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INTERTRIBAL INTERACTIONS, RELATIONALITY, AND COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN THE NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA INDIAN NATIONS, 1800-1930

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INTERTRIBAL INTERACTIONS, RELATIONALITY, AND COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN THE NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA INDIAN NATIONS, 1800-1930

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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> "Writing is an extreme privilege but it's also a gift. It's a gift to yourself and it's a gift of giving a story to someone."
> – Amy Tan[1]

This is dedicated to all the individuals and communities with whom I have cultivated relationships. These connections, both collegial and personal, have greatly enriched my life, inspired me, and made this work possible. Although I cannot repay you for all the gifts you have given me, I hope this can be a small reciprocal token of my appreciation.

[1] "Amy Tan," in *A Closer Look: The Writer's Reader,* edited by Sidney I. Dobrin and Anis S. Bawarshi (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 618.

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Stephanie Phillips, one of the Kahnawà:ke Nitiakawé:non, Kanien'kehá:ka (Kahnawaké Mohawks) and academic, recently described "the dual nature of beadwork (solitude and community)" "*teiorí:wake tsi nikaio'tenhseró:ten tsi teietsi'nehtará:rons (tseia'tátshon tánon kanakeráhsera)*."[1] That is, the manufacture of beadwork is both a private and independent enterprise and a creative expression that contributes to, engages with, and participates within a larger society and culture. This could be also said about writing and the production of history. Similarly, as the renowned scholar bell hooks put it: "We communicate to connect, to know community. Even though writing is a solitary act, when I sit with words that I trust will be read by someone, I know that I can never be truly alone."[2] The writing of history does remain a very solitary endeavor. Scholars sit alone in archives diving and digging through the dusty folders, files, and boxes of old papers and photographs. They often sit by themselves in front of their computer screens or notebooks when it comes to creating and generating the final prose. At the same time, however, an army of people are behind the scenes and supported the individual and his or her research, writing, and other projects. Although the individual academic often remains the single-listed author and producer of the scholastic pieces, they contribute to, comment on, and challenge existing scholarship and knowledge of others. Many people behind-the-scenes helped to make it happen. I must maintain, however, that although many people assisted and helped me greatly improve this dissertation as it came to be, all remaining errors are exclusively mine.

[1] Stephanie Phillips, "Hannah Claus," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 37, 40.

[2] bell hooks, "Women Who Write Too Much," in *A Closer Look: The Writer's Reader,* edited by Sidney I. Dobrin and Anis S. Bawarshi (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 331.

Although historians often work in isolation, become seen as the 'experts,' and the knowledge production becomes seen as 'their own,' those who work with indigenous communities recognize ultimately it belongs, whether they like it or not, to the contemporary and historic communities of which they study. They must recognize the immense debts and obligations they have for the contemporary communities of who's lived histories, lives, and cultures, ultimately produced the history. Without the ingenuity, survivance, and stubborn persistence, and resistance of the Native communities and their ancestors, the opportunity for people to analyze, explore, discuss, and debate the histories are not possible. Continuities and change become mute points without the past and contemporary presence of these Native communities. I am indebted to those who have, outright or by default, nevertheless permitted me or welcomed me into their private lives and their communities' histories. Those ancestors of the ancient past with retained footprints in the historical record have no opportunity to object or refuse my intrusion into their lives. Contemporary Native peoples, however, have had to deal with long histories of non-Native people writing and talking about their histories and cultures. I am indebted to those who, albeit often cautiously or even reluctantly, trusted me and treated me with patience and kindness. This often inspired me to continue with this project. Many people directly and indirectly have contributed to making this happen—some more directly in sharing stories and conversations, and others implicitly by stirring avenues of inquiry and areas of emphases.

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[3] Amy Dianne Bergseth, "Our Claims and Rights are Nothing': Causes of Myaamia (Miami Indian) Removal from Kansas to Oklahoma" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2011); Amy Dianne Bergseth, "'Each Band Knew Their Own Country': Land, Cooperation, and Community in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Shawnee Intertribal Interactions," in *ESTORTA*.

is a done dissertation," after all. This is the outcome so far. Given that there is so much more that I could have included and discussed, there are also many people who directly and indirectly assisted me, whether it made it into the final product or not. I likely forgot to include someone, despite my concerted effort at preventing oversights. Thank you all and those left unnamed for all your support, encouragement, and assistance!

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Abstract

My research explores nation building among the nine small American Indian nations located in northeastern Oklahoma after forced removal. The distinct sovereign small Native nations who relocated to the corner of the state included the Myaamiaki (Miamis), Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), Odawa (Ottawas), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Shotinontowane'á:ka and Kaion'kehá:ka (Senecas and Cayugas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees and Eastern Shawnees), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). My research explores nation building and intertribal interactions among these small American Indian nations and how they maintained their communities and interacted with each other and the outside world. Relational sovereignty assisted the small Native nations in their persistence and maintenance of their communities. After forced removal devastated and disrupted Native relationships to the land and each other, indigenous peoples responded by rebuilding their values and traditions. Relationality—the idea of being related or connected, having relationships with one another—augmented and provided synergy and strength for Native sustainability and sovereignty, the independent power and authority. Ironically, it was the continuation of building relationships with each other that afforded tenacity, perseverance, and resilience for the small nations, allowing for the maintenance and continuity of their distinct and sovereign cultures and traditions.

Relationship building and kinship were key to maintaining political and cultural sovereignty in post-removal northeastern Oklahoma. The history of the relationships and intertribal interactions of these minor Native nations underscore the significance of relationality to tribal sovereignty, past and present. Despite their smaller citizenship

populations, land bases, and business infrastructures, these Native nations used relationships to each other to provide resilience, strength, and power for the maintenance of their cultures and identities in post-removal northeastern Oklahoma.

Introduction

The Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Thomas A. Captain narrated in 1969 how his tribal nation ended up in the northeastern corner of the state of Oklahoma. The federal government "moved us in here," he explained. "And at the time they gave us [Eastern Šaawanwaki/Shawnees] twenty miles up and down the Missouri and Kansas lines, square. And now the Quapaws [Okáxpas], Peorias [Peewaaliaki], Miamis [Myaamiaki], Pi[a]nkashaws [Peeyaankihšiaki], we got everything [sic] but the Choctaws [Chahtas!]… [We have the] Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s)] and the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] and the Modocs [Mō´dokni Mák̲laks] …"[5] Captain could have also included the Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), and Odawas (Ottawas) to his list. A vast assortment of Indian nations, who many writers have described romantically as the 'last remnants' of their people, ended up in the small Northeastern corner of the state of Oklahoma (See Figures 0.1, 0.2, and 0.3).

Throughout the nineteenth century many distinct sovereign Native nations relocated to the northeastern corner of Oklahoma. Much of this was through coercive settler colonial pressures and armed military escorts that violently and forcibly compelled removal. Faced with continual threats, intimidation, hostility, and violence in their original homelands east of the Mississippi and in subsequent resettlements further west, Native people found themselves displaced, uprooted, and dispossessed.[6]

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[5] Tom Captain (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Peggy Dycus, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-428-1, Side A (May 16, 1969), 4, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

[6] See Roy Boney, Jr. (Yunwiya/Cherokee)'s two short films: Roy Boney, Jr., "ᏌᏩ ᎠᏂᏔ ᏔᏕ | On a Spring Day," 2006, YouTube video, 5:03, January 30, 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OoJwtn2-lRg (accessed 5 April 2018); Roy Boney, Jr., "Incident at Rock Roe: A Trail of Tears Story," 2007, YouTube video, 6:54, December 22, 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rfN5DIh6WzE (accessed 5 April 2018).

A large cluster of the smaller Native nations eventually relocated, through forced removal or chaperoned migration as prisoners of war, to what is now the northeastern corner of Oklahoma. This included the Myaamiaki (Miamis), Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), Odawas (Ottawas), Šaawanwaki (Eastern Shawnee), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Shotinontowane'á:ka and Kaion'kehá:ka (Senecas and Cayugas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). I include the Loyal Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in this, as their association with the other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in Ottawa County, the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), connect them. Despite having their contemporary headquarters at Miami, Ottawa County, Oklahoma, the Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, commonly called the Loyal Shawnees or the Cherokee-Shawnees, are spread throughout the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Nation in varying concentrations (See Figure 0.4). The Loyal Šaawanwaki's (Shawnees') affiliations and connections with those other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) nestled next to the Missouri state border, maintained ties of a network of belonging and interaction with other northeastern indigenous communities.

These small Native nations, through intertribal interaction and cultivating relationships with each other, used long-held traditions and values to cope, endure, and even thrive after forced removal. Kinship, relationships, and formal and informal interactions with other tribal nations were key for nation building in post-removal Northeastern Oklahoma Native Nations. Relationship building assisted in the ongoing retention and cultivation of indigenous political and cultural sovereignty after the trauma of forced removals. Forced removal and settler colonialism radically altered indigenous relationships. Removal abruptly severed many of the connections these

communities had to their original homelands, their connections to place, and their affinities to the land, plants, and animals that they had always known, often since time immemorial. Native people, however, responded by returning to their values of connection. They often began the slow process of repairing and rebuilding their indigenous relationships, ties to the land, plant and animal beings, and other human beings. Despite the insidious and violent nature of forced removal and the assault on Native peoplehood that often took decades to recover from (and are often still recovering from), Native peoples did begin the process of restoring their connections and communities. Native nations rekindled old intertribal alliances like the Western Indian Confederacy of the late eighteenth-century Ohio Valley. They also participated and attended each other's ceremonies and dances. Many had been old neighbors in the Ohio Valley, and they just 'picked up where they left off.' For others, like the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) who originated from the very far American West with their homelands in what would become the states of California and Oregon, new relationships had to be created.

Many indigenous philosophies have foundations in kinship obligations and reciprocity, and relationality. Relationality is primarily about building relationships and being connected. Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree) has briefly defined it, relationality as being "reality *is* relationships." This is central to indigenous understanding and views of the world and situating oneself in it. Relationality, then, also is integrated into indigenous views of sovereignty—how not only a society or state governs itself and takes care of its affairs, but in the broad sense of how one conducts oneself in the

world.[7] Kanien'ke (Mohawk) scholar Patricia Monture-Angus has explained that rather than the focus on territorial possessions and control, instead "We have a Mohawk [Kanien'ke] word that better describes what we mean by sovereignty and that word is 'tewatatha:wi.' It best translates to 'we carry ourselves'… [And the definition]… is about responsibilities and not just about rights." Monture-Angus recognized numerous indigenous cultures have similar philosophies.[8] For the Myaamiaki (Miamis), both Scott Shoemaker and George Ironstrack have explained *nahi mihtohseeniaki*, of being proper human beings.[9] The idea of sovereignty in general originally came to include relationality in its meaning—and encompassed both cultural and political aspects.[10]

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[7] Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 11, 73. Quote from: Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 73. See also: Lee Irwin, *Coming Down from Above: Prophecy, Resistance, and Renewal in Native American Religions*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 9. The scholarship of Rauna Kuokkanen (Sami) and Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree) has helped me to centralize the importance of relationships and reciprocity. They particularly focus on academic research with indigenous peoples. Likewise, etymology can enhance one's understanding of the importance of patience, reciprocity, and the maintenance of relationships as important to successful, rewarding collaborations. See: Rauna Kuokkanen, *Reshaping the University: Responsibilities, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift* (Vancouver and Toronto: The University of British Columbia (UBC) Press, 2007); Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*. Leech Lake Ojibwe/Anishinaabe and Dakota scholar Scott Richard Lyons gives a good basic definition of sovereignty: "Sovereignty, as I generally use and understand the term, denotes the right of a people to conduct its own affairs, in its own place, in its own way" (Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty: What Do American Indians Want from Writing," *College Composition and Communication*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (February 2000), 450).

[8] Patricia Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward: Dreaming First Nations' Independence* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 1999), 36.

[9] Scott Michael Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins: Narratives of Landscape, Representation, and the Miami Nation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2011), 32; George Michael Ironstrack, "nahi meehtohseeniwinki: iilinweeyankwi neehi iši meehtohseeniwiyankwi aatotamankwi: To Live Well: Our Language and Our Lives," in *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America*, edited by James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, SUNY Series Tribal Worlds: Critical Studies in American Indian Nation Building (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014). Scott Michael Shoemaker (Eastern or Indiana Myaamia/Miami) cited the abundance of sovereignty scholarship quoted James Fenelon, explaining that "rights to practice traditional ways of life including language, religious beliefs, property values, and social systems toward relatives and family. It is cultural sovereignty that has kept Indian nations in existence to claim tribal sovereignty" (Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins," 228n320). This is quoted from: James V. Fenelon, "Indian Gaming: Traditional Perspectives and Cultural Sovereignty," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (November 2006), 382. The larger discussion read: "The key issue is survival, dependent on what many scholars now refer to as cultural sovereignty: rights to practice traditional ways of life including language, religious beliefs, property values, and social systems toward relatives and family (Coffey & Tsosie,

The term sovereignty, then, does not only strictly describe the isolated management of a nation's own affairs and governance. Even European nation states originally also used the term to connote integrity also in interactions with other nations. Leech Lake Ojibwe/Anishinaabe and Mdewakanton Dakota scholar Scott Richard Lyons described the early meaning of sovereignty to European nation-states. He explained that "the concept was consistently deployed to address not only domestic authority at home but a state's relative independence from and *among* other states; thus, sovereignty came to mean something systemic and relational. A sovereign's power was generally a force understood in relation to other sovereigns in the emerging international scene." Lyons continued, explaining that sovereignty began to be narrowed and focused on "the right to make and enforce laws, notions of political legitimacy and international recognition, and national self-determination. While the meanings of sovereignty have shifted and continue to shift over time… the location of power has depended upon the crucial act of recognition—and vice versa," Lyons maintained.[11] Nation-states and independent political entities may swing back and forth between isolationism and interactions with others, but ultimately isolation is not absolute.

The same is true in terms of identity and ethnicity formation. Norwegian social scientist Frederik Barth's study *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) still retains staying power as a way of understanding social groups and identity. R. Warren Metcalf effectively summarized the significance: "ethnic groups do not depend on the absence

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2001). It is cultural sovereignty that has kept Indian nations in existence to claim tribal sovereignty" (Fenelon, "Indian Gaming," 382).

[10] Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty," 450.

[11] Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty," 450.

of social interaction and acceptance—in other words, ethnic groups do not exist in isolation—but rather persist and grow in the milieu of interethnic contact and independence." Isolation and the lack of mobility did not create ethnicities and difference, but rather the negotiations with boundaries and the exchanges and movement between different peoples and cultures solidified distinctions.[12]

The anthropologist James F. Hamill has argued that a pan-Indian identity, rather than distinct tribal identities, emerged among Native peoples in Oklahoma. Drawing from the work of Fredrick Barth's emphasis on boundaries and their role in shaping ethnicities, Hamill argued that an Indian identity remained consistent. In his short essay entitled "Being Indian in Northeast Oklahoma," Hamill also contended that unlike other Native communities in the United States, tribal identity was not the main signifier in northeastern Oklahoma.[13] Hamill stated that it was the late nineteenth-century allotment—the division of communally-held lands into independent parcels to individuals—that effectively destroyed the framework that had strengthened and retained tribal sovereignties and societies in northeastern Oklahoma. President Theodore Roosevelt said in 1901 that Indian allotment was a "mighty pulverizing engine, to break up the tribal mass."[14] Hamill argued that tribal identities became "major structural units of NEO 'Indian' culture" and had been described as "the Oklahoma 'hot

[12] R. Warren Metcalf, *Termination's Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 16. See also: Frederik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969).

[13] James Hamill, *Going Indian* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), xi-xii, 36; James Hamill, "Being Indian in Northeast Oklahoma," *Plains Anthropologist*, Vol. 45, No. 173 (August 2000), 293.

[14] Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 43, 45.

bed of intertribalism,'" where a "pan-Indian culture" sprouted. For Hamill, allotment succeeded in breaking up tribalism and indigenous identities.[15]

This dissertation narrative, however, does end in the beginning of the twentieth century, when tribal identities still remained strong. Intertribal interactions solidified and reinforced rather than threatened Native communities. Today, reflecting over the past centuries, Myaamia (Miami) scholar George Ironstrack detailed the risks of pan-Indianism. "Following our second removal from Kansas to Oklahoma, Pan-Indian networks allowed our people to stabilize and find the means to adapt to yet another set of circumstances… This shared experience of life along the Neosho River in what became Northeastern Oklahoma has produced a lively intertribal network that includes shared political, economic, and cultural activities." Ironstrack acknowledged the positive returns of these intertribal interactions. "Without a doubt, the Pan-Indian network of northeastern Oklahoma benefits Myaamia people. Our population is too small to engage in many of these enterprises alone, and the collective effort allows us to strengthen our nation in ways that would be impossible, or too time consuming, to be considered feasible."[16] There remains a caution, and perhaps even a fear, of pushing the scales of intertribal cooperation into 'Pan-Indianism.' This is a caution commonly found in Indian Country. The mediator between the poles of isolationism and a generic 'pan-Indianism,' perhaps is balance. Jason Baird Jackson and others have maintained that pan-Indianism ignores the shared characteristics of Woodlands cultures. I argue that into the twentieth century distinct tribal nations fiercely retained their diverse and unique languages and cultures. Relationality and unity, as Ironstrack noted, are closely

[15] James Hamill, "Being Indian in Northeast Oklahoma," 297, 301.
[16] Ironstrack, "nahi meehtohseeniwinki," 198.

related and remain powerful forces in the present. The difficulty is finding the balance. Reflecting on their histories and faced with language loss, Myaamia (Miami) communities in both Oklahoma and the Ohio Valley today caution against generalizations and 'pan-Indianism.' I agree with Ironstrack that intertribal interactions helped Native people historically. I also have come to believe that this continues to help the small Native nations today. Despite the dangers of 'pan-Indianism,' Native peoples, perhaps ironically, have always used connections and relationships with each other, albeit with a recognized healthy balance, to maintain their sovereignties, both political and cultural persistence.[17] I argue that by the mid-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century the small tribal nations who would relocate to northeastern Oklahoma utilized relationality—their connections and interactions with each other—for cultural sustainability and the persistence of their languages and cultures as well as for political alliances to counter external assaults and settler-colonial control.

I. Historiography

Oklahoma Indian historiography's preoccupation has been on the Five Tribes—the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee), Chikasha (Chickasaw), Chahta (Choctaw), Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)), and Semvnole (Seminole) nations—or the Southern Plains nations such as the ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas), N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanches), Tsistsistas (Cheyennes), and Arapahos.[18] Of the histories of the other Indian nations that ultimately resided in the

[17] Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 43.

[18] R. David Edmunds, **"**The Indian in the Mainstream: Indian Historiography for Teachers of American History Surveys," *The History Teacher*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (February 1975), 253-256.

state of Oklahoma, tribal histories, most often published at the end of the twentieth century with the rise of New Indian History, have dominated the historiography.[19]

This 'New Indian History' generated scholarship that explored the complexities of and nuances in Indian-white and other encounters. Much scholarship has gone beyond the 'Indian-white encounters' to explore intertribal and intra-tribal interactions and dynamics. David La Vere, argued in his *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory* (2000) that the cultural and political differences between the Southern Plains Indians—such as the Wažažes (Osages), N~~u~~mun~~uu~~ (Comanches), and ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas)—and southeastern and other emigrant Indians removed to Indian Territory exasperated conflicts.[20] John P. Bowes's *Exiles & Pioneers Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (2007) described Šaawanwaki

[19] W. David Baird, "Reflections of a Historian of Native American History," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Winter, 1999), 443; Gary B. Nash, "Whither Indian History?" *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 4 No 3 (Fall 1976), 70; Donald Lee Fixico, "Ethics and Responsibilities in Writing American Indian History," *AIQ*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Special Issue: Writing about American Indians (Winter, 1996), 31. Many of these tribal histories are greatly outdated—they were originally published in the end of the twentieth century with the rising tide of New Indian History—or they are locally published for county history, tribal, or genealogical niche markets. One example of these works with a focused and tribal-specific audience is Roberta White Smith and Ruby White Sequichie's *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe* (2000). Although the Wyandotte, Oklahoma-based Gregath Publishers reprinted Vol. 2, the Vol. 1 of *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe* is now out-of-print and unavailable. See: Roberta White Smith and Ruby White Sequichie*, A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, 2000); Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, 2001); Dorris Valley and Mary M. Lembcke, *The Peorias: A History of the Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma* (Miami, Oklahoma: Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma, 1991). The Šaawanwa (Shawnee) people have had perhaps the largest historiographical breadth than any of the other northeastern Oklahoma Indian tribes. Stephen A. Warren's *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (2005), his subsequent *The Worlds the Shawnees Made: Migration and Violence in Early America* (2014), and Sami Lakomäki's *Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600-1870* (2014) are just a few examples. See: Stephen A. Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Stephen A. Warren, *The Worlds the Shawnees Made: Migration and Violence in Early America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Sami Lakomäki, *Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600-1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014). See also: Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987; Reprint, New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2006).

[20] David La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).

(Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), Potewatmis (Potawatomis) and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) relocation into Missouri and Kansas. Not only were they exiles, settled by force or by choice from their homelands, but they also acted as pioneers—rebuilding their communities in the West.[21] Amy Schutt explored how migrating societies created new attachments in her focus on the Lenape (Delaware) in *Peoples of the River Valleys.* Thinking of themselves as "alliance builders," the Lenape (Delaware) used kinship networks to adjust to their new lives away from traditional homelands. Schutt argued that they utilized this to define themselves in terms of their role as alliance facilitators.[22] Much of this scholarship is a response to the lack of Indian Removal analyses and with the preoccupation of the Indian Removal Act as a bookend or turning point in American Indian history, and extend indigenous survivance beyond victimhood.[23]

As far back as Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893) historians have placed Native peoples within the framework of United States history. They ranged the whole spectrum in terms of what extent Native peoples had power, agency, and participation in those larger narratives. Frederick Jackson Turner, discussing Indian communities only tangentially in relation to the formation of the United States, argued that American democracy developed

[21] Although not outright manifest, John P. Bowes's title seemed to be a play on Grant Foreman's *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830* (1930). Instead of describing two different groups of people, the terms 'exiles' and 'pioneers' referred to one and the same. The two terms related and described just one group of people: the emigrant Indians from the East removing to the West. See: Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830*, Revised Edition, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1930; Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975); John P. Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[22] Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 4-5, 30, 94, 115, 122-123, 126, 141, 163, 174.

[23] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 8-9, 17; William E. Unrau, *The Emigrant Indians of Kansas: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Published for the Newberry Library by Indiana University Press, 1979), 9.

through a moving frontier. This frontier was an active progression, both physically across geographic space and one that developed socially and culturally from 'savagery' to 'civilization.' Following that trend was a modernist approach, pulling from 'salvage anthropology.' By the late nineteenth century 'salvage anthropology' and 'salvage ethnology' was the predominant mode of collecting Native artifacts, stories, and documents, believing that Native people were disappearing and their cultures were going to become extinct. By the 1960s this term originated out of archaeological digs hoping to salvage material and information at places sited for business and building development. This term, however, came to characterize the late nineteenth-century impulse and urgency around avid collectors and anthropologists who posited the necessity and immediacy of collecting American Indian histories, languages, cultures, and traditions, before their 'extinction.' Salvage anthropology coupled with the rise of ethnohistory in the mid-twentieth century. In short, ethnohistory could be described as the marriage of anthropology and history into an interdisciplinary methodology. Salvage anthropology and ethnohistory both incorporated the standard written archival documentation with anthropological fieldwork and cultural inquiries. With the social upheavals in the 1960s American Indian people's visibility increased in the national limelight. The peak of this national attention came with the (inter)national news coverage of the Indians of All Tribes (IAT)'s occupation of Alcatraz Island (1969-1971) and the Oglala Lakota and American Indian Movement (AIM) standoff at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota (1973). Native histories, cultures and worldviews as well as indigenous historians themselves increasingly became central to writing about Native peoples and their histories.[24]

[24] James J. Hester, "Pioneer Methods in Salvage Anthropology," *Anthropological Quarterly*,

At the beginning of the twentieth century Philip Joseph Deloria (Dakota) summarized that (at that time) the most recent American Indian historiographical 'wave,' post-modernist histories, dissolved boundaries, adding nuances and complexities. One might add the observation that Deloria himself just recently made history as Harvard University's first tenured professor in American Indian history in January of 2018. Philip Deloria cautioned future historians, however, from seeking "a certain purity" in American Indian history. A historiographical 'pendulum' that swung so far to the other side of the scale, producing Native-centered and Native-language-based narratives and "Indian histories largely devoid of the colonialist documents of the conquerors," minimized cross-cultural entanglements and intersections inevitable in both indigenous/Native and United States history. Deloria predicted at the turn of the century that "the most interesting new Indian histories will come from Native people who have been able to look the Euro-American library full in the face, learning its politics, its lessons, and its secrets. They will also come from non-Native people who have been able to transcend the library and look Native people full in the face, understanding their politics and their pasts."[25]

I am not saying that my work necessarily does all that—but it is an attempt, a nod to, and a step towards giving more credit and due to a wider diverse range of Native-authored sources as historical records. How can historians contend that their

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Vol. 41, No. 3, Dam Anthropology: River Basin Research (Special Issue) (July 1968), 132. See also: Stephen A. Warren and Ben Barnes, "Salvaging the Salvage Anthropologists: Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, Carl Voegelin, and the Future of Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (April 2018), 189-214.

[25] Philip Joseph Deloria, "Historiography," in *A Companion to American Indian History,* edited by Philip Joseph Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 6-21; Jill Radsken, "Musician to filmmaker to Native American historian," *The Harvard Gazette*, February 13, 2018, https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2018/02/harvard-welcomes-first-tenured-professor-in-native-american-history/ (accessed 3 April 2018). Quotes from: Philip Joseph Deloria, "Historiography," 20-21.

histories gain a 'Native perspective' without including Native-made sources that profess indigenous worldviews and values? The easily accessible sources such as the late twentieth-century interview projects such as the Doris Duke Collection and Indian Pioneer Papers provide almost-instantly-available Native records. Those sources that express indigenous values and tribal worldviews but are more muddied and, I argue, require more work for non-Native scholars to 'mull through.' Language dictionaries and stories of origins and creation have still yet to be fully incorporated, recognized, and valued by historians of Native American history.[26]

Increasingly histories have recognized and emphasized the pervasiveness of violence, conflict, and dispossession in American Indian histories and the history of the United States. Works such as Ned Blackhawk (Te-Moak Western Shoshone)'s *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (2008) ushered in the turn to explore and acknowledge the immense violence in Native histories. Historical inquiries included physical, cultural, and psychological harm and damages wrought by settler colonialism—inherent in Euro-American treatments of American Indian communities and nations especially, but also in American history in general and as a whole. Pekka Hämäläinen's *The Comanche Empire* (2009) and Brian DeLay's *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (2008) exemplified the new sort of publications in the first decade of the twentieth century.

More recently, Gregory Evans Dowd's *Groundless: Rumors, Legends, and Hoaxes on the Early American Frontier* (2015) tackled American narratives ranging from slave revolts to American Indian removal, and covered the infamous epitome of

[26] See: Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

American Indian history genocide—the story of British General Jeffrey Amherst's dispersion to Native people of trade blankets infected with deadly smallpox in 1763. Smallpox did spread throughout the Indian nations who allied with the French in 1757—the Menominees, Ojibwes (Anishinaabeg), Odawas (Ottawas), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis)—and the disease ravaged and devastated their communities. Dowd noted the "singular and true episode at Fort Pitt" in 1763, where the British General Jeffrey Amherst did suggest giving Native peoples smallpox-infected blankets. Dowd discussed the metaphoric as well as the concrete, physical implications of settler colonialism and the trails of disease, death, destruction that followed in its wake. Dowd concluded by tying the sixteenth-century Spanish conquistador atrocities perpetrated by the Spanish conquistadors against the indigenous people of what is now Mexico, often deemed 'The Black Legend,' with nineteenth-century settler violence in the wake of the discovery of gold—the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) termed *tahlonega*—in nineteenth-century Georgia. This Dahlonega Gold Rush of 1829 instigated the infamous Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) forced removal from the southeastern United States in what is often called the 'Cherokee Trail of Tears' (1838-1839).[27]

[27] Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: A Borderlands Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008); Gary Clayton Anderson, *Ethnic Cleansing and the Indian: The Crime that Should Haunt America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014); Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008); Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jeffrey Ostler, "Genocide and American Indian History," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*, March 2015, http://americanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-3?print=pdf (accessed 3 April 2018); Gregory Evans Dowd, *Groundless: Rumors, Legends, and Hoaxes on the Early American Frontier*, Early America: History, Context, Culture Series (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 280. See particularly Dowd's pun-intended, aptly-titled Chapter 2: Pox—The Blanket Truth. See also: Margaret Huettl, "Sovereignty under Water: Teaching Sovereignty in the Midst of Loss," *The Panorama: Expansive Views From* The Journal of the Early Republic, November 20, 2017, http://thepanorama.shear.org/2017/11/20/sovereignty-under-water-

Most recently John P. Bowes produced the first major monograph on northern Indian removal since Grant Foreman's mid-twentieth-century work: *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal* (2016). The afterword of Bowes's monograph, in my opinion, read like the reflections of Rose Stremlau in her *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation* (2011). Both Stremlau and Bowes are part of a growing cadre of scholars and historians who speak to the contemporary peoples whose histories they study.[28]

Bowes's scholarship persuasively argued that scholars need to recognize that the fight continues into the present. In his conclusion, Bowes recognized the "vibrant presence" of Native peoples today. Bowes contended, however, that it would be "disingenuous to pretend that… the late twentieth century was more about Native American resurgence than about the persistent forces of settler colonialism in the United States. More than two centuries of American policies and more than four centuries of European colonization cannot be swept aside by making the statement that Indians are still here."[29] Charles Wilkinson and others described what they saw as revival and revitalization of American Indian cultures, communities, and governments.

As the New Indian History developed, scholars incorporated the idea of "settler colonialism" to understand the more complicated political and cultural dynamics that have been uncovered. Scholars added the discussion of settler colonialism begun by New Zealand and Australian scholars such as James Belich and Patrick Wolfe, the

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teaching-sovereignty-in-the-midst-of-loss/ (accessed 3 April 2018); Raymond D. Fogelson, "The Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 1989), 133-147.

[28] John P. Bowes, *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal*, New Directions in Native American Studies Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 2016), 231-234; Rose Stremlau, *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation*, First Peoples Series (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

[29] Bowes, *Land Too Good for Indians*, 234.

founder of settler colonial studies. Wolfe argued that "simply letting both [Native and non-Native, indigenous and settler] parties speak cannot redress an all-encompassing machinery of inequality." Instead, inequality and a "logic of elimination" formed to rationalize the replacement and removal of indigenous peoples from their lands.[30] New Zealand historian James Belich described this as a "settler revolution" that produced Anglophone countries of the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.[31]

This dissertation is both a continuation of the inquiry into intertribal interactions and alliances as well as an alternative narrative. Instead of focusing on the long history of settler colonialism, I look at the well-established ways that indigenous peoples responded to that Western and Euro-American settler colonialism, structural inequalities, and logics of dispossession and elimination. By focusing on the long-established indigenous protocols, diplomacy, and kinship connections, I argue that the small Native nations who ended up in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma used relationality (their connections to each other and others) for their political and cultural survival into the twentieth century. These scholars have shown how insidious,

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[30] Patrick Wolfe, "On Being Woken Up: The Dreamtime in Anthropology and in Australian Settler Culture," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (April 1991), 198; Lorenzo Veracini, "Patrick Wolfe's dialectics," *Aboriginal History*, Vol. 40 (January 1, 2016), 249-260; Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited and Palgrave Macmillan, A Division of St. Martin's Press, LLC, 2015), 1; Patrick Wolfe, "Nation and MiscegeNation: Discursive Continuity in the Post-Mabo Era," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, No. 36 (October 1994), 93; Philip Joseph Deloria, "Reflections on Patrick Wolfe," *Aboriginal History*, Vol. 40 (January 1, 2016), 227-228; Ben Silverstein, "Patrick Wolfe (1949-2016)," *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 82 (Autumn 2016), 320. Quote from: Wolfe, "On Being Woken Up," 198.

[31] James Belich, *Replenishing The Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also: Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*, 2. Bethel Saler's *The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest* (2015) utilized the case study of Wisconsin to discuss how the new republic of the United States followed through, often haphazardly, in its "colonial project of state formation in the Northwest Territory" (Bethel Saler, *The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 6).

destructive forces of the settler colonial empire of the United States threatened their communities and lifeways. Native peoples fought these very real imminent threats and destruction of forced removal by rebuilding their communities. Settler colonialism was, and is, a structure that radically altered indigenous relationships—to the land, their homelands and the new locations, and to each other and other Native peoples, both neighbors and long-time allies as well as newly-encountered indigenous groups very much different from themselves. Indigenous nations utilized relationality to counter settler colonialism, to rebuild their nations and societies.

II. Methodology: Indigenous Languages and The Primacy of Native Voice

"Learning the art of ribbonwork [peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki] was like learning our language. While the language left by my Myaamia [Miami] ancestors in the volumes of dictionaries and word lists gathered by Jesuit missionaries and linguists lay dormant in various institutions, so too did many beautiful items of Myaamia [Miami] ribbonwork. Most of these were scattered very far from us in museums in the United States, Canada, and Europe."

Scott Michael Shoemaker (Myaamia/Miami), master ribbonwork artist [32]

"To-day you will find out what I think."

Hinmatóowyalahtq̓it (Chief Joseph) (Nimíipuu/Nez Perce), to the Congressional Committee Investigation at Seneca City, Missouri, October 7, 1878[33]

"[T]he Indians know more about it than I do…"

H. H. Gregg, local white businessman/farmer, to the Congressional Committee Investigation at Seneca City, Missouri, October 7, 1878 [34]

[32] Scott Michael Shoemaker, "Reawakening the Art: A Personal Story," in Andrew J. Strack, Karen Baldwin, and Alysia Fischer, with contributions by George Michael Ironstrack and Scott Michael Shoemaker and consultation with Julie Olds, Daryl Baldwin, David Costa, and John Bickers, *peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki | Myaamia Ribbonwork*, developed through the Myaamia Center, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio (Miami, Oklahoma: Myaamia Publications, 2016), 16.

[33] *TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)*, 77.

[34] *TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)*, 83.

Historians of American Indian history have also been slow to incorporate linguistic theory into their work. Anthropologist Douglas R. Parks argued that although historians recognized the importance of language to Indian cultures and identities, they did not and still did not integrate any serious analysis of language to supplement and enrich their works. Parks argued that despite the production of new Indian histories, "the treatment of native language material has suffered a consistent fate among historians: benign neglect. In contrast to their confreres in other geographical areas, American Indian historians do not ordinarily study the language of the people they chronicle, nor do they master linguistics sufficiently to handle language data competently and insightfully."[35] Despite some notable exceptions this remains true.

As one of the key ways in which we express ourselves and communicate our thoughts and ideas, language is critically important to understanding human culture. Language is also immensely important to understanding Native viewpoints and indigenous languages often emphasize the importance of relationships. Although English speakers often are not familiar with the Greek and Latin roots, a lot of meaning is still imbedded in the etymology, or the study of the origin of words and their meaning. Many Native languages are polysynthetic, and 'pack' a lot of meaning and information in them.[36] Indigenous languages especially emphasize the importance of relationships. What is particularly important about indigenous languages in the United States is words often describe the "relationship with something"—be it objects or

[35] Douglas R. Parks, "The Importance of Language Study for the Writing of Plains Indian History," in *New Directions in American Indian History,* edited by Colin G. Calloway (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 153-157. On language loss see: J. Neale Carman and Karl S. Pond, "The Replacement of the Indian Languages of Kansas by English," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science,* Vol. 58, No. 2 (Summer 1955), 131-150.

[36] Wilson conveyed this idea using a twenty-first century metaphor: "Our traditional language has words that contain huge amounts of information encoded like a ZIP file within them" (Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 13).

kinfolk. People are given names according to their kinship and relationship to each other, and objects are named according to their utility. Often described as a unique characteristic of indigenous languages, these verb- and utility-based descriptions emphasize action and function.[37]

One such example of the significance and meaning that comes with language is the work of Basil H. Johnston (Anishinaabe). He has argued: "'Without the benefit of knowing the language of the Indian nation that they are investigating, scholars can never get into their minds, the heart and soul and the spirit of a culture and understand the Native's perceptions and interpretations. The scholar must confine his research and studies to the material, physical culture… [']."[38] Scholars have pointed out how Johnston describes the word Anishinaabe, or as he spells it *Anishinaubae* is imbued with meaning in terms of action as well as descriptive of an Anishinaabe person. Johnston detailed how the name for themselves, Anishinaabe, is the combination of "good intent" with human or being. Sinclair noted: "The word refers not only to a group of people, but a set of actions and beliefs that constitute the term itself. These actions and beliefs form the basis of who the 'Anishinaubae' are, and their relationships, both among themselves and with beings throughout the universe."[39] Language, one can see, includes the expression of values and worldviews.[40] My

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[37] Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 73.

[38] Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, "*K'zaugin*: Storying Ourselves into Life," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 84.

[39] Sinclair, "*K'zaugin*: Storying Ourselves into Life," 87.

[40] Leanne Hinton, "Languages and Language Programs," in *HNAI*, Vol. 2, 351. Daryl Baldwin (Myaamia/Miami), 2016 "genius grant" recipient, articulated the importance of indigenous languages. He said, "if there's one thing I've learned over the years is that language is not a thing; it's an expression. So, then the question is 'what is it an expression of?'" Baldwin answered, "what we've learned over the

inclusion of language is a means of emphasizing, stressing, and valuing Native voices, viewpoints, values, and worldviews.

As language translates culture, knowledge, and worldviews, it is logical to look towards linguistic materials as potential 'treasure troves' of historical documentation. Twenty-first-century language revitalization also recognizes the immediacy of the staggering potential loss of global linguistic diversity and the disappearance of the corresponding cultural knowledge and worldviews embedded in vanishing languages. In the late nineteenth century anxieties of extinction, both cultural and linguistic, propelled the mission of collecting objects, words, and recordings from American Indian communities.

Ironically these desires to document have also provided rich resources for contemporary academic and community research a hundred years later. Although mediated through a Western-European lens, Native voices nonetheless have entered into the historical record through ethnologists' papers. Historians have been particularly remiss in utilizing the linguistic and cultural archives created by "salvage anthropologists." Late nineteenth-century northeastern Oklahoma Native voices embedded in these documents assist in providing alternative histories that bring Native understandings front and center.

Although mediated through ethnologists' transcriptions and dictations, the Native community members related testimony to anthropologists and scholars about the continuity and survival of their nations. By 'reading' dictionaries and lists collected by

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years is that it's an expression of our indigenous knowledge system and we can articulate pieces of that knowledge system as it is expressed through our language." Daryl Baldwin, "eempaapiikinamankwi kineepwaayoneminaani: We Pick Up the Threads of Our Knowledge," Presented at the 7th Biennial Myaamiaki Conference, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, April 2, 2016.

ethnologists one gains a glimpse into Native worldviews through languages. According to Robert M. Leavitt, "in reading a dictionary, speakers' values and attitudes, sense of social and family relationships, spatial and aesthetic perceptions, and spirituality and humor take shape. How can this happen? The dictionary presents no coherent narrative, no story or history or explanation. Instead it contains a disjointed collection of one-off ideas arranged in alphabetical order." Leavitt answered that it was "the ways in which Passamaquoddy culture is mediated by the language. The focus is on how the language itself, even in apparently isolated examples, translates the essence of the Passamaquoddy mind-set."[41] Historical linguistic materials, then, also provide an opportunity for broadening one's understanding of late nineteenth and early twentieth century northeastern Oklahoma Indian histories. Language remains an often-neglected aspect in historical inquiry. Recent historical linguists have also lamented the lost opportunities from interdisciplinary collaboration.[42]

My inclusion of historic language materials also helps to fill the 'gaps' in the historical records. The language materials uncover a history of cultural continuance that one might not otherwise see. With the fragmentation of land, people, knowledge, material culture, language, archives, with forced removal as well as the lack of scholarly attention given to these smaller tribes, the reconstruction of their histories then required

[41] Robert M. Leavitt, "Reading a dictionary: how Passamaquoddy language translates concepts of physical and social space," in *Born in the Blood: On Native American Translation,* edited by Brian Swann (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 43.

[42] Steffan Davies, Nils Langer, and Wim Vandenbussche, "Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography: Interdisciplinary Problems and Opportunities," in *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography*, edited by Nils Langer, Steffan Davies, and Wim Vandenbussche, Studies in Historical Linguistics Series Vol. 9 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012), 3-6. I realize, however, that in linguistic anthropology linguistic relativity is still a hotly contested issue. Case in point: The Q&A after fellow NCAIS participant Helen Agger's presentation utilizing Lera Brodowsky and Nic Arms's extensive discussion on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis derivations and contestations. See also: Boyd Cothran, "Exchanging Gifts with the Dead: Lava Beds National Monument and Narratives of the Modoc War," *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies,* Vol. 4, No. 1 (2011), 30-40.

the careful and creative assembly of a diverse interdisciplinary patchwork of primary and secondary sources. I include not only these materials as understudied historical documentation, but the use of language also adds an opportunity for extensive discussion of narrative perspectives.

III. Terminology: The 'Inconvenience,' Discomfort, and Unwieldiness of the Use of Indigenous Self-Designations in Historical Narrative

"Today, we recognize the significance and symbolic value of terminology, and the use of our own recovered languages is important not only for the purposes of communication but as a symbol of our survival. In addition, it helps us all avoid insult and injury."

Gerald Taiaiake Alfred (Kahnawà:ke Kanien'ke/Kahnawake Mohawk) [43]

Whenever possible, I have incorporated Native languages, terminologies, and appellations. When as much as possible I doggedly reject the use of Western Euro-American standards in naming without recognizing Native terminology in the foreground. I maintain it is important whenever possible to use indigenous self-designations for Native communities and people. In general I will use American Indian, Native American, Indian, and Native interchangeably. Although the word 'Indian' in Canada and elsewhere has negative connotations, in the United States 'American Indian' has circled back to respectability and reclamation as an identifier by the twenty-first century. In many ways self-designations have become the standard and norm. Anishinaabe for Ojibwe and Chippewa people, Myaamia for Miami, and Diné for

[43] Gerald Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Second Edition (1999; Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press Canada, 2009), 23.

Navajo are three such examples. Haudenosaunee (as well as Rotinonshonni and Hodinöhsö:ni´ in Canada and elsewhere) has become synonymous with 'Iroquois.'[44]

I decided to delete any stress markers as well as most syllable breaks. Mō´dokni Máklaks is the major exception. The underline indicates where to place emphasis in the word, and the Bureau of American Ethnology linguist Albert Samuel Gatschet explained that it was necessary for correctly identifying the precise meaning in the language. Although I am sticking to indigenous terminologies coupled with Western or English standardized equivalents bookended by brackets, I decided to capitalize names and place names, to maintain a less-jarring narrative (bell hooks and publication titles excepting). Although I recognize the clunky-ness of parentheses everywhere does disrupt the narrative flow and destabilize the readers' comprehension, I believe this uncomfortableness is necessary in order to maintain integrity for indigenous self-designations.

[44] For example, see: Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum: Essays on Hodinöhsö:ni´ Visual Code and Epistemological Recovery*, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors Series (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014); Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through the Eyes of Teharonhia:wako and Sawiskera*, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors Series (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013); Heidi Bohaker, "*Nindoodemag*: The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701," *WMQ*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (January 2006), 23-52; Michael J. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America*, Early American Studies Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Jennifer Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007); Daniel M. Cobb, ed., *Say We Are Nations: Documents of Politics and Protest in Indigenous America Since 1887*, H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

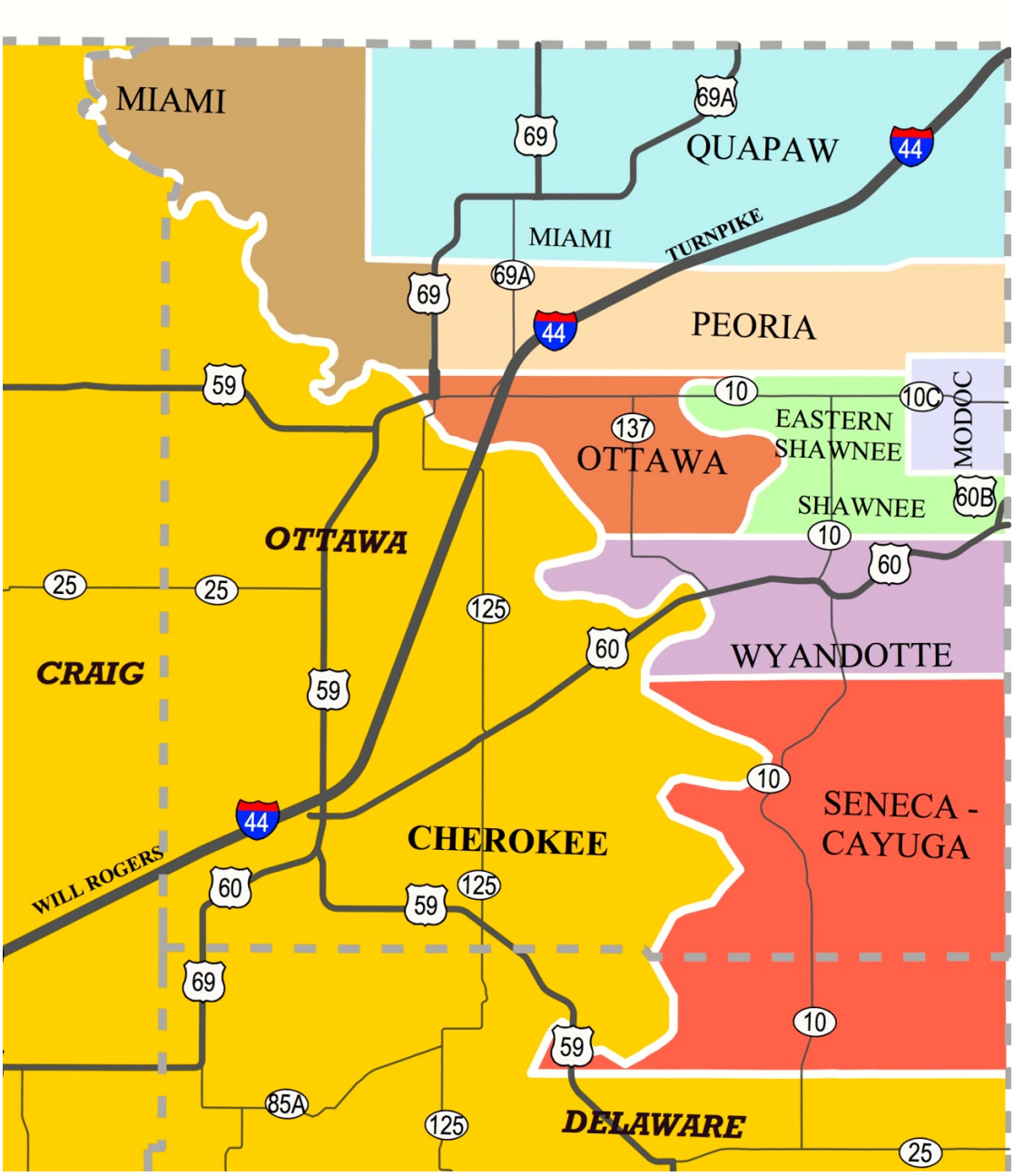

Figure 0.1: Tribal Jurisdictions in Oklahoma, Inset of Northeast Corner
Almost a dozen Native nations now call northeastern Oklahoma home: the Myaamiaki (Miamis), Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), Odawas (Ottawas), Šaawanwaki (Eastern Shawnee), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Shotinontowane'á:ka and Kaion'kehá:ka (Senecas and Cayugas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). The Loyal Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) have their tribal headquarters in Miami, Oklahoma, however their communities and ceremonial grounds are scattered throughout the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Nation.
Source: Oklahoma Department of Transportation, *Tribal Jurisdictions in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Transportation), 9 April 2008. [Cropped for detail].

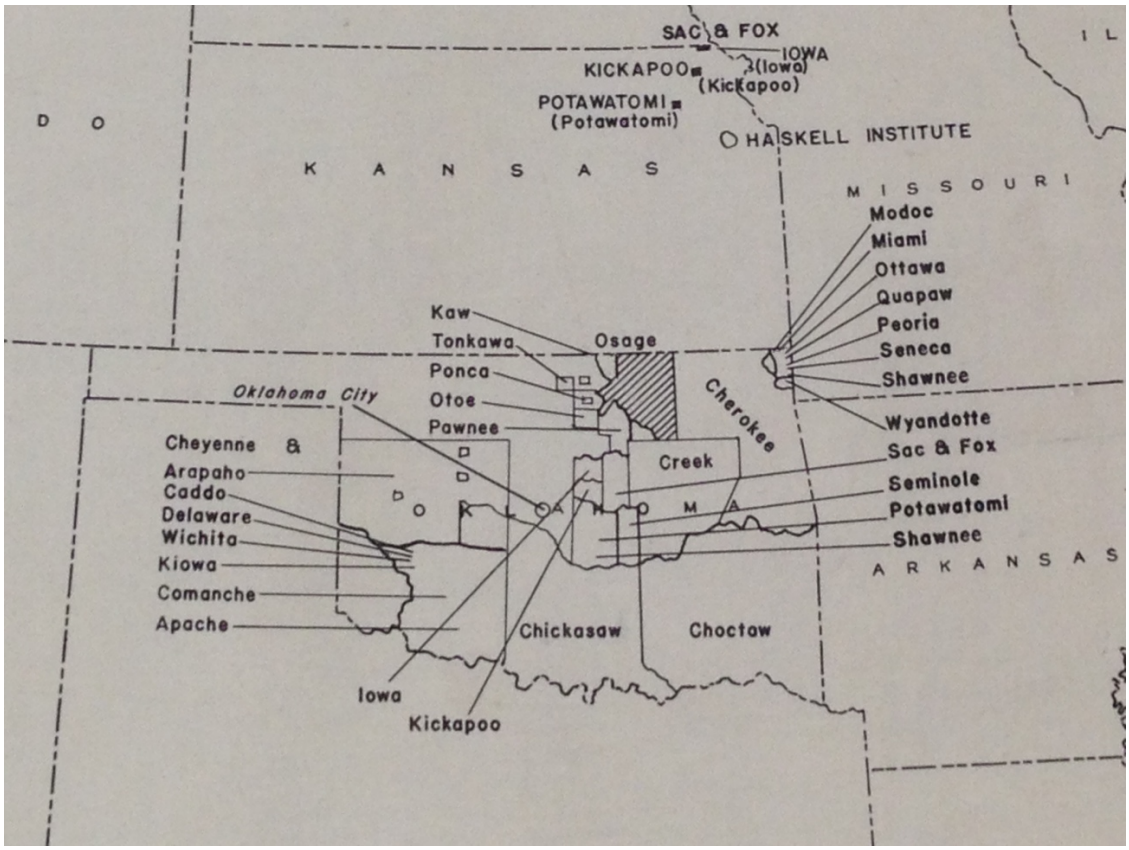

Figure 0.2: Detail of Indian Country Map, Focusing on Oklahoma Indian Nations
This detail from Sam Attahvich (Numunuu/Comanche)'s map of Indian reservations and Indian tribal nations for the Bureau of Indian Affairs shows the immense variety of Indian communities who ended up in the state of Oklahoma by the twentieth century.
Source: Sam Attahvich, *Indian Tribes, Reservations and Settlements in the United* States, Compiled and Drawn by Sam Attahvich, Comanche. Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, 1939. Oversize Ayer 133 .U583 1939, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

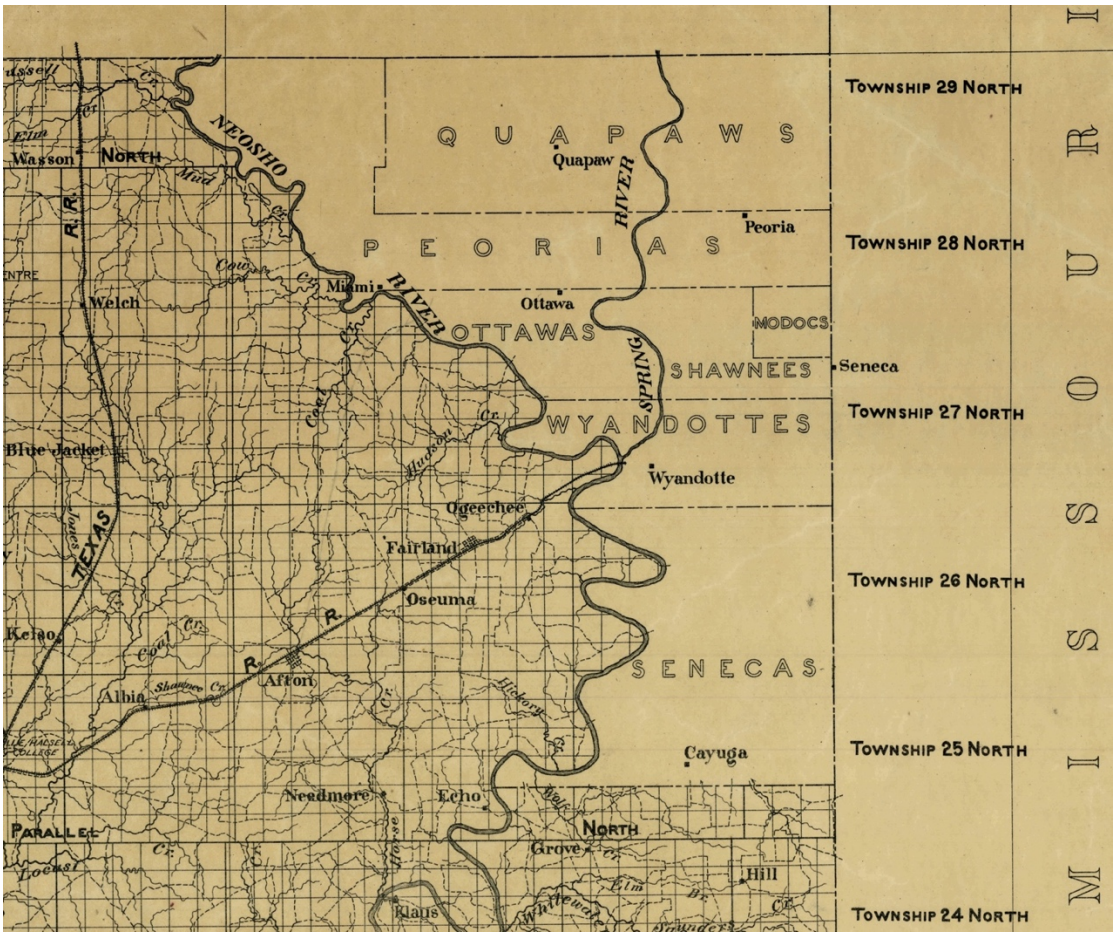

Figure 0.3: Native Nations in the Northeastern Corner of Oklahoma
While showcasing the rivers, streams, roads, and railroads, this map clearly delineates the Native nations and their tribal jurisdictions in northeastern Oklahoma.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No 4311, NARA II. [Cropped detail].

