THE WYANDOT INDIANS,

1843-1876

By

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PREFACE

This dissertation began with a casual stroll through the old Huron Cemetery in the heart of downtown Kansas City, Kansas, in September, 1968. My curiosity led me to seek more knowledge about those Indians who once lived in Wyandotte County, Kansas. I started with Grant Foreman's The Last Trek of the Indians, a survey of the removal of many of the Indian tribes to Oklahoma. Foreman's work, published in 1946, remains the standard reference for the removal of the small tribes, but space limitations made it impossible for him to include a comprehensive account of the removal of any one tribe.

Further research revealed that there were conflicting accounts of various aspects of Wyandot civilization. Isolated incidents did not present an accurate picture, and I believed that only a detailed analysis would give the total story. In 1971, after this topic was approved for my dissertation by my doctoral committee, I examined the Wyandot papers of the Office of Indian Affairs. These records, together with the John G. Pratt Papers, the John M. Armstrong Papers, and other materials, confirmed my view that there were significant historical differences between the Wyandots and many other emigrant tribes. The predominance of white blood in the tribe, and the outstanding qualities exhibited by some of its leaders, led to novel solutions in various situations.

During both the research and writing of this study, I attempted

constantly to remember that the Wyandots in the nineteenth century had different values and habits than white Americans. A realistic appraisal of their civilization was possible only by maintaining this attitude. I tried to retain a neutral stance throughout this study, but occasionally the evidence was so one-sided that my conclusions may seem to support the Wyandots or the United States government.

The able and often needed assistance of the staff of the Oklahoma State University Library deserves my appreciation. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the support of the late Mrs. Marguerite S. Howland, the head documents librarian; Mr. Josh H. Stroman, who was of invaluable help in acquiring much needed material; and Mrs. Heather MacAlpine Lloyd, the reference librarian, who was of inestimable value in my research.

The author extends appreciation to Miss Esther Norman of the Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library for her help in locating items in the Kansas Collection. Mrs. Peggy Smith of the Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library was helpful in locating newspapers in the Missouri Valley Collection. Valuable assistance was rendered by Mr. Joseph W. Snell of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, in locating manuscripts in the Wyandot Indian Collection and the John G. Pratt Papers.

Many significant items were located in the John M. Armstrong Papers, thanks to the able assistance of Mrs. Marie E. Keene of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Mr. Jack D. Haley, Assistant Curator of the Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma, located a number of manuscripts for the author. Special thanks are extended

to Mrs. Rella Looney of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, for her help in locating numerous items in the Wyandot Indian Collection.

Courtesy and cooperation were extended to the author by Mr. Leonard N. Cotter, Chief of the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, who consented to be interviewed, and who related his person experiences of over thirty years as a tribal official. Mrs. Cecilia Wallace, and her daughter, Mrs. Charlotte Nesvold, descendants of Isaiah Walker, graciously consented to an interview and allowed the author to examine Wyandot archives in their possession. Special thanks are extended to Ernest Huber, who drew the map and the graph.

I would also like to thank the members of my graduate committee for their aid throughout my entire graduate program, and for their careful reading of this dissertation: Professor James Stine of the Geography Department; Dr. H. James Henderson, Dr. Douglas D. Hale, Dr. Robert Spaulding, and Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer of the History Department. I owe special thanks to Dr. Knight, who, as head of the History Department, made it possible for me to pursue my graduate academic degrees, and to Dr. Fischer, the chairman of my graduate committee, whose long, hard, and able editorship of my dissertation is appreciated.

I would also like to thank my son, Rob, and my daughter, Theresa, for tolerating a father who was often irritable, and who did not seem to understand that sometimes children create noise when they play. But most of all, I want to thank my wife, Ann, who has had the fortitude to bear with a historian for these last eight years, and whose encouragement, writing help, and typing skill has made this dissertation possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST YEARS, 1535-1745

A melancholy Wyandot congregation crowded into the Methodist Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, to hear the farewell sermons in early July, 1843.[1] Within a few days these Indians were scheduled to depart for their new home. Reverend James Wheeler, the resident white missionary, preached a stirring sermon in English. When Wheeler completed his comments, Squire Greyeyes, a converted Wyandot, took his place at the pulpit. He preached in Wyandot while John McIntyre Armstrong translated the sermon into English so the many Indians who did not understand their own language could comprehend. Greyeyes began:

> Adieu to the graves where my fathers now rest!
> For I must be going to the far distant west.
> I've sold my possessions; my heart fills with woe.
> To think I must leave them, Alas! I must go.
>
> Farewell ye tall oaks in whose pleasant green shade
> In childhood I sported, in innocence played;
> My dog and my hatchet, my arrows and bow,
> Are still in remembrance, Alas! I must go.

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[1] Wyandot is the correct ethnological spelling of the name of the tribe. However, records of the United States Office of Indian Affairs often refer to the tribe as Wyandott or Wyandotte. The French called them Yendot, Ouendot, Tionontates, Etionontates, Tuinontateks, Dionondaddies, Khionontaterrhonous, or Nation du Petun (tobacco nation). They were called Nation du Petun because of the superior quality of tobacco they cultivated and the fact that they produced it in such large quantities that they were able to create an extensive commerce in its barter with other tribes. Huron is a French nickname which means boar. The Huron hair style was arranged in a fashion which gave the impression of a boar. The Wyandots were also called Wandat or Wendat.

Adieu ye loved scenes, which bind me like chains,
Where on my gay pony I chased o'er the plains.
The deer and the turkey I tracked in the snow.
But now I must leave them, Alas! I must go.

Adieu to the trails which for many a year
I traveled to spy the turkey and deer,
The hills, trees and flowers that pleased me so
I must now leave, Alas! I must go.

Sandusky, Tymochtee, and Brokensword streams,
Nevermore shall I see you except in my dreams,
Adieu to the marshes where the cranberries grow
O'er the great Mississippi, Alas! I must go.

Adieu to the roads which for many a year
I traveled each Sabbath the gospel to hear,
The news was so joyful and pleased me so,
From hence where I heard it, it grieves me to go.

Farewell my white friends who first taught me to pray
And worship my Savior and Maker each day.
Pray for the poor native whose eyes overflow,
With tears at our parting, Alas! I must go.

When Greyeyes finished speaking, many were crying. The Wyandots began their journey to the Indian country west of the Mississippi River on July 11, 1843. They were the last tribe to leave Ohio, and thus ended an era in the history of what had been one of the most powerful tribes in the Old Northwest.[2]

Despite the impression given by Greyeyes's impassioned eloquence, the Wyandots were not indigenous to Ohio. The tribe was composed of remnants of three related tribes who once occupied portions of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, Canada. The three tribes, the Hurons, the Nation du Petun, and the Neutral Nation, were all members of the

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[2]James Rankins, "Farewell Song of the Wyandot Indians," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. XIV (1905), pp. 442-443.

Iroquoian linguistic family.[3]

Social Organization

Wyandot society was similar to that of other Iroquoian Indians in some respects, but as a whole was unique. The social organization of the tribe was divided into four groups: the family, the clan or gens, the phratry (a group of related families), and the tribe. The family was approximately synonymous with the household. The head of the family was a woman, and descent was traced by the matriarchial line. The clan was an expanded family related by the female line, and each clan was designated by the name of an animal. The Wyandot tribe was composed of twelve clans divided into two phratries:

First Phratry

1. Bear Clan
2. Deer Clan
3. Snake Clan
4. Hawk Clan

Second Phratry

1. Big Turtle Clan
2. Little Turtle Clan
3. Mud Turtle Clan
4. Beaver Clan
5. Porcupine Clan
6. Striped Turtle Clan
7. Highland Turtle or Prairie Turtle Clan

The mediation and executive power of the tribe was vested in the Wolf Clan, which stood between the phratries and bore a cousin relationship to all the other clans. Each clan within a phratry bore a brother relationship to each other clan in the same phratry. All the members of the clans of one phratry were considered to be cousins of the members of the clans of the other phratry. An individual in one

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[3]Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians (2 vols., New York: Pageant Books, Inc., 1959), Vol. II, pp. 584-589.

phratry was prohibited from marrying a person who belonged to the same phratry.[4]

Civil Government

The twelve clans were the basis for civil government within the tribe. Each clan had four women councilors who were chosen by the heads of families. The councilors selected an adult male to be chief of the clan. The tribal council was composed of the clan chiefs and councilors, and the tribal chief was chosen by the chiefs of the clans. The functions of civil government were to preserve rights and enforce the performance of duties. These two functions were interrelated. Rights were separated into the categories of marriage, names, personal adornments, order in encampments and migrations, property, personal, community, and religion.[5]

Economic Life

Hunting and fishing provided the economic base of early Wyandot society, but when the tribe migrated to the lower peninsula of Canada, the Indian population residing there was too large to subsist on these economic activities alone. Soon the game in the region was depleted and the Wyandots turned to agriculture for survival. French explorers found corn, red beans, squash, sunflowers, peas, pumpkins, melons, and

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[4]John Wesley Powell, "Wyandot Government--A Short Study of Tribal Society," Smithsonian Institute Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. XXV (1883), pp. 76-77; William E. Connelley, History of Kansas (2 vols., Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1928), Vol. I, p. 233.

[5]Powell, "Wyandot Government--A Short Study of Tribal Society," Smithsonian Institute Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. I, pp. 79, 82.

tobacco growing on land occupied by the Wyandots. To compensate for the inadequate supply of game the Wyandots bartered corn, meal, wampum, fishnets, and tobacco with the Algonquins, Piserenis, and other tribes for meat and animal skins. Wild rice provided an important supplement to their diet when they were forced to retreat to present Wisconsin during the seventeenth century.[6]

The Wyandots did not possess draft animals, which made it necessary to rely on human power whenever they traveled overland. During the warmer months they carried burdens on their backs, and in winter, snowshoe-clad, they pulled their cargoes on sledges. Birchbark canoes were utilized on the excellent waterway system of the Great Lakes. The French considered these fragile boats to be the highest form of primitive art. The graceful vessels were usually from twenty-four to twenty-seven feet long and approximately four feet wide at the broadest point. Wyandot navigators plied their swift canoes over great expanses of open water in the upper Great Lakes and even during the bleakest days of the Iroquois onslaught of the seventeenth century they were able to conduct a profitable trade in corn.[7]

Native Religion

Primitive Wyandot religion was based on nature worship. According

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[6]W. Vernon Kinetz, The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. 18, 24; Albert Ernest Jenks, "The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes: A Study in American Primitive Economics," Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), Vol. II, p. 1055.

[7]Kinetz, The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760, pp. 45, 49-51.

to Wyandot cosmology, at the beginning of time there were upper and lower worlds. The upper or sky world was divided into two parts and contained no celestial bodies. A large tree of light was the source of illumination for the upper world. The lower world was an endless expanse of water inhabited by maritime creatures. People who resembled the Wyandots resided in the lowest level of the upper world. A man and his wife were the first individuals to experience death in order to enter the highest level of the upper world. The mythical couple were blessed with the birth of a daughter who married Hŏŏ-mä́-yōō-wä́-nĕ̆h, the ruler of the upper world. One day Hŏŏ-mä́-yōō-wä́-nĕ̆h's wife plucked and ate some flowers from the sacred tree of light. This momentary indiscretion led to her fall from the upper world. Two swans swimming on the water of the lower world observed her descent and rescued the wayward woman from the watery depths. The swans called a council of all the marine animals to decide the fate of Hŏŏ-mä́-yōō-wä́-nĕ̆h's spouse. A big turtle presided over the conclave, where it was decided to build a home for the woman. A little turtle took earth which had fallen from the roots of the tree of light and placed it on the back of the big turtle. The soil of this turtle-borne island grew into the continent of North America. Other deities called Uki appeared soon after the creation of the island, and they became the earth-bound gods of the Wyandot native religion. Some Uki, the Wyandots believed, regarded them with favor and aided them, while others brought only misery. Celestial gods such as the sun and moon appeared later, and these sky gods were always considered as helping the Wyandots. The spiritual belief of the Wyandots was based on the interaction of the gods and the story of creation. The tribal medicine men were the

liaison between the Wyandots and the spirit world.[8]

Roman Catholic Missionaries

Christianity was brought to the Wyandots by French Recollet priests who accompanied Samuel de Champlain on his exploratory expedition to North America in 1603. The Wyandots, at that time members of the Huron Confederacy, were receptive to Roman Catholicism. The determined French missionaries were successful in their quest for Wyandot converts to Catholicism. The task of saving their souls passed to the Jesuits, who continued the pioneer efforts of the Recollets. French missionaries preached to the Wyandots until the fall of New France in 1763. Roman Catholicism declined among the Wyandots after France lost her North American possessions, although a minority of the tribe remained true to the Catholic faith.[9]

Military Government

Tribal military government was a vital part of Wyandot society, for without an effective defense system the Wyandots would not have been able to survive. A military chief and a military council controlled the martial affairs of the tribe. The military chief was always a male member of the Porcupine Clan and was chosen by the mili-

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[8]William E. Connelley, "Religious Conceptions of the Modern Hurons," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-1922, Vol. XV (1923), pp. 95-102; C. A. Weslager, The Delaware Indians: A History (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), p. 66; the Wyandot story of creation and cosmology was adopted by other Indian tribes.

[9]Randall L. Buchman, "The History of the Wyandot Indians in Ohio" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1958), p. 63.

tary council. All able-bodied men of the tribe were included in the military council. Each clan chief was responsible for the military training of the young men in his clan. Prisoners of war played a significant role in Wyandot society. Captives were either adopted into the tribe or executed. The Wyandot brave responsible for a successful capture was given the option of adopting his prize or allowing the prisoner to be adopted by some other member of the tribe. When a captive was not adopted, he was forced to run the gauntlet. If he bore his hapless circumstances with courage and forbearance, there was an excellent possibility that the captive would be adopted by a Wyandot. Any display of cowardice during the ordeal meant that the prisoner would be put to death. Many white captives were adopted and intermarried into the tribe. A number of adopted whites and their descendants became influential members of the Wyandot tribe.[10]

Emigration

The emigration of the Wyandots was similar to the emigration of many other Indian tribes, but in some instances it was unusual. Few, if any, Indian tribes had a more complex migration in their history. Both myth and tradition of the Wyandots relate that they were created in the region between Saint James Bay and the coast of Labrador. Before history was recorded in North America, the Wyandots migrated south to the site where Montreal, Canada, now stands, and there they took possession of a portion of the country along the north bank of the Saint Lawrence River. When Jacques Cartier visited the Saint Lawrence

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[10]Powell, "Wyandot Government--A Short Study of Tribal Society," Smithsonian Institute Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. I, p. 89.

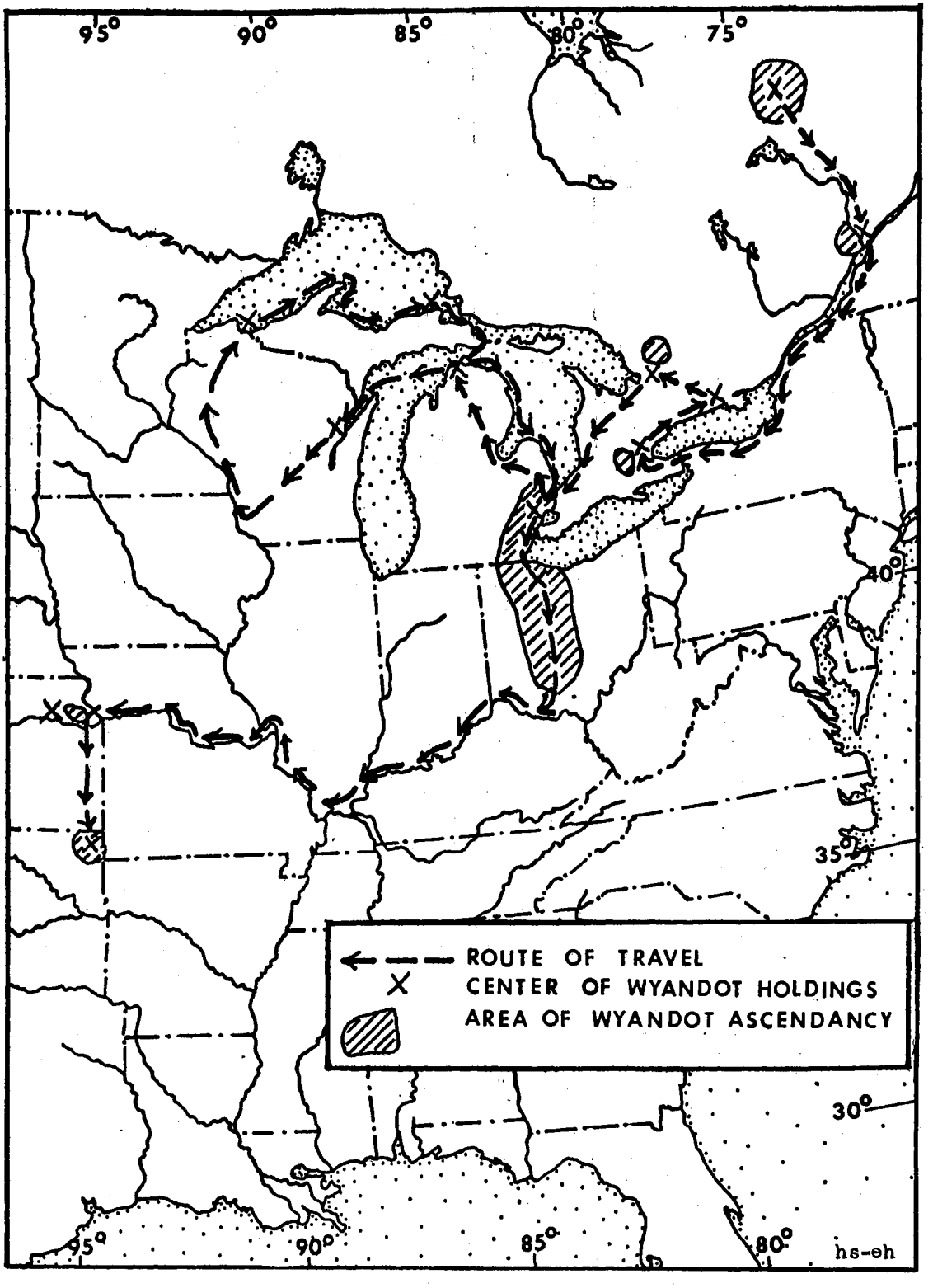

Figure 1. Route of Migration of the Wyandot Indians.

River region in 1535, Wyandots were among those Indians who met the French explorer at Hochelaga, a Seneca town.[11]

The Wyandots lived in peace along the north bank of the Saint Lawrence River for many years, but this period of tranquility was shattered when a group of Wyandot warriors fell upon a band of Seneca hunters and killed a number of their southern neighbors. The Wyandot braves wanted Seneca scalps to qualify for the privilege of taking a wife. This deadly encounter sparked a war between the Wyandots and the Senecas which lasted for more than a century. Because the Wyandots could not overcome the more powerful Senecas, their tribal leaders decided to migrate west to escape possible extermination. The entire Wyandot tribe sailed westward on the Saint Lawrence, and upon reaching Lake Ontario, followed the south shore until they came to Niagara Falls. The Wyandots remained near Niagara Falls for a few years, but their enemies, the Senecas, migrated into present western New York state, and once again the Wyandots were forced to flee.[12]

Turning north and east, the Wyandots moved to the present site of Toronto, Canada, where they called their new home Toh-roohn-toh, which means land of plenty in the Wyandot tongue. Toh-roohn-toh was still within the range of marauding Seneca war parties, and soon the land of plenty became untenable. The Wyandots journeyed northward and entered the country of the Hurons in the region between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay. Initially the Hurons did not welcome their new neighbors, but with the passage of time the Wyandots were accepted as a

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[11]Connelley, History of Kansas, Vol. I, p. 235.

[12]Ray E. Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX (1907), p. 75.

tribe in the Huron Confederacy.[13]

The Huron Confederacy contained a large number of Indians in several tribes. The population was estimated at from 60,000 to 80,000 during the first decades of the seventeenth century. The Indian tribes of the Huron Confederacy supported the French and in return they were given guns by their Gallic allies. At first these new weapons enabled the Wyandots and their allies to withstand the pressure of the Senecas and other members of the Iroquois Confederacy, but the momentary advantage of superior arms was offset by other factors. By 1641 the tribes of the Huron Confederacy were reduced to a population of 24,000 by the combined effects of war, plague, and famine. The Wyandots and the other member tribes of the Huron Confederacy were decimated and their land devastated by the summer of 1649. The depleted band of Wyandots fled northward and settled upon Mackinac Island in present northern Michigan. There they were joined by other members of the Huron Confederacy, and also by remnants of the Ottawa and Algonquin tribes who had been vanquished by the Iroquois.[14]

A second group of Indians in the Huron Confederacy escaped by fleeing northward and eastward, where they could be protected by the French. These Indians settled near Quebec, Canada, and although the

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[13]Connelley, History of Kansas, Vol. I, p. 236; Nicolas Perrot, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes, translated by Emma Helen Blair (2 vols., Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1912), Vol. II, p. 355.

[14]Kinetz, The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760, p. 18; John Nicolet, History of the Northwest in 1634, edited by C. W. Butterfield (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1969), pp. 17-19; Carl Wittke, A History of Canada (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1942), p. 14; Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, p. 77.

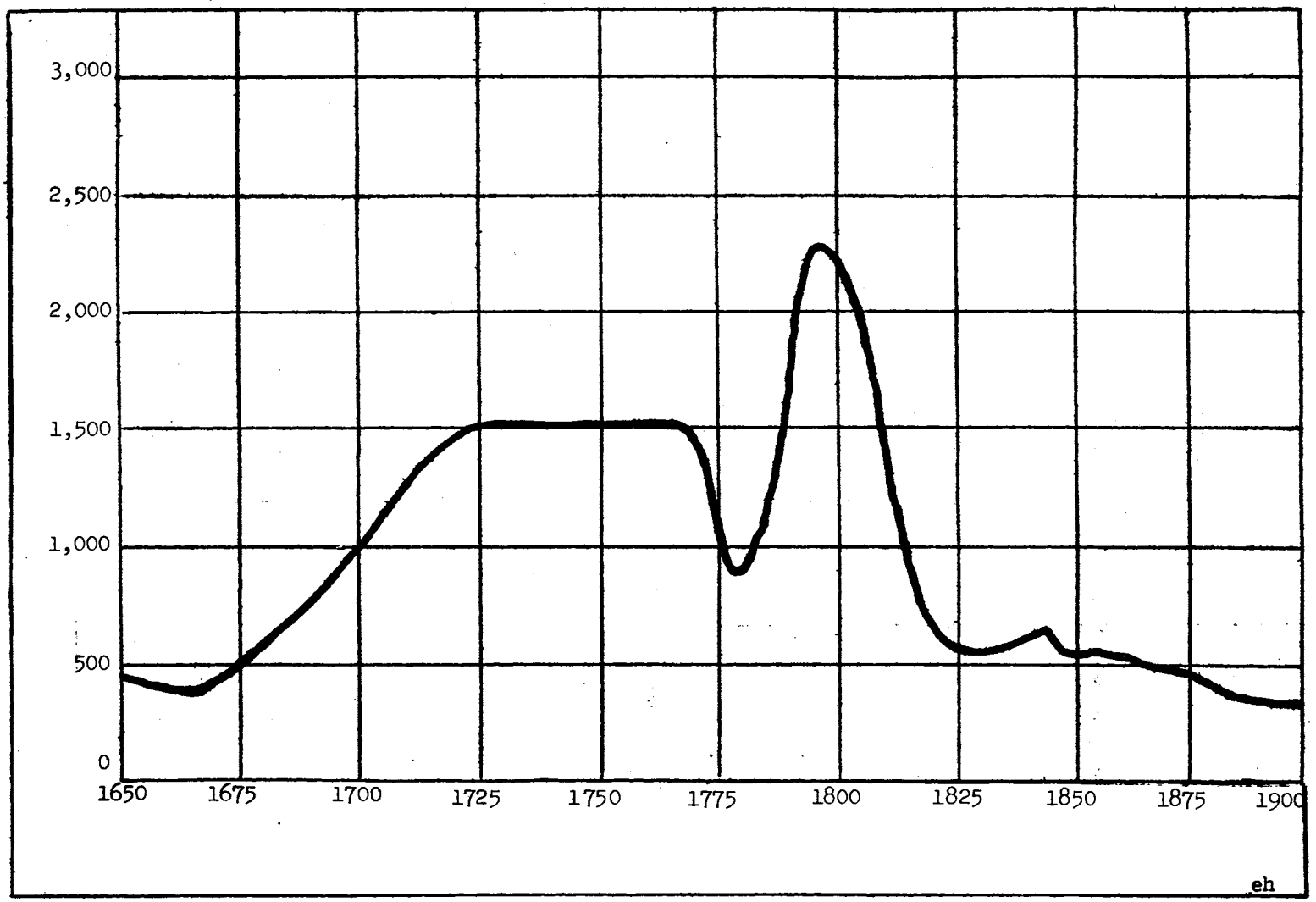

Figure 2. Population of the Wyandot Indians--1650-1900.

Iroquois attempted to exterminate them, they were able to survive. They have kept the name Huron, and their descendants remain in the Quebec region. The last census of this band, taken in 1904, showed them to number 455.[15]

The main body of Wyandots were given little respite on Mackinac Island, for within a short time the relentless Iroquois attacked them again. The Wyandots and their allies defended their new homes for a few years, but the Iroquois eventually forced them to retreat westward. The exhausted Wyandots settled next on Washington Island, formerly known as Huron Island, in Green Bay. The Iroquois would not allow the Wyandots on Washington Island to live in peace. On the approach of a superior force of Iroquois, the Wyandots retreated to the mainland of Wisconsin. The hard-pressed Indians built a fort near the Pottawatomie village of Michigan, where they withstood a siege lasting two years. At that point the military superiority of the Iroquois threatened to overwhelm the Wyandots. They prudently abandoned their fortified town and fled southwest into the Illinois country. The Wyandot tribe was not large enough to compete successfully with the Illinois Indians, so the fugitives migrated west to the Mississippi River. There they found that they were encroaching on territory claimed by the Sioux. The Sioux compelled the newcomers to leave their territory, so the Wyandots retreated north to Point Saint Espirit near the Apostle Islands in the southwestern extremity of Lake Superior.[16]

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[15]Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, Vol. II, pp. 588-590.

[16]Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, p. 17; Kinetz, The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760, p. 2.

In 1669 Father Jacques Marquette was sent by the French to take charge of the Roman Catholic Mission which had been established at Point Saint Espirit to administer to the spiritual needs of the Wyandots. Marquette estimated that the population of the tribe had been reduced to between 400 and 500 individuals. The mission was abandoned in 1671 when the Sioux forced the Wyandots to retreat from Point Saint Espirit to Mackinac Island. The French provided the harassed Indians with protection, and the Wyandots settled near the site of the modern city of Saint Ignace, Michigan. Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac encouraged the Wyandots to settle near Detroit in 1701. In 1703, Cadillac reported that only about twenty-five members of the tribe remained on Mackinac Island. The Wyandots made this journey south by moving along the western shore of Lake Huron and traveling down the Saint Clair River and along the west shore of Lake Saint Clair until they reached the haven of Detroit.[17]

The French forts in Michigan and Ohio were exposed to attack by the British and their Indian allies, so the friendly Wyandots were welcome at Detroit. Although the tribe could muster only 300 warriors from a total population of about 1,500, their presence stabilized the turbulent relations between the French and the other tribes of Michigan and Ohio. The Wyandots assumed an ascendency over the other tribes of the Old Northwest and claimed the right of sovereignty over the Ohio country between the Great Lakes and the Miami River. At first

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[17] James E. Fitting, The Archaeology of Michigan: A Guide to the Prehistory of the Great Lakes Region (Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1970), p. 200; Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, pp. 77-78.

the Wyandot village was established on the west band of the Detroit River, but in 1733 it was relocated on the east side of the river. The climate of Michigan was similar to that of other regions which had been occupied by the Wyandots. Their new homeland was heavily forested and the land was fertile. Many of the crops which had grown successfully at their former homes could also be cultivated in Michigan. The location of the Wyandots at Detroit gave them access to the Great Lakes waterway system and encouraged trade with the other tribes of the Old Northwest.[18]

The third decade of the eighteenth century saw the Wyandots reestablished in an ideal location. They were beginning to flourish and the prospects for future success were excellent. The site of their village placed them under the protective wing of a strong French fort. Their position of leadership, prestige, and respectability among the other tribes of the Old Northwest gave them new hope that their years of wandering and persecution were over. The benevolent French did not impose unacceptable restrictions on them and even looked with favor on the desire of some tribal members to relocate in the northwestern portion of the Ohio country.

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[18] Ibid., pp. 78-79; Fitting, The Archaeology of Michigan: A Guide to the Prehistory of the Great Lakes Region, pp. 200-201.

CHAPTER II

THE WYANDOTS IN OHIO, 1745-1843

Emigration to Ohio

Despite French benevolence, the initial Wyandot migration into the Ohio country was precipitated by Orontony, or Nicholas, a war chief who hated the military officials at Detroit. In addition to his personal enmity toward the French, Nicholas was able to convince a number of his fellow tribesmen of the advantages of bartering with British traders in the Ohio Valley. In an effort to obtain a larger portion of the Indian trade, the British offered merchandise at a much more reasonable rate than the French.[1]

In 1745, Nicholas led a party of Wyandots to the marsh lands of Sandusky Bay. There British agents provided him with information which fanned the flames of his desire to destroy the French. Soon the Wyandot chief began organizing a conspiracy designed to crush the French at Detroit and the other French posts in the region of the Great Lakes. The wily Indian strategist enlisted the aid of the Ottawas, Abnaki, and all the other tribes of the Old Northwest, with the exception of those Indians who resided in present Illinois. All

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[1]Randolph C. Downes, Council Fires on the Upper Ohio (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940), pp. 45-46; Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, Vol. II, p. 589.

was in readiness for a surprise attack against the French by August, 1747, but a Wyandot woman told a French Jesuit priest about the impending assault, and he alerted the military authorities.[2]

The element of surprise gone, Nicholas and his Wyandots were unable to undertake any major campaign against the French. French military superiority prevailed, and by April, 1748, the Wyandots were forced to burn their villages and palisade at Sandusky, and flee to present Indiana. Deserted by his Indian allies and convinced that he could not defeat the French, the disillusioned Wyandot chief died during the autumn of 1748. The demise of Nicholas brought to an end the first attempt by the Wyandots to lead the Indian tribes of the Ohio Valley in a military campaign.[3]

The Wyandots who had fled to Indiana with Nicholas returned to Sandusky Bay and rejoined their tribesmen who had remained loyal to the French. The reunited tribe resumed its position of ascendency in the Ohio Valley, and the neighboring Indian nations recognized them as the most influential tribe in the region. In 1751, on the invitation of the Wyandots, the Delaware tribe settled in the eastern portion of Ohio, and the Shawnee Indians also received land from the Wyandots. Although the Indians recognized the position of each tribe in the Ohio Valley, the white man was not content with the status quo.[4]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., pp. 535, 589-590; Grant Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 17.

The French and Indian War

Clashes between French and British military units in western Pennsylvania in the spring of 1754 signaled the beginning of the French and Indian War. The Indians of the Ohio Valley were drawn into the struggle, and the Wyandots served as auxilaries with the French Army throughout the conflict. On July 9, 1755, a force of 900 French, Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies ambushed a British Army unit under the command of General Edward Braddock near Fort Duquesne, Pennsylvania. Braddock was mortally wounded during the encounter, and although outnumbered two to one, the French and their Indian allies were able to inflict a serious defeat on the British. Lieutenant Colonel George Washington led the demoralized survivors of the battle to the relative safety of eastern Pennsylvania. This British disaster enabled the Wyandots to capture their first horses. The Wyandots participated in another successful campaign against Fort Pitt in Pennsylvania in 1758. The fortunes of war turned against the French in 1759, and by 1763 the French and Indian War ended with a British triumph. The French withdrew from North America in 1763, and the Wyandots were without a European ally. But the defeat of the French was not enough to convince the Wyandots that they should join the victorious British in an alliance.[5]

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[5]Weslager, The Delaware Indians: A History, pp. 221-226; Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, p. 79.

Pontiac's Rebellion

In May, 1763, Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, led the Indians of the Old Northwest on the warpath against the British. The conflict, known as Pontiac's Rebellion, found the Wyandots united with their brother tribes in an effort to drive the British from the Old Northwest. In June an Indian military expedition under Pontiac laid siege to Detroit. A British Army unit under the command of Major Henry Gladwin attempted to raise the siege. On July 29 Gladwin's troops were defeated by the Indians at Bloody Ridge, Michigan. The Wyandots displayed great courage during the battle and won high praise from their comrades. However, a number of British victories elsewhere compelled Pontiac to raise the siege of Detroit in August.[6]

Although Pontiac and his Ottawas maintained active opposition to the British until July, 1766, the Wyandots ceased hostilities in 1764. Colonel John Bradstreet led a force of British troops from Pennsylvania westward along the southern shore of Lake Erie in 1764. The objective of the expedition was to conclude peace with those Ohio Indians who desired a cessation of military action, and to punish those tribes who insisted on opposing the British. The Wyandots accepted Bradstreet's offer of peace and the chiefs of the tribe signed a treaty with the British at Presque Isle, Pennsylvania, on August 12, 1764. Approximately 200 Wyandot warriors were present when the treaty

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[6] Ibid.; James B. Finley, Life Among the Indians; or Personal Reminiscences and Historical Incidents Illustrative of Indian Life and Character (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), pp. 107-149.

was signed.[7]

The American Revolution

Anglo-Wyandot relations remained friendly from 1764 to 1775, but the revolt of the British-American colonials against their mother country in 1775 upset the delicate fabric of Indian-white relations on the Ohio frontier. Both the Americans and the British were aware of the value of good relations with the Indians in the coming struggle. The English seized the initiative during the spring of 1775 when British agents made additional arrangements with the Ohio tribes which strengthened existing treaties. Not to be outdone, on June 24, 1775, the Virginia legislature appointed six Indian commissioners, who were instructed to hold a council with the Ohio tribes. James Wood, one of the commissioners, was sent on an inspection tour of the Indian country to determine the attitude the Ohio Indians held toward the Americans, and he reported that most of the tribes in the Indian country were hostile to the American cause.[8]

The English were slow in organizing the Indians in an alliance. Although Henry Hamilton, the lieutenant governor of Detroit, exerted considerable effort to bring all the Indians of the Old Northwest into a grand alliance with England, he was never able to accomplish his mission. Initial promises made to the Indians by British agents were not fulfilled, and the Indians began to distrust the British. Half King, a Wyandot chief, tried to maintain a neutral posture while making

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[7]Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, pp. 79-80.

[8]Downes, Council Fires on the Upper Ohio, pp. 180-181.

small concessions to the United States and Great Britain. However, American reverses on the frontier were more than compensated by the victories of George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia and Vincennes in July, 1778. The brash Virginian's purposeful drive into the Old Northwest made a profound impression on Half King, and the Wyandots met Clark at Cahokia, Illinois, later in the year. The Wyandot chief was able to keep the majority of the tribe neutral throughout most of the American Revolution.[9]

Without the Wyandot tribe as the cornerstone of a great Indian alliance, the grandiose plans espoused by Hamilton were doomed to failure. The inability of the Americans to keep their commitments to the Indians led to sporadic and deadly raids against American frontier installations, but without the reluctance of the main body of the Wyandots to join in the fray, perhaps the Americans would not have been able to weather the storm. Nevertheless, the Wyandots contributed a few warriors to the British cause, but without the leadership of the principal chiefs, the effectiveness of their aid was seriously undermined. If the total Wyandot tribe had been committed to the British cause during the American Revolution, the tribe could have mustered 180 warriors. Thus the Wyandots would have presented an additional threat to American interests in the Old Northwest.[10]

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[9] Ibid., pp. 190-193, 196-197, 200-205, 224-227; Walter Havighurst, The Heartland: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 62.

[10] Downes, Council Fires on the Upper Ohio, pp. 238-241, 248-255; Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, p. 80.

Wars and Treaties with the United States

The conclusion of the American Revolution in 1783 brought a new white claimant to the Old Northwest. Throughout the series of Anglo-French wars in North America, the Ohio Indians had managed to retain their claim to the Ohio country, but officials of the new republic looked upon the Old Northwest as a fertile ground for planting new settlements. Despite its claim to the region, the United States was confronted with two factors which rendered settlement by Americans a hazardous undertaking. First, the continued presence of British officials at military posts in the Old Northwest allowed them to exert considerable influence among the Indians. Second, the unsupervised movement of American settlers into the region without prior agreements with the Indians increased the possibility of Indian-white conflict.

Recognizing the importance of paving the way for orderly settlement of the Old Northwest, on March 4, 1784, the Confederation Congress appointed five commissioners to treat with the Indians. Three of the commissioners, Richard Butler, Arthur Lee, and George Rogers Clark, met at Fort McIntosh with representatives of the Chippewa, Delaware, Ottawa, and Wyandot Indians in January, 1785. The chiefs of the assembled tribes signed the Treaty of Fort McIntosh with the American commissioners on January 21, 1785, whereby most of the Ohio country east of the Cuyahoga River and south of an east-west line extending through central Ohio was freed from Indian title. In addition, the

Indians acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States.[11]

Despite the signing of the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, the Ohio country was far from secure for American settlement. The British continued to exert influence in the area, and Joseph Brant, the chief of the Mohawk Indians, tried to promote an Indian confederacy. The winter of 1786 saw the chiefs and headmen of the Indian tribes of the Old Northwest meeting at the mouth of the Detroit River to protest the Indian policy of the United States. The Americans would not negotiate with an Indian confederacy, but preferred to make separate arrangements with each tribe. The Indians proposed that a council be held during the spring of 1787 for rectifying misunderstandings between themselves and the Americans. The spring council did not materialize, but Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, received instructions from the United States Congress on October 26, 1787, directing him to ascertain the state of Indian affairs in the Ohio country. He was to pacify the Indians by satisfying their demands whenever possible, but he was not to treat with any Indian confederations.[12]

St. Clair attempted to accomplish his difficult task, but he met with only limited success. Several letters were sent to the Indians by the governor in 1788 to suggest that a council be held at the Falls of the Muskingum River to discuss differences between the Indians and the

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[11]Worthington C. Ford, et al., eds., Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789 (34 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1937), Vol. XXVI, pp. 124, 134-135; Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, United States Senate, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 319 (5 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 6-8.

[12]William L. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant (2 vols., Albany, New York: J. Munsell, 1865), Vol. II, pp. 264-267.

United States. In his communications, St. Clair blamed the Indians for continued friction on the frontier. Responding to the governor's appeals, the Indians assembled at Fort Harmar on December 13, 1788, and entered into negotiations with the Americans, which lasted for three weeks. St. Clair succeeded in negotiating two treaties with the Indians. The first treaty was concluded with the Iroquois on January 9, 1789, while on the same day the Treaty of Fort Harmar was signed between the United States and the Ottawas, Delawares, Pottawatomies, Chippewas, Sacs, and Wyandots. By the terms of the Treaty of Fort Harmar the boundary lines between the whites and the Indians were reaffirmed. St. Clair gave the assembled tribes $6,000 worth of presents, but demanded that two Wyandots be held as hostages until all white Americans held captive by the Ohio Indians were returned to their homes. Two Wyandot villages situated on land allotted to the whites were to remain unmolested because it would have been inconvenient for the Indians to remove them.[13]

Although the Treaty of Fort Harmar allayed some of the mistrust between the Indians of the Ohio country and the white Americans, it did not encompass all the tribes of the region. The Shawnees and the Miamis remained uncommitted to the provisions of the treaty, and became the focal point for further opposition to the whites. Soon it became evident that the Indians of the Old Northwest would not honor the terms laid down at Fort Harmar. Compounding the problem, the British

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[13]Arthur St. Clair to Henry Knox, July 16, 1788, August 17, 1788, September 14, 1788, December 3 and 13, 1788, William H. Smith, ed., The St. Clair Papers (2 vols., Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), Vol. II, pp. 57-58, 81-83, 87-88, 99-100, 106; Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 18-22.

British continued to support the Indians in their efforts to defy the United States.

In 1790, a 1,500 man punitive expedition under the command of General Josiah Harmar was ordered into the Ohio country to destroy the Indian villages on the Maumee River. Harmar was able to accomplish his mission, but his command encountered an Indian ambush near the future site of Fort Wayne, Indiana. Composed primarily of raw militia, Harmar's army was no match for the seasoned warriors. Badly mauled, Harmar led the tattered remnants of his army to Fort Washington.[14]

Although the Indians won the first round of the struggle to defend their homes, the Americans were persistent. St. Clair took personal command of a second expeditionary force in 1791, with the twin objectives of reversing the repulse of his predecessor and inflicting a mortal blow on the Ohio Indians. Although the 2,000 men under his command were militia troops, St. Clair was determined that the disaster of 1790 would not be repeated. Proceeding slowly from Fort Washington toward the Miami villages, the governor's forces constructed supply bases along the route. Despite the necessity of maintaining a strong line of communication with Fort Washington, this laborious task did not appeal to the militia. Soon numerous desertions depleted St. Clair's army to the danger point. The Indians bided their time, and on November 4, 1791, a large number of warriors surprised the shrunken American Army near the future site of Fort Recovery. The Americans were utterly crushed, and soon the routed militia was streaming east

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[14]Buchman, "The History of the Wyandot Indians in Ohio," pp. 11-13.

in confusion. Before the disorganized troops could reach the safety of Fort Washington, two-thirds of the command were killed or wounded.[15]

The twin disasters suffered by Harmar and St. Clair spread gloom and terror across the frontier. The Ohio Indians, led by the Miami chief, Little Turtle, seemed to be invincible. Although depressed by the humiliating reverses dealt to his commanders, President George Washington was determined that nothing should bar the path of white American expansion into the Northwest Territory. Deliberating very carefully, Washington chose General Anthony Wayne, the battle-tested hero of Stony Point, to command a third punitive expedition into the Ohio country. Wayne was given two years to drill his troops before they would be called upon to engage the Indian veterans. The Ohio Indians were confident of another victory over the Americans, and their hopes were buoyed by English encouragement and war materiel. At this time the Wyandots were led by Chief Tarhe, or Crane. The whites gave him the nickname Crane because he was tall and slender. Born near Detroit in 1742, Chief Crane was a sagacious, veteran warrior, and an outstanding leader. Emboldened by their advantageous position, the Indian tribes of the Northwest Territory assembled in council on the banks of the Maumee River on August 13, 1793. There the representatives of the tribes determined that the Ohio River would be the boundary between the whites and the Indians, or there would be no peace on the

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[15]Finley, Life Among the Indians; or Personal Reminiscences and Historical Incidents Illustrative of Indian Life and Character, pp. 59-63; St. Clair to Knox, October 6, 1791, November 1 and 9, 1791, United States Congress, American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States (38 vols., Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832-1861), Vol. II, pp. 136-138.

frontier.[16]

The demands of the Indians did little to deter Wayne. In October, 1793, the American general led 3,600 well-trained troops out of Fort Jefferson and proceeded west for six miles, where his soldiers constructed Fort Greenville. Once the bastion was completed, Wayne dispatched a strong detachment to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, and soon the Americans built Fort Recovery on the site. Wayne's command wintered at the two forts, but with the coming of spring, Little Turtle struck the Americans at Fort Recovery. For the first time, the Indians tasted defeat and suffered severe losses. Following the Battle of Fort Recovery, Wayne marched to the site of Harmar's defeat, and there the Americans constructed Fort Defiance. Wayne ventured out from the relative safety of Fort Defiance, and on August 20, 1794, met the forces of Little Turtle. In the ensuing Battle of Fallen Timbers, the Indians were crushed. Indian losses were appalling, and the Wyandots shared the fate of their allies. The only Wyandot chief to survive the bloodbath was Crane. However, the Wyandot squaws and noncombatants had been removed to the safety of Sandusky Bay before the battle, and thus escaped the carnage of Fallen Timbers.[17]

Wayne did not undertake offensive operations during the winter, but instead concentrated on convincing the Ohio tribes that further bloodshed was futile. Crane led those Indians who favored peace with

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[16]Edward Livingston Taylor, "Monuments to Historical Indian Chiefs," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. IX (1901), p. 4; Charles A. Kent, "The Treaty of Greenville," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. X, No. 4 (January, 1918), p. 572.

