual world view while others held more conservative, community values. This work provides a microcosm of the effects of ever-changing Indian policy.

The purpose of the 1867 White Earth Reservation was an attempt by the federal government to aid in the process of assimilation through land ownership and farming. The White Earth Reservation was established in 1867 as “an agrarian showplace in the north country.” [329] The U.S. intended to locate all of the Minnesota Anishinaabe to the reservation. Because the area was appealing, many groups of Anishinaabe, including splinter groups and groups of mixed descent now embraced Anishinaabe bands as a means of inhabiting the White Earth Reservation. These different groups at first adapted a system that incorporated all into the White Earth Band. As discussed earlier, U.S. policy elicited a hope that initiating private property would speed assimilation among the Indians and would permit National claims to “surplus” acreage. However,

[329] Melissa L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 10.

the Anishinaabe had been adapting and thriving for years before assimilation and would likely have continued to do so had they not been undercut by deforestation, declining animal populations, environmental break-down and divisive, fraudulent allotment practices. Unity had enhanced power and autonomy when dealing with Euroamericans, but factional diversity at White Earth prevented action. Individualist values were adopted by some Anishinaabe and the accumulation of wealth separated members of the community. Beyond this, government policy redefined the significance of full-blood and mixed-blood Indians which added to the divisive tensions, impeding unity.[330] As more land was made available by cession, people from all walks of life entered the landscape—lumber workers, merchants, and farmers. The Anishinaabe were faced with adapting to these multiple cultural and economic groups. In a flurry of fraudulent claims, most of White Earth's lands were in white hands by the 1920s- claims that remain contested today.

Religion, politics and people influenced federal Indian policy. Religion played a key role in this development, which expanded into and remained embedded in the twentieth-century framework of American politics, social Darwinism, and land lust., Hoxie, McDonnell, and Holm recommend placement of Indian affairs within the broader framework of American politics and social Darwinism. While other twentieth-century historians, such as Fixico and Meyer argue that the complexities of policy development lacks prominent religious underpinnings, one cannot ignore the foundational role that religion, particularly Protestantism played in the early development of Indian policy. For the majority of these early years, Indian policy was influenced by religious Protestant

[330] Melissa L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

ministers and religious men. Religious lobbyists certainly affected the federal developments, but more significantly, religious undertones permeated much of Western society and shaped the worldview of policy makers themselves. Though the overt images of religion are removed from twentieth-century reforms, the changes are still wrought on the religious foundations established earlier. I believe that Keller sums it up best, "Just as Grant's experiment [peace policy] was rooted in previous American history, so Indian affairs for the next seventy years reflected what happened between 1869 and 1882."[331]

[331] Keller, *American Protestantism,* 205.

CONCLUSION:

This dissertation focused on Indian communities in the early-nineteenth-century Ohio Valley region through the lens of Mission schools. Building on the work of Professor Stephen Warren, who took an in-depth look at the social and cultural exchange between the Ohio Valley Shawnee and their Neighbors, my project considered the different ways that two separate Ohio Indian communities interacted with missionaries. Chief Catehecassa's (or Blackhoof's) band of Shawnees at Wapakoneta, Ohio and Chief Walker's Wyandot community in Upper Sandusky, Ohio selectively chose which Euro-American methods they would embrace to enhance their ability to remain on their reservation lands. The parameters of both reservations were established with the 1795 Treaty of Greenville, following a series of battles between the Ohio Valley Indians and the United States (the Indian Wars). However, soon after, Ohio became a state (in 1803) and the region was flooded with Euro-American settlers.

The influx of white Americans onto the landscape threatened Indian methods of farming and hunting and became a constant threat to the permanence of security on the reservation land. The Shawnee and Wyandot lands represented superb farmland and incited land lust as more and more farmers moved into Ohio. Both the Shawnee and the Wyandot found that they could perhaps use some of the techniques the missionaries promoted as a means of appeasing the U.S. government and gaining acceptance in the white community. They eventually chose to adopt plow agriculture and some Western education for the children. I paraphrase Chief Blackhoof when he asserted that the world around them was changing quickly and it was good for the

young to know how to read and write in English to aid them in future trade and treaty making.

This examination of the Missionary education revealed an interesting dynamic in the Ohio region. Selection of and participation in the offerings of the mission was entirely at the discretion of the Indian families. The Shawnee aligned themselves with the Quakers, a religious community with whom they had a history. They found the Quaker missionaries appealing because the Quakers helped to meet the pragmatic needs of the Shawnee without overt proselytizing. During these Ohio years, the Quakers did not hide their faith and they welcomed anyone who wanted to learn about it, but they did not actively pursue religious conversion. The Wapakoneta Shawnee, led by the elderly Chief Blackhoof chose to retain as much of their Indian practices, including their religion, as they could. They only wanted to access those practices and techniques that met their needs for farming and education.

The Wyandot, on the other hand, had had more contact with missionaries including Catholics and Baptists. Although neither of those denominations made a solid foothold in the community, they had introduced the Wyandot to an Evangelical message of Christianity. When missionary, John Stewart, introduced the Methodist faith to the Wyandot, he was met with interest by some of the community. His message was strictly the Gospel in his early visits and he was there to promote Christianity and conversion. He established a church among the Wyandot, which was later recognized by the Methodist church and designed as a full-fledged mission including a school. While factions of the community held to their Indian faith, many came to embrace Christianity and some village Chiefs, including Chief Between the Logs and Chief Mononcue

became Methodist ministers and teachers in the school. However, participation in all of these western ideals remained at the discretion of the community and while some of the more evangelical community members adhered to Methodism and western education, others chose to not. Mission reports often lamented that many in the community continued to refuse to send their children to the school.