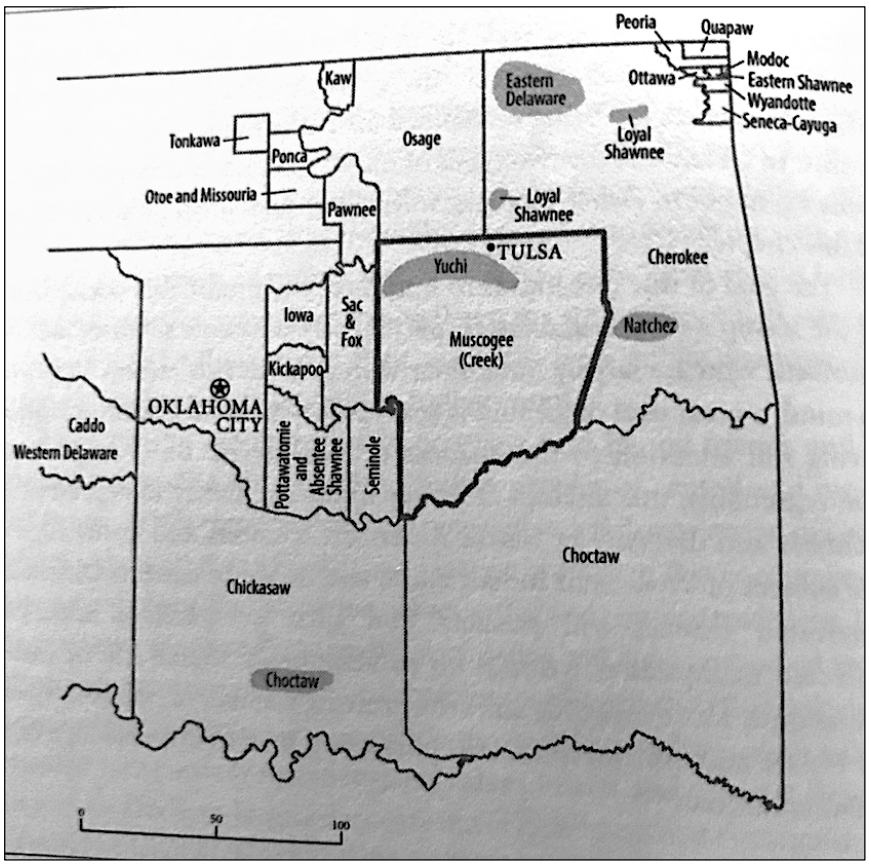

Figure 0.4: "Native American Communities in eastern Oklahoma today" Map
This map uses pre-allotment locations, so the Myaamiaki (Miamis) are not included—instead just the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) are listed with their irregular 'L-Shaped' reservation, purchased from portions of the Okáxpa (Quapaw) and Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke(Seneca-Cayuga) reservation lands. The map does point out, however, at least two of the 'concentrations' of Loyal Shawnee (Šaawanwa) communities, often called 'Cherokee-Shawnees,' within the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Nation.
Source: Jason Baird Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds in Oklahoma," in Jason Baird Jackson and Mary S. Linn, *Yuchi Folklore: Cultural Expression in a Southeastern Native American Community*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series Vol. 272 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), Figure 10.1, 156. [Cropped and color corrected for detail].

Chapter 1:
Creating Places Where "One May Go Everywhere Without Fear": The Power and Tradition of Indigenous Relationality, Kinship, and Pathways Before Forced Removal [1]

The nineteenth-century physical removal of American Indian nations east of the Mississippi River westward represented critical loss of indigenous freedom and Native autonomy. Native peoples abruptly left their lands and neighbors, and were forced to live in strange lands and subsist on foreign terrain. Through the deceitful and belligerent strong-arm tactics of the expansionist United States government, these indigenous nations were forced from their original homelands and relocated to the West to unknown and federally-unorganized territories. The sustained trauma and destruction of forced removal for the emigrant Native communities cannot be overstated. Separation from one's original homelands and being forced to live in an alien place that looked nothing like one was accustomed to had detrimental and devastating effects on individuals and tribal communities. Heartbreak and disaster continued with the difficulties of reconstructing a new home and society in the aftermath of forced relocation. The indigenous reconstruction after removal, however, did allow for the persistence and renewal of Native relational sovereignty. For the small tribal nations who were forcibly relocated to what is now the present states of Kansas and Oklahoma, they still found ways to assert their agency and retain their communities. They maintained kinship to each other and utilized indigenous protocols of relational sovereignty to make 'white paths' of peace between each other. This relationality and 'closing the gap' between two people by receiving each other as allies and relatives

[1] Quoted in: Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois: A Brief Outline of Their History," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723 (January 1956), 17.

recognized the common goals of maintaining their traditions and taking care of their communities. Long-established modes of treaty protocols and formation of kinship relations persisted and continued to have relevance and significance in their new homes just as they had in their original homelands. The continuity of relationality played a key role in community health and wellness as well as endurance and survival. Kinship and treaty diplomacy protocols provided power and agency despite the uncertainty and violence in the troubled times of the Removal Era.

Kinship continued to shape the placement of Native communities during and after removal, and served as a connection between pre- and post-removal pasts. Historian Amy Schutt described the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Lenape (Delawares), explaining that, "[w]hen they settled in new regions, they brought along connections formed previously with other Indians, and they forged new relationships and shared lands with a culturally diverse range of Indian peoples."[2] Schutt also summarized that the Lenape (Delawares) used "kin networks to adjust to life away from their homelands."[3] These statements could also apply to Algonquian and Iroquoian communities removed to Indian Territory in the early nineteenth century. These other groups, too, employed what was familiar and usual to them. Native nations would routinely emphasize 'clearing the roads' between two separate and distinct peoples to allow for positive multicultural interactions with others. They would also build nations of relatives who had reciprocal obligations to each other and concerns for

[2] Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 62.

[3] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 30. The Lenape became the 'Delawares,' as Europeans named the Delaware River for the British Thomas West, Lord De La Warr. Lenape, meaning the original people, however, is the self-designation for this group. Often written as Lenni Lenape, but as Bright noted, is repetitive, and "rejected as redundant by modern speakers" (William Bright, *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 133, 251).

their common welfare, fostering community continuity, sustainability, resilience, and survival.

Although the removal process was harsh and disruptive to Indian communities, the removal process also highlights the continuing importance of kinship networks as removal communities struggled with change. The continuance of kinship alleviated and provided a way for the removed tribal communities to find connection between their pasts and their new futures. As scholar Mark Rifkin has argued, "kinship gave shape to the nexus of peoplehood—the contours and content of recognized Indigenous modes of collectivity and diplomacy."[4] Kinship networks were the familiar and long-established ways for Native communities to connect to each other and their relatives, as well as establish connections with outsiders and others. These deep-rooted kinship networks would persist through the disjuncture and disruption of removal and be key to the reconstruction of Native communities in new and unfamiliar lands.

[4] Mark Rifkin, "Remapping the Family of Nations: The Geopolitics of Kinship in Hendrick Aupaumut's 'A Short Narration,'" *SAIL*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter 2010), 2. Clan exogamy also "bound the nations firmly together with the ties of kinship" (Sherman Williams, "The Iroquois Confederacy," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association*, Vol. 4 (1904), 16). See also: Sherman Williams, "The Iroquois Confederacy," 16-17; David Bedford and Thom Workman, "The Great Law of Peace: Alternative Inter-Nation(al) Practices and the Iroquoian Confederacy," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (January-March 1997), 105-106. Rifkin continued to argue that Native modes of kinship as social and political organization, was contrary to the United States government's focus on communities with demarcated territories and areas of influence. Mohican author Hendrick Aupaumut wrote about his time as a diplomatic ambassador to the Ohio Country in his report, "A Short Narration of My Last Journey to the Western Country" (1792). Aupaumut, according to Rifkin, argued "for diplomacy and geopolitics predicated on a recognition of the central role of kinship in Native peoples' self-conceptions and engagement with each other," in a "Native-centered internationalism" (Rifkin, "Remapping the Family of Nations," 2-3). Clan exogamy and intertribal marriage was commonplace. The difficulty of describing early Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) marriage practices led to what is the now the derogatory term "squaw." Traditional matrilocal marriage (*atenonha*) differentiated from the Algonquian-language term used to describe Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) men's "contractual-conjugal relations (*asqua*)" with non-Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) women (Robert Dannin, "Forms of Huron Kinship and Marriage," *Ethnology*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (April 1982), 108). For a more extended discussion see: Dannin, "Forms of Huron Kinship and Marriage," 101-110; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 460.

Not only did kinship networks persist and continue during and after removal but also did indigenous protocols for treaty-making and Native diplomacy. The affirmation of indigenous treaty protocols served as an example of the tenacity and resolve of Native sovereignty. The etiquette and procedures of the treaty-making process lived on to provide some kind of familiar framework with which tribes could negotiate land sales and resolve inter-tribal conflicts. Treaty-making diplomacy also functioned in the application of Native self-determination and sovereignty in the post-Removal years. As Lumbee legal scholar Robert A. Williams, Jr. explained, "the Encounter era treaty literature affirms the sovereign capacity of Indian tribes to engage in bilateral governmental relations, to exercise power and control over their lands and resources, and to maintain their internal forms of self-government free of outside interference."[5] The reiteration of indigenous treaty protocols—those that exist between Native nations and each other as well as with the United States—illustrates one such example of indigenous assertion of sovereignty despite physical forced removal.

Treaties themselves also bound participants in an indigenous network of relationships. Reflecting on the history of treaty-making, Anishinaabe scholar Leanne Simpson put it plainly: "Indigenous peoples understood these agreements [treaties] in terms of relationship."[6] Not only did treaties represent the final agreement and results, but Native treaties inherently included and represented the process of coming to the conclusions as well as the decisive product and end results. Native peoples valued the

[5] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together: American Indian Treaty Visions of Law and Peace, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 9.

[6] Leanne Simpson, "Looking after Gdoo-naaganinaa: Precolonial Nishnaabeg Diplomatic and Treaty Relationships," *Wicazo Sa Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Fall 2008), 29.

processes and procedures just as much as the outcomes.[7] Kanien'ke (Mohawk) scholar Patricia Monture-Angus also explained: "Self-determination is principally, that is first and foremost, about relationships."[8] Sovereignty, having separate and independent power and authority, according to most indigenous traditions and worldviews is not separate from relationality—the idea of being relational (related) or connected. Instead, before one can take care of oneself and make independent decisions, one must first look externally to one's kin and how one is connected to those relations. Treaties were not only expressions of indigenous sovereignties, but the treaty parlances that continued into the nineteenth century also sustained indigenous views of kinship and relationality, assuring the survival and maintenance of removed indigenous communities despite difficult and uncertain times. Not only treaties but also other forms of community building and intertribal interactions such as international indigenous congresses and social gatherings reinforced Native cultural and political sovereignty through relationality.

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[7] These ideas came from several different places, but from where I do not specifically recall. Leech Lake Ojibwe/Anishinaabe and Dakota scholar Scott Richard Lyons described how Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle explained that historically in treaties "'the concern of the Indians was the preservation of the people': that is, the successful perpetuation of life, land rights, community, and cultural practice… Sovereignty in this regard is concerned not only with political procedures or individual rights but with a whole way of life. Non-Indian reductions of Indian claims to sovereignty as arguments for 'self-governance'—that is, for a degree of local financial and political control modeled after western governmental systems—obscures this holistic people-oriented emphasis" (Quote from: Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty: What Do American Indians Want from Writing," *College Composition and Communication*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (February 2000), 456). Deloria and Lytle cited from: Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 8. Regarding "process," see also: Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty," 451. Contemporary Wažaže (Osage) scholar Robert Warrior called Vine Deloria, Jr.'s philosophy a "process-centered definition of sovereignty" (Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 91). Quoted in: Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty," 457.

[8] Patricia Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward: Dreaming First Nations' Independence* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 1999), 8. Quoted in: Leanne Simpson, "Looking after Gdoo-naaganinaa," 32-34.

The tribes who eventually would remove to the northeastern corner of the state of Oklahoma, had a long history, a *longue durée* (long duration, or long-term history) of intertribal interactions and kinship with each other in what became known as the Old Northwest. Originally coined by French historian Fernand Braudel and the followers of the "Annales School" at the middle of the twentieth century, *longue durée* refers to histories of long durations. This came to include macrohistories, large broad histories, describing culture and society as well as long trends of continuity, as opposed to the more fixed, linear politics and event-specific narratives.[9] Although historian of Latin America Barbara Weinstein has noted that since the late twentieth-century Cultural Turn historians have had "skepticism" towards "grand narratives" and steered away from the possible risks of essentializing culture, historians can still find it helpful to "revisit long-term processes."[10] By using this terminology, of describing indigenous Native nations as having a *longue durée* of intertribal interactions and diplomatic protocols, is to stress the continuities and centuries-long development of treaty

[9] Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein, "History and the Social Sciences: The Longue Durée," translated by Immanuel Wallerstein, *Review (Fernand Braudel Center),* Vol. 32, No. 2, Commemorating the Longue Durée (2009), 173-176; Jean Heffer, "Is the *Longue Durée* Un-American?" *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, Vol. 24, No 1, Braudel and the U.S.: Interlocuteurs valables? (2001), 125-126. On the resurgence of the *longue durée*, see: David Armitage, "What's the Big Idea? Intellectual History and the Longue Durée," *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (December 2012), 493-507.

[10] Barbara Weinstein, "History Without a Cause? Grand Narratives, World History, and the Postcolonial Dilemma," *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (April 2005), 72-74, 79, 88-89. Quotes from: Weinstein, "History Without a Cause?" 72, 79. Upstreaming—the anthropological notion of filling in historical gaps with known contemporary analogies—remains highly controversial. On issues as well as promises of upstreaming, see: Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 110; William N. Fenton, "Structure, Continuity, and Change in the Process of Iroquois Treaty Making," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 3-4. Alternatively, Audra Simpson described "'backstreaming'—of viewing the present through periods and points of the past that are deemed relevant or especially meaningful" (Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 72).

protocols, the "deep history" of indigenous cultures and political developments.[11] American Indians had a long history of their own diplomatic protocols, those that Michael Pomedli described as being "an overarching format and context not of European fashioning." Instead, American Indian communities "fitted their guests in their own place and space."[12] Despite being handicapped by the physical forced removal from their homelands, indigenous communities in Indian Territory persisted in their own customs and traditions to make future treaties, agreements, and alliances.

I. Indigenous Kinship Networks and Intertribal Relations: Origins and Roots

"[*U*]*nęh ⁿde wanⁿdat esakwažaráhaʔ yǫmahšutaʔᵃ yehęʔ kętǫʔskwaʔyeh ⁿdaižuh tuyahawis ⁿduʔtáraʔ aʔⁿdúhšraʔᵃyeh ⁿde yamęrureʔ yangyaʔᵃwihš. Uęh turahšituʔyáʔᵃte ⁿdeyǫmeh ⁿdeyarǫnyaʔᵃyeh.*"
"[N]ow we waⁿdat will again remember our ancient grandmother toad because she brought the clay onto the shell of the mossback turtle. There she shuffle danced, the woman from the sky."

[11] Daniel Lord Smail, "Preface: 'The gift of history,'" in Ann McGrath and Mary Anne Jebb, *Long History, Deep Time: Deepening Histories of Place* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 2015), xv. Jean Heffer's provokingly-titled article centered on United States history, arguing that although the United States' colonial and revolutionary history often came from the disrupture of long-established European traditions, it does not enter the maelstrom of the political implications of utilizing longue durée for pre-federalist and early colonial histories (Heffer, "Is the *Longue Durée* Un-American?" 127-133, 136-137). A couple examples of scholars utilizing the longue durée model for non-Western and colonial histories include: François G. Richard, "The Politics of Absence: The Longue Durée of State-Peasant Interactions in the Siin (Senegal), 1850s-1930s," in François G. Richard, ed., *Materializing Colonial Encounters: Archaeologies of African Experience* (New York: Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, 2015), 229-260; Wolfgang Gabbert, "The longue durée of Colonial Violence in Latin America," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2012), 254-275; Mark Staniforth, "'Annales'-Informed Approaches to the Archaeology of Colonial Australia," *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 37, No. 1, Recent Work in Historical Archaeology in Australia and New Zealand (2003), 102-113; Irene A. Vasquez, "The *Longue Durée* of Africans in Mexico: The Historiography of Racialization, Acculturation, and Afro-Mexican Subjectivity," *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (Spring 2010), 183-201; Leanne Simpson, "Looking after Gdoo-naaganinaa," 29-31; Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 100.

[12] Michael M. Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties: Amended Iroquois Condolence Rituals," *AIQ*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Summer 1995), 319, 333-335. Quotes from: Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 319, 333.

> Richard Zane Smith (Sǫhahiyǫ) (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), language and culture activist from Wyandotte, Oklahoma, 2017[13]

One of the earliest and most notable intertribal interactions and alliances among eastern Indians became known as the Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois, Confederacy, whose indigenous homelands are centered around the present state of New York (See Figure 1.1). According to oral tradition the Haudenosaunee established the confederacy as early as the year 1000. Regardless of debates of how long it had been in operation, all agree that the League had at least become established by the 1500s.[14] The name

[13] Richard Zane Smith's Facebook Page, https://www.facebook.com/richardzane.smith (accessed 19 October 2017). Quoted with permission.

[14] Historians today now generally agree with the estimation of the league being created long before Euro-American exploration. Some even concur with an estimated time around 1000. In the past, historians did not believe in the validity of the oral tradition, and hence did not trust the indigenous dating, instead relying on a time closer to interactions with Europeans. John Napoleon Britton Hewitt, "Era of the Formation of the Historic League of the Iroquois," *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. 7 (January 1894), 61-63; Matthew Dennis, "The League of the Iroquois," *History Now: The Journal of The Gilder Lehrman Institute,* Issue No. 28 (June/Summer 2011), https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/american-indians/essays/league-iroquois# (accessed October 8, 2017); Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976, 2 vols.; Reprint, Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 162-163, 224; Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, Book I: Structure of the League (Rochester: Sage & Brother, Publishers, 1851), 7-9; Robert D. Kuhn and Martha L. Sempowski, "A New Approach to Dating the League of the Iroquois," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (April 2001), 302-303, 311-312; William A. Starna, "Retrospecting on the Origins of the League of the Iroquois," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 152, No. 3 (September 2008), 279, 287-288; Anthony F. C. Wallace, "The Dekanawideh Myth Analyzed as the Record of a Revitalization Movement," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Spring 1958), 125-127; William M. Beauchamp, "Hi-a-wat-ha," *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 4, No. 15 (October-December 1891), 297-298; James A. Tuck, "The Iroquois Confederacy," *Scientific American*, Vol. 224, No. 2 (February 1971), 32; Christopher Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring 1986), 79; Sherman Williams, "The Iroquois Confederacy," 11; Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 16-17; Neal B. Keating, *Iroquois Art, Power, and History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 144-146; Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia, 1534-1701* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010), xliii-xlv; Jeanette Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call: Reconstructing Haudenosaunee Cultural Memory*, Critical Haudenosaunee Studies Series (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 40. Anthropologist Dean Snow uses archaeological evidence to suggest an origin date of 900 (Susan Kalter, "Finding a Place for David Cusick in Native American Literary History," *MELUS [Society for the Study of the Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States],* Vol. 27, No. 3, Native American Literature (Autumn 2002), 21-22); Paul Royster and David Cusick, "David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations (1828)," edited by Paul Royster, January 24, 2006, *Faculty Publications, UNL Libraries*, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libraryscience/24 (accessed October 15, 2017), 22; Fenton, "Structure, Continuity, and Change," 15-16; Kevin F. Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio: A History of the Buckeye State* (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell,

Haudenosaunee comes from the Shotinontowane' (Seneca) word *hotinohsyóni?*, meaning "they [who] are of the extended lodge." In common American English parlance Haudenosaunee comes to mean the 'People of the Longhouse.' The Confederacy itself was and is a metaphorical longhouse, with the five nations occupying equal spaces inside that traditional building (See Figure 1.2). The five nations all spoke, and still speak, different dialects of the same core language. This is often referred to as the Iroquoian language family. The formal Haudenosaunee alliance was and is comprised of the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk—The People of the Flint), the Oneniote'á:ka (Oneida—The People of the Standing Stone), the Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondaga—The People of the Hills), the Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayuga—The People of the Mucky Lake or Swamp), and the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Seneca—The People of the Hill). The incorporation of the Tehatiskaró:ros, or Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscarora—The Hemp People), into the League made the confederacy a total of six nations in 1722. Although all speak a mutually-distinguishable Iroquoian dialect, the Haudenosaunee selected the language of the Kanien'kehá:ka—Kanien'ke (also spelled Kenienké—Mohawk)—as the language of their council meetings with each other.[15]

2014), 50-52; Elisabeth Tooker, "Women in Iroquois Society," in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, edited by Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun, The Williams Press, Incorporated Series, A Publication of the Center for the History of the American Indian of the Newberry Library (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 112. Circa 1450 is another common date. See: Ryan Rice, "Jeffrey Arohié:nen's Gabriel (1924-1989)," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 69-70. The word Iroquois is neither a self-designation nor an indigenous term, but rather French (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 186).

[15] Kanien´kehá:ka (Mohawk Nation) is spelled many different ways— Kanyę'kehá:ka', Kanyę'kehró:no', Kanienkehaka, Kanien'kéha, Kanyen'kéha, Kanien'kehaka, Kanien´kehá:ka, Kenienké:haka, Kanienkehá:ka, Kanien´keha:ka, Kanien'kehaka, Kanien'kéhá:ka, Kenienké:haka, Kanienkehá·ka, Kayʌʔkeha·ká·, Ganyęʔgegáʔ, Ganyë'ge:onö' (pl.), Ganyë'geh, Ganyęʔgehó:nǫʔ, etc. One of the most common spellings, however, seems to be Kanien´kehá:ka—with the ":" right before "ka" to indicate a long vowel sound or syllable—so I will stick to that variation. Thank you goes out to Richard Zane Smith for the brief lesson on the markings in the Iroquoian words. Oneniote'á:ka (Oneida Nation) may also be spelled Oneota:haka, Onayotekaono, Onęyote'a:kâ:, Onęyoteʔa·kâ·, Onʌyota'a:ka, Onʌyoteʔa·ka, Onyotaʔa·ká·, Onyotaʔa·ká·, One·yóteakâ, Onëyotga:', Ohnyahęhó:nǫʔ,

Dyoneẏodahé·nų², Nęyótga·², or Nę́yotga:'. Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondaga Nation) may also be spelled Onontaka:haka, Ononda'gega, Onǫtá?e·kà?, Onoñda?gegá?, Onotáke·kà, Onǫda´géga´, Onǫdagehó:nǫ², Onoñda´gega, Onoñda'gega', Onǫ́da'geh, Onuta²keha·ká·, Onuta²keha·ká·, Onųda²gehá², or Onųda²gegá². Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayuga Nation) may also be spelled Kaokwa:haka, Kayonkhó·no, Kayohkhó:nǫ', Kayokhwęhó:nǫ', Kayohkhó·nǫ?, Gayogoho:nǫhnéha:², Ǫgwehǫwéhneha:², Gayogohó:nǫ², Gayógwe:onö', Goyogohó:nǫ´, Guyohkohnyoh, Gayo·gwé·ga², Ganųnawę²dowá·nęh, Kwęyukwęhá·ka·², or Kayokwehó·no. Shotinontowane'á:ka (Seneca Nation) may also be spelled Sonontowa:haka, Onondowahgah, Onotowáka·, Onödowaga, Onǫdowá²ga:², Onödowá'ga:', Onųdawa²gó·na, Dyonųdowanęhé·nų², Jyonųdowanęhé·nų², Dewá²ga·², Do·ná²ga·², Nödowá'ga:', Twa²á·ka·², or Kayę²čarà·nęh (door keepers). Tehatiskaró:ros (Tuscarora Nation) may also be spelled as Tehatiskaro:ros, Taskarorahá:ka, Taskarowë', Dahsgáo:wę², Dásge:owë', Skarù·rę², Ska-Ruh-Reh, Skaruhreh, Skarù·rę?, Skaròr·ǫ?, Scaroon or Skaroo´ren. Haudenosaunee, the common American parlance, can also be spelled many ways—Kanonsionni, Hodenausaunee, Hodénosaunee, Hodenosaune, Hodinǫhsǫ́:nih, Hodinöhsö:ni´, Hodínöhšö:ni:h, Hodínöhsö:ni, Rotinonhsón:ni, Rotinonshonni, etc. Rotinohshonni is the word 'Haudenosaunee' in Kenienké (Mohawk): "Ne Rotinonhsón:ni, (ne shá:ka ne aiaié:ron 'Haudenosaunee', ne Kanien'kéha owén:na)" (Ryan Rice, "Kwah Í:ken Tsi IROQUOIS," 58). Although it is becoming more acceptable to use alternative spellings, due to the immense variety, I will stick with Haudenosaunee. See: Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 84, 292, 352-353, 431; Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 14, 27; Hanni Woodbury, *Onondaga-English / English-Onondaga Dictionary* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 1030-1036, 1255; Karin Michelson and Mercy Doxtator, *Oneida-English / English-Oneida Dictionary* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 1098, 1113, 1324-1325; Carrie Joan Dyck, Frances Froman, Alfred Keye, and Lottie Keye, *English-Cayuga / Cayuga-English Dictionary | Gayogoho:nǫ² / Hnyǫ² ǫhneha:² Wadęwęnaga:da:s Ohyadǫhsrǫ:dǫ²* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2002), xi, 607-609; Wallace Chafe, *English-Seneca Dictionary* (n.l.: n.p., n.d.), 28, 107, 116, 145, 178; Onondaga Nation, "Language," *Onondaga Nation: People of the Hills*, 2017, http://www.onondaganation.org/culture/language/ (accessed 17 December 2017); Irving Powless, Jr., *Who Are These People Anyway?* edited by Lesley Forrester, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors Series (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2016), 31, 129-134, 150-151; Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 7-8, 37-39; Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward*, 40; Brian Rice, "Restorative processes of peace and healing within the governing structures of the *Rotinonshonni* 'Longhouse People,'" in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, edited by Dennis J. D. Sandole, Sean Byrne, Ingrid Sandole-Staroste, and Jessica Senehi (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 410; Karl Scott Hele, ed., *The Nature of Empires and the Empires of Nature: Indigenous Peoples and the Great Lakes Environment*, Indigenous Studies Series (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), 337, 342, 345; Brian Rice, "Bridging Academia and Indigenous Environmental Science: Is It Too Late?" in *The Nature of Empires and the Empires of Nature: Indigenous Peoples and the Great Lakes Environment*, edited by Karl Scott Hele, Indigenous Studies Series (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), 72, 78-80; Blair A. Rudes, *Tuscarora-English / English-Tuscarora Dictionary* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 679-684; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through the Eyes of Teharonhia:wako and Sawiskera*, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors Series (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 4, 169-170, 217; John Napoleon Britton Hewitt, *Iroquoian Cosmology, First Part, Extract from the Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 133; Laurence M. Hauptman, *Seven Generations of Iroquois Leadership: The Six Nations Since 1800* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008), xix; Keating, *Iroquois Art, Power, and History*, 14-17; Michelle A. Hamilton, "Borders Within: Anthropology and the Six Nations of the Grand River," in *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands*, edited by Karl Scott Hele (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 191; Morgan Kahentonni Phillips, Stéphane Dandeneau, and Laurence J. Kirmayer, *Community Report Research Project: Roots of Resilience: Stories of Resilience, Healing, and Transformation in Kahnawake, prepared for the Kanien´kehá:ka community of Kahnawake and the Network for Aboriginal Mental Health Research of the Culture & Mental Health Research Unit* (Montréal: Culture & Mental Health Research Unit, Institute of Community & Family Psychiatry, Jewish

The Haudenosaunee were not (and are not) the only people who speak Iroquoian languages. The Wa^{n}dat—often also called Wendats, Wyandots, Wyandottes, or Hurons—are not and were not a part of the Haudenosaunee League but they also spoke and still speak an Iroquoian-based language. The French called them Hurons, for the adjective used to describe the 'Mohawk style' haircuts that the men wore that looked like to them the wild boars' bristled hair, *huré*. Today the terms Huron and Wyandot can be used interchangeably. A confederacy of five Iroquoian-speaking nations around Wendaké, in present-day Ontario, used the term Wendat to call themselves. By the

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General Hospital, 2012); *Kanien'keha:ka: Living the Language*, directed by Paul Rickard and Tracey Dee (Montréal: Mushkeg Productions Incorporated, in association with APTN (Aboriginal Peoples Television Network), 2008), DVD; Kanien´kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center, *Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center*, http://korkahnawake.org/ (accessed 16 December 2017); First Peoples' Heritage, Language & Culture Council (FPHLCC), "Kanien´kéha (Mohawk) [Eng] Community Portal," *FirstVoices: Language Legacies Celebrating Indigenous Cultures / Des Patrimoines Linguistiques Célébrant des Cultures Indigènes*, 2000-2017, http://www.firstvoices.com/en/Kanienkeha-Mohawk-EN (accessed 16 December 2017); The Mohawk Nation Office (Kahnawake Branch), *Kahnawà:ke Kanien'kehá:ka Kanakeráhsera | Kahnawà:ke Branch of the Mohawk Nation: Ne Ià:ia'k Nihononhontsá:ke - Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy*, http://kahnawakelonghouse.com/ (accessed 16 December 2017); Kahente Horn-Miller, "What Does Indigenous Participatory Democracy Look Like? Kahnawà:ke's Community Decision Making Process," *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2013), 111-112; Ryan Rice, "Kwah Í:ken Tsi IROQUOIS," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 13, 57; Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, "*K'zaugin*: Storying Ourselves into Life," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 91-92. On 'Mohawk' as a derogatory term from Algonquian languages, see: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 150-152, 400-401. See also: Tehanetorens (Ray Fadden), "Migration of the Iroquois," in *Tales of the Iroquois*, edited by Tehanetorens (Ray Fadden), Vol. 2 (Rooseveltown, New York: Akwesasne Notes in cooperation with the Institute of American Studies, State University College of Arts and Sciences, 1976), 1, 9-12; Audra Simpson, "Melanie Printup Hope," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 72-73; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 27, 98, 105; Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum: Essays on Hodinöhsö:ni´ Visual Code and Epistemological Recovery*, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors Series (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014); Aren Akweks, "The Formation of the Hodenosaune or League of the Five Nations," in Tehanetorens (Ray Fadden), ed., *Tales of the Iroquois*, Vol. 2, 13-38. I use a modified spelling of Brian Rice's term of Kenienké (Mohawk), breaking off "haka" (people) from the larger term meaning the Mohawk People (Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 174). In the Kanien'ke (Mohawk) translation of Ryan Rice's scholarship, "Haudenosaunee or People of the Longhouse" is translated as "Haudenosaunee taní' Ón:kwe ne Rotinónhses" (Ryan Rice, "Kwah Í:ken Tsi IROQUOIS," 13, 57). On Haudenosaunee significance of metaphor, see: Ryan Rice, "Kwah Í:ken Tsi IROQUOIS," 16, 59. The Iroquois confederacy went from Five Nations (Hwíhs Niyọhwẹ́já:ge:) to Six Nations (Hyeí Niyọhwẹ́já:ge:) (Dyck, Froman, A. Keye, and L. Keye, *English-Cayuga / Cayuga-English Dictionary*, xi), 608).

nineteenth and twentieth centuries Euro-American observers spelled Wendats as Wyandots, Wyandotts, or Wyandottes. While also avoiding the messiness of Wyandot and Wyandotte spelling distinctions, the word Wa^{n}dat (pronounced wą̀·^{n}dát or wę́·^{n}dat) also communicates the expression and pronunciation of what the Iroquoian-speaking communities in Oklahoma came and come to call themselves. Wa^{n}dat and Wendat will be used interchangeably throughout, but with an emphasis more on Wa^{n}dat, especially when dealing with discussions of post-removal communities. The Petuns (Tobacco Nation, or Tionnontatés), Neutrals (les Attiouendarankhronon), and Eries (les Eriehronon or Rhiienhonon) also are Iroquoian-speaking nations (See Figure 1.3).[16]

[16] Birdsall, Williams & Company, *The History of Jackson County, Missouri, Containing A History of the County, Its Cities, Towns, Etc., Biographical Sketches of Its Citizens, Jackson County in the Late War, General and Local Statistics, Portraits of Early Settlers and Prominent Men, History of Missouri, Map of Jackson County, Miscellaneous Matters, Etc., Etc. Illustrated* (Kansas City, Missouri: Union Historical Company, Birdsall, Williams & Company, 1881), 669; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 575; Ives Goddard, "Historical and Philological Evidence Regarding the Identification of the Mascouten," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring 1972), 124, Table 1; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 4, 169-172, 214, 276-278; Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 15; William N. Fenton, "Seth Newhouse's Traditional History and Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 93, No. 2, Studies of Historical Documents in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (May 16, 1949), 144-145; Sally M. Weaver, "Seth Newhouse and the Grand River Confederacy at Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, edited by Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun, The Williams Press, Incorporated Series, A Publication of the Center for the History of the American Indian of the Newberry Library (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 165-166; George S. Snyderman, "The Function of Wampum in Iroquois Religion," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 105, No. 6 (December 15, 1961), 574; Francis Jennings, "Introduction," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), xiii; "Glossary of Figures of Speech in Iroquois Political Rhetoric," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 117-119; Bedford and Workman, "The Great Law of Peace," 103; Jennifer Birch, "Rethinking the Archaeological Application of Iroquoian Kinship," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology / Journal Canadien d'Archéologie*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2008), 195; Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty," 455-456; Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio*, 50-51; Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 5-16; Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats: Une civilisation méconnue* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1994), 11-14; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 145; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 14-15, 91-105, 156-168. The Tionnontatés (Petun) are also associated with the Wendat, as both groups would incorporate each other into their communities during difficult times. Eventually they became known as an incorporated remnant of the Wendat Confederacy. See: Phil Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity: The Anishnaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 7; Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 51, 74, 269; Trigger, *The Children of*

The Haudenosaunee did not always live in a united confederation but they always had relationships with other peoples, both human and non-human. This goes back to their very origins. As Kanien'ke (Mohawk) scholar Brian Rice has explained, Haudenosaunee elders have always said that their creation story, the Teyotiokwaonhas:ton (roughly translated in English as 'The Laws of Creation'), and the Kaianere'kó:wa (often called 'The Great Law of Peace') all hold a lot of meaning that was (and is) imperative and essential to Haudenosaunee history and philosophy. The story of creation and the Kaianere'kó:wa both convey a lot about "how as human beings people are supposed to conduct themselves in their relationships with non-human beings."[17] Both animals and people from other worlds helped humans on earth to create

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Aataentsic, 14-15, 824-825; William Elsey Connelley, "The Wyandots," in *PGNT-JWW*, 1; William Elsey Connelley, "The Walker Family," in *PGNT-JWW*, 10. For Wa^{n}dat, Wyandot(te), and Wendat distinctions, I have chosen to stick to Wa^{n}dat, as Richard Zane Smith explained that that is the most recent term that the people used to call themselves. Richard Zane Smith in discussion with the author, 27 November 2017. For Haudenosaunee place names transferred to the state of Kansas, see: John Rydjord, *Kansas Place-Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 32, 259-265, 272-275, 284-285, 426-430, 448. For the French term *hure* (noun) or *huré* (adjective) for the name Hurons, see: John Steckley, *A Huron-English/English-Huron Dictionary (Listing Both Words and Noun and Verb Roots)* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 1; Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 151, 400n123, 400n124; Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 570n21; Elisabeth Tooker, "Wyandot," in *HNAI*, Vol. 15, 398-406; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 27; "Among the Hurons and Iroquois.—IV.: Soil of New France: Food, Clothing, and Character of the Indians," *Catholic Progress: A Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 82 (October 1878), 307; James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665-1965* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 8. See also: Wyandotte Nation Culture Committee, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, *The Wyandotte Nation* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: Wyandotte Nation Culture Committee, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, n.d.); John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, Indigenous Studies Series (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), 7-8, 22-23. Scholars have also used the word 8endat, or Ouendat (Conrad E. Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, Historical Sites Branch, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1971), 20-22).

[17] Quote from: Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 16. Another spelling of Kaianere'kó:wa is Kaienerako:wa, without the accent marks, or in Kanien'ke (Mohawk) "'Kaianerenkó:wa ne Skén:nen Ión:nis'" (Ryan Rice, "Kwah Í:ken Tsi IROQUOIS," 15, 58). Kayeneren:kowa, Kaienerekowa, and Kianenrehsehrah:kowa are yet more spellings. See: Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 5, 32, 157; Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 25, 127, 181; Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 1; Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward*, 41. Kahnawà:ke Kanien'ke (Kahnawake Mohawk) scholar Gerald Taiaiake Alfred noted the mistake of treating the Great Law as a text. He explained, "The whole term 'Great Law' is a

the land on which they both live. The Haudenosaunee and other Native nations had long histories and stories of their relationships with non-humans and animals.[18] Before being known as the Haudenosaunee the Iroquoian people called, and still call, themselves *onkwe:honwe* or *onkwehonwe*, the real people. Another Iroquoian-speaking group, the Wa^{n}dat—often called Wendat in Québec and Wyandot(te)s in the United States—also called and still call themselves *ongwe*, human beings.[19] Linguists explain, however, that the Iroquoian term *onkwe* or *ongwe* also refers to other beings, not just humans. It could signify any and "all beings" with "human shapes or attributes."[20] As Québécois Wendat historian Georges E. Sioui explained, "les autres êtres font partie de « peuples », comme nous… ils sont des parents et des amis qui nous aident [the other beings are part of 'peoples,' like us… they are relatives and friends who help us]."[21] Thus, humans had connections and affinities with animal and plant nations, and reciprocally animal and plant nations interacted with and assisted human beings in the world.

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mistake. That's not what is says in our language. In our language it says [sic] 'the big warmth' or 'the big harmony,' or something along those lines." It could be described more as a philosophy of following the "*great good way*" but it often gets simplified to the English term 'Great Law' (Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 126).

[18] Leanne Simpson, "Looking after Gdoo-naaganinaa," 31-35; Snyderman, "The Function of Wampum," 575. Many indigenous cultures all around the world view non-human nations as a part of relationality. For Example, Chad Hamill (Spokane) utilized creation stories, history, and song, to discuss ecological conservation in the twenty-first century in the Pacific Northwest and Columbian Plateau regions. Chad Hamill, "Coyote Made the Rivers: Indigenous Ecological Continuity in the Era of Climate Change," Presented at the Returning the Gift: Native and Indigenous Literary Festival, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, October 10, 2017.

[19] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 55, 55n116, 56, 56n118; Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 30. Another spelling of onkwe:honwe is Okwehon:we (Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 2, 7).

[20] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 4, 230-231; Kalter, "Finding a Place for David Cusick," 14-15. Etymology quoted in: Kalter, "Finding a Place for David Cusick," 15. Kalter provided a good discussion of the difficulty of understanding Haudenosaunee worldviews. Kalter, "Finding a Place for David Cusick," 16-17; Bedford and Workman, "The Great Law of Peace," 87-90, 96.

[21] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 335.

The biggest feat the animal nations assisted with was the creation of this world as we know it, where animals, plants, and humans all now make their homes. The ancestors of the animals today helped create the earth. In Kansas or Oklahoma in the late nineteenth century Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog) (Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke(Seneca-Cayuga)-Wa^{n}dat(Wendat/Wyandot(te)) told historian William Elsey Connelley: "The animals of the present time are the descendants… of these same animals that made the Great Island for the home of the woman who fell down from heaven." "They are diminutive in size as well as devoid of the divine attributes possessed by their ancestors, though all animals were supposed by us to be endowed with reason," he continued. "These ancient first animals are the heads of their own species to this day, *i.e.*, the Great Turtle who bears up the earth is the ancestor of all the turtles in the world of the same species."[22] Animal nations and Native nations were kin to each other, had histories of interacting with each other, and treated each other as relatives.

The Iroquoian origin story is similar among and shared with both the Haudenosaunee and the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). In one Haudenosaunee version of creation, in the beginning there was a Sky World, above the current, present world and earth. In the middle of that was a Standing Tree of Light, which provided *orenta*, energy that gave life and light. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in Québec call this power "l'*Ondera´*." The first Creator the Haudenosaunee called Teharonwetsia:wako (He Who Grasps the Earth), also known as Rotea:he (the Keeper of the Standing Tree of Light). This tree stood in the middle of the world, and provided

[22] William Elsey Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899, Being Part of the Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education Ontario* (Toronto: Warwick Brothers & Rutter, Printers, Printed by Order of the Legislative Assembly, 1900), 97.

life and light to the Sky World. Teharonwetsia:wako was going to have a child with his wife, Otsi:tsia, known as Aataentsic to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). Different stories describe different reasons how it came about. Some say it was an accident; some say it was a shove or push driven by jealousy. But for whatever the reason this woman—known as Otsi:tsia or Aataentsic to the Haudenosaunee and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) respectively—fell down to earth in a hole beneath the Standing Tree of Light. She fell from the sky world, down into a world of water. She would become known in English as the Sky Woman. These incidents and the events that would follow would create the world that the Haudenosaunee and other indigenous peoples knew.[23]

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[23] Guy Sioui Durand, "Ononthio'," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2016), 35-36; Lee Irwin, *Coming Down from Above: Prophecy, Resistance, and Renewal in Native American Religions*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 140-141; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 22, 26; Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 33; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 77-78, 87, 712, 850; Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory During the Year 1819*, edited by Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 297n9; Charles Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology, With an Appendix Containing Earlier Published Records*, Canada Department of Mines Geological Survey Memoir 80, Anthropological Series No. 11 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 7; Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxxv-xxxvi, xlv; Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 21-33. Nuttall spelled her name as Atahentsic (Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory, During the Year 1819. With Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines. Illustrated by a Map and Other Engravings* (Philadelphia: Printed and Published by Thomas H. Palmer, 1821), 273-275; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 297, 297n9). Charles Marius Barbeau spelled her name as Eataentsic (Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 289-295, 328, 408, 411). In one version of the story the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks) call her Awe(n)ha'i'. See: John C. Mohawk, ed., *Iroquois Creation Story: John Arthur Gibson and J.N.B. Hewitt's Myth of the Earth Grasper* (Buffalo: Mohawk Publications, 2005), 11. See also, Skywoman, Ieronhia'kehró:non, also spelled as Iottsi'tsi:son: Collette Lemmon, "Peter B. Jones," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 51-53; Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 24. Bruce Trigger spelled the twins' names as Tawiscaron—with *tawiscara* being flint—and Iouskeha (Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 77-78, 593-594, 722-723). Trigger also noted: "Many of the most important aspects of Huron religion were embraced by the term *onderha*, which meant the 'prop' or 'foundation' of a country. This term was used to denote the dances, customs, and ceremonies that bound a people together and promoted friendship, solidarity, and goodwill amongst them" (Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 75). Rotea:he's name has also been listed as Rarontanon:na (Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 25). The creation stories of the Anishinaabeg also have Sky Woman landing on the turtle's back (Basil H. Johnston, "Is That All There Is? Tribal Literature," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 7).

The animal nations assisted in the creation of this new world for Sky Woman and her offspring. All the animal nations wanted to help Sky Woman, so they dove down to look for earth—clay or soil to create a place on which Sky Woman could stand. According to the Haudenosaunee it was finally Muskrat who dove down into the water and pulled up some soil. From this soil, the land grew and increased from the large Turtle's shell and back. Two geese or swans let Aataentsic onto their backs, providing her a safe place to fall onto until the land of the world was made (See Figure 1.4). For the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) the earth grew from the back of the mossback turtle and it was Grandmother Toad, not Muskrat, who found clay that became the earth. Reflecting on the importance of the shuffle dance that Wa^{n}dat women still perform today, contemporary cultural leader and language activist Richard Zane Smith noted: "[*U*]*nęh* ^{n}*de wan*^{n}*dat esakwažaráhaʔ yǫmahšutaʔ*^{a} *yehęʔ kętǫʔskwaʔyeh* ^{n}*daižuh tuyahawis* ^{n}*duʔtáraʔ aʔ*^{n}*dúhšraʔ*^{a}*yeh* ^{n}*de yamęrureʔ yangyaʔ*^{a}*wihš. Unęh turahšituʔyáʔ*^{a}*te* ^{n}*deyǫmeh* ^{n}*deyarǫnyaʔ*^{a}*yeh.* [N]ow we wa^{n}dat will again remember our ancient grandmother toad because she brought the clay onto the shell of the mossback turtle. There she shuffle danced, the woman from the sky."[24] This dance recollected the creation of the earth on turtle's back with the assistance of all the animals for Aataentsic, the woman who fell from the sky. All the different animals

[24] Richard Zane Smith's Facebook Page, https://www.facebook.com/richardzane.smith (accessed 19 October 2017). Quoted with permission. For another Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) version of the creation of the world, see: Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899*, 96-116. William Elsey Connelley's informants (Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog), George Wright, Sa`tsi`tsuwa` (Smith Nichols), John W. Gray-Eyes, and Governor William Walker—also known as Häh-shäh´-rēhs (The Stream Over Full) or Sēhs´-täh-rōh (Bright)) also said it was the mossback turtle on which the world was created. See: Connelley, "The Walker Family," 12, 12n2. I will un-hyphenate the names in future use. For example, I will write Hähshäh´rēhs or Sēhs´tährōh instead of Häh-shäh´-rēhs or Sēhs´-täh-rōh. In one version, Aataentsic's name is Yah-Weh-noh, or Yahwehnoh, and there is no mention of a daughter. The twin sons were named Made-of-Fire and Made-of-Flint (Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas and Its People*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 63-65).

came together and helped in various ways in making the earth. Wa^{n}dat elder Star Young explained to anthropologists in Oklahoma in 1911 that when the earth shook due to earthquakes, that was the big turtle adjusting her shell on which the earth lays (See Figure 1.5).[25]

For both the Haudenosaunee and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) the big turtle, or mossback turtle, created the land for the earth and other animals helped. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) reflected these specifics in their clan system. In the account that William Elsey Connelley's informants told him in the late nineteenth century, the little turtle also had a special role in the creation of the earth. Hence, the Little Turtle clan became high in esteem, second to that of the Big Turtle. Big Turtle clan members, according to Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog) (Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke(Seneca-Cayuga)-Wa^{n}dat(Wendat/Wyandot(te)), were known as "the people of the Big (or Great) Turtle, or the clan that bears the Earth."[26] Then Little Turtle helped increase that soil to become the land. For, according to Connelley's many Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) informants, the Little Turtle, "She spread the Earth brought up by the Toad upon the shell of the Big Turtle to make the Great Island."[27] Regardless of the version of the creation story, Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) or Haudenosaunee, one constant remains—the animals helped create the Earth, that which is often colloquially today called "Turtle Island."

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[25] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 47; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 38-50, 304, 409.

[26] Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899*, 101.

[27] Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899*, 114. See also: Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 77-78; Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 15; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 7-51. In Kanien'ke (Mohawk), Turtle Island is "A'nó:wara Kawehnote'kó:wa" (Lemmon, "Peter B. Jones," 51-53).

In one Haudenosaunee version of the story, Sky Woman's daughter—Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks) called her Ohshe:wa—gave birth to the twins Teharonhia:wako (He Who Grasp the Sky with Both Hands) and Sawiskera (Flint). The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) called the twins Tsɛ^{n}sta' (also known as Tsestah) (Fire) and Ta˘wɛ´ska˘rɛ (also known as Tawiskaron) (Flint). The twins were very much opposites of each other in terms of behaviors and dispositions. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) describe(d) the Mississippi River as separating the lands of Tsestah and Tawiskaron. The East exhibited abundance and softness, while the West had scarcity and harshness. For the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), the dead go to a place in the West when they die. The Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) also call(ed) the West Tsusginai, or the Nightland, the place of the afterlife, as opposed to the East—the Sun Land, the place from where the sun rises. When recounting his early and mid-nineteenth-century interactions with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), western painter George Catlin noted that the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), as the western door keepers and westernmost Haudenosaunee who constantly moved westward from settler colonial pressures, had a "familiar phrase that is used amongst them, that 'they are going to the setting sun.'" Similarly, the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) named Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket) wrote in 1829 of the anticipation of removal. Nawahtahthu described how the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) were told to go to the new "Indian land on big Ta-was-ke-ta (Prairie) near (the) 'Night lodge of Ke-sath-wa' (Setting place of the sun)."[28] The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) recognized that their new home would be the

[28] Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket), "An Indian's Own Story" (1829-1831), transcribed and edited by John Allen Rayner (March 1886), Indian History MS Collection No. 590, Box 6, Subgroup 22, Series E, KSHS. Also available on *KSMEM*. The Ohio History Connection's webpage on their copy of Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket)'s writing has come to be very helpful in understanding this document.

Night Lodge of Kesathwa, or the evening home of the Sun, the place where the sun resided during the night while the moon was out. Given the predominant Iroquoian views of the West as the place where the sun sets, the land of the twin Tawiskaron or Ta˘wɛ´ska˘rɛ, and the place where the dead resided, removal to the West, then, had added connotations of death and loss as well as harshness and darkness.[29]

Teharonhia:wako (or Tsɛ^{n}sta') created all of the plants and animals, including human beings. He helped humankind, taught them survival skills, and fought off those who tried to hurt them. He "destroyed monsters and put the world in order."[30] Besides creating all of the flora and fauna, Teharonhia:wako (or Tsɛ^{n}sta') also created the sun, the moon, and the stars, as well as the thunder and lightning. Teharonhia:wako (or Tsɛ^{n}sta') told the humans that the Sun was their Elder Brother and the Moon their Grandmother. Hato:i (Wind) would come and help the humans when they were sick if they followed prescribed healing ceremony. Teharonhia:wako (or Tsɛ^{n}sta') also taught the humans many other songs and ceremonies, including the traditional use of the tobacco plant. For the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), the plant and animal nations also taught people many things. The White Otter, Beaver, and a lenipinšia-type monster

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See: Ohio History Connection, "A Story of the Shawanoes," *Ohio History Central*, http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/A_Story_of_the_Shawanoes (accessed 11 March 2018).

[29] Patricia Jo Lynn King, "The Forgotten Warriors: Keetoowah Abolitionists, Revitalization, The Search for Modernity, and Struggle for Autonomy in the Cherokee Nation, 1800-1866" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 2013), 46-47, 353; Gregory D. Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), 13-15; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 87; George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians. Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39, In Two Volumes With Four Hundred Illustrations from the Author's Original Paintings*, Third Edition, Vol. 2 (London: Published for the author by Tilt and Bogue, 1842), 104. Quote from: Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 104. Sky Woman's daughter's name may also be spelled as Iakotsitsio:te, and the twin's names may be spelled as Tahroniawa:kon (Sky Holder) and Sawiskaron (Flint) (Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 24, 29-33).

[30] Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 82-83.

(translated in English by Barbeau as Lion) shared dances, traditions, and good luck and prosperity charms for successful hunts, with one of the most common being *huñǫ^{n}t*, or deer charm. In Oklahoma in 1912 Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) elders documented the story of how maple sugar gave Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) women a charm to guarantee a rich collection of syrup after the boiling process. Ta˘wɛ´ska˘rɛ's greed for the sweet syrup caused the difficulty of collecting and making maple syrup from the tree sap, hereafter requiring boiling. According to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) version of creation, it was also the ancient council of animal nations who decided on crafting the thunder and lightning as well as the sun and the moon. After warfare between the twins decimated the world, the one brother remade the plants and animals.[31]

[31] Trigger, *The Children of* Aataentsic, 77-79; Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 34, 43-46, 46n92, 78-79; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 7-51, 95, 110-111, 266, 266n1, 266n4, 267, 309-311; Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 81-84; Royster and Cusick, "David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations (1828)," 5-6; David Cusick, *Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations: Comprising First–A Tale of the Foundation of the Great Island, (Now North America) the Two Infants Born, and the Creation of the Universe. Second–A Real Account of the Early Settlers of North America, and Their Dissentions. Third–Origin of the Kingdom of the Five Nations, which Was Called a Long House: the Wars, Fierce Animals, &c*., Second Edition **(**Tuscarora Village: Lewiston, Niagara County, New York, [Lockport, New York: Cooley & Lothrop, Printers,] 1828), 2-3, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/rbfr.0003, The Library of Congress, *France in America / France en Amérique*, http://memory.loc.gov/intldl/fiahtml/fiahome.html (accessed October 15, 2017); Jack Campisi, "The Iroquois and the Euro-American Concept of Tribe," *New York History*, Vol. 78, No. 4 (October 1997), 462; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 26, 38-124; William N. Fenton, "'This Island, the World on the Turtle's Back,'" *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 75, No. 298 (October-December 1962), 283, 285-286, 289-298. According to William Elsey Connelley's informants, the twin story was a different derivative of the creation story, separate from the animals. The Little Turtle who made the moon and stars. See: Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899*, 97-98. In one Kanien'ke (Mohawk) version, the twins' names are De'hae'hiyawa''kho(n) (Skyholder) and O'ha'a' (Flint) (Mohawk, ed., *Iroquois Creation Story*, 16). The Myaamia (Miami) describe Lenipinšia as an "Underwater Being" (George Michael Ironstrack and Scott Michael Shoemaker, "peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki: Myaamia Ribbonwork," in Andrew J. Strack, Karen Baldwin, and Alysia Fischer, with contributions by George Michael Ironstrack and Scott Michael Shoemaker and consultation with Julie Olds, Daryl Baldwin, David Costa, and John Bickers, *peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki | Myaamia Ribbonwork*, developed through the Myaamia Center, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio (Miami, Oklahoma: Myaamia Publications, 2016), 4).