[17]Ibid., pp. 572-573; Taylor, "Monuments to Historical Indian Chiefs," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. IX, pp. 5-6.

the United States, and did his utmost to convince his colleagues that further offensive action would lead to disaster. He realized that the Battle of Fallen Timbers had broken the capacity of the Indians to wage war. The Indians agreed to meet Wayne at Fort Greenville, and during July, 1794, the representatives of the tribes assembled at Wayne's headquarters.[18]

An excellent diplomat, as well as superb soldier, Wayne was able to convince the Indians that it was to their advantage to agree to a treaty with the United States. The Ohio chiefs signed the Treaty of Greenville on August 3, 1795, and Crane was the first Indian to affix his mark to the document. By the terms of the treaty, the Indians surrendered their claim to two-thirds of the territory encompassed by the future state of Ohio, and made numerous other concessions to the United States. The Treaty of Greenville marked the beginning of a period of peace in the Old Northwest, which lasted for over a decade. To compensate for the loss of most of the land in Ohio, the Wyandots were promised an annual annuity (an annuity is an amount of money payable annually or at other regular intervals) of $1,000 under Article IV of the treaty. According to a census taken by John Johnson, United States special Indian agent, in 1795, this sum would amount to forty-three cents each year for every man, woman, and child in the Wyandot tribe. In addition the treaty stipulated that $20,000 worth of trade goods would be allotted to the participating tribes.[19]

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[18]Kent, "The Treaty of Greenville," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. X, p. 574.

[19]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 39-45; Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, p. 80.

The Treaty of Greenville prepared the way for the spread of white settlement in Ohio. During the first decade following the conclusion of the treaty, the Wyandots lived in peace on their land in northwestern Ohio. However, the Ohio country was experiencing rapid changes during this period. Ohio was admitted to the Union on June 7, 1803, and the flood of white immigrants into the new state brought new pressure on the Indians to cede more of their land to the government. In addition, a stream of white New Englanders poured into the Western Reserve in northeastern Ohio. Soon the government dispatched agents to Ohio to negotiate with the Indians and to obtain further land cessions. On June 4, 1805, Charles Jouett, Commissioner for the United States, negotiated another treaty with the Indians at Fort Industry, Ohio. Representatives of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Shawnees, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, and Munsees were parties to the pact. By the terms of the treaty, the Indians surrendered all claims to nearly one-third of their land in Ohio. The Wyandots were to receive an annual annuity of $1,000 for their portion of the surrendered tract.[20]

White settlers were not satisfied with the Treaty of Fort Industry, so it served only as a temporary check on white expansion. On November 17, 1807, William Hull, governor of Michigan Territory, concluded a treaty with representatives of the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies at Detroit. By the terms of the pact, the Indians ceded more land to the government. In this transaction the Wyandots received $1,666 in money, goods, and agricultural implements, and an annual

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[20]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 77-78.

annuity of $400. The following year Hull received permission from the Indians to construct a road through their lands in northwestern Ohio. This access route was used by United States troops during the War of 1812.[21]

Tecumseh's Conspiracy

Although a majority of the Wyandots remained loyal to the government, the constant pressure of white expansion provoked other tribes of the Old Northwest to act against the whites. The Shawnee Chief Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet became the leaders of an Indian conspiracy. They were able to obtain aid from the British in Canada, and soon their representatives were trying to persuade the Ohio tribes to attack the Americans. Despite repeated offers and threats, the Wyandot chiefs Crane and Leatherlips or Sha-tey-ya-ron-yah remained loyal to the United States. Unfortunately, Leatherlips paid with his life for his loyalty. The Wyandot chief, accompanied by one brave, went on a hunting expedition in central Ohio, where he was captured by a dissident faction of Wyandots led by Round Head. Leatherlips was accused of witchcraft, and on June 1, 1810, he was executed about fifteen miles northwest of Columbus, Ohio.[22]

Crane did not waver in his support of the United States, and although the Tecumseh conspiracy increased in intensity, a majority of the Wyandots supported their principal chief. In September, 1811,

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[21] Ibid., pp. 92-95, 99-100.

[22] Taylor, "Monuments to Historical Indian Chiefs," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. IX, pp. 14-19; William L. Curry, "The Wyandot Chief, Leather Lips," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. XII (1903), pp. 30-37.

the Americans dispatched an army of 1,000 men, under the command of General William Henry Harrison, to crush Tecumseh's Indians. Harrison's objective was Tecumseh's village at the confluence of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers in Indiana. On November 6, 1811, the Americans were one mile from their objective when Harrison halted the column and set up camp for the night. Dawn brought an Indian attack which failed to dislodge the Americans. Despite heavy losses on both sides, the Americans were able to take the offensive, and on November 8, 1811, Harrison's men burned the Indian village to the ground. The Prophet lost his life at Tippecanoe, but Tecumseh was not present on the battlefield. The Shawnee chief continued to oppose the Americans in the Old Northwest.[23]

The War of 1812

The British curtailed their aid to the Indians, but the Americans living on the frontier were in no mood for peace. War finally began between the United States and Great Britain on June 18, 1812, and soon the Old Northwest was the scene of extensive military operations. The initial American campaign in the area ended in disaster when General William Hull surrendered Detroit to the British on August 16. The massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn the day before and the fall of Detroit left the Americans in a precarious position in the Old Northwest.[24]

Although there were numerous opportunities to defect to the British

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[23]Finley, Life Among the Indians; or Personal Reminiscences and Historical Incidents Illustrative of Indian Life and Character, pp. 182-208.

[24]Ibid., pp. 209-232.

in the opening days of the war, Crane steadfastly refused to break his people's treaty obligations to the United States. On June 21, 1813, Crane, at the head of about fifty chiefs and warriors, met at Columbus, Ohio, with Harrison, who had replaced Hull as commander of the United States military forces in the Old Northwest. Crane assured the American general that the Wyandots would remain true to their treaty obligations, and, if necessary, assist the United States in the war against Tecumseh and the British.[25]

Harrison was content to leave most of the fighting to white American troops, but Crane and a number of Wyandots participated in the American invasion of Ontario in 1813. These Wyandots were present at the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813. Harrison held the Wyandots in high esteem, and in his report to Secretary of War James Monroe on March 22, 1814, he stated, "the Wyandots of Sandusky have adhered to us throughout the war. Their chief, the Crane, is a venerable, intelligent and upright man."[26]

Tecumseh was killed in the Battle of the Thames, and within a few months the Indians of the Old Northwest were willing to enter into additional agreements with the United States. In June, 1814, Harrison, Lewis Cass, the governor of Michigan Territory, and Isaac Shelby were appointed Indian commissioners and instructed to confer and conclude another treaty with the Indian tribes of the Old Northwest. On July 22, 1814, at Greenville, Ohio, a treaty was arranged between the United States and the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Senecas, and Miamis.

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[25]Taylor, "Monuments to Historical Indian Chiefs," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. IX, p. 7.

[26]Ibid., p. 3.

Pre-war land boundaries were confirmed by the treaty, and the tribes agreed to aid the United States in the prosecution of the war. Crane played a significant role in the negotiations, and he was the first Indian to affix his mark to the treaty.[27]

The end of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain in 1814 brought peace to the Old Northwest. A treaty between the United States and the Wyandots, Delawares, Miamis, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Senecas, and Pottawatomies was concluded on September 8, 1815, at Spring Wells, Michigan. Those Wyandots who had supported the British in the War of 1812 were pardoned by the government and allowed to return to their homes. In addition, they were to retain their positions within the tribe prior to the war and to recover any confiscated property. The Treaty of Spring Wells brought all the Wyandots under the jurisdiction of the United States.[28]

The Wyandot Reserve

The end of the war also brought a flood of white immigrants into Ohio. The whites pressed the government to negotiate for more Indian land cessions, and soon the Wyandots were back at the bargaining table. In August, 1817, Cass and Duncan McArthur, United States Indian commissioners, met representatives of the Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Ottawas, and Chippewas at Fort Meigs at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee River. The principal negotiator for the Wyandots was Dunquad, or Half King, successor to Crane, who had

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[27] Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 105-107.

[28] Ibid., pp. 117-119.

died in 1815. The negotiations lasted seven weeks, and on September 29, 1817, a treaty was concluded. The Wyandots ceded 3,360,000 acres to the government, and received an annual annuity of $4,000. In addition, the tribe was granted a tract twelve miles square around Upper Sandusky, Ohio, and a tract one mile square to be located at the discretion of the Wyandot chiefs on Broken Sword Creek. A number of white captives who had been adopted into the Wyandot tribe, children of white-Wyandot marriages, and certain Wyandot chiefs were given private tracts of land adjacent to the Wyandot Reserve at Upper Sandusky.[29]

Two supplementary treaties which affected the Wyandots were concluded with the government at Saint Mary's, Ohio, the following year. Since the Indians complained about certain provisions in the Treaty of Fort Meigs, Cass and McArthur tried to arrange a treaty which would be more satisfactory. The first treaty, concluded on September 17, 1818, enlarged the Wyandot Reserve at Upper Sandusky by 55,680 acres and granted 16,000 additional acres to the Wyandots living at Blanchards Fork and Solomonstown. The government also gave the tribe 160 acres on the Sandusky River near the site of the future city of Fremont, Ohio. This quarter section was to be used as a camping site. The American negotiators also agreed to a $500 increase in the Wyandot annuity. Three days later, Cass negotiated a treaty with the Wyandots living in Michigan Territory. The Indians ceded about 5,000 acres of land in Michigan to the government in exchange for a reserve containing

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[29] Ibid., pp. 145-155.

4,996 acres on the south side of the Huron River in Michigan Territory.[30]

The Wyandots accepted their reserves without rancor, and soon their villages began to prosper. With each passing year the tribe adopted more of the customs of the white man. Roman Catholicism was the only Christian religion known to the Wyandots when the tribe moved to Ohio, but the fall of New France in 1763 placed them under the control of Great Britain, a Protestant country. After 1763, Catholic missionaries from Canada made occasional visits to the Wyandots, but without resident priests it was impossible to promote a viable church.[31]

The Moravians

Protestantism reached the Wyandots for the first time during the American Revolution. The Moravians sent missionaries to preach to the Wyandots from missions established along the Muskingum River. Although the Moravians professed neutrality in the war, the British suspected that the missionaries were pro-American. In 1781, personnel attached to the Moravian missions on the Muskingum River were removed to the Sandusky River, where they could be controlled. There the Moravians tried to preach to the Wyandots, but the white missionaries were not held in high esteem by the tribal chiefs. In March, 1782, Half King persuaded the British to remove the Moravians from the Sandusky River area. The disappointed missionaries were sent to Detroit, and never

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[30]Ibid., pp. 162-164.

[31]Buchman, "The History of the Wyandot Indians in Ohio," p. 63.

returned to preach to the Wyandots.[32]

The Quakers

Fourteen years passed before another Protestant sect came in contact with the Wyandots. The Quakers, meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1795, appointed George Elliott and Gerald T. Hopkins missionaries to the Delawares, Shawnees, and Wyandots. Elliott and Hopkins were instructed to visit these tribes in Ohio, and to try to establish Quaker missions among them. The two missionaries visited the Indians in 1796, but failed to accomplish their goal. Three more Friends met with Wyandot tribal officials in 1797, and although the Indians agreed to consider the Quaker proposals, no mission was established. Chief Crane sent a letter to the Society of Friends in 1799 to inquire why the missionaries had not returned to found a mission among his people. In June, 1799, a delegation of Friends arrived at Upper Sandusky to discuss the possibility of the establishment of a mission. However, the Quakers arrived too early in the year to present their plan to the Grand Council of the Wyandot tribe. The missionaries were not prepared to remain at Upper Sandusky until the Grand Council convened in the fall, and they were forced to return to Baltimore. Before they left for the east, the Quakers promised to send the Wyandots a team of horses and men to help plow, construct fences, and build houses. The Quakers never returned to Upper Sandusky, and once again the Wyandots were without American Protestant missionaries.[33]

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[32] Ibid., pp. 63-66.

[33] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

The Presbyterians

During the fall of 1800 the Presbyterians sent the Reverend Thomas E. Hughes and the Reverend James Satterfield, ministers from Virginia, to the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, and Raisin River and Brownstown, Michigan. Hughes and Satterfield spent only a brief period among the Indians before returning to Virginia, but the next year found Hughes visiting the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky. On this venture the preacher from Virginia was accompanied by the Reverend Joseph Badger, a missionary from the Western Reserve for the Missionary Society of Connecticut. The Wyandots were not responsive to the two exploratory missions.[34]

Undaunted by these reverses, the Presbyterian Church established the Western Missionary Society in 1802 to spread the gospel among the Indians and whites living on the frontier. The society sent the Reverend George M. Scott and the Reverend Alexander Matthews to visit the Wyandots in 1803. Scott returned to preach at Upper Sandusky in 1804, and Hughes in 1805.[35]

Badger, who resigned from his post with the Missionary Society of Connecticut, joined Hughes on June 14, 1805, and together they preached to the Wyandots. The two preachers were rewarded for their efforts when later in the year the Wyandot chiefs agreed to accept a permanent Presbyterian mission. Hughes and Badger forwarded the Wyandot request to the Board of Trust of the Synod of Pittsburgh of the Presbyterian Church. The Board of Trust acted favorably on the request on October

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[34]Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[35]Ibid., pp. 68-69.

3, 1805, and on February 25, 1806, Badger was employed as a missionary to the Wyandot Indians at Upper Sandusky.[36]

The Presbyterians maintained a mission in the Wyandot country for six years. Shortly after Badger and his assistant, Quintus F. Adkins, arrived at Upper Sandusky, they built a mission house. In addition to preaching the Christian Gospel, the Presbyterian missionaries dispensed what medical knowledge they possessed. A room was added to the mission, and the additional space was utilized as a school. The Indians attended Badger's school, and he was encouraged by their progress. The principal opposition to the Presbyterian missionaries came from white whiskey traders. Adkins' and Badger's missionary efforts among the Wyandots had a noticeable effect on the sale of alcoholic beverages, and the whiskey traders did everything in their power to have the mission removed. Badger resisted their challenge and succeeded in saving the mission. He remained at his post until June, 1810, when ill health forced him to resign. Badger was replaced by the Reverend William Matthews, who operated the mission until hostilities of the War of 1812 forced him to leave Ohio. The Presbyterians returned to Upper Sandusky after the war, but by then the Methodists were working among the Wyandots, so the Presbyterian missionaries moved on to preach to other Ohio tribes.[37]

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[36] Ibid., pp. 69-70.

[37] Ibid., pp. 74-76.

The Methodist Mission

The Methodists had the most humble beginning but the most lasting effect of the Protestant denominations which sent missionaries to the Wyandots. The first Methodist preacher to visit Upper Sandusky was the Reverend James Stewart, a mulatto from Powhatan County, Virginia. Because of his color Stewart encountered some opposition from his coreligionists, but in March, 1816, he was licensed as a regular minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. During November, 1816, Stewart visited the Delaware Indians on Brokensword Creek in Ohio, and there he learned that the Wyandots had no resident missionary. The young preacher began to visit the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, and to make plans for a future mission among the tribe. In 1820, he married, and the following year he was assigned by his bishop as resident missionary to the Wyandots.[38]

The mission property consisted of a hewn log cabin situated on the north bank of the Sandusky River in the Wyandot Reserve. This unpretentious structure served as a parsonage, a church, and a school. A dozen Wyandot children were placed under Stewart's care, and they were enrolled in the manual labor system established at the school. The resourceful minister tried to teach the adult members of the tribe new agricultural methods. He was instrumental in convincing the Wyandots that the plow was the best implement for breaking virgin soil. However, before his missionary activities could reach their full

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[38]Emil Schlup, "The Wyandot Mission," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. XV (1906), pp. 165-167; Buchman, "The History of the Wyandot Indians in Ohio," p. 71.

potential, Stewart's health deteriorated during the fall of 1823, and on December 17, 1823, he died at the mission at the age of thirty-seven.[39]

Although Stewart was the first Methodist Episcopal missionary to preach to the Wyandots, he did not serve alone. On August 7, 1819, the Reverend James B. Finley was appointed to the Lebanon, Ohio, District of Methodist Missions at the Ohio Methodist Annual Conference. The Wyandot Reserve was in the Lebanon District. Finley was appointed a member of a committee of three missionaries to aid the Wyandot Mission. The committee appointed James Montgomery to go to the Wyandot Mission and preach a sermon each month. However, Montgomery obtained a position with the government and did not preach to the Wyandots. Undaunted, Finley appointed Moses Henkle to fill Montgomery's post. Upon reaching Upper Sandusky, Henkle called a quarterly meeting for the mission on November 13, 1819. About sixty Wyandots, including four chiefs, were present at the conclave. The quarterly meeting marked the beginning of a viable Methodist Mission among the Wyandots.[40]

During the twenty-four years the Wyandots remained in Ohio, the Wyandot Mission continued to grow in membership and influence. Thirteen resident Methodist Episcopal missionaries, including Finley, followed Stewart and Henkle at the mission. Many Wyandots became converts to Methodism, and several members of the tribe became preachers and exhorters. The white preachers became trusted advisors

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[39]Schlup, "The Wyandot Mission," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. XV, p. 167.

[40]Ibid., pp. 168-169.

to the Wyandot chiefs, and the mission school became the educational center of the Wyandot Reserve.[41]

Indian Removal

The Wyandots were rapidly adopting the customs of the white man, but this transition did not satisfy officials of the United States government. The Wyandots were Indians, and no mere adaptation to white civilization could alter this biological fact. A likely solution to the problem of Wyandots and other Indians residing on land desired by whites would be to remove the tribes to an unoccupied land tract not coveted by the whites. Accordingly, on January 25, 1825, President James Monroe submitted a special message to the United States Congress in which he proposed to relocate Indian tribes living on land within the states and territories. The Indians were to be settled on unoccupied tracts west and north of the boundaries of the states of the United States. According to Monroe's plan, the government would pay the cost of relocation, and compensate the Indians for their property surrendered to the government with land of equal value. Monroe's Indian removal policy remained dormant for the remainder of his administration, and no new action on the question of Indian removal was initiated by his successor, John Quincy Adams.[42]

But the elevation of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1829 brought a man into the office who was committed to Indian removal.

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[41] Ibid., pp. 169-181.

[42] Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, No. 2 (April, 1957), pp. 119-120.

Old Hickory introduced his own Indian removal policy during his first inaugural address, and on May 28, 1830, after bitter debate, the Congress of the United States passed an Indian removal act authorizing the President to exchange tracts of land west of the Mississippi River for Indian reserves in settled states. The President was also empowered to assist the Indians in their removal to the trans-Mississippi West.[43]

Removal of the Northwest Indians

The Senecas were the first Indians of the Old Northwest to be persuaded to exchange their land holdings in Ohio for a reserve west of the Mississippi. The War Department appointed James B. Gardiner, an unemployed Ohio politician, to represent the United States in negotiations with the Senecas. On February 28, 1831, Gardiner concluded a treaty with the Senecas, and the War Department rewarded him for his efforts with a commission as a special Indian agent. Gardiner was instructed to negotiate treaties with each of the Ohio tribes. He was assisted on this mission by John McElvain, the Ohio Indian Agent. During July and August, Gardiner and McElvain concluded treaties with a mixed band of Senecas and Shawnees, the Shawnees, and the Ottawas.[44]

With four successful Indian treaties to his credit, Gardiner turned his attention to the Wyandots. The Wyandot chiefs did not desire to relocate in the West, but they did give some indication that

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[43] Ibid., p. 120.

[44] Ibid., pp. 120-121.

they would consider Gardiner's proposals, providing the government would defray the expense of sending a delegation of chiefs to examine the country designated for them in the West. Gardiner obtained the necessary permission from the War Department, and he authorized the chiefs to send an exploring expedition to the West.[45]

The Exploring Expedition of 1831

Six members of the tribe were chosen by the Wyandot Council to evaluate the promised land in the West. The leader of the expedition was William Walker, a quarter-blood Wyandot. Walker was a sometime chief, an expert on American Indian ethnology, a prolific writer, and the postmaster of Upper Sandusky, Ohio. In early October, Gardiner accompanied the neophyte explorers from Upper Sandusky to Cincinnati. The Wyandots boarded a steamboat at Cincinnati in late October, and began their voyage to the trans-Mississippi West.[46]

The Walker party arrived at Fort Leavenworth in late November. Five members of the delegation spent six days in the Little Platte River Valley, where they evaluated the tract which would become the Wyandot Reserve under Gardiner's proposal. Gardiner was convinced that the Wyandots would not have any serious objections to the reserve in Missouri. While the Walker party was exploring the land in Missouri, Gardiner was working diligently to conclude his business with

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[45] Ibid., p. 121.

[46] J. Orin Oliphant, ed., "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation, 1831," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 2 (August, 1947), p. 248; Lawrence E. Frazier, "William Walker and His Influence on the Wyandot Indians," manuscript article, pp. 2-3, Kansas Collection, Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library.

the Wyandots. He presumed that with good luck the delegation would return to Upper Sandusky by Christmas. Gardiner informed the Office of Indian Affairs that he proposed to employ a portion of his time in adjusting the details of a final treaty with the Wyandot chiefs.[47]

However, the Walker party did not share Gardiner's enthusiasm. The Wyandot delegation arrived in Saint Louis, and on December 15, 1831, Walker wrote his evaluation of the land on the Little Platte. The five members of the exploring party, who had actually examined the land, signed the document, and Walker submitted the report to the Wyandot chiefs upon his return to Upper Sandusky. The report began with a description of the physical characteristics of the tract. Walker noted that the proposed reserve had little timber, especially sugar maple trees, which were important in the economic life of the Wyandots in Ohio. He did not doubt that the soil was fertile, but Walker contended that the land was so steep and broken that it could not be utilized for farming, because the loose soil would suffer the ravages of erosion. He predicted that the land would not be as useful as the reserve at Upper Sandusky. Walker conceded that there were deer, bear, raccoon and other small animals on the tract, but he did not believe that these animals were present in sufficient numbers to satisfy the dietary demands of the Wyandot tribe.[48]

The white inhabitants of Missouri did not meet with Walker's

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[47] Louise Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854 (Topeka, Kansas: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), p. 209; Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation, 1831," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XV, p. 248.

[48] Ibid., pp. 253-258.

approval. He stated that they were, "with a few honorable exceptions, the most abandoned, dissolute and wicked class of people we ever saw; fugitives from justice from the States of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and other southern states, form a large portion of the population upon this frontier." An additional difficulty was that the Sac and Fox Indians had the right to occupy the proposed Wyandot Reserve for nine years. Walker also noted that the white citizens of Missouri were pressing to have the whole Platte country incorporated into their state. If the Missourians were successful, the proposed Wyandot Reserve would be within the jurisdiction of a slave state. The report stated that "slaveholders are seldom very friendly to Indians; at least they have when they have got Indians in their power, proven themselves to be the greatest and most merciless oppressors they ever met with among all the American population."[49]

Gardiner was enraged by the adverse report. He labeled Walker's account "an ingenious tissue of preconcerted misrepresentations," and stated that "the delegation never saw the country which I had proferred to them on behalf of the government." Nevertheless, the report of the Wyandot exploring delegation extinguished any chance for a treaty between the government and the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky.[50]

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[49]Ibid., p. 256; The Platte Purchase, which brought the six counties of northwest Missouri into the state, was signed by President Andrew Jackson on June 7, 1836.

[50]Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, p. 122.

The Walker-Disoway Letter

The Wyandot exploring expedition of 1831 was important in stimulating white interest in other American Indians. While in Saint Louis, Walker called upon William Clark, and during this visit he saw three Indians from the Far Northwest. Walker believed that these Indians had come to St. Louis in quest of the white man's religion. On January 19, 1833, Walker related the story of these Indians to Gabriel P. Disoway, who incorporated Walker's story in a letter to the editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald, a Methodist newspaper published in New York City. The Walker-Disoway letter was published in the March 1, 1833, edition of the newspaper, and it created an immediate sensation. Within one year the Methodist Missionary Society established a mission among the Indians of Oregon, and in 1836 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Affairs created a similar mission.[51]

The Big Spring Wyandots

The main body of the Wyandot tribe resided on the Grand Reserve, earlier known as the Wyandot Reserve, at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, but one band of Wyandots was still living along the Huron River in Michigan, and another group made their homes on the Big Spring Reserve in Crawford, Hancock, and Seneca counties in northwest Ohio. Rebuffed in his bid to obtain the Grand Reserve for the government, Gardiner turned

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[51] Oliphant, "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation, 1831," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XV, pp. 252-253; William Walker, to Gabriel P. Disoway, January 19, 1833, Wyandot Indian Collection, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

his attention to the Big Spring Wyandots. He met with the leaders of the Big Spring band and succeeded in negotiating a treaty with them on January 19, 1832. These Indians did not want to emigrate to the West, so they were given the choice of moving to the Grand Reserve, the Huron River Reserve, or join their relatives in Canada. The Big Spring Wyandots were promised $1.25 per acre for their 16,000 acre reserve and a fair compensation for their improvements.[52]

The successful conclusion of the treaty with the Big Spring Wyandots marked the end of Gardiner's contact with the Wyandot tribe. The government pressed all the Ohio tribes to remove to the West, but a majority of the Wyandots clung tenaciously to their Grand Reserve at Upper Sandusky. The tribe was split into two factions over the question of removal. The Christian Party opposed removal, while the Pagan Party was receptive to the idea.[53]

The Exploring Expedition of 1834

Another Wyandot exploring party was dispatched to the West in the spring of 1834. The expedition was dominated by members of the Christian Party, but the government exerted every effort to convince the members of the exploring party that it was to their advantage to remove to the West. Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote a letter to Shawnee Indian Agent Richard W. Cummings, on June 13, 1834, in which he stated that the Office of Indian Affairs had learned that

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[52]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 339-341.

[53]Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, pp. 122-123.

the Wyandots were enroute to the Shawnee Agency in present Johnson County, Kansas, to select a suitable location for a permanent home for the Wyandots. Herring noted that the Wyandot delegation was unfriendly to the concept of removal, and he urged Cummings to attempt to create a favorable impression on the minds of the delegates.[54]

The four Wyandot explorers arrived at the Shawnee Agency in early July, and they immediately began examining the surrounding area. The Ohio visitors worshipped at the Shawnee Methodist Mission on July 6, 1834, and one of the Wyandots delivered a sermon in the Wyandot language at the Sunday service. According to an observer, Samuel Allis, Jr., the sermon was "enterpreted [sic] by a Frenchman." Agent Cummings wrote Herring on July 13 that "the Wyandots had examined the country and were pleased with it."[55]

Negotiations to Sell the Grand Reserve

At the time the Wyandot exploring party was in the West, the government was applying pressure to the Wyandots in Ohio. On July 11, 1834, Secretary of War Lewis Cass commissioned Robert Lucas, the governor of Ohio, to negotiate with the Wyandots. Lucas began a series of conferences with the Wyandots which lasted from August 6 to October 23, 1834. He was assisted by John A. Bryan, his secretary, and John McElvain in his unsuccessful efforts to persuade the Wyandots to cede their Grand Reserve to the government and emigrate to the West. As in 1831, an adverse report presented to the Wyandot chiefs by the

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[54]Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, p. 273.

[55]Ibid.

members of the exploring expedition contributed to collapse of the negotiations. However, in his final report to the War Department, Lucas expressed his belief that a majority of the Wyandots were now willing to emigrate to the West.[56]

The first indication of a break in the stalemate came from the Indians. On January 13, 1836, William Walker, the newly elected principal chief of the Wyandots, requested a resumption of negotiations with Lucas. On March 19 Walker informed Lucas that the Wyandot chiefs were sending a delegation to Washington to obtain the approval of the President of the United States for a proposed sale of a portion of the Grand Reserve. Purdy McElvain, the new Wyandot Indian subagent, accompanied the Indians on their journey to the capital. A Wyandot delegation of Walker, John Barnett, and Peacock met with John A. Bryan who acted as negotiator for the United States. A treaty, satisfactory to both parties, was concluded at Washington on April 23, 1836.[57]

Under the terms of the treaty, the Wyandots ceded to the United States a strip of land five miles wide on the eastern boundary of the Grand Reserve, and two other tracts outside the Grand Reserve. The government agreed to sell the ceded land for the Indians, and the proceeds were to be used for internal improvements on the Wyandot Reserve. The balance of the funds realized from the land sale, after the deduction of expenses incurred by the government in selling the

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[56]Dwight L. Smith, ed., "An Unsuccessful Negotiation for Removal of the Wyandot Indians from Ohio, 1834," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, LVIII, No. 3 (July, 1949), pp. 305-331; Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, p. 123.

[57]Ibid., pp. 123-124.

three tracts, was to be divided among the members of the tribe.[58]

The money obtained from the sale of land enabled the Wyandot leaders to improve the condition of the tribe and to postpone for a few years their inevitable departure to the West. However, the Grand Reserve, a fertile tract of 109,144 acres was tempting bait to white settlers. Whites were settling on land adjacent to the Grand Reserve and exerted strong pressure on the government to obtain this land and put it on the auction block. The proximity of the Grand Reserve to white settlers brought additional difficulties to the Wyandots. In spite of strenuous efforts by Methodist preachers to stop the sale of whiskey and curb its consumption by the Wyandots, alcoholism was a serious problem within the tribe.[59]

The Pagan Party was willing to sell the Grand Reserve to the government, but the opposition of the more numerous Christian Party prevented conclusive action in 1837 and 1838. However, Congressional appropriations for negotiating with the Wyandots led to renewed efforts by government officials to secure the Grand Reserve. William A. Hunter of Sandusky, Ohio, a member of the United States House of Representatives, and N. H. Swayne of Columbus, Ohio, were active in the movement to convince the Wyandots that removal to the West was in the best

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[58]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 460-461.

[59]Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, p. 124; Beecher B. Pennington, History of the Seventh Street Methodist Church South (Kansas City, Missouri: The Buckley Publishing Company, 1915), p. 16; Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians, p. 94.

interest of the tribe.[60]

The Exploring Expeditions of 1839

The summer of 1839 saw a delegation of six Wyandots in the West evaluating land. Paying their own way, the travelers arrived at Westport, Missouri, on July 25, 1839. They examined prospective sites for a Wyandot reserve in Delaware and Shawnee lands, but the delegation could not reach a decision. Three delegates voted for removal, while three opposed emigration to the West.[61]

A second exploring expedition of seven Wyandots, led by Francis A. Hicks, arrived at Westport, Missouri, on November 7, 1839. Later in the month, the Hicks party was joined by Congressman Hunter, who carried instructions from the Wyandot chiefs. The new instructions authorized Hicks to purchase land from the Delawares and Shawnees, contingent on acceptance of the terms of the agreement by the Wyandot tribe and the United States. In December the Delawares and Shawnees agreed to sell a portion of their reserves to the Wyandots. Acting as United States commissioner, Hunter was able to conclude a preliminary treaty with the Shawnees on December 18, 1839, whereby they agreed to sell 58,000 acres of their reserve to the Wyandots for $1.50 per acre. The Delawares refused to sell any of their reserve for less than $5.00 per acre, so Hunter declined to enter into an agreement with them. The Hicks party returned to Upper Sandusky and presented the

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[60] Ibid.; Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, pp. 124-125.

[61] Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, p. 377; Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians, p. 94.

agreement with the Shawnees to the Wyandot chiefs. However, Hunter's efforts were in vain because the treaty languished in Congress for four years until it was superseded by a treaty with the Delawares.[62]

John Johnson Negotiates with the Wyandots

The victory of the Whigs in the Presidential election of 1840 brought new men into national office and renewed efforts to persuade the Wyandots to remove to the West. Congress appropriated $3,000 on March 3, 1841, for holding further negotiations with the Wyandots. On March 26, John Bell, the Secretary of War, appointed John Johnston United States commissioner, with instructions to treat with the Wyandots. Johnston, a veteran of many years of service as an Indian agent and an old friend of the Wyandots, was an excellent choice.[63]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford gave Johnston detailed instructions for his new assignment. Johnston was to obtain the Grand Reserve for the government in exchange for 320 acres of land for the head of each Wyandot family. The half sections were to be located on public domain southwest of the Missouri River. He was to offer an increase in the Wyandot annuity from $6,900 to $12,000 and to state that the government would pay the cost of removal and subsistence on the new reserve for one year. In addition, Johnston was authorized

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[62]Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, p. 386; T. Hartley Crawford to J. R. Poinsett, May 13, 1840, "Progress on a Treaty with the Wyandot Indians," United States House of Representatives, 26th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 205 (8 vols., Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1840), Vol. IV, p. 3.

[63]Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, p. 125.

to agree that the government would pay outstanding Wyandot obligations up to $10,000, excluding liquor debts.[64]

Johnston met with the Wyandots in April, and soon two major issues appeared which threatened to torpedo the negotiations. The chiefs wanted a definite location in the West before they would agree to a treaty, and there was continued opposition to removal by the Christian Party. Realizing that the deadlock could not be resolved without a fresh approach, Johnston submitted new proposals to the Indian office. He requested permission to authorize another Wyandot exploring expedition to the Delaware and Shawnee agencies, and for the right to negotiate with the Wyandots residing along the Huron River in Michigan Territory.[65]

Crawford vetoed Johnston's first request, but agreed that the Michigan Wyandots should be included in all future negotiations. Johnston returned to Upper Sandusky and offered the Wyandots an amended treaty. He proposed to increase the annuity to $13,000, secure government support for a school, and provide for the erection of a grist and saw mill on the contemplated Wyandot Reserve. Although Johnston had exceeded his instructions, the Wyandot chiefs were not satisfied with the new treaty package. The chiefs demanded an annuity of $20,000, and they still wanted to send an exploring party to the West.[66]

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., p. 126.

[66] Ibid., pp. 126-127.

The Exploring Expedition of 1841

The Wyandots did not wait for Johnston's permission before sending another expedition to the West. On June 10, 1841, Henry Jacques, Matthew R. Walker, John Sarrahas, Tall Charles, and Summandoowot left Upper Sandusky and began the long journey to Indian Territory. The five explorers traveled by stagecoach and wagon to Cincinnati, Ohio, where they boarded an Ohio River steamer bound for New Orleans, Louisiana. The Jacques party disembarked at the mouth of the Arkansas River, and there they took passage on the John Jay, a steamboat which took them to Fort Gibson. The Wyandots visited the Cherokees, and then proceeded north to the Seneca lands on the Cowskin Branch of the Neosho River. They arrived in July, and accepted the hospitality of the Senecas. The explorers renewed old acquaintances among the Senecas, and there was much feasting until Jacques and his comrades departed for Ohio. The Wyandot delegation was not impressed with the Seneca land, and after their return, the chiefs focused all their efforts on securing a suitable reserve on the land offered to the tribe by the Delawares and Shawnees.[67]

The Treaty of 1842

In July, Johnston returned to the bargaining table, and armed with new instructions from Crawford, he presented a new proposal to the chiefs. The Indians were to be offered a tract equal in size to the

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[67]Matthew R. Walker, "Journal Giving a Sympathetic Account of Some History and Customs, and Containing a Narrative of a Trip Thru Arkansas, Indian Territory and Kansas, 1841," unpublished manuscript, Kansas Collection, Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library.

Grand Reserve. From the proceeds of the sale of ceded lands in Ohio and Michigan, the United States would deduct the sums advanced to the Wyandots, and payment at $1.25 per acre for any lands granted to them in the West. From the balance of the proceeds of land sales, the United States would pay an annuity of 5 percent. Johnston refused to interject the proposition of a payment of $1.25 per acre for lands granted to the tribe in the West. Instead, he ignored this proposal, and offered the Wyandots an annuity of $15,000. On November 20, the Wyandot Council authorized the chiefs to make a treaty of cession and removal. At the same time, they lowered their demand for an annuity to $17,500. However, Johnston would not raise the figure above his $15,000 offer.[68]

In January, 1842, the Wyandots again demanded an annuity of $17,500 and the successful termination of negotiations with the Delawares and Shawnees for land in the West as primary conditions for any treaty of removal. On February 9, Johnston appealed to Crawford to yield on these points. Johnston promised not to commit the government to the Wyandot proposition to obtain land from the Delawares and Shawnees, but he saw no harm in allowing them to negotiate over the matter. In the meantime, Johnston asserted that if he were successful in concluding a treaty, he would assign the Wyandots to a temporary tract on land southwest of the Missouri River. Crawford never replied, so Johnston was forced to use his own judgment in his negotiations with the Wyandots. Over a month of hard bargaining brought a successful conclusion to the negotiations. On March 17, 1842, Princi-

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[68] Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, pp. 127-128.

pal Chief Francis A. Hicks and six other Wyandot chiefs affixed their signatures or marks to a treaty which relinquished to the United States the Grand Reserve in Ohio and the Wyandot Reserve in Michigan Territory.[69]

The Wyandots were promised a tract of 148,000 acres of public domain west of the Mississippi River, an annuity of $17,500 and $500 each year for the support of a school. The government agreed to pay the full value of all Wyandot improvements, and to pay debts owed to citizens of the United States amounting to $23,860. In addition, the United States agreed to support and provide a blacksmith and an assistant blacksmith for the Wyandot Reserve, to build a blacksmith shop and to furnish supplies necessary for its successful operation. Thirty-five members of the tribe were granted sections of land. These land parcels were called Wyandot floats because they were to be located on any land west of the Mississippi River which had been set aside for Indians, and had not already been claimed or occupied by any person or tribe. They were granted to prominent members of the tribe so that these Indians would have an additional source of wealth when they removed to the West. The government agreed to grant the tribe $10,000 to cover the cost of removal; $5,000 would be paid to the chiefs when the first Indians began their trek to the West, and the remainder would be paid upon arrival in the West. The tribal burying ground and the stone meeting house in Upper Sandusky, Ohio, were deeded to the Wyandots

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[69] Ibid., p. 128; Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 534-537.

in perpetutity.[70]

Charles Dickens, the English author, visited Upper Sandusky a month after the conclusion of the treaty, and there he met Johnston. Dickens said of the meeting:

> He gave me a moving account of their strong attachment to the familiar scenes of their infancy, and in particular to the burial places of their kindred; and of their great reluctance to leave them. He had witnessed many such removals, and always with pain, though he knew that they departed for their own good. The question whether this tribe should go or stay had been discussed among them a day or two before in a hut erected for the purpose, the logs of which still lay upon the ground before the inn. When the speaking was done, the ayes and noes were ranged on opposite sides, and every male adult voted in his turn. The moment the result was known, the minority (a large one) cheerfully yielded to the rest, and withdrew all kind of opposition. They are a fine people, but degraded and broken down. If you could see any of their men and women on a race-course in England, you would not know them from gipsies [sic].[71]

Preparations for Removal

While waiting for the United States Senate to ratify the treaty, Johnston began making preparations for the removal of the Wyandots. Charles Graham, principal blacksmith of the Wyandots, agreed to accompany the tribe on their journey to the West and to retain his position as blacksmith. A contingent of Wyandot chiefs, led by Francis A. Hicks, left Upper Sandusky in April and proceeded by stage-coach to Washington. The chiefs were accompanied by Joel Walker and

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[70] Ibid.; Homer E. Socolofsky, "Wyandot Floats," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1970), pp. 244-248.

[71] Hewson L. Peeke, "Charles Dickens in Ohio in 1842," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. XXVII (1919), p. 77; Charles Dickens, American Notes and Pictures from Italy (New York: P. F. Collier and Son, no date), pp. 213-214.

John M. Armstrong, who acted as legal advisors to the Wyandot tribe. In anticipation of favorable Senate reaction to the treaty on June 7, Crawford appointed Purdy McElvain, Wyandot subagent, caretaker of the Wyandot Subagency in Ohio. Crawford's optimism was not unfounded, and on August 17 the Senate ratified the treaty. A few minor amendments were attached to the treaty, and on September 16 the Wyandot Council accepted the amendments.[72]

The next step in the preparation of the Wyandots for removal was the appraisal of the value of their improvements in Ohio and Michigan. On November 4, 1842, Crawford appointed Moses H. Kirby and John Walker to make this evaluation. Kirby and Walker submitted an appraisal of $125,937.25 to the War Department. However, Congress had not appropriated enough money to meet this amount, so Crawford instructed McElvain to advise the Wyandots that their improvement money would not be paid until Congress made an additional appropriation.[73]

Despite the information that the government would not pay their improvement money until Congress appropriated the funds, the Wyandots continued to make preparations for their removal. On January 10, 1843, the chiefs asked Crawford to appoint George A. Heitich Wyandot Indian Agent in the West. The chiefs enlarged the blacksmith shop and hired

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[72]John Johnston to Charles Graham, April 5, 1842, and T. Hartley Crawford to Purdy McElvain, June 7, 1842, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; William Walker to Henry Clay Walker, April 23, 1842, Kansas Collection, Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library; Crawford to John C. Spencer, November 16, 1842, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States Senate, 27th Congress, 3rd Session, Executive Document Number 10 (4 vols., Washington: Thomas Allen, 1842), Vol. I, p. 378.

[73]Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, p. 131.

another blacksmith at their own expense. Graham and his assistant worked feverishly to complete preparations for removal, but they were hampered by an inadequate supply of iron and coal.[74]

In March, 1843, the Wyandots of Michigan reached Upper Sandusky and aided their Ohio brethren in preparations for removal. On June 1, McElvain informed Crawford that the Wyandots were collecting their livestock. They sold most of the hogs, cattle, household goods, and agricultural implements. The horses and a few head of cattle were retained, and the chiefs planned to send a small contingent of Wyandot drovers west with these animals. McElvain was optimistic that the tribe would be on its way by June 20. The subagent at Upper Sandusky indicated that the Wyandots intended to remove to the Shawnee reserve in the West.[75]

Removal to the West

Preparations for removal took longer than McElvain expected, but finally, on July 11, all was in readiness for the journey to the West. Early the next morning the Wyandots left Upper Sandusky and began their trek to Cincinnati. McElvain described their exodus:

> Their final departure was a scene of intense interest to all who witnessed it and called forth many expressions of deep feelings, on the part of the Indians who are leaving the land which has been to them a home for years, and altho many of them have left their nearest friends and relatives

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[74] Ibid.; Wyandot Chiefs to T. Hartley Crawford, January 10, 1843, Letters Received, Ohio Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[75] McElvain to Crawford, March 3, 1843, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; McElvain to Crawford, June 1, 1843, Letters Received, Ohio Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

> slumbering with the silent dead, with no expectation of ever again beholding their resting places, yet I believe there was not a single instance of obstinate and determined disposition to combat the wishes of the United States in regard to their removal. On the contrary, the most perfect resignation to, and acquiescence in all that has been required of them . . . has been manifested from the commencement of their preparations for leaving.[76]

A number of local newspapers commented on the journey of the Wyandots through Ohio. The Logan Gazette stated that "they present a fine speciment of nature's handiwork. The most of them are noble looking fellows, stout of limb, athletic and agile . . . among the squaws are some really beautiful women." The editor of the Gazette estimated that there were 750 Indians in the line of march. At Urbana, Henry Jacques, the principal chief, and the other chiefs, left the main party and proceeded to Columbus. There the venerable principal chief delivered a farewell speech to Wilson Shannon, the governor of Ohio, and then the chiefs rejoined the Wyandot cavalcade.[77]

On July 19, the Wyandots reached Cincinnati. The footsore travelers rested one day, and on July 21 they boarded the Nodaway and the Republic, two steamboats chartered for the voyage to the West. A woman, a child, Warpole (a chief 113 years of age), and John Hicks died before the tribe embarked on the steamers; intoxicated he fell into the Ohio River and drowned on July 20.[78]

The Nodaway and the Republic left Cincinnati on July 21 and began

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[76]McElvain to Crawford, July 12, 1843, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[77]Quoted in Ohio State Journal, July 18, 1843, p. 3.

[78]Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, p. 134; Xenia Torchlight, July 27, 1843, p. 2.

the descent of the Ohio River.[79] The Saint Louis Republican reported the Wyandots' last tribute to Ohio:

> Many of the braves were with General (William Henry) Harrison during the last war . . . . They entertained for the memory of the "White Chief" the highest veneration, as is evinced by the following affecting incident, which was related to us by Captain Claghorn, of the Nodaway: Before the boat reached North Bend (site of Harrison's tomb) the principal chief requested Captain Claghorn to have the "big gun" loaded, and as the boat neared that hallowed spot, the chiefs and braves silently gathered upon the hurricane roof, and formed in a line fronting the resting place of their departed chief. The engine was stopped and the boat was suffered to drift with the current. As they passed the tomb they all uncovered, and gently waved their hats in silence; and after the boat had passed, and the report of the cannon had died away, the chief stepped forward and in an impressive manner exlaimed, "Farewell Ohio and her Brave."[80]

For over a century the Wyandots had lived in Ohio. In the interim, they had seen three successive nations claim ownership of their homeland, and in each instance the Indians had attempted to coexist with the whites in control. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Greenville in 1794, a majority of the tribe never wavered in its support of the United States, but this allegiance was rewarded by encroachment and deceit. The large influx of white immigrants into Ohio brought the tribe to direct confrontation with white culture, but at first the Wyandots did not understand the implications of this clash with a more numerous and advanced society. Methodist missionaries were responsible for bringing the white man's civilization to Upper Sandusky. Many members of the tribe became avid pupils in the Wyandot Methodist Mission, and several attended other Methodist schools. A few Methodist-

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[79] Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXVI, p. 134.

[80] Quoted in Ohio State Journal, August 3, 1843, p. 2.

educated Wyandots became tribal leaders because they were able to comprehend that the United States would not allow the tribe to remain in Ohio indefinitely. They played a difficult role during negotiations with the government. Loyalty to the tribe was their first consideration, but they were also able to understand that in order to survive as a people it would be necessary to bend to the wishes of the government.