While both of these missions provided schools for the youth, the crux of their work was with the adults. Both provided tools and taught plow agriculture. They encouraged the building of log homes, fences, and farms. And the Methodist mission added the element of religious teaching and conversion. While they both encouraged and hoped for children to teach, it seems as if it was a constant struggle to fill up a classroom.

The formality of the schools and the pragmatism of the Indian choices did not impede the cultural exchange in the vibrancy of the Ohio region. The study of these school and religious systems revealed an intriguing landscape populated by multiple Indian communities, black and white missionaries, traders and settlers. The arrangement exposed a frontier exchange by which each group borrowed from the other and provided moments of friendship, cultural exchange and corporate religious worship. The traditional perceptions of the region suggests an antiquated Turnerian frontier in which approaching civility systematically pushed Indian peoples off the grid. Instead, there was an overlapping period of nearly a half-century in which Indians, whites, and African Americans lived in vibrant, lively communities. Indians were more than defeated peoples who fled the region to make room for whites, and African Americans were more than fugitive slaves escaping into the North. They were active members of their frontier

communities and, with some exceptions, befriended their neighbors and did what they could to afford peaceful lives. Each group held the mutual need for safety, survival and companionship.

The Shawnee and Wyandot were able to ward off removal for a few decades, but they did eventually move to Indian territory in Missouri (modern day Kansas). The story of Indian removal is not unique. While historians have elaborated on the forced removal of the Cherokee, Seminole, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek, they have neglected the story of removal for the Indian nations in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes. Both the Shawnee and Wyandot experienced pressures from not only their neighbors, but by the federal government who regularly questioned them as to how long they planned to stay. White farmers desperately wanted to cultivate the rich land and argued that the Indian communities were not taking full advantage of the profitability of the landscape. The Wyandot finally gave up their Ohio land in 1848, noting that if they didn't move they could indeed face the same fate as the Cherokee. They chose to sell and move on their own terms rather than waiting to be forced. The Shawnee, however, experienced the long history of pressure, coercion and deceit in their 1831 treaty agreement that exchanged their Ohio home for land in Indian Territory.

The missions maintained an integral part in the removal process for both communities. Both the Quakers and the Methodists helped to ready the communities and travelled with them to their new home. They further maintained a presence among the Shawnee and Wyandot once they relocated, but the extent of their involvement and the methods of their teaching took a drastic turn. The Wyandot for the most part severed their connection to the Methodist mission. The original missionaries from Ohio

did not re-establish themselves because the Methodist church already maintained a mission school in close proximity to the Wyandot. This school opened in the late 1820s when different bands of Shawnee began to voluntarily migrate west. The Wyandot, instead, provided their own schools, churches and community groups. The more elite of the Wyandot community profited in their strategic location on the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails. They provided goods and services to travelers and some became quite wealthy. They became intricately involved with the U.S. government and petitioned for the establishment of the Nebraska Territory; and when the territory became a reality, Wyandot leader, William Walker became the first territorial governor. Ultimately, the majority of Wyandot dissolved their tribal government and became U.S. citizens. A smaller group maintained their tribal affiliation and eventually migrated to Oklahoma.

The Wapakoneta band of Shawnee did not fare as well economically after their removal. They scattered and re-established homes and small farms in decentralized communities. The Ohio Quakers followed them, and they set up a mission farm and school. The relationship between the Shawnee and the Quakers loosened a bit, but the Shawnee remained connected to the mission to help meet pragmatic needs. During times of poor harvest, they were known to send their children to the school more for the provided food, clothing and shelter than for the education. When times were economically sound, they relied on the mission less. Ultimately, the mission came to serve the community as an orphanage, strictly caring for orphaned Indian children.

The most significant difference in the mission experience between Ohio and Missouri was the change in pedagogy. Both of the denomination mission schools, Quaker and Methodist, geared their teaching directly toward the children, abandoning

their work with the community adults. The course work included the basics of reading, writing and mathematics, but now included a heavy religious studies component. Further, both schools were administered as boarding schools and functioned as working farms that became a part of the curriculum. Students were taught academics as well as farming, husbandry, and domestic arts. Student labor further helped fund the schools. Also, where both missions worked with one specific community in Ohio, the missions in Indian Territory taught students from multiple Indian communities. They discouraged Indian languages and emphasized English. These new, boarding schools that discourage Indian languages closely resembled the Government Boarding schools of the late nineteenth century.

This dissertation is meant to open a conversation about the much-neglected nineteenth century Indian history in the Midwest, bringing to the forefront communities that were strategic in their persistence in the region, yet ultimately experienced land loss and formal Indian Removal. It further explores the evolution of the Mission School from its role as an aid to singular Indian communities to formal Indian boarding schools that targeted multiple Indian communities in the west. In many ways, the missions of the Ohio River Valley, including the Quaker and the Methodist missions, served as a bridge between the colonial praying towns of the East and the Government boarding schools of the West.

This work opens the possibility for further study on the impact of the missionaries in the Ohio Valley on the lives and decisions of the Indian peoples with whom they worked. While it does not provide complete answers, it does suggest that these Midwest missions played an integral role in the morphing of Indian education and policy

throughout the nineteenth century as well as showing that the Indian peoples utilized missions as another tool in their belt to help keep peace and land that was always jeopardized by U.S. officials. In the study of Indian history, the Midwest is often mentioned as foot note in Indian education or is examined from the standpoint of War and diplomacy, but the picture is much richer than that. The region and its peoples set into motion policies and practices in independence and education that permeated the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and seeped into the thought processes of Indians, politicians, missionaries and educators. While we know that "the frontier West" began with the Northwest Territory, we may overlook that notion when we study Indian policy and education.

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