Following the Haudenosaunee creation story, humans were not only related to the other non-human nations such as the Muskrat Nation and the Tobacco Nation, but they would also use some of the animal names as clan names for grouping each other into a clan system. The story of Haudenosaunee clan formation begins with a quiet, unassuming young man living in one of the villages. His name was Okweta:seh (renamed Ronikohewaneh, He Who Has a Great Mind). He came up with the idea of how to deal with expansion, change, and death in Haudenosaunee communities. Okweta:seh said that the people should honor their animal relatives and mirror themselves off of all the animal nations and their organization by using a clan system for their extended family networks. The people, despite having grown into a much larger community than they originally were, could nevertheless remain connected to each other by adopting a clan system. Separating themselves into clans allowed the people to create a protocol to follow in periods of distress such as mourning the death of family, as well as in favorable times such as welcoming and greeting each other. For example, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) emulate animal kin with wolf, bear, deer, turtle, and other clans. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) elders spoke of the origin of some of their clans as coming from the marriage between Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) women and special animal beings called *oki*. The serpent clan, specifically, was said to have created the family and clan that came to bear its name through the union of a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) with one of the special serpents or snakes similar to the extraordinary animals who created the earth in the very beginning. For the Anishinaabeg, these "'grandfathers' of animal species" are called *manidoog*, and for the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) their powerful spirit beings

are called *manetoowaki.* Animals were not only the direct inspiration for clan Iroquoian organization, but they also assisted in the creation of certain clans.[32]

Scholars and community members who have studied historic and contemporary Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) kinship and clan systems believe that some of the clans originally came from other neighboring nations and was formally recognized with an indigenous intertribal audience. Canadian anthropologist C. Marius Barbeau explained that the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) informants believed "the creation of the

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[32] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 83-85, 25n34; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 153-166, 175; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 82-95; Charles Marius Barbeau, "Iroquoian Clans and Phratries," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 19, No. 3 (July-September 1917), 90-95, 393-396; Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 42-43. On the importance of kinship and clans to the Haudenosaunee and Wendat confederacies, see also: Keating, *Iroquois Art, Power, and History*, 40-41, 71, 85; Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xl-xliii; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 45-54, 75-79, 94-103, 136-137, 430, 440n27, 445n17. Ronikohewaneh may also spelled Ronikonrowa:nan, and translated as "he who has great ideas" (Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 39). For Anishinaabeg views, see: Cary Miller, "Every Dream Is A Prophecy: Rethinking Revitalization—Dreams, Prophets, and Routinized Cultural Evolution," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 121. Myaamia (Miami) language and cultural activist and scholar Scott Shoemaker aptly put it: *manetoowaki* "has commonly been translated as 'spirits,' 'other-than-human-beings,' or 'being with spiritual powers'" (Scott Michael Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins: Narratives of Landscape, Representation, and the Miami Nation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2011), 39n73). Scott Michael Shoemaker (Myaamia/Miami) also situated himself in terms of language and culture: "Learning the art of ribbonwork was like learning another language, much like the language left by my Miami ancestors in the volumes of dictionaries and wordlists gathered by Jesuit missionaries and linguists. Learning the language of the art of ribbonwork and the Miami language itself has played an integral role in my growth and awareness as a Miami person" (Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins," 220). Linguist David J. Costa has pointed out how Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) people translated *manetoowa* often as "monster" or "devil" for their anthropologist interviewers. They even translated it sometimes as snake. Costa, however, left "manitou" as the English translation it has come into common parlance. In Christianity manitou, often a translation for spirit or God, could also be demonized as Devil (David J. Costa, "Miami-Illinois and Shawnee: Culture-Hero and Trickster Stories," Told by George Finley, Elizabeth Vallier, and an Unknown Shawnee Speaker, translated by David Costa, in *Algonquian Spirit: Contemporary Translations of the Algonquian Literatures of North* America, edited by Brian Swann (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 296-297, 299n5, 300n5). Two internationally-known environmental activists, Winona LaDuke (White Earth Ojibwe/Anishinaabe) and Casey Camp-Horinek (Ppąkka/Ponca) have both spoken about animal, plant, and medicine relatives. For example: Camp-Horinek described the importance of food in sustaining her nation, especially "those things that have roots in the ground, the corns, the squashes, the beans, the relatives that live that way" (Earl Hatley and Casey Camp-Horinek, "Environmental Climate Issues and Standing Rock," Presented at the 18th National Environmental Tar Creek Conference, Miami, Oklahoma, September 14, 2016). See also: Winona LaDuke, "Endangered Native Lands and Natural Resources," Symposium Keynote Presented at "Translating Across Time and Space: Endangered Languages, Cultural Revitalization, and the Work of History" Conference, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 13, 2016).

Wyandot [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandotte] phratries as having taken place in a great national council at which several foreign tribes attended." The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) could be divided into two phratries by 1666: the Gueyiotiteshegué (with four families: Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Beaver) and the Ouichinotiteshesqué (with five families: Deer, Big Plover, Wild Potato, Small Plover, Kilion (Hawk)). At one time three different turtle clans existed: Big Turtle, Mud Turtle, and the Prairie Turtle. Although community members and scholars alike continue to dispute the number of clans the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) had, they still fluctuated to suit present needs.[33]

Over time the clan system evolved, expanding and shrinking when necessary. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) borrowed the Snipe clan from the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). It is believed that they borrowed the Snake (Serpent) from the Anishinaabeg. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) also added the Porcupine clan. At one time Loon and Fox clans existed. By 1910 the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) in Oklahoma retained nine out of eleven pre-removal clans. The listed eleven—some argue only ten—encompassed the Deer, Wolf, Striped Turtle, Black Turtle, Swamp or Mud Turtle, Big Turtle, Bear, Hawk, Beaver, Water Serpent, and Porcupine. The three Turtle clans merged to become just one, while the Serpent clan disappeared altogether (See Figure 1.6).[34]

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[33] Barbeau, "Iroquoian Clans and Phratries," 394-401, 402; Wallis M. Smith, "A Re-Appraisal of the Huron Kinship System," *Anthropologica*, New Series, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1970), 197-198; Tooker, "Northern Iroquoian Sociopolitical Organization," 92-93; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 54, 94, 102, 154, 748-749, 820, 825. Quote from: Barbeau, "Iroquoian Clans and Phratries," 401.

[34] Barbeau, "Iroquoian Clans and Phratries," 394-399; Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 82-83, 83n165, 83n166, 85-88, 227-231. On clan name resuscitation see: Tooker, "Northern Iroquoian Sociopolitical Organization," 95; Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*; John Wesley Powell, "Wyandotte Government: A Short Study of Tribal Society, Delivered at the Boston Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, August 1, 1880," *Science: A Weekly Record of*

These origin stories also describe, once families and clans grew and expanded, how the people broke off into different nations with different languages and dialects. The twin brother and Creator Teharonhia:wako told the Haudenosaunee people to move off into different lands and "[a]s they migrated, they established temporary, local leagues."[35] Many Native nations have stories of how they were once related to other more remote tribal nations, and of how their neighbors are related to others. Kanien'ke (Mohawk) scholar Brian Rice wrote of how the Lenape (Delawares) traveled east and became known as the grandfathers of the Atsha´kahnha (Algonquians). The Mahicans would be called their nephews, branching off from the Lenape (Delawares). Other stories describe how Iroquoian-speaking peoples such as the Aniyunwiya (Aniyvwia, DЋBΘᘓ or DBΘᘓT; Tsalagi, Cherokees, the Cherokee Nation, ᏣWᎩ or ᏣWᎩ DβᏴ), Kanastokas (Conestogas), and Tehatiskaró:ros (Tuscaroras) all separated and split from other Iroquoian-speaking peoples. Many of the people spoke languages very different from the Haudenosaunee. Others, such as the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), spoke different languages from the same Iroquoian language family. American Antiquarian Society Albert S. Gallatin's nineteenth-century map provides a good basic overview of the different Iroquoian and Algonquian communities who lived in the Old Northwest and New York around the year 1600. Geologist and cartographer Christopher E. Sherman

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Scientific Progress, Vol. 1, No. 17 (October 1880), 207. John Steckley argued that three phratries existed: 1) Oskennonton (Deer Phratry)—with Es8tennonk (Deer Clan), Eangontr8nnon (Snake Clan), and Hatinñionen (Bear Clan); 2) Endgia8ich (Turtle Phratry)—with clans of Ennehensteeronnon (Large/Mud Turtle Clan), Eronhisseeronnon (Porcupine Clan), A'tïeeronnon (Small/Striped Turtle Clan), and Entïhôronnon (Prairie Turtle Clan); 3) Hatinnaarisk8a (Wolf Phratry)—with clans of Hatinnaarisk8a (Wolf Clan), Hatindesonk (Hawk Clan), and Hoti'ra,on or Ti,ata,entsi, (Sturgeon Clan). See: Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 40-49, 157-158, 204.

[35] Royster and Cusick, "David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations (1828)," 16-18. In the second edition from the Library of Congress: Cusick, *Sketches*, 14-16. Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 83. Quote is from: Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 83.

of the Ohio Topographic Survey bluntly summed that "[a] map is a condensed history." Maps can also be a visual representation of connections—of how one group of people are associated and related to another, involving locations far and wide, and the people resided within, and how they are connected spatially and relationally.[36] Besides noting the specific communities speaking their own separate languages such as the Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Gallatin also indicated the Iroquoian and Algonquian families in swathes of color, denoting and stressing their affinities and connections (See Figures 1.7 and 1.8).[37]

In the long distant future, when it came to resettling and relocating Indian nations in the Removal Era and at other times, linguistic ties often assisted in the move.

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[36] Christopher E. Sherman, Ohio Division of Geological Survey, and Ohio Co-operative Topographic Survey, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions: Being Volume III, Final Report (in Four Volumes)* (1925; Reprint, Columbus Ohio: Press of the Ohio State Reformatory, Ohio Department of Natural Resource, Division of Geological Survey, Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey, 1976), opposite p. 1. See also: Christopher E. Sherman, "C. H. Birdseye, Ex-'04: He's U.S. Mapper-in-Chief, in Charge of $40,000,000 Program," *The Ohio State University Monthly*, Vol. 11, No. 8 (May 1920), 19. Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) has also been spelled as Aniyaunwiya. See: Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 11; Durbin Feeling, *Cherokee-English Dictionary | Tsalagi-Yonega Didehlogwasdohdi | ᏣᎳᎩ-ᏩᏂᏓ ᏗᏕᏲᏗᏍᏕᏁᏗ,* edited by William Pulte, in Collaboration with Agnes Cowen, Dictionary Project Coordinator and The Dictionary Committee Charles Sanders, Sam Hair, Annie Meigs, and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick Smith (Tahlequah: Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, 1975), 196, 206. For Lenape, *ləná·pe·* , meaning the original people, see: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 401n141. Kanastoka (Conestoga) also spelled: Kanastoge, Andastoegue, Gandastoques (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 118).

[37] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 168-169; Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*, 7, 14; King, "The Forgotten Warriors," 6, 22, 30, 350; Albert Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America," *Archæologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Folsom, Wells, and Thurston, Printed for the Society at the University Press, 1836), Enclosed "Map of the Indian Tribes of North America about 1600 A.D. along the Atlantic; & about 1800 A.D. westwardly (1836)"; Albert Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes Within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America (1836)," *Zea E-Books in American Studies*, Book No. 16, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/zeaamericanstudies/16 (accessed 23 October 2017). Similarly, the Lenape (Delawares) have been called "peoples of connections" (Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 63). Thomas Nuttall also noted the similarities between Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking peoples and the Lenape (Delawares) (Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 250-251; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 303). While the placename Miami in Ohio and Indiana refer to the Myaamia (Miami) Indians, the Florida placename showed up in the historical records as Maymi or Mayaimi (contemporary spelling first noted in 1838), possibly from the same meaning as Lake Okeechobee (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 282).

In what is known as one of the first published Native literatures, the New York Taskarora (Tuscarora) David Cusick explained in 1828 that the Tehatiskaró:ros (Tuscaroras) had lived in the state of North Carolina until the early eighteenth century. He said of the Haudenosaunee, they "pointed to their linguistic affinities 'in convincing colonists to allow their 'kinsmen' to return home.'"[38] Interestingly, David Cusick himself also would travel to Indian Territory, visit the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in Kansas Territory in the 1848, and live with the Haudenosaunee for a year. This connection that David Cusick wrote of and that the Tehatiskaró:ros (Tuscaroras) had, of speaking a dialect of the Iroquoian language and of having past stories of once being related to each other, spurred the Tehatiskaró:ros' (Tuscaroras') incorporation into the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.[39]

Kinship had a continuing relevance in the establishment of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and interactions with each other and other Native communities. The Haudenosaunee leadership, fifty royaner (peace chiefs) and fifty otiyaner (clan mothers), serve as relatives to each other. They were, and are, brothers and sisters, and cousins and uncles to their predecessors and their successors. The founders divided the Haudenosaunee into two groups or moieties. The Agado:ni (Elder Brothers) were the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks), Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas), and Shotinontowane'á:ka

[38] Gabriel Swift, "David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations," *Princeton Collections of Western Americana: News of Western Americana Acquisitions, Holdings, Resources, and Events in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library* (blog), November 25, 2013, https://blogs.princeton.edu/westernamericana/2013/11/25/david-cusicks-sketches-of-ancient-history-of-the-six-nations/ (accessed October 15, 2017); Kalter, "Finding a Place for David Cusick," 9-42; Royster and Cusick, "David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations (1828)"; Philip Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 150-214. Quote from: Kalter, "Finding a Place for David Cusick," 12. See also: Keating, *Iroquois Art, Power, and History*, 136-151.

[39] William Walker, "The Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory—First Book, *From March 29, 1845, to September 22, 1849*," in *PGNT-JWW*, 263.

(Senecas), while the Kheyáʔtaweñh (Younger Brothers) were the Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas) and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas). The people in the middle, the Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas), were and are the keepers of the council fire and the wampum belts. The Haudenosaunee located The Great White Pine or the Great Tree of Peace (Skarenhesehkowah) and the central fire (katsistah) at Kanata:kowa, an Ononta'ke (Onondaga) town. On the contemporary Haudenosaunee flag and in the mid-eighteenth-century wampum belt representing the League, the Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas) are symbolized with the white tree, Skarenhesehkowah, the Great Tree of Peace or The Great White Pine (See Figure 1.9).[40] The two westernmost nations were—and still are—the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and the Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas). The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) were and are closely related to each other. The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), as the westernmost group, are the 'Keepers of the Western Door' of the symbolic longhouse.[41] This metaphorical

[40] William N. Fenton, "The New York State Wampum Collection: The Case for the Integrity of Cultural Treasures," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 115, No. 6 (December 30, 1971), 446; Stephanie J. Waterman and Philip P. Arnold, "The Haudenosaunee Flag Raising: Cultural Symbols and Intercultural Contact," *Journal of American Indian Education*, Vol. 49, No. 1/2 (2010), 126; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 6-7, 214-220, 241-242, 246; Irwin, *Coming Down from Above*, 143-144; Lynn Hill, "Alan Michelson," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 41-44; Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 89; "Glossary," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 122-123; Bedford and Workman, "The Great Law of Peace," 104-107; Campisi, "The Iroquois and the Euro-American Concept of Tribe," 458; Tooker, "Northern Iroquoian Sociopolitical Organization," 92-93. For a good discussion of the knowledges (values and histories), aesthetics, in wampum and contemporary usage in art and literature, see: Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*; Angela Haas, "Wampum as Hypertext: An American Indian Intellectual Tradition of Multimedia Theory and Practice," *SAIL*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (2007), 77-100. Lynn Hill (Kaion'ke/Cayuga from the Six Nations Reserve in Canada) explained: "Ki karón:ta, ne ronte'nientenhstáhkhwa ne karón:ta onerahtese'kó:wa, ne thóha ki karón:ta ne Skén:nen Rón:nis, Deganawida, tánon ne we'néhstha tsi ia'tehonatiéhston ne Wisk Nihonnonhontsá:ke" "The tree is also symbolic of the Great Tree of Long Leaves, which was brought to us by the Peacemaker, Dekanawida, and symbolizes the unification of the Five Nations" (Lynn Hill, "Samuel Thomas," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 54-55). See also: Kahente Horn-Miller, "Otiyaner: The 'Women's Path' Through Colonialism," *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture, & Social Justice | Études critiques sur le genre, la culture, et la justice sociale*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Special Issue—Indigenous Women: The State of Our Nations (Spring/Printemps 2005), 57-68.

[41] Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma: A Guide,* The Civilization of the American Indian Series (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 55-59, 337-344; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide*

longhouse allowed for the self-determination of individual nations, but also held them together for the maintenance of peace. Anthropologist Paul W. A. Wallace explained: "As in the typical dwelling of the [Haudenosaunee] Iroquois—a long frame house, inhabited by several related families, each group with its own separate fire—the nations of the League, though they sent representatives to the Onondaga [Ononta'ke] Council, retained each its own sovereignty virtually intact."[42] Like families the Haudenosaunee remained separate entities, separate distinct and sovereign nations, but unified by clan and kinship ties and the confederated peace.

According to the Haudenosaunee stories, the first gift Teharonhia:wako, the Creator, sent the people was a man named Okweta:seh, renamed Ronikohewaneh, who gave them the clan system. The second was Dekanawídah and the establishment of Kayeneren:kowa, often called in English 'the Great Law of Peace.' Scholars have described the story of the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy as a revitalization movement, a return to the traditions of health and peace (*ne skenno*), power (*ne gashedenza*) and righteousness (*ne gaiihwiyo*). These three are the foundational virtues or principles of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, known collectively as the compiled Kayeneren:kowa (Great Law of Peace).[43] The

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(Oklahoma City: OTRD, 2010), 57-58; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (1951; Reprint, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 56, 237-239; Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 9; Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee*, Book I, 7, 31-34; Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 59; Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 81-84; Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 15; Bedford and Workman, "The Great Law of Peace," 102; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 170, 214, 225-227; Sherman Williams, "The Iroquois Confederacy," 11; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 97-104.

[42] Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 15. See also: Francis Jennings, "Iroquois Alliances in American History," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 37.

[43] Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 98-99. Sue Ellen Herne (Kanien'kehá:ka Ahkwesáhsne/Akwesasne Mohawk) noted: "Skén:nen ka'shatsténhsera, tánon karihwakwarihshiónhtshera, ne kontiia'takwe'ní:io ne Kaianere'kó:wa, tánon akwé ne Haudenosaunee tsi

confederation's origin stories describe a time of tumultuous change. The formation of the Haudenosaunee league sought to restore peace and relationality among the Iroquois after a dark time of destructive and overwhelming blood-feud, conflict, and warfare.[44]

Interestingly, the birth of this law which comes to epitomize Haudenosaunee philosophies derived from a stranger—an unknown Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) named Dekanawídah. As religious scholar Christopher Vecsey attested: "As an outsider, with no firm ties of kinship, [Dekanawídah] he has all the potential in his nature to create a nation that transcends (and yet builds upon) tribal kin loyalties."[45] Dekanawídah's mother, Kahetihsuk, came from a Huron-Wendat village called Kahoniyen. During a dangerous and difficult time Kahetihsuk and her mother, Kaheto:ktha, left their Wendat home. Storytellers describe that when Kahetihsuk gave birth to a baby boy Kaheto:ktha threw him into the river, only to have him later miraculously return to her side. This double appearance earned the baby the name

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nihotirihó:ten" "Peace, power and righteousness are the central principles of the Great Law and the entire Haudenosaunee way of life" (Sue Ellen Herne, "Alex Jacobs," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 88-89). See also: Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 9, 25, 65, 121.

[44] Dekanawídah has a multitude of alternative spellings for his name: Daga″nowe´da″, Daganeweda, Deganawida, Deganawidah, Deganahwideh, Deganöwi:dah, Degänowédä, Dekanahwideh, Dekanawida, Dekanawidah, Dekanawideh, Gonawida, Tekana:wita, Tekanawita, Tekánawíta?, Toganawetah, and Deganawídah. I have decided to go with Dekanawídah, with the spelling of a 'k' instead of a 'g', as the 'k' becomes a 'g' sound anyways. Fenton, "Structure, Continuity, and Change," 12-16; Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 319; Wallace Chafe, *English-Seneca Dictionary* (n.l.: n.p., n.d.), 43; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 175, 195-196; Fenton, "'This Island, the World on the Turtle's Back,'" 286, 295-296; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 162-163. Tekanawí:ta is the contemporary Kanien'ke (Mohawk) spelling (Stephanie Phillips, "Jeff Thomas | Bear Thomas," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 92-93). Scholar Christopher Vecsey described the Haudenosaunee confederacy, aptly illustrating the link between kinship and the confederacy: "The story describes the process by which kinship villages with their local systems of mutuality are able to combine into a kinship state with larger and more complex systems of mutuality. The story is, after all, one of state formation: the transcendence of village kinship loyalties; the creation of leadership beyond the local, lineage chiefs; the setting up of a central place of authority, a capital; the extension of the kinship longhouse to the larger kinship state" where "infrastructure… promotes connectedness" (Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 93). According to the stories Charles Marius Barbeau collected among the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in Wyandotte, Oklahoma and Ontario, Canada, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) would hear voices, whispers in the forest, as warnings when warfare would resume (Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 282-283, 283n1).

[45] Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 96.

Dekanawídah (Two Currents Coming Down). After his fame and recognition, he became known to the Haudenosaunee as Skennenrahawi, The Peacemaker, the restorer of peace and the founder of the Haudenosaunee League.[46]

Dekanawídah brought the people the Kayeneren:kowa (the Great Law) and with it the Haudenosaunee Confederacy after brokering peace between two Ononta'ke (Onondaga) leaders named Ayonhwathah and Thadodáhoʔ (See Figure 1.10). Sometimes described as an Ononta'ke (Onondaga) who had been adopted by the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks), Ayonhwathah, lived in deep depression after the death of his entire family. Some versions of the story posit that his daughters were killed because of something Thadodáhoʔ did. Inconsolable and grief-stricken due to his loss, Ayonhwathah felt hopeless. Some stories describe the antagonist, Thadodáhoʔ, as being Ayonhwathah himself, a dark alter-ego. Most often Thadodáhoʔ is a distinct and separate person, a leading Ononta'ke (Onondaga) warrior and half-brother, or even a twin, to Ayonhwathah. A writhing mass of snakes composed his hair and some parts of his body. Thadodáhoʔ's name reflected both his physical appearance and his disposition: he was "the Entangled." Some translations explain the meaning as being an obstruction in the road or path. Other times he was also a cannibal. Dekanawídah brought Kayeneren:kowa, the Law of Peace, helping to restore both Thadodáhoʔ and Ayonhwathah to good health, peace, reconciliation, and stability. Dekanawídah brought the Haudenosaunee two gifts for the establishment of peace and communication. The first gift was the detailed accounting of the proper protocols of the 'At The Wood's

[46] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 176-183, 212; Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 231. One version named the Peacemaker as specifically coming from the Attiwendaronk nation, an alternative spelling for the name of one of the members of the Wendat confederacy (Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 41). An alternative translation for Dekanawídah's name is: 'Two Rivers Flowing Together.' See: Irwin, *Coming Down from Above*, 140.

Edge' Ceremony (kaēhawahé:tōh)—which would symbolically and physically clear any obstacles in times of conflict and crisis. The second was the use of wampum belts and strings that gave evidence of the positive and open communication in good faith and the long-held intertribal agreements made in times past among the Haudenosaunee themselves and with other Native nations.[47]

[47] Thadodáhoʔ also has many ways of spelling: Adadarho, Adodarhonh, Adodaroh, Atotarho, Atotárho, Atotarhoh, Attodarho, Tadadaho, Tadoda:ho', Tadodaho, Tadodá:hoʔ, Thadodahho, Thadodaho, Thatotaho', Thadodho, Thatotáhoʔ, Thatótáhoʔ, Todadaho, Totadaho. I will use the standard Thadodáhoʔ with the accent marks that best represent pronunciation. Ayonhwathah is better known by his anglicized name Hiawatha. Other spellings include: Aienwathe, Ayenwatha, Ayonhwatha, Ayonwhathah, Ha:yëwënta´, Hayę́hwàtha , Hahyohwonthah, Haienwátha, Haiowentha, Haiyawentha, Hayę́hwáthaʔ, Hayę́hwataʾ, Hayonwatha, Hayò:wë:ta', Aiionwentha, and Hayuñwatha. I will standardize with Ayonhwathah. See also: Irwin, *Coming Down from Above*, 140-142; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 166; Dyck, Froman, A. Keye, and L. Keye, *English-Cayuga / Cayuga-English Dictionary*, xi), 619-620; Chafe, *English-Seneca Dictionary*, 81, 165; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 99; Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxxv, xlv, 16-17; Keating, *Iroquois Art, Power, and History*, 32, 145; Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*, xiii-xiv; Rodriguez, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 40-43; Tehanetorens (Fadden), "Migration of the Iroquois," 9-12; Akweks, "The Formation of the Hodenosaune, 13-38. Christopher Vecsey, in understanding the philosophy and story behind the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, argued that for the confederation to work one had to see oneself in the other (Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 92-95). Anthony F. C. Wallace, "The Dekanawideh Myth," 118-119, 123-124; William N. Fenton, "The Lore of the Longhouse: Myth, Ritual and Red Power," *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 3, Anthropology: Retrospect and Prospect: A Special Issue in Honor of Regina Flannery Herzfeld (July 1975), 136; Starna, "Retrospecting on the Origins of the League of the Iroquois," 288; Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 57-59. There are competing definitions of Ayonhwathah's name. See: Beauchamp, "Hi-a-wat-ha," 295-296, 299-301; Horatio Hale, "'Above' and 'Below.' A Mythological Disease of Language," *The Journal of American Folklore,* Vol. 3, No. 10 (July-September 1890), 177-178; Fenton, "The Lore of the Longhouse," 131, 138, 144. Fenton's "The Lore of the Longhouse" includes a good historiography of the anthropological recordings of the Dekanawídah story. See: Fenton, "The Lore of the Longhouse," 134-135; Arthur C. Parker, "The Iroquois Wampums," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association*, Vol. 8 (1909), 207; Fenton, "The New York State Wampum Collection," 438, 440-441. Although itself a case against repatriation, Fenton's article "The New York State Wampum Collection" does provide important details regarding the Dekanawídah epic and wampum use. Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 80-99; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 4, 169, 197-199 217. On nineteenth-century discussion of cannibalism in Iroquoian historiography, see: Kalter, "Finding a Place for David Cusick," 18-20; Royster and Cusick, "David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations (1828)," 22-23; Bedford and Workman, "The Great Law of Peace," 100-101; John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated in Onondaga*, Newly Elicited Edition, edited and translated by Hanni Woodbury in collaboration with Reg Henry and Harry Webster on the basis of A. A. Goldenweiser's Manuscript, Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics Series Memoir 9 (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics; Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), xiv, xix-xx, xxi; William C. Sturtevant, "David and Dennis Cusick, Early Iroquois Realist Artists," *American Indian Art Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Spring 2006), 46-47; Fenton, "'This Island, the World on the Turtle's Back,'" 283. See also: Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 105.

II. Clearing Barriers to Peace:
At The Wood's Edge and the Power of Wampum Belts

"*nayéʔ neʔ ó·nę skę́·nuʔ, tęyakotawę́·yék neʔ ųkwéʔtakwé·kih tshaʔ ená·ké·nyųʔ ónę, ęwę·ní·hę́ʔ neʔ teyoté·yę́ʔtha·t, téʔseʔ neʔ oʔtáhtę·t, ónę kakwé·kih skę́·nųʔ.*"
"And this: when everyone can travel from village to village, then it will end, the danger and terror, and then everything will be peaceful."

> Dekanawídah (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) (Two Currents Coming Down), known to the Haudenosaunee by the name Skennenrahawi (The Peacemaker), believed to have said this at the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, sometime between 1000-1500 A.D.[48]

The Haudenosaunee Great law and other Native diplomacy protocols included what was (and is) called kaēhawahḗ:tōh ("At the Wood's Edge"). It provided a way to appropriately meet outsiders and bring them into the community for negotiations or condolence. Visitors and relatives would move from the edge of the forest, the place of warfare, hunting, and possible danger and uncertainty, to the village center with the council fire, the place of security, warmth and peace.[49]

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[48] John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League*, 107. John Arthur Gibson was of the Grand River Six Nations in Canada, a Shotinontowane' (Seneca) but who also knew the Ononta'ke (Onondaga) language. See: Fenton, "'This Island, the World on the Turtle's Back,'" 286-288.

[49] Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 320-327; Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxvii-xlvii; Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 91-92; Leanne Simpson, "Looking after Gdoo-naaganinaa," 35-36; Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 105; Fenton, "Seth Newhouse's Traditional History," 148; "Glossary," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 124; James Hart Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999). James Hart Merrell's work, a negation of Richard White's Middle Ground thesis, posited that instead of mutual misunderstandings, the reality in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Pennsylvania was more violent and dark, fraught with deep suspicion of those 'at the wood's edge.' Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 102-105. Michael K. Foster noted that his informant was the trilingual Kaion'ke (Cayuga) leader Jacob E. Thomas (Dawenhethon, or Teyohōwé:thō:ʔ) from Six Nations, sharing with him the protocol in the Kaion'ke (Cayuga) language. Thomas also spoke Kanien'ke (Mohawk) and Ononta'ke (Onondaga). Michael K. Foster explained, "even though protocol entitles each party at a council to speak in its home language, all speeches are translated into the language of the interlocutors by an interpreter" (Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 102). See also: Karim M. Tiro, *The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Nation from the Revolution through the Era of Removal*, Native Americans of the Northeast: Culture, History, and the Contemporary Series (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 9; Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 18-19, 129; Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 102, 112n10; Michael K. Foster, "On Who Spoke First at

Gathering at the wood's edge provided a way for created a place where "one may go everywhere without fear."[50] In the story of the foundation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Dekanawídah showed the people how to both physically—clearing the pathway from one wood's edge to another—and mentally—clearing the way for peace. The creation of kinship relationships allowed for the Haudenosaunee nations, although disparate and different from each other, to come together, meeting at the edge of the woods. In the recitation that is repeated Dekanawídah declares that, "the different nations' villages are as neighbors… they all will be very close relatives; and it will come to pass that they will become just like one family from which will encompass every nation and every language. He continued, "*nayéʔ neʔ ó·nę skę́·nųʔ, tęyakotawę́·yék neʔ ųkwéʔtakwé·kih tshaʔ ená·ké·nyųʔ ónę, ęwę·ní·hę́ʔ neʔ teyoté·yę́ʔtha·t, téʔseʔ neʔ oʔtáhtę·t, ónę kakwé·kih skę́·nųʔ.*" That is, "And this: when everyone can travel from village to village, then it will end, the danger and terror, and then everything will be peaceful."[51] In conclusion, the hosts express gratitude for the safe arrival of the visitors: "*Nya·wę́hatí tshaʔ ó·nę·· waʔshehátíya··ʔ*" "We give thanks that now you have crossed the forest."[52] This contemporary, but long-established protocol reenacted Dekanawídah's instruction to the Haudenosaunee people of providing hospitality to visitors and clearing pathways—clearing any obstacles or

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Iroquois-White Councils: An Exercise in the Method of Upstreaming," in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, edited by Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun, The Williams Press, Incorporated Series, A Publication of the Center for the History of the American Indian of the Newberry Library (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 192-197. Pomedli masterfully noted seven specific direct correlations between the Dekanawídah epic and the standard treaty protocols often conducted in the historical records (Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 321-327).

[50] Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 17.

[51] John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League*, 107.

[52] Ibid., 596.

obstructions as well as the physical road traveled to and from each other—to peace, reconciliation, condolence, and diplomacy.[53]

The Dekanawídah epic provided not only a model for meeting and welcoming outsiders, but also one for incorporation and adoption by extending the rafters of the longhouse. The Haudenosaunee were and are accurately, as Kanien'ke (Mohawk) scholar Brian Rice put it, "a house of relations."[54] The Haudenosaunee call this policy, in the Kanien'ke (Mohawk) language, "*wahatinahstashonteren*, extending the rafters."[55] The Haudenosaunee Confederacy could and would incorporate other smaller tribal nations, for various reasons, into the League of the Longhouse. Although with a slight paternalistic undertone in the 1950s anthropologist Paul A. W. Wallace aptly noted the link between Dekanawídah and tribal absorptions into the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. He explained, "It had long been a policy of the Iroquois, following [Dekanawídah] Deganawidah's injunction to take strangers by the hand and welcome them under the Tree of Peace, to care for defeated peoples who appealed to them for sanctuary." The Haudenosaunee would continuously incorporate various small factions of Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Susquehannock, Lenape (Delaware), Nanticoke, Tutelo, Conoy, and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) peoples throughout the centuries.[56]

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[53] "Upstreaming" has come to have a negative connotation, given its inconclusiveness and assumption that cultures remain unchanged for long periods of time, enabling the study of the contemporary to help fill gaps in the historical record. Despite the negative implications, it can assist in providing more cultural context otherwise left out. Although it cannot be known with any certainty—like oral history—linguistic and cultural details can provide historians with more color in an otherwise 'black and white' world of shadows and incompletes. See: James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter 1979), 5.

[54] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 246.

[55] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 215. Brian Rice also spelled wahatinahstashonteren as "*whatitinahstanonteron*, extend the rafters of the house" (Brian Rice *the Rotinonshonni*, 224). See also: Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 20, 31; Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward*, 101.

[56] Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 23-24; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 159-161, 227-228, 562, 623-624, 767-829. Quote from: Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 23-24.

With Kayeneren:kowa (the Great Law of Peace) also came the practice of utilizing wampum, or quahog shell beads, for diplomacy and intertribal council negotiations. The use of wampum extended from the East Coast to the Native communities farther inland and became a common practice among many tribal nations. Wampum has many different names in many different Algonquian languages. The most common eastern New England Algonquian word *wamppumeag* (white shell bead) became the name to refer to these types of shell beads, both white and "black" (purple). The color white often stood for peace or life. Black could mean warfare or conflict. By around 1630 Iroquoian and Algonquian nations traded for these white and purple beads from Algonquians further northeast—the Mi'kmaq, Abenaki, Passamaquoddy, Wampanoag, Mahican, Narragansett, and Pequot peoples. Interestingly, some of the Iroquoian terms for wampum are said to possibly or theoretically have Algonquian roots or stems—the Shotinontowane' (Seneca) word, *-swęht-,* specifically. The Shotinontowane' (Seneca) word for wampum, *kaswęhtaʔ,* also relates to spoken words. The verb the Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) use when describing wampum, *tēHatiwēn´ō:taʔ*, indicated that it was "read." Wampum continued to be made and utilized by Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking communities and became a staple requirement for diplomacy into the nineteenth century and is still of prominent and extremely substantial and significant use today (See Figure 1.11).[57]

[57] Marshall Joseph Becker, "Wampum Bags and Containers from the Native Northeast," *Material Culture*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Spring 2013), 21; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 544; Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Wampum: The Protocol of Indian Diplomacy," *WMQ*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (October 1949), 597-598; Frank G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum Among the Eastern Algonkian," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (January-March 1919), 5-7, 12; Gunther Michelson, "Iroquoian Terms for Wampum," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (January 1991), 108-116; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 1; Keating, *Iroquois Art, Power, and History*, 89-94; Mary A. Druke, "Iroquois Treaties: Common Forms, Varying Interpretations," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their*

Before manufactured and drilled shell beads, the Haudenosaunee used the predecessor to wampum—bird feather quills often made of eagle feathers cut into pieces and threaded on a string. In one Haudenosaunee story of wampum origins, an elder man gave Ayonhwathah the wampum of eagle quills for the use in council negotiations. As Native peoples held (and still hold) eagles in high esteem, the eagle quills thus represented something of great importance or information that needed to be followed or observed. In another version of the Dekanawídah story, Ayonhwathah sent messengers or runners with eagle quill wampum to villages of the Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas). In another account also shared among the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), a young man from a different village caught an elusive supernatural bird whose wings cast of wampum, winning the right to marry the chief's daughter of a neighboring village and thus bringing peace along with their matrimony.[58]

Different stories of the creation of wampum exist related to the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, some with more on an emphasis on the shell beads' materiality. In one story Ayonhwathah is walking towards Dekanawídah village and he came across a flock of ducks. When the ducks flew up and away, the pond nearby became desiccated and all that remained were the shells left behind. In another story Thadodáhoʔ found the beads and the stranger then helped him learn how to make the

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League, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 88-90; Snyderman, "The Function of Wampum," 571; Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 99, 104; Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 51-53; David Andrews Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 15, 74, 108. Michael K. Foster's main source, Thomas, was tri-lingual, but he shared the information in the Kaion'ke (Cayuga) language. See: Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 102, 104, 112n10). Kahnawà:ke Kanien'ke (Kahnawake Mohawk) scholar Audra Simpson summarized well the political significance and complexity of wampum belts, as well as the Canadian government's history of confiscation. See: Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 136, 221n16, 222n32.

[58] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 203, 222, 233; Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 86-88, 94-95; Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*, xiii-xiv.

belts.[59] It is generally believed that Ayonhwathah's name means 'maker of the wampum belt' (*ayuñwa* (wampum belt) + *katha* (to make)) or is a reference to combing.[60] Ayonhwathah restored Thadodáhoʔ with the Condolence Ceremony, a ceremony that removed the pain, hurt, and trauma that came with conflict and devastating grief. Ayonhwathah also combed the serpents out of Thadodáhoʔ's hair with the wampum belt as his instrument to rake out the snakes.[61]

The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) story of the origin of wampum also lends meaning for the Wa^{n}dat's (Wendat's/Wyandot(te)s') familial relationship with the Lenape (Delawares). In the story a young Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) woman had eloped and her descendants built a flourishing community near a lake. One day a beautiful young unmarried woman from this community went to collect cranberries near the lake. Frightened away from the lake by the hostile bird, she went and told her village about the unique bird. According to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) story, "this fierce bird in the marsh where the cranberries grew was the wampum bird, the first of its kind ever seen in this lower world. It was determined that the bird must be killed

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[59] Beauchamp, "Hi-a-wat-ha," 302-303; Haas, "Wampum as Hypertext," 77-78; George R. Hamell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture, and Contact," *AIQ*, Vol. 16, No. 4, Special Issue: Shamans and Preachers, Color Symbolism and Commercial Evangelism: Reflections on Early Mid-Atlantic Religious Encounter in Light of the Columbian Quincentennial (Autumn 1992), 455-456; Lynn Ceci, "The Value of Wampum Among New York Iroquois," *Journal of Anthropological Research,* Vol. 38, No. 1 (Spring 1982), 102-103; George S. Snyderman, "An Ethnological Discussion of Allegany Seneca Wampum Folklore," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 126, No. 4 (August 1982), 322-324; Speck, "The Functions of Wampum Among the Eastern Algonkian," 10-14; Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 86; Snyderman, "The Function of Wampum," 591-606; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 8; Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*, xiii-xiv.

[60] Horatio Hale, "'Above' and 'Below,'" 178; E. B. Tylor, "The Hale Series of Huron Wampum Belts," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 26 (1897), 252-253; Ceci, "The Value of Wampum," 104.

[61] Snyderman, "An Ethnological Discussion of Allegany Seneca Wampum Folklore," 321; Fenton, "Seth Newhouse's Traditional History," 149; Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*, xiii-xiv. In other versions of the story wampum is exchanged out and replaced the snakes. See: Royster and Cusick, "David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations (1828)," 23; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 216; Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 53-56. For a discussion of contemporary issues using the condolence ceremony as the organization, see: Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 15.

and the wampum obtained."[62] The father of the young woman put up the reward of her matrimony to any young man who could shoot down the wampum bird with his arrow. A mysterious stranger, a foreigner who no one knew, was the one who was capable and able to slay the bird. The young man came from the Lenape (Delaware) nation. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) then made a treaty with the Lenape (Delawares), formalizing their appreciation for young archer who killed the bird that provided the community with its valuable feathers made of wampum shells. Strings and belts of wampum, therefore, came to symbolize the pact between the Lenape (Delawares) and the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). "Since that day no treaty has been concluded by the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandottes] without the passing of the wampum belt," Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) informants concurred in the nineteenth century.[63] In this story, the story of the creation of wampum is linked to kinship incorporation, the making of new relatives through marriage and assisting other tribes, and the importance of it to show significance of treaty agreements.[64]

Wampum assisted in solidifying and confirming treaty councils, alliances, as well as marriages, funerals, and the royaner and otiyaner appointments. Most commonly wampum became a formal invitation. For calling together the Haudenosaunee, Dekanawídah is believed to have said: "Whenever it is required that all the nations are to meet at the central fire, it will be your duty to send the wampum out and they will come."[65] This kind of wampum was called invitation strings,

[62] Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899*, 122.
[63] Ibid., 123.
[64] Ibid., 121-123.
[65] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 217, 234-236; Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," 86-88, 94-95. Quote from: Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 217.

enētshatiyōtáhkwaʔ, "that which stretches a person's arm."[66] Although the Haudenosaunee came to be the most recognized wampum users, they were not the only indigenous peoples to use wampum in diplomacy. The Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Odawas (Ottawas), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), and many other Native nations all exchanged and kept wampum to reinforce their invitations to each other for council as well as to materialize and fortify their crafted words, agreements, commitments, and relationships.[67]

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[66] Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 104, 114n25; Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 328.

[67] Karen Cody Cooper, *Cherokee Wampum: War & Peace Belts: 1730 to Present* (Tahlequah, Oklahoma: Soddenbank Press, 2013); Snyderman, "The Function of Wampum," 574-575; "Glossary," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 120; Fenton, "Structure, Continuity, and Change," 10-11; Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 322, 330-331; John P. Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 46; Conley*, The Cherokee Nation*, 62. Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) historically had been long-time enemies (Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*, 11, 45, 67-68). On wampum transmission through hereditary leadership, see: Jonathan C. Lainey, *La « Monnaie des Sauvages » : Les colliers de wampum d'hier à aujourd'hui* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2004), 155. This work, the most extensive scholarship on wampum, has not yet translated into English. The title, however, could be translated as *The "Money of the Savages": Wampum Belts of Yesterday to Today*. Although in French wampum belts are *collier,* necklaces, the English translation has come to be 'belts.' Lainey also explained: "L'exemple de ce collier renforce l'idée que les wampums, d'abord de propriété collective et nationale et conservé entre les mains des chefs, sont par la suite devenus propriété individuelle et familiale" [roughly: 'The example of this belt reinforces the idea that wampum, first of collective and national proprietorship/ownership, conserved/kept in the hands of chiefs, subsequently became individual and family property'] (Lainey, *La « Monnaie des Sauvages »*, 151-152). Speaking to the anthropologist Charles Marius Barbeau in 1911: "Dans son témoignage, Prosper Vincent précise que les wampum étaient dévolus aux grands chefs de la nation jusqu'à leur mort et que c'est au moment où le gouvernement modifia les lois régissant le processus électif que les wampums devinrent de propriété privée" [roughly: 'In his testimony, Prosper Vincent specifies that the wampum passed to the big chiefs of the nation until their death and it was at that moment that the government modified the laws governing the elective process that the wampum became private property'] (Lainey, *La « Monnaie des Sauvages »*, 147n24). Two other seventeenth-century alliance belts symbolize Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) confederated nations and clans aligning with the Tionontaté (Tobacco) nation. See: Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records: A Study of Aboriginal American History and Mnemonic Symbols," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 26 (1897), 236-239; Wampum belt, "The Peace Path Belt," Pitt Rivers Museum Object Collections, Accession No. 1896.7.8, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford, England; Wampum belt, "The Double Calumet Treaty Belt," Pitt Rivers Museum Object Collections, Accession No. 1896.7.7, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford, England. On Myaamia (Miami) wampum, called *kilaahkwaakani* or *kilahkwaakani* (plural *kilaahkwaakana* or *kilahkwaakana*), see: Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins," 275-277; Daryl Baldwin and David J. Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani* / *Miami-Peoria Dictionary* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Nation, developed through the Myaamia Project at Miami University, 2005), 59, 186; Myaamia Center, "Wampum Belt Presented to Anthony Wayne," *Telling Our Story: A Living History of the Myaamia*, 2013, http://teachmyaamiahistory.org/contents/section4/primary-sources/153-wampum-belt-presented-to-

Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) speaker Elizabeth Valley told Albert Gatschet in 1895 that the word for wampum, *kilaahkwaakani or kilahkwaakani*, literally translated as the "speaker." The interpreters kept the wampum belts and strings of the Myaamiaki (Miamis), and "on having tribal business with another tribe have to present them," she noted. Elizabeth (Skye) Vallier's husband, Mäkusita, used to keep them, as he was the interpreter for the tribe.[68]

Two specific wampum belts were (and are) significant enough to be presently noted here as examples of inter-tribal and international alliance and treaty diplomacy (although more will be discussed forthwith). Anthropologists have called the first example "the oldest purely Indian wampum belt preserved" (See Figures 1.12 and 1.13). Although all wampum may be argued to be completely indigenous given its significance and value to Native peoples and cultures, the author here is noting that it is made of non-European-manufactured shell beads. The Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks) of Kahnawà:ke (Kahnawaké) originally kept this mid-seventeenth-century belt, and it is believed that the belt was used during the negotiations for the famed Great Peace of Montréal in 1701. Kahnawà:ke (Kahnawaké) Kanien'ke (Mohawk) oral tradition notes that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy originally gave this belt to the Algonquin-allied Indians in the St. Lawrence region in 1671. It solidified the New York Haudenosaunee break with the Canadian relatives and was a "token of condolence" after military defeat and loss after warfare. As a way of allaying the hurt of loss and destruction, the belt

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anthony-wayne (accessed 18 December 2017). See also: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, *myaamiaatawaakani / Myaamia Dictionary*, 2016, https://myaamiadictionary.org/dictionary2015/ (accessed 18 December 2017).

[68] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Notes on the Miami, 1890-ca. 1895*, Notebook No. 2, NAA MS 3025, NAA, NMNH, SI. Sarah Wadsworth (Waayaahtanwa/Wea) translated Peewaalia/Peoria informant Elizabeth (Skye) Vallier's words into English for Gatschet (Anthony P. Grant and David J. Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Winter, 1991), 426-428).

served as a marker of post-war affinity, the restoration of a relationship of neutrality and peace made with the enemy.[69]

The second example, a well-known late-eighteenth-century Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) wampum belt, illustrates the changing dynamics of wampum and treaty diplomacy notwithstanding continuities of persistence in wampum usage. New restructured multi-tribal groups of Native peoples could come together and serve as one council fire. Originally kept at Wendaké and now at the McCord Museum in Québec, this wampum is believed to be a belt representing the treaty and renewal of the alliance of the Seven Nations of Canada in 1796 (See Figure 1.14).

The alliance, centered at Kahnawà:ke (Kahnawaké) included not necessarily seven separate Native nations but seven groups of them. They included: 1) Haudenosaunee at Kahnawà:ke (Kahnawaké); 2) Haudenosaunee at Kanehsatà:ke (Oka); 3) Algonquins at Kanehsatà:ke (Oka); 4) Nippissings at Kanehsatà:ke (Oka); 5) Abenaki at Odanak (Saint-François); 6) Abenaki at Wôlinak (Bécancour); 7) Wendats at Wendaké (Notre-Dame de la Jeune Lorette). Sometimes Algonquins at Pointe-du-

[69] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 275; Joseph Keppler, "The Peace Tomahawk Algonkian Wampum," in Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, *Indian Notes*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April 1929), 130, 135-136. Quotes from: Keppler, "The Peace Tomahawk Algonkian Wampum," 130, 135. Note the difference between the Algonquian language family and Algonquins—western Québec and Ontario-based Canadian First Nations peoples, of which there are ten recognized First Nations communities in Canada today. Algonquins are distinctly Canadian peoples along the Ottawa River. Their language dialect is related to the Anishinaabeg. The Algonquian language family is the larger family of which Algonquins and Anishinaabeg are a small part of a much larger group. Jonathan C. Lainey used this as an example of where oral tradition can supplement the historical record and fill in the archival gaps. It's black (made of purple wampum), with a hatchet, and tinted with vermillion—all symbols of going to war. Oral tradition, however, told a story of concluded war and the coming of peace: "une paix conclude entre Iroquois et Algonquins vers 1670-1671" (Lainey, *La « Monnaie des Sauvages »*, 198-200). For more on Algonquian languages, see: Truman Michelson, "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," in *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1906-1907* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 221-290, Plate 130 (Map). Lyle Campbell argued that Algonquian outranked Algonkian in term usage for the language family (Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 401n133). See also: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 401n133, 401n136; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 31-32.

Lac represented one council fire while the Abenakis at Wôlinak and Odanak were grouped together as one council fire. Sometimes the Ahkwesáhsne (Akwesasne) (Saint-Régis) indigenous community joined the confederacy, adding an additional separate council fires. The groups were split numerous other ways. The treaty was with the Haudenosaunee at Sawekatsi (now Oswegatchie, New York).[70] Counting the seven nations, then, can be tricky because the groups representing different council fires were multi-tribe towns, and some towns had more than one council fire.

Anthropologist Frank Speck called this "an alliance among more or less Christianized tribes acting under the constructive political influence of the Mohawk [Kanien'kehá:ka] who found themselves recasting in their own way under new conditions the old original principles of the Iroquois [Haudenosaunee] League."[71] The wampum, then, maintained indigenous protocols of relationality, but it also did so by negotiating with Native groups reformulated and regrouped in the late eighteenth century.

Besides wampum, the council fire was also very important for diplomacy and establishing relationships for the Haudenosaunee and other indigenous peoples. The council fire represented a welcoming gathering of family, community, neighbors, guests, and visitors. Dekanawídah told the Haudenosaunee to always keep a fire

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[70] Kahnawà:ke Kanien'ke (Kahnawake Mohawk) scholar Audra Simpson listed the Seven Nations as: "the member nations of the Seven Nations Confederacy were the Canadian-side 'mission communities' of Ahkwesáhsne, Kanehsatà:ke, Kahnawà:ke, Oswegatchie and Odanak/Becancour, the Algonquin and Nippissing at Kanehsatà:ke, and the Huron of Lorette" (Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 207n45). See also: David Blanchard, "The Seven Nations of Canada: An Alliance and a Treaty," *AICRJ*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1983), 6-11, 19; Jean-Pierre Sawaya, "Les Sept-Nations du Canada et Les Britanniques, 1759-1774: Alliance Et Dépendance" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Université Laval, Québec, 2001), 38-39.

[71] Lainey, *La « Monnaie des Sauvages »*, 147-153. Quote from: Frank G. Speck, "The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 17 (1915), 494. Also, quoted in: David Blanchard, "The Seven Nations of Canada," 11.

burning and that the smoke was a beacon for others to follow the path to peace. The central fire of the Haudenosaunee at Kanata:kowa symbolized the confederation for peace. Just as the fire continually had to be stoked and tended to, so did the relationships between communities. Fires could die down and dissipate, but attention and maintenance renewed the kinship ties and peace.[72]

When relating Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) forced removal pasts, historian Gregory Smithers shared that "migration narratives reminded Cherokees [Aniyunwiya] that no matter how far they traveled from the bright light of their town's sacred fire, they would remain connected to the Cherokee [Aniyunwiya] people through the clan kinship system." He continued: "Indeed, rekindling sacred fires… provided Cherokees [Aniyunwiya] with both a sense of continuity of identity and a feeling of being part of a community they could call home."[73] Migration heritage, clan and kinship connections, treaty diplomacy focusing on relationships, and renewable council fires able to be rekindled—these reinforced Native communities and provided a resilience and strength of endurance which aided in the recovery and revival of Native nations after forced removal.

Native peoples constantly continued and renewed their council fires, before and after Indian Removal. Although the anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan wrote of the Haudenosaunee in 1851: "Their council-fires… have long since been extinguished, their empire has terminated, and the shades of evening are now gathering thickly over the

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[72] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 96-97; "Glossary," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 118; Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 108-110; Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 327-328; Fenton, "Structure, Continuity, and Change," 22; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 126. For more on other indigenous views towards fire, see: Donna L. Akers, *Living in the Land of Death: The Choctaw Nation, 1830-1860* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), 54-56.

[73] Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 34-35.

scattered and feeble remnants of this once powerful League," the treaty literature, discussed further in this chapter and illustrated throughout the dissertation, provides an alternative story. Council fires continued, even among the westernmost Haudenosaunee, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and the Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), who had long been removed from their homelands of the present-day state of New York, and who had resided in the Ohio Valley in the eighteenth century, and then Indian Territory, present-day state of Oklahoma, by the mid-nineteenth century. The name of the state and river Ohio (Ohi:yo') itself comes from the Shotinontowane' (Seneca) word *ohi:yo:h*, meaning 'good river.'[74]

The modes of treaty-making and diplomacy—the council fire, wampum strings and belts, clan systems, and kinship terminologies articulated—all had long histories in Iroquoian and Algonquian communities. The diplomatic protocols could be traced all the way back to the stories of confederacy beginnings such as the Haudenosaunee League. Indigenous kinship, relationality, and philosophies of connection went even farther back to narrations about creation and origins. This *longue durée*, reaching back far in time, continued to remain useful in the eras of Euro-American and Indian conflicts and then ultimately forced removal. Especially in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes, Iroquoian and Algonquian communities had long histories of movement, of sharing spaces as mutual hunting grounds, and living and settling in villages with and near each other. With the advent of the federal Indian policy of forced removal by the 1830s, mobility and interaction with each other was nothing new for Native nations. Instead, these tools served as sustaining strategies and coping mechanisms that

[74] Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee*, Book I, 145; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 344.

supported Native communities and families and provided peace and conflict resolution strategies through indigenous diplomacy methods and kinship connections.

III. Ohio Valley and Great Lakes Kinship Relations and Intertribal Interactions

"*mihtami myaamiaki nipinkonci saakaciweeciki. eehonci saakaci-weewaaci 'saakiiweeyonki' iitamenki… neehi saakaciweeciki. noonki niiyaaha eeminooteeciki. niiyaanci maaciihkaaciki. minooteeni neekatankiki… kapootwe nkoti aapweeyaata. aapwe pyaata kwitakaki mihtohseeniaki neewaaciki saakiiweeyonki. naahpi-hsa naapi iilaataweeciki iilataaweeyaanki. neehi-hsa weentaawaaci.*"
"At first the Myaamia came out of the water. The place they emerged is called 'Coming Out Place'… And they came out. Then they formed a town there. From there they went away. They left the town… When he came back he saw the other people at Coming Out Place. To our surprise, their language was just like our language. They gave them a name."

> Waapanaakikaapwa (Gabriel Godfroy) (Myaamia/Miami), who lived in Myaamionki Waapaahšiiki Siipionki (the Myaamia/Miami homelands along the Wabash River in Indiana), related to local historian Jacob Piatt Dunn, in the early 1900s[75]

The Ohio Valley and Great Lakes indigenous communities had long-established intertribal alliances that utilized the language of kinship to incorporate other Native nations into a larger community of reciprocity and relationality. Often at many of the council fires and in many intertribal interactions, the Native groups referred to the Lenape (Delawares) as grandfathers. This term indicated a great respect, highlighted today by the fact that they were the first Indian nation to formulate a formal treaty with

[75] *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana / Myaamia and Peoria Narratives and Winter Stories,* edited and translated by David J. Costa (Oxford, Ohio and Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma, developed through the Myaamia Project at Miami University, 2010), 51-53. Quotes from: *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana*, 52-53. Another rendition and analysis of this origin story is published in: George Michael Ironstrack, "nahi meehtohseeniwinki: iilinweeyankwi neehi iši meehtohseeniwiyankwi aatotamankwi: To Live Well: Our Language and Our Lives," in *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America*, edited by James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, SUNY Series Tribal Worlds: Critical Studies in American Indian Nation Building (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 181-208.

the United States in 1778. In the 1795 Treaty of Greenville in Ohio, the Native peoples continued to call the Lenape (Delawares) grandfathers and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) uncles.[76]

When discussing his travels into Arkansas Territory in 1819, Thomas Nuttall explained that it was the Lenape (Delawares) who were "always readily acknowledged under the epithets of grandfather, the original stock, and brothers or collateral descendants."[77] Although tribal leadership would most often bestow the kinship term of grandfather on the Lenape (Delawares), it was often the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) with whom the Algonquian Indians granted with even further respect. This harkened back to their leadership in the and founding of a large and significant confederacy in the Great Lakes in the seventeenth century. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) or Huron nation, according to the nineteenth-century American Antiquarian Society scholar Albert Gallatin, was "the head and principal support of the Algonquian confederacy." "[E]ven the Delawares, who claimed to be the elder branch of the Lenâpé [Lenape] nation, recognised [sic] the superiority of the Hurons [Wa^{n}dat], whom to this day they call their uncles," he explained. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in 1837 detailed that they called the Ojibwes (Chippewas), Odawas (Ottawas), and Myaamiaki (Miamis)

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[76] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 18, 18n11; Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 321; Fenton, "Structure, Continuity, and Change," 21-23; Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 142-143; "Glossary," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 119-120; Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 71; The National Archives Museum, "Rights of Native Americans," *Records of Rights*, http://recordsofrights.org/themes/4/rights-of-native-americans (accessed 23 October 2017). This is a part of the Permanent Exhibition *Records of Rights* at the David M. Rubenstein Gallery, The National Archives Museum, Washington, D.C. Treaty language, according to Myaamia/Miami-Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee scholar Malea D. Powell, "this language frequently used the tropology of reciprocal relations—phrases such as 'linking arms together' or 'eating from the same bowl'" (Malea D. Powell, "Down by the River, or How Susan La Flesche Picotte Can Teach Us about Alliance as a Practice of Survivance," *College English*, Vol. 67, No. 1, Special Issue: Rhetorics from/of Color (September 2004), 42). See also: Leanne Simpson, "Looking after Gdoo-naaganinaa," 36-37; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 81.