The Wyandots realized that removal was inevitable, and they were determined to obtain the most favorable conditions possible under existing circumstances, but certain individuals attempted to advance their personal interests securing the promise of sections of land from the government for their own use. The exploring parties were designed to secure a reserve in the West where the tribe could reestablish its society without sacrificing its civilization. In the end, the Wyandots were compelled to accept the promises of the government, and trust that in the future the United States would act in good faith.

CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WYANDOT TRIBE IN KANSAS, 1843-1850

Initial Settlement in Kansas

On July 24, 1843, the Nodaway and the Republic reached Saint Louis, Missouri, and after a brief layover, the two steamboats began their journey up the Missouri River. The steamers arrived at Westport Landing, Missouri, on July 28, and within three days the Wyandots were put ashore. The Indians set up camp west of the Missouri state line, on the right bank of the Kansas River, pitched their tents, and put up temporary shelters of poles and bark near the mouth of the Kansas River.[1]

William Walker gave a description of their settlement:

> I have been employed busily since we landed in collecting and getting under shelter my household goods . . . . My company are all about two miles above this place, some in tents, some in houses, and some under the expanded branches of the tall cottonwood trees. You cannot imagine my feeling on landing . . . and hunting a shelter for the family--faces all strange--we feel truly like strangers in a strange land.[2]

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[1] Ohio State Journal, August 3, 1843, p. 2; Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, p. 493; Lucy B. Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner (unpublished manuscript, The Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 1947), p. 1.

[2] Western Star, August 25, 1843, p. 1.

Within a week after their arrival, the Wyandot chiefs visited Richard W. Cummings, Indian agent at the Fort Leavenworth Agency. They requested him to notify the United States Office of Indian Affairs that the Wyandots had reached their new location, and to obtain the final installment of $5,000 of their removal fund. Cummings complied with their request, and notified David D. Mitchell, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Saint Louis, that the Wyandots were encamped along the Kansas River. Matthew R. Walker and other Wyandot drovers reached the campsite with the tribe's herd of horses within several weeks.[3]

Negotiations with the Shawnees

The Wyandots negotiated with the Shawnees for a tract of land on the Shawnee Reserve adjoining the western boundary of Missouri and extending south from the mouth of the Kansas River. The Wyandots complained that when the Shawnees were without a home in Ohio the Wyandots "had spread a deerskin for them to sit down upon and had given them a large tract of land." However, the Shawnees refused to sell any of their land.[4]

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[3]Richard W. Cummings to David D. Mitchell, August 8, 1843, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, p. 493.

[4]Mitchell to Crawford, August 14, 1843, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, p. 83; Agreement Between the Shawnees and the Wyandots, March 13, 1842, Kansas Collection, Kansas City, Kansas, Public Library.

Removal to the Delaware Reserve

After the failure of negotiations with the Shawnees, the Wyandots turned to the Delawares. The Delawares were willing to sell a portion of their reserve, and in October invited the Wyandots to cross the Kansas River and make their homes on the Delaware Reserve until a permanent agreement could be arranged. The Wyandots eagerly accepted the invitation, and soon the Wyandot tribe was encamped on the Delaware Reserve.[5]

The new Wyandot campsite was located on low-lying marshy land in present Wyandotte County, Kansas. There were only two houses on the tract, and these were purchased as residences by James Bigtree, one of the chiefs, and James Williams. The first new cabin was constructed by John M. Armstrong, and he and his family occupied the structure on December 10.[6]

The Kansas River separated the new Wyandot campsite from the state of Missouri, and in 1843 this natural barrier was not spanned by a bridge. While negotiating with the Delawares, the Wyandots built a ferry at the present site of the Lewis and Clark viaduct in Kansas City, Kansas. The boat used was a flat-bottomed scow, with a capacity of one team of horses and a wagon. A cable was extended across the Kansas River, and two ferrymen pulled the boat across the river with ropes. The Wyandotte (this corrupt spelling of the word Wyandot was

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[5]Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, pp. 499-500.

[6]Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner, p. 2.

used in many place names) ferry was the first public utility constructed in Kansas. Tall Charles and Jimmy Splitlog were the initial ferrymen. Charles had a reputation of disliking whites, and one white teamster commented that "he always looks as though he'd like to toss me in the river." The Wyandots traveled to Westport Landing for their mail and supplies. Members of the tribe were allowed to ride the ferry free, but whites were required to pay a toll. The Wyandot Council paid the two ferrymen $100 a year in lieu of fees lost by carrying Indians without charge. The operation of the Wyandotte ferry was a hazardous task, and on several occasions Charles and Splitlog lost the ferryboat. A few months after the initiation of operations, the scow could not be located for two weeks. The vessel was finally discovered at Missouri City, Missouri, forty miles downstream on the Missouri River. In order to bring the craft back to Wyandotte, the ferryboat had to be pulled along with ropes by men on shore.[7]

The Establishment of a Subagency and a Reserve

James Wheeler, the white Methodist Episcopal missionary at Upper Sandusky, accompanied the Wyandots on their journey to the West. During the autumn of 1843, he left several Indian preachers in charge, and returned to Ohio to make arrangements to bring his family to the proposed Wyandot Reserve in the spring. On October 24, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Crawford appointed Jonathan Phillips of Columbus, Ohio, subagent for the new Wyandot Subagency. Phillips left Columbus

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[7] Kansas City Star, September 8, 1956, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library.

on November 2, and after consultation with Superintendent Mitchell at Saint Louis, reached the Wyandot campsite in mid-November.[8]

Although the winter of 1843-1844 was mild, inadequate shelter, an unfamiliar climate, and disease contributed to more than sixty deaths among the Wyandots within six months after their arrival in Kansas. The Wyandots established a cemetery on land in present Kansas City, Kansas, and throughout the winter a steady stream of mourners paid their last respects to their departed comrades. However, Phillips contended that "little sympathy was manifested for the sick and dying. The increase of the annuity to the survivors was enlarged."[9]

The Wyandots continued to negotiate with the Delawares, and on December 14, 1843, the two tribes entered into an agreement whereby the Wyandots purchased thirty-six sections of land on the Delaware Reserve. In addition, the Delawares agreed to give the Wyandots three sections of land on the Delaware Reserve at the juncture of the Missouri and Kansas rivers. The Wyandot chiefs pledged to pay the Delawares $46,080 for the tract, $6,080 in 1844, and $4,000 annually thereafter for ten years. The land-purchase pact was not to be binding until approved

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[8] Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, pp. 493, 500, 502; Jonathan Phillips to Samuel H. Porter, November 1, 1843, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[9] Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner, pp. 1-2; Phillips to Crawford, September 16, 1844, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States House of Representatives, 28th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 2 (7 vols., Washington: Blair and Rives, 1844), Vol. I, No. 2, p. 449.

by the President of the United States.[10]

Additional Land Claims

Although the thirty-nine sections obtained from the Delawares gave the Wyandots a reserve in the West, the chiefs did not forget the government's commitment to grant the Wyandot tribe 148,000 acres of the public domain. In April, 1844, the Wyandot chiefs notified Phillips that they had chosen the promised tract. They selected an area beginning three miles south of where the western line of Missouri crossed the Great Osage River, ran due west fifteen miles, and then due north fifteen miles, or until the tract encompassed 148,000 acres. The chiefs asked the government to initiate a land survey at an early date.[11]

The 148,000 acres the Wyandots indicated they would accept could not be granted to the tribe. On May 11, Commissioner Crawford informed Thomas H. Harvey, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Saint Louis, that the proposed Wyandot Reserve had been set aside by the government for the use of the Miamis and the six Iroquois tribes of New York. He suggested that the Wyandots select another reserve in the West. The proposed site was located between the Delaware and Otoe Reserves, and west of the Kickapoo Reserve.[12]

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[10] Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, p. 1048.

[11] Wyandot Chiefs to Phillips, April 11, 1844, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[12] Crawford to Thomas H. Harvey, May 11, 1844, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States House of Representatives, 28th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 2, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 339.

The Wyandot chiefs and council met on June 12 and 26 to discuss the turn of events. The Wyandots promised Crawford that they would examine the new tract during the summer and autumn. They agreed to submit a report on their findings to the government, but the chiefs would not commit themselves to accepting the reserve.[13]

Some Wyandots believed that the 148,000 acre tract would be more satisfactory than the reserve purchased from the Delawares. James Rankin, an influential member of the tribe who had remained in Upper Sandusky because he was too ill to make the journey to the West in 1843, was the principal spokesman for those who favored the larger reserve. He contended that the thirty-nine sections purchased from the Delawares were too close to the settled areas of western Missouri. He was afraid that the Wyandots would be exposed to all the vices of the white man's civilization which had contributed to the demoralization of the tribe in Ohio. Rankin cautioned William Wilkins, the Secretary of War, that the Treaty of 1842 provided for one Wyandot Subagency, one blacksmith shop and one school, so it would not be feasible to allow the Wyandots to occupy two reserves. The question of the legality of the Wyandot-Delaware land purchase agreement remained unresolved, and the Wyandots lived in constant fear that the government would not sanction the arrangement.[14]

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[13]Phillips to Crawford, June 30, 1844, ibid., pp. 339-340.

[14]James Rankin to William Wilkins, May 12, 1844, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

The Ohio Wyandots

In addition to Rankin, a number of Wyandots remained at Upper Sandusky because many had been ill when the main body of the tribe left Ohio. They remained at Upper Sandusky until the spring of 1844, when they planned to take along some wagons which had not been completed in 1843. The Wyandot chiefs designated Joel Walker, secretary of the Wyandot Council, to act as conductor or guide for those Indians remaining in Ohio. On March 12, 1844, Walker was authorized to draw $700 from tribal funds held by the government to defray the cost of removal. After much delay, on September 15, 1844, John Caldwell, the United States dispersing agent for the Wyandots in Ohio, paid Walker $350 to cover the cost of the trip. A small band of Wyandots, including Rankin, did not join the Walker expedition of 1844, and they remained in Ohio for several years longer. They petitioned the government to give them separate annuity and improvement payments, and this request compounded the already complex relationship between the government and the Wyandots.[15]

Organizing the Wyandot Subagency

When Subagent Phillips reached the Wyandot Subagency in November, 1843, the agency had no facilities, so he lived in Westport, Missouri, and commuted. On March 11, 1844, Phillips employed Samuel Ellis a local carpenter, to build a blacksmith shop. The building, which cost

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[15]McElvain to Crawford, September 7, 1843, Henry Jacques and Wyandot Chiefs to Joel Walker, March 12, 1844, Receipt from John Caldwell, September 15, 1844, and Rankin to Crawford, May 2, 1845, ibid.

the government $197.50, was ready for occupancy by midsummer. Graham, the blacksmith, and assistant blacksmith Abraham Trager moved their tools into the new structure, but could not acquire enough supplies.[16]

A group of enterprising Wyandots constructed a store on the Wyandot Reserve in 1844. Joel Walker managed the establishment, which was housed in a two-room log building. The front room was used as a store, and the rear chamber as a meeting place for the Wyandot Council. Henry Jacques built a house on the Wyandot Reserve, but the building was not adequate for his family, so he sold the structure to the tribe for use as a residence for the Wyandot jailor. The most substantial structure on the Wyandot Reserve was William Walker's residence. Walker occupied the double hewn log house in May, 1844, and by 1848 could boast that it was the first home on the reserve to be weather-boarded and plastered.[17]

Phillips named John M. Armstrong interpreter for the tribe in 1844. Armstrong, one of the best educated members of the tribe, had been admitted to the Ohio bar in 1839. Despite Armstrong's assistance, Phillips was not able to win the confidence of a majority of the tribe. The members of the Wyandot Council sent a petition to Crawford on October 15, 1844, in which they requested that Phillips be dismissed as Wyandot subagent. The council claimed that he did not perform his duties, that he was hostile to the Wyandots, and that his refusal to

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[16]Phillips to Crawford, March 11, 1844, Harvey to Crawford, April 2 and 19, 1844, ibid.; Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, pp. 502, 523.

[17]Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner, pp. 2-3.

live on the Wyandot Reserve created additional hardships for the tribe. Additional charges leveled at Phillips resulted in his dismissal from the post of Wyandot subagent in April, 1845. Phillips' case was aired at an inconclusive hearing held at Superintendent Harvey's office in Saint Louis in July, 1845. On April 24, 1845, Crawford appointed Richard Hewitt, a physician from Ohio, subagent for the Wyandot Subagency.[18]

Phillips had been beset with a number of difficulties from the time he began his administration of the Wyandot Subagency. In addition to the task of establishing a new agency, he was plagued with natural disasters. The Wyandots were forced to live in temporary shelters during the winter of 1843-1844, and many died from disease and exposure. However, this was only the beginning of their misfortunes. The spring of 1844 was one of the wettest on record, and every stream and river in east-central Kansas overflowed its banks. The rain began during the last week of March and continued without letup until June. Superintendent Harvey tried to reach the Wyandot Reserve in June to inspect the subagency, but high water forced him to cancel his visit. The flood on the lower Kansas River reached its peak from June 13 to June 16, when all the low-lying areas on the Wyandot Reserve were under water. All the buildings along the Kansas River were swept away by the raging river. The water began to recede on June 17, but it

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[18] Ibid., p. 7; Wyandot Council to Harvey, October 15, 1844, and Testimony taken at a hearing of the Jonathan Phillips case, July 20, 1845, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Crawford to Richard Hewitt, April 24, 1845, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Barry ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, p. 569.

left a scene of disaster in its wake. Then the tribe was hit with a devastating siege of yellow fever during the summer of 1844, and many Indians succumbed to this dreaded disease.[19]

The hardships of the winter of 1843-1844, the flood, and the yellow fever epidemic left the tribe prostrate by the autumn of 1844. The Indians had planned to plant crops of corn, wheat and oats in the spring of 1844, but despite their attempts to tame the prairie without adequate agricultural implements, the enterprise failed. Hostile weather contributed to a general crop failure in Kansas, and by autumn the Wyandots were compelled to rely on their own meager resources and assistance from the government in order to survive.[20]

Despite their initial difficulties in present Kansas, the Wyandots managed to preserve their civilization. Several Wyandots had joined the Fraternal Order of Masons in Ohio, and reestablished their lodge when they reached their new location. A Wyandot lyceum was organized on December 26, 1844, and James Washington, a chief, was elected president. The members held spirited debates over such questions as "Is it right to inflict capital punishment?" "Is the mind of woman naturally inferior to that of man?" and "Has our earth a rotary motion?"[21]

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[19]Ibid., pp. 504-519; William Potts to Harvey, June 24, 1844, Letters Received, Saint Louis Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Kansas City Times, June 7, 1946, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library.

[20]Phillips to Harvey, January 17, 1844, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Harvey to Crawford, November 14, 1844, Letters Received, Saint Louis Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[21]Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, p. 493; Minutes of the Wyandot Lyceum, December 26, 1844-January 26, 1845, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The Methodist Mission

The most important institutions to reappear on the Wyandot Reserve were the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Wyandot School. When James Wheeler in the autumn of 1843 went back to Ohio to bring his family to Kansas, his Indian assistants undertook the task of reestablishing a viable Methodist Church. The Reverend Squire Greyeyes and the Reverend George I. Clark, the two Wyandot preachers, and five exhorters and nine Sunday school teachers were instrumental in establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church on the Wyandot Reserve. In February, 1844, Greyeyes proposed that the Wyandot Methodists construct a church. At this time, most of the Methodists were living in temporary shelters, and Greyeyes' plan met with some opposition from the laity. One church member reminded Greyeyes, "You have no home yourself," but the courageous preacher countered with, "I want a home for my soul first." Greyeyes' will prevailed, and the congregation constructed a hewn log church in two months. Services were held in the structure in April, although the floor was not installed until later in the spring. Wheeler arrived from Ohio with his family in May, resumed his duties as pastor, and on June 2 baptized all infants born since the preceding autumn. A two-story parsonage was completed in July, and this frame building was the Wheelers' home for two years.[22]

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[22]Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner, p. 4; Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, pp. 511-512.

Educational Facilities

In the spring of 1844, John M. Armstrong was authorized by the Wyandot Council to contract for the construction of a school house. He employed a carpenter from Liberty, Missouri, who erected a frame structure in which Armstrong began teaching in early July, 1844. When he was sent to Washington on tribal business in November, 1845, his teaching position was filled by Robert Robitaille, an educated member of the tribe, and two white teachers from the nearby Shawnee Manual Labor Mission School. Tribal business kept Armstrong in Washington and Ohio for much of the time in the late 1840's, but he did return to his teaching post for one term. His wife, Lucy B. Armstrong, a white woman and the daughter of Russell Bigelow, a missionary to the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, taught at the Wyandot School for the 1847-1848 term. The male instructors received a salary of $30 per month, the female teachers $25. The school was well attended, and became the educational center of the Wyandot community.[23]

Tribal Government

The Wyandot tribal government was a representative democracy. Each year the adult male members of the tribe met and elected a principal chief and six councilors. These men were designated as the Wyandot Council, and they alone could change the Wyandot written code of laws. In September, 1848, a legislative committee was organized to aid the

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[23]Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner, pp. 4-5.

Wyandot Council, which had to approve all legislation.[24]

Improvements in Ohio and Michigan

There were two unresolved issues between the government and the tribe: payment for improvements on Wyandot land in Ohio and Michigan, and the refusal of the United States Congress to recognize the Wyandot-Delaware land transfer agreement of December 14, 1843. The Congress appropriated $20,000 of the $125,937.25 granted to the Wyandots by the Kirby-Walker appraisal, but balked at any further appropriations. The objection, as stated by Senator Albert White, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, was that Congress thought the Kirby-Walker appraisal much too high. In February, 1844, White urged President John Tyler to appoint new appraisers to reevaluate the Wyandot improvements.[25]

In the meantime, Wyandot lands in Ohio and Michigan were exposed to the depredations of unscrupulous whites. Moses H. Kirby, a white resident of Ohio, and Abelard Guthrie, a white member of the Wyandot tribe, were employed by the government to protect Wyandot improvements at Upper Sandusky, but the large area of the Grand Reserve made effective surveillance difficult. Rankin, the spokesman for the Wyandots still in Ohio, complained to Secretary of War Wilkins in April that destruction of Wyandot property had made a new valid appraisal

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[24]Journal of the Wyandot Legislative Committee, September 27, 1848, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[25]Albert White to John Tyler, February 15, 1844, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

impossible. However, on March 29, Crawford employed John Caldwell and Samuel Waggoner, to make a second appraisal. They were joined by James Justice on April 26.[26]

The three appraisers proceeded to Michigan, and evaluated Wyandot improvements there. They did not have a plat of the tract, so they were not able to complete their task on their first visit. Despite adverse weather, they completed their appraisal at Upper Sandusky on August 30, returned to Michigan, and finished their evaluation there on September 16. The total value set for Wyandot improvements in Ohio and Michigan was $66,941, about half the earlier total. The second appraisal of the Wyandot improvements was completed one month before the government offered to sell the land on the former Wyandot reserves in Ohio and Michigan. All land parcels were purchased by December 20, 1844.[27]

On June 28, 1845, Commissioner Crawford sent $41,593,47 to Superintendent Harvey in Saint Louis, and instructed him to pay the entire sum to the Wyandots in Kansas in full satisfaction for their improvements. On July 30, Harvey informed Richard Hewitt, the Wyandot Subagent, that the Wyandot improvement funds had arrived in Saint Louis, and instructed him to come there to receive it. Hewitt was

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[26]Moses H. Kirby and Abelard Guthrie to Thomas H. Blake, February 22, 1844, Rankin to Wilkins, April 14, 1844, Crawford to John Caldwell and Samuel Waggoner, March 29, 1844, and Affidavit from James Justice, April 26, 1844, ibid.

[27]Caldwell, Waggoner, and Justice to Crawford, July 11, August 30, and September 16, 1844, James Shields to William L. Marcy, May 7, 1845, and Blake to Wilkins, December 30, 1844, ibid.; Crawford to Tyler, September 21, 1844, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States House of Representatives, 28th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 2, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 337.

told to obtain assent from the Indians to accept the sums offered by the government, and to withhold payment if the Wyandots would not waive all future claims for improvement. There were several clerical errors on the list of those Wyandots who were to receive improvement payments, including a number of deceased individuals. Nevertheless, Hewitt began making payments in September.[28]

Hewitt dispensed improvement payments totaling $15,740.12 to fifty-three members of the tribe by October 10. The remaining Wyandots in Kansas who claimed improvement sums refused to accept the amounts granted under the second appraisal. On October 10, Hewitt transferred the unpaid improvement fund to the Branch Bank of Missouri in Lexington, Missouri, and further payments in Kansas were suspended. On October 6 and 7, Joseph McCutchen, an employee of the Office of Indian Affairs, paid $2,229.69 in improvement funds to five Wyandots still living in Ohio.[29]

The Wyandot Council in November dispatched a delegation to Washinton consisting of James Washington, Henry Jacques, John W. Greyeyes, and John M. Armstrong to attempt to secure Congressional approval of

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[28]Crawford to Harvey, July 21, 1845, Harvey to Hewitt, July 30, 1845, Porter to Harvey, August 5, 1845, and Abstract of Disbursements made by Richard Hewitt, Wyandot Subagency, Quarter Ending September 30, 1845, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Harvey to Crawford, August 1, 1845, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[29]Abstract of Disbursements made by Richard Hewitt, Indian Subagent on Account of the Wyandot Indians for Improvements, 1845, and Receipt from the Captain, Steamer Archer, for Passage Westport, Missouri, to Lexington, Missouri, October 10, 1845, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Harvey to Crawford, October 13, 1845, and Receipts from George Wright, Nancy McDonald, Jonathan Pointer, Samuel Wells, and Rankin, October 6 and 7, 1845, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the Kirby-Walker evaluation. T. W. Bartley, an attorney from Columbus, Ohio, and a close friend of Armstrong, tried to persuade the Ohio Congressional delegation that there was no evidence of fraud in the Kirby-Walker appraisal.[30]

The leader of the opposition to the first appraisal was Henry St. John, a Congressman from Ohio, who represented the interests of the whites in his home district (including Wyandot County, Ohio). St. John's tenacious resistance to Congressional sanction of the Kirby-Walker appraisal prompted J. S. Dawson, a friend of Armstrong, to comment: "It is very well I am not with you for if I was old St. John would wake up in hell one of these mornings with his scalp taken and his throat cut and his hide would not hold shucks."[31]

The Indians in Kansas were impatient with the Wyandot delegation, and on February 13, 1846, they asked for a progress report. However, Washington and his colleagues were not idle. Senator David Rice Atchison of Missouri joined the Indians in their quest for justice, and on February 7 he asked William L. Marcy, the Secretary of War, why the Kirby-Walker evaluation was not valid. On February 16, the Wyandot delegation presented a memorial to Congress requesting reconsideration

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[30]Luther A. Hall to John M. Armstrong, December 13, 1845, and T. W. Bartley to Armstrong, December 19, 1845, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

[31]Joseph Chaffee to J. S. Dawson, December 22, 1845, and J. S. and C. L. Dawson to Armstrong, December 29, 1845, ibid.

of the Kirby-Walker appraisal.[32]

The Wyandot delegation was sorely pressed for funds while in Washington, and on February 20, 1846, Chief Washington drew $1,500 from the annuity payment of 1846, in order to meet expenses. The Indians sent another appeal to Congress on February 27, 1846, in which they repeated their contention that the Kirby-Walker appraisal was more valid than the Caldwell, Waggoner, and Justice evaluation. However, no action was taken by the Congress, and although Jacques and Armstrong remained in the capital, the other members of the delegation returned to Kansas. The weary emissaries reported their lack of progress to the Wyandot people in early April, 1846.[33]

The Wyandot Council convened on April 17, and granted full power of attorney to Jacques and Armstrong to continue the battle for approval of the Kirby-Walker appraisal. They instructed Jacques and Armstrong on May 18 to withdraw the Wyandot memorial of February 27, which they feared might alienate Congress.[34]

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[32]Walker to James Washington, February 13, 1846, ibid.; David Rice Atchison to Marcy, February 7, 1846, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; "Memorial of the Chiefs and Delegates of the Wyandot Indians, Praying Payment of the Value of their Improvements Ceded to the United States, February 16, 1846," United States Senate, 29th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 135 (9 vols., Washington: Ritchie and Heiss, 1846), Vol. IV, pp. 1-3.

[33]Washington to William Medill, February 20, 1846, and Chiefs and Delegates of the Wyandot Nation to the United States Congress, February 27, 1846, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Walker to Armstrong, April 10, 1846, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

[34]Wyandot Council to the United States Government, April 17, 1846, and Washington and Walker to Armstrong and Jacques, May 18, 1846, Lucy B. Armstrong Collection, Kansas State Historical Society.

Despite a concerted effort by those opposed to Congressional confirmation of the Kirby-Walker appraisal, in June the labors of Bartley, Armstrong, and Jacques began to bear fruit. An unnamed opponent of the first appraisal tried to derail the campaign waged by the Wyandot delegates by implying that Armstrong and Jacques did not have the support of the tribe. However, the spurious letter failed to sway the Congress, and by June 22 the legislators had approved the Kirby-Walker appraisal, and on June 27 President James K. Polk signed the measure.[35]

Armstrong requested on July 1, 1846, that William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, instruct Hewitt to suspend all improvement payments under the second appraisal. Medill complied with this request, and issued an order on July 2 halting all payments of Wyandot improvement funds. On August 31, he issued an order instructing Harvey to pay the Wyandots their improvement funds due under the Kirby-Walker appraisal. Superintendent Harvey left Saint Louis on September 16, and arrived at the Wyandot Reserve on September 23. He found that several Wyandot claimants were absent, and that between twenty-eight and thirty of the original claimants were deceased. However, the Wyandot Council appointed guardians for minor heirs and determined who should receive improvement funds. Harvey was satisfied with the competence of the Wyandot Council, and acceded to their wishes. He instructed Hewitt to pay improvement funds due to absent Wyandots upon

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[35]Bartley to Armstrong, June 3 and 22, 1846, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art; Wyandot Chiefs to Jacques and Armstrong, June 4, 1846, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; United States Congress, United States Statutes, 29th Congress, 1st Session, 1846, p. 31.

their return to the reserve. The improvement fund controversy had lasted over four years, but by the end of 1847 most of the claimants or their heirs had received their shares of the $125,937.25 granted under the Kirby-Walker appraisal.[36]

The Wyandot-Delaware Land Purchase Agreement

Senate approval of the Wyandot-Delaware land purchase agreement took longer than settlement of the improvement claims. The understanding between the two tribes of December 14, 1843, was submitted to the President on January 16, 1844, for his approval, but since the land transfer was a concord between two Indian tribes, Tyler did not consider himself authorized to act on it without the consent of the Senate. The Senate refused to give their assent to the transaction in a resolution of March 5, 1845. The Wyandot and Delaware chiefs met in October to discuss the turn of events, but no positive action was taken. In December, Armstrong requested Medill to send him a copy of the confirmation of the Wyandot-Delaware land purchase agreement. Armstrong was in Washington as a member of the Wyandot delegation seeking settlement of several outstanding tribal claims, and he acted as legal counsel for the tribe.[37]

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[36]Armstrong to Medill, July 1, 1846, Medill to Hewitt, July 2, 1846, Harvey to Hewitt, September 29, 1846, and Receipt from the Heirs of Cherokee Boy, December 13, 1847, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Harvey to Medill, September 28, 1846, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[37]Medill to Marcy, February 17, 1846, and Medill to Armstrong, December 16, 1845, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art; Hewitt to A. B. McGee, October 27, 1845, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

Medill recommended to Marcy on February 17, 1846, that the Wyandots and Delawares enter into a new agreement, with the United States acting as a third party. This arrangement would conform to existing government policy, and the document would be designated as a treaty. Marcy concurred and submitted the new proposal to President Polk, who approved it on February 18. Two days later, Medill notified Armstrong of the President's refusal to sanction the course of action taken by the Wyandots.[38]

The action taken by Polk was anticipated by Armstrong, but he did not want to arrange another agreement with the Delawares. He complained to Medill on February 26 that the new proposal would lead to further complications. Armstrong contended that the cost of making another concord with the Delawares would be prohibitive. The Delawares had asked for $5 per acre for their land when the second Wyandot exploring delegation of 1839 tried to buy land for a reserve, and he did not believe that the Delawares would agree to anything less in 1846. The Wyandots had constructed buildings worth $100,000 on the thirty-nine sections since 1843, and he stated that these structures would only increase the selling price. Armstrong submitted a memorial to the Senate calling for a reconsideration of the Wyandot-Delaware land transfer agreement of 1843, but it never reached the Senate floor. Senator Atchison managed to keep the original arrangement alive when he reported a joint resolution to the Senate on March 30 authorizing

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[38]Medill to Marcy, February 17, 1846, Marcy to Polk, February 18, 1846, Endorsement of Polk, February 18, 1846, and Medill to Armstrong, February 20, 1846, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

the President to sanction the 1843 agreement.[39]

In May, 1846, the Wyandots learned that Medill had informed Subagent Hewitt that even if Congress approved the concord with the Delawares, he could not be certain that the Wyandots would have a clear title to their reserve. This unwelcome information spread more gloom throughout the tribe. Many members of the Wyandot and Delaware tribes, seeking a scapegoat, blamed James Rankin and his earlier opposition for the failure of Congress to sanction the agreement. However, Rankin contended that since his protest had been addressed to former President Tyler, it had no bearing on the situation in 1846.[40]

The Wyandot and Delaware councils agreed on December 20, 1846, to allow the government to appoint a commissioner and to enter into a treaty, with the United States acting as a third party. The Delawares were willing to adhere to the stipulations of the agreement of 1843. Superintendent Harvey urged Commissioner Medill on December 29, 1846, to use his influence to expedite approval of the bargain, because he cautioned that the Wyandot Reserve had already increased in value, and with a clear title to their land, the Wyandots would advance toward civilization at a more rapid pace. However, a commissioner was not appointed by the government to arrange a treaty between the Wyandots and Delawares, and although a resolution which authorized approval of

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[39]Armstrong to Medill, February 26, 1846, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; George W. Ewing to Armstrong, March 4, 1846, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art; Congressional Globe, March 30, 1846, p. 567.

[40]Walker to Armstrong, May 21, 1846, Lucy B. Armstrong Collection, Kansas State Historical Society; Rankin to Marcy, July 20, 1846, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the December 14, 1843, agreement was passed by the Senate, it did not reach the floor of the House.[41]

T. W. Bartley, the attorney of the Wyandots, led the battle in 1847-1848 to secure Congressional approval of the Wyandot-Delaware land-purchase pact. He was apprehensive because he feared that too much pressure would alienate Congress, and the Wyandots would lose their claim to 148,000 acres of public domain. The Indians were also uneasy over the grim prospect of being left without a home. At the solicitation of the Wyandot Council, Hewitt urged Harvey in January, 1848, to use his influence to insure Congressional approval of the land-purchase concord. Agent Cummings of the Fort Leavenworth Agency informed the Wyandot Council on February 1 that the question of how to do this was still undecided. The Wyandots were depressed by Cummings' remarks, and William Walker commented that "The government is determined upon foul play upon us poor Wyandots."[42]

It took a concerted effort by Subagent Hewitt, Cummings, and Superintendent Harvey to prevent theWyandots and Delawares from sending delegations to Washington in February, 1848, to plead their case to Congress. In March, Harvey was confident that the measure would be approved, and he requested Medill to grant permission to withhold the

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[41]Richard Cummings and Hewitt to Harvey, December 20, 1846, and Harvey to Medill, December 29, 1846, Letters Received, Saint Louis Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Bartley to Armstrong, February 14, 1848, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

[42]Bartley to Armstrong, December 7, 1847, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Hewitt to Harvey, January 21, 1848, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; William E. Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III (1899), p. 229.

Wyandot semi-annual payment to the Delawares. Commissioner Medill gave his consent, and Harvey informed Hewitt that the $4,000 would be submitted to the Wyandots in the autumn which would enable them to make their yearly payment to the Delawares after the ancitipated Senate approval of the pact.[43]

On July 25, 1848, the years of labor of Wyandot representatives to secure a reserve in the West were rewarded when the Congress approved a joint resolution sanctioning the Wyandot-Delaware land purchase agreement of 1843. The only proviso attached by the Congress was that "the Wyandot Indian nation shall take no better right or interest in and to said lands than is now vested in the Delaware nation of Indians."[44]

Bartley reported the welcome information to Armstrong on July 27. He claimed credit for guiding the measure through Congress, and urged the Wyandots to press for a settlement of their claim to 148,000 acres of public domain. There was no prospect for an early settlement of their claim on the larger and yet unlocated reserve, so the Wyandots continued to pay the Delawares according to the terms of their agreement of 1843.[45]

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[43]Harvey to Medill, February 22, 1848, and Harvey to Medill, March 11, 1848, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Harvey to Hewitt, April 13, 1848, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

[44]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, p. 1048.

[45]Bartley to Armstrong, July 27, 1848, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Wyandot Chiefs to Hewitt, October 30, 1848, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

Controversy in the Methodist Church

Although the Wyandots were able to acquire a reserve from the Delawares and obtain payment for their Ohio improvements from the government, they were confronted with religious problems which threatened to destroy tribal unity. The Methodist Episcopal Church split on the slavery issue in 1845 and divided into the Methodist Episcopal Church, representing the northern membership and the Methodist Episcopal Church South, which encompassed congregations in the southern United States. The Indian missions in Kansas were placed under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Most of the Methodist Indians in other tribes accepted this decision, but the Wyandots had been introduced to Methodism by John Stewart, a free black minister, and had strong ties to the northern church. As long as James Wheeler remained as pastor of the Wyandot Mission, there was no friction within the congregation, but on May 5, 1846, the kindly missionary and his family boarded the steamboat Radnor and returned to Ohio.[46]

On May 9, the Reverend Edward T. Peery and his family occupied the Methodist parsonage. Peery came to the Wyandots from the Shawnee Mission. A leading Wyandot spokesman for the northern church, John W. Greyeyes, voiced his misgivings over Peery's appointment, because of the new minister's allegiance to the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

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[46] J. J. Lutz, "The Methodist Missions Among the Indian Tribes of Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX (1907), p. 215; Armstrong to Elliott, August 10, 1845, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 178.

The apprehensions of the northern faction were unfounded, because Peery did not attempt to force the Wyandots to take sides. He enjoyed bipartisan support in August, 1846, when he conducted a campaign to raise funds to purchase two stoves for the Wyandot Mission Church. Both Greyeyes and Subagent Hewitt, a proslavery advocate, contributed $1 apiece for the project.[47]

Peery was not satisfied with the log church constructed in 1844, so when the Wyandots received their improvement funds in October, 1846, he proposed that they build a brick church. James Big Tree, an exhorter, opposed this because he feared that the Methodist Episcopal Church South would claim the new structure. Peery overruled Big Tree's objection because he maintained that the church records were kept in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and officials of the southern church knew that a majority of the Wyandots supported the northern church. Funds were raised for the project by private subscription, and on November 1, 1847, a new brick church, fifty by thirty-five feet, complete with a basement, was occupied by the Methodist Wyandots.[48]

Despite Peery's neutrality, some members of the northern faction were afraid that if he were replaced, they would be forced to accept

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[47]Ibid., p. 181; John W. Greyeyes to Armstrong, May 2, 1846, and Pledge List for the Purchase of Two Stoves for the Wyandot Church, August 25, 1846, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art; Frazier, "William Walker and His Influence on the Wyandot Indians," p. 20.

[48]Lutz, "The Methodist Missions Among the Indian Tribes of Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, p. 215; Pennington, History of the Seventh Street Methodist Church South, pp. 25-26; James Newlee to Edward T. Peery and Gentleman of the Committee, March 3, 1847, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

a minister who supported the Methodist Episcopal Church South. On July 29, 1848, eighteen Wyandots who supported the northern church sent a petition to the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They asked for a missionary who espoused the northern Methodist philosophy. The southern faction, or those who had accepted the decision of 1845 whereby the Indian tribes of Kansas were placed under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, retaliated by sending a letter on September 8, 1848, to the Western Christian Advocate in which they presented their side of the growing controversy. This was mailed one week after a national assembly of the Wyandot tribe voted to support the Methodist Episcopal Church South to conform with the existing division between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. On September 7, the congregations were given an opportunity to accept or reject the action taken by the national assembly. No church members from either faction appeared at the voting place, so the church remained in the hands of the Indian Mission Conference which belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church South.[49]

The controversy grew in intensity until on October 29 Reverend Abraham Still, a minister of the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church visited the Wyandot Mission Church. Reverend Peery invited him to deliver a sermon, and Still preached to the assembled Wyandots. That evening the northern faction met and decided to separate from the Wyandot Mission, and sent another letter to the

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[49]Frazier, "William Walker and His Influence on the Wyandot Indians," pp. 21-23; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 260-261.

Western Christian Advocate defending their action. The Wyandot chiefs drafted a letter to Subagent Hewitt and requested that he prevent Methodist preachers from the Ohio Conference from entering the Wyandot Reserve.[50]

The two factions supported separate churches, and although there was some harassment by both sides, the situation remained relatively stable until November 28, 1848, when Reverend Peery was replaced as minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church South by his brother, the Reverend J. Thompson Peery. The northern faction was expecting a minister of their persuasion to come from Ohio. However, Subagent Hewitt tried to stop any northern preacher from coming to preach to the Methodist Wyandots by barring him from the reserve. Nevertheless, the Ohio Conference sent the Reverend James Gurley from Ohio on November 9, with instructions to proceed to the Methodist Wyandots in Kansas.[51]

On November 21, Gurley left Saint Louis, after having conferred with Superintendent Harvey about the tense religious controversy on the Wyandot Reserve and he reached Kansas on December 1. On the day of his arrival, the northern faction protested to Commissioner Medill about the ban on northern preachers. They reiterated their desire to adhere to the northern church, and emphasized their long-

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[50]Ibid., p. 268; Frazier, "William Walker and His Influence on the Wyandot Indians," pp. 25-26.

[51]Hewitt to Harvey, November 1, 1848, and M. Simpson to Medill, November 9, 1848, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 270-271.

standing loyalty to the Methodist Episcopal Church. The next day Gurley presented himself to both factions of the Methodist Church.[52]

The northern faction proposed that the two ministers would preach to a united congregation on alternate Sundays, and although the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South were agreeable, Peery vetoed the proposition. On December 21, the Wyandot Legislative Committee and the Wyandot Council decided that there should be only one Methodist church on the Wyandot Reserve and that church should be the Methodist Episcopal Church South. However, the controversy remained unresolved, and each faction maintained its own preacher. In an effort to break the stalemate, Wyandots who did not belong to either faction met on January 19, 1849, to discuss the crisis. William Walker was appointed leader of the assembly, and they decided to expel Gurley and Peery from the Wyandot Reserve. When Walker reported the decision of the assembly to the Wyandot tribe on January 30, it had been modified so as to contain only charges leveled at Gurley.[53]

On February 5, at approximately 1:00 a.m., the two sheriffs of the Wyandot tribe, accompanied by Mathew R. Walker, brother of William Walker, seized Gurley and took him to the Wyandot Subagency building. There he was confronted by Subagent Hewitt, who was intoxicated. Hewitt insulted Gurley, and ordered him to leave the Wyandot Reserve.

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[52] Ibid., p. 271; Harvey to Medill, November 22, 1848, and Squire Greyeyes and other members of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Medill, December 1, 1848, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[53] Statement by Lucy B. Armstrong, no date, Lucy B. Armstrong Collection, Kansas State Historical Society; Frazier, "William Walker and His Influence on the Wyandot Indians," pp. 29-30.

That afternoon Gurley returned to Ohio. The next day Hewitt defended his actions in a letter to Superintendent Harvey, in which he maintained that as long as Gurley remained on the Wyandot Reserve there would be no peace. Harvey denied having any part in Gurley's removal. He took a neutral stance in the church controversy and awaited further orders from Commissioner Medill. The northern faction of the Wyandot Methodists continued to hold services, with Squire Greyeyes and George I. Clark serving as preachers.[54]

The removal of Gurley was discussed at the annual meeting of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in April, 1849, at Newark, New Jersey. The bishops instructed Bishop Thomas A. Morris of the Ohio Conference to draft a memorial to Thomas Ewing, the Secretary of the Interior. Morris stated the facts of Gurley's removal in his memorial and submitted it to Ewing. On May 29, Hewitt was dismissed from his post as Wyandot subagent.[55]

On August 31, Peery left the Wyandot Reserve, and was replaced by the Reverend B. H. Russell. The Reverend Thomas B. Markham was assigned to serve the Wyandot members of the Methodist Episcopal

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[54]Ibid., pp. 30-31; Statement by Lucy B. Armstrong, no date, Lucy B. Armstrong Collection, Kansas State Historical Society; Hewitt to Harvey, February 6, 1849, and Harvey to Medill, February 21, 1849, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; James Gurley to Armstrong, March 27, 1849, and Abraham Still to Armstrong, March 21, 1849, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

[55]Lutz, "The Methodist Missions Among the Indian Tribes of Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, pp. 220-221; Thomas Moseley, Jr., to Medill, May 30, 1849, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives. The Department of the Interior was established on March 3, 1849, and the Office of Indian Affairs was placed under its jurisdiction.

Church in August, and he arrived soon after October 4. In the autumn of 1849, the members of the northern faction erected a log church near the site of the Quindaro Cemetery in present Kansas City, Kansas.[56]

The Mexican War

The religious controversy provided much excitement on the Wyandot Reserve, but at the same time the Indians were caught up in the martial fever which swept over the western border of Missouri during the Mexican War. The United States Congress declared war on Mexico on May 11, 1846, and the news of this turn of events reached the Wyandots in early June. William Walker commented on June 6 that "Our frontier is all in commotion. Volunteers preparing and organizing, drilling and equipping themselves to march over the hills and far away to the Mexican frontier to reap laurels of renown. The worst of all is our government is at fault." The Wyandots were prohibited from joining the United States military forces by a directive of May 14, 1846, issued by acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Samuel Haines Porter. Fearing that they would support the Mexicans, the Wyandots were instructed to remain neutral.[57]

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[56] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 297; Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, pp. 884, 907; Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner, p. 4.

[57] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 186; Porter to Superintendents, Indian Agents, and Sub-Agents, May 14, 1846, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

Nevertheless, Isaiah Walker joined Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan's regiment of Missouri volunteers and accompanied Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearney's "Army of the West" on its successful invasion of Mexico from August, 1846, to January, 1847. He returned to the Wyandot Reserve in June, 1847. Several other Wyandots served under General Winfield Scott in 1847 and 1848. These volunteers left the Wyandot Reserve on May 14, 1847, aboard the steamboat Amelia, arrived at Vera Cruz, Mexico, on March 11, 1848, and soon were fighting their way to Mexico City. The Wyandot troops in central Mexico were accompanied by Abelard Guthrie, a white member of the tribe, who kept a diary of their adventures. The victorious warriors from Scott's command, led by Joel Walker, returned to the Wyandot Reserve on August 9, 1848.[58]

John T. Walker, a Wyandot, was a member of the United States Navy during the Mexican War. A graduate of the United States Naval Academy, he was commissioned in 1847. Walker served in the navy for nine years, and advanced to the rank of lieutenant. On November 25, 1856, his body was discovered in a New York City hotel room, a suicide. He was the first Wyandot to be commissioned an officer in the United States military service.[59]

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[58]Harvey to Medill, September 28, 1846, and July 1, 1847, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 107-111, 211, 256.

[59]W. W. Jeffries, United States Naval Academy Archivist, to the author, May 5, 1972; Records of Officers, Record Group No. 24 and No. 45, Bureau of Naval Personnel, National Archives; New York Times, November 26, 1856, p. 4.

The Gold Rush

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 also had an influence on the Wyandot tribe. The spring of 1849 saw hordes of gold seekers passing through Independence, Missouri, on their way to the gold fields. Several Wyandots formed a joint-stock mining company, and on April 20, 1849, they began to prepare for the long journey to California. On May 31, the members of the Wyandot Mining Company set out for the gold mines by way of the Oregon-California trail. The argonauts were a mixed band of Wyandots and white men. The Indians were Theodore F. Garrett (Captain), Irvin P. Long, Matthew Brown, Charles B. Garrett, Phillip Brown, Adam Hunt, R. Palmer, and Russell Garrett. Their white comrades were William Bowers, William Lynville (William Walker's substitute), Ira Hunter (assistant blacksmith at the Wyandot blacksmith shop), and Dr. E. B. Hand.[60]

William Walker reported that the company reached Fort Laramie on June 20. They were attacked by cholera on the plains, and although all members of the party were stricken with the disease, Dr. Hand was able to nurse them back to health. They were forced to abandon one of their wagons because, according to Walker, the vehicle was "unmountain-worthy." The argonauts had to dispose of 500 pounds of bacon, but they were able to hunt buffalo, so their meat supply was adequate. A few of their horses were stolen by a party of Sioux Indians, but four Wyandots pursued the thieves until they reached an encampment of 300

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[60] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 288-290.