[77] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 283; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 303.

younger brothers, while the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) the youngest of them all.[78] These Native communities called each other using familial terms, stressing their long-time interactions, connections, and commitments to each other.

Related to the Haudenosaunee and once being allies, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) were often at war and conflict with the Haudenosaunee, even though they also had tenuous connections to each other. According to Kansas historian William Elsey Connelley's Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) informants, "[t]he Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] and Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandottes] have always claimed a cousin relation with each other. They say they have been neighbors from time immemorial, but often at war with each other."[79] In 1912 Catherine Johnson ("*Yaˇrǫñą'a ·wi'*^{i} *(she is sailing or floating in the sky)*") of Wyandotte, Oklahoma, recited to the Canadian anthropologist C. Marius Barbeau a story about the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) conflicts with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). In it Catherine Johnson referred the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) as *"tinǫ'ceñǫ ·*^{n}*di'*...

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[78] Quoted in: Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 223. In Gallatin's publication in the *Archæologia Americana*, the quote is rendered as such: "It is remarkable, that the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat], another Iroquois nation, were the head and principal support of the Algonkin [Algonquian] confederacy. The extent of their influence and of the consideration in which they were held, may be found in the fact, that even the Delawares [Lenape], who claimed to be the elder branch of the Lenape Nation and called [sic] themselves the grandfathers of their kindred tribes, recognised [sic] the superiority of the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat], whom to this day they call their uncles" (Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America," 69). See also: Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Western Scenes and Reminiscences: Together With Thrilling Legends and Traditions of the Red Men of the Forest. To Which Is Added Several Narratives of Adventures Among the Indians* (Auburn: Derby & Miller; Buffalo: Derby, Orton & Mulligan, 1858), 199-200. For a brief discussion of similarities of clans between Haudenosaunee and other Native nations such as the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Myaamiaki (Miamis), and Okáxpas (Quapaws) see: Barbeau, "Iroquoian Clans and Phratries," 395-396. Some of the older documents utilize the more closely phonetic version, Lenâpé. See: Daniel Garrison Brinton and Albert Seqaqkind Anthony, *A Lenâpé-English Dictionary. From an Anonymous MS. in the Archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pa. Edited, With Additions* (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1888), 63-64.

[79] Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899*, 94. See also: Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts, and Sketches of Other Indian Tribes of North America. True Traditional Stories of Tecumseh and His League in the Years 1811 and 1812* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1870), 1-2.

[or] hu´ti˘nǫ‘cɛñǫ ·ⁿdi’: they (m. pl.) *-houses-possess*." The interpreter Allen Johnson (Hu´ˀᵘcra˘ɛ`·wa‘s or Cra˘ɛ̨´·wa‘) surmised that the meaning had to do with their expansionist and long history of warfare against other Native nations (See Figures 1.15 and 1.16). The contested meaning did, however, indicate the longhouse tradition and confederation tradition of extending the rafters by including other Native nations. [80] Canadian Wendat historian Georges E. Sioui noted the beginning of the animosity with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) around 1525. The Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) and the Haudenosaunee were constantly at war with each other from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century.[81] At the end of the wars between the Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) and the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), according to Catherine Johnson's narration, the Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) said to the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), "*kya˘tate ˀɛyɛ̨nąˀ*" meaning, "*we* (both)-*self-brothers are*."[82] The two then established a formal peace and began to refer to each other as kin, as brothers.

The Haudenosaunee and Wendat leagues both incorporated outsiders into their alliances. The Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) established their own intertribal

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[80] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 271n4. Barbeau also relayed other stories of Shotinontowane'á:ka-Waⁿdat conflicts (Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 271n2).

[81] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 15, 20-22, 189-190, 324-325. Jon Parmenter argued the historical name the Huron used for the Haudenosaunee was Hotinnonchiendi (completed cabin) (Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 89).

[82] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, ix, 275n1. Perl W. Morgan noted, "The Wyandot [Waⁿdat/Wyandot(te)] Indians… Near them were the villages of the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka], with whom for many years they were closely allied and on terms of peace. Such relations, however, could not always exist among Indians. There was a falling out and the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] waged war against the Wyandots [Waⁿdat/ Wyandot(te)s]" (Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas and Its People*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 60). Perl W. Morgan went on to say that the Wandat (Wyandot(te)s) occupied one side of the Saint Lawrence River, while the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) on the other: "They were blood relations, claiming each other as cousins" (Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas*, Vol. 1, 61). He then goes on to relate a story of the origin of this warfare from an Ohio missionary (Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas*, Vol. 1, 60-62).

confederacy by the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century north of the Haudenosaunee. Amusingly, Kansas historian William Elsey Connelley noted, "The old Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandottes] told me this confederacy was formed to resist the arrogance and the increasing power of the Iroquois [Haudenosaunee]."[83] Like the Haudenosaunee, incorporation of other tribal groups into the Wendat alliance was commonplace. The original five nations of the Wendat Confederacy consisted of the Attignawantans (Bear), Attigneenongnahacs (Cord), Arendahronons (Rock), Tahontaenrats (Deer), and Ataronchronons (Rock). The Attignawantan (Bear) and Attigneenongnahac (Cord) nations called each other brothers and first established the confederacy while the Arendahronons (Rock) and the Tohontaenrat (Deer) nations joined around 1590 and 1610 respectively. According to Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) cultural leader Richard Zane Smith, the Attignawantans were the grandfathers of the original Wendat Confederacy. They sat at one side of the longhouse, opposite of the four others, and the Attignawantans served as the spokespeople for the league. Lastly, the Wendats included the Wenrorono nation in the confederacy in 1639. The Wendat nation, therefore, became synonymous with the "cinq nations wendates confédérées" (six with the Wenro added) by the seventeenth century.[84]

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[83] Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899*, 96.

[84] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 15, 15n7, 175-177; Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 9; Elisabeth Tooker, "Northern Iroquoian Sociopolitical Organization," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 72, No. 1 (February 1970), 90-92; Wallis M. Smith, "A Re-Appraisal of the Huron Kinship System," 198-199; Fenton, "'This Island, the World on the Turtle's Back,'" 283; Sherman Williams, "The Iroquois Confederacy," 10-11; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 170; Jennifer Birch, "Coalescent Communities: Settlement Aggregation and Social Integration in Iroquoian Ontario," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (October 2012), 665; Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 223-224; Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 18-20; James Douglas, "The Consolidation of the Iroquois Confederacy: Or, What Happened on the St. Lawrence between the Times of Cartier and Champlain," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York,* Vol. 29, No. 1 (1897), 49-53; Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 19, 99, 165, 321n2, 322n2. Douglas described the Haudenosaunee and Wendat confederacies as "Rival confederacies" (Douglas, "The Consolidation of the Iroquois Confederacy," 53). Also: Richard Zane Smith in discussion with the author, 27 November 2017. Jonathan C. Lainey also discussed one

The Wendats held a place of authority and seniority in their interactions with other nations by the seventeenth century, especially as indicated by their leadership in the Wendat Confederacy. The colonial French Jesuits observed that more than a dozen Native nations used the Wendat language for diplomacy as a *lingua franca*. Their name, Wendat, according to the Jesuits, meant people of the peninsula or islanders, as they lived in an area centered around Georgian Bay and above Lake Ontario. Contemporary Québécois Wendat historian Georges E. Sioui, however, told a different story of the etymology of his nation's name. He argued that *wen(d)* connoted speech and language, but also "d'ancienneté, de noblesse, d'unicité et d'autorité [of seniority, nobility, uniqueness, and authority]."[85] According to this etymology, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) had a long-established significant reputation as prominent leaders and spokespeople among neighboring tribal nations in the Great Lakes and Old Northwest.

In the 1650s the Wendat Confederacy, militarily defeated by the Haudenosaunee, dissolved and followed similar patterns of community absorption, adoption, or relocation. Some of the Wendats moved east and settled near the French mission at Notre-Dame de la Jeune Lorette (often shortened to Lorette), Québec, becoming what is known today as the Huron-Wendat Nation at Wendaké. As Canadian

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unique wampum that represented a 1612 agreement at the Ottawa River the four Wendat confederated nations—the Attignaouantans (Bear), Tahontaenrats (Deer), Arendarhonons (Rock) and Attignenongnahacs (Cord) gave to the Haudenosaunee (Lainey, *La « Monnaie des Sauvages »*, 180-181). See also: Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 14, 19, 27-31, 58-59, 97-99, 156-168, 174-176, 227-228, 436n3, 436-437, 437n4-6, 562, 623-624, 767-829; Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 8. For a French description of four wampum strings the four Wendat nations used to represent themselves in 1611, see: Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 267-268. John Steckley described four Huron or Wendat nations—the Attignawantans (Bear), Attigneenongnahacs (Cord), Arendahronons (Rock), Tahontaenrats (Deer) with the Wenro adding later (Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 23, 37-38).

[85] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 15, 20-22, 189-190, 324-325; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 27; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 575. Quote from: Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 20.

historian Paul Wallace noted, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), "Some found shelter under the Tree of Peace, a whole village seating itself among the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). Still another band made its way north to mingle with the Ottawas [Odawas] on Manitoulin Island." Removal, relocation, and (re)integration was nothing new especially to the Indian groups of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley.[86]

The conventional Western story of a 'rise and fall' of the Wendat confederacy, however, prevents recognition of the staying power of esteem and recognition the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) continued to have among other Native nations in the Old Northwest and during Removal. In 1837, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leader Oriwahento (Charlo) explained that although the Haudenosaunee pushed the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) out of the East and the Wendat confederacy dissolved, "but as we had the right before, so when we came back, the tribes looked up to us, as holding the council fire."[87] Additionally, as contemporary Wendat historian Georges E. Sioui explained, the deference and respect for Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) continued for centuries to come. He argued that the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) "continua à se

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[86] Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 65, 213-236, 294-295, 348, 355, 364, 436n3, 436-437, 487, 617-664, 725-840; Connelley, "The Wyandots," *PGNT-JWW*, 1; Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 20-21; Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 228-229; Tooker, "Northern Iroquoian Sociopolitical Organization," 91; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, ix, 14, 275n2; Birch, "Coalescent Communities," 665; Russell M. Lawson, *The Land between the Rivers: Thomas Nuttall's Ascent of the Arkansas, 1819* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 40-42; Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 5; Josephine Waggoner, *Witness: A Húnkpapȟa Historian's Strong-Heart Song of the Lakotas*, edited by Emily Levine (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 26, 177; Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 5. Quote from: Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois," 20-21. For more on mid-eighteenth-century confederacies and alliances see: Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 140; Jacobs, "Wampum," 599-600.

[87] Schoolcraft, *Western Scenes and Reminiscences*, 196-200; Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 18, 18n10; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 4. Quote from: Schoolcraft, *Western Scenes and Reminiscences*, 200. In Georges E. Sioui's version, Oriwahento (Charlo) explained that although the Haudenosaunee pushed them out of the East and the Wendat confederacy dissolved, "mais, comme cela était auparavant notre droit [notre statut], les tribus nous regardèrent, lorsque nous revînmes, comme les gardiens du feu du Conseil [but, like it was before our law [our status], the tribes looked at us, as we came back, as the guardians of the Council fire]" (Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 18).

considérer comme un centre politique et à en être un pour les descendants de ses nombreux anciens alliés, comme lui dispersés [will continue to consider themselves as a political center and to be one of them for the descendants of their numerous ancient allies, likewise dispersed]."[88] Eighteenth and nineteenth century diasporas did not signal the end of relationality and bestowing proper respects for the Native communities of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley—even after their removal to the west of the Mississippi, in the lands of Tawiskaron.

Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) historian Peter Dooyentate Clarke described how by the 1730s the Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Ojibwes (Chippewas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) shared the lands around the Detroit River. A wampum belt connoted this alliance (See Figures 1.17 and 1.18). The tri-alliance between the Odawa (Ottawa), Ojibwe (Chippewa), and Potewatmi (Potawatomi) nations was (and is) known as Niswi-Mishkodewin—The Council of Three Fires, or the Three Fires Confederacy. All three call themselves Anishinaabeg, The People. Here I will follow the example of Heid Ellen Erdrich (Turtle Mountain Ojibwe/Anishinaabe) by using the term Ojibwe(s) for that specific Anishinaabemowin community. Ojibwe—historically written as Outchibous, Očipwe, or Otchipwe—is more specific to that group also known as the Chippewa. Other indigenous communities, especially the Niswi-Mishkodewin (Three Fires Confederacy) included not just the Ojibwes but also the Odawas (Ottawas) and Potewatmis (Potawatomis), who also spoke Anishinaabemowin.[89] As Jill Doerfler (White Earth Ojibwe/Anishinaabe),

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[88] Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats*, 320.

[89] Heid Ellen Erdrich, "*Name'*: Literary Ancestry as Presence," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg:

Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair (Anishinaabe/Peguis First Nation), and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark (Turtle Mountain Ojibwe/Anishinaabe) clarified: "The Anishinaabe[g] span a vast geographic region… There are therefore many ways Anishinaabeg speakers and thinkers use the term 'Anishinaabe.'" They detailed that "it's a word that also exists as Anishnawbe, Anishinape, Anicinape, Neshnabé, Nishnaabe, Nishnawbe, Anishinaubae, and Nishinabe—just to name a few." They continued, relating, "these specific and shared names are what communities known now as Ojibwa, Ojibwe, Chippewa, Ojibway, Saulteaux, Mississauga, Nipissing, Potewatmi (Potawatomi), and Odawa (and others) use to describe *themselves*. Each different incarnation of Anishinaabe shapes a connection, defines a relationship, and is an offering to a multiply defined whole." The earliest historical record of the name for the Potewatmis (Potawatomis) comes *Potawatomink*, "the people of the place of the fire," or perhaps more accurately Bodēwadmi or Bodēwadnene, about blowing on and making a fire although this is contested and conjecture. Potawatomis today call themselves Potewatmi. Odawas (Ottawas) called and continue to call themselves Odawa, meaning

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Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 14, 30n1). For contemporary statistics on Anishinaabemowin, Ojibwemowin, and Potawatomi, see: Margaret Noodin and Stacie Sheldon, "Waasamodibaajibiigemaazoying: Bright Lines of Story in Song," *SAIL*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring 2017), 89. Language revitalization efforts have also been couched in Three Fires terms. Although called *Ojibwe.net*, the website showcases Anishinaabemowin, as the language of the Three Fires Confederacy (*Ojibwe.net*, edited by Margaret Noodin, Alphonse Pitawanakwat, and Stacie Sheldon, 2018, http://ojibwe.net/ (accessed January 30, 2018)). As Anishinaabeg scholars Margaret Noodin and Stacie Sheldon explained, "The community is not defined by current national boundaries but by the palimpsest of a precolonial and now longpast-postcolonial [sic] confederacy. By invoking the Three Fires Confederacy the site reaches across the entire diaspora of speakers who choose to identify as Anishinaabe. This also signals traditional linguistic alliances and focuses the identity of the language on fire, not capital, as a form of energy and means of confederation" (Noodin and Sheldon, "Waasamodibaajibiigemaazoying," 91-92). See also: Richard A. Rhodes, *Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa Dictionary*, Trends in Linguistics / Documentation Series No. 3 (Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam: Moulton Publishers, 1985), 501, 531, 533, 572; Charles E. Dawes, *Dictionary English-Ottawa, Ottawa-English* (Oklahoma: Printed by the author, 1982), 16, 29; Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 9-13; R. R. Bishop Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, Explained in English. Part I. English-Otchipwe,* New Edition (Montréal: Beauchemin & Valois, Publishers, 1878), 49.

traders, coming from their word *adawe* (pronounced as "ah-dah´-weh") or *ahdawe* ("ah´-dah-weh"), to trade. All of these various indigenous names of Anishinaabemowin-speaking people illustrate their connections to each other as well as their self-designations.[90]

This wampum belt, then, depicts the early- to mid-eighteenth-century Wa^{n}dat-Odawa-Ojibwe-Potewatmi (Wendat/Wyandot(te)-Ottawa-Chippewa-Potawatomi) alliance made between each other and with the nearby French communities when the Wa^{n}dat moved from around Lake Superior to what is now Detroit. The alliance, as Clarke explained, spread throughout to other friendly nations. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), Myaamiaki (Miamis), and others confederated and allied with the Niswi-Mishkodewin (Three Council Fires Confederacy) and the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leadership became the

[90] Joseph Francis Murphy, *Potawatomi Of The West: Origins Of The Citizen Band*, edited by Patricia Sulcer Barrett (Shawnee, Oklahoma: Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe, 1988), 2; Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, "*Bagijige*: Making an Offering, in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013), xvii); The Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma, "History Archives Library," *Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma*, http://www.ottawatribe.org/history-archives-library/ (accessed 11 February 2016); Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, *Visit Miami, Oklahoma* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2014), 37. Anishinaabemowin is the word for the language of the Anishinaabeg, while Ojibwemowin is the language of the Ojibwes, also an Anishinaabemowin dialect. For example, see: Dylan A. T. Miner, "Stories as *Mshkiki*: Reflections on the Healing and Migratory Practices of *Minwaajimo*," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 318. See also: Dawes, *Dictionary English-Ottawa, Ottawa-English*, 11; R. R. Bishop Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, Explained in English. Part II. Otchipwe-English*, New Edition (Montréal: Beauchemin & Valois, Publishers, 1880), 38; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 360. The Odawa (Ottawa) dictionary gave the phonetics for the word for Anishinaabe, Indian, or Native person, as: "ahnishenahba (ah-nish-eh-nah´-bah); popular usage (nish-nah´-bah)" and the plural for the collective nation as "ahnishenabag (ah-nish-eh-nah-bawg´)" (Dawes, *Dictionary English-Ottawa, Ottawa-English*, 15-16, 29, 35-36). Odawa is also spelled phonetically, and with a 't' instead of a 'd': Otahwah and Adawe is also spelled as Udawah, meaning to sell (Dawes, *Dictionary English-Ottawa, Ottawa-English*, 56, 62). For Potawatomink, see: R. David Edmunds, *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series Vol. 145 (Norman: University of Oklahoma, ,1878; Reprint, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 3-4; 4-5; Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 11-18.

archivists of the wampum belts. “Each treaty concluded between them and the different tribes, was represented by a wampum belt, the stipulations of which were kept in the memory of the parties, and every belt bore some mark to distinguish it from the others.”[91]

Although many of these wampum belts have been lost over the years, often snatched up by eager ethnologists to have in their museum collections, some of their whereabouts are known today. Although without the wampum belts with all their knowledge and specific details recollected by the wampum keepers, the significance of the wampum as solidifying one’s relationships to others still resonates and is remembered by many of the Native nations today.

In the 1790s an intertribal council of the Niswi-Mishkodewin (Three Fires Confederacy) and the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) met at Detroit. This meeting illustrated the tensions between alliances when settler colonial interests pressured Native nations to sell their lands to Euro-Americans. At that meeting, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) protested that a portion of their reservation, located in what is today Canada, was being included in the Niswi-Mishkodewin (Three Fires

[91] Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 35-39; Horatio Hale, “Four Huron Wampum Records,” 245-246; Wampum belt, “The Four Nations Alliance Belt,” Pitt Rivers Museum Object Collections, Accession No. 1896.7.10, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford, England. Quote from: Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 38. See also: Jeremiah Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting of Friends, Composed of Indians* (Carthage, Missouri: Press Book and Job Printing House, 1886), 82-83. See also: Shoemaker, “Trickster Skins,” 28. On Ojibwe, coming from the word *očipwe·*, meaning puckered, from the puckered toed moccasins worn, see: Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 345; Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 401n135. For the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) being the Ojibwe word *po·te·wa·tami·*, and that the Potawatomi call themselves Potewatmi, see: Goddard, “Historical and Philological Evidence,” 128, 131n9; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 395; Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages,* 401n135; Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 10-13. For more on the Three Fires Confederacy and Odawa (Ottawa), Potawatomi, and Ojibwe (Chippewa) naming, see: Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, ix, xvi, 9-14. Bellfy surprisingly stated that Potawatomi “has up to 140 different spellings” and is described as having many different meanings (Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 9). James Clifton echoed this statement, noting “Pouutouatami (this is only one of more than 140 known spellings of the name)” (Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 13).

Confederacy)'s treaty with the British. According to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) account of the events that took place, one brash Odawa (Ottawa) leader retorted that the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) moved to the area, "you found protection here," and he continued, "and if we were to surrender that reserve, you can leave that side… [the Canadian side] and rejoin your people down on this side of the river," meaning they could join the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) living in what would become the state of Ohio. Despite the verbal altercation in the Detroit treaty council with the Odawas (Ottawas), the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) community retained the land as it was not included in the lands sold in the Niswi-Mishkodewin (Three Fires Confederacy) treaty. Today these lands are known as Wendaké.[92]

Even into the twentieth century the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) continued to hold importance and people continued to point out this esteemed stature alongside narratives of some of the first indigenous interactions with Europeans. With a late-nineteenth-century romanticism, the anthropologist Horatio Hale described the nobility that the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) held among other Indian nations. Hale boasted, "The surviving members of the Huron [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)] nation, even in its present broken, dispersed, and half-extinct condition, still retain the memory of their ancient claim to the headship of all the aboriginal tribes of America north of Mexico."[93] French-Canadian anthropologist C. Marius Barbeau interviewed the seventy-two-year-

[92] Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 59-62. Quotes from: Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 60-61.

[93] Horatio Hale went on to write, "That there was originally some good ground, in tradition and in character, for a claim of this sort, though not quite so extensive, must be admitted" (Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 221-222). Francis Parkman wrote about the Wendats explaining they were "a paramount influence among the western nations, and were, among these allies, according to Charlevoix, the soul of all councils" (Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 225).

old elder John Kayrahoo, named Hu'u^{n}dažú (Hu'^{un}da·ju´'), in Wyandotte, Oklahoma in June of 1912 (See Figure 1.19).

A monolingual speaker, Kayrahoo did not speak English, but only the Wendat or Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)) language. Through the interpreter, Allen Johnson (Hu´'^{u}cra˘ɛ`·wa's or Cra˘ɛ́·wa'), Barbeau was lucky to record his story, as Kayrahoo died just the following year. Barbeau's published English account of Kayrahoo's interview explained that at the time of the arrival of Europeans, "[t]he Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat] were then at the head of a league of Indian nations, among which the Delawares [Lenape] occupied the second rank." In his story, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) told the Lenape (Delawares) to be attentive. When the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) returned, they were surprised about the sale of a huge amount of Lenape (Delaware) lands. Kayrahoo recounted one of the numerous infamous Euro-American land swindles, of which the 1737 Walking Purchase, where Pennsylvanians tricked the Lenape (Delaware) nation, is probably the most well-known.

In Kayrahoo's story, after the Lenape (Delawares) agreed to sell a tiny bit of land the size of an ox-hide, the Europeans cut the hide into strips and pulled and extended it into a much larger amount than was originally intended and agreed upon. Prevalent among Algonquian cultures and Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), and Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)) communities, this story of the Ox-Hide Purchase is believed to be the purchase of Manhattan, New York in 1626. The story not only illustrates the community connections between these groups, but also the confederations established around the time of European arrival. Other of Barbeau's informants also noted the importance of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) in intertribal law-making, especially

with the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) and Lenape (Delaware). Skeptical, Barbeau noted the Western or Ohio Valley Indian confederation was the only proof of this esteem among other Native nations.[94] Regardless of the extent of Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) prominence, however, relationality and connection persisted among Ohio Valley and Great Lakes Native nations into the eighteenth and nineteenth century with the use of kinship nomenclature.

Another group of people who had a long history of interaction and alliance with each other were the Myaamiaki (Miamis), their name meaning downstream peoples, and the Peewaliaki (Peorias) and other small Illinois nations. The Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias) called themselves *mihtohseeniaki*, the people. The Myaamiaki (Miamis) had always been closely associated with the Peewaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias). All spoke different dialects of what is known today as the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria or Miami-Illinois) language, a language within the larger Algonquian language family (See Figures 1.20 and 1.21).

[94] Jason Baird Jackson, "The Story of Colonialism, or Rethinking the Ox-Hide Purchase in Native North America and Beyond," *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 126, No. 499 (Winter 2013), 32-39; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, xi, 82-89, 266n2, 266n3, 268-271. Quote from: Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 268. For more stories on the coming of Europeans, see also: Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 267-271. As a folklorist, Jason Baird Jackson only generally described the motif of the ox-hide purchase as a repetitive event throughout Indian-white colonial history, without pegging down a specific event (Jackson, "The Story of Colonialism," 31-40, 46n4, 49n31). Cultural leader Jeremy Turner (Šaawanwa/Shawnee-Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)-Shotinontowane'/Seneca-Kaion'ke/Cayuga) also maintains that the Ox-Hide Purchase refers to the Lenape (Delaware) sale of Manhattan to the Dutch in 1626. Regardless of the exact specificity of which sale it refers to, the prevalence and repetition of these types of fraudulent sales in both folklorists' motifs and the historical records highlight the ubiquitous, nefarious nature of settler colonial land sales. Newman also contended that Algonquians correlate the ox hide story to Manhattan (Andrew Newman, "Closing the Circle: Mapping a Native Account of Colonial Land Fraud," in *Early American Cartographies*, edited by Martin Brückner (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 248-259.

The language held significance and importance as a lingua franca in the Mississippi Valley before and especially into the eighteenth-century. The name for the Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) came from *kaahkaahkia* (katydid, colloquially known as a long-horned grasshopper). In the early 1820s Pinšiwa (Bobcat) (Jean-Baptiste Richardville) and Meehcikilita (Le Gros), two Myaamia (Miami) leaders, informed an American observer that a man named Waayaahtanwa (Whirlpool Person) settled a town called Waayaahtanonki (Wea Place), the place at the eddy or whirlpool. The Waayaahtanooki (Weas) received their name from this person and place. The Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), called the 'torn ear people,' split off from the larger Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) community, moved, and lived at Peeyankihšionki (Piankashaw Place).

In 1821 reflecting on the history of the Peewaaliaki (Peorias), who then interacted with the Wažažes (Osages, ϟΛƵΛƵᗅ) and Okáxpas (Quapaws) in what would become the state of Arkansas, the botanist Thomas Nuttall noted that despite their friendships with these groups, they were more closely associated with the Myaamiaki (Miamis). The Peewaaliaki (Peorias) had, he explained, "the tradition of their having come in company with the Miamies [Myaamiaki/Miamis] from the borders of Hudson's bay" and "their speaking nearly the same language, as related by Charlevoix, appear as so many proofs of the common origin of these two people."[95] For

[95] Costa, "Miami-Illinois and Shawnee," 292; Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, *myaamiaatawaakani (Myaamia Dictionary)*, Version 2.1.2 (2016), http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/myaamiaatawaakani-myaamia-dictionary/id993757253?mt=8 (accessed 8 February 2018); Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 205; Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 36, 128-129; George Michael Ironstrack, "Peempaliyankwi Myaamionki—Walking Myaamionki," *Aacimotaatiiyankwi: A Myaamia Community Blog*, December 16, 2010, https://myaamiahistory.wordpress.com/2010/12/16/walking-myaamionki/ (accessed 4 December 2017); David J. Costa, "Diminutive Nouns in Miami-Illinois," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Winter 2016), 384; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 250-251; Nuttall, *A*

back in the 1600s the French Jesuit Charlevoix had argued that, "[t]here is scarcely a doubt… but that this nation and the Illinois [Peewaaliaki/Peorias] were not long since one people, considering the affinity of their languages." The Myaamiaki (Miamis) called and still call the Waayaahtanooki (Weas) and Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) their younger brothers, younger siblings, and relatives.[96]

Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory, edited by Lottinville, 279-280; Thomas N. Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers: Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 44. Quote in: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 250-251; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 279-280. For a modern use of Wažaže terminology instead of "Osage," see: Waggoner, *Witness*, 696-697n11, 744. Waggoner explained that Wažáže is (and was) the name of an Oglála (more commonly spelled Oglala) Lakota (Sioux) band, but it is (and was) also the name for the Osages. She argued that the word is not of Lakota origin, but rather Thégiha (Dhegihan Siouan). It can (and could) be applied to all the Osages or also one of the five subgroups of the Osages. Ppąkka (Poncas) and Kansas/Kaws also claim(ed) Wažáže clans (Waggoner, *Witness*, 43-46). See also: Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 356, 391. Costa also summarized: "In the early nineteenth century, the Wea [Waayaahtanwa], Piankashaw [Peeyankihšia], and all Illinois-speaking [Peewaalia-speaking, Peoria-speaking] groups were forcibly relocated to Kansas and later Oklahoma, as were about half of the Miami [Myaamiaki]. In the mid-nineteenth century, the remnant Illinois [Peewaalia/Peoria] groups merged together with the Wea [Waayaahtanooki] and Piankashaw [Peeyaankihšiaki] under the name 'Peoria,' and it is the modern dialect of this group that is called Peoria [Peewaalia] in this article" (Costa, "Diminutive Nouns in Miami-Illinois," 381). For more on Algonquian languages see: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 152-154, 341. William Bright gave a different interpretation on Wea: Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 559. Historian John P. Bowes excerpted poignant speeches by Meehcikilita (John P. Bowes, *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal*, New Directions in Native American Studies Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 2016). See also: David J. Costa, "Redacting Premodern Texts without Speakers: the Peoria Story of Wiihsakacaakwa," in in *New Voices for Old Words: Algonquian Oral Literatures*, edited by David J. Costa, Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians Series (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 34-62; George Finley and Albert Samuel Gatschet, "Peoria text: *Wiihsakacaakwa Aalhsoohkaakani (Wiihsakacaakwa Story),*" in *New Voices for Old Words: Algonquian Oral Literatures*, edited by David J. Costa, Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians Series (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 73.

[96] Quoted in: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 251; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 279-280. For interesting early nineteenth-century comments on Okáxpa (Quapaw) dress and hairstyles see: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 87-88, 98, 185. Even in 1833 officials noted how "The two tribes [Myaamiaki/Miamis and Waayaahtanooki/Weas] have long been connected by blood and policy—speak the same tongue, and possess every trait of character which would mark them as one people" (Quoted in: Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), 132n18). See also the Indian agent 1850s notations regarding these Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) groups, as quoted in: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 205. See also: George Michael Ironstrack, "A Myaamia Beginning," *Aacimotaatiiyankwi: A Myaamia Community Blog*, August 13, 2010, https://myaamiahistory.wordpress.com/2010/08/13/a-myaamia-beginning/#_ednref (accessed 11 November 2017); Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins," 25-28, 59n105; Grant and Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," 407-408. Costa, however, has also noted that linguists paid attention to the dialectical differences used by Sarah Wadsworth (Waayaahtaanwa/Wea) (David J. Costa, "The Mission Press Wea Primer of 1837," in *Papers of the Twenty-Fourth Algonquian Conference*, Vol.

The Peewaalia (Peoria), or Illinois, Confederacy included the Mascouten (Mascoutin), Peewaalia (Peoria), Michigamea, Kawakia (Caoukia or Cahokia), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), Pepikokia, Moingwena, and Tamaroa peoples all centered around what is now the state of Illinois (See Figures 1.22 and 1.23). As noted Oklahoman historian Grant Foreman described their pre-removal relations: "Though separated by a considerable distance, these tribes were held together by a general confederacy, making common cause in all the wars in which they were engaged against their enemies north and south of them."[97] The Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and Myaamiaki (Miamis) retained their affinity with each other up until the present day. In the nineteenth century, the federal Indian agent explained that the Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias) were, while residing in Kansas, "living in close proximity, speaking the same language, and in habits of constant social intercourse with their

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23, edited by William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1993), 55-56).

[97] Stephen Aron, *American Confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State*, A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier Series (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 151; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 19; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 250-251; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 279-280; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 269; Natalia M. Belting, "Illinois Names for Themselves and Other Groups," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Summer 1958), 285-286; Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, *Visit Miami,* 37-38; R. David Edmunds, "'Paint Me As Who I Am': Woodland People at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century," in *Always a People: Oral Histories of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 3-4. Quote from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 19. In early records Cahokias are spelled as Caoukiaki. Modern spelling is Kawakiaki, singular Kawakia (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 75). Smithsonian linguist Ives Goddard argued that the Mascoutens, who the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) call(ed) Attistaehronon, although they "amalgamated with the Kickapoo [Kiikaapoaki] after 1800" "the Mascouten were a separate central Algonquian group and not to be explained away as really somebody else" (Goddard, "Historical and Philological Evidence," 123). Goddard continued, noting that: "In 1679 there was a rift between the Mascouten and the Miami [Myaamiaki], and this seems to have led to a splitting up of the Mascouten into two groups—an eastern group generally associated with the Miami [Myaamiaki], especially the Wea [Waayaahtanooki] subtribe, near the southern end of Lake Michigan and a western group associated with the Fox [Meskwaki] and Kickapoo [Kiikaapoaki] along the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and the nearby upper Mississippi" (Goddard, "Historical and Philological Evidence," 127). Goddard concluded, "That the Mascouten were a separate tribe, with a distinctness and autonomy comparable to that of the Kickapoo [Kiikaapoaki] and the Fox [Meskwaki], cannot be denied, though it is certainly true that they often associated with other groups" (Goddard, "Historical and Philological Evidence," 128). See also: Goddard, "Historical and Philological Evidence," 123-128, Tables 1-3; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub & Company, 1908), 221-231.

brothers, the Piankeshaw [sic] [Peeyankihšiaki/Piankashaws], Peoria [Peeyankihšiaki/Peorias] and Wea [Waayaahtanooki/Weas]."[98]

The Myaamiaki (Miamis) even recounted stories of their relatedness to other separate, distinct peoples as far back as told in their origin story of emergence from the area called saakiiweeyonki (the 'Coming Out Place') (See Figure 1.24). This place is located at saakiiweesiipiiwi (the 'Coming Out River'), known commonly today as the St. Joseph River near present-day South Bend, Indiana. Waapanaakikaapwa (Gabriel Godfroy) (Myaamia/Miami) told Jacob Piatt Dunn the story in the early 1900s. Godfroy began, "*mihtami myaamiaki nipinkonci saakaciweeciki*" ["At first the Myaamia came out of the water."]. "[*N*]*oonki niiyaaha eeminooteeciki. niiyaanci maaciihkaaciki. minooteeni neekatankiki*" ["Then they formed a town there. From there they went away. They left the town"], the story continues. The Myaamiaki (Miamis), like other indigenous peoples, were constantly moving, migrating, and establishing communities. They left areas and came back when they desired or needed. When the Myaamiaki (Miamis) returned later, "*aapwe pyaata kwitakaki mihtohseeniaki neewaaciki saakiiweeyonki. naahpi-has naapi iilaataweeciki iilataaweeyaanki*" ["When he came back he saw the other people at Coming Out Place. To our surprise, their language was just like our language"]. As the story goes, the Myaamia (Miami)

[98] Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers*, 48; *1852 ARCIA,* 387. Quote from: *1852 ARCIA*, 387. Also, quoted in: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 203, 217. Foreman also pointed out that at one Ohio Valley treaty the Myaamiaki (Miamis), Eel River Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Waayaahtanooki (Weas), "representatives of the Miami, Eel River, and Wea, reciting that they 'were formerly, and still consider themselves as one nation'" (Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 25). See also: Dorris Valley and Mary M. Lembcke, eds**.,** *The Peorias: A History of the Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma*, (Miami, Oklahoma: The Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, 1991), 59-61. Their name, Eel River, comes from *kineepikwameekwa siipiiwi* ('snake-fish river') where they resided (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 141). On the difficulty of interpreting European maps of Native Illinois see: Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois, "Mapping Native Illinois," *American Indians of Illinois*, 2002, https://cdn.citl.illinois.edu/courses/aiiopcmpss/mapping/index.htm (accessed 4 December 2017).

man who returned to saakiiweeyonki called those people "matehkohkisenaakana" ("Old Moccasins").[99] Myaamia (Miami) cultural and linguistic activist George Ironstrack detailed the significance of this story: "The end of the story demonstrates how groups were perceived through the lens of language." "Those who spoke our language (Myaamia-Peewaalia [Miami-Peoria]) or closely related languages, like Ojibwa [Ojibwe], Potawatomi [Potewatmi], Kickapoo [Kiikaapoaki], and Fox [Meskwaki or Meškwahki], were usually friends, allies, and relatives," Ironstrack continued. "Those who didn't were often viewed as foreigners."[100] Affinity served (and still serves) as an indigenous way of identifying self and others, cultural and linguistic kin or not.

Very like the Myaamia (Miami) story, Anishinaabeg speak of their histories of traveling and returning to familiar places. Roger Roulette (Ojibwe), related to scholars: "*Mewenzha Anishnaabeg megwa babamiiaayaawaad / gii babanametwaawag e-wii enji daapinamaagozig / gii babamiiayaawag niswaak ge kwa naanwaak ge minik miinwaa / neyap ji ge gii azhegiiwewaad gaa ge pii aayaawaad ji nagadanendamowaad da giimiiwaad.*" Translated from Anishinaabemowin (the Anishinaabe language)—or more

[99] *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana*, 51-53. Quotes from: *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana*, 52-53. David Costa explained that the stories are formatted in a "facing-page format," with the Myaamia-Peewaalia language on one side and English on the other. For clarity and to be able to include both the Myaamiaataweenki (Myaamia language) and English, I bracketed the English into the Myaamia (Miami) language quote. See: *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana*, xii. See also: Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 48.

[100] Ironstrack, "A Myaamia Beginning," *Aacimotaatiiyankwi*. See also: Truman Michelson, "ANTHROPOLOGY.—*Some general notes on the Fox Indians. Part I. Historical*," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (January 4, 1919), 483-494. For Algonquian connections see also: Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri: From the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into The Union*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1908), 154-159. See also: Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 5-6. Another name for the Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) that became common was the "Big Pipe People," indicating the ceremonial tradition learned from the Siouan people of the Virginia area known as the Tutelo (or Tutalo) (Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 170). Peter Dooyentate Clarke recalled how the Meskwaki (Foxes) were allies with the Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), and Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws). In one eighteenth century battle the French fought the "Fox [Meskwaki] Indians and their allies, the Wears [sic] [Waayaahtanooki], Pe-Yankeeshaws [Peeyankihšiaki], and other tribes of Illinois" (Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 32).

precisely the Ojibwemowin (the Ojibwe language)—into English, Roulette said: "Long ago the Anishinaabeg while they were moving around / they were leaving a presence while transporting things / they were travelling for up to three to five year [sic] period of time and / returned (that) was where they went home when they were keeping in mind where they deserted."[101] Although the translators' decision to keep a more direct word for word translation produced very halting, non-palpable English sentences, they retained the deep core or 'thick description' of the Anishinaabemowin meaning. In this story, or also known as a *dibaajmowin*, story of a personal account or history, Roulette stressed that historically Anishinaabe communities, despite their seasonal migrations and rotations, still left clear evidence of their occupation and settlement on their homelands. Anishinaabeg would always return to places they called home and this included even the places they briefly left uninhabited for several years.[102]

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[101] "When the Ancestors Moved Around and Left a Presence on the Land," in Margaret Noodin, Alphonse Pitawanakwat, Stacie Sheldon, eds., *Ojibwe.net*, 2018, http://ojibwe.net/stories/spring/when-the-ancestors-moved-around-and-left-a-presence-on-the-land/ (accessed January 30, 2018). This website, formerly titled *Noongwa e-Anishinaabemjig: People Who Speak Anishinaabemowin Today* and previously hosted by the University of Michigan, is now *Ojibwe.net*. Although Roulette's story on the website in four lines, here I split up the story with "/" to divide the thoughts previously left on multiple lines. Noodin and Sheldon note, however, that this formatting illustrates the interworking of the language, that: "Sentences are not linear, they are frames of meaning radiating from core verbs" (Noodin and Sheldon, "Waasamodibaajibiigemaazoying," 94). For clarify and to avoid confusion with those not familiar with indigenous languages as verb-centered, I chose to create linearity out of the indigenous prose. See also: Margaret Noori, "Waasechibiiwaabikoonsing Nd'anami'aami, 'Praying through a Wired Window': Using Technology to Teach Anishinaabemowin," *SAIL*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Summer 2011), 7; Noodin and Sheldon, "Waasamodibaajibiigemaazoying," 88-90, 96. Roger Roulette's story is also quoted in: Erdrich, "*Name'*: Literary Ancestry as Presence," 13.

[102] Brock Pitawanakwat (Anishinaabe/Whitefish River First Nation) distinguished between "*dibaajmowin* (a personal account)" and "*aadsookaan* (a sacred story)" (Brock Pitawanakwat, "Anishinaabeg Studies: Creative, Critical, Ethical, and Reflexive," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 372). Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (Anishinaabe/Alderville First Nation) and Edna Manitowabi (Odawa/Ojibwe from Wiiwemikong, Mnidoo Minising First Nation) used the plural term *dibaajimowinan* (Leanne Betasamosake Simpson with Edna Manitowabi, "Theorizing Resurgence from within Nishnaabeg Thought," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, American Indian Studies Series (East Lansing and Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press and University of Manitoba Press, 2013),

Like the Myaamiaki (Miamis), the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) have a story of their emergence from the water, aided by animals. In the 1829 at Wapakoneta, Ohio, Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket), a Šaawanwa (Shawnee) born at Piqua at the turn of the century, retold the story that he had heard from Catahecassa (Black Hoof) many times. The story was about how the first Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) came to be. "Go-cum-tha (grandmother) of our people come [came] up out of the great salt water holding to the tail of the Ne-she-pe-she (Panther)," Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket) explained. "Her Wash-et-che (Husband) was carried to the shore by a very big Wa-be-the (Swan or Goose)."[103] The first Šaawanwa (Shawnee) people—Gocumtha (Grandmother) and Washetche (Husband)—made it to the land with the help of Neshepeshe (Panther) and Wabethe (Swan/Goose).

The Quapaws (Arkansas), who call themselves Okáxpa or Ogahpah, also had a story of migration (See Figure 1.25). The Okáxpas (Quapaws) and Wažažes (Osages) as well as other speakers of Dhegihan Sioux languages have stories of coming from the East, from the Ohio Valley, or as more specifically denoted occasionally, the mouth of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River. Bureau of American Ethnology professionals found among the southeastern Five Nations then residing in Indian Territory stories of the Okáxpas (Quapaws) and other Dhegihan communities living east of the Missouri River before the 1700s. According to one story, when reaching the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, the Okáxpas (Quapaws) had moved south, residing along the

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286). The Šaawanwa (Shawnee) equivalent of the Myaamia (Miami) aalhsoohkaakani is hatθohkaaka (Costa, "Miami-Illinois and Shawnee," 298, 300n12).

[103] Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket), "An Indian's Own Story" (1829-1831), transcribed and edited by John Allen Rayner (March 1886), Indian History MS Collection No. 590, Box 6, Subgroup 22, Series E, KSHS. Also available on *KSMEM*.

Arkansas River, while the Wažažes (Osages) continued further West.[104] According to Euro-American botanist and explorer Thomas Nuttall in the 1810s, an Okáxpa

[104] Joseph Bradfield Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of its Development from the Date of the First European Exploration down to the Present Time, including Accounts of the Indian Tribes, both Civilized and Wild, of the Cattle Ranges, of the Land Openings and the Achievements of the most Recent Period*, Vol. 1 (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1916), 10; John Rydjord, *Indian Place-Names: Their Origin, Evolution, and Meanings, Collected in Kansas from the Siouan, Algonquian, Shoshonean, Caddoan, Iroquoian, and Other Tongues* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 14; Charles E. DeLand, "Colonial Claims and South Dakota," in *South Dakota Historical Collections, Illustrated with Maps and Engravings, Compiled by the State Department of History*, Vol. 7 (Pierre, South Dakota: State Publishing Company, 1914), 62; Nettie Thompson Grove, "Fort Osage: First Settlement in Jackson County," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 57; Risë Supernaw Proctor, "Quapaw Language," *Quapaw Tribal Ancestry*, 2017, http://quapawtribalancestry.com/quapawlanguage/q/Quapaw.htm (accessed 3 December 2017); Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 61, 81-84, 223-224; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 50n14, 70, 91-96, 106n12, 246-247; Louis F. Burns, *A History of the Osage People* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 3-4; Aron, *American Confluence*, 8; Waggoner, *Witness*, 24, 590n3; Willard H. Rollings, *The Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 98-99; James Owen Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," *The American Naturalist*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (March 1886), 222; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 308; Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 79; Houck, *A History of Missouri*, Vol. 1, 170-171; Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The Quapaws (Those who went downstream)* (Miami, Oklahoma: Dixons, Incorporated, 1976; Reprint, Quapaw, Oklahoma: Quapaw Tribal Council, 1982; Reprint, Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, for the Dobson Museum, 1999), 1-21. On Sioux as an Odawa (Ottawa) word referring to those who speak a foreign language, see: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 399n106; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 447. Quote from: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 81. The difficulty here in discussing Dhegihan and Okáxpa (Quapaw) origins seems to be in the definition of Ohio Valley. While the Ohio Valley may include the whole expanse on both sides of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River, going all the way from Pennsylvania in the East to Missouri and Arkansas in the West, the conventional Ohio Valley today is mostly focused around the state of Ohio. The discrepancies also seem to come with conflating of the mouth of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River with the larger Ohio Valley. Dhegihan Sioux emergence from the Mississippi Valley, specifically near where it meets the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River, is perhaps more probable and more substantiated than origins in what is now called the Ohio Valley around the state of Ohio (Ohi:yo'). Their connections with the Myaamia-Peewaalia, then, seems to focus on the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River as being a way to travel to the Okáxpa (Quapaw) to the West and South of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River. While the Okáxpa (Quapaw) Nation's website explicitly denoted, "Ohio Valley," they also acknowledge moving down the Mississippi. The definition of the Ohio Valley, then is more expansive than what today is more commonly known as the Ohio Valley—the middle and upper part of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River. Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma, "Origin of Tribal Name," *Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma*, 2006-2017, http://www.quapawtribe.com/index.aspx?nid=401 (accessed 3 December 2017). Velma Seamster Nieberding did write of the Okáxpas (Quapaws) and their origins began along the Atlantic Ocean (Nieberding, *The Quapaws*, 1). For alternative spellings see: Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Part 2, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), 336; Stephen Return Riggs, *Dakota Grammar: With Texts and Ethnography* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893; Reprint, Saint Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004), 190; Stephen Return Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*, edited by James Owen Dorsey, Contributions to North American Ethnology Vol. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), 190, 193; Garrick Bailey, ed., *Traditions of the Osage: Stories Collected and Translated by Francis La Flesche* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 8-9. Parmenter described Okáxpas (Quapaws) living in the "lower Ohio valley prior to the Quapaws[']] [Okáxpas'] westward relocation to modern-day

(Quapaw) elder told the Indian agent at a treaty council that this people had come from the Mississippi River. They then journeyed down to the Missouri, but met rival Indian nations during their travels. According to the elder's story, "they had there divided, one party continuing down the Mississippi, and the other [going] up the miry river. The descending band were checked in their progress by the Kaskaskias [Kaahkaahkiaki], whose opposition they at length subdued." The Okáxpas (Quapaws) then "harassed by the Chic[k]asaws [Chikashas] and Choctaws [Chahtas], and waged war with them for some considerable time, but, at length, overcoming all opposition, they obtained the banks of the Arkansa[s], where they have remained ever since."[105] Like the other Indian nations, they too, had come from a confederation of many different Indian nations. Nuttall said the Okáxpa (Quapaws) came from the "confederated remnants of ruined tribes" including the Oyuapes (Okáxpas/Quapaws), Torimas, Topingas, Sothouis, and Kappas. Nuttall noted that even some Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking peoples such as the Michigamea came to live with the Okáxpas (Quapaws) in Arkansas Territory by the beginning of the nineteenth century.[106]

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southern Illinois" (Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 115). For a brief overview of Dhegihan cultures and languages see: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 140-142, 341-344.

[105] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 82; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 93. See also: Fay Hempstead, *A Pictorial History of Arkansas: From Earliest Times to the Year 1890. A Full and Complete Account, Embracing the Indian Tribes Occupying the Country; The Early French and Spanish Explorers and Governors; The Colonial Period; The Louisiana Purchase; The Periods of the Territory, The State, The Civil War, and The Subsequent Period. Also, An Extended History of Each County in the Order of Formation, and of The Principal Cities and Towns; Together with Biographical Notices of Distinguished and Prominent Citizens. Superbly Illustrated with Rare and Valuable Maps; A Full Collection of Portraits of Governors and Other Distinguished Men; And with Numerous Sketches, Drawings, Views and Scenes* (Saint Louis and New York: N. D. Thompson Publishing Company, 1890), 23.

[106] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 84; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 95; Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," 215, 222. Interestingly, when Nuttall asked Okáxpa (Quapaw) leader Heckaton about the origins of his nation, he did not have an answer for him (Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 95; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 105).

With the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) territory extending as far as the eastern portion of what is today Iowa and southern Illinois, the Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias), when raiding and traveling on hunting parties outside of the Wabash Valley, did have familiarity with the Okáxpas (Quapaws), Wažažes (Osages), and other Dhegihan-speaking peoples who eventually settled by the time of Euro-American contact to their West. Okáxpa (Quapaw) and Wažaže (Osage) stories of their move from the East also point to connections with tribes from the Ohio Valley. The difficulty in drawing definitive origin determinations with related Mississippian peoples, then, may be associated with the looseness of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River description and if it refers to the mouth of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River or further East. The Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias) call the Kaw or Kansa Indian people *kaansaki* and the Okáxpas (Quapaws) *kaahpaki*. The Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking people also call the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River *kaanseenseepiiwi*. This word, however, also closely resembles their word for pecan, *kaanseenseemini*. The Arkansas River, on the other hand, directly is directly associated with the *kaahpa*, being called *Kaahpa Siipiiwi*. The Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) linguistic evidence given by the seventeenth-century French missionary Jacques Gravier for Okáxpa (Quapaw) people residing along the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River, then, remains tenuous. More recent histories have focused the Okáxpa (Quapaw) and Umąhą (Omaha) origins at the mouth of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River—where the Mississippi meets the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) river at the southernmost tip of Illinois and where the state of Illinois separates Missouri and Kentucky. The word 'Missouri' itself comes from the name of a Chiwere Siouan nation known today as the Otoe-Missourias, as well as is a Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-

Peoria) word *mihsoori*, meaning big boat or canoe. The Okáxpas (Quapaws) and Umąhą (Omahas), like other Native nations, had later been pushed from the East by the Haudenosaunee. Scholars even recognize that the specifics seem to be less about geography and history but more about kinship relations and their shared connection as Mississippian peoples.[107] What can be sure, however, is that, regardless of the contested origins, the Dhegihan groups who ended up in the West by the time of European contact in what would become the states of Missouri and Arkansas— related and connected to each other—had at least intermittent interactions with Illinois and Ohio Valley Indians residing further East.[108]

While the Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking peoples' conflicts with the Haudenosaunee increased and their relationships with those people in the East were deteriorating, their connections with others in the West strengthened as a result. As far

[107] One good map showing the extend of Mississippian influence is from: F. Kent Reilly III, James F. Garber, and George E. Lankford," in *Visualizing the Sacred: Cosmic Visions, Regionalism, and the Art of the Mississippian World*, edited by George E. Lankford, F. Kent Reilly III, and James Garber, The Linda Schele Endowment in Maya and Pre-Columbian Studies Series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), xii, Map 1; Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 50, 140, 169-170, 173. The best bet for understanding the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria or Miami-Illinois) terminology given to the Okáxpas (Quapaws), then, would be best understood by going to the original Gravier dictionary to see how Gravier defined the word, as well as linguistic interpretations. See also: Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 290, 359-360; Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 3, 13-26; James A. Brown, "The Regional Culture Signature of the Braden Art Style," in *Visualizing the Sacred: Cosmic Visions, Regionalism, and the Art of the Mississippian World*, edited by George E. Lankford, F. Kent Reilly III, and James Garber, The Linda Schele Endowment in Maya and Pre-Columbian Studies Series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 39-40; Houck, *A History of Missouri*, Vol. 1, 107-173, 240. See also: Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri* (1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 298, 440, 480.

[108] Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 3-10, 20-22, 43-44, 85; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 81; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 91-92, 95; George Michael Ironstrack, "Peempaliyankwi Myaamionki—Walking Myaamionki," *Aacimotaatiiyankwi: A Myaamia Community Blog*, December 16, 2010, https://myaamiahistory.wordpress.com/2010/12/16/walking-myaamionki/ (accessed 4 December 2017). Nuttall described the Okáxpas (Quapaws) and Wažažes (Osages) as "naturally allied by the ties of consanguinity" (Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 86; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 96). Similarly, Burns described the Okáxpas (Quapaws) as "a kindred people to the Osages [Wažažes]" (Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 113).

back in time as the French explorer La Salle's expedition, Zenobius Membré noted in 1682 that after many skirmishes, at least temporarily, "of the seventeen Illinois [Peewaalia/Peoria] villages, the greater part had retired beyond the river Colbert [Mississippi River] among the Ozages [sic] [Osages/Wažažes], 200 leagues from their country, where a part of the Iroquois [Haudenosaunee] had pursued them."[109] Around the same time the Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias) reinforced their connections to each other in an alliance against the Haudenosaunee, visually embodied by the calumet dance.[110] From the Wažaže (Osage) point of view, the Wažažes' (Osages') incorporation of the calumet dance showed their unique connection made with Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) people. Wažaže (Osage) historian Louis Burns contended that the "only recorded account of Osages [Wažažes] singing a calumet among any other Indian people" was with the Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias). He argued, then, that, "[t]he rarity of Osages [Wažažes] sheltering the Illinois [Peewaaliaki/Peorias] and the singing of a calumet among them show a strong association between these two peoples."[111] From the Myaamia-Peewaalia

[109] Quoted in: Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 10. Also quoted in: Phil E. Chappell, "A History of the Missouri River," in *KSHS Transactions, 1905-1906*, 241.

[110] Louis Hennepin, "Hennepin's Narrative, from his 'La Louisiane of 1683," in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. 1, edited by Hiram W. Beckwith (Springfield: The H. W. Rokker Company, 1903), 92.

[111] Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 10. This is where perhaps, I diverged from other arguments. Myaamia (Miami) cultural leader George Ironstrack noted, "Prior to the 1800s, we had little in common with the Cherokee [Aniyunwiya], Quapaw [Okáxpas], and Osage [Wažažes]. In fact, at various points in our past they were all considered enemy groups. However, in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) they became our near neighbors. Other new neighbors included members of the extended 'family' alliance system that preceded removal (Peoria [Peewaaliaki], Ottawa [Odawas], Eastern Shawnee [Šaawanwaki], Wyandotte [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s], and Seneca-Cayuga [Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka]). By the late 1800s, all of these communities shared a similar experience of loss, multiple forced removals, and oppression. It comes as no surprise to be that they developed a sense of camaraderie" (Ironstrack, x, 197-198). Perhaps this because of Wažaže (Osage) sources counter the idea of total enemy relationships. Like Ironstrack mentioned, "various points in our past"—meant flexibility and adaptation to kinship and relationships. Enemies often became friends and allies, and were not always enemies. As many Native scholars have shared a caution of pan-Indianism, perhaps, this too, contributed to the development of this view. Perhaps the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and the

(Miami-Peoria) point-of-view, this dance was normal and routine, a signature dance for their peoples. The Okáxpas (Quapaws) also had a Pipe Dance, or Calumet Dance, and it connected them in the eighteenth century to the Illinois, a division of the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) people, and namesake of the state of Illinois. As the French Jesuits observed, the calumet dance as "very famous among these [Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria)] Indians." The uses of the dance were numerous, but only for special occasions. "[P]erformed only for important matters, sometimes to strengthen a peace or to assemble for some great war" the Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) performed the calumet dance. The dance could also be used for diplomacy and interactions with foreign nations, as the Jesuits noted: "sometimes they do this honor to a nation who is invited to be present; sometimes they use it to receive some important personage."[112] This dance, then, showed how the Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking peoples from what would become the state of Illinois, interacted with other tribal nations, making relatives of each other. Even though conflicts with the Haudenosaunee destroyed much of any intertribal community in the East, the Native nations cultivated connections with Okáxpas (Quapaws) and others in the West. Interactions were not always peaceful, as occasional conflicts did arise, but since the 1700s the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) and Dhegihan communities remained in their interactions relatively peaceful overall. Even into the 1800s, Thomas Nuttall had

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other small Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) nations had greater interaction with the Okáxpas (Quapaws) and Wažažes (Osages), on the 'borders' of Ohio Valley. Wažaže (Osage) sources, then, indicate longer interaction besides just the twentieth century.

[112] Jacques Marquette, "French Explorations, 1673-1682: Voyages and Discoveries of Father James Marquette in the Mississippi Valley. Part of John G. Shea's translation, with explanatory notes," in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. 1, edited by Hiram W. Beckwith (Springfield: The H. W. Rokker Company, 1903), 27-28; Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The Quapaws (Those who went downstream)* (Miami, Oklahoma: Dixons, Incorporated, 1976; Reprint, Quapaw, Oklahoma: Quapaw Tribal Council, 1982; Reprint, Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, for the Dobson Museum, 1999), 23-27.

been told of the "friendship which they [the Peewaaliaki/Peorias] cultivated, about a century ago, with the Osages [Wažažes], and the Arkansas [Okáxpas/Quapaws]."[113]

Kinship adoption and alliances had long served as survival strategies and responses to community disruptions such as conflict, warfare, and disease. The most notable example of this is the mid-seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Haudenosaunee adoption of outsiders that surged and culminated during what is now called The Beaver Wars, and which mostly dissipated with the international treaty of The Great Peace of Montréal (1701). Fur trade competition, especially for the very lucrative but increasingly scarce and elusive beaver pelts, instigated this intensity of warfare. To the Haudenosaunee warfare was a way of maintaining balance, both in keeping a constant population and in aiding emotional healing after the loss of a loved one. The mourning-wars were a way to ease the pain of bereavement and sorrow with the loss by "replacing the dead." The mourning-wars were also a means of obtaining a stable population. By collecting captives to become adopted into the society to replace dead relatives or family, the Haudenosaunee could sustain some sort of 'balance' in the size and arrangement of the community. The Haudenosaunee and other tribal nations had a long history of adoption and incorporation of kin which continued to shape the composition of their communities.[114]

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[113] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 251; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 280. Also quoted in: Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 10. See also: Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 10-11, 95; Elias Durand, "Biographical Notice of the Late Thomas Nuttall," in *Memoir of the Late Thomas Nuttall* [From *The Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 7 (1860): 297-315] (Philadelphia: C. Sherman & Son, Printers, 1860), 6-8.

[114] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, ix, 14, 271-275, 275n2, 276-281; Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *WMQ*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (October 1983), 529, 536, 539, 554, 558. Quote from: Richter, "War and Culture," 536. See also: Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 40-42, 46, 51; Bedford and Workman, "The Great Law of Peace," 103; Kalter, "Finding a Place for David Cusick," 18; Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio*, 47-57; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of*

The northeastern Indian nations and other indigenous societies also had a long history of alliances and had established an elaborate set of diplomatic protocols. This was built from the beginning of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Ohio Valley treaty negotiations before Removal. Legal historian and Lumbee scholar Robert Williams, Jr. described this as "ancient diplomatic connections and alliances with other tribes." He explained that the historical evidence indicates that although post-contact histories "accelerated the pace and evolution of intertribal diplomacy," Native communities had already established intricate protocols for diplomatic relations with each other.[115] It was a "language," one "spoken in symbols, metaphors, stories, and rituals." Out of this came "an amazingly rich and complex specialized 'language' of diplomacy had developed among Indian peoples prior to European contact."[116] The Great Lakes and Ohio Valley indigenous communities had a long history of alliances and diplomacy, as well as social, economic, and political exchange.

Tribal nations have for a long time shaped their own geo-politics among each other and the outside world. Scholar of indigenous literature and rhetoric Mark Rifkin has insisted the need for inquiry of, "how Indigenous nations map their own geopolitics—both in terms of their sense of selfhood and their relations with other

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Diplomacy, 17, 106-108; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 6-10; Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xliii-xlv, 41-62. For more on early Haudenosaunee conflicts with other Native nations, as well as adoptions of outsiders, see: Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*; Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*.

[115] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 33-34, 36. See also: Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 2; Daniel Heath Justice, "Rhetorical Removals," *SAIL*, Series 2, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Winter 2005), 147-148.

[116] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 36.

peoples."[117] The tribal communities in the Old Northwest and the Ohio Valley had a long history of intertribal interactions and community building by the eighteenth century. This is illustrated visually by the complexity of mapping tribal histories in this area. Historian Helen Hornbeck Tanner in the late twentieth century called the early Ohio country the "most singularly unexplored area of Indian history in the eastern United States." Historically, scholars and geographers titled the Ohio Valley "an 'ill-defined region,'" as a place with political consequences as Euro-Americans believed it to be uninhabited by permanent settlement.[118]

Seventeenth-century warfare with the Haudenosaunee scattered many Algonquian-speaking communities out of the Ohio Valley. Algonquians moved north and westward, seeking refuge among familiar faces and related kin.[119] Scholars have debated the extent of seventeenth-century Algonquian community fragmentation and disintegration, especially spurred by the publication of Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (1990).

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[117] Rifkin, "Remapping the Family of Nations," 2.

[118] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 104. See also more about the "information vacuum" (p. 17): G. Malcolm Lewis, "First Nations Mapmaking in the Great Lakes Region in Intercultural Contexts: A Historical Review," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Mapping in Michigan and the Great Lakes Region [Part 1] (Fall 2004), 17-18. For more on the difficulties of Great Lakes mapping, see: Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 5-8, 163n14.

[119] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 65, 106; David La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 30-31; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 250-251; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 279-280. The commonly-held belief by scholars is that the Haudenosaunee pushed many Algonquian-speaking peoples out of the Ohio Valley and in towards the Great Lakes, away from their historic homelands. Alan G. Shackelford has recently argued that the Illinois migration from Ohio to Lake Michigan and the Prairie Peninsula predated the Iroquois incursion. The people were drawn to the prairies "by the assets and attractions of the region, not forced out of Ohio by the Five Nations." Alan G. Shackelford, "The Illinois Indians in the Confluence Region: Adaption in a Changing World," in *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest*, edited by R. David Edmunds (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 27. The immense disruption caused by warfare with the Haudenosaunee, however, remains the most accepted narrative of Algonquian migrations in the seventeenth century.

White argued that the 'middle ground' was not necessarily a physical but rather a figurative place of accommodation based upon differing perceptions and expectations of each other. This included new protocols and relationships often based upon mutual misunderstandings.[120] White described a middle ground amidst the backdrop of the late seventeenth-century Haudenosaunee wars against Algonquians. According to him, the French 'stepped in' as mediators. He explained that after these wars, these Algonquian-speaking refugees "created a common identity as children of Onontio [the French Father]."[121] Historian Heidi Bohaker contended that despite the disintegration of communities and the formation of refugee coalitions, tribal identity and kinship still held sway in her article entitled "*Nindoodemag*: The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701." Bohaker recognized the complex mobility patterns of the people who migrated upward towards the Great Lakes under pressure from the Haudenosaunee. She claimed that Algonquian communities were made of "far more resilient material than [White's depiction of] the shattered glass."[122] Michael N. McConnell also argued that the Native communities of

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[120] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History Series (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1995); Philip Joseph Deloria, "What Is the Middle Ground, Anyway?" *WMQ*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (January 2006), 15; Merrell, *Into the American Woods*; Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio*, 49.

[121] White, *Middle Ground,* xi. See also White's metaphor of the French who prevented the Indians from becoming "planets without a sun… [with] nothing to keep them in their orbits" (White, *Middle Ground*, 274). Although Gilles Havard agreed with White's argument that the French were responsible for the formation of an Algonquian alliance, he argued in *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701* that the Great Lakes nations were more important than the French in the creation of the peace. See: Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century,* translated by Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 78, 88, 166.

[122] Heidi Bohaker, "*Nindoodemag*: The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701," *WMQ*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (January 2006), 39, 46, 50. White, *Middle Ground,* 18-19. This refers to White's metaphor of the 'shattered' society. He contended that Algonquians, "together with the Frenchmen… pieced together a new world from shattered pieces. They used what amounted to an imported imperial glue to reconstruct a village empire" out of the destruction created by the "Iroquois hammer" (White, *Middle Ground,* 2). Stephen Aron also followed White's idea that the French provided the cohesion. Aron argued, "But unlike the Osages [Wažažes], who kept their

the Upper Ohio Valley were "not a hodgepodge of refugees" but "kin-based societies whose subsequent histories included the successful re-creation of familiar ways in a new country."[123] The aftermath of this Algonquian diaspora allowed tribal communities to resituate themselves and return to lands and neighbors with which they already had much familiarity and connection.

For a long time, the Ohio country was left for multiple use, as a mutually-shared tribal hunting ground. It was not until the eighteenth century that Algonquian and Iroquoian communities resettled the Ohio Valley. A multitude of tribal communities would call the Ohio Valley their home as well as their shared hunting grounds. A visual example of the shared landscape of the Ohio Valley is the contemporary Myaamia (Miami) map of designating their homelands with names of tribes inhabiting areas around the borders and across the lands (See Figures 1.26 and 1.27). While their origin story is centered around the Seven Pillars (aašipehkwa waawaalici), the Myaamiaki (Miamis) share the watershed around the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River with the Peewaalia (Peoria), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Waayaahtanwa (Wea), Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), Meskwa (Meškwa, plural Meskwaki or Mesquakie, Red-Earth People, or Foxes), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Ojibwe (Chippewa), Odawa (Ottawa), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) peoples. By the eighteenth century the Lenape (Delaware), Shotinontowane'á:ka

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kinship lines intact while moving west, the various Algonquian villagers who reassembled between the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi valley did so in towns that were far more diverse than those they had left behind. In many cases, existing kinship ties and established lines of authority had fragmented, leaving already depleted tribes even more vulnerable" (Aron, *American Confluence*, 17).

[123] Historian Michael McConnell contended that over time Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Haudenosaunee came to view the Ohio region as their own. With less regard for their own kinfolk outside of the Ohio country, these people developed their own "regional interests" (Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 121). See also: McConnell, *A Country Between*, 3, 20, 79-80, 121.

(Senecas), and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) occupied eastern portions of the Ohio Valley.[124] Although centered at saakiiweeyonki, the "Coming out place" what is now

[124] Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio*, 55-58; Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 106, 111; Lewis, "First Nations Mapmaking in the Great Lakes Region," 17-18. See also: Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 128; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas* (1939; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 493; William Clark, *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark,* edited by James J. Holmberg, Yale Western Americana Series (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, Published in association with The Filson Historical Society, 2002), 261. The dismissive, avoiding language that the Yale edition of Clark's *Dear Brother* used is appalling—there is no mention of forced removal by 1830s nor any indication of the pressures to remove West, instead it described more amicable 'drifting' and 'moving' westward. This often continues, even in the present day. For example: at the NMAI, SI. See: NMAI, SI, "The Removal Act," *Americans*, 2018, https://nmai.si.edu/americans/#stories/the-removal-act (accessed 12 January 2018). Richard White was also influential in triggering the debates surrounding the description of the immense intertribal communities in the Ohio Valley, providing the momentum for historians to explore other theories of group migrations. White argued that the "lure of abundant game" in the 'empty' areas created by Algonquian-Iroquoian wars of the seventeenth century pushed many communities back into the Ohio Valley in the eighteenth century (White, *Middle Ground*, 187). See also: White, *Middle Ground,* 34, 48-49, 187. Scholars today continue to discuss the contestation of territoriality and place, depending on the chronology discussed. Ethnohistorian Susan Sleeper-Smith criticized the contemporary twenty-first-century Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) mapping project which labeled 'Myaamia/Miami places' and envisioned what she termed the "static map[ping] of territories." Her objection was that this fixed geography was not the historic case, where the fluidity of both migration and identities made the assertion of borders and territories difficult. Susan Sleeper-Smith, "Terrorism and the Natural Landscape: Capturing Indian Women," Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Ethnohistory, Eugene, Oregon, November 15, 2008; Brett Governanti, "The Myaamia Mapping Project" (Master of Environmental Science Thesis, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 2005). Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin's work addressed the complicated problems of establishing Native land ownership in the Ohio Valley, especially among the influential tribes of the Six Nations. Scholars such as Downes described an Iroquoian "dominance" and "supremacy" over the Native communities in the Ohio Valley. Downes explained that Delaware (Lenape), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) occupied their homelands as "vassals of the Iroquois," and claimed they had decided to vacate these lands without consulting their "overlords." He suggested that they had "the effrontery to appropriate for their new homes[,] lands that belonged by right of conquest to these same overlords" (Quotes from: Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969)*,* 19-20, 45, 94). Voegelin instead argued that this idea of Iroquoian conquest over the Ohio was a "'classic' viewpoint taken by Iroquoianists" of which she was skeptical. Voegelin contended that the Ohio Valley was not the main hunting grounds of the Six Nations, and although the Haudenosaunee did travel on the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River at times, Ohio was not directly under Iroquoian dominance. Voegelin argued that Iroquoian conquest was a "politically-inspired myth" unsupported by fact. Quotes from: Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, "Before the Indian Claims Commission, Docket Nos. 13-G (Chippewa) et al. Def. Ex. No. 538. An Ethnohistorical Report on the Indian Use and Occupancy of Royce Area 11, Ohio and Indiana, ceded by 'the tribes of Indians, called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chip[p]ewas, Putawatimes, Miamis, Eel-river, Weea's, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias' pursuant to the Treaty of Greenville on August 3, 1795," in *Indians of Ohio and Indiana Prior to 1795. The Greeneville Treaty 1795 [by] Helen Hornbeck Tanner. Ethnohistory of Indian Use and Occupancy in Ohio and Indiana Prior to 1795 [by] Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, in two volumes, Volume 1* (New York: Garland Publishing, Incorporated, 1974), 55, 194, 251, 393-395, 460-463. Historian Amy Schutt explained that: "Sharing physical space had been a crucial component of alliance building [for the Lenape] since early times in homeland regions. They also forged wider connections that included Shawnees [Šaawanwaki],

the state of Indiana, the Myaamiaki (Miamis) also bordered, lived, and interacted with other indigenous communities throughout their history.[125] As scholar of Lenape (Delaware) history Amy Schutt explained, "Indian peoples continued to share territories and absorb members from other Native groups in the eighteenth century."[126]

By the eighteenth century many different indigenous tribal identities and nations shared the Ohio Valley. A variable and changing group of Native inhabitants made their home in the area bordering the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River, which the Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call the kaanseenseepiiwi. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Odawas (Ottawas), Lenape (Delawares), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), Conoys, Nanticokes, as well as the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy frequented the region. It was, as Tanner described in her seminal work, the *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (1987), an area of "shifting factions, coalitions, and European alliances."[127] Since Tanner's publication several decades of historiography have filled in many of the gaps and began to sort out the 'muddiness' of the description of the Ohio Valley, illustrating the unique development of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century multicultural communities. An astonishing complexity, diversity, and interracial, multicultural composition of the Ohio

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Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat], Ohio Iroquois [Haudenosaunee], and Cherokees [Aniyunwiya]" (Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 149). Schutt also explained that, "The phrase to 'sit down' connoted alliance building as well as peacemaking in general. It also implied the act of sharing physical space" (Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 175). For Sauk being perhaps a shortened form, see: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 401n137.

[125] Bright, *Native American Placenames*; David J. Costa, "Miami-Illinois Tribe Names," in *Papers of the Thirty-First Algonquian Conference*, edited by John D. Nichols (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2000), 31-53; For Meskwaki (Foxes) terminology and alternative spellings, see: Truman Michelson, "ANTHROPOLOGY.—*Some general notes on the Fox Indians*," 483-494.

[126] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 116.

[127] Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), xiii; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 105-106; Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 50.

Valley community located itself in the area known as "The Glaize" (Auglaize, around present-day Defiance, Ohio). The area was a polylingual, multiethnic Šaawanwa-Lenape-Myaamia (Shawnee-Delaware-Miami) community with French and African-American kinship ties.[128] A diverse crowd of tribal peoples settled in the Ohio Valley, intermarrying, living together, and establishing their own families and communities. By the time of forced removal, Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Lenape (Delawares), Odawas (Ottawas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) all lived in northwestern and western Ohio.[129]

When displaced by warfare and violence, tribal members often found solace and refuge among indigenous territory strongholds remaining in the Ohio Valley. After the 1782 slaughter of at least ninety Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, the Christian Indians who survived found refuge among other communities. As Schutt explained, "they utilized the familiar practice of turning to Indian neighbors, who shared territories with them." Many went to live among Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), or Anishinaabeg. One Mahican known only by the

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[128] Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "The Glaize in 1792: A Composite Indian Community," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter 1978), 17, 35. See also: Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 125, 128; Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers*, 152.

[129] With the creation of the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 historians and anthropologists found a new impetus for mapping Ohio Valley land use and occupancy and a description of early Ohio Valley communities and intertribal interactions grew. The ICC was a means for Native nations to file suit against the federal government for past annuity and treaty violations and necessitated anthropologists, historians, and archaeologists to serve as 'expert witnesses' and researchers to compile ample historical documentation for both the federal government and tribal plaintiffs. See: Erminie W. Voegelin, "An Ethnohistorian's Viewpoint," *Ethnohistory,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (November 1954), 168; Philip Joseph Deloria, "Historiography," in *A Companion to American Indian History,* edited by Philip Joseph Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 14-15; Daniel K. Richter, "Whose Indian History?" *WMQ*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (April 1993), 380; Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "The Political Context of a New Indian History," *Pacific Historical Review,* 40 (1971), 350-360; Axtell, "Ethnohistory," 1-4; R. David Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995," *American Historical Review* (June 1995), 725; Daniel L. Boxberger, "Confessions of a (Reluctant) Forensic Ethnohistorian," Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Ethnohistory, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 3, 2009.

English name Mark, often called Mahican Mark, had said that, "the Miamis [Myaamiaki] 'had given him a district to live on.'"

Historical records report that the Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Odawas (Ottawas) had "given the Delawares land" and allowed Lenape (Delaware) peoples places to live around the Wabash and Maumee rivers, waterways that the Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call(ed) waapaahšiiki siipiiwi and taawaawa siipiiwi (literally the Odawa river) respectively. Interestingly, the Odawas (Ottawas) call(ed) the Maumee river, Maamiig Ziibi (the Miami river). Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) permitted the Lenape (Delaware) to live between the Ohio and White rivers in what is now the state of Indiana in around 1770. The Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) nations call(ed) the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River Kaanseenseepiiwi (as previously noted) and the White River Waapikamiki.[130] The Myaamia town of Kiihkayonki, also called Kekionga and present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana, became a shared space with Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Lenape (Delawares) by the late eighteenth century (See Figure 1.28). Another Myaamia (Miami) village, Pinkwi Mihtoseeniaki, often called Pickawillany, was also established around neighboring Algonquian nations such as the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). According to Schutt, land agreements for Native people served as ways to solidify relationships with each other and one way of doing that was to create a shared space in the aftermath of conflict.[131]

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[130] Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, *myaamiaatawaakani (Myaamia Dictionary)*, Version 2.1.2 (2016); Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 173-177; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 84; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 17. Quotes from: Schutt, *Peoples of the River* Valleys, 173, 177; Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio*, 112; Sherman, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions*, 97-105. On Stockbridges and Munsees joining Lenape (Delawares) and Ojibwe (Chippewas) in Kansas, see: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 316, 336-338. Gnadenhütten means 'Tabernacle of Grace' in German, and was named by the missionaries in 1772 (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 155). See also: Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 155, 272-273, 537, 565.

[131] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 178, Figure 9; Ebenezer Denny, *Military Journal of*

The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) tell a story of how at the end of the 1740s a group of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) came to live near them, along the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River. The story speaks of meeting unrelated Native neighbors seeking refuge and provided them shelter and protection. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) historian Peter Dooyentate Clarke related how the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) saw an unfamiliar Native party canoeing down the Scioto River: "'Hey!' exclaimed the Wyandott [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandotte] Chief, when the strange fleet came within hailing distance, 'of what nation are you?' 'Shawnees [Šaawanwaki]!' was the response."

When asked where they were going, the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) said they were uncertain. "'[W]e have been driven from one place to another, and some of our people slain by a hostile tribe of Indians, and we have concluded to leave our last place of adobe down on the Mississippi, (probably at what is now Natchez) and seek some other country; even now, our enemies may be in pursuit of us,'" Clarke recounted being the Šaawanwaki's (Shawnee's) reply. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) answered: "'Come ashore… and we will protect you… and take possession of the country, for your future homes," pointing out lands down the river where they could go and settle.[132] This story, then, is one such example of Native nations assisting each other in times of need and hardship.

Major Ebenezer Denny, An Officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars. With an Introductory Memoir (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Company, for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1859), Map between pages 146 and 147; George Michael Ironstrack, "From the Ashes: One Story of the Village of *Pinkwi Mihtohseeniaki*" (Master of Arts Thesis, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 2006), 3, 15, 50; Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 54. Also Schutt discussed the notion of "land as process" (Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 40). See also: Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 32-40, 69-70.

[132] Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 35-36. Quotes from: Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 36.

Likewise, the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) recounted how they came to live near the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in the Ohio country by the eighteenth century. In 1829 at Wapakoneta, Ohio, Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket) shared with the Indian agent their connections with Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in the Ohio country, north of what he called the "Great Se-pe," the Great River, the Ohio River. "Here we were given much land by our brothers. the Wyandots, We built many towns and lived long time in pease [sic], till the white men behind the Great Se-pe (River) tried to drive us away." After rebuilding their towns after many of their villages were burned to the ground during the conflicts that came to be known as the Seven Years' War (1754-1763), commonly and colloquially called the 'French and Indian War.' Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket) commented in 1829, "many died in the winter from hungry [hunger] and cold, though our brithers [sic], the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s], gave us some corn and beans" that ensured their survival despite the dark and despairing times.[133] Kinship connections between the Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) and the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) nations allowed not only opportunities of convenience but also ensured basic subsistence and survival.

In the historical record, polylingual Native communities spoke to each other in each other's languages, often with the assistance of interpreters or the understanding of mutual cognates and the recognition of commonly shared words. They also used a Native sign language to cross larger linguistic barriers. The 1740s interaction with the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), as detailed by Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) historian Peter Dooyentate Clarke, was possible with the

[133] Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket), "An Indian's Own Story" (1829-1831), transcribed and edited by John Allen Rayner (March 1886), Indian History MS Collection No. 590, Box 6, Subgroup 22, Series E, KSHS. Also available on *KSMEM*.

practice of indigenous sign language. The communication "was made known and understood to each other by signs with the hands," Peter Dooyentate Clarke explained.[134] In the Arkansas Territory in the 1810s, Nuttall commented how sign language was the shared indigenous form of communication. Regarding the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Nuttall said: "These Indians possess the same symbolical or pantomimic language, as that which is employed by most of the nations with which I have become acquainted. It appears to be a compact invented by necessity, which gives that facility to communication denied to oral speech."[135] For a long time until at least the early nineteenth century, Indian sign language remained prominent and widespread among and across Native communities.

Wampum and diplomacy with surrounding communities continued to have significance for the Native communities in the Ohio Valley into the eighteenth century. Although historic geographer G. Malcolm Lewis called a late-eighteenth-century wampum example a rare "representation of areal space," its symbolism is arguably greater significance than its record of geography. In 1793 at an Iroquoian and Algonquian council meeting at Ononta'ke (Onondaga), a speaker known only by the English name Farmer's Boy, displayed a unique circular wampum representing the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), Myaamiaki (Miamis), and Haudenosaunee Five Nations. This 'Farmer's Boy' is probably a misnomer of Farmer's Brother—a late-eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century Shotinontowane' (Seneca) treaty signer named Honayawus (also spelled Onayawos or Onaywos). Accordingly, he held up "a belt of white wampum, made in a circular form,

[134] Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 36.
[135] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 42.

representing their place of meeting as in the centre [Beaver Creek], and crossed by four stripes of black wampum, representing all their confederates, East, West, North and South."[136] G. Malcolm Lewis himself recognized the resemblance to the Haudenosaunee's council circle wampum (See Figure 1.29).

In the annual reenactment of the origins of the league each tribal royaner were to hold their representative strand as the Haudenosaunee passed around the circle wampum. Holding on to the wampum, "taking hold of the string is consent." Similarly, then, this wampum of the Myaamiaki (Miamis), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Haudenosaunee, then ought to have had, at its inception, been handled by each respective nation to grant consensus to the wampum record of peace and respect.[137] Additionally, the Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) had always utilized and still do employ the word *watrihwiHs?ő́hsra?* for treaties. Roughly translated from Kaion'ke (Cayuga) into its meaning in English—"the completed matter"—serves to stress negotiation and the arrival of community consensus.[138] Native communities also exchanged new wampum. Some wampum, such as this example here, even had easily identifiable patterns that connected them to earlier wampum such as the founding of the Haudenosaunee league itself.

Despite being removed far from their original homelands, some indigenous peoples successfully built formidable alliances with others in this region of occupied, overlapping territories. The Odawa (Ottawa) leader Bwandiag (Pontiac) in 1763

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[136] Quoted in: G. Malcolm Lewis, "Intracultural Mapmaking by First Nations Peoples in the Great Lakes Region: A Historical Review," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring 2006), 6-7. For more on Native mapmaking see: Lewis, "First Nations Mapmaking in the Great Lakes Region," 18, 20-21; Mark Warhus, *Another America: Native American Maps and the History of Our Land* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 109-113.

[137] Lewis, "Intracultural Mapmaking," 6-7; John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League*, xxx, Figure 3.

[138] Michael K. Foster, "On Who Spoke First at Iroquois-White Councils," 184.

successfully defeated British troops and captured numerous forts with their allies. Throughout the eighteenth century Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Myaamia (Miami), Odawa (Ottawa), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Ojibwe (Chippewa), Meskwa (Fox), Lenape (Delaware), and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) warriors all fought together against the British from time to time from the mid-seventeenth century into the nineteenth.[139] Often called the Western Confederacy (or named Miami Confederacy because it came to be led by Myaamia (Miami) leader Mihšihkinaahkwa (Little Turtle)), a formidable group of Myaamia (Miami), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), Haudenosaunee, Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Odawa (Ottawa), Ojibwe (Chippewa), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), Meskwa (Fox), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), and other Native peoples joined together and fought against the Americans in the 1790s.

A group of Native leaders and warriors met at Upper Sandusky, a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) town, in September of 1783 and historians have often ascribed this as the beginning of the formal Indian confederacy.[140] The indigenous alliances

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[139] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 109-110; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 21; Connelley, "The Wyandots," in *PGNT-JWW*, 3-4; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 392.

[140] Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio*, 88-91; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 27; Malea D. Powell, "Down by the River," 39; Colin G. Calloway, "Suspicion and Self-Interest: The British-Indian Alliance and the Peace of Paris," *The Historian*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (November 1985), 56-57; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 4; Aron, *American Confluence*, 69-71; William Clark, *Dear Brother*, 19-23; Caleb Atwater, *A History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil,* First Edition (Cincinnati: Glezen & Shepard, 1838), 133-144; Paul David Nelson, "Western Indian Confederacy," in *The Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Early American Republic, 1783-1812: A Political, Social, and Military History*, edited by Spencer C. Tucker (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 739; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Sarah E. Miller, "Indian Leadership and Consensus Opinion in the Old Northwest Territory," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (2009), 67-77; Wiley Sword, *President Washington's Indian War: The Struggle for the Old Northwest, 1790-1795* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985); Patrick Bottiger, *The Borderland of Fear: Vincennes, Prophetstown, and the Invasion of the Miami Homeland*, Borderlands and Transcultural Studies Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016); Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio*, 283. See also: Raymond O. White, Jr. (Myaamia/Miami), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, March 6, 1993, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell,

culminated in the most famous indigenous resistance movement in north America in the late eighteenth century that was that lead by the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) military leader Tecumthe (Tecumseh) and his brother Tenskwatawa (The Open Door, or The Prophet), previously called Lalawethika (The Noise Maker). This pan-Indian resistance, centered at the multi-tribal village of Prophetstown, attracted Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Ojibwes (Chippewas), Odawas (Ottawas), Menominees, Winnebagos (Hocąk), and others to their anti-Anglo-American military coalition, until Tecumthe's (Tecumseh's) death in 1813.[141]

Sometime around the second half of the seventeenth century many Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) moved westward into Pennsylvania and Ohio. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), led by Nicolas Orontony and Angouriot, moved to Sandusky—called in the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) language *tsaʔ^{n}dúhstiʔ* (also spelled as *sa'ndesti* or Sandouske), place of "good drinking water," in the 1730s. A decade later

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and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 275.

[141] R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983; Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 28-34, 48-56; R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership*, Second Edition, Library of American Biography Series (New York: Pearson Longman, 1984; Reprint, New York: Pearson Longman, 2007), 22, 43, 73-81, 126-128; Timothy D. Willig, "Prophetstown on the Wabash: The Native Spiritual Defense of the Old Northwest," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Fall 1997), 115-117; Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio*, 192-199; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 109-111, 118-120; Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, Plate 214. On Winnebago (Hocąk) self-designations, including 'Ho-Chunk' see: Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 569; Johannes Helmbrecht and Christian Lehmann, eds., *Hocąk Teaching Materials: Volume 1, Elements of Grammar / Learner's Dictionary*, North American Native Peoples, Past and Present Series (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 1. Tecumthe's (Tecumseh)'s name has been translated in English many different ways: "flies across," "shooting star," etc., therefore I will stick to the translation that provides an English meaning easy to understand: "(Panther) Flies Across" to indicate implications of a panther without being a part of the official translation. See also: John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1997), 23; Don Greene, *Shawnee Heritage I: Shawnee Genealogy and Family History* (Morrisville, North Carolina: Lulu Press, Incorporated, 2008), 408-409; Virgil J. Vogel, *Indian Names in Michigan* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1986), 63-65; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 485.

some Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) would move even further south.[142] Eventually they would invite other Native groups, when faced with conflict and removal, to come and live next to them. In 1817, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) permitted the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) to live near them on the Sandusky River, giving them 40,000 acres. As Oklahoman and historian Grant Foreman wrote: "The grateful Seneca [Shotinontowane'á:ka] told their benefactors that if at any time in the future misfortune should overtake them, they would take them in as brothers and give them a home." This would prove useful three decades later, when the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) would cede some of their lands in what is now the state of Oklahoma to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). The group of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) began to be called "Mingos," and eventually became known as the "Senecas of Sandusky." They were a diverse mix of people and included Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), Kanastokas (Conestogas), Susquehannock, Conoy, Tutelo, Nanticoke, Erie (Eriehronon), Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks), Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas), Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Tehatiskaró:ros (Tuscaroras) who would reside at the small forty-thousand-acre reservation in Ohio.[143]

Many Algonquian and Iroquoian communities came to call Ohio home. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), called 'the Mixed Band of

[142] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 110; White, *The Middle Ground*, 187-201; Brian Joseph Gilley, *A Longhouse Fragmented: Ohio Iroquois Autonomy in the Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 18-19; Gregory Evans Dowd, "Wag the Imperial Dog: Indians and Overseas Empires in North America, 1650-1776," in *A Companion to American Indian History*, edited by Philip Joseph Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 59-60; Kern and Gregory S. Wilson*, Ohio*, 57-59; Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 36-38. For the etymology of Sandusky, Ohio: Richard Zane Smith in discussion with the author, 3 November 2017. See also: Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 418.

[143] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 196-197; Kern and Gregory S. Wilson*, Ohio*, 55-57. William Bright explained that the Pennsylvania placename came from the Lenape (Delaware) word for some Iroquoian-speaking neighbors, and in the Munsee (mé:nkwe:w) and Unami (ménkwe) dialects translate as 'treacherous (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 288). See also: Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 136.

Senecas and Shawnees,' obtained a reservation at Lewistown, Ohio, named for Quitewepea, Captain Lewis (See Figure 1.30).[144] Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) lived on three reservations in western Ohio by the early nineteenth century: Lewistown, Wapakoneta, and Hog Creek. Mekoče (Mekoche or Maykujay) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) led by Catahecassa (Black Hoof) resided at Wapakoneta (See Figures 1.31 and 1.32). The Mixed Band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) of Ohio lived at Lewistown. The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) stayed in the northern part of the reservation, while the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) lived in the southern portion (See Figure 1.33). Odawas (Ottawas) resided on reservations in the northwestern part of the state of Ohio, along the banks of the Maumee River (the Myaamiaki called this river taawaawa siipiiwi, the Odawas river), at Blanchard's Fork, Roche de Bœuf, and Oquanoxa's (or Oquanoxie's) Village.[145]

By the eve of forced removal the federal Indian policy of the 1830s the Native communities had developed strength and tradition in their kinship strategies and treaty

[144] I struggled between numerous Ohio maps depicting Indian reservations. One of Native Towns in Ohio, 1742-1831 showed seasonal camps and permanent settlements (Jennings, "Iroquois Alliances in American History," 60). Another showed both eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century land cessions as well as Native towns (Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, Map Between pp. 80-81). While none of the Ohio Valley maps I found included all the necessary visual indicators I desired, Stockwell's Map 2 did a good job of detailing the northern Ohio reservations—Hog Creek and Wapakoneta Šaawanwa (Shawnee) villages, various Odawa (Ottawa) lands in the north, Lewiston Shotinontowane'á:ka and Šaawanwaki (Senecas and Shawnees), and Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)) reservations (Mary Stockwell, *The Other Trail of Tears: The Removal of the Ohio Indians* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2014), 80, Map 2). I settled on Figure 1.30.

[145] Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, *myaamiaatawaakani (Myaamia Dictionary)*, Version 2.1.2 (2016); Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 257, 547; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 355-359; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide*, 34-35, 58-59; Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 240-245; Rennard Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 4-5, 32; August C. Mahr, "Shawnee Names and Migrations in Kentucky and West Virginia," *Ohio Journal of Science*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (May 1960), 155; Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1996), 29; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 43-44, 97-99; Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1995), 131; Connelley, "The Wyandots," *Ontario Archæological Report 1899*, 94; Keating, *Iroquois Art, Power, and History*, 144-146. Sometimes Lewistown and Lewiston are used interchangeably. Lewistown, Ohio is in Washington Township, Logan County, Ohio.

diplomacies. Far from being static, paralyzed, and immobile communities, they had long stories of migration and interaction with other indigenous nations (See Figure 1.34). As the Yunwiya (Cherokee) scholar Daniel Heath Justice clarified, many Native communities have stories of past migrations, but they often "carry less emotional and moral weight than do the later forced emigrations."[146] Relationality allowed them to create spaces where one could interact with each other. Due to the peace and kinship established, they created spaces where they could travel the path across the 'white roads,' travel with peace and without fear and conflict. Started in their stories of their origins, emergence, and confederacies, these Native communities established ways of relating to each other. Kinship relations and treaty protocols became significant tools for indigenous survivance after forced removal.

[146] Daniel Heath Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History*, Indigenous Americas Series (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 45-53. Quote from: Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm*, 49. See also: Tehanetorens (Fadden), "Migration of the Iroquois," 1-8; Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 13-15. Smithers also discussed the "trauma of exile" that came with forced removal (Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 19). On the importance of movement and migration to the Haudenosaunee, see: Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*. Particularly: Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxxvii-xl. For Anishinaabeg migrations, see: Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxxiv-xxxvii.

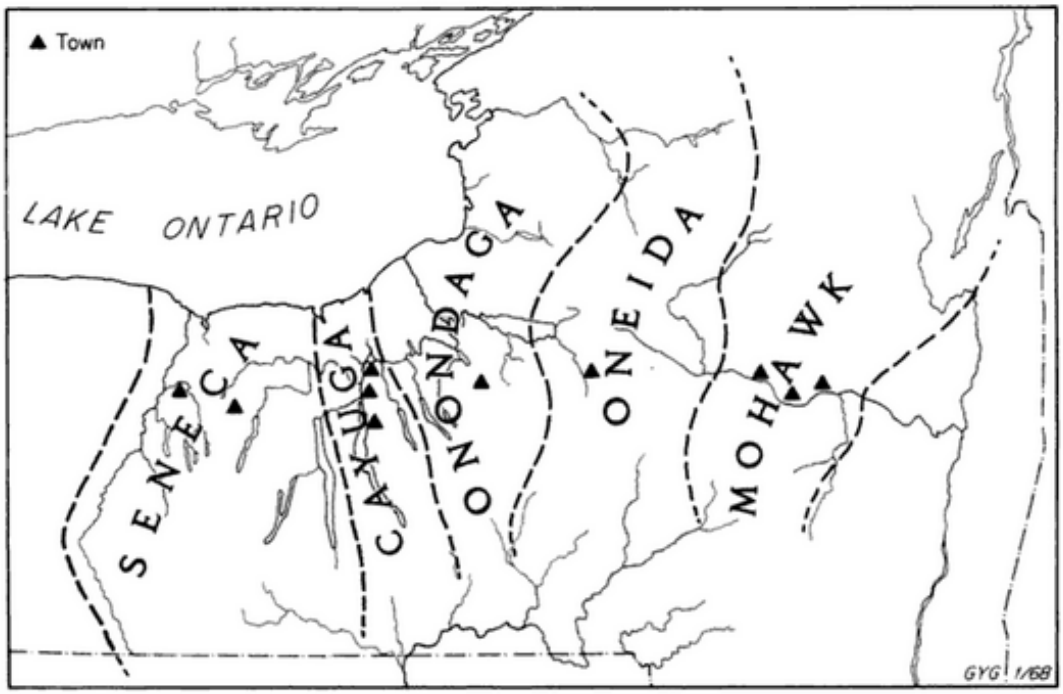

Figure 1.1: Haudenosaunee in their New York Homelands, c. 1600
The Haudenosaunee villages in their New York homelands around 1600 created the metaphorical Longhouse with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks), and Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas) as the Keepers of the Western Door, Eastern Door, and the Central Fire respectively.
Source: William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy*, Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 4.

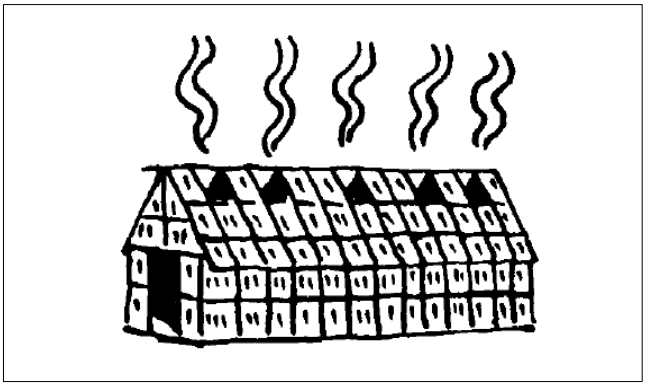

Figure 1.2: Haudenosaunee Longhouse
This Haudenosaunee longhouse shows smoke coming from the five original council fires—the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas), Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas), and Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks).
Source: Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois: A Brief Outline of Their History," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723 (January 1956), 15.

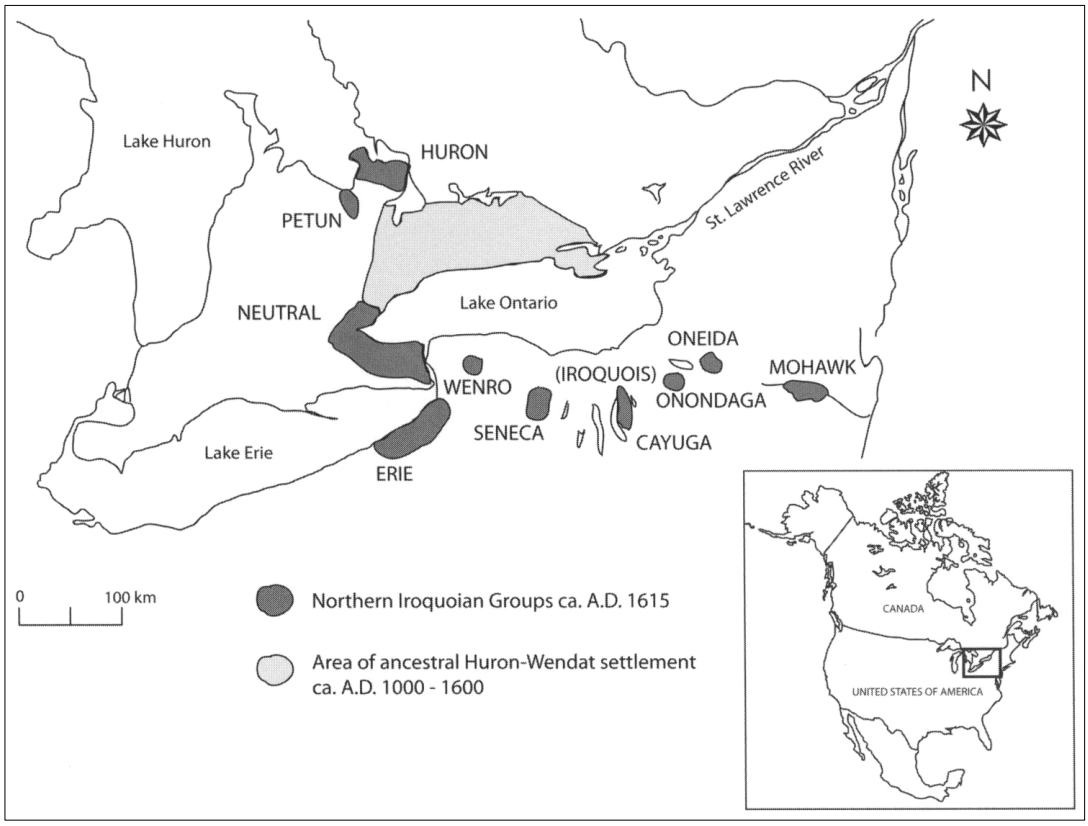

Figure 1.3: Pre-Contact Iroquoian-Speaking Settlements, c. 1600
Pre-contact Iroquoian-speaking settlements, including the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat / Wyandot(te)) and other northern Iroquoian groups as well as the Haudenosaunee Five Nations—the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas), Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas), and Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks)—to the southeast of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s).
Source: Jennifer Birch, "Coalescent Communities: Settlement Aggregation and Social Integration in Iroquoian Ontario," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (October 2012), 647.

Figure 1.4: Aataentsic, Sky Woman, in the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)) Creation Story
In one Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) version of the creation story, two geese caught Aataentsic, Sky Woman, falling from the upper other world. Grandmother Toad brought clay from the ocean. The animals spread the mud on the back of the Big Moss Turtle and this created the land of the Earth.
Source: Richard Zane Smith (Sǫhahiyǫ) (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), "The Woman Who Fell from The Sky" (2015). Photo by Richard Zane Smith. Used with the artist's permission.

Figure 1.5: Star (Hiram) Young (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te))
Source: Charles Marius Barbeau, "Star (Hiram) Young, Wyandotte de la réserve sénéca en Oklahoma [documents iconographiques] = Star (Hiram) Young, Wyandotte from Seneca reserve in Oklahoma," Black and White Glass Negative (5 x 7 in.), 1912. FMB, CMH/MCH.

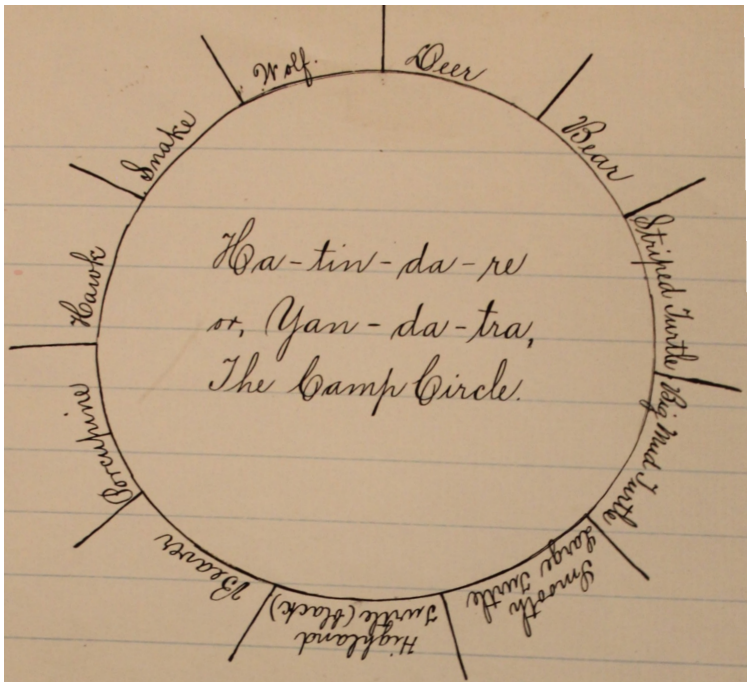

Figure 1.6: Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Clans
Although communities as well as academics disagree and debate about the number and names of Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) clans, the clan system, nonetheless, served (and serves) as adaptable means of expressing identity and belonging.
Source: John Wesley Major Powell, *Manuscript on Wyandot Government ca. 1880*, NAA MS 3531, NAA, NMNH, SI. [Image cropped and rotated for detail].

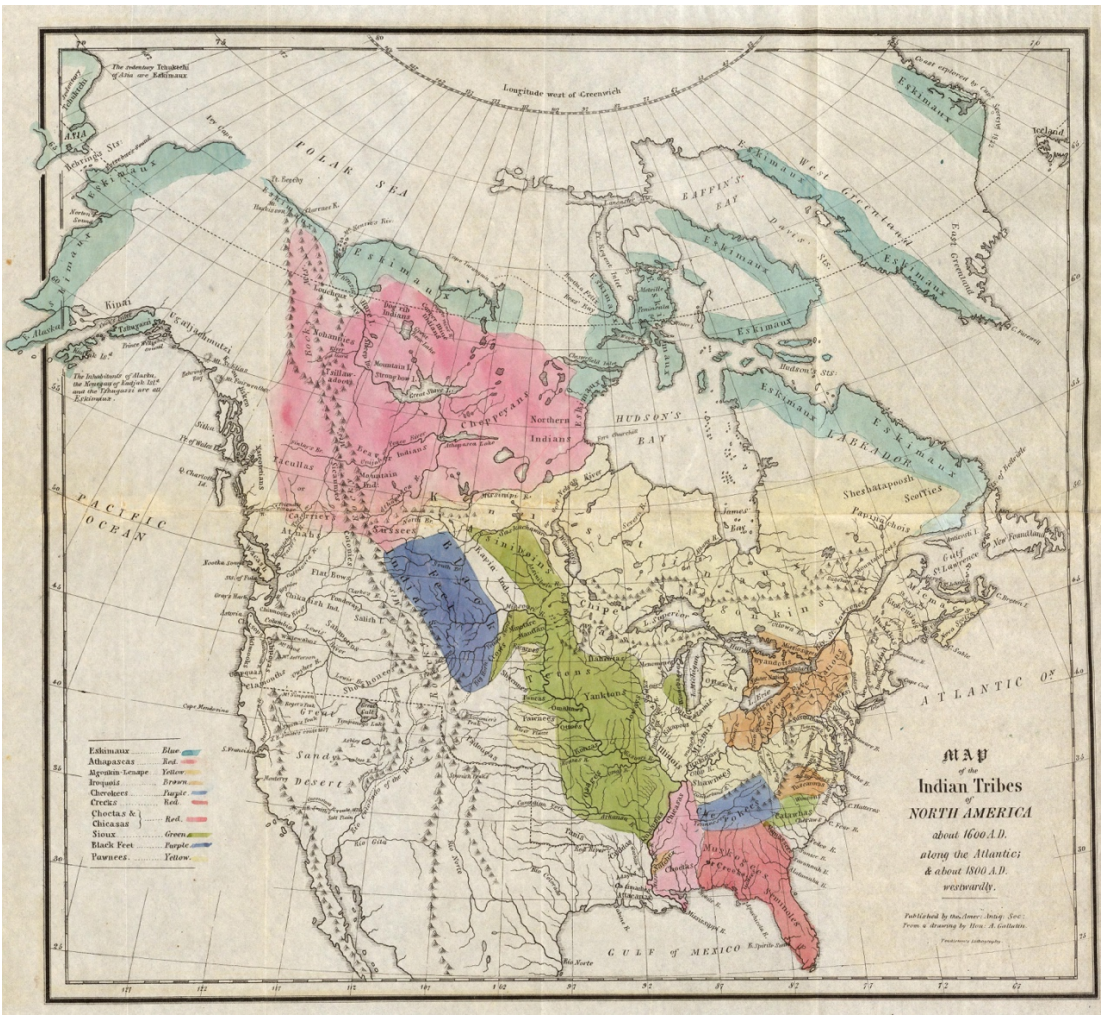

Figure 1.7: Albert Gallatin's *Map of Indian Tribes of North America*, c. 1600
American Antiquarian Society scholar Albert Gallatin mapped the linguistic and social placement of Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples in the 1600s.
Source: Albert Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America," *Archæologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Folsom, Wells, and Thurston, Printed for the Society at the University Press, 1836), Enclosed "Map of the Indian Tribes of North America about 1600 A.D. along the Atlantic; & about 1800 A.D. westwardly (1836)";
Albert Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes Within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America (1836)," *Zea E-Books in American Studies*, Book No. 16, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/zeaamericanstudies/16 (accessed 23 October 2017).
Original Courtesy of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.

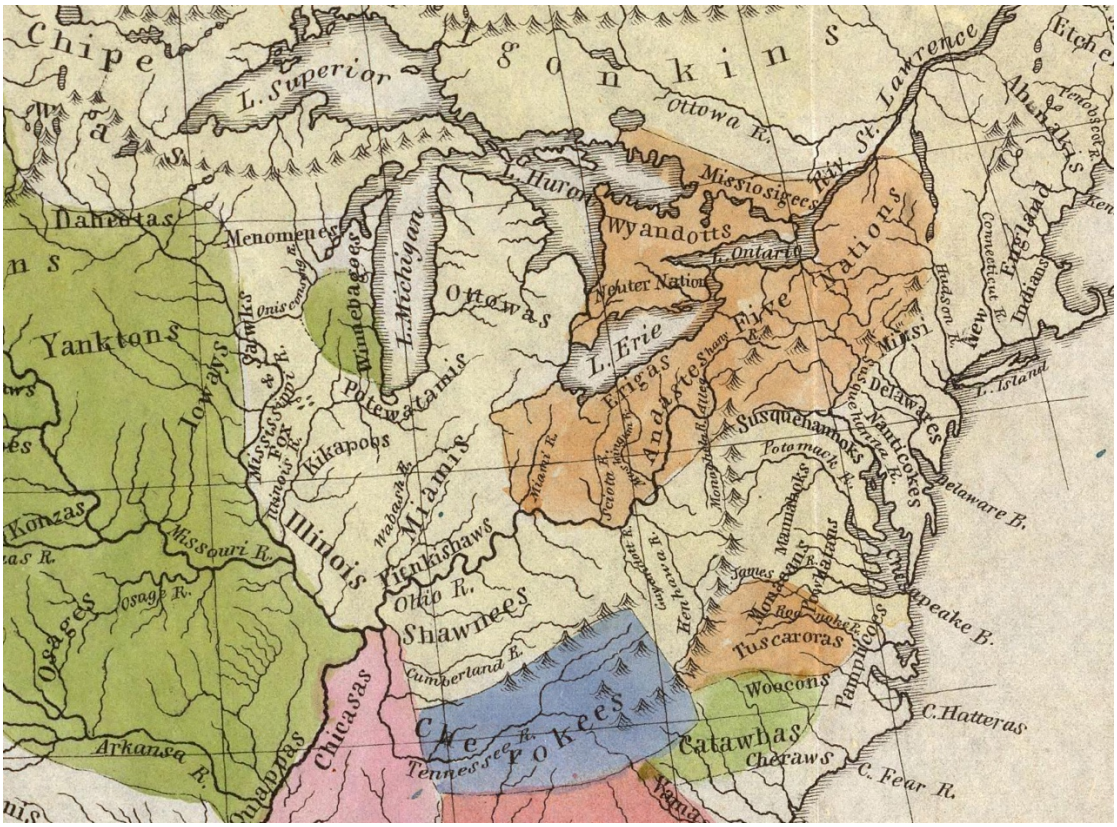

Figure 1.8: Detail of Albert Gallatin's Map, c. 1600

This detail of Gallatin's map shows Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking peoples around the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley. [Cropped excerpt from original digital scan from the University of Nebraska, Lincoln].