Sioux. The four trackers, Walker related, "marched boldly into the encampment, announced their national name Wyandot, took possession of their animals and marched off without even returning thanks." The Sioux were impressed with the audacity of the Wyandots, and allowed them to recover their horses.[61]

The Wyandots arrived in California in October, 1849, and began mining operations near Lassen Lake. Their yield of gold the first year was quite substantial. Hunter was sorely missed by Charles Graham, because he could not find anyone willing to assist him in the blacksmith shop. Richard, a slave owned by the blacksmith, assisted his master in the shop, and Graham received the monthly salary paid to Richard by the government.[62]

A second contingent of Wyandots, led by Abelard Guthrie, departed for the California gold fields on May 15, 1850. After an arduous journey of six months, the little band of Wyandot miners reached the Feather River. Their richest strike was located near Wyandotte, in present Butte County, California. The news of their success reached other miners in California, and soon over 200 argonauts were prospect-

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[61]Fragment of a draft of a letter by William Walker, 1849, Kansas Collection, Kansas City, Kansas Public Library. William Walker always spelled Wyandot as Wyandott.

[62]George Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, eds., Gold Rush: The Journals Drawings and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 210; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 306; Walker to Moseley, September 13, 1849, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

ing near the Wyandot diggings.[63]

The Slavery Issue

Richard was not the only slave who lived on the Wyandot Reserve. William Walker bought several slaves, and other prominent Wyandots owned slaves. Many Wyandots, especially those who were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, were vehemently opposed to the introduction of slavery into the Wyandot tribe. In 1848, George I. Clark, a leading spokesman for those Wyandots opposed to slavery, stated: "Let us hold on in our opposition to the slavepower and in fifty years we will be proud of it." On October 27, 1848, a committee of nine Wyandot leaders petitioned Congress to enforce the prohibition against slavery in Kansas. Despite the efforts of the members of the anti-slavery faction in the Wyandot tribe, there were a few slaves on the Wyandot Reserve until the Civil War. There were also free blacks among the Wyandots. George Wright, an educated free black, and his family were adopted members of the Wyandot tribe.[64]

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[63] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 111, 307; Read and Gaines, Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff, p. 667.

[64] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 194-195; F. G. Adams, "Report on the Wyandottes," no date, Wyandot Indian Collection, Kansas State Historical Society; James Whitewing and members of the Wyandot anti-slavery faction to the American Congress, October 27, 1848, Lucy B. Armstrong Collection, Kansas State Historical Society; George Wright to Orlando Brown, September 18, 1849, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

The Sale of Alcoholic Beverages

The location of the Wyandot Reserve put the Indians at the mercy of white whiskey traders from Missouri. Whites were prohibited from selling alcoholic beverages to the Wyandots, but the Indians could not testify against violators of the laws in the courts of Missouri. The Missourians did not believe that testimony by an Indian was reliable. In 1846, Subagent Hewitt found that it was impossible for him to prevent whites from bringing whiskey to the Wyandot Reserve, because he could not find white men who were willing to testify against the traders. The Indians organized a temperance society to combat the problem, and on October 20, 1847, Hewitt reported to Superintendent Harvey that forty members of the tribe had taken the cold water pledge. The United States Congress passed a law on March 3, 1847, which allowed competent Indians to testify in court in cases concerning the sale of liquor to the Indians, but the problem of intoxication remained a primary concern of Wyandot tribal leaders.[65]

The Administration of Richard Hewitt

Intoxicated Indians, religious controversies, and slavery were merely a few of the problems confronting Richard Hewitt during his

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[65]Hewitt to Harvey, October 9, 1846, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States House of Representatives, 29th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 4 (4 vols., Washington: Ritchie and Heiss, 1846), Vol. I, p. 302; Hewitt to Harvey, October 20, 1847, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 1 (8 vols., Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1847), Vol. I, pp. 873-874; Medill to Hewitt, April 19, 1847, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

tenure as Wyandot subagent. Before he and his family could leave Ohio for his post in Kansas, Hewitt was forced to borrow $200.57 in order to pay for their passage. Richard and Hannah Hewitt and their six children had arrived at the Wyandot Reserve on June 7, 1845. There was no subagency house on the reserve and Subagent Phillips had taken all the subagency records with him to Ohio. Hewitt tried to find a residence, and on July 17 reported to Harvey that he could obtain a partially completed log cabin for $1,400. While he waited for instructions from Superintendent Harvey, the Hewitt family lived in a house rented from James Washington and William Walker. However, Harvey did not believe that the government should build a residence for the subagent, because the Wyandot-Delaware land purchase agreement for 1843 had not yet been sanctioned by the Congress.[66]

Hewitt retained Graham as blacksmith, and John M. Armstrong as interpreter, replacing assistant blacksmith Patrick McShaffery with Ira Hunter on January 9, 1846. The hard labor and low salary of an assistant blacksmith were not sufficient inducements to keep men at this post on the frontier where wages were high. The blacksmiths lived in houses rented by the government, but the interpreter was

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[66]John Cummings to Crawford, May 21, 1845, Hewitt to Harvey, July 17, 1845, and Harvey to Crawford, July 21, 1845, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Receipt from Washington and Walker, September 24, 1845, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 158.

required to provide his own residence.[67]

One of the principal tasks of the subagent was supervision of annuity payments held at the Wyandot Subagency. Hewitt would go to Saint Louis and obtain funds from the office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, due the Wyandots, and then return by steamboat to the Wyandot Reserve. At the annuity payment of September, 1845, which took several days to complete, the Wyandots consumed 1,200 pounds of beef, five barrels of flour, and one sack of salt, all purchased with tribal funds. The Indians experienced many difficulties at annuity payment gatherings. Before a Wyandot received any portion of his share of the annuity funds, all his debts or alleged debts were deducted. Since many Indians were illiterate, they were at the mercy of their subagent and unscrupulous white merchants. In August, 1846, a dissident faction of Wyandots protested Hewitt's conduct as subagent, especially during annuity payments, but a majority of the tribe supported him. Superintendent Harvey supported Hewitt, so the Wyandot subagent was able to survive this challenge to his authority.[68]

The following spring Hewitt was involved in another controversy

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[67]Hewitt to Patrick McShaffery, September 30, 1845, Hewitt to Armstrong, September 30, 1845, and Harvey to Hewitt, January 9, 1846, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Hewitt to Isaac Zane, Jr., February 9, 1846, and Hewitt to Harvey, June 2, 1846, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[68]Receipt from Henry Shields, August 27, 1845, Receipt from Barnam and Moreland, August 27, 1845, and Receipt from Washington, September 17, 1845, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Abelard Guthrie to Medill, December 22, 1846, Francis A. Hicks to Harvey, August 27, 1846, and Harvey to Medill, September 3, 1846, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

which threatened his position. On March 12, 1847, he reported to Harvey that Graham had indicated that he might resign from the public service in the autumn. Hewitt noted that he could hire Isaac Munday, the blacksmith at the Delaware Agency, to fill Graham's position. Graham had supported the allegations leveled at Hewitt by the dissident faction of the Wyandots, and the subagent charged him with showing too much interest in tribal affairs. On May 3, Commissioner Medill approved hiring Munday as blacksmith for the Wyandot Subagency. The Wyandot chiefs protested to Superintendent Harvey in June, asking that Graham be retained as blacksmith. On June 21, Harvey instructed Hewitt to hold Munday's appointment in abeyance, and Graham was able to keep his post.[69]

Other than incursions into the Wyandot Reserve by whiskey traders and the approval by Congress of the Wyandot-Delaware land purchase agreement in 1848, Hewitt was occupied with routine duties for the next year and one-half. But the controversy between the two Methodist factions forced him to take sides. Perhaps recognizing that his delicate position between the opposing factions could lead to disaster, Hewitt requested that he be relieved of his position. The Wyandot chiefs and legislative committee recommended to President Polk on December 20, 1848, that Hewitt be appointed to a government position in present California. On January 6, 1849, Superintendent Harvey

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[69]Hewitt to Harvey, March 12, 1847, Medill to Harvey, May 3, 1847, Wyandot Chiefs to Harvey, June 12, 1847, and Harvey to Hewitt, June 21, 1847, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Harvey to Medill, April 21, 1847, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

seconded the recommendation, and stated that Hewitt was a faithful and judicious officer in whom he placed the utmost confidence.[70]

The expulsion of the Reverend James Gurley by Hewitt on February 5 led to his removal as Wyandot subagent on May 29, 1849. Hewitt performed his duties to the last. On May 28 he informed David D. Mitchell, the new Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, that he had located a suitable residence for the Wyandot subagent, and that the government could purchase the building for $1,500. Despite Harvey's confidence in Hewitt, the subagent could not account for $828.09 in Wyandot funds when Thomas Moseley, Jr., his successor, reached Kansas.[71]

The Administration of Thomas Moseley, Jr.

On July 7, 1849, Moseley arrived to assume his dutes as Wyandot subagent, and Hewitt left the Wyandot Reserve on July 15. Moseley reached Kansas in the midst of a cholera epidemic. Twenty lives had been claimed by this dread disease in ten days at Kansas, Missouri (present Kansas City, Missouri), and four Wyandots had succumbed to the disease. He did not want to bring his family to the Wyandot Subagency from Sarcoxie, Missouri, until the epidemic subsided, or until the government provided him with a suitable residence. Moseley reported that the subagency house had two partially completed rooms and one fireplace. There was no kitchen in the building, nor were there any toilet

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[70]Wyandot Chiefs and Legislative Committee to Polk, December 20, 1848, and Harvey to J. S. Phelps, January 6, 1849, ibid.

[71]Moseley to Medill, May 30, 1849, ibid.; Hewitt to David D. Mitchell, May 28, 1849, and Brown to Mitchell, December 1, 1849, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

facilities available.[72]

The problems confronting Moseley were compounded by the shortage in the subagency funds, and many of the subagency records were missing. He retained William Walker as interpreter (appointed March 31, 1849), and Graham as blacksmith, and on August 30 appointed Guilford D. Hurt as assistant blacksmith. On October 8, Moseley purchased a three-room house for $1,000, subject to approval by the government, from Joel Walker for the subagency residence. Moseley made an agreement on November 9 to purchase two houses from Robert Robitaille and Isaac Zane, Jr., as residences for the blacksmith and his assistant. These structures were bought and were repaired at a cost of $900. During the summer of 1850, Moseley employed Daniel Edginton, a local carpenter, to make additional improvements on the three buildings, which cost the government $139.82.[73]

Moseley was frequently called upon to defend the Wyandots from the greed of dishonest whites. Periodically horse thieves from Missouri slipped across the border and took animals from the Wyandots, and occasionally Indians were murdered by whites in drunken brawls. Moseley

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[72]Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 292-293; Moseley to Mitchell, July 12, 1849, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Moseley to Mitchell, July 18, 1849, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[73]Statement by Walker, September 12, 1849, Statement of Persons Employed at the Wyandot Subagency, September 30, 1849, Moseley to Mitchell, October 8, 1849, Deeds from Robert Robitaille and Zane, November 9, 1849, Mitchell to Brown, December 10, 1849, Mitchell to Moseley, June 13, 1850, and Bill from Daniel Edginton, August 13, 1850, ibid.; Mitchell to Moseley, January 8, 1850, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

usually testified on the Indians' behalf in these cases.[74]

Despite Moseley's efforts, a few Wyandots did not think that he performed the duties of his office. In June, 1850, a group of dissatisfied Wyandots, led by John M. Armstrong, protested Moseley's conduct to Orlando Brown, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. They accused Moseley of ineptitude, failure to perform his duties at the annuity payments, using profane language, and favoring white traders. However, the Wyandot chiefs refuted these charges on August 8 to Luke Lea, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and attributed the protest to personal animosity toward Moseley. Despite this controversy, Moseley was able to retain his position.[75]

The Treaty of 1850

When the Congress approved the purchase of the Wyandot Reserve from the Delawares in 1848, the Wyandots were still pressing for a settlement of their claim to 148,000 acres of public domain. On February 11, 1846, T. W. Bartley, the Wyandot legal counsel, had agreed to prosecute their claim for the land or a monetary settlement, in return for 20 percent of whatever could be recovered from the government. Bartley was instructed by the Wyandot chiefs to insist on $1.25 an acre, and under no circumstances to agree to less than $1.00 an acre.[76]

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[74]Statements by Moseley, February 25, 1850, and December 12, 1850, ibid.

[75]Armstrong, John Lewis, David Young, and John Arms to Brown, June, 1850, and Wyandot Chiefs to Luke Lea, August 8, 1850, ibid.

[76]Washington, Jacques, and Greyeyes to Bartley, February 11, 1846, ibid.

As long as the Wyandot-Delaware land purchase agreement remained unconfirmed by the Congress, the Wyandots had concentrated their efforts on securing its sanction. But when they obtained their reserve from the Delawares, they turned their undivided attention to the settlement of their claim to 148,000 acres of public domain. They quickly sent a delegation of Francis A. Hicks and George I. Clark, chiefs, and Joel Walker, secretary to the Wyandot Council, to Washington in November, 1849, to assist Bartley in his prosecution of their claim. Bartley was informed of their impending visit in December, and he prepared to meet the delegation in Washington. On January 26, 1850, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Brown informed the delegates that they could not secure a monetary consideration for their claim without a new treaty. In February, Judge N. L. Read, of Ohio, joined the Wyandot delegation in the prosecution of their claim. He also agreed to aid them in return for 20 percent of whatever the tribe could obtain from the government. A new treaty was submitted by all parties concerned to Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ewing on March 6, and by the end of March the Wyandot delegates suspended all efforts to prosecute their claim under the treaty of March 17, 1842.[77]

Under the new treaty, concluded between the Wyandot delegation and the government on April 1, 1850, the government agreed to pay the Wyandots $185,000 for their claim on 148,000 acres of public domain,

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[77]Moseley to Brown, November 18, 1849, Bartley to Armstrong, December 24, 1849, Brown to Hicks, George I. Clark, and Joel Walker, January 26, 1850, N. C. Read to Brown, February 15, 1850, Brown to Thomas Ewing, March 6, 1850, and Hicks, Clark, and Walker to Brown, March 30, 1850, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

$85,000 in cash, and $100,000 invested in United States securities bearing 5 percent interest. The annual interest on these securities was to be paid to the tribe at the same time as their annuity payments. The government agreed to pay all expenses incurred by the Wyandot delegates in Washington.[78]

The treaty was presented to the Wyandot tribe at a national convention which met on three occasions on the Wyandot Reserve between May 7 and May 23, 1850. The Wyandots approved the treaty on May 23 with a few minor amendments by a vote of sixty-three to twenty, but Subagent Moseley reported that a majority of the Wyandots were opposed to the treaty. He contended that only the Wyandots with a large percentage of white blood supported the treaty, and that they were able to secure a majority in the convention through bribery.[79]

Notwithstanding Moseley's report, the United States Senate ratified the Wyandot treaty on September 24, 1850. On December 2, the Wyandots accepted the treaty. At this point the 553 members of the Wyandot tribe could expect remuneration for their claim on the public domain, although there was still a question as to whether John M. Armstrong or Judge Read would receive a 20 percent commission for prosecuting the Wyandot claim.[80]

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[78]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 587-588.

[79]Journal of the Proceedings of the Wyandot Convention, May 7-23, 1850, and Moseley to Mitchell, May 23, 1850, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[80]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, p. 587; Minutes of the Wyandot Convention, December 2, 1850, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1853), p. 94.

When the Wyandots reached Kansas during those hot July days of 1843, they were confronted with obstacles which seemed insurmountable. Cut off from their former home in Ohio, and with no specific area designated for them in the West, the Wyandots were compelled to find a reserve on their own initiative. The Wyandot-Delaware land purchase agreement of 1843 gave them a reserve, and although their title was not clear, they began to erect permanent homes. Although embarrassed by the want of money owed to them by the government for their land improvements in Ohio and Michigan, the Wyandots still managed to make annual payments to the Delawares. When it became obvious to tribal leaders that the government would not fulfill its agreement to provide the Wyandots with 148,000 acres of public domain, and because many of the chiefs were satisfied with their reserve, they were willing to accept a pecuniary payment for their land claim. The Indians were beginning to learn that anything they could obtain from the government was better than nothing, so the Wyandots tried to salvage as much as possible from an unsatisfactory situation.

It took a few years to reestablish Wyandot civilization in Kansas, but soon a school, a church, and the tribal government were functioning on the reserve. Yet the Wyandots could not avoid the slavery issue which was tearing many American Protestant denominations apart. It became evident that their civilization was so similar to that of their white neighbors, that the tribe experienced many of the problems which were common in white communities on the frontier.

Despite hostility shown by the War Department, the Wyandots displayed their loyalty to the United States by enlisting in the military services during the Mexican War. The news of a gold strike in

California was enough to spur some of the Wyandots, like their white colleagues, to an adventure in the far West. The Indians, hardened by their experiences on the Wyandot Reserve in Kansas, were becoming frontiersmen who were learing to adjust to their new environment. When 1850 drew to a close, the tribe was in a position of relative stability, and there was ample hope for a better life in the future.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICS AND TURMOIL, 1850-1855

Seven years in present Kansas had brought the Wyandots to a point where they were advancing rapidly in white civilization. At last prospects were favorable for receiving all funds due to the tribe from the federal government. How they prospered in the future would depend to a large extent on their ability to cope with white culture.

Tribal Government

The men who shouldered this responsibility were the chiefs and the members of the Legislative Committee. On August 13, 1850, George I. Clark was elected principal chief for a two-year term, and James Washington, James Rankin, John W. Greyeyes, and Matthew Mudeater were selected to serve one-year terms as councilors. The Legislative Committee for 1850-1851 was composed of John M. Armstrong, John Arms, Matthew R. Walker, Hiram M. Northrup, and William Walker. All the adult male members of the tribe voted in these annual elections. The election had become traditional over the years and was always held in August because that was the month of the Green Corn Feast, the principal holiday of the Wyandot tribe.[1]

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[1] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 313.

The annual salary of the principal chief was $80, while each of the councilors received $60. The members of the Legislative Committee drew an annual emolument of $40 apiece. Each of the two Wyandot sheriffs received a yearly stipend of $40, and the jailor was paid $100 each year for his services. The Wyandot ferryman, the highest paid public official, received $150 annually. All Wyandot officials were paid from tribal funds received from the federal government. In addition to salaries, $400 was set aside in 1851 for the care of blind members of the tribe and $4,000 was remitted to the Delawares as stipulated in the land purchase agreement of 1843.[2]

Periodically the tribe would select a committee to revise the Wyandot constitution. The Wyandot constitution, in addition to designating those tribal officials who were to be elected annually, provided a set of laws which were used to regulate tribal life. Offenses against society were stipulated and punishment for each crime was provided in the constitution. The Wyandot constitution conformed to the United States Constitution, but it was adapted to those problems which were likely to occur within the Wyandot community. On August 12, 1851, thirteen delegates were chosen to make necessary changes in the constitution. On October 20, the council approved the draft submitted by the committee, but when it was presented to a national convention of the Wyandot tribe on December 4, the draft was rejected. The committee amended and revised the draft constitution so as to conform to existing conditions on the frontier, until it was acceptable to

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[2]List of Government Appropriations for the Wyandots for 1851, February 4, 1851, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

the tribe.[3]

The Wyandot sheriffs investigated all criminal cases on the reserve. There was considerable violence, but the Wyandots preferred not to refer cases involving Indians to the white man's law. However, the Wyandot legal code was similar to that used in white communities. A public defender and a prosecuting attorney were appointed by the Wyandot Council, and the accused was given a jury trial before his peers. The most severe penalty was capital punishment. An extreme example of the possible fate of Wyandots convicted of murder was the case of John Coon, Jr. On December 11, 1852, Coon was committed to the Wyandot jail for his part in the murder of Curtis Punch. He was brought to trial on December 17, and William Walker acted as prosecuting attorney, while Silas Armstrong represented Coon. The trial lasted all day, and at dusk the jury retired to the jury room to deliberate the case. On December 19, the jury returned a verdict of murder in the first degree, although Walker conceded that the evidence merited a verdict of manslaughter. At 1:00 p.m. on January 18, 1853, a procession of Wyandots was formed at the jail. The prisoner was brought forth and placed in a wagon, and the procession proceeded to the place of execution. At 3:30 p.m. a firing squad of six Wyandots faced the prisoner. At a signal given by Matthew R. Walker and Philip Brown, the executioners fired, and Coon fell dead to the frozen ground. Coon's execution was an exception, but several Wyandots were

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[3]Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 330, 336, 389.

sentenced to prison in the 1850's by their fellow tribesmen.[4]

Although the Wyandots were allowed to enforce their legal code, the federal government exercised veto power on tribal appropriations. In the event of an emergency, the Wyandots were compelled to secure the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs before they could draw on tribal funds. When the Wyandot ferry was damaged during the summer of 1854, the Wyandots appealed to their agent to allow them to draw $1,100 on their annuity funds to enable them to repair the ferry. Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny did not sanction their request until November 30.[5]

Despite their dependent status, the Wyandots were recognized by other tribes as being one of the leading tribes in the West. On December 3, 1853, a deputation of seven Senecas visited the Wyandot Reserve and requested that the Wyandots rekindle the council fire. The visitors reminded their hosts that in Ohio the Wyandots had been the Keepers of the Council Fire. The Wyandot chiefs declined the invitation because the Senecas had not been members of the Confederacy of Northwest Indians. Moreover, the Wyandots had already resumed their position as Keepers of the Council Fire of the Confederacy of Northwest Indians, in a council of the emigrant Indian tribes in Kansas held near Fort Leavenworth from October 10 to October 17, 1848.[6]

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[4] Ibid., pp. 368-371.

[5] Benjamin F. Robinson to Alfred Cumming, October 31, 1854, and George W. Manypenny to Cumming, November 30, 1854, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

[6] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 265, 391.

Legal Fees

The question of who was legally eligible to receive the attorney's commission for the prosecution of the Wyandot claim to 148,000 acres of public domain remained unanswered for two years. On February 8, 1851, the Wyandots appointed George I. Clark and Joel Walker as delegates to go to Washington to settle unfinished business connected with the Treaty of 1850. John W. Greyeyes, a member of the Wyandot delegation of 1850, was not reappointed to the delegation of 1851. Silas Armstrong, a brother of John M. Armstrong, stated that Greyeyes was dropped from the delegation because many Wyandots feared he would pay Bartley, who had acted as attorney for the tribe, $37,000 as a commission for prosecuting Wyandot claims. Moseley, the Wyandot subagent, reported on February 12 that before the two delegates left the Wyandot Reserve they drew three drafts in favor of Clark. The first draft of $16,000 was to be used to pay the Delawares the final installment on the Wyandot Reserve; the second draft of $32,000 was to be divided among the members of the tribe on a per capita basis; and the third draft of $37,000 was to be paid to either Bartley or Judge Read, who also claimed that he was entitled to the sum for his efforts to collect the funds on behalf of the tribe.[7]

The Wyandot delegates paid the commission to Read, but Bartley until 1852 attempted to recover his fee. However, Bartley lost his principal supporter in the Wyandot tribe when John M. Armstrong died

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[7] Silas Armstrong to John M. Armstrong, February 10, 1851, and Moseley to Mitchell, February 12, 1851, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

in Ohio on April 15, 1852. The Wyandots never paid Bartley any money for his efforts in aiding them in prosecuting their claim on 148,000 acres of public domain, but he had received fees from the tribe for other legal services. The Wyandots paid the final installment on their reserve on August 1, 1851, and the $32,000 was divided among the tribe on a per capita basis.[8]

The Kansas Agency

The early 1850's saw many personnel changes in the Wyandot Sub-agency, especially for the blacksmith positions. Moseley hired Samuel Drummond as Wyandot blacksmith in January, 1851. Graham had resigned from his post as blacksmith in December, 1850, to devote his energy to farming. The rich soil of the Wyandot Reserve was capable of producing bumper crops of corn, and it attracted the attention of white men as well as Indians. However, on July 14, 1851, Graham died during a cholera epidemic which struck the reserve. Guilford Hunt left his post as assistant blacksmith on May 1. Then on July 1 Moseley employed William McGown of Missouri as blacksmith, and Drummond was demoted to assistant blacksmith. Although Moseley tried to keep blacksmiths at the Wyandot shop, he was constantly beset with difficulties. William Walker reported that during the last week of December, 1851, Drummond had exhibited symptoms of insanity, and had wandered into Missouri.

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[8] T. W. Bartley to John M. Armstrong, April 16, 1851, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Bartley to Luke Lea, April 19, 1852, and Receipt from the Delaware Chiefs, August 1, 1851, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 346-347, 351.

Moseley appointed Isaac Baker assistant blacksmith on January 8 to replace Drummond. McGown resigned as blacksmith in March, to enter private business, and on April 1 Moseley employed Samuel Priestly as principal blacksmith.[9]

The major change in the Wyandot Subagency was its reorganization in 1851. On February 27, the subagency was abolished as of July 1. A new agency, designated as the Kansas Agency, was created to serve the Wyandot, Shawnee, Delaware, Munsee, Stockbridge, and Christian Indians. Moseley was appointed agent of the Kansas Agency, and his annual salary was increased from $750 to $1,000.[10]

Despite his salary increase, Moseley was unhappy with the location of his residence. On September 18, 1851, he complained to Superintendent of Indian Affairs Mitchell that the Wyandot Reserve was located in an unhealthy site, and asked to be allowed to move his residence to the Shawnee Reserve. He first rented the Wyandot Subagency buildings to Matthew R. Walker, a prominent Wyandot, but on November 28, 1853, Joel Walker, another influential member of the Wyandot tribe, purchased

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[9]John Haverty to Moseley, January 15, 1851, and Receipt from Guilford D. Hunt, May 1, 1851, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 327, 342-343; Statement of Employees in the Kansas Agency, September 18, 1851, and Moseley to Samuel Priestly, March 30, 1852, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Moseley to Mitchell, January 8, 1852, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[10]Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, pp. 1015-1016; Estimates of funds required for the service of the Indian Department within the Central Superintendency and pay distributed for the first and second quarters of 1852, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the structures from the government for $500.[11]

Moseley was unable to enforce the ban on liquor in the Kansas Agency, and on September 1, 1852, he reported to Superintendent Mitchell that every murder committed among the Wyandots was attributed to intoxication. In the same report, he noted that the Wyandot schools were not as well attended as they had been during the 1849-1850 school term, but he gave no explanation for the decline in attendance. In 1852, there were three schools on the Wyandot Reserve with a daily attendance which varied from fifty to sixty-eight pupils. The Wyandots received $500 each year from the government for educational purposes, as provided in the Treaty of 1842, but by 1852 they had to divert an additional $300 from tribal funds in order to maintain the three schools.[12]

The Administration of Benjamin F. Robinson

In May, 1853, Moseley was replaced by Benjamin F. Robinson, a native of Polk County, Missouri. Accompanied by Moseley, Robinson reached the Wyandot Reserve on May 30, when the new agent was introduced to the Wyandots. Robinson was impressed by the advanced white

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[11]Moseley to Mitchell, September 18, 1851, and Edward D. Carter to Mitchell, September 18, 1851, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; A statement of all fixed property with its appendages in charge of Thomas Moseley, Jr., agent at the Kansas Agency, September 1, 1852, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 391.

[12]Moseley to Mitchell, September 1, 1852, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States Senate, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document No. 1 (11 vols., Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1852), Vol. I, p. 365.

civilization of the Wyandots. Although he castigated the other tribes under the jurisdiction of the Kansas Agency for their disregard for law and order, Robinson complimented the Wyandots for their system of laws and well-ordered school districts. Nevertheless, he found that alcoholism and prostitution were common vices among the Wyandots.[13]

The annuity payment of 1853 caused some problems for Robinson. The amount given to him by Alfred Cumming, the Superintendent of the Central Indian Superintendency, when he visited Saint Louis in October, 1853, did not include the $5,000 promised in the Treaty of 1850. The Wyandot chiefs sent a telegram to Cumming on November 9, asking why the funds were not remitted to the tribe. The central superintendent did not know the answer, so on November 18 he forwarded the telegram to George W. Manypenny, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Wyandots did not receive the missing money until February 1, 1854. The Wyandot chiefs also complained that the government owed the tribe $2,285 in interest on their government securities. Cumming contacted Manypenny on their behalf on December 26, 1853, and urged the commissioner to forward the Wyandot interest payment. Manypenny complied with the request, and on January 31, 1854, Robinson remitted the

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[13]Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 379-380; Benjamin F. Robinson to Cumming, September 1, 1853, "Report on Indian Affairs," United States House of Representatives, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 1 (19 vols., Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1853), Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 636-637.

interest payment to the Wyandot chiefs.[14]

An unusual situation existed within the Kansas Agency which made it more difficult for Robinson to manage the agency. The Christian Indians occupied a portion of the Wyandot Reserve, although they had no legal rights to the land. The headmen of the tribe appealed to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea on June 3, 1851, and asked him to grant them 24,000 acres of land which they claimed the government had promised them. However, the United States did not provide any land for the Christian Indians, and they were still living on the Wyandot Reserve in 1854. The tribe was very poor, and they were a constant drain on the resources of neighboring tribes. They did not vacate the Wyandot Reserve until 1855.[15]

The Shawnee and Wyandot Agency and Agent Robert C. Miller

The Kansas Agency was reorganized during the spring of 1855, and Robinson became agent of a new Delaware Agency under the new plan. On March 10, 1855, Robert C. Miller was appointed agent of a newly organized Shawnee and Wyandot Agency which encompassed the Shawnee and Wyandot reserves. Miller observed that the Shawnee and Wyandot tribes

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[14]Robinson to Cumming, November 7, 1853, Wyandot Chiefs to Cumming, November 9, 1853, Cumming to Manypenny, November 18, 1853, and December 26, 1853, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 396-397.

[15]Samuel Frederick and Henry Killbuck to Lea, June 3, 1851, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Robinson to Cumming, August 31, 1854, "Report on Indian Affairs," United States Senate, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 1 (12 vols., Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1855), Vol. I, p. 314.

were prosperous, and that the fall harvest would be more than sufficient for their needs. He claimed that the Wyandots were so self-sufficient that they seldom called upon him for advice or assistance. Miller lived in Westport, Missouri, and commuted to the Wyandot and Shawnee reserves whenever it was necessary for him to conduct agency business.[16]

The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory

Although the gold rush was the first large scale Indian-white contact in the Wyandot Reserve, there were other more ominous signs on the horizon. The idea of a transcontinental railroad was becoming more feasible each day, and various proposals outlining the best route to the Pacific Ocean were circulating in the halls of Congress. The Wyandot leaders realized that the strategic location of their land was in an area being considered for the central route, and they were determined to profit from this fact. The tribal leaders saw that the organization of Nebraska Territory would increase the value of their land.[17]

However, the Wyandots were in the way of Southern expansion interests. Judge William C. Price, a leader of the pro-slave David Rice Atchison faction of the Missouri Democratic Party, was among those complaining about the location of these Indians at the mouth of the Kansas

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[16]"Official Roster of Kansas," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925, Vol. XVI (1925), p. 732; Robert C. Miller to Manypenny, April 3, 1855, and Miller to Cumming, July 31, 1855, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[17]P. Orman Ray, The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1909), pp. 84-86.

River. He stated:

> One of the things which proved bad for us was the removal of the Wyandots to the mouth of the Kansas River. It was not the intention that they should settle there. They were to have a large tract of land in Southern Kansas. No one supposed that they would buy land of another tribe; such a thing had not been thought of. When they bought land of the Delawares and obtained control of the mouth of the Kansas River we were fearful that it was not for our best interests; there were too many white men in the tribe. Then the tribe came recently from Ohio where there was much opposition to slavery and where existed the most successful underground railroad for conveying slaves to Canada.[18]

A few Wyandots decided to initiate proceedings which they hoped would eventually persuade Congress to organize Nebraska Territory. They petitioned the first session of the Thirty-Second Congress for the organization of a territorial government, but no action was taken. The next step was the election of a delegate to Congress. On October 12, 1852, an election was held in the Council House of the Wyandot Nation, and Abelard Guthrie was chosen for this thankless task by a unanimous vote. The men most active in this maneuver were Guthrie; Francis A. Hicks; George I. Clark; Isaiah, Joel, Matthew R. and William Walker; Charles B. and Joel W. Russell; Matthew Mudeater; Silas Armstrong; and John W. Greyeyes.[19]

The Missouri Republican of Saint Louis had stated in an editorial of September 30, 1852, that there would be an election for a delegate

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[18] Ibid., p. 251.

[19] William E. Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1897-1900, Vol. VI (1900), p. 102; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 363; Barry, ed., The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854, p. 1129.

to Congress. However, the election was in danger of being cancelled because, as Guthrie stated, Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy, the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth, "threatened to arrest me if I should attempt to hold the election." The Saint Joseph, Missouri, Gazette of October 13 announced that John E. Barrow, agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, was an opposition candidate for the office. On October 20, the Weston, Missouri, Reporter noted that William F. Dyer, an Indian trader, was a candidate.[20]

A group of residents of future Kansas met at Saint Mary's Mission (present Saint Marys, Kansas) on October 21, 1852, and passed resolutions calling for an election on November 16 at five polling places in Kansas to select a delegate to Congress. The Saint Marys convention recommended Barrow as their choice. The second election for delegate to Congress was held on November 16, and Guthrie defeated Barrow, his closest competitor, by forty votes. Guthrie left the Wyandot Reserve for Washington on November 20.[21]

On December 13, Representative William P. Hall of Missouri introduced a bill in the House of Representatives for the organization of Platte Territory. The boundaries of the proposed territory were 36°30' north latitude on the south, 43° north latitude on the north, the summit of the Rocky Mountains on the west, and the western border of Missouri on the east. Hall's bill was referred to the House Committee on Territories, but was never reported out. However, on

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., pp. 1130-1131, 1134.

February 2, 1853, Representative William P. Richardson of Illinois, chairman of the House Committee on Territories, reported a bill which called for the organization of Nebraska Territory with identical boundaries to that of Platte Territory. Richardson's bill met strong opposition from southerners in the House of Representatives, but on February 10, 1853, the Nebraska Territory bill was passed by a vote of ninety-eight to forty-three. The following day, the bill was sent to the Senate, where on February 17 Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, reported it without amendment. On March 3, Douglas' bill was taken up by the Senate and laid on the table by a vote of twenty-three to seventeen.[22]

Although Guthrie did not receive a seat in Congress, because Nebraska was not recognized as a territory, he was instrumental in bringing the question of the organization of Nebraska Territory to the attention of the members of Congress. He worked with Hall, Richardson, and Douglas in their unsuccessful bid to gain Congressional recognition of Nebraska Territory, but he returned to the Wyandot Reserve on March 23.[23]

The Wyandots were not discouraged by the failure to secure Senate approval of the bill organizing Nebraska Territory. During the summer of 1853, another attempt was made to persuade Congress to establish

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[22]Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1897-1900, Vol. VI, p. 103.

[23]Ibid.; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 377.

Nebraska Territory. Railroad promoters who backed the central route were also pressing for the territorial organization of Nebraska so that the proposed Pacific railroad would run through organized territory. On July 25, 1853, three representatives of the railroad interests reached William Walker's home and informed him that they were delegates to a railroad convention which would meet the following day. The next day, with Wyandot and Shawnee delegates present, the railroad convention met in the Wyandot Council House. The meeting was called to order, and William P. Birney, a white man, was appointed president, while William Walker served as secretary. The delegates, laboring in the stuffy confines of the council house, resolved to create a provisional government for Nebraska Territory. The next step the assembled delegates took was to elect a slate of officers for the provisional government. William Walker was elected provisional governor, George I. Clark was selected for the post of secretary of the territory, while Robert C. Miller, Isaac Munday, and Matthew R. Walker were chosen as councilmen. The delegates then adopted a resolution which expressed their preference for the central route, as the best route, for the proposed Pacific railroad. Before the assembly adjourned, Guthrie was nominated for reelection as the delegate to Congress.[24]

On August 1, 1853, Governor Walker issued a proclamation calling for the election of a territorial delegate in October. However, not all the inhabitants of Nebraska were satisfied with the candidacy of

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[24]Ibid., pp. 382-383.

Guthrie. A second convention was called, and the delegates met at the Kickapoo Reserve on September 20, where they nominated the Reverend Thomas Johnson to run for delegate to Congress in opposition to Guthrie. Johnson had been nominated to run for delegate at the convention of July 26, but at that time he did not wish to stand as an opposition candidate. However, he yielded to the wishes of his friends in the Kickapoo convention, and agreed to become a candidate. A white man, Johnson was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and directed the Shawnee Mission. Pro-slave in sympathy, Johnson represented the interests of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians. He was supported by the Army, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Atchison faction of the Missouri Democratic Party.[25]

The decision by the Wyandot leaders to unite with other emigrant tribes, in order to achieve the goal of territorial organization, made it impossible for them to control the forthcoming election. Although Governor Walker was a slaveholder, he supported Guthrie, who also received support from Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri.[26]

Extreme pressure was exerted on the Wyandots to vote for Johnson. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Manypenny made a pilgrimage to the Wyandot Reserve in order to add his prestige to Johnson's candidacy. On September 6, 1853, and again on the following October 7, he met with the Wyandots at their council house. The organization of Nebraska Territory and a proposed sale of Wyandot land to the federal government

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[25]Ibid., p. 384; Ray, The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, pp. 147-149.

[26]Ibid., pp. 87, 150, 153.

were discussed at these meetings. Methodist preachers appealed to the Wyandots to vote for Johnson. Most of the Wyandots were Methodists, and the fact that Johnson was a minister of their faith undoubtedly had considerable impact on the approaching election in the Wyandot precinct.[27]

Tension was mounting as election day, October 11, drew near. Ignoring the pressure from powerful supporters of the Johnson candidacy, the Wyandots voted for Guthrie by a margin of almost two to one. But Johnson won the election by a large majority. He became Nebraska Territory's delegate to Congress when he received the unanimous vote of the other emigrant tribes.[28]

Both Johnson and Guthrie went to Washington to seek a seat in Congress, but Guthrie was unsuccessful in contesting the election. In addition, Hadley D. Johnson, a resident of Iowa, claimed that he had been elected the delegate to Congress from Nebraska Territory. He appeared in Washington in December, 1853, with the idea of dividing Nebraska Territory into two territories as a means of advancing Pacific railroad interests, and he claimed that Senator Douglas accepted his plan. However, neither of the two Johnsons nor Guthrie gained a seat in

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[27]Ibid., pp. 155-156; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 386-387; Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1897-1900, Vol. VI, p. 109.

[28]Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 388; William E. Connelley, "Kansas City, Kansas: Its Place in the History of the State," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-1922, Vol. XV (1923), p. 190.

Congress, and the Wyandot movement to organize Nebraska Territory was superseded when on May 30, 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The boundary between the two territories was set at 40° north latitude, placing the Wyandot Reserve in Kansas Territory.[29]

The Treaty of 1855

The Wyandot movement to secure the organization of Nebraska Territory was but one of their efforts to adjust to the advancing tide of white settlement. The Wyandot Treaty of April 1, 1850, had not given individuals title to their land, and the next five years saw repeated efforts by tribal leaders to gain government sanction for the division of the Wyandot Reserve into farms granted to individuals, after the pattern of the white man. On May 8, 1852, a Wyandot national convention chose George I. Clark, Matthew Mudeater, and Joel Walker to represent the tribe in further land severalty negotiations with the government. The Clark delegation boarded the steamboat Elvira on May 26 with Agent Moseley's blessing, and proceeded to Washington.[30]

On July 3, 1852, the Wyandots presented a memorial to Commissioner Lea in which they asked that they be allowed to become citizens of the

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[29] John W. Greyeyes to Atchison, December 4, 1853, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Ray, The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, pp. 174-176; James C. Malin, "The Motives of Stephen A. Douglas in the Organization of Nebraska Territory: A Letter Dated December 17, 1853," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (November, 1951), p. 326.

[30] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 348-349; Moseley to Mitchell, May 18, 1852, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

United States, and to hold their land, like whites, in severalty. President Millard Fillmore rejected their memorial on July 19. He did not believe that it would be impossible for the Wyandots to hold their land in severalty, but he was reluctant to approve this action, because he feared that the Indians would sell their farms to white men. Fillmore was adamant in his refusal to grant citizenship to the Wyandots, because they were not residents of any state. He claimed that citizenship without suffrage was useless, and suffrage was a matter to be decided by the states. Their memorial rejected, the Wyandot delegation left Washington and returned to the Wyandot Reserve on August 11.[31]

Despite their initial reverse, the Wyandots managed to keep the proposal alive. Superintendent Mitchell and Agent Moseley gave their qualified support to the idea in their reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1852. Joel Walker, on December 20, 1853, requested that the Wyandots be permitted to send another delegation to Washington to discuss the proposal.[32]

The Wyandots appointed a treaty committee, which kept the tribe informed on the progress of the proposal. The treaty committee was

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[31]George I. Clark, Matthew Mudeater, and Joel Walker to Lea, July 3, 1852, and Millard Fillmore to Lea, July 19, 1852, ibid.; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 355.

[32]Moseley to Mitchell, September 1, 1852, and Mitchell to Lea, November 30, 1852, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States Senate, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 1, Vol. I, pp. 296-297, 364-365; Joel Walker to Manypenny, December 20, 1853, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

quite active, and during the month of January, 1854, alone, the members met on seven different occasions. The labors of the committee members bore fruit when on November 24, 1854, a national convention of the Wyandot tribe chose, with the approval of the government, a delegation to go to Washington to negotiate a new treaty. The Wyandot emissaries were Tauroomee, the principal chief, Matthew Mudeater, John Hicks, Silas Armstrong, George I. Clark, and Joel Walker.[33]

After recovering from the long journey, the Wyandot delegation submitted their proposals to Manypenny on January 9, 1855. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of May 30, 1854, had removed a serious obstacle for negotiating a new Wyandot treaty, because the territory of Kansas was being organized, and there was every reason to believe that the Wyandots would soon be residing within the confines of this new political area. So on January 31, 1855, Congress approved a treaty which Manypenny had negotiated with the Wyandots earlier in the month.[34]

The treaty stated that the Wyandot tribal organization was dissolved, and that those Wyandots who were deemed fit were to become citizens of the United States. This was the first time that a proposal granting Indians citizenship rights had been incorporated into a treaty

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[33]Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 395-397; Journal of the Wyandot Committee, December 1, 1854, Letters Received, Kansas Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[34]Tauroomee, Matthew Mudeater, John Hicks, Silas Armstrong, George I. Clark, and Joel Walker to Manypenny, January 9, 1855, ibid.; Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 677-681.

with the federal government. The Wyandots were placed under the jurisdiction of the new Kansas Territory, but the legislature was forbidden to tax Wyandot land for a period of five years.[35]

The federal government pledged to survey and divide the land of the Wyandots. It was to be assigned and reconveyed by patent in fee simple to individuals and members of the tribe. The land of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Wyandot Cemetery were reserved for use by the community. Four acres of land adjoining the Wyandotte ferry on the Kansas River were to be auctioned off to the highest bidder, with the proceeds being equally divided among all tribal members. In addition, the federal government agreed to pay the Wyandots $380,000 in three annual installments. All annuities still owed to the Wyandots by the terms of former treaties were to be paid with interest, and the money was to be divided equally among tribal members. All Wyandots who held the right to claim a float on public domain retained this right.[36]

By this point the Wyandots had adopted many of the customs of the white man. With each passing year they depended less on their agent, and although they continued to have some difficulties, the tribe was prospering by 1855. Perhaps they were naive in believing that an Indian, if well educated, would be accepted in the white man's world. Nevertheless, they took the initiative in the movement to organize Nebraska Territory.

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

The creation of a Nebraska provisional government dominated by Indians was an alien idea in a nation caught up in the sectional controversy of the 1850's. Guthrie, the representative of Wyandot interests, did not have a chance of gaining a seat in the United States House of Representatives. Perhaps he could have presented a stronger case in 1853, than he had done in 1852, but by then he had been repudiated by his own people. Moreover, southern politicians in Washington were fearful that another free state would develop from the nucleus of the proposed provisional territorial government, and thus they would not allow it to succeed.

The failure of the provisional government of Nebraska to gain recognition from Congress left the Wyandots without hope of independent tribal survival in a territory dominated by whites. Therefore, they chose to become citizens in order to achieve equal status with their white neighbors. In 1855, members of the tribe could look forward to owning their own farms. Although many Wyandots were apprehensive about their fate in white society, there was much hope that this final transition into the white man's world would be successful.

CHAPTER V

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE WYANDOT TRIBE, 1855-1861

The ratification of the Wyandot Treaty of 1855 coincided with the beginning of the most violent decade in the history of Kansas. The Wyandots were to witness turmoil in territorial Kansas, and then they were to be caught up in the Civil War. Competent Indians, those Wyandots able to manage their own affairs, were to become citizens of the United States, and members of the tribe were to receive their land in severalty. The federal government permitted the tribe to utilize the services of the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency and to maintain an informal tribal government until the transition to citizenship and individual land ownership was accomplished.

Problems with White Missourians

Agent Miller reported to Superintendent Cumming on October 3, 1855, that the Wyandots were making rapid progress toward white civilization, and that intoxication and prostitution were disappearing within the tribe. He credited the decline of intoxication to strict enforcement of tribal laws by the Wyandot Council. Any Wyandot convicted of public drunkenness was fined by the council, and his annuity payment was withheld. Miller noted that the Indians were dissatisfied with Commissioner Manypenny's decision to divide the annual annuity payment

into two equal parts. Manypenny believed that the Wyandots would be able to save more of their funds, if given smaller payments. Agent Miller was determined to protect the Wyandots from white intruders while they were still under his jurisdiction. On November 5, 1855, he posted notices throughout the Wyandot Reserve, warning whites that if they violated property belonging to the Indians, they would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.[1]

The Administration of William Gay

Miller did not have the opportunity to stop white incursions into the Wyandot Reserve, because in January, 1856, he was transferred to the Upper Arkansas Agency. His replacement was William Gay of Hillsdale, Michigan, who arrived in Saint Louis on January 27. He conferred with Central Superintendent Cumming and then left for Westport, Missouri, so he could discuss the situation which existed at the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency with Miller before the latter left for his new post.[2]

When Gay arrived in Westport, Miller was absent, and the new agent was unable to transact the business of his office because all agency funds and documents were locked in a safe. Miller was in Weston, Missouri, because his mother and sister who resided there were

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[1]Miller to Cumming, October 3, 1855, "Report on the Department of the Interior," United States Senate, 34th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 1 (20 vols., Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1856), Vol. I, pp. 413-414; Miller to Cumming, November 5, 1855, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[2]William Gay to Manypenny, January 15, 1856, and Cumming to Manypenny, January 30, 1856, ibid.

ill. He did not return to the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency until March 24, when he turned over $20,544.25 in agency funds to Gay.[3]

In the meantime, Agent Gay was directed to prosecute persons guilty of cutting timber within his agency. He reported to Cumming on February 15 that there were several white squatters within the agency and that the intruders were determined to stay. Recognizing the difficulties experienced by Gay, Commissioner Manypenny instructed Agent Robinson of the Delaware Agency on March 11 to assist Gay in performing the duties of the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency.[4]

Former Agent Miller called on Gay on March 26, and paid over $1,354.19 in agency funds which had been loaned to Alexander Majors, partner in the Russell and Majors Freight Line.[5] With the agency funds in his possession, and with Agent Robinson scheduled to assist him, Gay was optimistic about the future success of his agency. On March 29, he stated: "I say, and have good means to know, that no better sort of men can be found than those living on the western borders of Missouri. If any man wants a good hospitable set of inhabitants, and cannot find them in Western Missouri, he may stop looking."[6]

In April, Gay asked Superintendent Cumming to approve the purchase of a new iron safe so that agency funds could be stored safely, and on May 3 he asked for $300 to repair agency fences and to renovate the

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[3]Gay to Cumming, February 15 and March 24, 1856, and Willard P. Hall to John S. Phelps, March 4, 1856, ibid.

[4]Haverty to Manypenny, February 21, 1856, and Gay to Cumming, February 15, 1856, ibid.; Manypenny to Cumming, March 11, 1856, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

[5]Gay to Cumming, March 26, 1856, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[6]Kansas City Enterprise, March 29, 1856, p. 2.

agency residence so he could live there. On May 10, Cumming approved the requests, but the unfortunate agent was not able to initiate his improvement program.[7]

On the evening of June 21, Gay and his son William were overtaken by three men about two miles west of Westport. These men wanted to know if Agent Gay was pro-slavery or anti-slavery. He answered that he was from the state of Michigan. The three intruders repeated the question, and Gay said he was in favor of a free state. One of the men began firing at Gay and a scuffle ensued. Gay was hit in the head by a bullet and died instantly, while his son was severely but not fatally wounded.[8]

Fortunately, Gay was not carrying any agency funds, but later the key to the safe in the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency was discovered on his body. On June 23, the day of the funeral, the citizens of Westport and the surrounding vicinity organized a committee to raise money to be paid as a reward to anyone who would apprehend the criminals. Thirty-five citizens contributed $700 to the reward fund, but the murderers escaped.[9]

Superintendent Cumming hastened to Kansas to examine the records and funds at the agency. On July 7, he recommended that Agent Robin-

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[7]Cumming to Manypenny, April 10 and May 10, 1856, and Gay to Cumming, May 3, 1856, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[8]Cumming to Manypenny, June 25, 1856, ibid.; Missouri Republican, June 27, 1856, William E. Connelley Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma.

[9]Cumming to Manypenny, June 25, 1856, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Kansas City Enterprise, June 28, 1856, p. 2, and July 5, 1856, p. 2.

son be instructed to settle the affairs of the agency until a successor to Gay could be appointed. On June 28, William J. Gay, Agent Gay's son, along with his mother, Mary Gay, returned to Hillsdale, Michigan. He volunteered to aid the government in settling his father's accounts. Commissioner Manypenny accepted the offer on October 30, and instructed Gay to go to Kansas. Gay was unable to leave Michigan during the winter because his wife was ill, but in July, 1857, the courageous young man went to the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency and settled his father's affairs.[10]

On July 15, 1856, a resolution, calling for compensation for Gay's widow, was passed in the United States Senate and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. On March 3, 1857, Congress approved an act which granted Mrs. Mary Gay $2,000 in compensation for the loss of her husband.[11]

The Administration of Anselm Arnold

On July 19, 1856, Anselm Arnold was appointed Indian agent for the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency. He arrived in Kansas, accompanied by Superintendent Cumming, on August 21. Arnold and Cumming discovered that Gay had loaned $4,800 in agency funds to Mitchell and Company of Hillsdale, Michigan, and $1,354.19 to the proprietors of the Majors and Russell Freight Line. Within a few months the money was paid back,

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[10] Cumming to Manypenny, July 7, 1856, William J. Gay to Cumming, July 7, 1856, Manypenny to Gay, October 30, 1856, Gay to Manypenny, November 8, 1856, and Gay to J. D. Miller, July 25, 1857, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[11] W. K. Sebastian to Manypenny, July 15, 1856, ibid.; United States Congress, United States Statutes, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, 1857, p. 1092.

but the federal government did not benefit from the transaction. On the frontier, where hard cash was in short supply, the relatively large amount of money on hand at an Indian agency was tempting bait for those who needed funds, and they were not above making a private transaction with an agent, whereby the borrower obtained the use of the money while the agent pocketed the interest.[12]

Agent Arnold conceded that chaos had existed within the agency for two years, but on November 22 he boasted that he had matters well in hand and could count on the good will of both Indians and whites living in the vicinity of his agency. Despite his initial optimism, Arnold soon found that it was difficult to perform the duties of his office. He was particularly perplexed over the problems caused by the altered status of the Indians. Arnold blamed many of his misfortunes on the lax practices of his predecessors, but he was no shining example of an efficient office manager. On May 4, 1856, William Walker, who still held the post of United States interpreter for the Wyandots, informed Superintendent Cumming that Arnold was absent from the agency. Cumming forwarded Walker's letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver on May 12, 1856, and added that Arnold's absence from the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency was in direct contradiction to his orders. Arnold explained his absence by stating that he had applied for a sixty-day furlough, which he believed would be granted, so in order to be with his sick family, he left the agency before being

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[12]Interoffice Memorandum, Office of Indian Affairs, July 19, 1856, Cumming to Charles E. Mix, September 19, 1856, and C. J. Mitchell to Manypenny, October 13, 1856, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

authorized.[13]

Arnold's irregular behavior prompted Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson to order Superintendent Cumming on June 13 to proceed to Kansas to inspect the accounts of the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency. Cumming reported to Commissioner Denver that although Arnold was honest, he was incapable of maintaining the records of the agency and was forced to employ another man to prepare his accounts. In spite of Arnold's shortcomings, Cumming recommended that he be retained as Shawnee and Wyandot Agent.[14]

The ponderous bureaucracy of the Office of Indian Affairs made Arnold's task difficult. The Wyandots complained on October 10 that annuity funds due members of the tribe had not been paid, although long overdue. Arnold received $63,333.33 in annuity funds due the Wyandots in Saint Louis on October 26, but left the city before an additional $10,691.36 in interest payments arrived, so he was compelled to inform the Indians that they would have to wait for their interest funds.[15]

On January 29, 1858, the Wyandot Council complained to acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles E. Mix, that Arnold had not paid funds due members of the tribe which had been withheld by former agents. Central Superintendent John Haverty did not place any more

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[13]Anselm Arnold to Robert McClelland, November 22, 1856, Cumming to Mix, April 22, 1857, Arnold to Cumming, June 22, 1857, Walker to Cumming, June 22, 1857, and Cumming to James W. Denver, May 12, 1857, ibid.

[14]Cumming to Denver, July 8, 1857, ibid.

[15]Clark to Denver, October 10, 1857, and Haverty to Denver, November 1, 1857, ibid.

faith in Arnold's ability to perform the duties of his office, so on February 16 he ordered him to come to Saint Louis and to deposit all agency funds in the sub-treasury of the United States. Arnold replied that he was ill, but that he would come to Saint Louis as soon as he was able. He never recovered from his illness, however, and although he did not die until August 10, Arnold was not able to settle his accounts.[16]

The Administration of Benjamin J. Newsom

At the time of his death, Arnold was no longer Indian Agent at the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency, having been replaced in June, 1858, by Benjamin J. Newsom. Newsom inherited all of Arnold's problems, and in addition, $1,726.61 in agency funds had been loaned by Arnold to the Majors and Russell Freight Line and Newsom could not expect repayment until after January 1, 1859. Another problem was back pay due William Walker for his services as Wyandot interpreter. On June 17, 1858, Walker complained to acting Commissioner Mix that Arnold had withheld his annual salary. Newsom investigated Walker's claim and found that Arnold had refused to pay the interpreter's salary because Walker had notified Superintendent Cumming in May, 1857, that Arnold was absent without leave. There was a deficiency in agency funds, so Walker was not remunerated in full until March 21, 1859. Walker's career as

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[16] Silas Armstrong to Mix, January 29, 1858, Arnold to Haverty, February 23, 1858, and A. Street to Alexander M. Robinson, August 24, 1858, ibid.

Wyandot interpreter was cut short when on August 31, 1860, Newsom dismissed him on the grounds that his intemperate use of alcoholic beverages had seriously undermined his ability to perform the duties of interpreter. On September 4, 1860, Silas Armstrong was appointed interpreter for the Wyandots.[17]

Problems with Alcohol on the Wyandot Reserve

William Walker's case was but one of many instances of the misuse of alcoholic beverages by members of the Wyandot tribe. On August 24, 1858, Newsom informed Robinson that a mobile saloon had been established on land assigned to John Prophet. The recently granted citizen status of those Wyandots deemed competent under the terms of the Treaty of 1855, made it difficult to curtail liquor sales on the Wyandot Reserve.[18] Abelard Guthrie described Young America, a saloon also located on the Wyandot Reserve, on March 15, 1859, as a place where:

> Indian women and men were lying about as if a battle had been fought and these were the slain, some yet stood, others leaned against whatever they could seize upon and others were reeling about, all the victums [sic] of whiskey. This hell is kept by a white man who it is reported steals

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[17] Robinson to Mix, July 15, 1858, and Street to Robinson, August 24, 1858, ibid.; Walker to Mix, June 17, 1858, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Benjamin J. Newsom to Robinson, October 27, 1858, and November 25, 1858, Robinson to Mix, November 1, 1858, and Robinson to Denver, December 1, 1858, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Robinson to Mix, March 21, 1859, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Newsom to Robinson, August 31, 1860, and Robinson to Mix, September 4, 1860, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[18] Newsom to Robinson, August 24, 1858, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," United States Senate, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 1 (18 vols., Washington: William A. Harris, 1859), Vol. I, Part 1, p. 464.

> from and robs these wretched votaries of Bacchus. This sink of iniquity is on one of the public highways, and yet no effort is made to abe it.[19]

A third saloon was erected on the Wyandot Reserve, and the white proprietors sold liquor to Indian youths who "carried their purchase away in jugs belted to their waists."[20]

Government Securities

When the Treaty of 1855 was signed, the federal government agreed to pay the Wyandots $106,594.53 which was due under the terms of earlier treaties. This money had been invested in Missouri and Tennessee state bonds. The sum of $50,000 was to be paid to the Wyandots in 1858, but the bonds were not sold at that time, so in October, 1858, Agent Newsom was compelled to inform the Indians that they would have to wait for their money. Principal Chief John Sarahass and the members of the Wyandot Council informed Commissioner Mix on November 15, 1858, that the Wyandots needed their money, and he demanded an explanation for the delay.[21]

Sarahass had excellent reasons for his concern, because the Wyandot securities had decreased in value and Kansas territorial officers

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[19] Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 119-120.

[20] Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner, p. 6.

[21] "Report on Indian Stocks," United States House of Representatives, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, Executive Document Number 113 (13 vols., Washington: Cornelius Wendell, 1857), Vol. I, p. 824; John Sarahass to Mix, October 4, 1858, and Sarahass, John Hicks, William Johnson, and Irvin P. Long to Mix, November 15, 1858, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

were taxing Wyandot lands in violation of the Treaty of 1855. A delegation of Sarahass, John Hicks, and Silas Armstrong was sent by the Wyandot Council to Washington in February, 1859, to press their claim for a monetary settlement for their securities in person. On March 2, the Wyandot delegates agreed to accept the market value of their bonds before April 1, with the stipulation that the federal government reimburse them later for any deficiency caused by the decreased value of their securities.[22]

The federal government took no action by April 1, 1859, so on April 23 the Wyandot Council appointed Hiram M. Northrup an attorney for the tribe, and he carried on the battle in Washington. When the securities were sold in 1859 and 1860, the Wyandots suffered a net loss of $19,722.50. The Wyandot Council met on January 12 and 14, 1861, to decide whether to send another delegation to Washington to attempt to recover the money due the tribe. However, the secession of the southern states and the resulting chaos in Congress prompted the Wyandot Council to postpone the venture.[23]

Kansas Becomes a Territory

While the provisions of the Treaty of 1855 were being implemented by the federal government, the residents of the Territory of Kansas

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[22]Hiram M. Northrup to Denver, December 16, 1858, Sarahass, Hicks, and Armstrong to Denver, February 28, 1859, and March 2, 1859, ibid.

[23]Wyandot Council to Northrup, April 23, 1859, Northrup to Mix, May 2, 1859, and Minutes of the Wyandot Council, January 12 and 14, 1861, ibid.; "Petition of the Wyandotte Indians, 1863," United States Senate, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, Miscellaneous Document Number 16 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), pp. 1-5.

were establishing a government. The ideal course for the Wyandots was to avoid taking sides in the contest between the pro-slavery and free-state factions of the white citizens of Kansas, but the location of the Wyandot lands made this difficult. The involvement of Abelard Guthrie in earlier movements to secure a seat in the House of Representatives made him a target of pro-slavery sympathizers. Guthrie had reported in a letter published in the Washington Era of June 9, 1854, that pro-slavery men from Missouri were forming clubs and were crossing into Kansas to insure that the territory would be pro-slavery when the territorial legislature was elected. He appealed to free-state men to come to Kansas to offset the presence of pro-slavery Missourians. Guthrie wanted "men of courage, industry and intelligence. They can find no place on the habitable globe where they can get a more desirable home than here. The other territory (Nebraska) is not comparable to this in any respect, and there the slaveholder will make no effort at dominion." The Reverend Thomas Johnson, a pro-slavery Methodist Episcopal Church South missionary at the Shawnee Mission and former political opponent of Guthrie, charged on June 29, 1854, that Guthrie's allegations were "a mere fabrication."[24]

As Guthrie predicted, when the territorial election was held on March 30, 1855, a large number of Missourians crossed into Kansas and voted for pro-slavery representatives to the territorial legislature. The Wyandot lands were located in the twelfth district where thirty-five votes were cast. Of these, eighteen votes were cast by members

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[24] Missouri Republican, July 6, 1854, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, William E. Connelley Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

of the Wyandot tribe, and the three election judges were also Wyandots. In addition to those Wyandots voting in their own district, ten members of the tribe journeyed to western Kansas, where they cast their ballots in the tenth district. These men voted a straight pro-slavery ticket, and they justified their right to vote in the tenth district because they claimed sections of land within the district as provided in the Treaty of 1842.[25]

The Wakarusa War

The Wyandots became more intimately involved in territorial affairs when the pro-slavery legislature moved to temporary quarters in the Shawnee Mission on July 16, 1855. Agent Miller of the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency reported that the legislators enjoyed the hospitality offered by the Reverend Johnson, and that they occupied the school buildings at the Shawnee Mission while the students were on summer vacation. The Wakarusa War of November and December, 1855, saw a Wyandot play a significant role in the conflict. Lucy B. Armstrong, a white member of the tribe, credited a Wyandot messenger with warning the free state residents of Lawrence, Kansas, of an impending assault by a contingent of pro-slavery sympathizers from Missouri. Forewarned and prepared to repel a frontal attack, the free state settlers of Lawrence were able to defend themselves. The pro-slavery raiders reconsidered their proposed assault and the Wakarusa War deteriorated

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[25] "Kansas Affairs," July 2, 1856, United States House of Representatives, 34th Congress, 1st Session, Committee Report Number 200 (3 vols., Washington: Cornelius Wendell, 1856), Vol. III, pp. 22-23, 266-269, 318-319.

into a war of nerves until the conflict was terminated by the intervention of Kansas Governor William Shannon in December, 1855.[26]

Controversy Among the Methodists

The violence of the Wakarusa War was enough to provide the proper climate to rekindle the smoldering embers of hatred between the Wyandot members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Lucy B. Armstrong reported that two young clerks employed in the public land office on the Wyandot Reserve furnished whiskey to Indian youths in order to incite them to disturb the services of both churches. Agent Gay informed Superintendent Cumming that on the evening of April 1, 1856, the Reverend L. D. Dennis, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, left the door of the church unlocked while he went to the parsonage. While he was gone, a few Wyandots entered the structure and stole a bible and burned it. Dennis remonstrated with the thieves, but they were not repentent. On the night of April 8, the culprits returned and burned the Methodist Episcopal Church to the ground. Several members of the congregation were appalled at this outrage, and later in the evening, they burned the Methodist Episcopal Church South.[27]

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[26]Miller to Cumming, November 5, 1855, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Statement by Lucy B. Armstrong, no date, Lucy B. Armstrong Collection, Kansas State Historical Society.

[27]Armstrong, "The Settlement of Wyandot," comp. and ed. by Edward Baumgardner; Pennington, History of the Seventh Street Methodist Church South, p. 33; Gay to Cumming, May 3, 1856, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

The churches were not the only buildings consumed in the flames of hate. On February 11, 1856, Silas Greyeyes and Anthony Hat demanded that they be permitted to spend the night in the home of Mrs. James Charloe, a widow who lived with her daughter, Mrs. Lucy Ann Splitlog. Mrs. Charloe refused the request and later in the evening, Greyeyes and Hat burned her house. The week following the burning of the two churches on April 8, 1856, saw several other Wyandot houses burned to the ground.[28]

The arsonists did not deter the members of both factions of the Methodist Episcopal Church from building new houses of worship. The congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church completed a new frame church in December, 1857, on a site at what is now the corner of Washington Avenue and State Avenue in Kansas City, Kansas. Services were held in the basement of the home of Lucy B. Armstrong while the new church was under construction. The members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South erected a frame building to replace their ruined brick church on two lots donated to the church by Hiram M. Northrup. The structure was completed during the autumn of 1856, but the deed was not recorded until December 31, 1860.[29]

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[28] Statement of John W. Greyeyes, February 13, 1862, ibid.; Affidavit of Amelia Charloe, November 6, 1857, and Clark to Arnold, December 22, 1857, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

[29] Kansas City World, September 20, 1906, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library; Receipt from C. R. Stuckestages, December 17, 1857, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art; Pennington, History of Seventh Street Methodist Church South, pp. 33-34.

The First Removal to Indian Territory

Incursions by white squatters into the Wyandot Reserve, the civil war between pro-slavery and free state partisans in Kansas, and difficulties experienced by members of the tribe in receiving their allotments and annuity funds, prompted Chief Matthew Mudeater to suggest that a portion of the tribe remove to Indian Territory. A few Indians decided to return to Ohio and Canada, but a majority of the Wyandots who wished to remove from Kansas followed Mudeater's suggestion. During the summer of 1857, Mudeater led a band of about 200 disorganized and demoralized Wyandots, out of a population of 550, south across the sun-swept plains of southeastern Kansas Territory. He must have wondered how well his bedraggled caravan would be accepted by the Indians of the Neosho Agency in the northeastern portion of Indian Territory, now reduced in size to roughly the boundary of the present state of Oklahoma. Reflecting on the distress of his tribe, Mudeater could only hope that his decision to lead this band of the once proud Wyandots to Indian Territory, was a wise choice. The exhausted Indians reached the Neosho Agency before the end of August, and at the invitation of their old friends, the Senecas, they settled on Seneca land.[30]

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[30] Northrup to Mix, November 29, 1858, and Arnold to Haverty, September 30, 1857, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Peter D. Clarke to Sarah C. Watie, January 7, 1859, in Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, eds., Cherokee Cavaliers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 94-95; Velma Nieberding, "The Wyandot Tribe Today," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1956-1957), p. 490; Andrew J. Dorn to Elias Rector, August 31, 1857, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1857," United States Senate, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 11 (16 vols., Washington: William A. Harris, 1858), Vol. II, Part I, p. 493.

In 1817 and 1818 the Wyandots had given the homeless Senecas 40,000 acres of land in Ohio. The Wyandots asked the Senecas to remember the 1817 and 1818 agreements and give them land on the Seneca Reserve. On November 22, 1859, Chief Little Tom Spicer, Councilmen George Douglass, Moses Crow, John Smith, and Doctor Thomas, acting for the Senecas, and Principal Chief Mudeater, Councilmen Irvin P. Long, Silas Armstrong, John Hicks, and John W. Greyeyes, acting for the Wyandots, concluded a preliminary land transfer agreement. The Senecas agreed to give the Wyandots 33,000 acres of land located on the Seneca Reserve, subject to approval by the government. Many more homeless and destitute Wyandots wandered south during the year before the beginning of the Civil War and joined their brethren in Indian Territory.[31]

Apportioning the Wyandot Reserve

The Treaty of 1855 had stipulated that the Wyandot Reserve be divided into parcels of land assigned to individual members of the tribe, and that the tribe be divided into those Indians competent to assume citizenship, those Wyandots deemed incompetent, and minor orphans. This was a difficult task, and it caused numerous problems for the Wyandots. Initially, the Wyandot Council attempted to determine who should be considered members of the tribe. On October 10, 1855, James Bigtree, chairman of a committee appointed by the Wyandot

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[31] Dorn to Rector, September 9, 1858, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858," United States Senate, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 1, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 489; Agreement between the Senecas and Wyandots, November 22, 1859, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Council to verify tribal membership, submitted a list of twenty-eight individuals to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Manypenny, asking that these persons be stricken from the tribal roll because they were not members of the tribe.[32]

Reaction to this request was immediate and hostile. Mudeater and George I. Clark, signers of the Treaty of 1855, claimed on November 9, 1855, that they never intended that legitimate Wyandots be suspended from the tribal roll and that several individuals on Bigtree's list were Wyandots. Shawnee and Wyandot Agent Miller supported Mudeater and Clark on December 3, and although he recognized that the Wyandot Council had the power to remove individuals from the tribal roll, he believed that the council committee had acted arbitrarily. On January 15, 1856, Isaac N. Brown and John D. Brown submitted to the Wyandot legislative committee a bill of impeachment on the members of the Wyandot Council for their alleged assumption of arbitrary power. The bill of impeachment was not acted upon by the legislative committee on January 18 because the charges could not be sustained.[33]

The Wyandot Council, in cooperation with Delaware Agent Benjamin F. Robinson, divided the tribe into competent, incompetent, and orphan classes as instructed by Commissioner Manypenny on August 14, 1855. The lists, submitted by Robinson to Manypenny on November 3, 1855, al-

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[32]James Bigtree, "List of Persons Suspended from the Wyandot Tribe," October 10, 1855, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[33]Mudeater and Clark to Manypenny, November 9, 1855, and Miller to Cumming, December 3, 1855, ibid.; Journal of the Wyandot Legislative Committee, January 15 and 18, 1856, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

though consequently altered, served as a basis for the division of the tribe.[34]

The Wyandot Council also assumed the right to appoint guardians for incompetent Wyandots and orphan minors and to select administrators for the estates of deceased members of the tribe. The bill of impeachment of January 15, 1856, also alleged that the members of the Wyandot Council appointed themselves as guardians and that they assigned guardians for persons competent to manage their own affairs. On January 19, the legislative committee ordered the members of the Wyandot Council to appear before the Wyandot tribe at the council house on January 26 to answer these charges. The council members did not appear on the designated day, but they continued to appoint guardians and administrators.[35] Agent Gay supported the allegations contained in the bill of impeachment on May 3, 1856, when he stated:

> They [the Wyandot Council] have become each others suretys [sic] for the money. In many cases I know well there is no security at all. They will neither take care of their own money or any other persons. In those cases where I know the men to be drunken sots and have no security, I have withheld the money that was due certain orphan children until I can here [sic] from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs upon that subject.[36]

The Wyandot Council issued 188 guardianships and powers of attorney in the period from 1855 to 1861. Most of these individuals were members

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[34]Manypenny to Robinson, November 16, 1855, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

[35]Journal of the Wyandot Legislative Committee, January 15, 18, 19 and 26, 1856, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[36]Gay to Cumming, May 3, 1856, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

of the tribe, but a few whites were also appointed. Joel Walker, who received the largest number, held the legal power to manage the estates of forty-two individuals. Silas Armstrong received eighteen, while John W. Greyeyes and Hiram M. Northrup held fourteen apiece. The Wyandot Council appointed forty-four different individuals guardians for varying periods. While they were guardians, they held total control over the annuity payments granted to their wards. They were able to use the money in any way they saw fit and thus they were able to enrich themselves. When the Wyandot Reserve was allotted in severalty in 1859, several of these guardians controlled considerable tracts of land. Joel Walker was deceased, but Irvin P. Long held administrative power over 1,372.96 acres of land owned by his wards, while Armstrong controlled the management of 1,305.12 acres. Ten individuals held administrative power over 7,410.22 acres out of the 24,960 acres in the Wyandot Reserve. They could rent this land in the name of their wards, and they were able to keep a large share of the receipts as administrative fees.[37]

Before the Wyandot Reserve could be allotted in severalty, a survey of the tract was necessary. The Wyandots proposed to survey the land to correspond with the standards established by the public land office in Kansas Territory. The reserve was to be divided into sections, one-half sections, and one-quarter sections. In May and June, 1856, Samuel Parsons surveyed the Wyandot Reserve with the understanding that he would be paid for his services upon completion of the project. The murder of Agent Gay in June, 1856, and the chaotic state

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[37] A compilation of Guardianships, Powers of Administrator, Land Patents, 1855-1861, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

of affairs in the Shawnee and Wyandot Agency in the months after his death made it impossible to remunerate Parsons immediately. Finally, on October 25, 1856, the Wyandot legislative committee appropriated $304.54 out of tribal funds to pay Parsons for surveying the Wyandot Reserve.[38]

The Treaty of 1855 had stipulated that the Wyandot Reserve be allotted to the Indians in severalty by a commission of three men. The Wyandots were to select two commissioners, while the United States would appoint the third member of the commission. On July 30, 1855, the Wyandot Council announced that they had selected Lot Coffman and John C. McCoy, two white men from Jackson County, Missouri, to serve as their commissioners. Benjamin F. Robinson, United States Indian Agent at the Delaware Agency, was appointed commissioner for the federal government.[39]

The commissioners began their task in the autumn of 1855, but from the outset they had difficulty securing the cooperation of the Wyandot Council. On January 3, 1856, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Manypenny ordered them to investigate claims made to him by several Wyandots who had been removed from the tribal roll by the Wyandot Council. Agent Gay reported to Superintendent Cumming on March 10 that

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[38]James Calhoun to Thomas A. Hendrick, November 27, 1855, Memorandum, Office of Indian Affairs, August 26, 1856; Samuel Parsons to Cumming, October 8, 1856, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Journal of the Wyandot Legislative Committee, October 25, 1856, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[39]Mudeater, Hicks, Matthew Barnett, and James Barnett to Miller, July 30, 1855, and Miller to Cumming, July 30, 1855, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the commissioners were waiting for Parsons to complete his survey of the Wyandot Reserve before they could take any action on Manypenny's directive of January 3. When Parsons completed his survey in May, 1856, the three commissioners reported to Manypenny that they had made an investigation of some of the claims submitted to him, and that they had restored a few individuals to the tribal roll.[40]

Another problem which confronted the three commissioners was how to determine the status of Wyandot children born after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1855, but before the Wyandot Reserve was allotted in severalty. William Walker, acting as attorney for the parents of infants in the tribe, contended on May 8, 1856, that these children should be included in the allotment, even though their names were not on the tribal roll submitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Manypenny agreed with Walker and on July 7, he instructed McCoy, Robinson, and Coffman to include infants in the allotment. Under this policy, the commissioners added the names of seven children to the tribal roll on December 12, 1856.[41]

On November 28, 1856, Coffman had resigned from his post as commissioner for the Wyandots and accepted an appointment as surveyor of the Shawnee Reserve. The next day the Wyandot Council appointed Robert J. Lawrence, a white man from Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, to fill the vacancy. McCoy, Lawrence, and Robinson were directed by Manypenny on November 25, 1856, to assign land to individual members of

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[40]John C. McCoy to Manypenny, December 8, 1855, Gay to Cumming, March 10, 1856, and McCoy, Robinson, and Lot Coffman to Manypenny, May 29, 1856, ibid.

[41]Walker to McCoy, Robinson, and Coffman, May 8, 1856, and McCoy to Manypenny, December 12, 1856, ibid.

Wyandot families, but to keep the lands of the members of each family together and in a compact form. The commissioners labored valiantly to follow Manypenny's orders, but on December 12 McCoy and Lawrence informed Manypenny that in order to assign land to each Wyandot, surveys would be required in almost every case. The land commissioners added that "one-half of them (the Wyandots) have some scheme on foot to defraud each other. Many of them constantly watching or endeavoring to get us to do something which might invalidate our work."[42]

The distribution of the Wyandot Reserve sometimes brought problems. On April 28, 1857, Lucy B. Armstrong complained to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that when McCoy, Lawrence, and Robinson had drawn up preliminary plans for allotting her land, they had given the plot containing the improvements to one of her children, while she received unimproved land. As a result, on October 26, 1857, Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver directed Robinson to assign to Mrs. Armstrong the plot containing her house and outbuildings.[43]

The policy adopted by Manypenny of allotting to each person in the tribe a portion of the Wyandot Reserve was never popular among the Wyandots. Thus, on December 23, 1856, the Wyandot Council had decided by a unanimous vote that their reserve should be allotted to heads of families, except in the case of orphans. When Denver became Commis-

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[42] McCoy and Robert J. Lawrence to Manypenny, December 12, 1856, and Arnold to Cumming, December 17, 1856, ibid.; Manypenny to Robinson, McCoy, and Coffman, November 25, 1856, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[43] Armstrong to Denver, April 28, 1857, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Denver to Robinson, McCoy, and Lawrence, October 26, 1857, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

sioner of Indian Affairs on April 17, 1857, he soon became convinced that the measure adopted by the Wyandot Council was a more equitable way to allot the Wyandot land than the instructions contained in the Manypenny directive of November 25, 1856. On November 13, 1857, Denver ordered McCoy, Lawrence, and Robinson, to allot the Wyandot land to the heads of families.[44]

On February 8, 1858, McCoy informed acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Mix that the work of the Wyandot land commissioners was almost finished. He noted that Lawrence had departed for Pennsylvania, and Robinson had returned to the Delaware Agency, so he was left alone to finish the task. McCoy related that he and his co-commissioners had decided to interpret that heads of families did not include widows. The Wyandot commissioners claimed that by common law, when a father died, his children were to be considered orphans, and thus they should be allotted parcels of land in their own right. He stated further that he believed that widows were incapable of managing the land of their children, and that the average widow would have difficulty managing her own affairs.[45]

The Wyandot widows had a champion in Lucy B. Armstrong, and she was not to be denied her land rights as the head of her family by the whims of the Wyandot commissioners. In a moving letter to McCoy and Lawrence of January 5, 1858, she stated her case and begged them to re-

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[44]Minutes of the Wyandot Council, December 23, 1856, Clark, Armstrong, Mudeater, and Long to Denver, October 1, 1857, and McCoy to Denver, October 27, 1857, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Denver to McCoy, November 13, 1857, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[45]McCoy to Mix, February 8, 1858, ibid.

consider her status as the head of her family. The Wyandot commissioners would not alter their decision, so she presented her case to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Mix on May 10, 1858. Mix overruled the Wyandot commissioners' decision to exclude widows from land rights as heads of families, and when the Wyandot Reserve was allotted in severalty on February 22, 1859, twenty-nine Wyandot widows were given land as heads of families.[46]

McCoy complained to Mix in May, 1858, that he had difficulty in conforming to the lines established by the Parsons survey, but that he had tried to make the allotments as equitable as possible. On May 17, 1858, Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson approved a preliminary map of the Wyandot allotments, furnished by the Wyandot commissioners, and submitted by Mix to the Department of the Interior. Thompson stated that when it became necessary to disregard the survey lines, in order to achieve an equitable distribution of land, the Wyandot commissioners were justified in taking this action, both by the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of 1855.[47]

On October 20, 1858, the Wyandot Council appointed William H. Millar, a white man from Jackson County, Missouri, to replace the absent Robert J. Lawrence, on the Wyandot commission. Commissioners McCoy, Millar, and Robinson, completed most of the details in the

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[46] Armstrong to Mix, May 10, 1858, ibid.; Armstrong to McCoy and Lawrence, January 5, 1858, Lucy B. Armstrong Collection, Kansas State Historical Society; "Wyandot and Shawnee Indian Lands in Wyandotte County, Kansas," Collections of the Kansas Historical Society, 1919-1922, Vol. XV (1923), pp. 107-119.

[47] McCoy to Mix, May [no day], 1858, and Jacob Thompson to Mix, May 17, 1858, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

preparation of the schedule of Wyandot allotments on January 1, 1859. The three commissioners submitted the schedule to Mix on February 22, 1859, and he approved it on April 11, 1859. Secretary of the Interior Thompson approved the schedule on April 13, 1859.[48]

The Wyandot Reserve was divided into 281 parcels of land. The competent class received 195 land parcels, usually much larger than those allotted to members of the incompetent and orphan classes. The competents received larger allotments, because they were usually heads of families; however, all incompetents and orphans were allotted some land. The largest tract of 456 acres went to Sarah Coon, a member of the competent class, and the widowed mother of five children, while Hannah Zane, an aged widow, received 22.80 acres, the smallest parcel allotted. The Wyandots began receiving patents to their allotments at the Wyandot and Shawnee Agency on January 19, 1860, but the last patent was not issued until December 4, 1861.[49]

When the Treaty of 1855 had been concluded, the Wyandots began to improve their land in anticipation of the day when it would be allotted to them in severalty, but within a short time their gains began to erode

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[48]Robinson and William H. Millar to Denver, January 1, 1859, and Thompson to Mix, April 13, 1859, ibid.; Sarahass to Mix, October 20, 1858, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Robinson, McCoy, and Millar, "Report of the Wyandott Commissioners," February 22, 1859, in "Wyandot and Shawnee Indian Lands in Wyandotte County, Kansas," Collections of the Kansas Historical Society, 1919-1922, Vol. XV, p. 106; Mix to Thompson, April 11, 1859, and Thompson to Mix, April 13, 1859, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

[49]"Wyandot and Shawnee Indian Lands in Wyandotte County, Kansas," Collections of the Kansas Historical Society, 1919-1922, Vol. XV, pp. 103-180; Wyandot land patents, January 19, 1860-December 4, 1861, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

as large numbers of whites poured into Kansas. Guardians appointed by the Wyandot Council to administer the estates of the incompetents and orphans squandered away the lands of their wards. Many Wyandots were no match for white land speculators and signed away their property rights for cash. Whites even trespassed with impunity upon Wyandot farms. Sawmills were erected by whites on the Wyandot tract, and thieves cut down the best trees belonging to the Indians and sawed them up into lumber. Land was taken illegally from some Wyandots under due process of probate courts, while property belonging to those Indians who had emigrated to Indian Territory was at the mercy of thieves.[50]

Wyandot Floats

The Treaty of 1855 had restated the provision of the Treaty of 1842 which granted land floats to certain members of the tribe. A few floats had been selected before 1855, but none had been sanctioned by the federal government. In the two years following the conclusion of the Treaty of 1855, many of the Wyandots eligible to receive floats on public domain scrambled to secure sections of land in strategic locations in Kansas. White men, who had purchased the rights to Wyandot floats from the original grantees or their heirs, selected fifteen floats. The original grantees, or agents acting on their behalf,

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[50]Arnold to Haverty, September 1, 1857, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1857," United States Senate, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 11, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 458; Newsom to Robinson, August 24, 1858, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858," United States Senate, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 1, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 464; Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians, p. 196.

selected nineteen. On October 21, 1857, John Calhoun, surveyor general for Kansas and Nebraska, issued a list of Wyandot floats filed in his office. The list contained the location and the names of the owners of thirty-four floats. The thirty-fifth float, which had been granted to John M. Armstrong, was claimed by his widow on March 12, 1858. Of the thirty-five Wyandot floats, ten were located on land which became townsites. The present Kansas cities of Lecompton, Topeka, Lawrence, Manhattan, Emporia, Burlington, Kansas City, and Doniphan, have one or more former Wyandot floats within their boundaries.[51]

Cities on the Wyandot Reserve

Most of these townsites were selected by white men who held Wyandot floats, but the Wyandots were instrumental in founding two cities on sites within their reserve. In November, 1856, a group of Wyandots had contemplated establishing a townsite, in the business district of present Kansas City, Kansas. The next month Isaiah Walker, Joel Walker, and Silas Armstrong took into partnership Thomas H. Swope, John McAlpine, Gains Jenkins, and T. B. Eldridge, all white men, and they organized the Wyandott City Corporation. They began selling town lots at $500 apiece. The venture prospered, and by January, 1857, the members of the board of the corporation were planning the purchase of more land so they could sell it at a profit to prospective buyers in the eastern United States. The Wyandott City Corporation was not

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[51] Socolofsky, "Wyandot Floats," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 241-304.

incorporated under the laws of Kansas Territory until June 15, 1858, and after that date the town grew rapidly.[52]

The second town established on the Wyandot Reserve was Quindaro. This townsite, located north of Wyandott City, and also within the city limits of present Kansas City, Kansas, was surveyed in December, 1856, by O. A. Bassett. It was promoted by a corporation headed by Charles Robinson, later governor of Kansas, and Abelard Guthrie. The town took its name from Nancy Quindaro Guthrie, Abelard Guthrie's wife. Quindaro is a corruption of the Wyandot word Tsoo-quen-da-ro, which means a bundle of sticks, and is interpreted by the adage, in union there is strength. The members of the Quindaro Corporation were all free state supporters, and their city became a free state stronghold.[53]

Ground was broken in Quindaro on January 1, 1857, and in its first issue of May 13, 1857, the Quindaro Chindowan could report that the fledgling city had from thirty to forty houses, sixteen business establishments, and a schoolhouse, which also served as a church on Sundays. Quindaro soon had two hotels, two commission houses, a sawmill, a stoneyard, a carpenter shop, and land agencies. The free-state sympathies of its citizens were a liability for Quindaro, because

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[52]John Sherman to Armstrong, November 25, 1856, and James A. Walker to Armstrong, January 13, 1857, John M. Armstrong Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art; Kansas City Star, September 8, 1956, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library; Western Journal of Commerce, June 19, 1858, p. 1; Nelson Shannon to Denver, March 7, 1859, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[53]Kansas City Enterprise, August 8, 1857, p. 2; Alan W. Farley, "Annals of Quindaro: A Kansas Ghost Town," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1956), pp. 305-306.

steamboat captains, usually pro-slavery sympathizers from Missouri, charged higher fares to land passengers at the Quindaro wharf on the Missouri River than they did to stop at pro-slavery cities in Kansas.[54]

The most prized possession in Quindaro was a cannon nicknamed Lazarus, which had been brought to Kansas in 1856 by a party of free state settlers from Wisconsin. The fieldpiece had been buried by the free staters to avoid detection by pro-slavery partisans, but later it was exhumed by the free staters and taken to Quindaro. The citizens of Quindaro donated Lazarus to Colonel William Weer of the Union Army on July 20, 1861, and the venerable fieldpiece saw action at the Battle of Lexington, Missouri, where it was captured by the Confederate forces of General Sterling Price. The much-traveled cannon later served its new owners in the defense of Corinth, Mississippi.[55]

Despite its auspicious start, Quindaro did not prosper in the years before the Civil War. The Panic of 1857 dried up the flow of free staters coming to Kansas, and eastern financial backers were reluctant to risk additional funds in the Quindaro Corporation. Abelard Guthrie suffered a severe financial reverse in the Quindaro town venture because he was forced to assume many of the debts of the corporation. The residents of Quindaro struggled to maintain their town, but the Civil War dealt them a knockout blow, and in 1862 the state legislature of Kansas repealed the act which had incorporated Quindaro.[56]

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[54]Ibid., pp. 307-308.

[55]Ibid., pp. 309-310.

[56]Ibid., pp. 315-317.

Wyandott City became the center of social life on the former Wyandot Reserve. One of the important social centers in Wyandott City was the Summunduwot Masonic Lodge. Named in honor of a Wyandot chief who had been murdered in Wood County, Ohio, the lodge, a brick structure, was constructed in 1857 on land owned by Silas Armstrong. Each year the lodge members sponsored a celebration in honor of Saint John the Evangelist. The gala event, held on December 28, featured a ball and a supper. The lodge flourished in the years before the Civl War, and by early 1861 membership had increased to forty-one white men and Wyandots. Many of the lodge members joined the Union Army during the first weeks of the Civil War. On June 24, 1861, the lodge building collapsed, but the lodge was revived after the conclusion of the Civil War.[57]

Kansas Becomes a State

The citizen Wyandots continued to exercise their right to suffrage, and several members of the tribe were elected to territorial and local offices. When an election to approve or reject the free state Wyandotte Constitution was held on October 4, 1858, the voters of the Wyandot district registered their approval of the document by a vote of ninety-nine to fifty-eight. Abelard Guthrie claimed that on election day the Indians sold their votes for, "a dinner, whiskey, and some of

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[57] Western Journal of Commerce, December 19, 1857, p. 2; Kansas City Times, April 27, 1917 [no page number], Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library.

them probably received small sums of money."[58]

The Wyandotte Constitution became the charter of Kansas Territory. On June 7, 1860, the Wyandots learned that a bill to admit Kansas to the union as a free state, under the Wyandotte Constitution, had reached the United States Senate. Seven months later, on January 29, 1861, the news reached Wyandott City that on that day Congress had admitted Kansas to the federal union as the thirty-four state. Cannons were fired in Wyandott City to commemorate the occasion.[59]

Perhaps there were Wyandots who wondered whether achieving statehood was a cause for celebration. In the six years since the conclusion of the Treaty of 1855, the Wyandot tribe had undergone many changes. The tribe was scattered, and members were living in Canada, Ohio, Indian Territory, and Kansas by 1861, and they had lost their tribal unity. Some Wyandots had readily accepted citizenship, and had adapted to their new status, while others found that they were unable to compete with their white neighbors.

The Shawnee and Wyandot Agency was merely a caretaker Indian agency in 1861 as far as the Wyandots were concerned. Not able to protect the Wyandot farms, the Indian agents tried to insure that the transition of the Wyandots to citizen farmers would be as peaceful as possible. Taxed by officials of Kansas Territory, in violation of

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[58] Western Journal of Commerce, March 27, 1858, p. 2; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 118.

[59] Western Journal of Commerce, June 7, 1860, p. 2, and January 30, 1861, p. 2.

the Treaty of 1855, the Wyandots living in Kansas could only hope that the state government would be judicious.

The death of several chiefs had left the tribe without some of its most capable leaders. The irregular behavior of the members of the Wyandot Council, when they were called upon to safeguard the rights of those members of the tribe incapable of protecting themselves, cast doubt upon the credibility of the council. Tolerated by the federal government only until the members of the tribe received their allotments, the Wyandot Council by 1861 was no longer the official governing body of the tribe. The Wyandot Council could govern only in an unofficial capacity, and only at the sufferance of the tribe. In order to do this, enlightened leadership was required. The Wyandots needed time and understanding from their white neighbors, as well as unity within the tribe, but 1861 was a year when understanding and unity were in short supply in the United States.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE FINAL REMOVAL OF THE WYANDOTS FROM KANSAS, 1861-1867

When the first cannon fired on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861, it triggered a series of events which complicated the difficulties experienced by the Wyandots. On April 15, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln called for 75,000 three-month volunteers to put down the insurrection of the southern states and, as they did in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, a new generation of Wyandots donned the Union blue.