Source: Albert Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America," *Archæologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Folsom, Wells, and Thurston, Printed for the Society at the University Press, 1836), Enclosed "Map of the Indian Tribes of North America about 1600 A.D. along the Atlantic; & about 1800 A.D. westwardly (1836)"; Albert Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes Within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America (1836)," *Zea E-Books in American Studies*, Book No. 16, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/zeaamericanstudies/16 (accessed 23 October 2017). Original Courtesy of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.

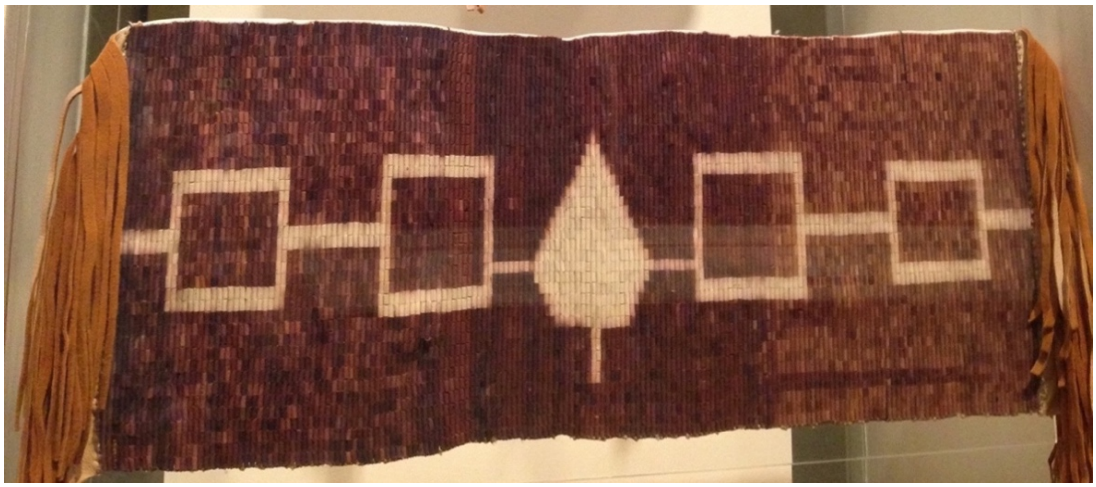

Figure 1.9: Ayonhwathah's Wampum Belt, Dated to Mid-Eighteenth Century
This reproduction Hiawatha Belt, of ancient design, but dated to the mid-eighteenth-century, visualizes the Five Nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, with the central fire signified with the white tree of peace.
Source: Hiawatha Wampum Belt Reproduction, Haudenosaunee, 1980. Reproduction (CMCC, III-I-2057), Made by Jacob Ezra Thomas Hadajigerenhtah (Kaion'ke/Cayuga) from Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario, Canada. On display at the CMH/MCH. Photograph by the author, November 19, 2015.

Figure 1.10: Dekanawídah, Thadodáho?, and Ayonhwathah
Thadodáho? (center) with Dekanawídah holding wampum (left) and Ayonhwathah (right). Early 19th-century watercolor attributed to David Cusick (Taskarora/Tuscarora).
Source: William C. Sturtevant, "David and Dennis Cusick, Early Iroquois Realist Artists," *American Indian Art Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Spring 2006), 46. Unsigned and undated watercolor painting, said to be possibly by David Cusick. Original Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society, New York.

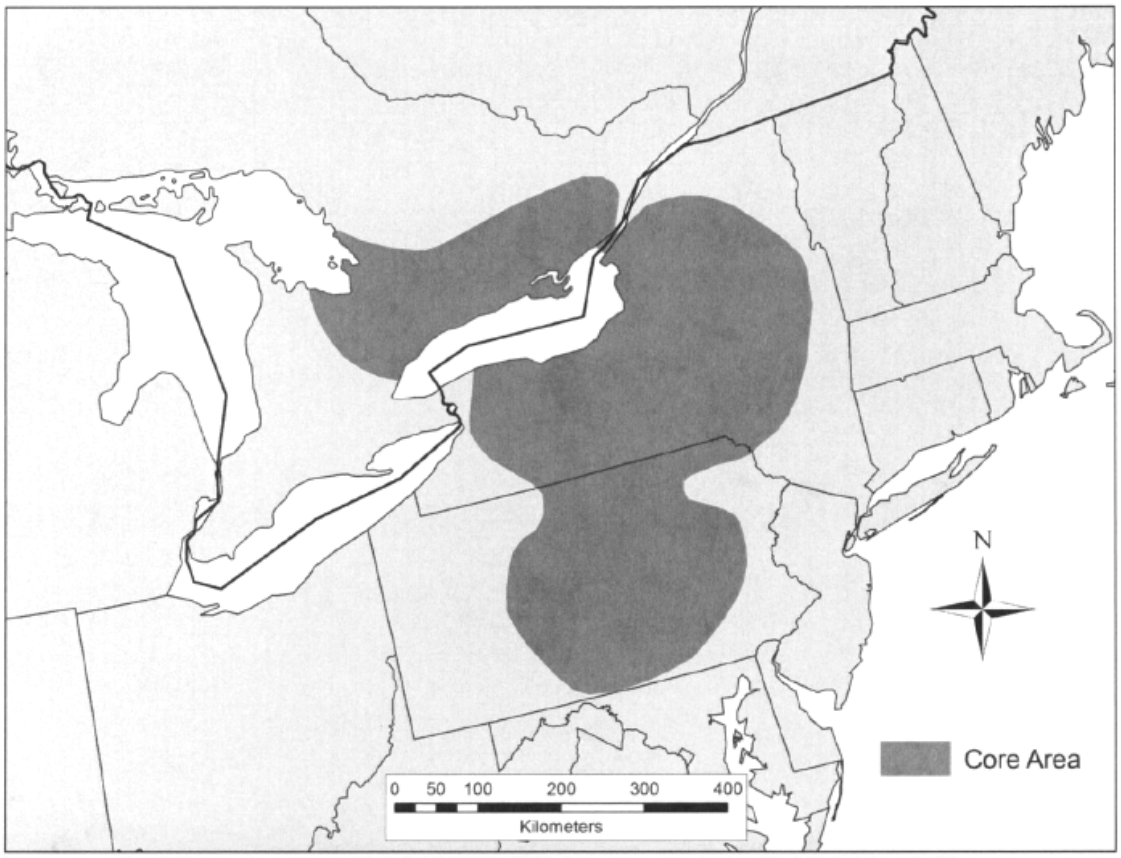

Figure 1.11: Area of Native Wampum Usage, c. 1620-1810
This Map shows the "Core Area" of wampum usage during the "period of wampum diplomacy (ca. 1620-1810)" as a shaded area centered around what is now New York state, Haudenosaunee territory.
Source: Marshall Joseph Becker, "Wampum Bags and Containers from the Native Northeast," *Material Culture*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Spring 2013), 22.

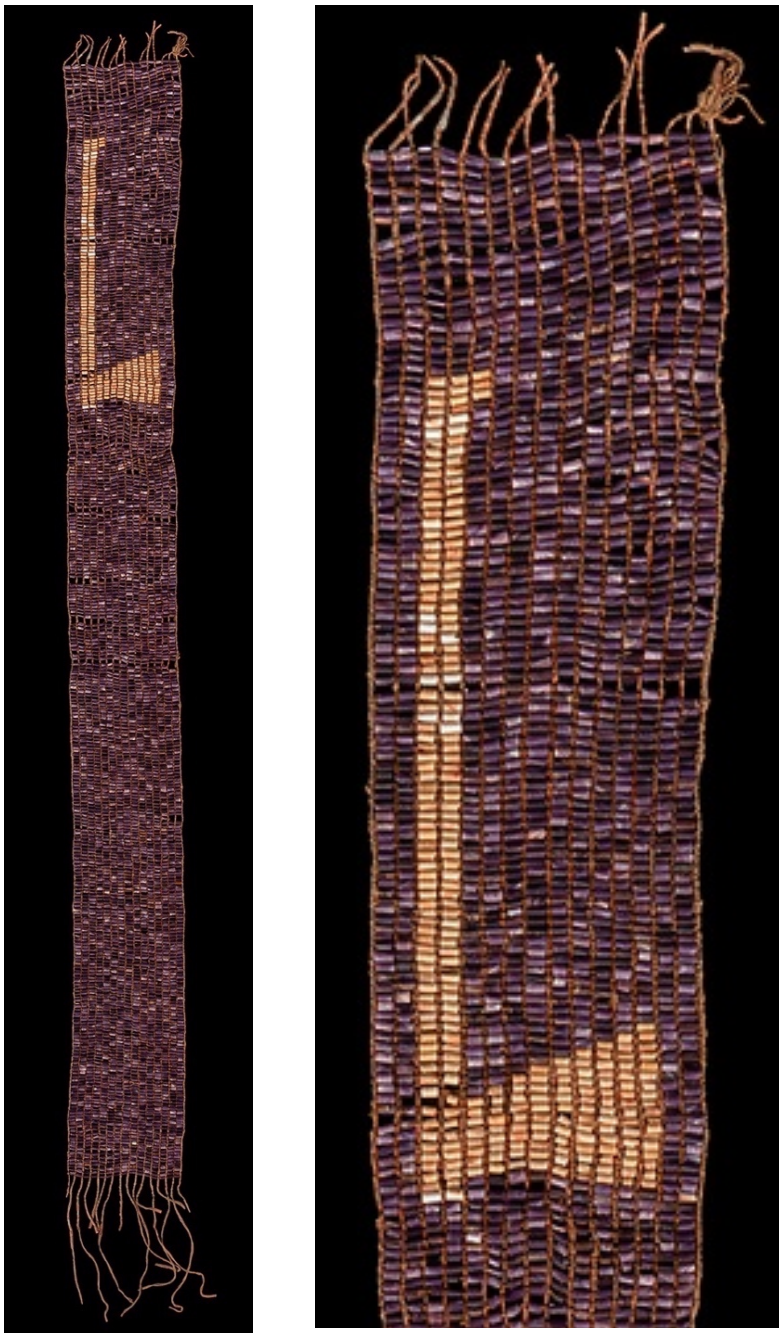

Figure 1.12: Haudenosaunee-Algonquin Wampum Belt, ca. 1671 (Full)
Figure 1.13: Haudenosaunee-Algonquin Wampum Belt, ca. 1671 (Detail)
Algonquin peoples near the Ottawa River in Québec, Canada received this wampum belt from the Haudenosaunee in 1671. The Algonquins and Haudenosaunee reused and renewed this belt, repeatedly covering it in red ochre over the years and bringing it out at the time of cease-fire following condolence protocols.
Source: "Algonquin wampum belt, ca. 1671, Quebec, Canada," Flickr Photo, Taken by Ernest Amoroso, September 27, 2013, Posted by SI's NMAI, October 21, 2013, https://www.flickr.com/photos/smithsoniannmai/14632990876 (accessed 2 November 2017).

Figure 1.14: Seven Nations-Kanien'kehá:ka/Mohawk Alliance Belt, ca. 1796
Wa^{n}dat oral history explains this wampum to be one commemorating the agreement between the multi-tribal Christian Algonquian-Iroquoian alliance known as the Seven Nations of Canada and the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks) in what would be now New York state in 1796.
Source: Wampum belt (Accession No. M20401), Musée McCord Museum, Montréal, Québec.

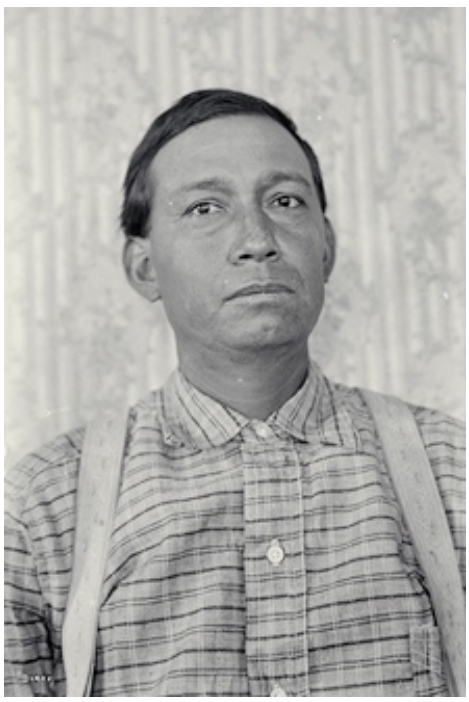

Figure 1.15: (Left) Hu´'^{u}cra˘ɛ`·wa‘s (Allen Johnson) (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te))
Figure 1.16: (Right) Ya˘rǫñą’a · wi´'^{i} (Catherine Johnson) (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te))
Source: Figure 1.15: (Left): Charles Marius Barbeau, “Allen Johnson de la réserve wyandotte en Oklahoma [documents iconographiques] = Allen Johnson from Wyandotte reserve in Oklahoma,” Black and White Glass Negative (3¼ x 5½ in.), 1912. FMB, CMH/MCH.
Source: Figure 1.16: (Right): Charles Marius Barbeau, “Katharine Johnson, réserve sénéca en Oklahoma [documents iconographiques] = Katharine Johnson, Seneca reserve in Oklahoma,” Black and White Glass Negative (5 x 7 in.), 1912. FMB, CMH/MCH.

Figure 1.17: Four Nations Alliance Wampum Belt, ca. 1710-1720
This early- to mid-eighteenth-century "Four Nations Alliance Belt" visualizes the Wa^{n}dat-Odawa-Ojibwe-Potewatmi (Wendat/Wyandot(te)-Ottawa-Chippewa-Potawatomi) alliance made between each other—and with the nearby French communities, indicated at the edge with the black (purple) wampum—when the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) migrated from around Lake Superior to what is now Detroit, Michigan.
Source: Wampum belt, "The Four Nations Alliance Belt," Pitt Rivers Museum Object Collections, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford, England.

Figure 1.18: Native Villages along the Detroit River, Mid-1700s
The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Odawa (Ottawa), and Ojibwe (Chippewa) nations solidified their international alliance when the Wa^{n}dat moved to the area around the Detroit River in the mid-1700s. This 1756 map shows what close proximity the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Odawa (Ottawa), and Potewatmi (Potawatomi) villages were to the French settlements and farms—"habitations"—along the river.
Source: Jacques Nicholas Bellin, *La Rivière Du Détroit Depuis Le Lac Sainte Claire Jusqu'au Lac Erie* (1764) [map]. 18 in. x 12.5 in. Original Courtesy of the General History Collection, Detroit Historical Society, Detroit Michigan.
Detail image from: Paul Sewick, "Indian Villages, Reservations, and Removal," *Detroit Urbanism: Uncovering the History of Our Roads, Borders, and Build Environment* (blog), March 7, 2016, http://detroiturbanism.blogspot.com/2016/03/indian-villages-reservations-and-removal.html (accessed 31 January 2018).

Figure 1.19: Hu'u^{n}dažú (John Kayrahoo) (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te))
Source: Charles Marius Barbeau, "John Kayrahoo, Wyandotte de la réserve sénéca en Oklahoma [document iconographique] = John Kayrahoo, Wyandottte [sic] from Seneca reserve in Oklahoma," Black and White Glass Negative (5 x 7 in.), 1912. FMB, CMH/MCH.

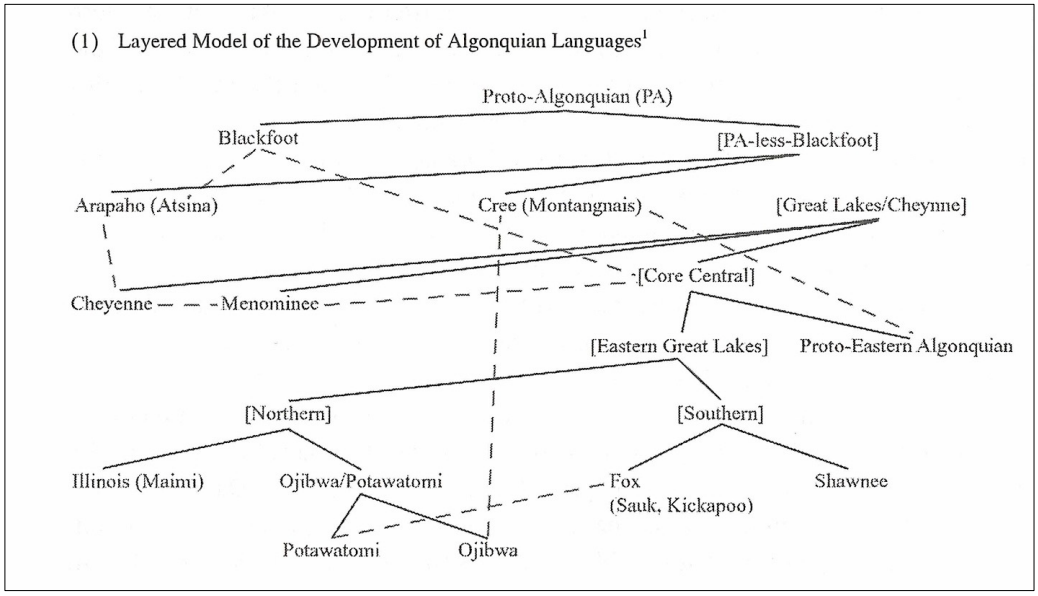

Figure 1.20: Algonquian Language Family Chart
This map shows the relatedness of languages in the Algonquian language family.
Source: J. Peter Denny, "Archaeological Signs of Eastern Algonquian," in Blair A. Rudes and David J. Costa, eds., *Essays in Algonquian, Catawban and Siouan Linguistics in Memory of Frank T. Siebert, Jr*, Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics Series Memoir 16 (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, 2003), 16, Figure 1.

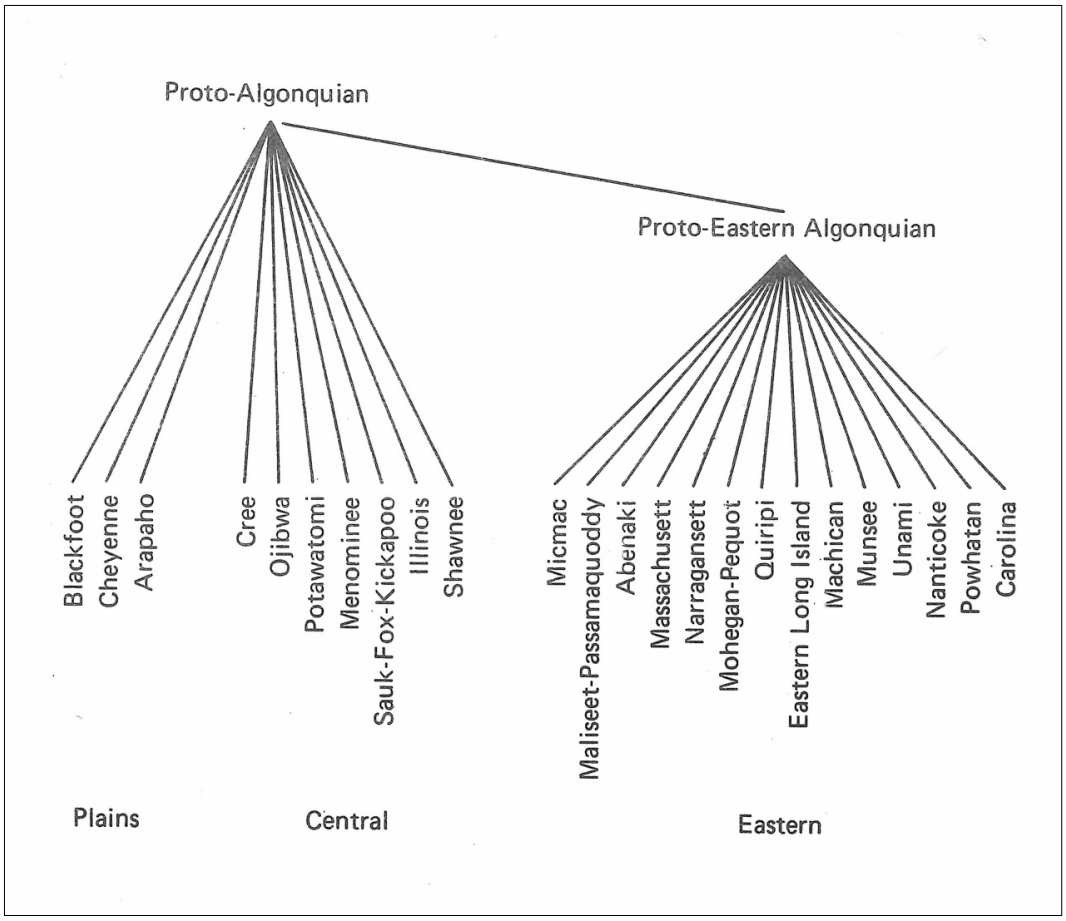

Figure 1.21: Plains, Central, and Eastern Algonquian Language Relationships
This map does well to illustrate the 'groupings' of Plains, Central, and Eastern Algonquian languages. Note the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo (Thakiwa-Meskwa-Kiikaapoa, Illinois (Myaamia-Peewaalia/Miami-Peoria), and Shawnee (Šaawanwa) next to each other, illustrating their close relationship to each other.
Source: Donald D. Stull, *Kiikaapoa: The Kansas Kickapoo* (Horton, Kansas: Kickapoo Tribal Press, Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas, 1984), 3, Figure 1.

Figure 1.22: The Illinois Country with its Indigenous Inhabitants, ca. 1682
This detail (cropped) of an early map describing the Illinois Country includes many of the indigenous communities (Mascouten, etc.) that would make up the Peewaalia (Peoria) Nation today. Note the lenipinšia, the manetoowa or 'horned monster,' depicted on the river bank.
Source: Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin, "The Mississippi," Copied from Louis Joliet's *Carte génerale de la France septentrionale, contenant dans la découverte du pays des Illinois* [ca. 1682], in The Library of Congress, *The Mississippi*, https://www.loc.gov/item/2002626428/ (accessed 16 November 2017). Original Courtesy of the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.

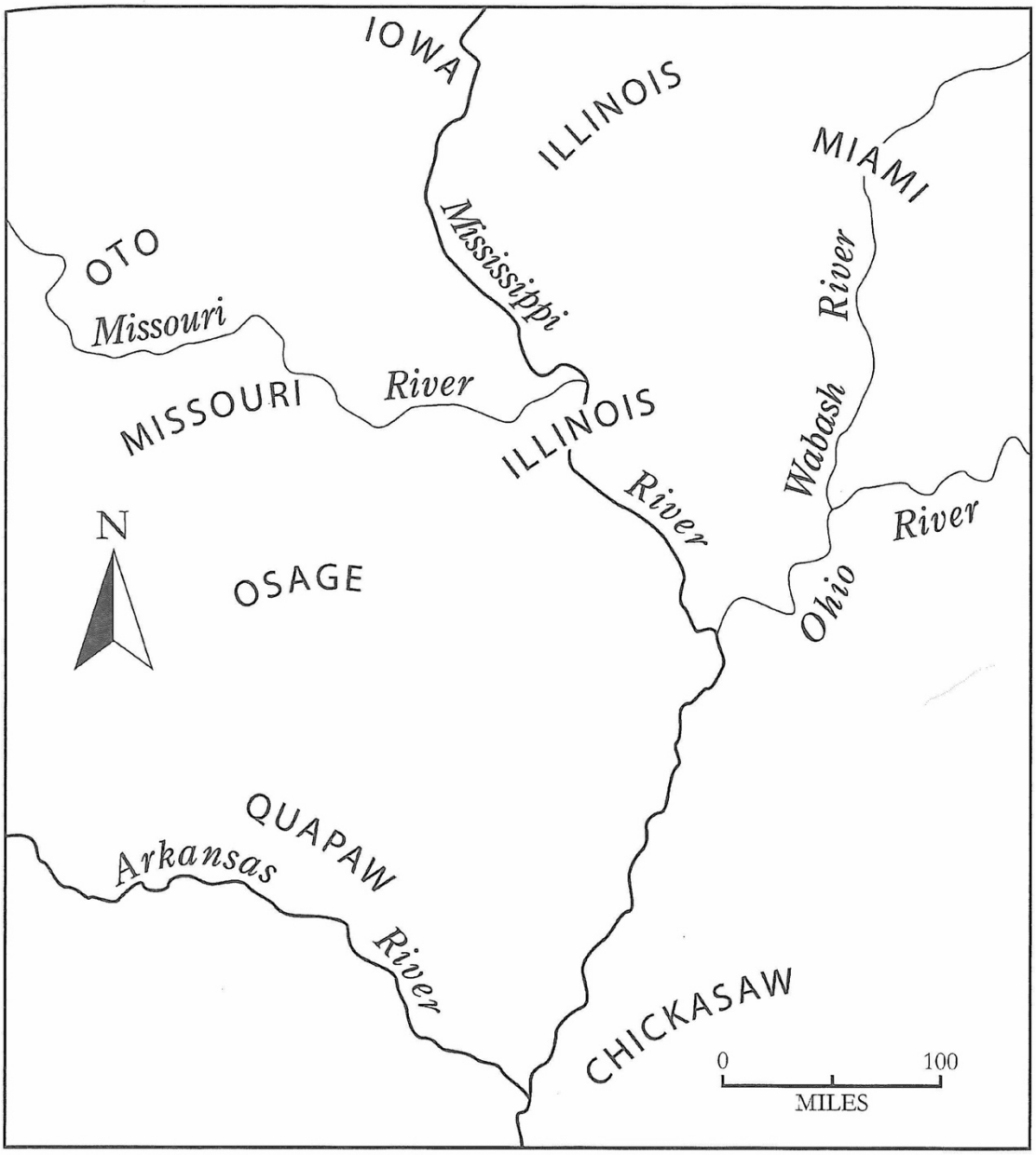

Figure 1.23: The Mississippi River Valley and Indigenous Inhabitants, ca. 1700
By the 1700s, the Wažažes (Osages) resided and roamed the lands that would become the states of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri, while the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and Myaamiaki (Miamis) lived in what is now the states of Illinois and Indiana. Both would retain affinities for each other and shared Mississippian cultural legacies.
Source: Stephen Aron, *American Confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State*, A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier Series (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 23, Map 2.

Figure 1.24: Beadwork of Myaamia (Miami) Origin Story of Emergence
Myaamiaki (Miamis) have an origin story of their emergence from the water of the Saakiiweesiipiiwi (the Coming Out River), known as the St. Joseph River in Indiana.
Source: "Emergence," by Katrina Mitten (Myaamia/Miami), Velvet vest made decorated with thread and beads. Photograph from: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, "aacimooni iihkwiliaakani," *myaamiaki iši meehtohseeniwiciki* | *How the Miami People Live*, http://www.myaamiaexhibit.com/ (accessed 16 March 2011).

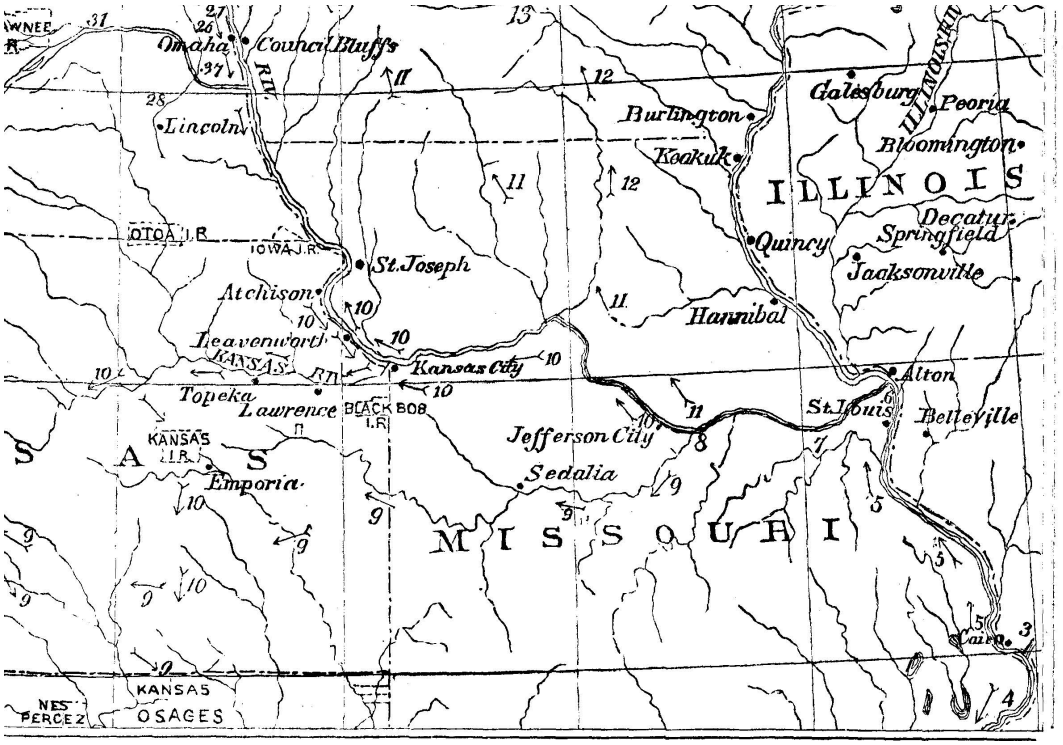

Figure 1.25: Siouan-Speaking Peoples Migrations, Including Okáxpas (Quapaws) The Okáxpas (Quapaws) claim origins to the East of the Mississippi, particularly the mouth of the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River. Although these early migrations remain disputed regarding the variations and extent of Ohio Valley migration, what both scholars and communities do agree on is that Okáxpas (Quapaws) did migrates and separate from other Dhegihan-speaking peoples such as the Wažažes (Osages), Kansas (Kaws), and Umąhą (Omahas). In James Owen Dorsey's map of migrations of Siouan-speaking communities, excerpted above, uses numbers and arrows to indicate movement. No. 3 in the bottom right corner indicates Arkansas (another name for the Okáxpas/Quapaws) residences and No. 4 being Kwapas, a small nation that would confederate to be included as present-day Okáxpas/Quapaws) moving South after splitting from the Umąhą (Omahas) (the Umąhą (Omahas) which are represented at No. 5 moving northward), with Nos. 8 and 9 being Wažaže (Osage) movement to the West.
Source: James Owen Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," *The American Naturalist*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (March 1886), Plate 10 (Map 1).

Figure 1.26: Shared Lands of the Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Other Tribal Nations
The shared landscape of Myaamionki (Myaamia homelands) in the kaanseenseepiiwi area, the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River Valley, included: Peewaalia (Peoria), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), Waayaahtanwa (Wea), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), Meskwa (Fox), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Ojibwe (Chippewa), Odawa (Ottawa), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot/Wyandot(te)), and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) peoples in the space which is now southern Michigan, western Ohio, southeastern Wisconsin, and Indiana and Illinois. The Myaamia (Miami) place of emergence (the big red dot) as well as the density of Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) communities centered in Indiana (red oval swath) are noted.
Source: Myaamia Center, "Myaamionki Shared Landscape" [map], Myaamia Center, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Map made by George Michael Ironstrack, Assistant Director/Program Director, Myaamia Center. Base map by Joshua Sutterfield (Myaamia). Used with permission.

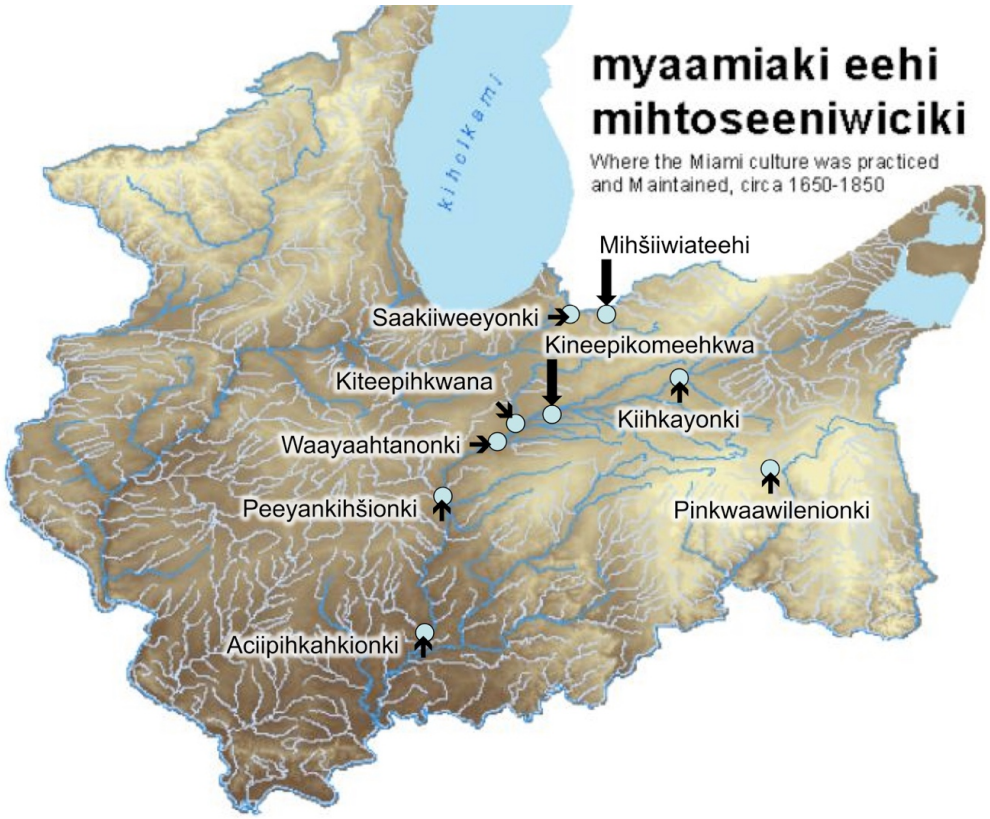

Figure 1.27: Myaamia (Miami) & Peewaalia (Peoria) Villages, ca. 1650-1850
Similar to Figure 1.22, this map highlights the names of prominent Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) villages in the Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) homelands. Saakiiweeyonki, the Coming out place, is in the north, while other villages, including the Waayaahtanonki (Wea Place) and Peeyankihšionki (Piankashaw Place), spread outward throughout the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River Valley.
Source: George Michael Ironstrack, "Peempaliyankwi Myaamionki—Walking Myaamionki," *Aacimotaatiiyankwi: A Myaamia Community Blog*, December 16, 2010, https://myaamiahistory.wordpress.com/2010/12/16/walking-myaamionki/ (accessed 4 December 2017).

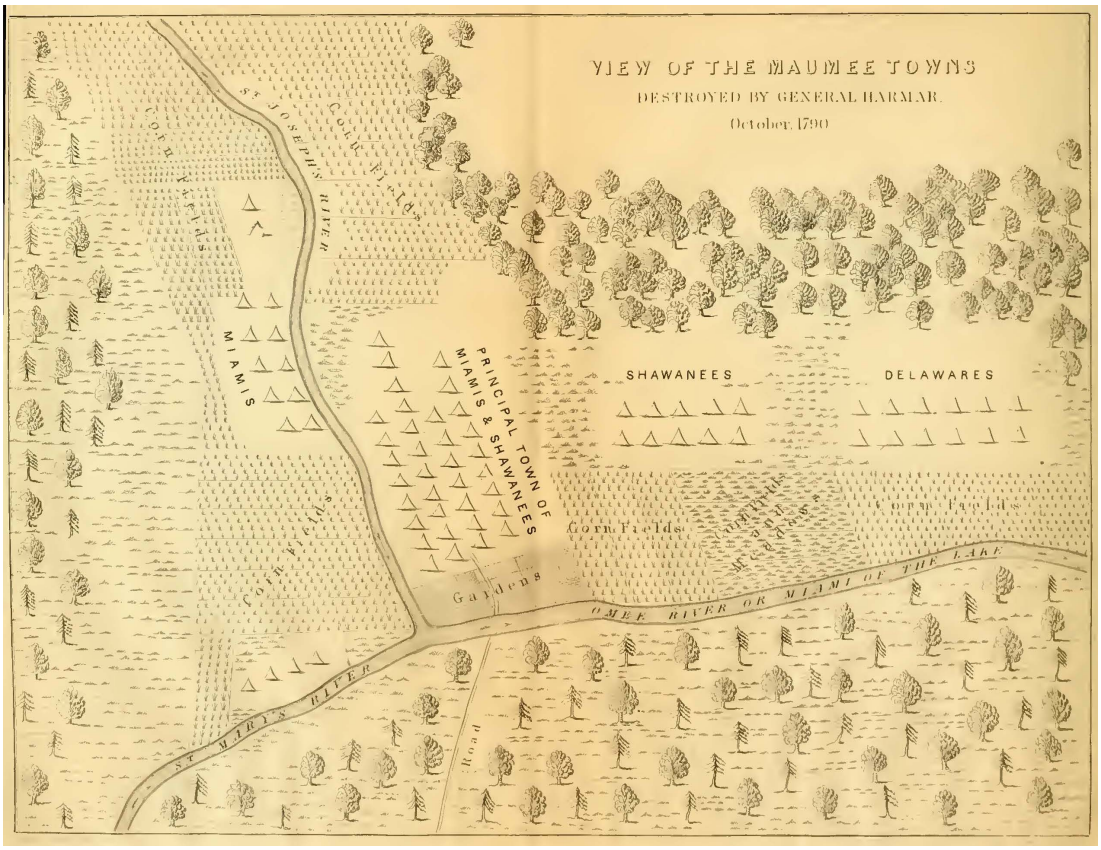

Figure 1.28: Kiihkayonki, Late Eighteenth-Century Myaamia (Miami) Town
By the late eighteenth century the Myaamia (Miami) town of Kiihkayonki (Kekionga, also known as Fort Wayne, Indiana today) included Lenape (Delawares) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and site of the Western Indian Confederacy's council fire in 1789, after the fire moved from the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) village at Brownstown, Michigan.
Source: Ebenezer Denny, *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, An Officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars. With an Introductory Memoir* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Company, for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1859), Map between pages 146 and 147.

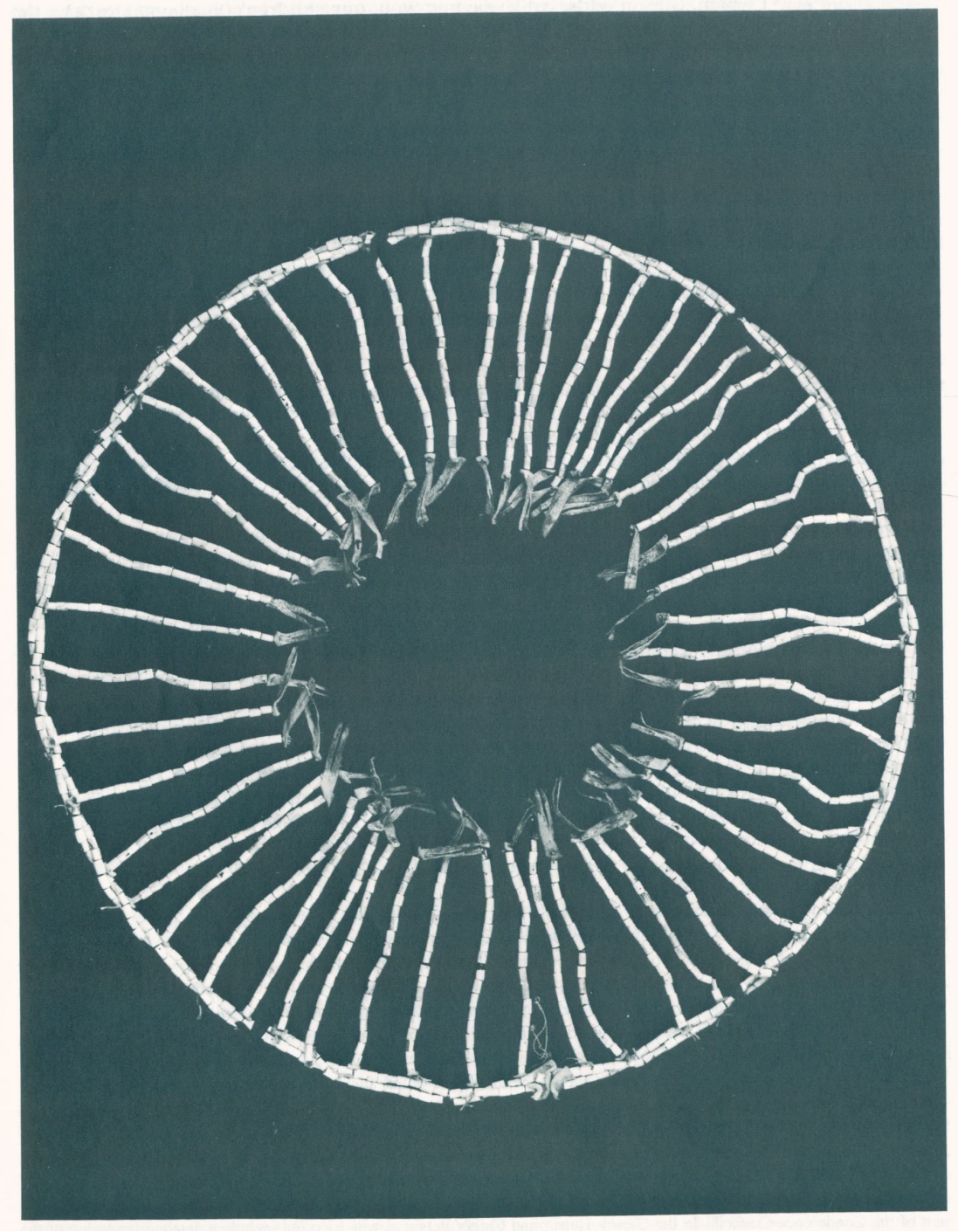

Figure 1.29: The Haudenosaunee League's Circle Wampum
This wampum represents the Haudenosaunee League's fifty council members. Touching the strand that represents their position indicates agreement and affirmation to join the confederation.
Source: John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated in Onondaga*, Newly Elicited Edition, edited and translated by Hanni Woodbury in Collaboration with Reg Henry and Harry Webster on the Basis of A. A. Goldenweiser's Manuscript, Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics Series Memoir 9 (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics; Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), xxx, Figure 3.

Figure 1.30: State of Ohio Detailing Indian Reservations, 1820
Source: A. Bourne, A, "Map of The State of Ohio. Drawn by A. Bourne. Including the Indian Reservations, Purchased and laid out into Counties and Townships in 1820, Drawn by J. Kilbourne. Engraved by A. Reed," in David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Cartography Associates, *Map of the State of Ohio,* https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/m8vai6 (accessed 17 February 2018).

Figure 1.31: Catahecassa (Black Hoof) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), 1838
Catahecassa (Black Hoof) was the leader of the Wapakoneta Mekoče (Mekoche/Maykujay) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) through removal from Ohio to Kansas. "Ca-ta-he-cas-sa—Black Hoof. Principal Chief of the Shawanoes," from *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*. SAAM Collection, SAAM SI, Museum purchase, Washington, D.C. Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 1.32: Ohio Wapakoneta (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) Reservation
This detail from a map accompanying the St. Mary's treaty, shows Source: Eastern Indians Collection [Also listed as: Wyandotte Papers]. Folder 1: Accompanying Plat Map from "A treaty of several tribes of Indians, primarily Seneca, Wyandot, Delaware and Shawnee. Concluded at St. Mary's, Ohio, in 1818" [REG. NO. 4826.36]. Original Courtesy of the GM.

Figure 1.33: Ohio Lewistown (Šaawanwa/Shawnee & Haudenosaunee) Reservation
The Ohio Lewistown Reservation was divided for the two groups that became known as the mixed band. The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) resided in the South while some of the Haudenosaunee's Keepers of the Western Door, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), lived in the North.
Source: Eastern Indians Collection [Also listed as: Wyandotte Papers]. Folder 1: Accompanying Plat Map from "A treaty of several tribes of Indians, primarily Seneca, Wyandot, Delaware and Shawnee. Concluded at St. Mary's, Ohio, in 1818" [REG. NO. 4826.36]. Original Courtesy of the GM.

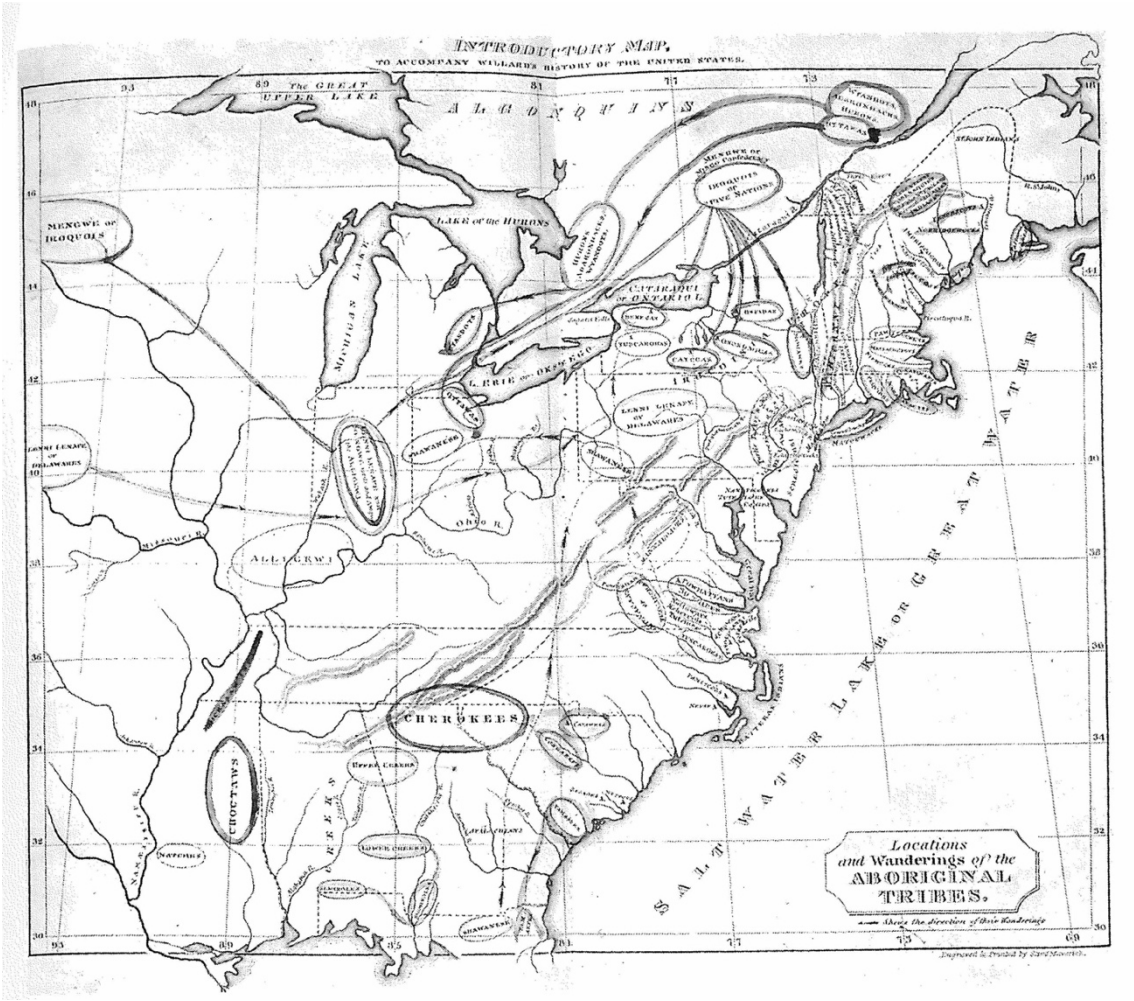

Figure 1.34: Map of Indigenous Migrations East of the Mississippi River, 1828
This map, from Emma Willard's elementary school textbook traces the historic migrations. Although it depicts tribal nations like the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) as static—and as Smithers described, not at all "nuanced"—the map does show the travels of the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), and Lenape (Delawares). Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) are illustrated as far down south as the Carolinas and the oral history that describes the Haudenosaunee moving into the area of present-day New York state is visualized (Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 4-5).
Source: Gregory D. Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), 5, Figure 1: Emma Willard's "Locations and Wanderings of the Aboriginal Tribes," in *A Series of Maps* (1828).
Original Courtesy of the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Chapter 2:
Sustaining "The Remnant[s] of My Relations": Creating Connection in Early Relocation and Indian Removal, 1780s-1830s[1]

While the young American nation and United States government officials focused on the goal of purchasing large swathes of Native land and removing American Indians from the Old Northwest and the Ohio Valley (especially from the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri) in the 1810s and 1820s, Native communities—faced with diminished land bases and consolidated reservations, the end of Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Tecumthe's (Tecumseh's) pan-Indian military resistance, and convening at the treaty negotiating table half-pressured and coerced—the Native focus turned to the maintenance of their communities, families, cultures, and traditions. Native diplomacy, enacted with the tools of kinship terminology and wampum exchange, persisted at the eve of Removal. Native people created avenues of connections in their intentional westward relocations for indigenous survivance. When faced with the impeding geographic discontinuity of forced removal, Indian communities found ways to keep indigenous kinship and connection during the removal processes.[2]

Native peoples of the Old Northwest had militarily resisted Euro-American encroachment West of the Ohio River. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 that ended the Seven Years' War, France ceded all claims to territory in North America to the British.

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[1] George Strother Gaines, *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines: Pioneer and Statesman of Early Alabama and Mississippi, 1805-1843*, edited by James P. Pate (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 98. Also quoted in: Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), 160.

[2] Historian John P. Bowes used the phrase "persistence of native diplomacy" (John P. Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 123.

The British then issued a Royal Proclamation stating that no British settlers were to live and encroach on Indian lands to the West of a Proclamation Line—the Appalachian Mountains. Just as they had in the Seven Years' War allied with either the French or the British, Indian nations also had loyalties with the British Crown or the Americans during the American Revolution. At the 1783 Treaty of Paris Britain and the United States brokered peace for claims to the lands, much of which still belonged to Indian nations. The 1787 Northwest Ordinance vowed "utmost good faith" in dealing with the Indians, but it also included plans for territorial expansion. The states that would become known as the Old Northwest—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, would in the next couple decades gain statehood.

The Indian nations of the Old Northwest confederated by the 1780s into what would be commonly known as the Western Indian Confederacy to fight further westward expansion and encroachment on their lands. Mihšihkinaahkwa (Little Turtle) and Weyapiersenwah (Blue Jacket) seriously defeated American troops in 1790 and again in 1791. By the Treaty of Greenville in August 1795, however, the Indians brokered peace with the Americans. With it was a large cession of lands in what would become the states of Indiana and Ohio. Two Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), the brothers Tenskwatawa (The Prophet) and Tecumthe (Tecumseh), fought Americans again on the battlefields. This time Tecumthe led the large multi-tribal contingent of warriors. With his death in 1813, however, the pan-Indian military resistance crumbled. Ushering in the new era of Indian Removal, the first couple of decades of the nineteenth century saw the systematic forced relocation of Indian peoples from their homelands in the Old Northwest and the southeastern United States.

Many Native peoples by the 1790s, already disrupted by warfare and settler intimidation and encroachment, voluntarily moved westward with their families and communities, seeking asylum and refuge away from Euro-American-made conflicts. Others, facing rifles and bayonets, would be forced to move West. Once violently relocated to new and strange lands in what would become the states of Kansas and Oklahoma, Native peoples used relationality to rebuild. They focused on protecting their families and communities and reestablishing their relationship to the lands, neighboring peoples, and each other.

The indigenous reconstruction after forced removal also allowed for the persistence and renewal of Native relational sovereignty. For the small tribal nations who were forcibly relocated to what is now the present states of Kansas and Oklahoma, they still found ways to assert their agency and retain their communities. They maintained kinship to each other and utilized indigenous protocols of relational sovereignty to make 'white paths' of peace between each other. They did this geographically in situating themselves in their new lands next to their longtime allies and relatives from the Old Northwest when given the limited choice in the removal treaty negotiations. Faced with little or no outcome besides ultimate removal, Native leadership negotiated and selected lands—when feasible, near their relatives, friends, and neighbors—that they saw as the best possible choices and solutions for their communities' benefit in overall terrible and dreadful situations.

Plans for Indian assimilation into the mainstream American society, however, stalled with forced removal. By relocating Indian communities next to other indigenous nations, Native communities could become more isolated and self-sustaining,

maintaining their languages, customs, and traditions. One of the Indian Office men commissioned to negotiate treaties with the Indian nations, George Graham, wrote to the Department of War in October of 1817, pointing out that, "[t]he desire of the Indians to locate the lands in such a manner as to give them compact settlements was natural, and, in a fiscal point of view, it was better for the United States that they should do so." Graham continued: "The only objection is, that it will have a tendency to preserve their customs and manners for a longer period than if they had made their locations more diffusively."[3] The federal government had to reluctantly allow this result, of Indian nations remaining in distinct separate communities where they could congregate, raise families, and interact with their relatives and friends.

Removal to lands near other Native communities, however, did not necessarily mean that all Native groups would be friendly and peaceful with each other. Contemporaries who witnessed the intertribal conflicts between Plains and emigrated Indians in Arkansas, Kansas, and Indian Territory criticized "the imprudent and visionary policy of crowding the natives together, in the hopes of keeping them at peace."[4] In the 1810s botanist and explorer Thomas Nuttall described the federal Indian policy that exacerbated conflict among not only different Indian nations but also the borderland white American settlers who started migrating westward in the hopes of purchasing or obtaining cheap land from the federal government that the Native nations

[3] *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 140.

[4] Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory, During the Year 1819. With Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines. Illustrated by a Map and Other Engravings* (Philadelphia: Printed and Published by Thomas H. Palmer, 1821), 213; Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory During the Year 1819*, edited by Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 236. See also: Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., "Arkansas and Indian Removal," in *Encyclopedia of American Indian Removal*, Vol. 1, edited by Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. and James W. Parins (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: Greenwood, An Imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2011), 13-16.

recently ceded to the United States. Nuttall explained that the federal government would soon move the Chahtas (Choctaws) to the West because of their most recent treaty that ceded their lands in the East. Their new lands were to be "situated betwixt Arkansa[s] and Red rivers, and extending from the Quapaw [Okáxpa] reservation to the Pottoe [Otoe]." The new Chahta (Choctaw) lands, however, often already had Native occupants. "In consequence of this singular but impolitic measure of crowding the aborigines together, so as to render them inevitably hostile to each other, and to the frontier which they border, several counties of the Arkansa[s] territory will have to be evacuated by their white inhabitants," he argued. These white American settlers, Nuttall explained, "will thus be ruined in their circumstances, at the very period when the general survey of the lands had inspired them with the confident expectation of obtaining a permanent and legal settlement."[5] The 1810s and 1820s, then, were tenuous years when the United States solidified its policy of forced removal for Indian nations in the East and Native reservation consolidation in the middle West. Many federal officials such as William Clark, would advocate for the removed Indians' rights to their treaty lands promised them, but the settler colonial pressure would create chaotic mess of inconsistent and ineffectual federal enforcement.

Despite the devastating disjuncture of removal, tribal communities persisted and endured. They fell into the habit of doing what they knew best—their familiar ways of understanding and interacting with each other and the outside world. Kinship nomenclature and diplomatic procedures for treaty-making allowed Native peoples to

[5] Stephen Aron, *American Confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State*, A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier Series (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 139-148; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 236, 259-260. Quote from: Nuttall, *Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 236; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 259-260.

still have some aspect of agency and direction in their lives. This direction, this pathway, was a well-acquainted indigenous one. The Native nations did, and would, as their ancestors did, find ways of clearing the path for peace and connecting with other tribal communities. As described in the retelling of the formation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Native people aimed to create a world where "one may go everywhere without fear" (See Chapter 1). The indigenous treaty protocols and use of kinship terminology allowed Native nations to open spaces for indigenous agency and sovereignty. This was an endurance and tradition of indigenous relationality, kinship, and the establishment of pathways, that had strong roots in earlier centuries (as described in Chapter 1), but became useful once forced removal became imminent and real by the early nineteenth century.[6]

Numerous push and pull factors influenced Native communities into the earlier westward removals before the federal government solidified its official policy of forced removal with the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Some Native nations willingly moved away, glad to be getting farther away from Euro-American settlements otherwise crowding them in the East. Other communities moved for better hunting prospects and fertile lands for farming their crops of corn in places unmolested by whites. Communities such as the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) had always used travel as strategies

[6] Quoted in: Paul A. W. Wallace, "The Iroquois: A Brief Outline of Their History," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723 (January 1956), 17. See also: William N. Fenton, "Structure, Continuity, and Change in the Process of Iroquois Treaty Making," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 16, 22; Michael K. Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 108-110; Michael M. Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties: Amended Iroquois Condolence Rituals," *AIQ*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Summer 1995), 322-323, 327-328.

for survival. Many nations who fought alongside with the British during the War of 1812 then faced retaliatory land cessions to the United States. Travel and movement was a natural reaction to the end of the War of 1812 and Tecumthe (Tecumseh) and his confederacy's military defeat. With this came the federal government's design to remove Ohio Valley Indians from their lands, initiating what would become forced Indian removal by established policy with the Indian Removal Act of 1830. These early treaty negotiations, however, illustrate the continuity of Native-based diplomatic protocols, centered around clearing the way for peace and safe passage to the treaty council grounds, lighting the council fire, and removing difficulties that might hinder reconciliation by practicing long-tested wampum condolence rituals.

I. Creating Avenues of Connection: Intentional Westward Relocation for Indigenous Survivance

"'You are a white man. I hoped never to see the face of another white man.' I inquired her reason for such a hope. She answered her husband and several members of her family had been killed by the whites. 'The remnant of my relations,' said she, 'were compelled to leave their homes, and we travelled to this country where we hoped to live in peace.'"

> Indian agent George Strother Gaines's recollection on meeting an anonymous Šaawanwa (Shawnee) woman while with the over-forty-person Chikasha (Chickasaw) and Chahta (Choctaw) Exploring Expedition to the west of the Mississippi River in 1831[7]

Native peoples created connection with each other when relocating westward before official Indian Removal in the 1830s and 1840s. These earlier moves were intentional, with varying degrees of agency, volition, and intention. Many Native

[7] Gaines, *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines*, 98. Also quoted in: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 160. See also: Donna L. Akers, *Living in the Land of Death: The Choctaw Nation, 1830-1860*, Native American Series (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), 54, 63, 90-91.

peoples voluntarily moved westward, 'on the white path,' a path of indigenous making and original design, in hopes of obtaining a more peaceful and promising futures for themselves and their children. Many Native communities had traditions of migration and movement. Travel was normal and routine. A peaceful white path of peace was the best-case-scenario and intended goal that allowed indigenous communities to remain safe, secure, and healthy. Relocation allowed for Native community survival, or as White Earth Ojibwe/Anishinaabe academic Gerald Vizenor noted, survivance, is the action or quality of surviving—remaining alive and continuing. "Survivance is an active sense of presence, the continuation of native stories," Vizenor wrote.[8] Nineteenth-century relocation next to other indigenous nations allowed for the continuation of American Indian cultural and linguistic traditions as well as their kin and clan connections—their families, friends, and communities.

Thomas Nuttall wrote about a meeting in Arkansas Territory with Lenape (Delaware) and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) Indians in 1819, describing the Šaawanwaki's (Shawnees') tendency to travel. He noted: "Scarcely any of the Indian tribes have migrated so often and so far, as the restless and intriguing Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] ; [sic] who, since their first discovery on the banks of the Savannah, in Georgia, have, in the space of a century, successively migrated through the western states to the further bank of the Mississippi." Nuttall then got to the crux of the issue—why especially did they move westward into Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas territories? Seeing the movements from the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) point-of-view, Nuttall described it as a means of survival and defense. "Ever flying from the hateful circle of civilized society,

[8] Quoted in: Gerald Robert Vizenor, "Aesthetics of Survivance: Literary Theory and Practice," in *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, edited by Gerald Vizenor (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 19. See also: Vizenor, "Aesthetics of Survivance," in *Survivance*, edited by Vizenor, 19-20.

which, probably in their own defence [sic], they have repeatedly scourged, so as, indeed, to endanger their safety," Nuttall defended. He, does, however, paint the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) with a simplistic stereotypical brush, pointing out that they were "averse to agriculture and systematic labour [sic]" and continue to hunt in the common hunting grounds.

"Retreating into the forests of the western interior, according to their own acknowledgment destitute of lands, they are reduced to the misery of craving the favour [sic] of hunting ground from the Cherokees [Aniyunwiya] and Osages [Wažažes], excepting the uninhabitable wilds of the Mississippi, which, as in former times, still continue the common range of every tribe of native hunters."[9] Although a nineteenth-century romanticized view pitying the American Indians, Nuttall's story does conceal a small kernel of Native motivations and intentions. For the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), remaining nomadic and following the whims of the roaming animals allowed for community sustenance and wellbeing. Their communities could remain mostly healthy and not reach starvation conditions. Plus, this provided the flexibility and freedom of being able to make sure their own traverses did not place them in hostile territories. They could make sure themselves that they steer clear of dangerous spaces and pathways. Ultimately the itinerant life assured community and cultural survival, sovereignty, and continuity. As historian John P. Bowes eloquently summarized, "in the western territories, [forcibly] removed Indians shared space with those who traveled

[9] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 41-42; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 50. Quote from: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 42; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 50.

independently—families and bands who avoided a journey at gunpoint."[10] The late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), and other Native families and communities moved westward, trading the uncertainties of subsistence and peace, for survivance in the West.

Some Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking communities, whose original homelands centered in what would become the state of Illinois, would migrate slowly farther west and south, into Missouri and Oklahoma. After a Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia) warrior assassinated the Odawa (Ottawa) leader Bwandiag (Pontiac) at Cahokia, Illinois in 1769, Peewaaliaki (Peorias), harassed and despised by pro-Pontiac supporters such as the Potewatmi (Potawatomis), Odawas (Ottawas), and Ojibwes (Chippewas), found themselves having to flee the violence of revenge and retaliation.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Peewaliaki (Peorias) and affiliated nations lived near Kaskaskia, Illinois (kaahkaahkionki) and Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, while Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), Meskwa (Fox), and other Native nations occupied much of the Illinois Country (See Figures 2.1 and 2.2). These recent Missouri localities, however, were not necessarily new places to the Peewaaliaki (Peorias). Pushed by pressure from the Haudenosaunee in the 1700s, Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) had moved west and south, settling around the Saint Louis area. Grant Foreman noted that according to oral tradition, the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) said that, "before they had ever seen a white man, a band of their nation had previously settled at the Saline near Ste[.] Genevieve, where they had a large village, and later had moved southwest to the

[10] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 86.

Washita country."[11] Peewaaliaki and other Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking communities knew the areas around the Mississippi River, the *mihši-siipiiwi*, well.

In hindsight, Foreman saw the movement of Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and others into Missouri as a sign of the inevitability of other communities joining them in the West. For Foreman, the Mississippi River was a threshold crossed. Foreman stated that the Peewaalia(Peoria)-speaking people who went across the big river "had begun the movement that was to carry the remnants of all these northern tribes to the West."[12] In a way it did set precedence. More recent historians, however, have recognized the constant and continual mobility and interaction between removed and unremoved Native communities. Historian John P. Bowes thought of the Mississippi River as more of a shared corridor rather than a hard and fast border. For, "Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], Delawares [Lenape], and others continued to view the Mississippi as a path that could

[11] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri* (1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 269-281, 521-522; James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980,* Third Edition (Saint Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 3-5; Aron, *American Confluence*, 56-57; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 14-15; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 19-21, 37-38; Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri: From the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into The Union*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1908), 108, 160, 181, 362, 372n69; George E. Lankford, "Shawnee Convergence: Immigrant Indians in the Ozarks," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Winter 1999), 390-413; Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts, and Sketches of Other Indian Tribes of North America. True Traditional Stories of Tecumseh and His League in the Years 1811 and 1812* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1870), 33-34; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 34; Daryl Baldwin and David J. Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani* / *Miami-Peoria Dictionary* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Nation, developed through the Myaamia Project at Miami University, 2005), 49. Quote from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 21.

[12] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 22. Although Grant Foreman's monographs continue to hold respect for their thorough use of the historical sources, his outdated language does become cringe-worthy. Yunwiya (Cherokee) historian Emmet Starr noticed this "language of avoidance" by Grant Foreman, and called him a "Two Gun Historian." Foreman often utilized language that lessened the culpability of removal, where he "shrouded in kindness, fair dealing, and generosity"—paternalistic language (Daniel Heath Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History*, Indigenous Americas Series (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 62, 235n13).

lead them to their kin in the West or their former homes in the East."[13] To others, like the Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias), they had familiarity with the Mississippi River, *mihši-siipiiwi*. Although the river was big and impending—literally called the 'big river'—it did not have a negative connotation, like say, according to the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), who in their songs call(ed) the Mississippi River the 'river of death' after being removed from the southeastern United States to Oklahoma. Numerous Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaliaki (Peorias), and other nations such as the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) regularly traveled down to Saint Louis and crossed the Mississippi River regularly to trade with the French and Spanish settlers and other western communities.[14]

By the Revolutionary War what would become the state of Illinois would be known as the 'Illinois lands' just as Indiana—the place of the Indians—and the Ohio Valley would be known for its conglomeration of Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking communities and nations. By the beginning of the nineteenth century two groups of Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) lived in Illinois and Indiana, known as the Prairie and Vermillion Bands of Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos). George Catlin in the 1840s described the Illinois Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) as "completely surrounded" by white settlers

[13] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 52. See also: Houck, *A History of Missouri*, Vol. 1, 108, 160, 181, 362, 372n69; Audra Simpson, "Clifford Maracle (1944-1996)," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 96-98.

[14] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), 178-179; *This May Be the Last Time / Espoketis Omes Kerreskos*, directed by Sterlin Harjo, Produced by Christina D. King, Matt Leach, and Sterlin Harjo (New York: Bond/360 with This Land Films, 2013), DVD. See also entry from the *Myaamia Dictionary* online: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, *myaamiaatawaakani: Myaamia Dictionary* (Oxford, Ohio: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, 2016), https://myaamiadictionary.org/dictionary2015/entry/browse.php#m (accessed 14 November 2017); Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, 20; Hiram W. Beckwith, "Introduction," in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. 1, edited by Hiram W. Beckwith (Springfield: The H. W. Rokker Company, 1903), 4; William L. Campbell, "The Condition of Missouri at the Time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1804," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 108.

before being pushed beyond the state of Missouri.[15] The large sale of lands to the Illinois Land Company did solidify the Peewaalia (Peoria) move westward. Treaties in the early nineteenth century and following the end of the War of 1812, the Myaamia (Miami), Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), Waayaahtanwa (Wea), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Lenape (Delaware), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac) and Meskwa (Fox) nations ceded lands of what would become the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.[16]

Several tribal communities such as the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and Lenape (Delawares) were known for their traveling and mobility and had moved to the West in the eighteenth century, settling what would become the states of Missouri and Oklahoma, long before the 1830s push of forced removal by the federal government's official policy was solidified with the Indian Removal Act. Some of the first people to leave the Ohio Valley region were the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), who in clusters of scattered bands slowly relocated westward. As historian Amy Schutt described, the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) Indians were "a people with an especially complicated history of migration."[17] The Shawnee call themselves

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[15] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians. Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39, In Two Volumes With Four Hundred Illustrations from the Author's Original Paintings*, Third Edition, Vol. 2 (London: Published for the author by Tilt and Bogue, 1842), 97-98; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 37-38.

[16] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 21-38; William Clark, *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark,* edited by James J. Holmberg, Yale Western Americana Series (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, published in association with The Filson Historical Society, 2002), 23; Philip Weeks, *"Farewell, My Nation": American Indians and the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, The American History Series, Third Edition (Malden, Massachusetts: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2016), 11-32; Louis F. Burns, *A History of the Osage People* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 175-185. See also: Lindsay G. Robertson, *Conquest by Law: How the Discovery of America Dispossessed Indigenous Peoples of Their Lands* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[17] Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 65. See also: Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 19-20;

Šaawanwaki or 'Southerners.' The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) originally were from around the Ohi:yo' (Ohio) River, but their homelands also include the present-day states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas. By the early 1700s (Paáris) Pawnees, Kitikiti'sh (Wichitas), Missourias, Otoes, Ioways, Winnebagos (Hocąk), Wažažes (Osages), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), and other Native communities—even some living as far away as what would become the state of Michigan—regularly traveled to Saint Louis to trade. By the late 1700s the Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) Band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) settled at the present-day town of Cape Girardeau, Missouri. In 1795, the Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) living in Arkansas asked permission from the Okáxpas (Quapaws) to hunt on their lands. Their request was denied, so the Spanish Governor of Orleans at the time allowed the them to settle along the St. Francis (or François) and White rivers, on seven hundred and fifty square miles. Independent groups of Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Lenape (Delawares), and Odawas (Ottawas) also moved westward in the eighteenth century (See Figure 2.3).[18]

Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 18, 64.

[18] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 22, 35; David La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 24, 42; Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 194; "Rev. Isaac M'Coy," in *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881*, 272; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 135-138; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 34-37, 44, 199-206; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 34-35, 54, 206-109; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 46-47; Aron, *American Confluence*, 40, 80-81, 99, 151-159; Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, 17, 39; Lynn Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss and Delaware Migration in Southern Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (January 1981), 147-153; Gaston L. Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," *COK*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (September 1937), 253-254; William Clark, *Dear Brother*, 60-61, 68-69, 247; Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition,* Vol. 2: August 30, 1830—August 24, 1804 (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Lincoln, 1986), 88-90; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 47n6; Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, late Major-General in the United States Army*, edited by Grant Foreman, The American Exploration and Travel Series (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1930; Reprint, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 168;

The treaty and peace negotiations after the War of 1812 when hostilities ceased in 1815 illustrate the continued use of Native diplomatic protocols of condolence and desires by some Native villages, such as some of the Peewaalia (Peoria) and Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw) towns, to relocate to the Missouri Territory. Both Indian nations and the federal officials sent to negotiate treaties recognized the complex consequences of removal. While the United States would no longer have Indians as direct adjacent neighbors in the Ohio Valley, it would still have to deal with the treaty promises made to encourage the signing of the treaties. In the treaty language one can read the emphasis placed on exchange. With the agreement to remove to West the tribes then would receive reciprocal military and economic assistance from the federal government for reestablishing their communities and keeping their people safe.

While the U.S. federal government had removal in mind by the early 1800s, the Native communities in the Ohio Valley did not. Reflecting on the treaty signed with the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), and Odawa (Ottawa) nations just the day before on September 17, 1818 at St. Mary's,

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William Bright, *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 436; Don Greene, *Shawnee Heritage I: Shawnee Genealogy and Family History* (Morrisville, North Carolina: Lulu Press, Incorporated, 2008), 26-27. For *ša·wanwa*, see also: Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 401n138. The Missouri WPA Guide specified 1786 as when the Spanish grant was occupied and 1792 as the time the Šaawanwaki and Lenape moved to Cape Girardeau. The treaties, however, provided the date January 4, 1793 when they purchased the so-called 'Spanish grant' from Baron De Carondelet and the Spanish government. The (Paári) Pawnee name used today comes from the word for horn, *paariiku', paariki*, in reference to the way they wore their hair made it look like a horn. Bright explained, that the Oklahoma Paári (Pawnee) "use the term /paári/ in their own language" (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 373). Bright similarly noted that the Wichitas (Kitikiti'sh) came to call themselves "/kirikirʔi:s/" (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 566). See also: Zachary Rice, "Repurposing The Comparative Method for Pawnee Language and Dialect Revitalization" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2016), 106; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas* (1939; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 30; Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma, "Pawnee History," *Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma*, 2015-2018, http://www.pawneenation.org/page/home/pawnee-history (accessed 12 February 2018).

General Duncan McArthur wrote to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, explaining: "The proposition to remove to the west of the Mississippi was made to the three former tribes and enforced as far as we believed it politick to enforce it. It was received by them with such strong symptoms of disapprobation, that we did not think it was proper to urge them too far upon the subject." Talking about the mixed band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and the Odawas (Ottawas) and Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) living in Ohio, McArthur continued: "The time has not yet arrived for them voluntarily to abandon the land of their fathers and seek a new residence in a country with which they are unacquainted and among powerful and hostile Indians. As our settlements gradually surround them, their minds will be better prepared to receive this proposition."[19] Federal officials had the goal of total Indian removal from the state of Ohio, and they recognized the difficulties of selling the idea of removal and residence next to Southern Plains nations who themselves were hostile to the idea of dissimilar and stranger Native communities to reside on their lands.

In the fall of 1815 the Myaamiaki (Miamis), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Odawas (Ottawas), Lenape (Delawares), Ojibwes (Chippewas), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis) who lived in the states of Michigan and Indiana signed treaties with the United States and they emphasized their cultural continuity and community survival. Michigan would not receive statehood until 1836, while other Great Lakes and Ohio Valley states would enter the union in the 1800s and 1810s: Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), and Illinois (1818). In these treaties at the end of the War of 1812 (1812-1815) federal officials,

[19] Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 78-83; Ratified Treaty No. 97 (September 17, 1818), 2-3, DRT UWDC. Quote from: Ratified Treaty No. 97 (September 17, 1818), 2-3, DRT UWDC.

with Ohio having obtained statehood in 1803, saw in their future in further settler colonial settlements and other states entering statehood.[20] Myaamiaki (Miamis), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Odawas (Ottawas), Ojibwes (Chippewas), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis) would sign a peace treaty in 1815 and another in 1817. The 1817 treaties ceded lands to the United States and designated small reservations. These reservations were created by the means of inherited-through-leadership fee-simple patents to the land. For example, the government made a land patent to Doanquod, Howoner, Rontondee, Tauyau, Rodtayau, Dawatont, Manocue, Tauyaudautauson, and Haudauuwaugh and "their successors in office" twelve square miles at Upper Sandusky as well as a one-mile cranberry bog for tribal use.[21]

The tribal leaders in these treaty negotiations focused on reconciliation, condolence, and rebuilding their communities. When Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Tenskwatawa spoke on September 4, 1815 at Spring Wells, Michigan Territory, he spoke to the Native allies and former foes. He underlined the importance of taking care of their relations and families. The treaty negotiation notes relay that he said, "Let us be firmly united, hold fast by each other, and direct our united efforts to take care of our families." Signaling their kinship to each other, he directed: "brothers, let us take care of our women and children." While the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) leader Menominee

[20] *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 12.

[21] *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 25, 131-136, 166; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 48; Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas, Containing A Full Account of Its Growth From an Uninhabited Territory to a Wealthy and Important State; Of Its Early Settlements; Its Rapid Increase in Population and the Marvelous Development of Its Great Natural Resources. Also, a Supplementary History and Description of Its Counties, Cities, Towns and Villages, Their Advantages, Industries, Manufactures and Commerce; To Which Are Added Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Prominent Men and Early Settlers, Illustrated* (Chicago: Alfred Theodore Andreas, 1883; Reproduction, Atchison and Topeka: Atchison County Historical Society in cooperation with the KSHS, 1976), 69-70. The name Doanquod has also been spelled as Deunquat (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 135).

thanked Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Tarhe (The Crane) for leading the condolence rituals, Menominee also explained their shared views. Menominee responded, "I thank you for so doing; but it was unnecessary. My heart and my sentiments were with you already." Menominee reiterated the importance of recalling, recollecting, and remembering these agreements made in good faith and reinforced by the condolence wampum. He insisted, "Wyandots and Shawnees [Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandottes) and Šaawanwaki]! The Pattawatamies [sic] take you by the hand. Tell your children of this our profession of friendship for your tribes, and do you old men retain it in recollection."[22] In his speech Menominee emphasized the long-held importance of continual renewal and recitation of peace agreements.

Tarhe also stressed the importance of peace. He described a peaceful road that was clear of any obstructions and danger, a metaphor repeated in the history of treaty literature. Tarhe explained on September 5, 1815: "Our forefathers had a maxim that they had but one road to travel in; that road was peace—a road which women and children could travel in security." Specifically, it was a uniquely Native-made road, "a road made by their ancestors." By continuing to carry out and follow the protocols of wampum condolence, creating relationships and kin with each other and maintaining peace, and retaining the traditions of their ancestors, the Native peoples saw the healthy endurance and survival of their families and communities.[23]

In the peace negotiations with tribal nations at the end of the War of 1812, talks focused on ceremonial protocols and the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) took often the lead in the discussions and the ceremonies of condolence. The Wa^{n}dat

[22] *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 22-23. Quotes from: *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 23.
[23] *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 24.

(Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) held a place of significance in the discussions, as General William Henry Harrison called Tarhe the United States' "oldest son" and therefore had the honor of leading the condolence ceremony, those to "remove all difficulty and impediments to their sitting around our council fire."[24] General Harrison explained that "the paths to the council fire should be open and safe" for those nations who sided with the British to come and treat with the Americans in 1815. Specifically, the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) leader Nuscotomeg (Mad Sturgeon) sent a Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) courier to invite Tenskwatawa and the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees).[25]

Tarhe called the Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) brothers and nephews. Specifically regarding those who fought on the side of the British, he emphasized the way in which the warfare had affected their entire communities and families. He spoke: "You, brothers, nephews and Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] who have come from the other side of the river; you who are sad of heart, and blinded by tears; I take this wampum into my hand; the Great Spirit gave it to his red children to speak with; it was the language of our forefathers." "[W]ith it, as the emblem of the softest and whitest cloth, I wipe your eyes, and the eyes of your women and children, that you may all see clear again," Tarhe continued. He specifically told them to listen careful to the protocol so they would remember the ceremony, that it was "[o]ne bunch of wampum was to clear the eyes, unstop the ears, cleanse the throat, and amend the heart; another to collect the bones, to bury them." Not only did he clear the eyes, ears, and throats of the warriors but also of the women and children in their communities,

[24] Ratified Treaty No. 70 (September 8, 1815), 12, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 19.
[25] Ratified Treaty No. 70 (September 8, 1815), 3-5, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 17-18. Quote from: Ratified Treaty No. 70 (September 8, 1815), 3, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 17.

following the Haudenosaunee condolence practice of *aetshiya?totr´ō:k?*, of wiping clean one's eyes, ears, and throats.[26]

General Harrison, specifically speaking to Tenskwatawa, Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and others, recounted of times past, describing the darkness that had descended on the landscape. "There was a time of dread and dismay, when darkness rested on the forest, when the warrior wandered in uncertainty and fear, after slipping on the blood which covered his path, while his distant and anxious family confined in the cabins were looking frequently in vain for his return."[27] The history narrated also included the Western Indian Confederation, of which the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) held prominence. Harrison noted that "it was the wish of the commissioners that this should now be the council fire of all the tribes, around which they should hereafter assemble under their leading tribe, (the Wyandotts, [Wa^{n}dat/ Wendat/Wyandot(te)s]) who were the original proprietors; and this fire they wished extended as far as Brownstown [a Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) village, often called Sindathon's Village, located along Brownstown Creek, in what is now the state of Michigan], where it should be under its former keepers, the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s], Ottawas [Odawas], Potawatamies

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[26] Foster, "Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils," 106, 114n24; Ratified Treaty No. 70 (September 8, 1815), 13, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 20. The transcribed ASP reads "Wyandots" but the MS reads "Wyandotts." On the importance of Native women, see the speech Nuttall footnoted. Domine Peter, representing the Seneca and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayuga) nations, spoke to Governor Clinton in 1788: "Our ancestors considered it a great offence to reject the counsels of their women, particularly (that) of the female governesses (or chieftains). They were esteemed the mistresses of the soil (as they solely attended to the labours [sic] of agriculture). Who, said they, bring us into being? Who cultivate our lands, kindle our fires (or administer food to the calls of hunger), but our women?" (Quoted in: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 268-269).

[27] Ratified Treaty No. 70 (September 8, 1815), 13-14, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 20. The transcribed *ASP* reads "often sleeping on the blood which covered his path" but it should be "slipping." On pathways darkened by bloodshed before the Haudenosaunee League, see: Audra Simpson, "Clifford Maracle (1944-1996)," 98.

[Potawatomis/Potewatmis], and Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka].” The Brownstown council fire was the first center of what became known as the Western Indian Confederacy, and represented the abovementioned along with the Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Myaamiaki (Miamis), and Ojibwes (Chippewas). The Western Indian Confederacy’s international council fire had moved to Sindathon’s Village (Brownstown) in 1786 and then to Kiihkayonki (Kekionga) in 1789.[28]

In response, the second in command of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) fighters accepted the wampum, giving thanks for their friendship and peaceful negotiations, and their families. This unnamed leader expressed his hopes for the future: “He sincerely wished for peace not only with the whites but with all the tribes, one with the other; and that that peace should be lasting.” He then expressed gratitude: “He gave thanks to the Great Spirit [Creator] for this fine day, for the cloudless sky, this pleasant breeze, and the attendance of the women—to women who were the mothers of mankind, every reverence and respect were due.” That present day was extraordinary, because, as he explained, “this happy morning is ever to be remembered and admired; for on this morning, with the rising sun, they were met by the messenger who invited them to come and to meet in peace.”[29] In negotiating the peace, those who sided with the British and those who sided with the Americans, both came together using the indigenous protocols, and stressed the importance of their families and communities.

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[28] Ratified Treaty No. 70 (September 8, 1815), 15-16, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 20. The transcribed *ASP* version spells “Wyandots” and “Pattawatamie” but the MS reads “Wyandotts” and “Potawatamies.” See also: Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 127; White, *The Middle Ground*, 433; Paul Sewick, “Indian Villages, Reservations, and Removal,” *Detroit Urbanism: Uncovering the History of Our Roads, Borders, and Build Environment* (blog), March 7, 2016, http://detroiturbanism.blogspot.com/2016/03/indian-villages-reservations-and-removal.html (accessed 31 January 2018).

[29] Ratified Treaty No. 70 (September 8, 1815), 16, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 21.

For many different reasons, many indigenous groups left the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley for lands in the West that the whites had not yet interfered with. These groups who sided with the military leaders Tecumthe (Tecumseh) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) and Pontiac (Bwandiag) (Odawa/Ottawa) such as the Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Ojibwes (Chippewas), and also Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Meskwaki (Foxes), and Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), would punish and push the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking communities westward in retaliation for their association with the murder of Bwandiag (Pontiac) in 1769 at Cahokia, Illinois, by a Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia) assassin.[30] The Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Meskwaki (Foxes), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Odawas (Ottawas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Ojibwes (Chippewas), Lenape (Delawares), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Kansas (Kaws), Wažažes (Osages), Mahas (Pawnees/Paáris), Ioways, Ihanktonwan Nakota (Yankton) and Teton Lakota all signed treaties at the Portage des Sioux, Missouri Territory, on July 18, 1815. The tribal nations reaffirmed past treaties and reestablished a positive relationship with the United States after conflicts and warfare between the British and Americans in the East. While some tribal nations tried to maintain neutrality, others fought with their allies, the Americans or the British.[31]

In their report as commissioners for negotiating treaties the Governor of the Missouri Territory William Clark, the Governor of the Illinois Territory Ninian

[30] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 25-34, 64, 133; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 118-126; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 34.

[31] *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 1-3, 7.

Edwards, and the prominent fur trader Auguste Chouteau detailed the unreceptiveness of the Indian nations to treaty for removal. The Potewatmis (Potawatomis) and Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), however, were the exceptions. The Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) had little choice. Described as "small band of Piankashaws who are prisoners of war," Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) wanted to move to the West. The commissioners were glad of this positive determination to move to Missouri. As the commissioners reported: "The Piankeshaws [Peeyankihšiaki] are extremely anxious to reside in this Territory, and wish to be permitted to sell the small tract of land which they own in the Illinois Territory, near the Wabash, for ploughs, horses, farming utensils, &c., which are necessary to enable them to make a new establishment."[32] Additionally, William Clark wrote to the Secretary of War in 1819, reporting how the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) were "brought to this place by a detachment of Militia," near the St. Francis River.[33] Faced with negative backlash from other Indian nations and faced with the prospects of removing to lands that they historically had been familiar with—Missouri Territory—the Peeyankihšia (Piankashaws) sought migration for peace and community survival and persistence.

By the 1820s when southeastern and northwestern Indians started their reconnaissance for new lands in the west to compensate them for lands they would lose in the east due to forced removal, many groups from the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley already lived in what became Indian Territory. Chahtas (Choctaws) traveling in 1828 met a Šaawanwa (Shawnee) group with Tenskwatawa, the famed Prophet and brother to Tecumthe (Tecumseh). After residing in Canada until 1824, Tenskwatawa and other

[32] *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 8-10.
[33] Quote from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 35.

Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) moved to the West in 1826, and ended up in Kansas Territory. Tenskwatawa died on the Wažaže (Osage) Reservation in 1835 (See Figures 2.4 and 2.5). Other families with esteemed ancestry also lived in the area. Works Progress Administration projects recounted the octogenarian Nerupenesheguah, the son of the venerated Hokoleskwa (Cornstalk), was a "conspicuous defender of Shawnee interests" west of the state of Missouri. Many of Tecumtha (Tecumseh)'s relatives lived in the Cape Girardeau area, including his sister Teceikeapease.[34] By the early nineteenth century Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), and Lenape (Delawares) lived in villages all along the waterways of eastern Texas and the Kaw River in Kansas Territory (See Figures 2.6, 2.7, and 2.8).

They would trade with the southern Plains tribes such as the N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Nu~~u~~mu~~nu~~, or Nu~~u~~mu~~u~~, Comanches). Other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) even considered moving and living with their relatives there. By the 1830s and 1850s Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), and Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) lived in multiple locations. All had communities in Kansas, Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), and eastern Texas. In 1824 Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Lenape (Delaware), and Wažažes (Osages) lived around Three Forks area, now known today by the Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) town built around there, around the confluence of the Arkansas, Neosho (Nį ózo), and Verdigris Rivers—present-day Muskogee, Oklahoma. These Ohio Valley communities of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), and Kiikaapoaki

[34] La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 53, 57; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 57, 161-162; William Clark, *Dear Brother*, 261-262; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 34-36; Lee Irwin, *Coming Down from Above: Prophecy, Resistance, and Renewal in Native American Religions*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 179. Nerupenesheguah quote from: Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 36.

(Kickapoos) joined with other communities such as the Hasínay (Caddos) and Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) in Texas and Indian Territory.

Not until 1874 did a group of Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), led by Thahpequah, decided to move near the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), and Meskwaki (Foxes)—communities who all spoke Algonquian languages very much like their own and intelligible to each other—at the Sac and Fox Agency, located near the present-day town of Shawnee, Oklahoma. George Catlin noted that the "Kickapoos [Kiikaapoaki] have long lived in alliance with the Sacs [Thakiwaki/Sauks] and Foxes [Meskwaki], and speak a language so similar that they seem almost to be of one family." The Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Meskwaki (Foxes), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) eventually ended up living near each other, as they had often done in the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley lands decades and centuries before.[35]

[35] "Dwight Mission," *COK*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March 1934), 42; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 256-259; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 35-40, 161-162; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 16; Anne Farrar Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A New History of the North American West, 1800-1860* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011; Reprint, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2012), 301-302. Quotes from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 162; Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 98. While on western expeditions in 1834-1835, the United States Dragoons observed a group or family of Aniyunwiya traveling to Arkansas (Louis Pelzer, ed., "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834-1835," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (July 1909), 336-339); R. David Edmunds, "'Paint Me As Who I Am': Woodland People at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century," in *Always a People: Oral Histories of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 12. Nu̶mu̶nu̶u̶ may also be spelled as Nu̶mu̶nu̶, or just Nu̶mu̶ (see hashtags: #nu̶mu̶nu̶u̶ and #nu̶mu̶nu̶). Caddos also call themselves Hasínay. Thank you to Rance Weryackwe (Nu̶mu̶nu̶) and Alaina Tahlate (Hasínay/Caddo) for clarifications of the terms. See also: Lila Wistrand Robinson and James Armagost, *Comanche Dictionary and* Grammar, Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics Publication No. 92 (Arlington, Texas: A Publication of The Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington, 1990), 68, 188; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 75. Linguist David J. Costa described the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria or Miami-Illinois) language as close to the "Sauk-Meskwaki-Kickapoo," the Thakiwa-Meskwa(Sauk/Sac-Fox)-Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) languages, the Ojibwe-Potawatomi languages, and the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) language (David J. Costa, "Diminutive Nouns in Miami-Illinois," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Winter 2016), 381). These are sub-groupings of languages in the larger Central Algonquian languages (Costa, "Diminutive Nouns in Miami-Illinois," 408n31). Perhaps one of the most extensive discussions of linguistic connections between Southern Great Lakes Algonquians is David J. Costa's article on affinities between Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria), Thakiwa-Meskwa (Sauk/Sac-Fox), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), and Potewatmi (Potawatomi)

By the time of the forced removal of southeastern and northeastern tribes to Indian Territory, then, many Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples had already moved into the area, disrupting the original inhabitants such as the Wažažes (Osages) and Kitikiti'sh (Wichitas). A lot of intertribal disputes in the early nineteenth century

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communities. See: David J. Costa, "Borrowing in Southern Great Lakes Algonquian and the History of Potawatomi," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Fall 2013), 195-233. Linguistic and cultural affinities also continued into the twentieth century. For example: Šaawanwa/Shawnee Man's Leggings (Quapaw Agency, Ottawa County, Oklahoma), 1880-1900, Catalog No. 1/9833, NMAI, SI; Charles Callender, "Shawnee," in *HNAI*, Vol. 15, 633; George Michael Ironstrack and Scott Michael Shoemaker, "peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki: Myaamia Ribbonwork," in Andrew J. Strack, Karen Baldwin, and Alysia Fischer, with contributions by George Michael Ironstrack and Scott Michael Shoemaker and consultation with Julie Olds, Daryl Baldwin, David Costa, and John Bickers, *peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki | Myaamia Ribbonwork*, developed through the Myaamia Center, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio (Miami, Oklahoma: Myaamia Publications, 2016). Interestingly, although Šaawanwa (Shawnee) and Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) languages do have similarities, they are not as close to each other as other Central Algonquian languages. David J. Costa noted that the only reason Charles F. Voegelin said he published Šaawanwa (Shawnee) and Myaamia (Miami) materials together was the publishable aspect. John Peabody Harrington wrote in his notes: "I ask Voeg[elin], what language is the nearest to Miami-Peoria & why he published on Miami and Shawnee stems together. He says the Shawnee language is not closely related to Miami at all and is vastly different, he just saw a way of getting his Shawnee stems published and therefore put them in with Dunn's Miami" (Quoted in: Anthony P. Grant and David J. Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Winter, 1991), 429). See also: Victor Golla, "Introduction: John P. Harrington and His Legacy," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Winter 1991), 337-349; Caroline Dunn, *Jacob Piatt Dunn: His Miami Language Studies and Indian Manuscript Collection*, Indiana Historical Society Prehistory Research Series, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1937); Charles F. Voegelin, *Shawnee Stems and the Jacob P. Dunn Miami Dictionary*, Indiana Historical Society Prehistory Research Series, Vol. 1, Nos. 3, 5, 8-10 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1938-1940). See also: Scott Michael Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins: Narratives of Landscape, Representation, and the Miami Nation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2011), 25, 59n105. For a good brief overview of Meskwaki (Foxes) and Thakiwaki (Sauks) migrations, see: Judith M. Daubenmier, *The Meskwaki and Anthropologists: Action Anthropology Reconsidered*, Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology Series (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 32-33. By the seventeenth century Meskwaki (Foxes) lived in what is now Michigan, moving to Wisconsin, and by the eighteenth century lived near the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) in Illinois. The U.S.-Thakiwa(Sauk/Sac) War, known commonly as the Black Hawk War (1832) and led by the Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac) leader Mahkatêwimeshikêhkêhkwa (Black Hawk), pushed them West, and in 1842 the federal government established a reservation in Kansas. Many Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) refused to go or stay in Kansas until 1856 Iowa granted them leave to remain there (Daubenmier, *The Meskwaki and Anthropologists*, 32-33). See also: Phil Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity: The Anishnaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 39; Gordon Whittaker, "The Words of Black Hawk: Restoring a Long-Ignored Bilingual," in *New Voices for Old Words: Algonquian Oral Literatures*, edited by David J. Costa, Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians Series (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 490-521; Mahkatêwimeshikêhkêhkwa and John B. Patterson, "Sauk text: *The Nekanawîni ('My Words') of Mahkatêwimeshikêhkêhkwa*," in *New Voices for Old Words: Algonquian Oral Literatures*, edited by David J. Costa, Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians Series (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 522-537.

were from these Old Northwest groups conflicting with Southern Plains tribes and other southeastern Indians who had been forcibly removed to the area.

Many of the Indian groups residing in Texas pulled their forces together and confederated for mutual support. By 1832 Euro-Americans observed that Duwali (also known as John Bowl, or just Bowles), a leader of the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), and many others had moved to Caney Creek, a good fifty miles from Nacogdoches. Historian Mary Clarke wrote that they "formed a loose confederacy with other refugee Indians" and this group included Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Chahtas (Choctaws), Biloxis, Alabamas, and Coushattas. Many multiethnic communities composed of expatriate removed Indians materialized in the West.[36]

Repeatedly Texan, American, and other Indian leadership gave the communities in eastern Texas ultimatums to leave the area. The Indian nations had signed a treaty on February 23, 1836 with Texas, represented by Sam Houston, that permitted them to remain on the lands where they resided. Texas refused to ratify the treaty in 1837, and so Texas authorities forced Duwali's group to leave eastern Texas in 1839. The communities just moved north, onto lands set aside by the federal government for the Chahtas (Choctaws) and Chikashas (Chickasaws). The Chahta (Choctaw) General Council ordered them to leave by March 1, 1841. Months later they issued yet another ultimatum for November 1. Eventually the federal government established Indian

[36] Mary Whatley Clarke, *Chief Bowles and the Texas Cherokees*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 17. Also quoted in: Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 139. See also: Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*, 139-140; Garrick Bailey, ed., *Traditions of the Osage: Stories Collected and Translated by Francis La Flesche* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 10-12; Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," 254-256; Albert Woldert, "The Last of the Cherokees in Texas, and the Life and Death of Chief Bowles," *COK*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (June 1923), 179-220.

reservations in Texas in 1854 (Texas had received statehood in 1845). This, however, did not prevent the Native communities from staying connected to their relatives. As historian LaVere explained: "While the three reserves [in Texas: Brazos, Wichita, and Clear Fork] provided homes for many Prairie Indians [Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Lenape (Delawares), Hasínay (Caddos), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), and the Muskogean-speaking peoples known as the Semvnoles (Seminoles)], their boundaries could not break kinship bonds or stop the obligations of reciprocity so long a part of Indian life." Native societies continued to communicate, interact, travel back and forth, and maintain kinship bonds from way south in Texas to up north in Kansas and even further eastward back to many of their original homelands.[37]

[37] Gregory D. Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), 22, 53-55; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 94-102, 152, 165-166; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma: A Guide*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 355-359; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide* (Oklahoma City: OTRD, 2010), 34-35, 58-59; Rennard Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 4-5, 32; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (1951; Reprint, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 240-245; August C. Mahr, "Shawnee Names and Migrations in Kentucky and West Virginia," *Ohio Journal of Science*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (May 1960), 155; Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations: The Creek Council of 1845," *COK*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Winter 1961-1962), 398-399; La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 47-50, 81-87, 116, 146-151, 164-165; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 17-18, 34, 159-161; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 49-51, 145-192; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 135, 174; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 105n10, 138n81, 142n89, 149-150, 197, 197n14, 234n16, 236n18, 236n19; Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 239; Aron, *American Confluence*, 3-8, 197-216; Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*, 70, 88-106, 137-140, 160-161, 247; Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," 254; Woldert, "The Last of the Cherokees in Texas," 179-220; Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 213-216, 256; Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 73-74; Dyrinda Tyson-Jones, "Black Book: 39 Tribes," *Oklahoma Today Magazine*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (July/August 2010), 68; Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families*, 301-304. Quote from: La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 151. Stephen Aron also noted that during the treaty negotiations: "For Shawnees and Delawares in Ohio and Indiana, these agreements sometimes meant rejoining tribal brethren who had previously settled in Missouri" (Aron, *American Confluence*, 205). See also: Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, "About The Seminole Nation of Oklahoma," *The Great Seminole Nation of Oklahoma*, 2015, http://www.sno-nsn.gov/2012-07-13-05-53-47 (accessed 6 January 2017); Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 147-149, 400, 400n117. The name of the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) can alternatively be spelled as Mvskoke, Maskoke, Maskóki, Mvskoke (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 303-305). Of great help was a conversation regarding tribal names with Apvlvnev Piña

While the Chahtas (Choctaws) eventually did not tolerate some Indian nations coming onto their lands, and issued warnings for them to leave, other Native communities—through incorporation and displaying their friendliness, peacefulness, and sedentary ways of life, the Chahtas (Choctaws) ultimately permitted many to remain. Chahta (Choctaw) Indian Agent George Strother Gaines, former head of the Chahta (Choctaw) Trading House and future director of the "emigration" of the Chahtas (Choctaws) from the East, led an exploring party of Chikashas (Chickasaws) and Chahtas (Choctaws) visiting Arkansas Territory in 1830-1831 as a prelude to their removal from Mississippi to Indian Territory. One day they settled for the night along the Red River. By happenstance they had located their encampment next to a group of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), several families that had resided in the area since the end of the War of 1812 in 1815.

The Chahta (Choctaw) leader Nitakechi (Day Prolonger) spoke, presumably through an interpreter, to Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leaders and their community. Nitakechi explained that the land where they presently resided was Chahta (Choctaw) lands. He explained that "they had exchanged their old country east of the Mississippi for this." After following Chahta (Choctaw) rules and laws, however, the Chahtas (Choctaws) could adopt them into their nation. Then the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) would "have all the rights and privileges of Choctaw [Chahta] families."[38] Chahta (Choctaw) adoption

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(Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), Tafv Tahdooahnippah (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)-Nu̶mu̶nu̶u̶/Comanche), Terra Long (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), Camille Prevett (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), Dr. Robin Starr Zapetahholah Minthorn (G̶áuigú(Kiowa)/Nn̲ēē(Apache)/Umatilla/ Nimíipuu(Nez Perce)/Assiniboine), Meghan Dorey, Turner Went-Worth (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), Dr. Patti Jo King (Yunwiya/Cherokee), and Cornell Tahdooahnippah (Nu̶mu̶nu̶u̶/Comanche), November 29, 2016. See also: Camille Prevett, "Facebook as a Tool in Mvskoke Language Learning and Use" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2017), 3.

[38] Gaines, *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines*, 98. Gaines spelled Nitakechi's name as Netuckijah. Nitukechi is also another spelling. See: Oklahoma Nation of Oklahoma, "Chiefs: 1830-

allowed for the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) to remain where they resided if they wished and become incorporated into a larger kinship network of the Chahtas (Choctaws).

Also in the West, many Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking communities followed a seasonal hunt, and therefore, often resided with other nations such as the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) on their reserved lands. Several hundred Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) also lived near the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) around 1840. A Euro-American observer said that the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) completely adopted them into their nation, and these Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) politically became Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)). They were "regarded as a part of the [Mvskoke/Muscogee] Creek Nation—their chiefs attending the [Mvskoke/Muscogee] Creek general councils." Similarly, the Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) nation did not disrupt a community of two hundred and fifty Okáxpas (Quapaws) living several miles from them on the Canadian River. The Euro-American reporter noted that these two groups, the Okáxpa (Quapaw) and Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw) communities "both cultivate and will not be seduced into war." Oftentimes Native groups already lived in territories that the federal government had already promised to the Chahtas (Choctaws) and Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)). Often with close council and negotiation, kinship allowed enough flexibility. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), and Okáxpas (Quapaws) could remain on the lands for subsistence and raise their families in their languages and traditions,

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1857 Pushmataha District," *Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma*, https://www.choctawnation.com/chief/1830-1857-pushmataha-district (accessed 10 December 2017).

while being incorporated into another tribal nation for security, protection, and a place to call home.[39]

These mostly Algonquian-speaking communities originally from the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley became established hunters and traders in the West by the 1830s and 1840s. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Meskwaki (Foxes), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), and Hasínay (Caddos) traveled and traded with Euro-Americans of Louisiana, Mexicans in the southwest, and N~~u~~m~~u~~n~~uu~~ (Comanches) and other Southern Plains tribes. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) "'continue to loiter in and occupy the country,'" the Governor of Missouri, John Miller, grumbled in his November 1830 correspondence. The Indian agents in 1846 said the voluntarily-emigrated Indians living around the Canadian, Arkansas, and Red rivers—the Okáxpas (Quapaws), Hasínay (Caddos), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and Myaamiaki (Miamis)—were "attached to no agency, have no connexion with the government, and but little intercourse with the tribes to which they properly belong."

These groups, although not belonging to any Indian office administration, helped to maintain order and peace for the Offices. Another officer explained that "they traverse the prairies in every direction in small parties, their character for superior courage and sagacity begin so well established that the wild tribes seldom venture to attack them.'" Again in 1846 the Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the West, William Armstrong, reported that the migrating tribes served as buffers from the

[39] Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 257; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 205; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 97, 171.

southern Plains groups. He argued that the military did not need any military post in the area because the hunting parties constantly surveilled the areas and their presence prevented wholesale theft and bloodshed.[40]

Many of these groups intentionally choosing to remove to the West as a means of avoiding paternalistic U.S. federal oversight, pressures, and crowding from unfriendly whites. It also allowed them to possibly be around other like-minded indigenous peoples. The prospects of having to deal with conflict and resolution in the West with other indigenous communities, although vastly different from themselves, viewed and favored better than Euro-American unruly mobs and rifle-carrying militias and Indian agents 'breathing down their necks.' Lenape (Delawares) constantly told Indian officials how white settlers who surrounded them harassed them to leave the area.

A poignant perception by an anonymous Šaawanwa (Shawnee) woman illustrates some of the reasons why many communities moved westward—for security and refuge. The Šaawanwa (Shawnee) woman quoted at the beginning of this section exemplified these motivations. During the 1830-1831 Chikasha (Chickasaw) and Chahta (Choctaw) exploring party's travels, Gaines described how "[a]fter supper the chiefs and the oldest Captains of our delegations walked to the council house which was lighted by a fire in the center of the floor." While greeting and interacting with their Chahta (Choctaw), Chikasha (Chickasaw), and Euro-American visitors, the

[40] Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 69, 159, 168, 174, 216, 256-257; Aron, *American Confluence*, 99-104; Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, 66; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 75, 150-151, 163-164, 311; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 51, 54-55, 136-137, 163-164; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 60, 63, 151; Russell M. Lawson, *The Land between the Rivers: Thomas Nuttall's Ascent of the Arkansas, 1819* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 14, 53, 63, 85, 90-91; Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss," 147-153. Quotes from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians,* 163-164; *1846 ARCIA*, 60-62.

Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) divulged how they had come to reside in that valley on the Red River. There Gaines said that a Šaawanwa (Shawnee) woman of mixed descent noticed that he was an English-speaking Euro-American and did not hesitate to share her dislike at seeing him. She bluntly said: "You are a white man. I hoped never to see the face of another white man.'" Gaines then asked why she wished so. The woman, "answered her husband and several members of her family had been killed by the whites." "'The remnant of my relations,' said she, 'were compelled to leave their homes, and we travelled to this country where we hoped to live in peace.'"[41] The lands provided the opportunity to live with their family and relatives in peace and to continue to pass on their traditions and values to their children and grandchildren.

Gaines retorted brazenly that the Americans should not be at fault for the Šaawanwa woman's husband and family members' deaths. "It was not their fault your tribe joined the English… In fighting them, with your people among them, we could not help killing the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki]."[42] Gaines missed the nameless Šaawanwa (Shawnee) woman's point—that the fight between the Americans and British brought the war to the Šaawanwaki's (Shawnees') front doors, to their homelands. This interaction also illustrated the differing opinions and points-of-views between many Native communities and Euro-Americans. The United States saw removal to the West as viable punitive actions against Native peoples who sided with Great Britain during the war. Many Native communities such as the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and

[41] Quote from: Gaines, *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines*, 98. Also quoted in: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 160. See also: Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 54, 63, 90-91; *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines*, 3-19, 26, 47, 92-100; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 55-56.

[42] Quote from: Gaines, *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines*, 98.

Peewaaliaki (Peorias) found hope for a more confident future of familial wellness and cultural continuity in the West.

II. Kinship Connections: Indigenous Tools to Combat Forced Removal's Discontinuity and Disjuncture

"The Prophet [Tenskwatawa] was invited to attend the Great Council [at Wapakoneta, Ohio, on May 11], supposing he had learned some sense by this time, and have a wish with the other Indians to live altogether… We have a large party of Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] and Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] with us; We will make our fires for the present and enter the swamps near the Mississippi and try to sustain ourselves…'"

> Quatawepea (Captain John Lewis) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), in council at Saint Louis, Missouri, with the American representative General William Clark and the Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Yunwiya (Cherokee), and other indigenous delegates, November 10, 1824[43]

When faced with impending removal, the Native communities of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley used the tools very much familiar to them and well established in their societies—wampum belts and kinship ties to respond to the destructive forces of colonialism and to recuperate after devastating loss. Native nations found ways of maintaining order, peace, and balance. Despite the disjuncture of forced removal, they employed continuing connections with other groups and geographically relocated to places next to familiar neighbors. Countless Native nations also faced similar situations of signing treaties to move away from their homelands, the places of their ancestors and where they have lived for a very long time, if not for as long as they could remember. As Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) noted in the fall of 1830, when faced with impending removal to the West: "Our hearts (are) full of… (sorrow)

[43] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 51-52. Also quoted in: Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830*, Revised Edition, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1930; Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 195-196.

for all the tribes."[44] Native communities did not face removal in isolation and they knew it. Other Native nations faced similar fates. They all knew they all had the same future ahead of the them: the forced relocation to the West. Although their neighbors and future could not be completely predicted, they knew that those who they resided near in the present Great Lakes and Ohio Valley regions would often be those they lived next to in the West. In short, kinship and connection during the removal process allowed the Native communities to have some sort of agency and control over their lives, their families, and their communities' continuity and survival.

Additionally, as historian John P. Bowes has explained northern Removal from the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley in the 1830s showed continuity of Native relationality, kinship networks, with the "strength and persistence of the native frameworks."[45] Bowes also succinctly noted, these tribal nations and communities "relied on preexisting patterns of relations to prepare for relocation."[46] Native frameworks provided a starting block from which the communities could rebuild their lives. They returned to the familiar, using the language of relationality and kinship to each other, calling each other uncles and brothers. Meeting new people, they also created new kinship ties. As Lumbee scholar Robert Williams explained, "stories of tribes reinvigorating alliances and confederacies or creating new structures of cooperation with other Indian groups" frequently dotted the landscape of the historical record. Returning to their wampum belts that held stories of interaction and agreement with

[44] Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket), "An Indian's Own Story" (1829-1831), transcribed and edited by John Allen Rayner (March 1886), Indian History MS Collection No. 590, Box 6, Subgroup 22, Series E, KSHS. Also available on *KSMEM*. See also: Ohio History Connection, "A Story of the Shawanoes," *Ohio History Central*, http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/A_Story_of_the_Shawanoes (accessed 11 March 2018).

[45] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 18, 42.

[46] Ibid., 45.

other indigenous nations, Native nations renewed alliances and created new ones with new communities in the West. With the impending inevitability of forced removal westward, many of the tribal nations utilized their connections and kinship with others when ultimately faced with the removal.[47]

As early as 1818 the U.S. federal government ask Plains—Wažaže (Osage), Kansa (Kaw), Kitikiti'sh (Wichita), Paári (Pawnee), Okáxpa (Quapaw), and Otoe-Missouria—Indians to give up lands in what is now Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma for eastern Indians. The Wažažes (Osages) ceded lands in a treaty June 2, 1825. The Kansa, or Kaw, Indians originally resided in the state that now bears its namesake—Kansas. In a treaty in 1825 they ceded some of their lands, and the U.S. government intended this for new homes for other tribes from the East. Treaties in 1846 and 1859 ceded even more lands and the Kansas (Kaws) and Wažažes (Osages) would eventually remove to Oklahoma by 1873. During the Presidency of James Monroe (1817-1825) the federal government made formal requests for tribes to sell lands in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, and treaties and land cessions ensued.

The Lenape (Delaware) (October 3, 1818), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoo) (July 30, 1819; August 30, 1819), and Waayaahtanooki (Wea) (August 11, 1820) either ceded substantial amount of lands or moved further West. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Odawa (Ottawa), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Lenape (Delaware), Myaamia (Miami), Peewaalia (Peoria), and Waayaahtanwa (Wea) communities all retained small reservations.[48]

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[47] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together: American Indian Treaty Visions of Law and Peace, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 24.

[48] Paul Wallace Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 14; Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 25-37, 45-49,

At the same time, however, the federal government wished to remove those groups who had settled in Missouri as more white settlers and the Missouri Compromise legislation in 1820 made Missouri a slave state. The Indian Office told Indian Agent Richard Graham in 1821 to try to locate emigrating Indians such as the Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Myaamia (Miami), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), and Waayaahtanwa (Wea) as far West as he could. On May 14, 1824 Senator Benton recommended legislation to remove the Indians still living in Missouri (See Figures 2.9 and 2.10). Federal officials, like William Clark who rhetorically protected the land rights of emigrated Indians such as the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), and Lenape (Delawares), began to lose political clout in the eyes of their white American constituents.[49]

While the federal government secured plans for removal of Indian communities to the West, white settlers had come to the area. They did not see a land already occupied and in use, but a frontier into which they could simply expand into, and conquer if necessary. Nuttall described the "disrespectful murmurs against the

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63-66, 152-177, 315-345; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 36-47; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 59-65; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 193n10; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 33, 50-53, 277-280; La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 52-53; Aron, *American Confluence*, 3-8, 139-148; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 165-166. See also: Berlin B. Chapman, "Removal of the Osages from Kansas, 1," *KHQ*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (August 1938), 287-305; Berlin B. Chapman, "Removal of the Osages from Kansas, 2," *KHQ*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (November 1938), 399-410; William E. Unrau, *The Kansa Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673-1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), xvi. On Waayaahtanwa (Wea) removal, Ingersoll argued that: "The young and isolated mixed Wea-French Noel Dashney (-nay) appears by his own account to have sided with the government to persuade the Weas [Waayaahtanooki] to move" (Thomas N. Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers: Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 235). Nebraska's name came from the Platte River, which the Umąhą (Omahas) called "nį braska" and the Otoes "nį bráθge," literally meaning 'flat water' or 'flat river' (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 320). David Costa explained that θ refers to the "th" sound in Algonquian languages (David J. Costa, "Miami-Illinois and Shawnee: Culture-Hero and Trickster Stories," Told by George Finley, Elizabeth Vallier, and an Unknown Shawnee Speaker, translated by David Costa, in *Algonquian Spirit: Contemporary Translations of the Algonquian Literatures of North* America, edited by Brian Swann (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 299n4).