Wyandot Contributions to the War Effort

The Wyandots contributed thirty-five soldiers to Kansas volunteer military organizations, and they were members of seven different regiments. No members of the tribe were commissioned as officers, but two attained the rank of sergeant. William A. Long was the only Wyandot to hold the rank of sergeant upon completion of duty; he was promoted eight days before the regimental mustering out ceremony on October 19, 1865. Five Wyandots died from disease while on active duty during the Civil War, one was killed in action, one was wounded, one was taken prisoner by Confederate forces, and six deserted their units. According to their officers, the Wyandots performed well under fire. In addition to those who joined the regular volunteer forces during

the war, thirty Wyandots joined James H. Lane on one of his jayhawking expeditions into Missouri.[1]

The first Wyandot civilians to experience the horrors of the Civil War were those members of the tribe living on the Seneca Reserve in Indian Territory. In June, 1862, units of the Confederate Army invaded the Seneca Reserve and forced the pro-Union Wyandots to flee to Kansas. On April 1, 1869, sixteen Wyandots filed claims with the federal government totaling $5,722.75 for property they lost to the Confederates in Indian Territory. The Wyandots in Indian Territory were not members of any military unit at the time of the June, 1862, invasion, but when they were dispossessed of their property, seven joined the Union Army. Thomas Monocue returned to Indian Territory soon after his property was confiscated, and there he was captured and held prisoner for nine months by members of the Confederate Army. Upon his release, he fled to Kansas and joined the Union Army. Most of the Wyandots from Indian Territory had rejoined their relatives in Wyandotte County, Kansas, by September, 1862.[2]

Mathias Splitlog, a Mohawk Indian, who was married to a Wyandot woman and was a Wyandot by adoption, contributed to the Union cause in an unofficial capacity. A competent engineer and an inventor, Splitlog

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[1]John D. Benedict, Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), p. 17; a compilation of Civil War records in the Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-1865 (Topeka: The Kansas State Printing Company, 1896), pp. 5-654; Jay Monaghan, Civil War on the Western Border: 1854-1865 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955), p. 197.

[2]Claims of Sixteen Wyandot Indians, April 1, 1869, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Guthrie to Mix, September 27, 1862, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

had constructed and operated a steamboat on the Missouri River prior to the Civil War. In September, 1861, Colonel James A. Mulligan, commander of a Union brigade, commandeered all steamboats in the vicinity of Kansas City so he could prepare the defense of Lexington, Missouri. Confederate General Sterling Price was advancing with his army toward that Missouri city. Splitlog's steamboat transported Union troops to Lexington, and George Shreinder, a white man, served as pilot during the voyage, with Splitlog as engineer. In the ensuing battle of September 12-21, 1861, at Lexington the steamboat and its crew were captured by theConfederates, and Shreiner lost an arm.[3]

Bushwhackers

Because the Kansas-Missouri border during the Civil War was the scene of many small skirmishes, a number of Wyandot non-combatants suffered from outrages perpetrated upon them by bushwhackers. The rough, heavily forested land of eastern Wyandotte County provided ideal cover for bushwhackers as well as deserters. Most of the young men in this area were away serving in the Union Army, and the remaining inhabitants of Wyandotte County experienced a reign of terror which lasted until well after the Civil War was over. On January 6, 1865, the Reverend Thomas Johnson was murdered in the parsonage of the Shawnee Mission by a band of bushwhackers. William Walker reported on March 13, 1865, that he had lost all his clothing in an attack by fourteen bushwhackers while he was traveling in a stagecoach from

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[3]Kansas City Times, June 29, 1912, and September 15, 1942, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library.

Kansas City to Warrensburg, Missouri. Although escorted by five Union soldiers, the occupants of the stagecoach were forced to flee for their lives.[4]

Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence

Officials in the Office of Indian Affairs were fearful by the summer of 1863 that funds deposited in the Shawnee Agency, close to the Missouri border, would be a tempting target for Confederate bushwhackers. Shawnee Agent James B. Abbott was instructed by his superiors to move the federal government money to a location which he thought was more secure in the interior of Kansas. Thus, on the morning of August 20, 1863, Abbott began a journey to Lawrence, Kansas, carrying $900 in federal government funds which he planned to deposit where it could not be reached by bushwhackers. That evening Abbott put his horse and carriage in a Lawrence livery stable and checked into the Eldridge House for the night. The next morning William C. Quantrill and his Confederate raiders attacked Lawrence and devastated much of the town. Abbott was fortunate to escape the carnage by running through a hog

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[4] James B. Abbott to Harrison B. Branch, September 15, 1862, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862," United States House of Representatives, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, Executive Document Number 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 256; Jacob D. Cox to Schuyler Colfax, April 1, 1870, "Report on the Claims of the Wyandotte Indians, 1870," United States Senate, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 77 (12 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), Vol. II, pp. 1-55; Farley, "Annals of Quindaro: A Kansas Ghost Town," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, pp. 218-219; Western Journal of Commerce, January 7, 1865, p. 2, and March 18, 1865, p. 2; a bushwhacker was a guerilla fighter, especially one on the Confederate side in the Civil War, so-called by Union soldiers.

yard located in the rear of the Eldridge House. In making his escape, Abbott dropped his pocketbook containing the $900 in the hog yard. As soon as it was safe to do so, Abbott returned to the hog yard to search for his pocketbook. He found that the pocketbook and some of the money had been eaten by the swine, but, fortunately, he was able to recover $830 in bills which were scattered over the hog yard. The livery stable was burned in the holocaust and Abbott's carriage was destroyed. His team of horses was stolen, but later he recovered one badly injured horse. It took Abbott three weeks to recover from injuries suffered during the Quantrill raid.[5]

The Wyandots were spared a full-scale battle when Confederate forces under the command of General Price were defeated at Westport, Missouri, on October 23, 1864. Twenty-four Union soldiers, killed in the battle of Westport, were buried in the Wyandot Cemetery. When peace came to the United States in April, 1865, the Wyandots were confronted with die-hard Confederate bushwhackers lurking in the rough country of eastern Wyandotte County. Amos Cotter, a Wyandot and a veteran of three years of service in the Union Army, returned to Wyandotte County in January, 1865, and found that his allotment had been usurped by a white man. Cotter's farm had been purchased at a sheriff's sale by J. A. Bartles, a notorious horse thief, who was

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[5]Western Journal of Commerce, August 29, 1863, p. 1; Abbott to E. B. French, October 12, 1863, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Abbott to William P. Dole, March 11, 1864, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

suspected of having provided sanctuary for bushwhackers.[6]

Tribal Factionalism

The Wyandots were not required to become citizens of the United States under the terms of the Treaty of 1855, and a number of members of the tribe elected to remain classified as Indians. Most of these Wyandots had emigrated to Indian Territory before the Civil War. In April, 1857, they sent John W. Greyeyes to Washington to represent their interests, and they established their own tribal government in Indian Territory. The non-citizen Wyandots became known as the Indian Party, and they contended that their branch of the tribe represented the Wyandot tribe. The Wyandots who did not leave Kansas before the Civil War were members of the Citizen Party.[7]

Wyandot Relations with the Office of Indian Affairs

The disruptions created by the Civil War complicated the task confronting the Office of Indian Affairs in administering the affairs of the various Indian tribes. The Central Superintendent's office was moved in 1861 from Saint Louis to Saint Joseph, Missouri, where there was more security from invasion by Confederate military units. The Indians in Kansas were not prosperous in 1861, and William P. Dole,

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[6] Western Journal of Commerce, October 29, 1864, p. 1; Kansas City Times, May 25, 1968, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library; Amos Cotter to John G. Pratt, January 4, 1865, and Pratt to Dole, February 16, 1865, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[7] Greyeyes to Denver, April 8 and 20, 1857, and E. F. Havens to Thompson, January 10, 1859, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dispatched Special Indian Agent Thomas C. Slaughter to Kansas in 1861, to determine if government assistance was required to relieve the distress experienced by the Indians. Slaughter reported to Dole on June 21, 1861, that he would furnish government supplies to the Kansas Wyandots. Harrison B. Branch, the Central Superintendent at Saint Joseph, informed Dole on October 24, 1861, that Shawnee and Wyandot Agent James B. Abbott had distributed corn and pork to destitute Wyandots in Kansas. Dole ruled on January 2, 1862, that the citizen Wyandots should be allowed to remain classified as Indians in order to facilitate their protection by the federal government. When the Wyandots living in Indian Territory fled to Kansas in 1862 in order to escape capture by the Confederate Army, they too were compelled to rely on supplies furnished by the federal government. They requested permission to remain under the protection of the government, and when Commissioner Dole visited the Wyandots in Kansas on January 20, 1863, he recommended that the federal government continue to provide aid for the refugee Wyandots in order to relieve their misery. The federal government provided aid to the Wyandots for the duration of the Civil War, but the combination of the increased burden placed upon the tribe by the returning refugees and the unset-

tled conditions of war contributed to a decline in tribal prosperity.[8]

Wyandot Acculturation to White Society

Although most Wyandots experienced difficulties, Wyandotte County, Kansas, benefited from the requirements of a nation at war. Officials of the Kansas Central Railroad broke ground on their railroad in Wyandott City on February 16, 1860, and despite numerous problems, construction continued during the war. In 1863, flour mills in Wyandott City were producing boat loads of flour for the Union Army. On September 24, 1864, a pontoon bridge over the Kansas River was completed, which eliminated the hazardous journey between Wyandott City and Kansas City, enabling the Wyandots to reach Kansas City in any weather. A few Wyandots, all members of the Citizen Party, were fortunate enough to prosper during the Civil War. Isaiah Walker, a Wyandot, became a prominent member of the community, and adjusted well to his citizen status. Walker was elected vice-president of the Kansas City Horticultural Society on October 9, 1863, and on September 8, 1864, he was appointed an alternate delegate to the Kansas State

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[8]Thomas C. Slaughter to Dole, June 21, 1861, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Branch to Dole, October 24, 1861, Dole to Branch, January 2, 1862, Guthrie to Dole, July 19, 1862, Guthrie to Mix, September 27, 1862, and Tauroomee, Jacob Whitecrow, Michael Frost, John Hicks, Shadrack Bostwick, James Armstrong, and John W. Greyeyes to Dole, December 23, 1862, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Dole to William G. Coffin, June 18, 1863, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863," United States House of Representatives, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 1 (16 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), Vol. III, p. 323; Tauroomee to Dole, March 3, 1863, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Constitutional Convention at Topeka,[9]

The Methodists

Both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South in Wyandotte County, Kansas, suffered during the war. The unsettled condition of the area and the decline in the prosperity of the Wyandots led to a loss of church membership. The congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church South experienced additional hardships because they were suspected of being southern sympathizers. On November 6, 1862, Guthrie informed Commissioner Dole that the teachers at the Shawnee Mission expressed secessionist sympathies and that the Shawnee Mission School was "a nest of traitors."[10] The preachers at the Methodist Episcopal Church South in Wyandotte County were constantly harrassed by petty persecutions, and they were compelled to earn a living in secular business. Many lay members of the congregation held secret prayer meetings in their homes, because if the Union soldiers, stationed in Wyandotte County, learned of these gatherings, they would be placed under surveillance. When the Civil War was over, the Methodist Episcopal Church South was reorganized, and in 1867 the Wyandot church became a part of the Missouri Conference. That year the Reverend Joseph King was appointed pastor.[11]

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[9]Western Journal of Commerce, February 16, 1860, p. 2, October 24, 1863, p. 2, September 26, 1863, p. 2, September 24, 1864, p. 3, October 10, 1863, p. 1, and September 17, 1864.

[10]Guthrie to Dole, November 6, 1862, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[11]Pennington, History of Seventh Street Methodist Church South, pp. 34-36.

The northern faction of the Methodist Wyandots did not experience discrimination because of suspected disloyalty, but they also suffered during the Civil War. Many of the church members were destitute, and managed to maintain their church organization only at great personal sacrifice. In 1865, Lucy B. Armstrong pleaded with Commissioner Dole to petition the federal government to appropriate $6,000 for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church to compensate for the damage done to the church since 1855. She contended that the members of the congregation were unable to undertake repair and restoration measures without aid from the federal government. Eventually, the Wyandots received some funds from the federal government which were designated to compensate for the burning of the churches, but they were never used effectively.[12]

The Delaware Agency and the Administration of Fielding Johnson

The unsettled conditions in Wyandotte County caused by the Civil War changed the role played by the Shawnee and Wyandot Agent in his relations with the Wyandots. No longer was the agent relegated to the position of observer while the Wyandots made a transition into the white man's world. The problems resulting from white violations of the terms of the Treaty of 1855, the inability of many Indians to adapt to their new roles as citizens, and the chaos of the Civil War made it difficult

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[12]Armstrong to Dole, February 14, 1865, and John P. Usher to Dole, February 24, 1865, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

for the Wyandots to live in peace. On June 6, 1862, Agent Abbott recommended to Superintendent Branch that he be authorized to hire a Wyandot interpreter on a per diem basis and only when the need arose. Abbott claimed that an adequate interpreter could always be found in Wyandotte County. After this date, however, the returning refugees from Indian Territory, many of whom could not understand English, created a need for a permanent interpreter.[13]

On March 19, 1863, Commissioner Dole recommended to W. T. Otto, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, that the Wyandots be transferred to the Delaware Agency, and on March 27, 1863, Otto approved the recommendation. The Indian Party of the Wyandot tribe had requested Dole to place them under the jurisdiction of the Delaware Agency because it was more convenient for them to travel to the Delaware Agency than to the Shawnee Agency. Tauroomee, the principal chief and leading spokesman for the Indian Party, claimed that although the Wyandots did not like Fielding Johnson, the Delaware Agent, they had become so poor that no agent could inflict serious injury upon them. Chief Tauroomee knew Johnson well because the Delaware Agent had been a merchant on the former Wyandot Reserve for over five years. Johnson had encouraged the Wyandots to buy goods from him on credit at 3 percent interest per month, and the Indians were forced to mortgage their farms as collateral.[14]

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[13]Abbott to Branch, June 6, 1862, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[14]W. T. Otto to Dole, March 27, 1863, Tauroomee, Frost, Whitecrow, Bostwick, and Greyeyes to Dole, March 29, 1863, and Tauroomee, Frost, Whitecrow, Hicks, and Greyeyes to Dole, April 17, 1863, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Agent Johnson appointed Silas Armstrong interpreter for the Wyandots on July 14, 1863, because he claimed that it was necessary to have a full-time interpreter to conduct the business of the tribe. Johnson reported to Superintendent Branch on September 25, 1863, that the Wyandot tribe had been reduced to 435 individuals. Of this number there were 87 men, 123 women, and 235 children. He maintained that unless the federal government provided more assistance, many of the members of the tribe would become paupers.[15]

The Indian Party maintained a hostile attitude toward Johnson throughout his tenure as Delaware agent. On February 11, 1864, Tauroomee charged that Johnson ignored the members of the Indian Party and only conducted business with the Citizen Party. Abelard Guthrie alleged on March 15, 1864, that Johnson supported the Citizen Party, and that he was collecting $30,000 each year for a trading post situated on the Delaware Agency in violation of regulations established by the Office of Indian Affairs.[16]

The Administration of John G. Pratt

Commissioner Dole reacted to these charges, along with the displeasure over Johnson's conduct expressed by the Delaware Indians, and in June, 1864, the Reverend John G. Pratt was appointed Indian agent

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[15]Fielding Johnson to Branch, July 14, 1863, ibid.; Johnson to Branch, September 25, 1863, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863," United States House of Representatives, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 1, Vol. III, pp. 353-354.

[16]Tauroomee, Frost, Hicks, Whitecrow, Greyeyes, and Francis Cotter to Dole, February 11, 1864, and Guthrie to Usher, March 15, 1864, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

for the Delaware Agency. Pratt, a respected Baptist missionary, assumed his duties as Delaware agent on July 1, 1864, and after this date the irregularities associated with the office of Delaware agent disappeared. He recommended to Dennis N. Cooley, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on December 8, 1865, that he be authorized to employ a Wyandot interpreter on a per diem basis whenever an interpreter was required. Pratt's recommendation was accepted, and it eliminated a superfluous post which had cost the federal government $400 each year. The Wyandots remained under Pratt's jurisdiction while they lived in Kansas.[17]

Wyandot Claims

One of the problems confronting the Indian agents was that they did not know which faction represented the tribe. In November, 1861, affidavits were taken by Agent Abbott in sixty-four cases concerning claims the Wyandots had against the federal government for depredations committed against them by white men from 1846 to 1861. These claims were submitted by Abbott to Commissioner Dole, and a portion of the Wyandot tribe appointed Abelard Guthrie to act as their attorney in the prosecution of the claims. On December 14, 1861, a council claiming to represent the tribe, appointed Irvin P. Long to act as attorney for the Wyandots. This council with Matthew Mudeater, the principal chief, and Long, Silas Armstrong, William Johnson, and John W. Greyeyes as councilmen, commissioned Long with the task of securing the money

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[17] Pratt to Dole, December 27, 1864, and Pratt to Dennis N. Cooley, December 8, 1865, ibid.

designated in the sixty-four claims against the government and all unpaid funds due the tribe. Agent Abbott, while conceding that the claims were valid, maintained that Guthrie was the choice of a large majority of the Wyandot tribe.[18]

Guthrie and Long went to Washington to prosecute the Wyandot claims, but they acted independently. Long claimed that Agent Abbott had recognized him as the legitimate attorney for the tribe, but Guthrie continued to act as if he were the only attorney representing the tribe. On March 15, 1862, Guthrie visited Senator James H. Lane of Kansas, and although he detested Lane, he asked for his assistance in securing funds for the Wyandots. On March 18, 1862, Senator Lane informed Commissioner Dole that he was interested in securing a just settlement of the Wyandot claims.[19]

On March 19, 1862, William Johnson, a member of the Wyandot Council which was hostile to Guthrie, charged that he had authorized Guthrie to act as attorney for the prosecution of his person claim against the federal government, but that he did not know what he was signing. He further charged that Guthrie had obtained his consent to

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[18]"Report on the Claims of the Wyandotte Indians," United States Senate, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 77, Vol. II, pp. 1-55; Abbott to Dole, December 14, 1861, and Affidavit of Matthew Mudeater, Irvin P. Long, Armstrong, William Johnson, and Greyeyes, December 14, 1861, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[19]Long to Dole, December 30, 1861, Affidavit of Guthrie, January 15, 1862, and James H. Lane to Dole, March 18, 1862, ibid.; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 141.

receive 20 percent of all funds recovered.[20]

Despite his unpopularity among some members of the Wyandot tribe, Guthrie was working diligently to gain funds for the Wyandots. On March 20, 1862, he called upon Lane again and asked for assistance. The following day Commissioner Dole submitted the sixty-four Wyandot claims for depredations to Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith, with his recommendation that they be paid. The other United States Senator from Kansas, Samuel C. Pomeroy, began to show an interest in the plight of the Wyandots, when on June 13, 1862, he requested Commissioner Dole to send him an itemized account of funds due the Wyandot tribe. On July 5, 1862, Secretary of the Interior Smith, after receiving an inquiry from Pomeroy, urged Dole to submit an identical account to his office.[21]

One item where the Wyandots claimed that the federal government owed money to the tribe was from the sale of depreciated Tennessee and Missouri state bonds held in trust for the tribe. In a report from the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs of June 11, 1862, it was established that the Wyandots had lost $13,042.50 from the sale of their bonds, but the committee did not take a stand on whether the government was liable for this loss. A bill was brought before the United States Senate on June 25, 1862, whereby the Wyandots would be

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[20]Affidavit of William Johnson, March 19, 1862, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[21]Dole to Caleb B. Smith, March 21, 1862, ibid.; Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 142; Samuel C. Pomeroy to Dole, June 13, 1862, and Smith to Dole, July 5, 1862, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

compensated $9,000 for the losses they had incurred from the sale of their state bonds, but Senator Lane objected to this bill, so it did not pass. A petition was submitted to the United States Senate on November 21, 1862, asking that all funds due the tribe, including the loss incurred by the sale of state bonds, be paid to the tribe with interest.[22]

Guthrie continued to act on behalf of the Wyandots, and on August 30, 1862, he pleaded with Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles E. Mix to send the Wyandots all the funds in their account in the Office of Indian Affairs. A group of eighty-four Wyandots signed an affidavit on November 21, 1862, which authorized Guthrie to act as their legal counsel. Guthrie was further gratified on December 23, 1862, when the Wyandot Council representing the Indian Party authorized him to act as attorney for the Wyandot tribe. This council, composed of Tauroomee, the principal chief, Michael Frost, the second chief, and Jacob Whitecrow, John Hicks, Shadrack Bostwick, James Armstrong, and John W. Greyeyes as councillors, charged Guthrie with the task of securing all funds due the Wyandot tribe.[23]

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[22]"Report on the Relief of the Wyandotte Indians," United States Senate, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, Report Number 56 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), pp. 1-4; Congressional Globe, June 25, 1862, p. 2913; "Petition of the Wyandotte Indians for a final settlement of all Business Transactions with the Government," United States Senate, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, Miscellaneous Document Number 16, Vol. I, pp. 1-5.

[23]Guthrie to Mix, August 30, 1862, and Affidavit of Tauroomee, Frost, Whitecrow, Hicks, Bostwick, Armstrong and Greyeyes, December 23, 1862, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Affidavit of Eighty-Four Members of the Wyandot Tribe, November 21, 1862, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

In December, 1862, Central Superintendent Branch dispersed $139 in unpaid government funds due the Wyandots to Agent Abbott, but when the money was paid to the Indians in March, 1863, it was totally inadequate to relieve the distress of the tribe. The Tauroomee Council pleaded with Commissioner Dole on December 23, 1862, to pay the Wyandots all funds due the tribe, and the council's letter to Dole was incorporated in a petition to Congress of January 13, 1863. Despite the council's plea, Secretary of the Interior John P. Usher directed on January 20, 1863, that only the unpaid portion of $3,494.35 due the Wyandots as annuity funds granted under the Treaty of 1842 should be remitted to the tribe. Usher maintained that the Wyandots had forfeited all rights to any other funds under the terms of the sixty articles of the Treaty of 1855.[24]

Guthrie was confronted with another threat to this authority when on February 13, 1863, Judge Ellias S. Terry, a white man from Danville, Illinois, presented an account to Commissioner Dole which listed $54,496.71 in alleged unpaid funds due the Wyandot tribe. Terry claimed to be the legal counsel for the Wyandots, and his account included funds due from the sale of state bonds, annuity payments, and

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[24]Statement of Public Moneys Received and Dispersed by Harrison B. Branch, Superintendent of Indian Affairs on Account of the Indian Department for December, 1862, and March, 1863, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Tauroomee, Frost, Hicks, Bostwick, Armstrong, and Greyeyes to Dole, December 23, 1862, and Usher to Dole, January 20, 1863, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; "Memorial for the Payment of the Claims of the Wyandotte Indians," United States Senate, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, Miscellaneous Document Number 15 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), pp. 1-3.

unpaid interest alleged to be due the Wyandots.[25]

There was no mention of Terry's account when on February 16, 1863, Usher made another decision on the funds due the Wyandots. He relented somewhat from his directive of January 20, 1863, by conceding that the Wyandots were entitled to receive losses incurred from the sale of their state bonds, and that they should be paid the interest due on unpaid funds to which they were entitled. Usher placed $1,458.34 in unpaid annuity funds in the Wyandot account on February 18, 1863, and the same day he reaffirmed Guthrie's position as legal counsel for the Wyandots, but he directed that Guthrie did not have the power to receive any funds due the Wyandot tribe.[26]

On February 21, 1863, Guthrie requested Dole to retain the $1,454.34 due the Wyandots, because the sum was so small that it would be inadequate to relieve the distress of the tribe, and Congress had not made a decision on whether the Indians were to receive the funds due in other claims. Guthrie contended that Dole should wait until Congress appropriated more funds for the Wyandots, and then remit all the money in the Wyandot account to the Indians.[27]

Guthrie signed a receipt on February 25, 1863, for an affidavit which purportedly reaffirmed his power of attorney status for the Wyandot tribe. The affidavit, signed by the members of the Tauroomee

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[25]Ellias S. Terry to Dole, February 13, 1863, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[26]Usher to Dole, February 16 and 18, 1863, and Receipt for money paid to settle Wyandot claim for money due under Treaty of 1842, February 18, 1863, ibid.

[27]Guthrie to Dole, February 21, 1863, ibid.

Council, had been filed in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Judge Terry without Guthrie's consent or knowledge. The $1,458.34 due the Wyandots was forwarded by Dole to Agent Johnson despite Guthrie's request, and on March 14, 1863, Principal Chief Mudeater, representing the Citizen Party within the Wyandot tribe, urged Dole to authorize Agent Johnson to remit the funds to the Mudeater Council and all forthcoming funds due the tribe. Mudeater charged that unauthorized persons were claiming to act as legal counsel for the Wyandot tribe, and he further stated that these bogus counsels only acted for individual members of the tribe and were not authorized by the legitimate Wyandot Council.[28]

The Tauroomee Council informed Commissioner Dole on March 29, 1863, that they had employed Guthrie to secure all unpaid funds due the Wyandot tribe, but they stated that Agent Johnson had informed them that the Wyandot funds in his possession had been obtained through the efforts of Judge Terry. They further stated that Johnson told them that in order to gain the funds in his office the Wyandots would be required to pay Terry 30 percent of the sum as a commission for his services. The Tauroomee Council claimed that they knew nothing about Terry and that they had promised to pay Guthrie's commission if he secured any unpaid funds. They alleged that Johnson had made an agreement to remit the $1,458.34 to the Mudeater Council if they paid the commission to Terry. Silas Armstrong was accused by the Tauroomee

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[28]Guthrie, receipt for power of attorney for the Wyandot tribe, February 25, 1863, ibid.; Mudeater to Dole, March 14, 1863, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Council as holding $1,000 in tribal funds, and of withholding considerable sums of money due those Wyandots under his guardianship while they suffered great hardships. The Tauroomee Council charged Armstrong with withholding their mail so that they could not communicate with the federal government and that Agent Johnson gave his tacit consent to these abuses.[29]

Johnson appealed to Commissioner Dole on April 12, 1863, to decide which council represented the Wyandot tribe. He stated that both the Tauroomee Council and the Mudeater Council had notified him that they were the only legitimate council in the Wyandot tribe. Johnson further stated that sixty heads of families in the Wyandot tribe had informed him that the Mudeater Council represented the interests of the tribe. He declared that the total population of the Wyandot tribe was approximately 200 individuals and that the Tauroomee Council represented only a small band of refugees from Indian Territory.[30]

On April 17, 1863, the Tauroomee Council requested Dole to instruct Johnson to remit the $1,458.34 in Wyandot funds in his possession to the Wyandot tribe, because without this money they claimed that they would be unable to purchase seed potatoes and seed grain necessary to plant a crop. They feared that without this money they would not be able to survive the winter. On May 11, 1863, the Tauroomee Council further requested that Dole remit to them $758.25 in unpaid annuity, education, and blacksmith funds, which they contended had been appropri-

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[29]Tauroomee, Frost, Whitecrow, Bostwick, and Greyeyes to Dole, March 29, 1863, ibid.

[30]Johnson to Dole, April 12, 1863, ibid.

ated for the use of the tribe before the Treaty of 1855.[31]

Secretary of the Interior Usher avoided recognizing either Wyandot council as the legitimate council for the Wyandot tribe when on May 11, 1863, he directed Dole to instruct Agent Johnson to dispense the Wyandot funds at the Delaware Agency to the members of the tribe on a per capita basis. William Walker gave his support to the Tauroomee Council on May 14, 1863, when he pointed out to Commissioner Dole that the members of the Citizen Party were no longer members of the Wyandot tribe, and that by the provisions of the Treaty of 1855 the old Wyandot Council had ceased to exist. He maintained that some of the members of the Mudeater Council had been employed to supervise the affairs of a few former members of the Wyandot tribe, but that they had no legal power to act as a Wyandot Council. Walker further contended that an annual election of a council was required by Wyandot tribal law, and even if the members of the Citizen Party were still considered to be Indians by the federal government, they had not held an election since 1860. He declared that the members of the Tauroomee Council had not accepted citizenship and had satisfied tribal regulations, so they were entitled to be recognized as the legitimate Wyandot Council.[32]

Johnson received Dole's instructions to pay the Wyandot funds on a per capita basis, but on May 30, 1863, he informed Dole that he was reluctant to remit the money to the Wyandots, because he was afraid the Wyandot chiefs would demand that a portion of their funds be set aside

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[31]Tauroomee, Frost, Whitecrow, Hicks, and Greyeyes to Dole, April 17, 1863, and Tauroomee to Dole, May 11, 1863, ibid.

[32]Usher to Dole, May 11, 1863, and Walker to Dole, Mary 14, 1863, ibid.

to reimburse attorneys acting on behalf of the tribe. The same day the Citizen Party held an election, and Matthew Mudeater was chosen principal chief, John Sarahass, second chief, Irvin P. Long, third chief, John D. Brown, fourth chief, and William Johnson, fifth chief. On June 1, 1863, Agent Johnson informed Dole that he was unwilling to dispense the Wyandot funds in his possession without the signature of the Wyandot Council. He urged that the new Mudeater Council be recognized by the federal government, so that he could pay the Wyandots their funds. Johnson answered Walker's charges against the Mudeater Council and declared that four members of the Tauroomee Council were citizens of the United States. He further stated that Robert Robitaille, secretary to the Tauroomee Council, was not only a citizen, but was also an acting justice of the peace in Wyandotte County, Kansas.[33]

Secretary of the Interior Usher ordered Commissioner Dole on July 10, 1863, to instruct Agent Johnson to pay the Wyandot funds in his possession to the Indians without obtaining a receipt from either Wyandot council, and thus once again he avoided recognizing either council. The Mudeater Council had appealed to Dole on June 22, 1863, to instruct Johnson to withhold a portion of the tribal funds for attorney fees. Receiving no answer from Dole, the Mudeater Council appealed directly to Agent Johnson on July 14, 1863, to withhold $291.66 for legal fees and $11.14 to be remitted to the messenger who had notified the Wyandot tribe of the impending payment, but he dispensed the

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[33]Johnson to Dole, May 30 and 31, 1863, and June 1, 1863, ibid.

entire $1,45.34 that day on a per capita basis.[34]

On November 14, 1863, the Mudeater Council submitted an affidavit to Dole which repeated, with a few minor amendments, its claims for funds due the tribe, which had been submitted to Dole by Judge Terry on February 13, 1863. Terry presented an additional claim for $1,391.82 in alleged unpaid annuity funds to Commissioner Dole on January 27, 1864, and he asked that this sum be paid to him as agent for the Wyandot tribe. On February 11, 1864, Terry appointed John S. Watts, a white man from New Mexico Territory, to be his successor as legal council for the Wyandots. While he was awaiting approval of this action by the federal government, he requested on February 25, 1864, that Commissioner Dole suspend all business between the government and the Wyandot factions represented by Guthrie and himself.[35]

In early 1864, the Tauroomee Council turned its attention to obtaining a home for the Wyandot tribe in Indian Territory. It visited the Seneca encampments on the Marias des Cygnes River in Kansas and there it drew up a draft treaty whereby it would receive a tract of land in the northeastern portion of Indian Territory from the Senecas, and the Senecas and Shawnees, after the conclusion of the Civil War. On February 11, 1864, the Tauroomee Council requested permission from Commissioner Dole to come to Washington, along with delegates from the Seneca, and the Seneca and Shawnee tribes, for the purpose of con-

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[34]Mudeater, Long, and Charles Moore to Dole, June 22, 1863, Usher to Dole, July 10, 1863, Mudeater, Long, John Sarahass, John D. Brown, and William Johnson to Fielding Johnson, July 14, 1863, Johnson to Dole, July 15, 1863, and Mudeater, Long, Sarahass, Brown, and Johnson to Johnson, July 17, 1863, ibid.

[35]Affidavit of Mudeater, Long, Sarahass, Brown, and Johnson, November 14, 1863, Terry to Dole, January 27, 1864, Affidavit of Terry, February 11, 1864, and Terry to Dole, February 25, 1864, ibid.

cluding a treaty between the tribes. The Tauroomee Council claimed that Agent Johnson was interfering with its mail, and requested that Dole address all correspondence to it to the post office at Quindaro, Kansas. The urgency of the request by the Tauroomee Council was reinforced on February 12 and 15, 1864, when the Kansas Legislature passed resolutions calling for the removal of all Indians living within the boundaries of Kansas.[36]

Guthrie supported the allegations against Johnson submitted to Dole by the Tauroomee Council when on March 15, 1864, he charged Johnson with dishonesty and neglect of the members of the Indian Party. He continued to press for the recovery of funds due the Wyandot tribe, and on June 11, 1864, he maintained that $1,256 in tribal funds in the hands of Agent William Gay, at the time of his death in 1856, had never been remitted to the Wyandot tribe. On June 16, 1864, Guthrie accused the federal government of failing to pay the Wyandot funds which were due under the Treaty of 1850. On July 6, 1864, Secretary of the Interior Usher transferred $3,000.12 in unpaid funds to the Wyandot account.[37]

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[36]Draft of a treaty between the Wyandots and the Senecas, and the Senecas and Shawnees, 1864, and Tauroomee, Frost, Hicks, Whitecrow, Greyeyes, and Cotter to Dole, February 11, 1864, ibid.; "Resolutions for the Removal of Indians in Kansas," United States Senate, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Miscellaneous Document Number 42 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 1; "Resolution on the Sale of Indian Land in Kansas," United States Senate, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Miscellaneous Document Number 44 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 1.

[37]Guthrie to Usher, March 15, 1864, Guthrie to Dole, June 11 and 16, 1864, and Usher to Dole, July 6, 1864, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Taxation of Wyandot Land

A problem the Wyandots had throughout the Civil War, in addition to collecting federal funds due the tribe, was to avoid paying illegal taxes on their land in Wyandotte County, Kansas. According to the provisions of the Treaty of 1855, they were not to pay taxes on their land until five years after Kansas attained statehood. Officials of the Kansas Legislature determined that the wording of the treaty meant that the Wyandots should be required to pay taxes on their land for the period before Kansas became a state. In addition, on June 25, 1861, the Kansas Legislature passed a resolution which stipulated that the Wyandots should be required to pay taxes on their land beginning in 1861, which was clearly in violation of the Treaty of 1855. On July 6, 1861, Guthrie protested to Commissioner Dole against this decision, and on February 18, 1862, Secretary of the Interior Smith declared that the action taken by the Kansas Legislature was illegal. Nevertheless, the fact that many Wyandots had been compelled to pay taxes on their land for the Kansas territorial period had impoverished many and had forced them to sell their land.[38]

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[38]"Taxation of the Wyandotte Indian Lands in Kansas, Letter of the Secretary of the State of Kansas," United States House of Representatives, 37th Congress, 1st Session, Miscellaneous Document Number 7 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), pp. 1-2; Guthrie to Dole, July 6, 1861, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Smith to Mix, February 18, 1862, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Karnes and Ess to James Harlan, March 8, 1866, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

The Sale of Wyandot Land

Many of the Wyandots, especially those classified as incompetents or orphans, had great difficulty receiving any money for the use of their land, and there was considerable doubt about their right to sell their allotments. On January 19, 1862, Guthrie asked Dole when the incompetents could legally sell their land, but Dole did not answer the question. The Mudeater Council appealed directly to President Lincoln on August 13, 1862, and requested that he permit Mary D. Williams, an incompetent refugee Wyandot from Indian Territory, to sell her allotment so that she could establish herself in Wyandotte County, Kansas. Secretary of the Interior Usher, in a ruling of May 14, 1863, denied Williams the right to sell her property, by declaring that, "it is inexpedient to authorize the sale of the land at this time."[39]

Usher acted under Article 4 of the Treaty of 1855, whereby incompetent Wyandots were forbidden to sell their allotments for five years after they had received their patents. However, on July 2, 1863, Usher directed that the incompetents could sell their land if the purchase price was paid to them in cash or valuable securities, and if the sale was in the best interest of the seller. Guthrie was perplexed by Usher's decision, because it was in violation of the terms of the Treaty of 1855, and on September 26, 1863, he requested that Commissioner Dole clarify the decision. Agent Johnson did not question Usher's directive,

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[39]Guthrie to Dole, January 19, 1862, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Mudeater, Long, Armstrong, and Johnson to Abraham Lincoln, August 13, 1862, and Usher to Dole, May 14, 1863, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

but he was reluctant to permit the sale of land owned by incompetents, because he did not know whether the sales were to be confirmed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or by the probate court of Wyandotte County, Kansas. He claimed that the Indians wanted Commissioner Dole to confirm the land sales, because in that case they would not be required to pay court costs.[40]

To clarify the situation, on February 10, 1864, Dole drafted a set of regulations which were to be followed when the land of an incompetent Wyandot was sold. Under the new regulations, the incompetent Wyandot was to be paid for his land in cash or the sale was to be secured by a mortgage on real estate of equal value to that of his allotment, and the mortgage was to bear the current legal rate of interest in Kansas. The deed for the Wyandot allotment was to be accompanied by the affidavits of two disinterested persons who would testify to the validity of the transaction, and together they were to be sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The entire land transfer agreement was to be reviewed by the President of the United States, and it was not to be valid without his signature. These rules were approved by Secretary Usher on March 7, 1864.[41]

Guthrie contended, on March 24, 1864, that despite the new rules and regulations concerning the sale of land belonging to incompetent

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[40]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, p. 679; Usher to Mix, July 2, 1863, Guthrie to Dole, September 26, 1863, and Johnson to Dole, December 1, 1863, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[41]Dole, "Rules and Regulations to be observed in the conveyance of lands by certain Indians mentioned in the 4th article of the Treaty of 1855, with the Wyandott Indians, as those not so competent," February 10, 1864, and Usher to Dole, March 7, 1864, ibid.

Wyandots, there would be considerable litigation over transactions consummated under the new provisions. He recommended that Dole wait until September 1, 1864, before confirming any land sales. After that date the five year waiting period stipulated in Article 4 of the Treaty of 1855 would be satisfied. John G. Pratt, the Delaware agent, informed Dole on August 6, 1864, that both the Indians and the white men who wished to purchase their land were anxious to complete their transactions. He wanted instructions from Dole on how to deal with land transfers between whites and Wyandots who had refused to accept citizenship.[42]

On October 7, 1864, Guthrie requested that Dole instruct Pratt to permit competent Wyandots, who had not accepted citizenship, to sell their land without the approval of the federal government. He maintained that the Treaty of 1855 did not stipulate that competent Indians should be prohibited from selling their allotments because they had refused to become citizens. Agent Pratt was anxious to receive permission to allow all Wyandots of the competent class to sell their land, and the confirmation of the land sales of incompetent Wyandots from Commissioner Dole. On November 5, 1864, he reported to Dole that there was much ill feeling between many prospective sellers and purchasers, and in some cases there had been instances of bodily injury. He further stated that a few incompetent Wyanots, without waiting for approval from the federal government, had sold their allotments to more than one purchaser. Pratt was called upon by the Indians to protect their

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[42]Guthrie to Dole, March 24, 1864, and Pratt to Dole, August 6, 1864, ibid.

property, which in many instances they had already sold, and when he refused, he incurred the censure of the Wyandots.[43]

Guthrie urged Dole on December 20, 1864, to return all deeds for land illegally purchased from incompetent and orphan Wyandots, during the tenure of Fielding Johnson as Delaware agent, to the white purchasers and to declare the transactions null and void. He contended that many of the white purchasers were occupying the land in the expectation that their purchases would be sanctioned by the President. Agent Pratt predicted on February 6, 1865, that unless a uniform ruling on all land sales by Wyandots was established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, there would be serious difficulties. He stated that while some of the Indians had received a fair price for their property, many of them had been paid very little for their land. He commented that all the Wyandot allotments had increased in value and that he was hearing of "sales in all directions."[44]

The Wyandots suffered serious damage from white trespassers on their land in 1865 and 1866, and valuable timber was removed by the interlopers and sold. Lucy B. Armstrong notified Commissioner of Indian Affairs Nathaniel G. Taylor on July 18, 1867, that although white squatters on Wyandot land, and white men who had illegally purchased Wyandot allotments, had been told to vacate the land by Agent Pratt, many had refused. She asked Commissioner Taylor to assist the Wyandots in Kansas, but on September 19, 1867, he stated that according

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[43]Guthrie to Dole, October 7, 1864, and Pratt to Dole, November 5, 1864, ibid.

[44]Guthrie to Dole, December 20, 1864, and Pratt to Dole, February 6, 1865, ibid.

to a ruling of Attorney General James Speed of April 17, 1865, Congress should protect the rights of incompetent and orphan Wyandots and that all sales by these Indians should be confirmed by Congress.[45]

The Reorganization of the Wyandot Tribe

Agent Pratt was unable to resolve the difficulty of dealing with two Wyandot councils in 1864. The Tauroomee Council continued to act as the legitimate Wyandot Council when on November 25, 1864, they placed thirty-four Wyandots, who had been classified as incompetents and orphan minors, on the competent roll. Pratt stated on December 14, 1864, that although he did not know all of the thirty-four Wyandots, many of them were as able to manage their own affairs as some of the Indians who had been originally included on the competent roll. William Albin, the Central Superintendent at Saint Joseph, Missouri, supported the action taken by the council, and he expressed the view that the members of the Tauroomee Council were able to judge whether an Indian was competent or incompetent.[46]

Guthrie remained in Washington and continued to press for the recovery of funds due the Wyandot tribe. On February 2, 1865, he notified Commissioner Dole that there appeared to be an additional $1,391.82 due the Wyandots. However, on February 4, 1865, Tauroomee informed Acting Commissioner Charles E. Mix that his council had not

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[45]Thomas Murphy to Dennis N. Cooley, February 27, 1866, Armstrong to Nathaniel G. Taylor, July 18, 1867, and Taylor to Moses B. Newman, September 19, 1867, ibid.

[46]Minutes of the Wyandot Council of Tauroomee, Hicks, Whitecrow, Cotter, and Greyeyes, November 25, 1864, Pratt to Dole, December 4, 1864, and William Albin to Dole, December 6, 1864, ibid.

entrusted Guthrie with the power to transact tribal business with the Office of Indian Affairs. He maintained that all of Guthrie's missions were to Congress. Guthrie returned to Kansas, but he continued to attempt to recover funds due the Wyandots. He reported to Secretary of the Interior James Harlan on September 4, 1865, that the Wyandots were in dire need of their money. He stated further that Commissioner Dole had promised him in the spring of 1865 that he would send the draft treaty of 1864 between the Wyandots and Senecas to Kansas, where the tribes could negotiate further, but that no action had been taken on the matter.[47]

The Citizen Party of the Wyandot tribe held an election on August 18, 1865, and Silas Armstrong was elected principal chief, and the other subchiefs elected were Matthew Mudeater, Irvin P. Long, William Johnson, and John D. Brown. The Western Journal of Commerce stated that with this election the Wyandot tribe was thoroughly reorganized. On September 18, 1865, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dennis N. Cooley directed Agent Pratt to consult with Armstrong, as the head chief of the Wyandot tribe.[48]

The first duty performed by Armstrong as principal chief was to act as a delegate from the Wyandot tribe at an Indian council called by the federal government, which began at Fort Smith, Arkansas, on September 7, 1865. Armstrong, in company with Mudeater, and delegates from other tribes, left Kansas City immediately after the election of

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[47]Guthrie to Dole, February 2, 1865, Tauroomee to Mix, February 4, 1865, and Guthrie to James Harlan, September 4, 1865, ibid.

[48]Western Journal of Commerce, August 19, 1865, p. 2; Cooley to Pratt, September 18, 1865, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

August 18, and after experiencing torrential rains, arrived at Fort Scott, Kansas, on August 24. The Armstrong party had a mule named Shot who was in constant misery from the attacks of marauding insects. To relieve her discomfort, Armstrong covered Shot with blankets and sacks, but her head was still exposed. Armstrong borrowed a linen coat from Mudeater which he placed over Shot's head and inserted her ears in the sleeves. He commented that she looked like an elephant, but Shot was no longer plagued by insect bites. The caravan reached Baxter Springs, Kansas, on August 26, and after marveling over the springs, they proceeded south the next morning. They had difficulty crossing the Arkansas River at Fort Smith, but they arrived at their destination on September 6, 1865.[49]

The council opened the following day, and delegations representing the Seminole, Cherokee, Creek, Shawnee, Wichita, Osage, Seneca, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Wyandot tribes were there. Commissioner Cooley presided at the council, and the primary purpose of the meeting was to secure peace treaties from those tribes who had supported the Confederate States in the Civil War. The delegates also discussed preliminary plans for the eventual removal of the tribes in Kansas to Indian Territory. On September 14, a treaty of peace was signed between the government and the former pro-Confederate Indians. The council lasted for approximately two weeks, and in addition to concluding peace treaties, the groundwork was set for the eventual removal of the Indians in Kansas to Indian Territory.[50]

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[49]Western Journal of Commerce, September 30, 1865, p. 1.

[50]Ibid., September 16, 1865, p. 1, September 23, 1865, p. 3, and September 30, 1865, p. 2.

The members of the Tauroomee Council did not acknowledge Armstrong's leadership, and on November 24, 1865, they protested to Agent Pratt about the recognition of the Armstrong Council by Commissioner Dennis N. Cooley. Tauroomee had removed, along with his family, to the Seneca Reserve in Indian Territory, but Cotter, Whitecrow, and John Karahoo, members of the Tauroomee Council, carried on the opposition to the Armstrong Council. On December 1, 1865, Pratt requested that Central Superintendent Thomas Murphy advise him as to which council he should recognize.[51]

The matter was further complicated when on December 14, 1865, Silas Armstrong died. Despite the charges raised against him by the Tauroomee Council, he was very popular, and over 1,000 Indians, along with many white men, attended his funeral. On March 6, 1866, Pratt reported to Murphy that after Armstrong's death, Long and Mudeater represented the Citizen Party.[52]

On March 8, 1866, Representative Robert T. Van Horn of Missouri, a member of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, requested Pratt to give his view on the validity of the Wyandot claims then before Congress. He also wanted Pratt to give his opinion on whether the Citizen Party or the Indian Party represented the Wyandots. Pratt replied that the Wyandot claims were valid, and that in his opinion

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[51]Cotter, Whitecrow, and John Karahoo to Pratt, November 24, 1865, and Pratt to Murphy, December 1, 1865, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[52]Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 307-308; Pratt to Murphy, March 6, 1866, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

those Wyandots who had accepted citizenship could not speak for the tribe. However, Pratt maintained that the citizen Wyandots should be entitled to receive their share of all funds due the tribe.[53]

William Walker, John Sarahass, and D. V. Clement, presented a petition to Pratt on March 22, 1866, in which they urged that the council which represented the Citizen Party be recognized as the legitimate Wyandot Council. In a reversal of Walker's claim on May 14, 1863, the petition contended that Tauroomee and the members of his council had refused to participate in the annual tribal elections and had thereby forfeited their right to represent the tribe. In addition, the petition charged that Tauroomee was living in Indian Territory, and that he could not represent the Wyandot tribe.[54]

Despite this challenge to their authority, the Tauroomee Council had been able to negotiate two draft treaties in March, 1866. The first, a brief treaty with the Senecas, and the Senecas and Shawnees (another tribe composed of remnant Senecas and Shawnees), was designed to secure a home for the Wyandots on the Seneca Reserve in Indian Territory, and to unite the Wyandots and the Senecas into a tribe designated as the united tribes of Wyandots and Senecas. The second treaty, between the Wyandots and the Senecas, stipulated the above clauses, but, in addition, it was more detailed, and it called for the payment of many of the claims allegedly due the Wyandots. It was designed so that only those Wyandots who had not accepted citizenship or

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[53]R. T. Van Horn to Pratt, March 8, 1866, and Pratt to Van Horn, March 24, 1866, ibid.

[54]Walker, Sarahass, and D. V. Clement to Pratt, March 22, 1866, ibid.

who were adopted into the Wyandot tribe by the Tauroomee Council could become members of the united tribes of Wyandots and Senecas. Guthrie was instrumental in drafting both treaties, and he urged that they be approved by the federal government. Special Agent R. M. Bratney, of the Neosho Agency in Indian Territory, forwarded the second treaty of 1866 to Elijah Sells, the Southern Superintendent at Fort Smith, Arkansas, on March 29, 1866. He urged Sells to bring the treaty to the attention of Commissioner Cooley and Secretary of the Interior O. H. Browning. Bratney recommended that delegations from the tribes involved be permitted to go to Washington to negotiate a final treaty or that a commission be sent to Indian Territory to accomplish this purpose.[55]

A council composed of Greyeyes, Cotter, Whitecrow, Karahoo, and Phillip Monture, representing the Indian Party of the Wyandot tribe, submitted their claim to be recognized as the legitimate Wyandot Council to Pratt on April 13, 1866. Pratt took no position on their claim, but on April 17, 1866, he submitted the claims of the councils representing the Indian Party and the Citizen Party to Central Superintendent Murphy and requested that he make a decision on the matter. Murphy forwarded Pratt's letter and attachments to Commissioner Cooley on April 20, 1866. He stated that in his view the council representing

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[55]Draft treaty between the Senecas, the Senecas and Shawnees, and the Wyandots, March, 1866, Draft treaty between the Senecas and Wyandots, March, 1866, Memorandum of Guthrie, March, 1866, and R. M. Bratney to Elijah Sells, March 29, 1866, Letters Received, Neosho Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the Citizen Party was the council which should be recognized.[56]

On May 7, 1866, Robert Robitaille, secretary to the Wyandot Council representing the Indian Party, pleaded with Pratt to assist the Wyandots in obtaining a home in Indian Territory. He contended that the Wyandots in Kansas were in a deplorable condition and that they needed to remove to Indian Territory. Robitaille also stated that one of their most urgent requirements was a blacksmith shop. Murphy supported Robitaille, and he recommended that the United States extinguish Indian title to the Wyandot lands in Kansas.[57]

The Wyandots were promised some funds from the federal government, when on July 28, 1866, Congress passed an act granting $4,680 to Whitecrow and Sarahass, stewards of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The money was in compensation for the destruction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1856, and it was to be used to rebuild the church and to enclose the Wyandot cemeteries.[58]

Secretary of the Interior Harlan appointed W. H. Watson, special agent to investigate the difficulties facing the Wyandots. Watson arrived at Agent Pratt's residence on the Delaware Agency on July 14, 1866, and together they met with Cotter, Greyeyes, James Armstrong,

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[56]Greyeyes, Cotter, Whitecrow, Karahoo, and Phillip Monture to Pratt, April 13, 1866, Pratt to Murphy, April 17, 1866, and Murphy to Cooley, April 20, 1866, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[57]Robert Robitaille to Pratt, May 7, 1866, Pratt to Murphy, May 9, 1866, and Murphy to Cooley, May 26, 1866, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866," United States House of Representatives, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 1 (16 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), Vol. I, pp. 252-253.

[58]Congressional Globe, July 28, 1866, p. 412.

and Robitaille, who represented the Indian Party, and Long, who represented the Citizen Party. The members of the Indian Party told Watson that their faction was ready to move to the Seneca Reserve in Indian Territory, but that the Senecas would not recognize the citizen Wyandots as members of the Wyandot tribe. Watson claimed that both sides were anxious to emigrate from Kansas, and that he believed that a treaty could be arranged with the Senecas if the government supervised the proceedings.[59]

The surviving members of the Armstrong Council informed Watson on July 26, 1866, that they would be happy to reunite with the Indian Party. They stated that their decision to accept citizenship had been a mistake and that they wished to remove from the jurisdiction of the state of Kansas. The Indian Party was not as gracious as the Citizen Party, and on August 10, 1866, Robitaille informed Guthrie that the main obstruction to a reconciliation of the two parties was the question of honor. However, Robitaille indicated a softening in their stand because a flood on the Seneca Reserve in June, 1866, had inundated the crops of Tauroomee and the other members of the Indian Party who had emigrated to Indian Territory; they were consequently confronted with the prospect of starvation during the winter of 1866-1867.[60]

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[59] Harlan to Cooley, May 14, 1866, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; W. H. Watson to Cooley, July 21, 1866, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866," United States House of Representatives, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 1, Vol. I, pp. 253-255.

[60] Sarahass, Mudeater, Long, Brown, and Johnson to Watson, July 26, 1866, and Robitaille to Guthrie, August 10, 1866, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

The Treaty of 1867

Special Agent Bratney recommended to Commissioner Cooley on August 11, 1866, that if commissioners were to be appointed by the government to treat with the Wyandots and Senecas, they should be empowered to include all just claims due both tribes in the treaty. He stated that without the insertion of the claims, any treaty would be useless. Guthrie contended on November 12, 1866, that the most urgent need of the Indians was federal government assistance to prevent them from starving, and he recommended that James C. Homile, an employee of the Office of Indian Affairs, be appointed special Indian agent to provide this aid. George C. Snow, Indian Agent at the Neosho Agency, reported to Lewis V. Bogy, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on November 30, 1866, that many of the Wyandots were moving to his agency in anticipation of a treaty with the United States which would grant them land in Indian Territory.[61]

Commissioner Bogy took Guthrie's advice and appointed Homile special Indian agent. Homile reported to Bogy on December 15, 1866, that fifty-seven Wyandots had returned to Kansas because they could no longer endure the hardships of Indian Territory, but thirty-seven Wyandots remained on the Seneca Reserve. He also mentioned that there were seventy Methodists and seventeen Roman Catholics within the Wyandot tribe, but the other members of the tribe did not belong to any church. Hampered by one and one-half feet of snow, Homile con-

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[61] Bratney to Cooley, August 11, 1866, and Guthrie to O. H. Browning, November 12, 1866, ibid.; George C. Snow to Lewis V. Bogy, November 30, 1866, Letters Received, Neosho Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

ducted a survey of the Wyandots in Kansas, and on December 21, 1866, he stated that he believed the refugee Wyandots in Kansas would survive the winter because their more prosperous brethren would not let them starve. He maintained that the Wyandots in Indian Territory faced a more serious fate because there were no prosperous members of the tribe living there to aid them.[62]

Vital Jarrot, Joseph Bogy, and H. W. Farnsworth were appointed by Commissioner Bogy to persuade the Senecas and Wyandots to settle their differences and then go to Washington to conclude a treaty. The three men began their task on December 15, 1866, and on February 2, 1867, they reported to Bogy that the Indians were ready to conclude a treaty with the government. By that time, Tauroomee and Karahoo were already in Washington. On January 9, 1867, a council which met at the Neosho Agency, composed of Whitecrow, John W. and Silas Greyeyes, Monture, James Hicks, and Bostwick, had authorized Tauroomee and Karahoo to represent the Wyandot tribe in Washington.[63]

On January 31, 1867, a group of citizen Wyandots protested against the Wyandot delegation in Washington, because they suspected that the delegates would not act in the best interest of the tribe. They were particularly suspicious of George Wright, a Negro interpreter, and a

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[62] James C. Homile to Bogy, December 15, 1866, and Homile to Bogy, December 21, 1866, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[63] Vital Jarrot, and Joseph Bogy to Lewis V. Bogy, December 15, 1866, and Jarrot, Joseph Bogy, and H. W. Farnsworth to Lewis V. Bogy, February 2, 1867, ibid.; Affidavit of Whitecrow, John W. Greyeyes, Silas Greyeyes, Monture, James Hicks, and Bostwick, January 9, 1867, Letters Received, Neosho Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

member of the Wyandot tribe, who accompanied Tauroomee and Karahoo to Washington. Wright, they stated, could not speak Seneca, and therefore they feared that there would be misunderstandings at the negotiations.[64]

Despite the misgivings of some members of the tribe, the Wyandot delegates gave a good account of themselves at the bargaining table. A treaty was concluded with the government on February 23, 1867, and the delegates left Washington on March 3, 1867, and took a train to Kansas City, Missouri.[65]

Under the terms of the treaty, the Senecas agreed to sell 20,000 acres of their reserve to the government for $20,000. The United States agreed to sell this tract to the Wyandots for $20,000. The Wyandot claims of $83,814.40, against the government were to be reviewed by three commissioners appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and a report was to be submitted by the commissioners to Congress. From whatever claims Congress allowed, the purchase price of the 20,000 acres was to be deducted. The Wyandot tribe was to receive $5,000 in removal funds, and the money remaining from the claims allowed by Congress was to be divided among the Wyandots on a per capita basis.[66]

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[64] Greyeyes, Brown, Long, Mudeater, Johnson, Sarahass, Scott and Silas Armstrong to Van Horn, January 31, 1867, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[65] Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 960-969; Receipt from Tauroomee, Karahoo and George Wright, March 3, 1867, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[66] Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, pp. 960, 963.

No Wyandot who had accepted citizenship was to become a member of the tribe unless he was adopted by the Wyandot Council, or if the Indian agent in charge of the tribe would certify that he was unfit to continue in the exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship. The Secretary of the Interior was pledged to investigate all cases where land belonging to incompetent or orphan Wyandots had been sold.[67]

The Treaty of 1867 provided a method whereby the Wyandots could be reunited under one council and could resume tribal relationships disrupted by terms of the Treaty of 1855. The turmoil of the Civil War, and the violation of Wyandot rights by white men, had seriously weakened the tribe. The combination of these circumstances had split the Wyandots into two opposing factions, and had promoted dishonesty within the tribe.

Despite Wyandot loyalty to the Union, dissension within their own ranks made it difficult for the government to deal with the hardships the Wyandots experienced during and after the Civil War. When they urgently needed assistance from the federal government, the Wyandots found that Agent Johnson was reluctant to safeguard their interests. Agent Pratt, despite his confusion in some instances, was their best friend. Although he did not go over the heads of his superiors to give his own views, he effectively presented the claims of both the Citizen Party and the Indian Party to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The determined resistance of the members of the council representing the Indian Party to a usurpation of tribal rights by the Citizen

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[67] Ibid., p. 963.

Party was rewarded by tacit recognition by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Indian Party Council was the legitimate Wyandot Council. Officials of the federal government were reluctant to get involved in internal tribal affairs, but eventually it became evident that the Indian Party had the better case.

Long experience had shown that Wyandotte County, Kansas, was not an ideal location for an Indian tribe. It was too close to white settlements whose residents had no regard for Indian rights. Armed with the knowledge that their claims against the government would be investigated and paid, if found to be valid, the Wyandots could look forward to removal to their new reserve in Indian Territory. They realized that this was their last chance to reestablish their tribe on a firm foundation, and a majority of the tribe was willing to accept the challenge.

CHAPTER VII

THE WYANDOT TRIBE IN INDIAN TERRITORY, 1867-1876

The Treaty of 1867 did not bring immediate relief to the Wyandots. A majority of the tribe lived in Kansas, but within a few years after the ratification of the Treaty of 1867, nearly all of the Wyandots, both citizens and non-citizens, emigrated to Indian Territory. The members of the tribe hoped to gain their unpaid funds from the government and to be able to live in peace and harmony in their new homes on the former Seneca Reserve, but many of the problems which had plagued the Wyandots before the Treaty of 1867 reappeared in Indian Territory. As early as 1865, Frank Cotter had settled on the Grand River Switch on the Seneca Reserve, near present Wyandotte, Oklahoma, and this area became the center of Wyandot tribal life.[1]

Initial Difficulties in Indian Territory

While the Indians and officials in the Office of Indian Affairs waited for the Senate to ratify the Treaty of 1867, there was little which could be done to improve the condition of the Wyandots. Superintendent Murphy reported to Commissioner Taylor on April 1, 1867, that

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[1]Nieberding, "The Fifty Year Club," March 31, 1957, Velma Nieberding Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

some members of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs wished to go to Indian Territory to examine conditions there. Murphy stated that he would recommend that H. W. Farnsworth, a white employee of the Office of Indian Affairs, who had visited all the tribes involved, be appointed to act as their guide.[2]

Guthrie continued to attempt to secure funds for the Wyandots, and on July 25, 1867, he urged Secretary of the Interior Browning to aid incompetent Wyandots in gaining a just settlement of their estates. He asked Browning on July 25, 1867, to appoint him special agent to assist the incompetent Wyandots, but his request was refused. On December 21, Guthrie reminded Commissioner Taylor that there was still $1,252.72 due the Wyandots, which had been in Shawnee Agent Gay's office at the time of his murder, but was not included in the payment schedule attached to the Treaty of 1867, and Taylor instructed Charles Mix to investigate the case.[3]

The Treaty of 1867 was ratified by the Senate on June 18, 1868, and after this date, the government began to fulfill the terms of the treaty. Commissioner Taylor expressed doubts as to the validity of some of the Wyandot claims in a memorandum of July 20, 1868, and he was perplexed over the complexity of the Wyandot cases. Taylor did not have time to deliberate in peace because on July 23, 1868, Guthrie urged him to obtain all papers on the Wyandot claims which were in the

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[2]Murphy to Taylor, April 1, 1867, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[3]Guthrie to Browning, July 25, 1867, and January 5, 1867, and Browning to Mix, January 13, 1868, ibid.; Guthrie to Taylor, December 21, 1867, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

House of Representatives, and on July 28, 1868, he obtained them. On July 31, 1868, Guthrie gave Taylor unsolicited advice on how to investigate the claims of the incompetent Wyandots. The indefatigable Wyandot attorney urged Mix on August 21, 1868, to investigate the case of George Wright, and if he found that Wright was entitled to be placed on the tribal roll, then this should be done.[4]

Neosho Agent George C. Snow reported on September 8, 1868, that many of the Wyandots who had left Kansas were living on the Seneca Reserve. John Schoenmakers, Superintendent of the Osage Manual Labor School, stated on September 9 that the children of the Wyandots in Indian Territory were not receiving any education, but he was powerless to help them because his school was already heavily in debt. Delaware Agent Pratt reported on September 21 that the Kansas Wyandots were also in an unfortunate condition, but that they were expecting government aid.[5]

Commissioner Taylor appointed James H. Embry a special Indian agent, and he was instructed to visit the Wyandots to obtain their assent to the Treaty of 1867. Embry held a meeting with the Wyandots in Indian Territory, and he received their approval of the treaty in

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[4]Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, p. 960; Memorandum from Taylor, July 20, 1868, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Guthrie to Taylor, July 23, 1868, and July 31, 1868, Clinton Lloyd to Taylor, July 28, 1868, and Guthrie to Mix, August 21, 1868, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[5]Snow to Murphy, September 8, 1868, John Schoenmakers to Snow, September 9, 1868, and Pratt to Murphy, September 21, 1868, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1868," United States House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, Executive Document Number 1 (14 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), Vol. II, pp. 723, 733-734.

its final form. He then visited the Kansas Wyandots, and on September 15, 1868, they approved the treaty. The Treaty of 1867 was proclaimed on October 14, 1868.[6]

Wyandot Claims Against the Government

On September 15, 1868, the members of the Tauroomee Council requested Secretary Browning to appoint Joseph P. Root one of the commissioners provided for in Article 13 of the Treaty of 1867, who were to examine the claims of the Wyandots. He was described as an old citizen who was well acquainted with the Indians, but a disinterested person. Special Indian Agent George Mitchell urged Browning on November 28, 1868, that a commission should be appointed because the Wyandots were in great need of the funds, and they were scattered among other tribes in Kansas and Indian Territory. On December 7, 1867, Browning ordered Taylor to nominate three commissioners to satisfy the terms of Article 13 of the Treaty of 1867. On December 12, Taylor submitted the names of James H. Embry, James P. Taylor, and Julius A. Fay to Browning and recommended that they be approved as commissioners. Browning approved the nominations on December 14, and stipulated that they be paid $8 per day for their services.[7]

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[6] James H. Embry to Mix, October 6, 1868, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, p. 960.

[7] Tauroomee, Whitecrow, Silas M. and John W. Greyeyes, and John Karahoo to Browning, September 15, 1868, A. S. Stockton to Browning, September 18, 1868, George Mitchell to Browning, November 28, 1868, and Browning to Taylor, December 7, 14, and 19, 1868, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Embry, Fay, and James P. Taylor received all documents concerning the claims due the tribe, but on January 4, 1869, they reported that they had not received claims from sixty-four individual Indians totaling $34,342.50. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Taylor submitted the claims to the commission on February 12, but on February 17, the three men claimed they also needed a list of all Wyandots who had requested they be excluded from citizenship. The next day the commission reported that they had completed their task except for the investigation of the sixty-four Wyandot claims for depredations. They contended that they could not recommend the payment of these claims without additional testimony, and they recommended they be sent to Kansas to conduct further investigations. Commissioner Taylor concurred with their recommendation, and Browning approved their request on February 26, 1869.[8]

On March 2, 1869, the commission submitted their report to Taylor without completing their investigation of the Wyandot depredation claims. They maintained that the Wyandots should be paid the following sums:

Interest on deferred payments----------	$11,612.00
Loss on sale of bonds, May, 1859, with interest----	18,547.00
Loss on sale of bonds, March, 1860, with interest--	12,620.00
Money heretofore appropriated in fulfillment of treaty stipulations, but transferred to the surplus fund----------	3,844.69

[8] Embry, Julius A. Fay, and James P. Taylor to Taylor, January 4, 1869, February 15, 17, and 18, 1869, Taylor to Embry, Fay, and Taylor, February 12, 1869, and Browning to Taylor, February 26, 1869, ibid.

Taxes unjustly collected by the Territory of Kansas in 1859 and 1860, to be refunded with interest----------	14,582.62
Grant of $5,000 for the Wyandotts to establish themselves in their new home--------	5,000.00
	$66,206.31[9]

Before proceeding to Kansas, the commission adopted rules under which they would investigate the sixty-four Wyandot claims. The three commissioners decided that they would investigate only the sixty-four claims, that no consideration would be given to claims of competent Wyandots for alleged deprecations committed after the Treaty of 1855 was concluded, and that no consideration would be given to the claims of incompetent Wyandots for depredations committed after July 1, 1855. Embry resigned from the commission on April 14, 1869, and Fay and Taylor conducted the investigations in Kansas. On April 30, 1869, Fay and Taylor submitted certified claims totaling $6,293.50 of the original $34,342.50 to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Eli S. Parker.[10]

On December 28, 1868, John W. Greyeyes left Kansas City and proceeded to Washington, where he claimed he represented the Wyandots as

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[9]Embry, Fay, and Taylor to Taylor, March 2, 1869, "Report on the Wyandotte Indians," United States Senate, 41st Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document Number 6 (6 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), Vol. I, pp. 1-4.

[10]Rules for investigating Wyandot claims adopted by Embry, Fay and Taylor, April 3, 1869, and Embry to Taylor, April 14, 1869, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Fay and Taylor to Eli S. Parker, April 30, 1869, "Report on the Claims of the Wyandotte Indians," United State Senate, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document Number 77, Vol. II, pp. 1-55.

their attorney. He urged Commissioner of Indian Affairs Taylor on January 11, 1869, to decide whether a citizen Wyandot could be accepted into the tribe who had acted as a guardian and had not paid to his ward the funds placed in his trust by the government. William Walker asked Greyeyes on January 13 to aid Taylor in clarifying Article 13 of the Treaty of 1867, so that the Indians would know who was qualified to become a member of the Wyandot tribe. The Tauroomee Council informed Commissioner Taylor on February 2 that they were satisfied with the treaty as it read. Greyeyes did not accomplish anything, and on February 13, 1869, he returned to Kansas City.[11]

Guthrie requested Taylor to issue instructions on who could sell allotments belonging to orphan and incompetent Wyandots, and on January 12, 1869, Senator Pomeroy of Kansas urged that Taylor make a decision on the matter. However, on February 12, 1869, Secretary Browning instructed Taylor to delay making any decision until further investigations could be made.[12]

Wyandot Tribal Affairs

On December 17, 1868, Commissioner Taylor directed Central Superintendent Murphy to instruct Agent Pratt to make a registry of all

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[11]Greyeyes to Taylor, January 11, 1869, Walker to Greyeyes, January 13, 1869, Tauroomee, Silas M. Greyeyes, Monture, Bostwick, and Smith Nicholas to Taylor, February 2, 1869, and Bill of Greyeyes, February 8, 1869, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[12]Guthrie to Taylor, January 7, 1869, Pomeroy to Taylor, January 12, 1869, and Browning to Taylor, February 12, 1869, ibid.

Indians who should be considered as members of the Wyandot tribe as stipulated in Article 13 of the Treaty of 1867. Before undertaking the task of making a registry of the Wyandot tribe, Pratt requested Murphy to send him a list of all those Indians on the competent, incompetent, and orphan minor lists. Guthrie informed Taylor on February 22, 1869, that it would be impossible for Pratt to compose a registry of the Wyandots unless a decision were reached on whether heirs were to be included in the tribe, but Pratt attempted to perform his task. On July 10, 1869, he informed John Karahoo that he would be in Quindaro, Kansas, and that he would add the names of those individuals who had a legal right to tribal membership to the Wyandot registry. Pratt decided that since the election of a new Wyandot Council was scheduled for August, 1869, he should wait until the council had been elected, and until after they had adopted the many Wyandots who wished to return to Indian status, before adding more names to the tribal list. On August 20, 1869, he invited Central Superintendent Enoch Hoag of Lawrence, Kansas, to attend the proposed election scheduled for August 23, 1869, at the home of Jacob Whitecrow in Wyandotte County, Kansas.[13]

Only those Wyandots who had not accepted citizenship were permitted to vote in the election. John Karahoo was chosen principal chief and James Armstrong, Peter Charloe, David Charloe, and Jacob Curleyhead were elected councillers. On August 31, 1869, the new

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[13]Taylor to Murphy, December 17, 1868, Pratt to Murphy, February 8, 1869, and Guthrie to Taylor, February 22, 1869, ibid.; Pratt to Karahoo, July 10, 1869, Memorandum of Pratt, July 23, 1869, and Pratt to Enoch Hoag, August 20, 1869, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society.

council adopted twenty-five Indians into the Wyandot tribe, and Pratt added their names to the registry. On September 1, 1869, he submitted a list of the members of the Wyandot tribe in Kansas to Commissioner Parker.[14]

On September 6, Pratt asked Special Agent Mitchell at the Neosho Agency to assist him in completing the list. He urged Mitchell to comply with the provisions of the Treaty of 1867 when taking the registry. On September 20, Tauroomee visited Pratt and protested that only his council had the power to adopt Indians into the Wyandot tribe, and that those Indians who had been adopted on August 31, 1869, by the Karahoo Council could not be considered members of the tribe. Pratt, although wanting to protect as many Indians as possible by putting their names on the registry, asked Superintendent Hoag to give him instructions on how to proceed. Special Agent Mitchell forwarded a list of members of the Wyandot tribe to Pratt on September 24, and Pratt added these names to the tribal registry. He sent the list of the Wyandots living in Indian Territory to Commissioner Parker on February 23, 1870. The registry containing the names of 146 persons was divided into a list of 103 Wyandots of the citizen class and 43 of the non-citizen class.[15]

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[14]Pratt to Parker, August 31, 1869, and September 1, 1869, ibid.; Minutes of the Wyandot Council, August 31, 1869, and Certificate of Election by Pratt, January 22, 1870, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[15]Pratt to Mitchell, September 6, 1869, and September 20, 1869, John G. Pratt Papers, Kansas State Historical Society; Pratt to Hoag, September 20, 1869, Mitchell to Pratt, September 24, 1869, and a Registry of Citizen and Non-Citizen Wyandottes Residing upon the Reserve of that Tribe in the Indian Country, February 23, 1870, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Pratt had been instructed by Commissioner Taylor on December 30, 1868, that while compiling a registry of the Wyandot tribe, he should also investigate the land sales of incompetent and orphan minor Wyandots. He reported to Superintendent Hoag on July 20, 1869, that the complexity of the land transactions, the violation of Indian rights by officials of the Missouri River Railroad and the Kansas branch of the Union Pacific Railroad, and the length of time which had elapsed since the transactions had been completed, had made it almost impossible for him to complete an investigation. Pratt requested that he be excused from this duty, but he informed Hoag that he would cooperate with the United States District Attorney in Kansas, if that officer would investigate the cases.[16]

Hoag informed Parker that one of the reasons Pratt had requested that he be excused from this duty was that he feared bodily injury, because white settlers in Wyandotte County, Kansas, resented any interference by officers of the Office of Indian Affairs. He recommended that someone from another department of the government be appointed to investigate the Wyandot land transactions. On September 22, 1869, eighty-eight white citizens of Wyandotte County petitioned Secretary of the Interior Jacob D. Cox to settle the land transactions because the delay was causing a decline in local prosperity. In addition, white men besieged Pratt in his office and demanded that he give them illegal deeds which had been issued during the administration of Delaware Agent Fielding Johnson. Commissioner Parker submitted a set of regulations to Secretary Cox which were designed to

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[16]Pratt to Hoag, July 20, 1869, ibid.

guard against fraud in any land sale between an incompetent or orphan minor Wyandot and a white man. Cox approved these regulations on May 4, 1870, and they formed the basis for future investigations.[17]

The Wyandots were also anxious that their reserve in Indian Territory be surveyed so that they would know where to locate their farms. On June 14, 1869, a group of Wyandots submitted a petition to Commissioner Parker requesting that he appoint Samuel Parsons surveyor for the Wyandot Reserve. Neosho Agent Snow reported to Parker on July 26, 1870, that he would let a contract for the survey of the Wyandot Reserve, but he took no action. The Wyandots appealed to Parker again on November 7, 1870, to appoint a surveyor and on January 10, 1871, Superintendent Hoag appointed Ezra W. Robinson surveyor for the Wyandot, Seneca, Shawnee, Peoria and Ottawa reserves in Indian Territory. Robinson completed the survey on May 29, 1871.[18]

The Karahoo Council complained in November, 1869, that many individuals who had been Wyandots, but who had accepted citizenship and had not been adopted into the tribe, were located on the Wyandot Reserve in Indian Territory. Commissioner Parker instructed Brevet Major General W. B. Hazen, the Southern Indian Superintendent, then

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[17]Hoag to Parker, July 21, 1869, and August 21, 1869, Citizens of Wyandotte County, Kansas, to Jacob D. Cox, September 22, 1869, Pratt to Hoag, October 4, 1869, Parker to Cox, April 7, 1870, and Approval of Cox, May 4, 1870, ibid.

[18]Greyeyes to Parker, June 14, 1869, ibid.; Karahoo to Parker, November 7, 1870, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Snow to Parker, July 26, 1870, Ezra W. Robinson to Hoag, January 10, 1871, and Hoag to Robinson, January 10, 1871, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Hoag to Parker, May 29, 1871, Letters Received, Quapaw Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

located at Fort Gibson, in Indian Territory, to investigate the claim and report to him. Chief Karahoo urged Hazen to adhere to the provisions of the Treaty of 1867, when making his report, because otherwise the citizen Wyandots would control the tribe. General Hazen submitted his report to Parker on March 5, 1870, stating that many of the Indians residing on the Wyandot Reserve were not technically members of the tribe. He indicated that they should be permitted to remain there because many were not suited for citizenship.[19]

The spectre of two councils, each claiming to represent the Wyandot tribe had never entirely subsided, but when Tauroomee died in Wyandotte County, Kansas, on January 15, 1870, the threat took on new meaning. Tauroomee, while never relinquishing his claim to the title of principal chief, was not recognized as chief by the federal government. In a eulogy given at Tauroomee's funeral, William Walker stated that Superintendent Hoag had recognized Tauroomee as principal chief. As second chief in the Tauroomee Council, John W. Greyeyes claimed that with the death of Tauroomee the mantle of principal chief had fallen on him. Karahoo protested this action to Parker on January 26, 1870, and claimed that he was the principal chief.[20]

Several Wyandots, who had not supported the Tauroomee faction, recognized Tauroomee as an honest man who did what was best for his

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[19]Parker to W. B. Hazen, November 12, 1869, Karahoo to Hazen, March 3, 1870, and Hazen to Parker, March 5, 1870, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[20]Wyandotte Gazette, January 20, 1870, quoted in Connelley, "Provisional Government of Nebraska and Journal of William Walker," Nebraska State Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 173; Karahoo to Parker, January 26, 1870, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

people. They charged that the Karahoo Council was a tool in the hands of Guthrie. These Wyandots alleged that Guthrie had not been able to manipulate Tauroomee, so he shifted his support to the Karahoo Council. Guthrie had a bill for legal services performed for the Wyandots of $2,466.60 pending in the Office of Indian Affairs, and by supporting the Karahoo Council, there was a good chance that they would remit this sum to him from recovered tribal claims. The Karahoo Council had employed him as legal counsel for the tribe on January 31, 1870, and he submitted his credentials to Commissioner Parker on March 18, 1870.[21]

John W. Greyeyes forwarded several claims the Wyandots had against Guthrie to Superintendent Hoag on June 2, 1870, and he asked that any land owned by Guthrie be attached until the claims were paid. Many of these claims were against the government, but some of the Wyandots blamed Guthrie for not having received their funds. Hoag recommended that Parker investigate the claims.[22]

Hoag also recommended on June 14, 1870, that those Wyandots who had been illegally removed from the tribal roll without their consent should be reinstated. He had received depositions taken between January 18 and February 21, 1870, from thirty-nine Indians who claimed that without their knowledge their names had been removed from the Wyandot tribal roll. Hoag submitted a revised tribal roll containing

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[21]Guthrie to Taylor, March 1, 1869, Affidavits of Johnson and Long, February 21, 1870, Deposition of Mudeater, March 3, 1870, Affidavit of Karahoo, David Charloe, Peter Charloe, and Curleyhead, January 31, 1870, and Guthrie to Parker, March 18, 1870, ibid.

[22]Greyeyes to Hoag, June 2, 1870, and Hoag to Parker, June 15, 1870, ibid.

the names of these Indians along with 481 other Wyandots to Commissioner Parker on August 22, 1870.[23]

On May 23, 1870, forty-three Wyandots submitted a petition to Hoag urging him to appoint a member of the Society of Friends to investigate their land transactions in Wyandotte County, Kansas. Guthrie urged that three commissioners be appointed to perform the task, but on August 11, 1870, Secretary Cox appointed Samuel A. Cobb and Walter R. Irwin commissioners to investigate the Wyandot land sales.[24]

Cobb and Irwin began their investigations in Kansas in late August, 1870. The two commissioners took testimony from the Indians and those whites who were familiar with the cases. Irwin went to the Neosho Agency in Indian Territory in September, 1870, and there he took depositions from Irvin P. Long, John Sarahass, and George Wright on cases involving the land transactions of fifty-seven Wyandots. Cobb and Irwin concluded their investigations by October 18, 1870. They found that many Wyandots had not received a fair price for their allotments.[25]

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[23]Depositions of Thirty-Nine Wyandot Indians, January 18-February 21, 1870, and Hoag to Parker, June 14, 1870, ibid.; A. C. Farnham to Parker, August 22, 1870, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[24]Greyeyes and Walker to Hoag, May 23, 1870, and Petition of Forty-Three Wyandots to Hoag, May 23, 1870, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Memorandum of Guthrie, July 26, 1870, and Cox to Parker, August 11, 1870, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[25]Guthrie to Parker, August 26, 1870, ibid.; Report of Walter R. Irwin, September 14, 1870, in "Wyandot and Shawnee Indian Lands in Wyandotte County, Kansas," Collections of the Kansas Historical Society, 1919-1922, Vol. XV, pp. 160-161; Irwin to Parker, October 18, 1870, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

While the federal government investigated Wyandot land transactions, the Indians remained divided over who should represent the tribe. The Greyeyes faction protested to Commissioner Parker on July 28, 1870, over alleged illegal acts performed by the Karahoo Council. However, both factions recognized that the tribe needed assistance from the government, if they were to be able to reestablish their tribe in Indian Territory. Karahoo requested Commissioner Parker on October 3, 1870, to assist him in bringing forty Wyandots living in Kansas to the Wyandot Reserve in Indian Territory, because the tribe was not able to finance the venture. Special Agent Mitchell recommended that the government attempt to resolve the differences between the two Wyandot factions, because he contended that their welfare depended on their being a united tribe. The Karahoo Council protested again against the settling of citizen Wyandots in Indian Territory, and in November, 1870, they sent repeated requests to officials of the government, including President Ulysses S. Grant, to aid them in recovering funds. The Greyeyes faction also protested to the government in November, 1870, over their failure to receive tribal funds, and in addition they called Commissioner Parker's attention to the fact that Stephen A. Cobb, one of the commissioners appointed to investigate Wyandot land claims, was an attorney employed by Guthrie. This disclosure further weakened the position of the Karahoo

faction.[26]

In addition to internal dissension and poverty within the tribe, and inability to procure funds from the government, the Wyandots were also concerned with efforts by officials of railroad companies to obtain a right-of-way through the Wyandot Reserve. On March 16, 1870, Irvin P. Long and Dawson Mudeater, representing the Wyandots, met in council with delegates from the Quapaw, Ottawa, Seneca, and Shawnee Indians to protest the sale of land to the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Gulf Railroad by Baptiste, chief of the Peorias. They feared that the land of the tribes represented at the council would be bought by railroad companies and that there would not be enough land for the settlement of the tribes. Special Agent Mitchell reported to Hoag on July 31, 1870, that a surveying party under the direction of former Neosho Indian Agent Snow had begun surveying the Wyandot Reserve for a right-of-way for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. Mitchell charged that the railroad had promised to pay the Karahoo Council $5,000 for the right-of-way and land, and that the transaction had been promoted by Guthrie. Superintendent Hoag instructed Mitchell to forbid the Karahoo Council from transacting any business with the railroad, but

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[26]Greyeyes, Walker, and Russel Garrett to Parker, July 28, 1870, Farnham to Parker, July 29, 1870, and Karahoo to Parker, October 3, 1870, ibid.; Mitchell to Hoag, October 4, 1870, United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 268-269; Karahoo, Whitecrow, Armstrong, Peter Charloe, David Charloe, and John Karahoo, Jr., to Ulysses S. Grant, November 5, 1870, Karahoo, Whitecrow, Armstrong, David Charloe, Peter Charloe, and Karahoo to Parker, November 5 and 11, 1870, Karahoo to Parker, November 8, 1870, Walker and Garrett to Parker, November 27, 1870, and Farnham to Parker, December 5, 1870, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

on November 5, 1870, the members of the Karahoo Council signed an agreement with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad whereby they were to receive $500 for the right-of-way across the Wyandot Reserve.[27]

Hoag modified his views on the sale of Indian land to railroads when on January 28, 1871, he informed Parker that he would meet with the Wyandots and officials of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in order to protect the rights of the Indians. In February, 1871, Greyeyes charged that Special Agent Mitchell was attempting to secure an agreement favorable to the railroad and that Karahoo would not agree unless he was recognized by Mitchell as the legitimate Wyandot chief. Mitchell secured an agreement whereby the Wyandots were to receive $1,123.35 for the right-of-way, but Superintendent Hoag refused to pay this sum to Karahoo. In order to prevent Karahoo from squandering the money, Hoag deposited it in the Wyandot account in his office until such time when he could be certain that all the members of the Wyandot tribe would receive a share of the funds.[28]

Many claims against the government were pending, but the Wyandots needed to receive money immediately in order to relieve their poverty. In November, 1870, Special Agent Mitchell reported that he had dis-

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[27] Delegates from the Quapaw, Ottawa, Wyandot, Seneca, and Shawnee tribes to Parker, March 16, 1870, Mitchell to Hoag, March 28 and July 31, 1870, and Hoag to Parker, August 5, 1870, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Karahoo, Armstrong, David Charloe, and Peter Charloe to Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, November 5, 1870, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[28] Greyeyes to Walker, February 22, 1871, and Hoag to Clum, November 20, 1871, ibid.; Hoag to Parker, January 28, 1871, Mitchell to Hoag, March 2, 1871, and Certificate of Deposit of C. D. Hillyer, March 18, 1871, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

tributed $150 of his own funds to relieve suffering within the tribe and he requested that Superintendent Hoag send him an additional $500 to meet the tribe's more urgent requirements. There were no schools in operation on the Wyandot Reserve during the 1870-1871 term, but twenty-nine Wyandot children attended school on other Indian reserves. Officials of the Society of Friends asked Congress on January 10, 1871, to appropriate to them $2,000 to be used to establish educational facilities on the Wyandot Reserve, and Superintendent Hoag requested in 1871 that $5,000 be spent on educational facilities and direct relief for the Wyandots. The Wyandots also needed better medical care. Uniting with the Senecas and Shawnees, the Wyandots requested in March, 1871, that a physician be assigned to the three reserves. Mitchell supported their appeal and added that a physician could be employed to administer to the Indians for an annual salary of $1,000. Superintendent Hoag also recommended that a physician be assigned to the Indians. The federal government did not provide adequate educational facilities or medical care for the Wyandots, but eventually the plight of the Indians was alleviated by private organizations.[29]

The government did not end their investigation of Wyandot land

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[29]Report of James Smith, December 17, 1870, William Nicholson and John B. Garrett to Parker, January 10, 1871, Special Estimate for Dispersement of the $60,000 appropriated for educational and beneficial purposes for the year ending June 30, 1871; Special estimate of funds required for the service in the Central Superintendency for the first and second quarters of 1871, Wyandot, Seneca, and Shawnee Chiefs to Mitchell, March 5, 1871, Mitchell to Hoag, March 6, 1871, and Hoag to Parker, March 13, 1871, ibid.; Mitchell to Hoag, November 16, 1870, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 613.

transactions in Wyandotte County, Kansas, with the Cobb and Irwin report. On February 17, 1871, Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano directed that Cobb be retained by the government to make further investigations. Irwin and Orlando S. Witherell were instructed on March 25, 1871, to investigate claims by incompetent and orphan minor Wyandots which charged that their guardians had squandered their money and property. Cases involving forty guardians were investigated by Irwin and Witherell, and on July 14, 1871, they submitted their report to Secretary Delano. The report stated that some of the guardians had shown callous disregard for the welfare of their wards. It exonerated others unable to fulfill the obligations of guardianship because they did not have the ability. Delano approved their findings on September 27, 1871.[30]

Superintendent Hoag recognized that without a viable unified tribal organization the Wyandots would face untold difficulties in the years ahead, so on January 28, 1871, he requested instructions on how to aid in the reorganization of the tribe. Secretary Delano replied on March 14, 1871, that only those Wyandots who had refused to accept citizenship, were incompetent, or were orphans at the conclusion of the Treaty of 1855, or the descendants of these three classes, were eligible to vote for tribal officers. On April 10, 1871, Hoag instructed

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[30] Columbus Delano to Clum, February 17, 1871, and September 27, 1871, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Appointment of Orlando S. Witherell and Irwin, March 25, 1871, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Irwin and Witherell, "Investigation of Action of Wyandotte Guardians," July 14, 1871, United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, pp. 197-233.

Mitchell to schedule an election for the Wyandot tribe, but he cautioned him to use his influence to insure the election of a principal chief who was respected by the other members of the tribe, and who had good moral habits. The Wyandot election was held on May 31, 1871, and only twenty-four members of the tribe participated. Karahoo defeated Warpole for the office of principal chief by a vote of thirteen to eleven. Once again Peter Charloe, James Armstrong, David Charloe, and John Karahoo, Jr., were chosen as councilmen. Superintendent Hoag was disappointed in the results of the election, because he had no confidence in the Karahoo Council.[31]

Agent Mitchell requested Superintendent Hoag to give him instructions on whether to remove the citizen Wyandots from the Wyandot Reserve or to permit them to remain. Hoag recommended to acting Commissioner Clum on September 16, 1871, that they be permitted to remain because he contended that they would be indispensible to the advancement of the Wyandots. Acting Secretary of the Interior W. H. Smith advised Clum on October 27, 1871, to instruct newly appointed Special Indian Agent Hiram W. Jones to permit the citizen Wyandots to remain where they were for the present. Clum forwarded these instructions to Jones, and he directed Jones to insure that the citizen Wyandots were not injured while they were temporarily excluded from

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[31]Hoag to Parker, January 28, 1871, Delano to Parker, March 14, 1871, Hoag to Mitchell, April 10, 1871, Wyandot Poll Book, May 31, 1871, Mitchell to Hoag, July 17, 1871, and Hoag to Clum, August 8, 1871, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the protection of the Office of Indian Affairs.[32]

The Karahoo Council protested to Secretary Delano on May 6, 1872, over alleged violations of their rights by citizen Wyandots. They contended that they had been elected to the Wyandot Council for a four year term of office and that they did not want the citizen Wyandots on their reserve. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis A. Walker avoided making a decision on whether the citizen Wyandots should be considered members of the tribe when in answer to the protest by the Karahoo Council, he directed Hoag to instruct Karahoo to submit all correspondence through Agent Jones.[33]

Commissioner Walker knew that the Wyandot Council was adopting citizen Wyandots into the tribe and that perhaps if he waited long enough he would not have to decide whether citizen Wyandots could be considered members of the Wyandot tribe. In addition George Wright, the black interpreter for the Karahoo Council, and his family were reinstated into the Wyandot tribe on February 15, 1872. Secretary Delano approved the restoration of seventy-five Wyandots to tribal status on March 30, 1872, and on June 18, 1872, he sanctioned the readmittance of another sixty-five persons to the Wyandot tribe.[34]

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[32]Mitchell to Hoag, September 11, 1871, and Hoag to Clum, September 16, 1871, ibid.; W. H. Smith to Clum, October 27, 1871, and Cyrus Beede to Hiram W. Jones, November 6, 1871, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[33]Karahoo, Armstrong, David Charloe, Karahoo, Jr., and William Bearskin to Delano, May 6, 1872, and Francis A. Walker to Hoag, May 13, 1872, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[34]Certification of the Wyandot Council, February 15, 1872, Delano to Walker, March 2 and 30, 1872, and June 18, 1872, ibid.; Citizen list of Wyandots adopted into the tribe, June 7, 1872, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Educational Facilities

The Society of Friends took the initiative in establishing a school on the Wyandot Reserve. In 1869 the Quakers had constructed a log church on the Wyandot Reserve, and this enterprise became the parent project of a mission school for the Indians. Aaron Horner was appointed superintendent for the proposed school in 1871, and on March 15, 1872, Agent Jones of the Quapaw Agency concluded a contract for the erection of school buildings. The complex consisted of a residential structure for the teachers and a school building. The school opened its doors on June 3, 1872, but it soon became apparent that the building was not large enough to accommodate all the Indians who wished to attend. On September 1, 1872, Jones reported that a majority of the Wyandot children were attending the school. A number of Wyandot students, especially older boys, attended school only in the winter because during the growing season they assisted their parents on their farms. The Wyandot Council donated 160 acres of land for the use of the school. In 1873, Agent Jones reported that he had employed a man to plow eighty acres of this virgin soil so that the Indians could plant a crop on the school grounds. On September 30, 1874, Jones closed the school because there were no funds and it was overcrowded. However, in December, 1874, he was authorized to contract for a $3,600 addition to the school, and soon thereafter it was in operation. On August 21, 1876, Jones reported that ninety-two

Indians were in daily attendance at the school.[35]

Claims Against the Federal Government and the Restoration of a Unified Tribal Government

In their search for funds, the Wyandots did not forget that Congress had appropriated $4,680 for the use of the stewards of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Sarahass and Johnson, stewards for the church, complained on January 27, 1872, that members of their church, living in Wyandotte County, Kansas, were attempting to obtain the $4,680 in their charge. On February 7, 1872, Lucy B. Armstrong defended the Methodist Wyandots in Kansas when she charged Sarahass and Johnson with loaning church funds to their friends without collateral. She also sent an appeal to Senator Pomeroy to aid her in recovering the fund. Pomeroy gave his support to her case, but Commissioner of Indian Affairs Walker claimed that the Office of Indian Affairs had no jurisdiction in the case, and Jones was instructed by Hoag on June

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[35]Arrell M. Gibson, "Wyandotte Mission: The Early Years, 1871-1900," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), pp. 137-154; Jones to Hoag, March 21, 1872, August 24, 1872, January 15, 1873, October 21, 1874, Jones to Oliver Brothers, March 15, 1872, Jones to Nicholson, May 27, 1872, and Jones to Edward P. Smith, September 30, 1874, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society; Jones to Smith, December 28, 1874, Letters Received, Quapaw Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Jones to Hoag, September 1, 1872, United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 244; Jones to Hoag, September 15, 1873, United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), pp. 213-214; Nicholson to J. Q. Smith, August 24, 1876, United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), pp. 57-58.

8, 1872, to drop the matter.[36]

Agent Jones requested that Superintendent Hoag in April, 1872, forward all funds belonging to the Wyandots in his possession because, as he stated, they were very needy and the money would enable them to establish farms. There were no funds available in the Wyandot account, so Hoag was unable to send them any money which they could use to buy seed for their spring planting. But on May 29, 1872, the Office of Indian Affairs received $5,000 in removal funds due the Wyandots, and it was sent to Hoag on July 6, 1872. President Grant approved the payment of $16,803.56 due the Wyandots on July 3, 1872, and this sum was also sent to the Office of Indian Affairs. Secretary Delano directed that the funds be paid to the Wyandots by either Hoag or Jones. Guthrie demanded that he be paid a percentage of the appropriation for his legal services, but once again the Wyandots did not receive any money, as the appropriation became entangled in the web of delay which was so characteristic of the Office of Indian Affairs.[37]

The harvest of 1872 was much larger than had been expected, and

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[36] Sarahass and Johnson to Delano, January 27, 1872, and Hoag to Walker, February 5, 1872, Letters Received, Delaware Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Armstrong to Delano, February 7, 1872, Armstrong to Pomeroy, February 17, 1872, Pomeroy to Delano, February 24, 1872, and March 2, 1872, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Walker to Hoag, February 19, 1872, and Hoag to Jones, June 8, 1872, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[37] Jones to Hoag, April 6, 1872, B. R. Corwin to Grant, June 21, 1872, Delano to Walker, July 5, 1872, Guthrie to Walker, July 9, 1872, and Hoag to Walker, August 9, 1872, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Receipt from the Office of Indian Affairs, May 29, 1872, and Thomas Punch, Hicks, Mudeater, Peter Charloe, John R. Barnett, and Malcolm Walker to Delano, March 6, 1873, Letters Received, Quapaw Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

the Wyandots were not quite so dependent upon government assistance; but there was no abatement in the controversy over who should be considered as members of the tribe and who should be recognized as the Wyandot Council. In April, 1872, the Karahoo Council was still requesting the government to remove citizen Wyandots from the Wyandot Reserve. But on July 11, 1872, the Wyandots held an election for a new council. Thomas Punch was chosen principal chief, and James Hicks, Matthew Mudeater, Peter Charloe, and John Barnett were elected councilmen.[38]

The Karahoo Council, with the exception of Peter Charloe, who had resigned from the Karahoo Council, and who had been elected to the Punch Council, protested the election of July 11, 1872. They contended that they had been elected for a four year term and that this election had been approved by former Agent Mitchell. Agent Jones reported, in response to an inquiry by Superintendent Hoag, that the election of the Punch Council had been fair and that Karahoo and Bearskin, two of the signers of the protest, had participated in this election. He maintained that he had permitted an election because a majority of the Wyandot tribe had requested that the Wyandot Council be elected annually. On October 19, 1872, Hoag supported the views expressed in the report submitted by Jones, and on October 25, 1872, Commissioner Walker directed Hoag to instruct Jones to inform the members of the Karahoo Council that the Punch Council was recognized by the government

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[38] Jones to Hoag, July 1, 1872, ibid.; Jones to Hoag, April 26, 1872, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Minutes of the Wyandot Council, July 11, 1872, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

as the legitimate Wyandot council.[39]

The recognition of the Punch Council brought with it an additional problem to the Wyandots. In the spring of 1871 a number of Wyandots had been transported from Kansas City to Baxter Springs, Kansas, by the Missouri River, Fort Scott, and Gulf Railroad. In November, 1872, officials of the railroad attempted to collect a fare of $390 for this service from the Punch Council, but they refused to pay on the grounds that the contract had been arranged by the Karahoo Council which they claimed did not represent the Wyandot tribe. Superintendent Hoag stated that he had no doubt that the railroad claim was valid, but he refused to remit the money to the railroad officials from a payment made to the Wyandots in the spring of 1873, without the consent of the Wyandot Council. The Wyandot Council refused to give their approval to this payment, and as late as December, 1874, officials of the railroad were attempting to collect their fare.[40]

There was some resistance to the various Wyandot councils elected after 1872, but a majority of the tribe accepted their legitimacy. On December 16, 1872, seven citizen Wyandots, including William Walker,

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[39]Mitchell to Karahoo, August 20, 1872, Karahoo, Armstrong, Peter Charloe, Karahoo, Jr., and Bearskin to Delano, August 26, 1872, Karahoo to Delano, August 28, 1872, Jones to Hoag, October 12, 1872, and Hoag to Walker, October 19, 1872, Letters Received, Wyandot Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Walker to Hoag, October 25, 1872, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[40]H. J. Hayden to Hoag, May 30, 1871, Walker to Charles W. Blair, December 3, 1872, W. P. Montgomery to Hayden, December 13, 1872, Hoag to K. Coats, January 2, 1873, Blair to B. S. Hemming, February 14, 1873, Blair to John A. Clark, September 24, 1874, Beede to Smith, November 24, 1874, and December 11, 1874, Hoag to Smith, December 8, 1874, and Blair to Beede, December 10, 1874, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

were adopted into the tribe. A group of ten citizen Wyandots were reinstated to tribal status on July 1, 1873, thirteen more joined the tribe on April 21, 1874, and on February 22, 1876, five additional citizen Wyandots were admitted to the Wyandot tribe. Several of these individuals were educated, and their influence contributed to the welfare of the tribe.[41]

The condition of the Wyandots improved after the harvest of 1873. That year they had 541 acres of land under cultivation, or approximately two acres for each member of the tribe, and they harvested 11,335 bushels of grain. In addition, they possessed 150 horses, 250 head of cattle, and 700 swine. They were sufficiently affluent to offer to furnish 15,000 rails to be used to fence the Wyandot mission farm.[42]

Superintendent Hoag went to the Wyandot Reserve in Indian Territory, and on August 21, 1872, he paid the $5,000 in removal funds to the members of the tribe pro rata. In addition, he remitted $3,727 in funds which had been collected from the Wyandots by the State of Kansas in taxes. Several Wyandots living in Wyandotte County, Kansas, protested over this payment because, as they claimed, several Wyandots in Indian Territory who received tax refunds had never paid any taxes. Superintendent Hoag did not know who to pay because many of the claimants had lost their tax receipts. He continued to remit funds to

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[41] Minutes of the Wyandot Council, December 16, 1872, July 1, 1873, April 21, 1874, and February 22, 1876, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[42] United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, p. 345; Hoag to Jones, January 1, 1873, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

those who could produce evidence that they had paid taxes, but this brought a storm of protest from those Wyandots who believed that they were not receiving their fair share. On January 9, 1874, Hoag instructed Agent Jones to pay the residue of the $11,727.74 in tax refunds due the Wyandots. This sum was paid to the Wyandots per capita on January 13, 1874.[43]

Agent Jones reported on September 21, 1874, that a majority of the Indians were improving their condition, but he cautioned that all funds due the tribe should be paid per capita in order that each member would receive some benefit. However, several Wyandots claimed that many members of the tribe were destitute. Jones concurred on December 3, 1874, and requested that the government send them aid. Many of these Wyandots were not able to work, and depended on government assistance.[44]

The Wyandots began to participate with the other tribes living

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[43]Hoag to Robitaille and Guthrie, January 16, 1873, Hoag to Russell B. Armstrong, December 20, 1873, and Jones to Hoag, January 13, 1874, ibid.; Beede to Clum, March 6, 1873, Hoag to Clum, March 10, 1873, Nancy Garrett, Lucy B. Armstrong, Mary Garrett, Lydia B. Walker, Isaac C. Zane, and Martha B. Armstrong to Delano, March 10, 1873, Armstrong to Smith, April 10, 1873, Isaiah Walker to Smith, May 2, 1873, Karahoo to Pomeroy, June 8, 1873, D. J. Coleman to Delano, November 13, 1873, and Delano to Smith, December 10, 1873, Letters Received, Quapaw Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Hoag to Smith, July 7 and 16, 1873, Cobb and Cook to Delano, July 24, 1873, and Armstrong to Delano, October 18, 1873, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[44]Jones to Hoag, September 21, 1874, United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), pp. 228-230; Jones to Nicholson, December 3, 1874, Armstrong to Hoag, June 1, 1875, and Memorandum of Hoag, June 20, 1875, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

in Indian Territory in formulating an informal government for the territory. In May, 1875, the Wyandot Council sent John W. Greyeyes as their delegate to the General Council of Indian Territory held at Okmulgee. In addition, their crops continued to improve, and on September 20, 1875, Agent Jones reported that they had enough food to last through the winter of 1875-1876.[45]

On February 22, 1876, the Wyandot Council chose Principal Chief Matthew Mudeater, John Sarahass, and Nicholas Cotter as members of a delegation entrusted with the task of securing funds due the Wyandots. In April, 1876, the three delegates left Indian Territory *and proceeded* to Washington. They were prepared to press for $52,916.69 in funds, which they claimed were due the Wyandot tribe. Representative John R. Goodin of Kansas introduced a bill for the relief of the Wyandot Indians in the House of Representatives on April 22, 1876, but it did not contain all the funds claimed by the tribe. Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs S. A. Galpin stated on May 12, 1876, that he was not prepared to allow the Wyandots interest on their unpaid funds, but when Mudeater and Cotter submitted a petition to Congress on June 16, 1876, it contained claims for interest. Although Representative Goodin labored diligently for the passage of his Wyandot relief bill, the measure failed to get through Congress, and on August 16, 1876, Mudeater and Cotter were compelled to appeal to Senator

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[45] Journal of the Sixth Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory (Lawrence, Kansas: Republican Journal Steam Printing Establishment, 1875), p. 4; Jones to Smith, September 20, 1875, United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), pp. 281-283.

Jonathan J. Ingalls of Kansas for funds to pay debts incurred while they were in Washington and to pay for their return to Indian Territory.[46]

The Wyandots did not receive any funds from Congress in 1876, but they made significant strides toward the organization of a viable tribe. On August 10, 1876, the Wyandot Council ruled that only those members of the tribe who could speak and understand the Wyandot language would be eligible for membership in the Wyandot Council, or for the office of principal chief. The most significant step taken by the Wyandots in their efforts to resume their tribal life occurred on April 28, 1876, when the Wyandots elected a legislative committee. John W. Brown was chosen chairman, and William Bearskin, Isaac Peacock, and Amos B. Cotter were elected members. The Wyandots had finally reinstated, after a lapse of two decades, the three branches of their tribal government: the principal chief, the council, and the legislative committee.[47]

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[46]Minutes of the Wyandot Council, February 22, 1876, Jones to J. G. Smith, April 10, 1876, John R. Goodin to Smith, April 22, 1876, Francis W. Whitewing to Smith, June 13, 1876, and Mudeater and Nicholas Cotter to Jonathan J. Ingalls, August 16, 1876, Letters Received, Quapaw Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Goodin to Jones, June 1, 1876, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society; Galpin to Goodin, May 12, 1876, and Petition of Mudeater and Cotter, June 16, 1876, "Memorial of Delegates of the Wyandotte Indians," United States Senate, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Miscellaneous Document Number 116 (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), Vol. I, pp. 1-4.

[47]Sarahass, Isaac Zane, Jr., Nicholas, Joseph Williams, George Peacock, Whitewing, and Bearskin to Zachary Chandler, August 10, 1876, Letters Received, Quapaw Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Journal of the Wyandot Legislative Committee, April 28, 1876, Wyandot Indian Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Wyandots had many problems in adjusting to their new environment in Indian Territory. Beset by internal dissension, the Wyandot tribe could not work together in the years immediately following the conclusion of the Treaty of 1867. The period before the Treaty of 1867 was ratified had been a time of great confusion among the Wyandots and officials of the Office of Indian Affairs. The Indians did not know whether the treaty would be approved, and, therefore, they were reluctant to make improvements which could be taken from them. The Indian agents did not want to approve tribal measures which could be in violation of the terms of the treaty. While they waited, both the Indians and the officials of the government attempted to maintain a status quo.

The controversy over who should represent the Wyandots reappeared again, but with the death of Tauroomee, the members of the Indian faction lost their greatest leader. Those Wyandots who claimed that they had inherited the mantle of power from Tauroomee were not as able nor as adroit in managing tribal affairs as he had been. Once the Wyandot Council began to adopt citizen Wyandots into the tribe, they began to exert an influence on tribal affairs. Better educated and more familiar with the manner in which the Office of Indian Affairs operated, by 1876 the citizen Wyandots regained their former influential positions within the tribe and in the future the destiny of the tribe would be in their hands.

There were government funds still due the Wyandot tribe in 1876, and although they would be welcome if and when they were paid to the

tribe, the Wyandots had learned to become more self-sufficient. The Wyandots had reinstated their entire tribal government by 1876, and they were prepared to exist as a people, with or without government assistance.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST YEARS, 1876-1973

When Isaiah Walker came to Indian Territory with his family in 1874, he christened his homestead on the Wyandot Reserve the Last Chance Farm. Perhaps this name would have been appropriate for the Wyandot Reserve. The Indians knew that the years ahead would be difficult, but by 1876 the foundation for a viable tribal life had been established, and soon there were visible signs of progress.[1]

Wyandot Indian School

The Wyandot Indian School, established by the Society of Friends, became more important to the Wyandots as enrollment grew, and as the curriculum improved. By 1893, the course offerings included orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, natural philosophy, religion, history, Bible, general knowledge, geography, algebra, grammar, physiology, and botany. English was emphasized at the school, since many of the Indians spoke Wyandot at home because their parents did not understand English.[2]

Wyandots were not the only Indians enrolled at the school.

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[1]Interview with Cecilia Wallace, January 28, 1973, Wyandotte, Oklahoma.

[2]Gibson, "Wyandotte Mission: The Early Years, 1871-1900," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXVI, p. 141.

Senecas and Shawnees also attended, and the institution was known as the Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandotte School. Initially, the teachers were Quaker missionaries from the eastern United States, and religion played a significant role in the education of the students during the formative years. The basic objectives of the school were to educate the head, heart, and hand of the students. These objectives were achieved through instruction in formal subjects, and also through a comprehensive program in vocational training, and extra-curricular activities.[3]

An industrial teacher instructed the boys in harness and shoemaking, woodworking, carpentry, and metal work. The school farmer taught them farm management, horticulture, and husbandry. They were assigned chores on the school farm, which were designed to give them practical experience in the care of dairy cows, horses, mules, pigs, and poultry. Both boys and girls maintained the school garden and they aided the school farmer during the harvest. A matron-seamstress instructed the girls in hygiene and cleanliness, sewing, home nursing, and household management. They were required to make beds, sweep, and assist the school cook and laundress.[4]

The Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandotte School was a boarding institution, and the school term lasted from September to late June throughout the first decade of operation. A number of orphans were enrolled at the school over the years, so by 1880 there were enough of these pupils to necessitate remaining open during the summer. Thus, the school

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 142.

also served as an orphange for the Indians.[5]

Formal instruction began at 9:00 a.m. and lasted until 4:00 p.m., with an hour lunch break. When formal teaching was over, the students reported to their vocational teachers for instruction in the practical arts. Extra-curricular activities included religious organizations and a literary club, the Hallequah Society. Beginning in December, 1879, the Hallequah Society published a school newspaper, The Hallequah. A temperance society was organized by missionaries at the school in 1875, and many adult Indians, as well as children, attended the meetings.[6]

Commencement exercises held at the end of each school year and the annual Christmas program were the highlights of the school activities. Each year members of the Society of Friends, who lived in the East, sent presents to brighten the Christmas celebration at the school. In 1880, their gifts included candy, nuts, and over 400 presents.[7]

Supervision of the school was transferred in 1880 from the Friends to the federal government, and today it is still under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Quapaw Indians were enrolled at the school in 1900, and since that date, the facility has been known as the Seneca Indian School. The Wyandot Council named a committee to visit the school at intervals, and although generally it was not active, it occasionally recommended that improvements be undertaken to improve the educational facilities at the school. The

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[5]Ibid., p. 146.

[6]Ibid., pp. 142-144.

[7]Ibid., p. 145.

Wyandots have continued to maintain an interest in the Seneca Indian School at Wyandotte, Oklahoma. Leonard N. Cotter, the present chief of the Wyandottes, serves as president of the school board of the Seneca Indian School. Soon a $4.5 million facility will replace many of the old buildings which have served the Indians for so many years.[8]

Wyandot Monetary Claims and Allotments

The Wyandots received some of the funds owed to the tribe by the government, but never in the amounts claimed by their attorneys. In 1881, Congress appropriated $28,109.51 in claims for depredations by whites in Kansas, but this sum was not paid for many years, and then in small amounts. Congress made $15,686.80 available in 1894 to be used to purchase land from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians for homes for absentee Wyandots (those Wyandots who had not settled on the Wyandot Reserve). These Indians informed the government that they did not have room for the Wyandots, so on June 7, 1897, Congress directed that the money appropriated for that purpose be used by the Secretary of the Interior to locate these Wyandots on any available lands elsewhere.[9]

Congress authorized the allotment of the Wyandot Reserve in

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[8]Margaret L. Schiffbauer, "History of Seneca Indian School," 1954, unpublished manuscript in the Mrs. Charlotte Nesvold Collection, Wyandotte, Oklahoma; Muriel H. Wright, "History of Seneca Indian School," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1955), p. 246; Gibson, "Wyandotte Mission: The Early Years, 1871-1900," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 150-151; Interview with Leonard N. Cotter, January 23, 1973, Wyandotte, Oklahoma.

[9]Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians, pp. 198-199; United States Congress, United States Statutes, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, 1894, pp. 301, 908-909.

severalty, but the Indians opposed this action until 1888, because they would receive less than eighty acres apiece. Many Wyandots believed that farms of this size were not large enough to provide an adequate standard of living. In 1888, one hundred and fifty Wyandots received their allotments because there was no satisfactory alternative. Within a few years, the entire Wyandot Reserve was alloted in severalty.[10]

The Wyandots received their last funds from the federal government in 1937, when the Wyandot Council authorized the sale of the quarter section of land the tribe had donated to the Seneca School in 1872. The tribe was awarded $10,000 for the land, and this sum was divided per capita. There are four claims pending against the government. These claims are for land in Michigan and Ohio surrendered to the government under the treaties of August 3, 1795, July 4, 1805, and September 29, 1817.[11]

Outstanding Individuals

Many of the Wyandot leaders died within a few years after reaching Indian Territory, but some of the influential men of the tribe assumed the role of guiding their comrades, and new generations of Wyandots took up the reigns of tribal leadership. Perhaps the most famous member of the Wyandot tribe, who lived to see the tribe firmly established in Indian Territory, was Mathias Splitlog. Mathias, a

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[10]Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians, p. 199.

[11]Interview with Cotter, January 23, 1973; Rodney J. Edwards to Cotter, December 4, 1972, Records of the Wyandotte Tribal Council, Wyandotte, Oklahoma.

Cayuga, was married to Eliza Barnett Splitlog, a Wyandot, and was a Wyandot by adoption. Already well known in Kansas for his mechanical ability, he arrived in Indian Territory in 1874. He selected a farm on the Wyandot Reserve near the Grand and Cowskin rivers. Splitlog built a sawmill and a gristmill, and he established a ferry and a general store. These enterprises were located in a town he christened Cayuga Springs, after his original tribe.[12]

Cayuga Springs also became the site of a blacksmith shop established by Splitlog, and soon he supervised the construction of a three-story buggy factory. In addition to buggies and two-seated hacks, the Splitlog factory produced coffins. Whenever a death occurred in the community, all other work was suspended at the factory and the workers built a walnut coffin for the deceased. A generous man, Splitlog often donated a coffin to those families who could not afford one, and supplied burial clothing.[13]

Split gained additional recognition as a railroad builder. His long experience as a steamboat operator on Lake Michigan and the Missouri River was a prelude to his grandest adventure in the promotion of new methods of transportation. His railroad, the three million dollar Splitlog Line, ran from Joplin to Neosho, Missouri, and extended south along the route of the present Kansas City Southern Railroad to Splitlog, Missouri. The railway was begun in 1887 and reached Splitlog

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[12]Velma Nieberding, "Chief Splitlog and the Cayuga Mission Church," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1954), pp. 18-21.

[13]Ibid., p. 21.

City in 1889.[14]

In 1890, Splitlog sold a tract of land along the Kaw River Valley in Kansas to eastern capitalists. He agreed to meet the prospective purchasers at 10:00 a.m. on the appointed day in Hiram Northrup's Bank in Kansas City, Missouri, in order to complete the transaction. Splitlog arrived early at his friend's bank (Northrup was also a member of the Wyandot tribe), and when the buyers did not appear at the appointed hour, he left the bank. The easterners met Splitlog on the street and asked him to return to the bank, but he refused. An appointment was scheduled for the next day, and this time everyone was present on time. When the prospective purchasers offered him the agreed price of $140,000 for the land, Splitlog announced that the twenty-four hour delay had raised the price to $160,000. Fearing that Splitlog would make additional demands if there were further delays, the buyers agreed to his terms.[15]

The Splitlogs were Roman Catholics, and in 1893 Mathias began the construction of a $35,000 Roman Catholic Church near Cayuga Springs. The church, built as a memorial to his wife who had died of cancer in 1894, was dedicated to Saint Matthias the Apostle on November 25, 1896. The Splitlog church was sold to the Methodists by Bishop Francis C. Kelley in 1930 because there were no longer enough Catholics in the area to justify its operation. The bell in the Splitlog church was transferred to Saint Catherine's Church in Nowata,

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[14] Ibid., p. 22.

[15] Kansas City Kansan, February 6, 1947, no page number, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library.

Oklahoma, where it remains at present. In 1953, Dick Sellers of Drumright, Oklahoma, bought the old Splitlog church from the Methodists. He restored it, and today it stands as a monument to the philanthrophy of Mathias Splitlog.[16]

Splitlog joined the Seneca tribe during the last decade of his life, and in 1890 he was elected chief. He became a leading spokesman for this tribe in their transactions with the government. He died in Washington on January 2, 1897, while conducting official business for the Senecas. His body was brought to Indian Territory, and a requiem mass was celebrated for Splitlog on January 14, 1897, in the Splitlog church. He is buried next to his wife in the old graveyard adjacent to the church.[17]

Another Wyandot of note was Bertrand N. O. Walker. He was born in Kansas on September 5, 1870, the son of Isaiah and Mary Walker, but he accompanied his parents to Indian Territory in 1874. They settled on the Wyandot Reserve on the Last Chance Farm about two miles southwest of Seneca, Missouri. Young Walker attended the Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandotte School, and then a public school in Seneca, Missouri. He studied under the direction of a private tutor before entering the Indian Service as a teacher in 1890. He was employed by the Office of Indian Affairs as a teacher, and later as a clerk from 1890 to 1917 at various locations in Indian Territory, Oklahoma,

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[16]Nieberding, "Chief Splitlog and the Cayuga Mission Church," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXII, pp. 18, 25-28.

[17]Ibid., pp. 23, 27-28.

Kansas, California, and Arizona.[18]

He left the Indian Service in 1917 and devoted himself for six years to writing articles, poems, and books about Indian culture. His most important work was Tales of the Bark Lodges, published in 1919. His works appeared under the pen name Hen-Toh, and they exhibited a profound knowledge of Indian culture and legends. In 1924 he was appointed chief clerk at the Quapaw Agency in Miami, Oklahoma, and served in this capacity until his death on June 27, 1927.[19]

An attorney for the Wyandots, David A. Harvey, was a leader in the boomer movement in Oklahoma. An associate of David L. Payne, Harvey participated in several boomer expeditions into Oklahoma. He made the run on April 22, 1889, and settled in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory. Harvey was nominated for delegate to Congress by the Territorial Republican Committee at Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, on October 18, 1890, and on November 4, 1890, he was elected to serve both the long and short terms in this office as provided in the Organic Act of May 2, 1890. He reached Washington in December, 1890, as the first delegate from Oklahoma Territory, and served in this capacity until March 3, 1893. Harvey left Washington and moved to Wyandotte, Indian Territory, and the Wyandots presented him with a farm on the Wyandot Reserve tract in appreciation for his services to the tribe. Harvey

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[18] Czarina C. Conlan and B. N. O. Walker, "Sketch of B. N. O. Walker," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. VI, No. 1 (March, 1928), pp. 89-93; Hen-Toh, "Mon-Dah-Min and the Redman's Old Uses of Corn as Food," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1957), p. 194.

[19] Ibid.

died on May 24, 1916, and was buried in Seneca, Missouri.[20]

Population

There were 247 Wyandots in 1875, but as the years passed the number of Indians on the tribal roll increased. Their number had grown to 325 by 1904, and in 1920 there were 481 members of the tribe living in Oklahoma. By 1940 there were 799 Wyandots, of whom 688 had less than one-quarter Indian blood. At present there are 1,050 Wyandots on the tribal roll, but many who could claim tribal membership have not done so. They live throughout the United States and Canada. The largest numbers live in Oklahoma, Kansas, Ohio, Michigan, and Canada. The Wyandot parent tribe, the Hurons, have, like the Wyandots, become assimilated into white civilization.[21]

The Modern Wyandots

Their number has increased, but their sense of identity as Indians has decreased over the years. The Green Corn Feast, the most important

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[20] Kitty M. Harvey, "Memoirs of Oklahoma," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1957), pp. 45-46.

[21] Smith to Chandler, November 1, 1875, United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875, p. 101; Joseph J. Fensten, "Indian Removal," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XI, No. 4 (December, 1933), p. 1081; George Vaux, "Report on the Seneca, or Quapaw Indian Agency, Oklahoma," United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), Vol. II, p. 130; Muriel H. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), p. 264; Interview with Cotter, January 23, 1973; Wilbur R. Jacobs, Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), pp. 156-158.

Wyandot holiday, was celebrated on August 15 of each year throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In 1882 the festivities included a picnic, speechmaking, and the naming of newborn children. A brass band, composed of Indians, provided music, and all those present joined in singing. Beef and corn were cooked in a "great iron kettle," and everyone was served this fare. The last Wyandot Green Corn Feast was held in 1909 in a field south of Wyandotte, Oklahoma. The feature attraction of the final celebration was a balloon ascension in which a hot-air balloon carrying a man in a gondola was released from its moorings. When the contraption reached an acceptable height, the passenger parachuted to the ground and the balloon drifted down.[22]

The organization of the Wyandot tribe remained virtually unchanged during the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century. The tribe was reorganized on July 17, 1937, as the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, and this is the title it retains at present. The officers of the tribe are a chief, a second chief, a secretary-treasurer, and two councilmen. The chief, Leonard N. Cotter, is a member of the Intertribal Organization of nine tribes in Northeastern Oklahoma, the Claremore Oklahoma Indian Hospital Board, the State of Oklahoma Public Health Service Board, and serves on the Governor's Manpower Economic Commission.[23]

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[22]Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians, p. 198; Interview with Cotter, January 23, 1973; Interview with Wallace, January 28, 1973.

[23]George E. Fay, ed., "Charters, Constitutions and By-Laws of the Indian Tribes of North America," Occasional Publications in Anthropology, Ethnology Series, Colorado State College, No. 7 (May, 1968), Part 4, pp. 126-129; Interview with Cotter, January 23, 1973.

Historical Monuments

Historical monuments dedicated to the memory of the Wyandots are conspicuous wherever they lived. The Wyandot Methodist Episcopal Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, was restored in 1889, and in 1960 the Methodist General Conference designated it as the first American Methodist Mission. The Indian Mill State Memorial in Wyandot County, Ohio, serves as a memorial to the gristmill and sawmill built for the Wyandots in 1820 by the federal government. The present building, constructed in 1861, is the first educational museum of milling in an original mill structure in the United States.[24]

William Walker's grave in Oak Grove Cemetery, Kansas City, Kansas, was not marked until September 29, 1915. A marker furnished by the Kansas Chapter of the Daughters of the Founders and Patriots of America and the Society of American Indians was placed at the site amid a ceremony attended by dignitaries from throughout the area. A marker commemorating the settlement of the Wyandots in Indian Territory now stands in the Twin Bridges State Park in Ottawa County, Oklahoma.[25]

Perhaps the most famous Wyandot historic site is the Huron Cemetery in Kansas City, Kansas. Granted to the Wyandot tribe in perpetuity by the terms of the Treaty of 1855, the Huron Cemetery has

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[24] "Wyandot Mission Methodist Shrine," Brochure of the Methodist General Conference, no place, no date; "Indian Mill State Memorial," Brochure of the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, no date.

[25] Kansas City Star, September 12, 1915, no page number, Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings, Missouri Valley Collection, Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library; Nieberding, "The Wyandot Tribe Today," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXIV, p. 491.

been an object of much controversy. Located in downtown Kansas City, Kansas, the land became more valuable, and there were individuals who tried to secure this site for commercial development. On January 21, 1906, a bill was passed by Congress which sanctioned the sale of the Huron Cemetery.[26]

Three sisters, Lydia, Helena, and Ida Conley, one-sixteenth Wyandot, but strong in their attachment to the heritage of their Indian ancestors, would not allow the Huron Cemetery to be sold. They marched to the cemetery and padlocked the gate, and Lydia climbed a tree and displayed a sign which read "You trespass at your own peril." The three young women erected a six by eight foot shanty on the cemetery grounds which they christened "Fort Conley," and they began to take turns maintaining armed guard over the graves of their ancestors. A law student, Lydia carried the battle to court. Once, while the sisters were occupied in court, a United States marshall and his deputies dismantled Fort Conley, but upon their return, the three sisters rebuilt the structure. Lydia carried her case to the United States Supreme Court where the justices ruled that although the Treaty of 1855 had stated that the Wyandots were to retain possession of the Huron Cemetery forever, this portion of the treaty was invalid.[27]

The battle was lost, but the war was not over because Senator (later Vice-President) Charles Curtis, himself part Kaw Indian, came to the rescue. He succeeded in obtaining repeal of the act of 1906,

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[26] Fort Myers News Press, September 10, 1972, p. 10-C.

[27] The Wichita Eagle, September 22, 1972, p. 14-A.

which permitted the sale of the Huron Cemetery. Still not satisfied, the Conley sisters maintained a lonely vigil over the cemetery for most of the remaining years of their lives. Lydia died in 1946, Ida two years later, and Helena lived on until 1958. There have been occasional burials in the Huron Cemetery since their deaths, the last in 1965.[28]

After Lydia's death in 1946, attempts were made by the Wyandot tribe to sell the cemetery. A preliminary land sale transaction was concluded by Chief Lawrence Zane, representing the Wyandots, and the National Bellas Hess Company of Kansas City, Missouri, in the middle 1950's. The preliminary agreement, which called for a purchase price of $150,000, was sent to the regional office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Muskogee, Oklahoma, where despite repeated appeals by Chief Zane, no action was taken for three years. Finally, Edward Edmonson, who later became a United States Representative from Oklahoma, interceded on behalf of the Wyandots, and although the agreement was approved, by that time National Bellas Hess had purchased a site in North Kansas City, Missouri.[29]

The cemetery was appraised in 1959 at $295,600, but when bids were taken on the land, the highest bid was $126,000. This figure was barely enough to pay for the reinternments, so the Wyandots refused to sell the cemetery for less than $3,000,000. In the 1960's, the Wyandots offered to sell the land to the United States Urban Renewal

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[28] The Joplin Globe, December 9, 1972, p. 8-B.

[29] Interview with Wallace, January 28, 1973.

Agency in Kansas City, Kansas, but could not get the demanded $3,000,000. In addition, the United States Public Health Service declared that since many of the Wyandots who were buried in the cemetery had died during a small pox epidemic and were buried in mass graves, any attempt to exhume their remains would constitute a potential threat to the health of the citizens of Kansas City, Kansas.[30]

In 1971 the Huron Cemetery was designated by the federal government as a national historical site, which means that the site can never be sold. Thus, the long battle waged by the Conley sisters, which lasted for half a century, finally ended in triumph. The Huron Cemetery is one of the focal points for the downtown urban renewal development in Kansas City, Kansas, and it will receive the care and recognition it deserves.[31]

Conclusions

The years since the Wyandots removed to Indian Territory have seen the tribe adjust to a new way of life. At first most of the Wyandots turned to agriculture as a means of making a living, and at present many Wyandots are engaged in agricultural pursuits. A few members of the tribe engaged in non-agricultural occupations, but these vocations required that they adopt the white man's methods and ultimately his civilization. With the establishment of a school and its acceptance by a majority of the Wyandots, the students soon began

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[30] The Wichita Eagle, September 22, 1972, p. 14-A; Interview with Cotter, January 23, 1973.

[31] The Wichita Eagle, September 22, 1972, p. 14-A.

to acquire enough education to be able to meet the challenges presented by white society.

Educational facilities, provided by the federal government, enabled the Wyandots to participate on almost equal terms with their white neighbors. Claims against the federal government were not very important to the welfare of the tribe once the Wyandots had removed to Indian Territory. Divided per capita, the claims did not provide much money for the Wyandots, and many were never paid any funds. Perhaps this was a blessing, because they learned self-reliance. The modern Wyandot does not seriously believe that any claims received from the federal government will be sufficient to make any significant alteration in his way of life.

White blood, which predominated in the tribe, made their acceptance of white society much easier than in tribes which had retained more of their Indian blood. With each generation, the Wyandots were to become more like their white brethren, until today, they have become an intregal part of white society. Proud of their heritage, they retain their identity not so much to claim benefits from the government, but to preserve an important part of American history and culture.

When the Wyandots first observed the white members of Jacques Cartier's crew in 1534, little did they realize that their future would be so interrelated with the white man. Further contacts with the French in the seventeenth century upset the delicate balance of tribal life between the Wyandots, along with their allies of the Huron Confederacy and the powerful Iroquois to the south. Enraged by favors shown to the Wyandots by the French, the Iroquois began a century-long

policy of genocide which almost succeeded. Crushed by the Iroquois and scattered to the four winds, the Wyandots barely escaped extermination, and then only at a terrible cost. Just one step ahead of their relentless adversaries, the Wyandots were grateful to the French for protection and for permitting them to reside near Detroit. French appeals for assistance in their wars against the British were answered without question by the Wyandots, and soon they became known as reliable Indian allies.

Caught up in the grim struggle between their white patrons and their English adversaries, the Wyandots became mere pawns to be used by the French in the absence of the more expensive and inconvenient utilization of European troops. Warfare on the frontier in the eighteenth century was savage beyond description, and it engendered hatreds which could not be easily forgotten. The withdrawl of France from active participation in the Great Lakes region of North America, brought with it a sense of frustration and abandonment among the Wyandots. Forsaken by their French patrons, the tribal leaders were reluctant to commit themselves to an alliance with their former enemies, the British. Finally, persuaded by the beneficence of their new patrons, the Wyandots adapted to the new state of affairs, only to have the arrangement ripped from its moorings by the success of the American Revolution. By the 1780's, distrustful of the white man and his motives in currying the favor of Indians, the Wyandots were not receptive to the idea of an invasion of the Ohio Valley by an army of land-hungry American farmers.

The French Roman Catholic missionaries, no longer permitted to preach among the Wyandots, had been their last contact with that portion

of white civilization which promised them spiritual benefits. The half-hearted efforts by successive waves of Moravian, Quaker, and Presbyterian missionaries to spread Protestant christianity throughout the tribe were piecemeal and uneffective, but they did awaken the Indians to the knowledge that there were also white Americans who were interested in more than personal gain.

Weak leaders in the person of Harmar and St. Clair were not able to compel the Indians to accept the inevitable domination of Ohio by whites, but Wayne and Harrison were men of another stripe. The disaster of Fallen Timbers was enough to convince Chief Crane that further armed resistance to the march of the Americans was fruitless. He persuaded a majority of his fellow tribesmen not to oppose Harrison in 1811 and the defeat of Tecumseh's army left the Wyandots in far better shape than those tribes who had heeded the clarion call of the Shawnee chief. Despite incursions into Wyandot land which had been guaranteed to the tribe by the treaties of 1795 and 1805, once again a majority of the Wyandots remained loyal to the United States during the War of 1812.

During the period of readjustment in Ohio and Michigan after the war, the Wyandots ceded land to the United States unwillingly, but with the realization that they were powerless to halt the seemingly irresistible surge of the whites. By this time a number of whites had been adopted into the tribe and had married Wyandots. Accepted at face value, these individuals represented a group of men who were more familiar with the methods of the white man than the Indian members of the tribe, and they tempered any possible violent resistance to further white incursions.

Perhaps the Methodist missionary efforts among the Wyandots were the most important catalyst which enabled the Indians to accept white dominance. Fed a constant diet of the white man's religion and culture, the Wyandots could see that there were definite advantages in working with the whites. A number of the Wyandots owed their education to the white missionaries, and they adopted a posture of compromise while trying to gain as much advantage as possible for their fellow tribesmen. Tempered by the suspicions of their colleagues who did not have the benefit of an education, they delayed removal as long as possible by insisting on inspection of their proposed reserve in the West. Throwing caution aside, the tribe was able to outmaneuver the whites who had planned to settle the Indians on land far removed from any settled area. By choosing the strategic site of the Wyandot Reserve in Kansas, the Indians could hope that future development would give them one of the most valuable locations in the West.

Precedent aside, the Wyandots concluded a land purchase agreement with the Delawares, and then waited for confirmation by the federal government. The tribe toiled under the watchful eye of their subagents to build a home for themselves on the wilderness of the Wyandot Reserve in Kansas. The Methodists continued to supply preachers to the tribe, and combined with non-sectarian schools, the instruction provided by the ministers paved the way for the Indians to adapt to their new environment.

The conflicts between conservative and progressive elements within the tribe were usually won by the progressives, but always tribal identity was maintained. Few Wyandots could argue that without assistance by the federal government, their adjustment to life on the

frontier would have been more difficult, but the uncertainty of their status and the inequity of their treatment by federal officers reinforced a sense of self-reliance. As long as there were large funds due the tribe from land sales in Ohio and regular annuity funds, they could use this money and the promise of even greater sums to foster plans for tribal betterment. The influx of hard money into the tribe was welcome as it was in any community on the frontier, but it soon became apparent that a large portion of this money did not benefit the tribe. White traders received a large share of the annuity funds and, with cash in their hands, many Wyandots squandered their annuity funds on unnecessary commodities. Many Wyandots could not withstand the temptations of liquor, and it made them more dependent on their white suppliers.

The slavery issue permeated the tribe in the middle 1840's and, until the Civil War, it remained an open sore which the Wyandots were incapable of treating. Although few Wyandots were actually slave-owners, the mere existence of the institution in the tribe and the slave controversy which became the primary issue in the United States in the late 1840's and 1850's became an albatross from which they could not escape. The Methodist Episcopal Church, the core of their attachment to white society, became the center of the Wyandot slavery controversy. Eventually the harmony which the Methodist Episcopal Church once represented was destroyed.

In desperation, the Wyandots were willing to try a new method to gain equality with their white neighbors when they pushed for the Treaty of 1855, which would grant citizenship to those Indians deemed fit. However, rhetoric by tribal leaders did not take into considera-

tion the reluctance of the whites to accept Indians, no matter how well educated, as equals. Without equality, citizenship only brought additional burdens which could not be compensated by the realization by the Indians that they were active participants in the civic life of the United States. In addition, a large number of the tribe were not prepared to accept the responsibility of citizenship. Uneducated and gullible, they fell easy prey to the avarice of the whites and to the dishonest manipulation of funds set aside for orphans and incompetents by some of their own people. Regulations established by the federal government, which were designed to effect a smooth transition of the Indians to their new status, and to protect those Wyandots who could not protect themselves, were not effective because they were sabatoged by the very individuals who could have made them work.

The chaos which characterized Kansas during its territorial period was not the ideal environment in which a weak and dependent people could prosper. Neutrality was not the answer, because both pro-slave and free state factions disregarded the rights of the Wyandots and pilfered their property with impunity. Beset by a civil war in Kansas Territory which raged all around them, they found the pressure too much to bear, and in 1857 many of the conservative Wyandots fled to Indian Territory under the leadership of Matthew Mudeater, where they believed their civilization would have a better chance of survival.

No respite was given to the tribe because they were in the wrong place at the wrong time. Confederate forces swept the southern Wyandots north, and the Indians were forced to flee to their old reserve in Kansas. Although they were compelled to remain in Kansas for the duration of the Civil War, the promise of a home in Indian Territory

served as a beacon of hope for the future.

Steadfastly refusing to be swayed by adversity, the Wyandots retained Chief Crane's commitment of loyalty to the United States and, to a man, each Wyandot who served in the Civil War, fought for the Union. While they were serving their country, they were laying the foundation for a post-Civil War plea for justice and a reserve. In contrast to the fate suffered by those tribes who supported the Confederacy, the Wyandots were able to gain land after the Civil War. Once the Wyandot Reserve in Indian Territory was secured from the Senecas, it was only a matter of time before this tract would become the center of tribal life. The gradual movement of the Wyandots to Indian Territory from Kansas did not take the total commitment of all members of the tribe as had the mass movement of the tribe to Kansas from Ohio. Many of the Wyandots who came to Indian Territory were hardened frontiersmen who had learned to survive in a hostile environment. This generation had become aware through long experience that they could not depend on the federal government for more than the bare necessities of life. Any significant improvement in their economic condition would have to come from their own initiative, and the tribal leaders eventually assumed the responsibility of assisting their less fortunate colleagues. A majority of the tribe seized every opportunity which promised them a better life and, as the years passed, they began to become a part of the society of Indian Territory.

Divided from 1857 to the early 1870's by controversy over which course would be best for the tribe, the Wyandot Council suffered a schism from which the tribe never fully recovered. When all factions of the tribe agreed to a single council in order to win acceptance, and

with it the meager assistance provided by the federal government, much of the prestige enjoyed by the early chiefs was destroyed. Recriminations hurled at those who represented an opposing faction could not be easily forgotten, and although on the surface they presented a united front to outsiders, there were still divisions within the tribe.

Perhaps perfect harmony should not be expected. Controversy, long a hallmark of white society in the United States, was one of the supposed virtues which carried over into Wyandot tribal society. Inequities, first engendered by the institution of slavery, exist in portions of white and black America to the present, while in the Wyandot community the problem of slavery existed for fifteen years, and then it faded into the past, only to be recalled by elderly Indians who fondly mention the ancestors of George Wright, the Negro interpreter who rendered valuable assistance to his fellow tribesmen when they were in dire need of assistance.

Today the Wyandots maintain a way of life similar to that of the majority of Americans, but they will never forget that their ancestors were forced to surmount considerable obstacles in order to reach a reasonable measure of equality with their white neighbors. To conclude that they have become fully assimilated into the mainstream of American life would be accurate, but always the Wyandots will hold a special place in the heritage of the United States.

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