[49] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 43; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 38.

government of the United States" in Arkansas Territory by whites. The whites, upon arriving in the territory, were told they had to leave because they were squatters on lands reserved for the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees). Constantly Nuttall heard "universal complaint of showing unnecessary and ill-timed favours [sic] to the Indians."[50] Reflecting on the Okáxpa (Quapaw) land cessions from August 24, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau at Saint Louis recognized the messiness of Indian land cessions, explaining that "[t]he current of [Euro-American] emigration is setting with considerable force to the Red river and Washita." They continued, "and, unless early measures are taken to limit and circumscribe those settlements, by assigning to the Cherokees [Aniyunwiya] and other Indians the lands intended for them, (which seems to have been intended by the Government,), the whole country purchased will probably be soon occupied by the white settlers, thinly scattered in every direction."[51] Although the federal government had hoped the emigrant Native communities in the West would be a barrier between the white settlements and the Plains Indians further West, that possibility seemed more and more unlikely with continual westward settler movement.

Historians have long argued that Secretary of War John C. Calhoun and President James Monroe (1817-1825) formalized the United States' policy of Indian removal. Although Thomas Jefferson and other government officials had discussed

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[50] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 122-138, 148, 159-160; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 135-152, 179; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 52-53; Aron, *American Confluence*, xx-xxi, 139-148, 186-187, 197-233; Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 174, 186-190. Quote from: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 159-160; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 179. Nuttall also commented: "It is now the intention of the United States government, to bring together, as much as possible, the savages beyond the frontier, and thus to render them, in all probability, belligerent to each other, and to the civilized settlements which they border" (Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 160; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 179).

[51] Ratified Treaty No. 96 (August 24, 1818), 6, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 177.

Indian Removal beforehand, it was not until the end of the War of 1812 and when Calhoun and Monroe provided concrete recommendations that ideas and suggestions were made real and tangible by legislative action. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun reported to the president in January 24, 1825, that the Indians of the Old Northwest should be removed to the West. Calhoun suggested those Native nations living in northern Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio be pushed westward, towards what is the present-day state of Wisconsin. He believed that they would "find in the country designated kindred tribes, with whom they may be readily associated." The federal government would then move those Native communities living in the southern portion of the Ohio Valley as well as the American Southeast to the west of Arkansas and Missouri.

Some of the second group of Indians slotted for removal were ones that already had kin residing in Arkansas and Missouri—the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and Lenape (Delawares). According to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs Colonel Thomas L. McKenney's statistics, more than seventeen thousand Indians—Lenape (Delawares), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Ioways, Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Okáxpas (Quapaws), and Wažažes (Osages)—lived in Missouri in Arkansas at the time. Calhoun reasoned that the "kindred tribes" in the East "might be induced, without much difficulty, to join them, after those now residing in Missouri are fixed in their new position west of that State." The federal government solidified its Indian removal policy even further with President Monroe's Calhoun-inspired January

27, 1825 message to the United States Senate proposing Indian removal from these states to the West.[52]

The Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) nations, many of whom already moved their communities near their French-speaking allies at Saint Louis, Missouri Territory, organized to unify for treaty purposes and ceded their lands in the state of Illinois. The Peewaalia (Peoria), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), Michigamea, Kawakia (Cahokia), and Tamaroa nations ceded their lands in Illinois with the September 25, 1818 treaty. The treaty itself recognized that the Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking communities were their own separate nations. The proximity of these nations, however, influenced the multi-tribal treaty signed at Vincennes (called Aciipihkahkionki by the Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias)) on August 13, 1803. The Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) and other nations signed the treaty ceding their lands, yet the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) had not been included. The Peewaaliaki (Peorias) neither sold their lands nor were a part of the Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia) treaty negotiations. The treaty negotiators, however, noted that the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) "then did, and still do, live separate and apart from the tribes above mentioned." The new 1818 treaty language hoped to comprehensively cover all the nations and their lands in the cessions to the United States. Awkwardly, however, the reality was more complex. The new treaty was for "avoiding any dispute with regard to the boundary of their claim." These small Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking nations confederated. The treaty noted that they were "willing to

[52] Francis Paul Prucha, "Indian Removal and the Great American Desert," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (December 1963), 299, 309-312, 321; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 51; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 542-544; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 38-39. Quotes from: *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 543, 544; Prucha, "Indian Removal and the Great American Desert," 311.

unite… in confirming the cession of land." The federal government would then deliver their treaty annuities to Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, near where they resided. In exchange, the Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking groups would have secured the promise of the federal government for their "village on Blackwater river" and other acreage in Missouri Territory.[53]

The Okáxpas (Quapaws) also signed a treaty on August 24, 1818, selling their lands in Arkansas Territory. Arkansas would become a state less than twenty years later, in 1836. Thomas Nuttall described the Okáxpa (Quapaw) leader Heckaton as a "sensible and intelligent" man. Although he was not the customary hereditary leader, the Okáxpa (Quapaw) nation appointed him because the designated heirs were still children. When Nuttall met Heckaton he saw his interest in learning and conversing about Okáxpa (Quapaw) issues. The Okáxpa (Quapaw) leader "returned to his canoe, put on his uniform coat, and brought with him a roll of writing, which he unfolded with great care, and gave it me to read." Heckaton held a copy of the Okáxpa (Quapaw) treaty ceding their lands to the United States and preserving for the community a small reservation. Fifteen years later the Okáxpa (Quapaw) sold the remainder of their Arkansas lands at Harrington's place in Arkansas on August 15, 1824. Historians have dubbed these "concentration treaties" that not only created diminished reservations but also required Indian immobility, a sort of "house arrest," and the end to seasonal travels.[54]

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[53] *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 167-168; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 37-38; Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 12.

[54] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 92-94; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 103-104. See also: Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 79; Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers*, 235. Quote from: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 94; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 104. Nuttall even commented, "Such as the negotiating conquests of the American republic,

Treaties in 1831 and 1832 ultimately solidified the removal of Indians in Ohio and Indiana to what would become Kansas and Oklahoma. James B. Gardiner represented the federal government in four treaties in 1831 in Washington, D.C., Lewistown, Ohio, and Wapakoneta, Ohio with many of the tribal nations: 1) Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) (February 28, 1831); 2) Lewistown Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) (July 20, 1831); 3) Wapakoneta and Hog Creek Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (August 8, 1831); and 4) Odawas (Ottawas) (August 30, 1831). Tribal nations negotiated four other treaties with General Clark residing in Missouri in October of 1832 at Castor Hill, Missouri near Saint Louis. The four included: 1) Vermillion Band of Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) (October 24); 2) Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Lenape (Delawares) at Cape Girardeau (October 26); 3) Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), as well as the Michigamea, Kawakia (Cahokia), Tamaroa (October 27); 4) Waayaahtanooki (Weas) and Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) (October 29). These treaties exchanged lands in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri for lands in Kansas (See Figure 2.11). The federal government, however, used coercion to assure Native assent to treaty-making. Foreman detailed, "[m]essengers were sent to these Indians to

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made almost without the expense of either blood or treasure !" (Nuttall, *Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 94; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 104). See also: Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The Quapaws (Those who went downstream)* (Miami, Oklahoma: Dixons, Incorporated, 1976; Reprint, Quapaw, Oklahoma: Quapaw Tribal Council, 1982; Reprint, Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, for the Dobson Museum, 1999), 54; Fay Hempstead, *Historical Review of Arkansas: Its Commerce, Industry and Modern Affairs*, *Illustrated*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 67-68, 157-159, 1140; Weeks, *"Farewell, My Nation"*, 153; Michael Leroy Oberg, *Native America: A History* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2015), 232; Colin Phillips, "How Useful is the Concept of Paternalism in Explaining the Federal Government's Policy Towards Native Americans in the Nineteenth Century?" *Colin At Oxford: Artifacts of My Experience Abroad* (blog), November 9, 2015, https://colinatoxford.wordpress.com/2015/11/09/how-useful-is-the-concept-of-paternalism-in-explaining-the-federal-governments-policy-towards-native-americans-in-the-nineteenth-century/ (accessed 6 December 2017). Heckaton's name has also been spelling numerous different ways in the treaties and memoirs. I stick to Heckaton instead of Hakatton, Heckatoo, Hrackaton, or Kackatton.

secure their attendance at the councils" at Castor Hill, Missouri.[55] In these land cessions and forced removals, both the U.S. federal government and the Native communities used kinship as a significant determinable factor for the ultimate removal and resettlement. The federal government used the enticement of being able to select new Native locations on lands next to their friends and neighbors as a means of coerced persuasion. Tribal communities, on the other hand, when faced with difficult decisions of whether resistance to removal would prevail or acquiescence to removal to lands near their relatives, friends, and kin, they used what limited agency they had to make the best of the situation and maintain and preserve their cultures and communities.[56]

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[55] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 64; Weston Arthur Goodspeed, *The Province and the States: A History of the Province of Louisiana Under France and Spain, and of the Territories and States of the United States Formed Therefrom. In Seven Volumes. Illustrated with Numerous Maps and Portraits*, Vol. 4 (Madison: The Western Historical Association, 1904), 230; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 65-73.

[56] Stephen A. Warren, "The Ohio Shawnees' Struggle against Removal, 1814-30," in *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest,* edited by R. David Edmunds (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 88-89; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States*, Vol. 4, 230; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 107-114, 142-144; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 37-38; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 52, 62-63, 88-91, 134-148, 169-170; Ratified Treaty No. 165 (August 30, 1831), 3, DRT UWDC; Christopher E. Sherman, Ohio Division of Geological Survey, and Ohio Co-operative Topographic Survey, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions: Being Volume III, Final Report (in Four Volumes)* (1925; Reprint, Columbus Ohio: Press of the Ohio State Reformatory, Ohio Department of Natural Resource, Division of Geological Survey, Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey, 1976), 41, 83; Aron, *American Confluence*, xx-xxi, 197-216. Scholars and historical documents interchange James B. Gardiner with other spellings such as Gardner and Gardener. For example: Donald Lee Fixico's encyclopedia on Indian treaties lists all three: Gardner ("Treaty with the Seneca – February 28, 1831," in *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty*, edited by Donald Lee Fixico (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2007), 312); Gardner ("Treaty with the Seneca, Etc. – July 30, 1831," in *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty*, edited by Donald Lee Fixico (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2007), 312); and Gardiner ("Treaty with the Shawnee – August 8, 1831," in *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty*, edited by Donald Lee Fixico (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2007), 312). I will stick with the most prevalent: Gardiner. See also: Stephen A. Warren, "The Ohio Shawnees' Struggle against Removal," 88; *CSEI*, Vol. 1, v, 102, 108, 116, 121; Annie H. Abel, "History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1906, in Two Volumes*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 383-385, 443; C. W. Williamson, *History of Western Ohio and Auglaize County, With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Pioneers and Prominent Public Men* (Columbus, Ohio: Press of W. M. Linn & Sons, 1905), 264-267, 274, 278-279, 314, 588, 630; "No. 99.—Treaty with Winnebago Indians," in *US Stat. 1833*, Vol. 2, 62-66; "No. 114.—Treaty with Mixed Bands of Seneca and Shawnee Indians," in *US Stat. 1833*, Vol. 2, 132-138; "No. 115.—Treaty with Seneca Indians," in *US Stat. 1833*, Vol. 2, 138-142; "No. 117.—Treaty with

The Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) signed a treaty with the Ohio colonel in Washington, D.C. on February 28, 1831. This exchanged lands in northern Ohio for 67,000 acres north of the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and east of the Neosho (Nį óžo) (Grand) River. Early Indian agents called them the Sandusky Senecas, referencing their former reservation in Ohio, while others called them the Senecas of Cowskin River, noting their new location. As Grant Foreman explained: "The other Ohio Indians were offered the choice of locating near the Seneca [Shotinontowane'á:ka] or near the reservations of other immigrant tribes in eastern Kansas who subsequently removed to Indian Territory."[57] Although the exact amount of agency the Native nations had in making choices remains disputable, they did take the opportunities when given to them to select lands near their former neighbors and relatives.

Leadership of the Lewistown Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) signed a treaty on July 20, 1831, ceding their Ohio reservation. These Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) came to be known as the Eastern Shawnees. The group, like that of their former multi-tribal 'Mingo' Ohio reservation, formed a multi-tribal village of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), and Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks). In their agreement to remove, they would have a reservation near their relatives and friends the Sandusky Senecas, the

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Shawnee Indians," in *US Stat. 1833*, Vol. 2, 145-151; "No. 119.—Treaty with Ottoway [sic] Indians," in *US Stat. 1833*, Vol. 2, 154-161; "No. 120.—Treaty with the Ottaway Indians," in *US Stat. 1833*, Vol. 2, 161-165; "No. 121.—Treaty with Wyandot Indians," in *US Stat. 1833*, Vol. 2, 165-168; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of its Development from the Date of the First European Exploration down to the Present Time, including Accounts of the Indian Tribes, both Civilized and Wild, of the Cattle Ranges, of the Land Openings and the Achievements of the most Recent Period*, Vol. 1 (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1916), 143-144, 144n1.

[57] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 64-67, 165-166; Carrie Joan Dyck, Frances Froman, Alfred Keye, and Lottie Keye, *English-Cayuga / Cayuga-English Dictionary | Gayogoho:nǫˀ / Hnyǫˀ ǫhneha:ˀ Wadęwęnaga:da:s Ohyadǫhsrǫ:dǫˀ* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2002), xi. Quote from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 66.

Shotinontowane'á:ka who had lived around Sandusky. A Shotinontowane' (Seneca) named Methomea (called Civil John) became the leader of this mixed band. In August of that year Methomea and a delegation of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) first went to New York to obtain relevant Haudenosaunee wampum before removal to take with them to the West. The Indian Office recorded expenditures for this delegation on July 29, 1831, "to enable them to visit their brethren in the state of New York, to surrender to them the belt of wampum, which binds them together."[58] Once in possession of the wampum, the Sandusky and Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) then could travel West.

The mixed band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) removed from their old center of Lewistown, Ohio, to the Cowskin or Elk River in Indian Territory the fall of 1831, and arrived by December 1832 (See Figures 2.12 and 2.13). Quaker missionary Jeremiah Hubbard related that, "The Seneca Indians [Shotinontowane'á:ka] came to this country about sixty years ago. Some of the oldest Seneca men remember when they were first brought here." "They first settled or camped on Cowskin River, and gave it that name," he explained. Supposedly the name came from the Seneca Nation's butchering and tanning of cattle hides.[59] When the Lewistown Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) reached Indian

[58] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 66-67, 74-77; R. David Edmunds, "A Patriot Defamed: Captain Lewis, Shawnee Chief," in *ESTORTA*, 26; Sami Lakomäki, "From Ohio to Oklahoma and Beyond: The Long Removal of the Lewistown Shawnees," in *ESTORTA*, 44, 47, 51-54, 57n33; Robert J. Miller, "Treaties between the Eastern Shawnee Tribe and the United States: Contracts between Sovereign Governments," in *ESTORTA*, 119-120, 124-125; Glenna J. Wallace, "Chiefs of the Eastern Shawnee Tribe," in *ESTORTA*, 171-173, 176; Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 237-239; Tyson-Jones, "Black Book," 67. Indian Office expenditure quote from: *CSEI*, Vol. 5, 122. Numerous spellings for Methomea exist, including: Mesomea, Masomea.

[59] Quote from: Jeremiah Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting of Friends, Composed of Indians* (Carthage, Missouri: Press Book and Job Printing House, 1886), 87-88. See also: William Walker, "The Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory—First Book, *From March 29, 1845, to September 22, 1849*," in *PGNT-JWW*, 191n3; *CSEI*, Vol. 1, 928-930; *CSEI*, Vol. 4, 78-84; Dyck, Froman, A. Keye, and L. Keye, *English-Cayuga / Cayuga-English Dictionary*, xi.

Territory, they first rested at the Seneca agency. The Seneca Agent, Major Augustine Kennerly, noted that the Lewistown Indians, "camped on the lands of the Seneca [Shotinontowane'á:ka] while their conductor and some of the chiefs departed to examine the country assigned them on the west side of Grand River." The leadership asked for federal government's help in keeping their treaty promises to protect them—especially for food, as they were with little provisions and needed industry and supplies for their sustainability and survival in the new lands.[60]

In the month of August 1831, the Wapakoneta Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Ohio Odawas (Ottawas) signed removal treaties. Less than a month after the August 8 treaty of the mixed Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), the Wapakoneta and Hog Creek Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) signed a treaty for removal, ceding their lands in Ohio for analogous lands in the West. This comparable land was 100,000 acres in Kansas Territory, on lands ceded to the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in Missouri. Also, the Odawas (Ottawas) promised their removal to Kansas Territory in their August 30, 1831 removal treaty.

The Odawas (Ottawas) had previously retained four different reservations in northwestern Ohio: 1) Blanchard's Fork of the Great Auglaize River, 2) Oquanoxa's (or Oquanoxie's) Village; 3) Roche de Bœuf 4) Wolf Rapids on the Maumee River. The mixed band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), the Odawas (Ottawas), and the Wapakoneta and Hog Creek Šaawanwaki (Shawnees)

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[60] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 64-67, 165-166, 341-345; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 355-359; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide*, 4-5, 32-35; Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 240-245; Mahr, "Shawnee Names and Migrations," 155; Stephen A. Warren, "The Ohio Shawnees' Struggle against Removal, 1814-30," 89; Grant Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes in the Indian Territory," *The North Carolina Historical* Review, Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 1939), 381. Quote from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 82-83.

traveled West around the same time in the fall of 1832. Several Odawa (Ottawa) groups in the next five years would make their way to Kansas to join those who already established themselves on the Marais des Cygnes River—pronounced as "*merry deseen*" by Kansans, and "Meridezene" noted by the famous abolitionist John Brown — around what is now Franklin County, Kansas (See Figure 2.14).

The federal government had first established the Osage River Subagency in the 1830s within the Thakiwaki (Sauk) and Meskwaki (Fox) nations, on the south side of the Marais des Cygnes. Along with the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes), the Kansas (Kaws), Ojibwes (Chippewas), Odawa (Ottawa), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), and Myaamiaki (Miamis) were included in this agency. The Osage River Indian agent relocated the headquarters to the estate of Baptiste Peoria, a Waayaahtanwa (Wea) interpreter. As Agent Maxwell McCaslin explained his reason in 1854, it was because of the "great influence he wields over the Indians, together with his expanded knowledge of their affairs, seemed to make it necessary that I should have him near me."[61] The Odawas (Ottawas) paused at the agency of the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in the Kansas Territory. Their Šaawanwa (Shawnee) friends granted them a brief reprieve and stayed there over the winter until they could regain their bearings and build their new homes on their new

[61] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 148-152; *1855 ARCIA*, 427-433; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States*, Vol. 4, 228-230. Quote from: *1855 ARCIA*, 427. For more on Ojibwe (Chippewa) and Odawa (Ottawa) removal to Kansas, see: Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 99-101. See also: John Brown and Karl Gridley, "An 'Idea of Things in Kansas': John Brown's 1857 New England Speech," edited by Karl Gridley, *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 27, Nos. 1-2, Special Issue: Kansas Territory and the Struggle for a 'Free' Kansas (Spring-Summer 2004), 83. Mark A. Lause argued that Baptiste Peoria "remained among John Brown's most consistent allies" (Mark A. Lause, *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 36). I believe he meant Tauy Jones. Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, however, used Baptiste Peoria in her work as an example of an Indian in Territorial Kansas who owned slaves. (Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, *Bleeding Borders: Race, Gender, and Violence in Pre-Civil War Kansas* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 39).

lands. This Odawa (Ottawa) reservation in Kansas was also a part of what the Missouri Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) had negotiated in 1825.[62]

Four Castor Hill treaties in October of 1832 finalized the relocation of Native community reservations from Missouri to Kansas (See Figures 2.15 and 2.16). In a way, it was just catching up politically and legally with many of the moves that had already taken place. The Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) in Missouri had already ceded their lands prior to the Castor Hill dealings on November 3, 1804, much to the chagrin of other Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and other neighboring Native communities. Many Native communities already shuffled themselves westward into what would become the Kansas Territory.

Congress authorized the commencement of treaty negotiations on July 14, 1832. The first of the Castor Hill treaties was with the Vermillion Band of Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) on October 24, 1832 (and again on November 26 at Fort Leavenworth), giving them land next to the Lenape (Delawares) in Kansas. The second Castor Hill treaty included the Black Bob (Wawahchepaehai) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Lenape (Delawares) at Cape Girardeau on October 26, 1832 where they ceded their Missouri lands. By 1834 or 1835 the Lenape (Delawares) around Cape Girardeau moved to a reservation southwest of the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), where the federal government put them in with the Kansa (Kaw), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), and Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo)

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[62] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 65-66, 71-85, 92; Aron, *American Confluence*, 215. For more on Baptiste Peoria, see: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 62, 182; Oertel, *Bleeding Borders*, 39; Lause, *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army*, 36, 151n29, 64, 158n45; *The Peorias: A History of the Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma*, edited by Dorris Valley and Mary M. Lembeke (Miami, Oklahoma: The Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, 1991), 158-161, 206-208; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 65; Guy Willis Froman (Peewaalia/Peoria-Myaamia/Miami) interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, n.d., in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 98-100; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 266.

nations at the Indian agency at Fort Leavenworth. By the 1830s painter George Catlin traveled to the West to paint Indian portraits, Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Lenape (Delawares), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Ioways, Kansas (Kaws), Paáris (Pawnees), Umą́hą (Omahas), Otoes, Missourias, and Potewatmis (Potawatomis) all resided in areas near or traveled back and forth in areas around Fort Leavenworth.[63]

The Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki—the Missouri Shawnees called the Black Bob Band due to the leadership and direction of Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob)—did not want to join the other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) already in Kansas. Those who removed to Kansas became known as the "Kaatheewithiipiiki-Shaawanuwaki [also spelled Šaawanwaki], 'Shawnees at the Kaw River.'" This area along the Kaw River where the Šaawanwaki resided is in what is now present-day Wyandotte and Johnson

[63] Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 22, 86, 97-118; Tracey Shannon Bever, "The Portrayal of Native Americans in Euro-American Art in 19th Century Oklahoma" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2010), 26-41; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 37-38. When discussing the distinctions between the Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), and other Myaamia-Peewaalia-(Miami-Peoria)-speaking groups, interestingly George Catlin described the Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) having a different language or dialect. Catlin contended, "With the very few remnants of this tribe will die in a few years a beautiful language, entirely distinct from all others about it, unless some enthusiastic person may preserve it from the lips of those few who are yet able to speak it" (Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 100). Catlin painted the portraits of many tribal leaders, including Waayaahtanooki and Peeyankihšiaki (Gotokowpaha, He Who Stands By Himself: Plate 187; Wapponjea, The Swan), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) (Kee-monsaw, The Little Chief: Plate 191; Wakpesehsee: Plate 192), Peewaaliaki (Pahmecowetah, The Man Who Tracks: Plate 193; Keemorania: Plate 194); Peeyankihšiaki (Niacomo, To Fix With The Foot: Plate 195; Mensonseah, The Left Hand: Plate 196), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) (Good Hunter: Plate 203; Hard Hickory: Plate 204), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (Laylawshekaw, He Who Goes Up The River: Plate 211; Katequa, Female Eagle: Plate 212; Pahtecoosaw, The Straight Man: Plate 213; Tenskwatawa, The Open Door: Plate 214) (Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 99-118). The SAAM recorded their George Catlin painting of Kee-món-saw (Little Chief) (1830) [Catalog No. 1985.66.246]; Men-són-se-ah, Left Hand, a Warrior (1830) [Catalog No. 1985.66.255]; Ni-a-có-mo, Fix With the Foot, a Brave (1830) [Catalog No. 1985.66.254]; Kee-mo-rá-nia No English, a Dandy (1830) [Catalog No. 1985.66.253], Pah-mee-ców-ee-tah, Man Who Tracks, a Chief (1830) [Catalog No. 1985.66.251]; Hard Hickory, an Amiable Man (1831) [Catalog No. 1985.66.266]; Lay-láw-she-kaw, Goes Up the River, an Aged Chief (1830) [Catalog No. 1985.66.277]; Good Hunter, a Warrior (1831) [Catalog No. 1985.66.267]; Straight Man (1830) [Catalog No. 1985.66.280]. All from: SAAM Collection, SAAM, SI.

counties in Kansas. These Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), through the 1831 treaty, had come from Ohio. The Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) were also called Skipakákamithagî' Šaawanwaki, as they eventually settled for a time lived along the Big Blue River in Kansas.[64] Much of Wawahchepaehai's group would join the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Lenape (Delawares) already established on the White River in Arkansas. Once there they reported the need to find a permanent home distinct from the other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in Kansas. A year earlier, on November 20, 1831, a delegation at Saint Louis told the President of the United States that "few ties of blood or friendship remained," after forty years of living in Missouri, and before that neutrality, unlike their counterparts who sided with Great Britain in the wars. In the place that they settled on the White River, however: "They said that the climate was cold there and they were being surrounded by white strangers." Although their petition asked for permission to reside on the Verdigris or Six Bulls River instead of the Kansas River, that land was promised to the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees). By 1833 the government threated to forcibly move them to Kansas and their homes along the White River was precarious.[65]

By the mid-nineteenth-century Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) and others had several separate Šaawanwa (Shawnee) villages at Olathe and

[64] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 62-63, 134-148, 168-170, 182; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 355-358, 360-361; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide*, 58-59; Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma*, 4-5, 32; Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 240-245; Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss," 147-153; George Frazier, "Black Bob and the Prophet," in *The Last Wild Places of Kansas: Journeys into Hidden Landscapes* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2016), 16; Aron, *American Confluence*, 186-187, 215, 225-233; Gaylord Carlyle Hinshaw and Winston (Chuck) Bingham, "About Shawnee: History Notes," *Shawnee Blue Jacket / Blue Jacket: Last Principal War Chief of the Shawnee Indians*, http://shawnee-bluejacket.com/about-shawnee.html (accessed 10 December 2017). The above is typed transcript notes from: Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Shawnee Words, Phrases, Sentences and Texts, 1890-1892*, Vol. 1, NAA MS 615, NAA, NMNH, SI.

[65] Aron, *American Confluence*, 215; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 60-61; Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss," 147-153; Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," 253-254. Quotes from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 61.

Eudora, Kansas Territory. The name Olathe came from the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) word for 'beautiful,' while Eudora was the name of Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Paschal Fish's daughter, Eudora (See Figures 2.17 and 2.18). Antebellum and Civil War-era conflicts would continue to resurface regarding the legitimacy and sovereignty of the Šaawanwa communities. Conflicts grew between the Severalty Shawnees—those Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) who accepted allotments with the creation of Kansas Territory—and Absentees and Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). The Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) had lived in Missouri, and Absentee Shawnees were the Šaawanwaki who had continually moved westward into Indian Territory and Texas. When the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) joined the others in Kansas Territory, questions developed over representation and agency in the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) National Council as the spokespeople between the communities and the federal government. Bleeding Kansas, border, and settler colonial violence and pressures for removal and occupation of their lands, would make the Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) Šaawanwaki's (Shawnees') newly-obtained and recently-settled Kansas reservation lands just as shaky and risky as the Missouri domains they once held. Complicating matters, was, as Paschal Fish would explain later in 1867, that Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) "understands English very imperfectly." Fish argued to the Indian Office that their 'all-or-nothing' offers might not fully be understood by Native people like Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob).[66]

[66] Stephen A. Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 155-173; Aron, *American Confluence*, 215; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 38; Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss," 147-153; Houck, *A History of Missouri*, Vol. 1, 212-232; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 349; Cindy Higgins, *Where the Wakarusa Meets the Kaw: A History of Eudora, Kansas* (Eudora, Kansas: Published by the Author, 2015), http://eudorakshistory.com/settlement/settlement.htm (accessed 12 February 2018); Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 100, DRT UWDC; Kevin Anderson, "Eudora at 150," *Lawrence World-*

The third and fourth treaties of Castor Hill were with the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and affiliated nations, ceding all lands in Missouri in exchange for lands in Kansas. The third treaty was with the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) as well as the Michigamea, Kawakia (Cahokia), and Tamaroa communities on October 27, reserving for them lands in Kansas on the Osage River as permanent reservation, "to include the present Peoria [Peewaalia] village on the Osage River." Directly to the east of the reservation was the Missouri state line, while the Šaawanwaki's (Shawnees') reservation was to the north. The fourth treaty was with Waayaahtanooki (Weas) and Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) on October 29, for a reservation to the east of the Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), and other tribes, where they already had two established towns (See Figures 2.19 and 2.20).

The treaty with the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other affiliated nations included the provision that the small Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking groups would unite for their mutual benefit.[67] Grant Foreman aptly explained the situation for the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other tribal nations, stating that, "[i]n the effort to rid Missouri of Indians, some of these had been induced to move across the line into what is now Kansas, on land which the government promised to grant them." The Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) communities—including a Waayaahtanwa (Wea) town and a Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw) town—around present-day Paola, Kansas. Paola, Kansas itself, is named for the Peewaalia (Peoria) communities who resided there.[68]

Journal, October 7, 2007, http://www2.ljworld.com/photos/galleries/2007/oct/07/eudora_150/ (accessed 12 February 2018). Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) noted on Thursday, October 14, 1847, "Mr. Fish and Hetty… married" (Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 217).

[67] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 62-64, 204.

[68] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 62; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 368, 372; *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881*, 257.

But the Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), and Waayaahtanwa (Wea) leadership—Noutankqueshinggau (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw), Gotookopwoa (Waayaahtanwa/Wea), Nawhacornmo (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw), and Wapshocouy (Kaahkaahkia/Kaskaskia)—through the assistance of their Indian subagent John Campbell, wrote a letter to General William Clark on July 28, 1830, explaining their situation. They began by restating the promises the federal government made to them. They clarified, "you said to us, if we would move to our lands that we should not be troubled by any bad Indians; that we should remain quiet and peaceable; that your arm was strong, and you would protect us from being interrupted by bad neighbors." "[W]e took your advice," they went on, detailing the new set of troubles they faced with Plains Indians in the West. The Kansa (Kaw) Indians pestered the small nations. The tribal leaders said that "what we do not give them, they steal from us" and "strip our horses of all our bells." Similarly, the Važažes (Osages), "they would not let our women gather pecans last fall, they drove them away, and told them that the land was theirs." The Kansas also intimidated them, waving their war tomahawks in threatening manner at them. The Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking leaders communicated: "You know that we are three small nations, and when these people come amongst us, our women get alarmed, and get out of the way." The men had agreed to leave their families when they went on hunting trips in the autumn, but "[w]e have agreed to do so, but we wish to hear from you about the Kansas Indians: we are afraid to leave our families on that account."[69] With their families, kin,

[69] *CSEI*, Vol 2, 115-119. Quotes from: *CSEI*, Vol. 2, 115-116. Also discussed in: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 62. In the July 28, 1830 letter the names are signed as Now-tauk-a-shing-gaw, Naw-ha-corn-mo, Go-to-cop-y, and Wap-shoc-ou-y (*CSEI*, Vol. 2, 115-116). In the September 13, 1830 letter Waayaahtanwa (Wea) interpreter Baptiste Peoria (spelled Batiste Paoli in the letter) spelled their

and means of subsistence in jeopardy with the threats from Kansa (Kaw) and Wažaže (Osage) Indians to get off the lands that belonged to them, the Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) turned to the federal government and their promises that they made of protection and security. With the signing of the Castor Hill, Missouri treaties in 1832 and congressional ratification of them in 1833, then, troubles compounded, as more Native peoples moved out of Missouri. Although the relocation assisted Missourians in obtaining Indian lands for their own economic development and benefit, it exacerbated conflicts in what would become Kansas Territory with removed and non-removed tribal nations.

Settling Indian groups more to the west, closer to the Wažažes (Osages) who still resided there, caused even more problems. Emigrated Indians who originated from the southeastern United States and the Old Northwest constantly fought with Plains Indians since the 1780s and into the 1820s. Violent skirmishes between the Wažažes (Osages) and other southern plains tribes and the eastern immigrant Indians such as the Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Meskwaki (Foxes), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), and Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws). Earlier centuries these communities had already moved westward and met the Plains groups. Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking communities, pushed southwest by Haudenosaunee in the 1600s, clashed with the Plains Indians. As early as the 1680s Peewaaliaki (Peorias) told colonial officials that they were glad to use the *mihši-siipiiwi* (Mississippi River) as a

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names as Gotookopwoa and Noutankqueshinggau (*CSEI*, Vol. 2, 118-119). I have chosen to not include the dashes that indicate breaks in syllables and use Baptiste Peoria's spelling for the two named chiefs.

dividing line between themselves in the east and the Wažažes (Osages), Missourias, and other tribal nations on the western side of the river.

The Indians from the Old Northwest who moved to the West faced repercussions from the Wažažes (Osages) as early as the 1780s and 1790s. Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Lenape (Delawares), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Odawas (Ottawas), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) wrote in the 1790s to the then representative of the Spanish government at Saint Louis Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau, requesting "assistance to 'prevent [the Wažažes (Osages)] from killing us and stealing our horses.'" The Spanish government declared war on the Wažažes (Osages) in 1793, but the Lenape (Delawares) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) refused to attack them without the Spanish government's provisions of weapons to support the war. With the tensions increasing in the 1800s the Indian Office requested peace negotiations between the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Wažažes (Osages), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), and Meskwaki (Foxes) at Saint Louis in 1805. Besides those four tribal nations, also the Myaamia (Miami), Lenape (Delaware), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Ioway, Missouria, Otoe, and Paári (Pawnee) nations attended.

Historian Arrell Morgan Gibson argued that the other nations were mere "spectators" in this meeting, and the focus centered on the Wažaže (Osage), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), and Meskwa (Fox) nations. The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) again requested aid to stop the Wažaže (Osage) harassments in 1807. Gibson, however, stressed that the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), and Meskwaki (Foxes) did eventually receive arms from the

Spanish colonial government in Louisiana for defending their communities against the Wažažes (Osages).[70]

The Wažažes' (Osages') battles with the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) hit a crescendo in the 1810s. Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) knew this as the Cherokee-Osage War (1817-1823), a conflict very much caused by federal government's land cession to the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and their removal and resettlement on Wažaže (Osage) lands. The Lenape (Delawares) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) allied themselves on the side of the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees). Although perhaps an exaggeration of his own influence, in 1810 William Clark told his brother how he persuaded four to five hundred armed Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), and Lenape (Delawares) ready to retaliate and attack the Wažažes (Osages) to force them to put down their weapons. In the spring of 1818 a group of over six hundred fighters—including Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and several white men—attacked and decimated Claremore's Wažaže (Osage) village known as Pasuga. In another incident, the death of the son of the Lenape (Delaware) leader Kikthawenund (or Koktowhanund) (William Anderson), provoked Lenape (Delawares), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), and Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac) and Meskwa (Fox) Indians to leave the path of white peace and to go on the warpath against the Wažažes (Osages). They convened an

[70] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 50n14, 60n12; Lawson, *The Land between the Rivers*, 72, 76-77, 80-81, 84; Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 121-124, 133-135; Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 73-78; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 49-51, 92-104; Aron, *American Confluence*, 21-23, 83-93, 109-110, 137; Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss," 147-153; William Clark, *Dear Brother*, 79-80, 250; Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 38, 49-53, 122. Quote from: Aron, *American Confluence*, 88. While Aron stressed the inability of Spanish officials to arm their indigenous allies, Arrell Morgan Gibson wrote that they did end up providing ammunition and arms (Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 49-51); Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 199-206. Quote from: Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 93.

intertribal council of neighboring eastern Indians to confront the increasing conflict with the Wažažes (Osages).[71]

From the Wažaže (Osage) point-of-view, the United States used the bombardment of intruding Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) on their hunting grounds and at the edges of their lands as a purposeful and deliberate way of overwhelming them, showcasing their power and ability to send other Indians westward onto Wažaže (Osage) lands.[72] The Wažažes (Osages) themselves also called together their own intertribal council in the summer of 1818. Wažažes (Osages) invited any friendly allies, and Kansas (Kaws), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Lenape (Delawares), and Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) came to their nation near present-day Claremore, Oklahoma. They gave away more than three hundred horses to their allies to show their gratitude and to demonstrate their relationships. At a different time, the Wažažes (Osages) gave the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) one hundred horses at Verdigris. The Thakiwaki

[71] See also the Okáxpas (Quapaws) and their alliance with Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), sometime after 1809, after Wažažes (Osages) injured some of their own people: Nieberding, *The Quapaws*, 58-59.

[72] Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 76-84; Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 50-53, 191-195; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 44-45; Aron, *American Confluence*, 197-216; Lawson, *The Land Between the Rivers*, 94, 109, 118-119, 134; William Clark, *Dear Brother*, 287-288; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 135-136, 174; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 149-150, 197; Conley, *The Cherokee Nation,* 100-107, 137-139; Garrick, ed., *Traditions of the Osage*, 10-12; Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 52, 96, 255; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 92-104; David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 136-141; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 34-37; Stephen T. Jackson, "In History: Legacy of Chief Anderson," *The Herald Bulletin*, September 5, 2009, http://www.heraldbulletin.com/community/in-history-legacy-of-chief-anderson/article_b8dc4b1b-8480-5c28-aeea-6abb78681a6f.html (accessed 23 February 2018). David Andrew Nichols said the war ended in 1822 (David Andrew Nichols*, Engines of Diplomacy*, 136). Litton listed 1821 or 1822 (Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," 254). Akers also narrated that the war that lasted into the late 1820s (Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 80-84). Conley, however, noted that it was not until an 1831 peace treaty (Conley*, The Cherokee Nation*, 139). See also: Rachel Caroline Eaton, "The Legend of the Battle of Claremore Mound," *COK*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (December 1930), 369-377; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 39. See also: James Miller to John C. Calhoun, May 1822, *ESTODC*. Original Courtesy of the Grant Foreman Collection (MS Collection No. MC.1944.67), Vol. 53, Box 2, GM.

(Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) told the Wažažes (Osages) that they would "be always ready at the first notice, to join them at any time, against any nation."

The Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), however, did not leave the meeting with positive feelings, but rather distrust, affront, and offense.[73] One historian, however, noted that the attendance of many of the Native groups at the Wažaže meeting was surprising, as the Osages had offended and raided all the represented communities. As Nuttall noted, however, the Wažažes (Osages) recognized the need for alliances to better equip themselves against their adversaries. "Aware of the strength of their enemies," he explained, the Wažažes (Osages) "have been led to seek the alliance of other Indians, and have recently cultivated the friendship of the Outigamis (now called Sauks [Thakiwaki] and Foxes [Meskwaki]) of the Mississippi."[74] At a precarious time and as a people "surrounded by so many enemies" the Wažažes (Osages) sought friends and allies.[75]

The creation of a boundary line—commonly called the Cherokee-Osage Boundary Line—was another such strategy for intertribal conflict resolution.[76] As Thomas Nuttall observed: "One of their chiefs [Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Wažažes (Osages)] insisted on the hunting boundary being established betwixt the two nations, so that either party might be punished, by robbery and plunder (or confiscation as we

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[73] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 183-184; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 208.

[74] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 182-183; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 207-208. Quote from: Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 182-183; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 207.

[75] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 172-173; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 193.

[76] Burns, *A History of the Osage People*, 192.

term it), who should be found transgressing the limits assigned."[77] Formally established with the Wažažes' (Osages') treaty of 1825, the Cherokee-Osage Boundary Line officially separated the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Wažažes (Osages) lands.[78]

From the Wažažes' (Osages') and other Plains Indians' standpoint, the increasing scarcity on their seasonal hunts and near-starvation statuses may have prompted their depredations and conflicts against the emigrated Indians, especially their cattle and livestock. As late as 1833, the Stokes Commission's treaty report repeatedly indicated the Wažažes' (Osages') ill-health and malnourishment greatly hindered and made difficult for them to maintain their strong presence seated at the treaty negotiation tables. Stokes also detailed how the "suffering from the want of food when the council was called" hurt the Wažažes' (Osages') and abilities and faculties to negotiate. In another instance, he noted how "their continual wars [were] in order to procure food." Numunuu (Comanches) fought the Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Wažažes (Osages), "who are now out upon the same great western prairies" that they crossed on their seasonal fall hunting trips.[79]

The hostility between the Wažažes (Osages) and Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) escalated so much that the Wažažes (Osages) found themselves seeking alliance with Whites. They agreed to sell their land to the United States as long as Euro-Americans, not emigrant Indians such as the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), settled there. Thomas Nuttall commented in 1821 that the "Osages [Wažažes] in a recent council said, they

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[77] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 182-183; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 207.

[78] M. L. Wardell, "Southwest's History Written in Oklahoma's Boundary Story: Struggle for Control of Mississippi Valley Leaves Its Mark on State," *COK*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (September 1927), 292-293.

[79] Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 374-378; *CSEI*, Vol 4, 229, 481, 623; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 151. Quotes from: Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 375, 377-378; *CSEI*, Vol 4, 229, 481, 623.

would have no objection to dispose of their lands, provided the whites only were allowed to settle upon them."[80] Nuttall divulged: "[f]rom conversations with the traders, it appeared, that they [the Wažažes (Osages)] would not be unwilling to dispose of more of their lands, provided that the government of the United States would enter into a stipulation, not to settle it with the aborigines, whom they have now much greater reason to fear than the whites."[81] The Wažažes' (Osages') animosity towards the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) had grown so great and grim that was so bad that they would rather sell their lands to white American settlers than Aniyunwiya (Cherokees).

Interestingly, the peace talks became a commentary and critique on American intervention. Native leadership highlighted how the federal government misapplied kinship terminologies. The Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) leader Pawatomo spoke out after the Americans finished their speeches. He noted, "you offered us the calumet… it was the manner in which our fathers conducted their councils." The tribal nations appreciated that. While they respected the nod to traditional Indian-white diplomacy, the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), however, did not like their use of kinship terms that chided and reprimanded the Native nations. Pawatomo called the Americans out for using the term 'children' to talk to them and explained that it was inappropriate as the connotations implied dependency and immaturity, neither of which applied to them.[82]

Furthermore, just because Euro-Americans emulated and utilized Native diplomatic protocols in their interactions with Native communities, it did not mean that

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[80] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 215; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 239.

[81] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 173; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 193.

[82] Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos,* 93-97; Quote from: Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos*, 95.

they necessarily did so with the same attitudes and motivations. In the summer of 1912 Hu'u^{n}dažú, John Kayrahoo (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), through the translation by the interpreter Hu´'^{u}cra˘ɛ`·wa‘s (Allen Johnson), recited the story of the coming of Euro-Americans and what that meant for Native people, especially the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). After the devastating effects of European diseases and warfare hurt Native peoples, Kayrahoo concluded that, "the Indian had to come to terms, and he shook hands with him [the Euro-Americans] to show that they were to live together in peace."

Describing a conventional treaty negotiation, Kayrahoo described in detail how "[a]fter a compact had been reached, the white chief spoke to the Wyandot [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandotte] chief, saying, 'Hereafter all the lands that I have purchased from the Delaware [Lenape] shall be mine and I will proceed to occupy them." "We shall forever be friends and we must not refer to the past war between us. We shall, moreover, be your guardians and look after your business,'" the Euro-Americans said. Kayrahoo added the following annotation to make the one-sided meaning of this dialogue clear: "The meaning of this was that the Indians had now fallen under the conqueror's government." Although the federal government learned to speak the ways of indigenous diplomacy, they often misunderstood and misapplied key principles to their benefit, with the tribes having no effective right of appeal.[83]

Indigenous diplomatic protocols, however, continued to hold sway in intertribal interactions in the West. The emigrant Native nations found ways of mediating and

[83] Charles Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology, With an Appendix Containing Earlier Published* Records, Canada Department of Mines Geological Survey Memoir 80, Anthropological Series No. 11 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 268-270. Quote from: Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 270.

resolving conflicts with the Plains Indians who were simultaneously being pushed out of their own lands while the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes nations resettled in the West. Isaac McCoy and Lenape (Delaware) leader Captain John Quick surveyed the new Indian Territory reservation boundaries in the fall of 1830 (See Figures 2.21 and 2.22). When they traveled through the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) lands they came across an intertribal council in progress, having a "'talk' with thirty Kansas [sic Kansa (Kaw)] principal men." Wampum became another useful tool for intertribal dialogue. Soon after Lenape (Delaware) relocation to the West, under their direction, their Indian agent sent some peace wampum to the Paáris (Pawnees).[84]

In 1912, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) elder Hu'u^{n}dažú (John Kayrahoo), through the careful translation of Hu$'^{u}$cra˘ɛ`·wa‘s (Allen Johnson), shared another story that he had learned from an elder before him, John Sarenhes. The story told of brutal war with the Paáris (Pawnees), and explained why the Paáris (Pawnees) ended up inhabiting in the western part of what would become the state of Kansas, and why the Paáris (Pawnees) moved and stayed on the other side of the Arkansas River. According to his tale, after numerous battles the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), sick of the constant Paári (Pawnee) offensives against them, retaliated without restraint, critically harming the Paári (Pawnee). Subsequently, after recovering from their losses, the Paári (Pawnee) stayed away from the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s).[85] That is why, according to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), they resided for a while in the northeastern portion of what would become the state of Kansas, and why the Paáris (Pawnees) remained in the southwestern part of the state.

[84] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 55; *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881,* 271-275.
[85] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 283, 283n5, 284.

With Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Myaamia (Miami), Peewaalia (Peoria), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)), Chikasha (Chickasaw), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Lenape (Delaware), and Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) communities already living in the West, Native communities living in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes also considered relocating and going to live next to their relatives and friends, an option that the Euro-American communities and the federal Indian Office in the East eagerly approved of, given the prospects of Indians leaving or ceding lands in the East.

Grant Foreman described the tribal nations of the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), and Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) who had moved in the West had hoped their relatives in the East would be formidable reinforcements to end the conflict with the Wažažes (Osages) and other Plains nations. These removed nations "had a conception of an alliance with the Indians from the East that would make it possible to drive the Osage [Wažažes] out of the country." "For several years the eastern and western tribes had been carrying on a correspondence by means of wampum on the subject of the removal of the eastern tribes to the west of the Mississippi," Foreman concluded.[86] With the assistance of wampum, the Indians in the trans-Mississippi West communicated with their kin in the East regarding the idea of resettlement, of rejoining them and providing reinforcements.

The next formal set of interactions with the tribes in the West and the ones yet to remove was likely the 1823 and 1824 contact between delegations of Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Myaamia (Miami), Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), and others with Arkansas Yunwiya (Cherokee)

[86] Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss," 147-153; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 48-49; Aron, *American Confluence*, 137. Quote from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 48-49.

chief Takatoka to assist with removal. Takatoka was one of the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) 'Old Settlers' who resided in what is now the state of Arkansas. These Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) received wampum from Haudenosaunee, Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Nottaways, Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Lenape (Delawares), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), and others—from a total of nineteen different tribal nations. Historian of Indian Removal John P. Bowes argued: "In inter-Indian councils… wampum remained crucial well into the mid-nineteenth century. The negotiation for relocation in the 1820s among the eastern Indians alone reflects its practical and symbolic importance." Bowes explained, "The nineteen different eastern bands that sent wampum to the Cherokees [Aniyunwiya] all used white shell beads presented as belts or, as the record states, bunches."[87] These "bunches" are also considered wampum. Instead of belts, however, they are strands or bundles of the wampum shell beads. Wampum, nonetheless, whether in the more familiar and recognized forms of belts or the lesser-known strands, bundles, or bunches, the wampum still had the same functions. They served as methods of communication for treaty negotiations, peace, and alliance (See Figure 2.23).

In was, as Bowes stated, the hope of creating a "confederation of eastern Indians in the West."[88] In 1823 Takatoka and the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Old Settlers in Arkansas met with Lenape (Delaware), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo),

[87] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 236n18; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 43-47; Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*, 104-107, 137-139, 246; Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*, 22, 38, 49-53, 122. Quote from: Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 47. For more on Native peoples as settlers see: Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora*; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*; Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*.

[88] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 43-44.

Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), and Waayaahtanwa (Wea) nations. The leaders behind the meeting were Takatoka and the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Quatawepea (Captain John Lewis) (See Figure 2.24). Historian Grant Foreman described the meeting as one dominated by their presence. "Lewis was deputized to carry the white wampum to his tribe in Ohio," Foreman recounted. General Clark noted how this western Native group showed him the wampum they received from nineteen different Indian nations in the East. Similarly, those nations in Indiana, Ohio, and New York received wampum belts from the western group. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscaroras) showed interest in removal. The plan was that the Ohio Indians such as the Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)), Odawa (Ottawa), Myaamia (Miami), Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), and Haudenosaunee nations, would then all meet in council at the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) village of Wapakoneta, Ohio, to discuss removal.[89]

When Takatoka did not show up at the Ohio meeting in 1823 as he had said he would, the eastern tribal nations worried that "they had been deceived by the promises of Captain [John] Lewis [Quatawepea]," Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) sent delegates to inquire at Saint Louis why the western group had not arrived. In October 1824, a dozen members of the Western Aniyunwiya

[89] Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 80-81; Emma Lila Fundaburk, ed., *Southeastern Indians: Life Portraits; A Catalogue of Pictures, 1564-1860* (Birmingham: Birmingham Printing Company, 1958), Illustration No. 168; Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers*, 229; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 48; Jeff Burton, *Indian Territory and the United States, 1866-1906: Courts, Government, and the Movement for Oklahoma Statehood*, Legal History of North America Series (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 5.

(Cherokee) Council signed a commission instructing Takatoka to meet with the Ohio Valley group. Unfortunately, Takatoka fell sick and died before reaching Kaskaskia, Illinois. The remaining seventeen, predominantly Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), counseled with those at Wapakoneta. The group of Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Ohio Indians arrived in the United States capital on February 19, 1825. Staying until March 21, they then returned to Wapakoneta, Ohio, where discussions continued, resulting in a formal council on May 11.[90]

The western tribal delegates who then returned to the West, going through Saint Louis, had received wampum from the Ohio Indians. Speaking to Indian Agent General William Clark in Saint Louis, an unnamed Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) leader explained each individual wampum received. He detailed: "'This is from the Mingoes, this the Wyandotte [Wa^{n}dat], this the Delewares [sic] [Lenape], this the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka], this the Oneidas [Oneniote'á:ka], this the Ontarios, and this from the women begging us to pursue in our undertaking and not to give it up." The Yunwiya (Cherokee) continued: "This large wampum of white is a strand from each of the tribes mentioned to make the road clear…'"[91] Keeping the path clear was important, especially for settling in new lands in the West unknown to them.

Some of those Ohio Indians who saw the path as clear and safe made the decision to relocate. As Quatawepea resolved, "'I shall move over the Mississippi for my people now with me will not return—those who are not on their way will soon commence their journey." He had invited Tenskwatawa, but he seemed uninterested in the confederation. Quatawepea explained, "The Prophet was invited to attend the Great

[90] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 48-51.
[91] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 51. Also quoted in: Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 195.

Council, supposing he had learned some sense by this time, and have a wish with the other Indians to live altogether…" Despite this, he continued to move to the West. "We have a large party of Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] and Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] with us; We will make our fires for the present and enter the swamps near the Mississippi and try to sustain ourselves,'" he detailed to Clark. By 1827 more than two hundred Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and at least one Shotinontowane' (Seneca) family traveled to the West.[92]

Other Indian groups would send out exploring expeditions to look at the lands in the West in the late 1820s and early 1830s. The Reverend Isaac McCoy directed a group of Potewatmi (Potawatomi) and Odawa (Ottawa) Indians. Leaving Saint Louis on August 19, 1828, they traveled to the Osage River and followed the Santa Fe Trail. They met with other Indians already established there: the Važaže (Osage), Kansa (Kaw), Paári (Pawnee), and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) groups. The Potewatmi (Potawatomi) and Odawas (Ottawas) complained about the lack of traditionally significant plants such as the sugar maple trees, and hesitated about relocating. Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Odawas (Ottawas), and Ojibwes (Chippewas), however, did move West, and by November 3 of that same year "the settlement of the Wea [Waayaahtanwa] Indians on Bull Creek was reached," and the Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Odawa (Ottawa) and Ojibwe (Chippewa) contingent ended up on the Važaže (Osage) Nation's reservation at the Osage River Agency.[93] A half a dozen Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) delegates left

[92] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 51-53.

[93] La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 57; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 100-120. On the importance of maple sugar and maple trees to Great Lakes Indians, see: David Andrew Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 81. For more on emigrant Indian objections to Indian Territory, see: Joseph T. Manzo, "Emigrant Indian Objections to Kansas Residence," *Kansas History*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Winter 1981), 246-254; Joseph T. Manzo, "The Indian Pre-Removal Information Network," *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1982), 72-83. See also: James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in*

Cincinnati on October 27, 1831 to look at the area of Kansas. Hähshäh´rēhs or Sēhs´tährōh, also known as William Walker, who would later become famous as Nebraska's first governor, was a part of that group. Like the Potewatmis (Potawatomis) and others, they too noted the lack of sugar maples, "essential to their sustenance and happiness." The growing slave state of Missouri to the East of Kansas, also troubled the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) who worried they would be drawn into the drama that came with fugitive and runaway slaves.[94]

A dozen Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) also explored the West, meeting two years later, on October 15, 1833. As Foreman explained, they looked over northeastern Oklahoma, and "conferred with their kinsmen already located there."[95] Five years later, another group of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas)—this time the War of 1812 veteran warrior named White Seneca and five other Shotinontowane' (Seneca) and Kaion'ke (Cayuga) leaders—went to the Osage River October 1, 1837, writing up a full report before the end of the year. On January 15, 1838, several Haudenosaunee and other New York tribal nations made a treaty, to establish a home for any New York Indians who wanted to move to eastern Kansas. Haudenosaunee agreed to more treaties over the next couple of years, and they kept stalling removal. Some Haudenosaunee stayed put, others moved northward into Canada, and in 1842 a small party did move to the West. Poor health, bad weather, and numerous hardships plagued the travelers, who traveled

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Potawatomi Culture, 1665-1965 (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 255, 287-288; *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881,* 271-275. See also: Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. 1, 199, 199n12.

[94] Joseph Bradfield Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub & Company, 1908), 50; Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers*, 233; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 92-93; William Elsey Connelley, "The Walker Family," in *PGNT-JWW*, 12, 16. For more on the contrasts of plant diversity, especially of traditionally-significant edible plants, found in Indian Territory after removal as compared to original homelands, see: Akers, *Living in the Land of Death*, 63-65.

[95] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 331.

much slower than they had originally planned. By the time they reached Kansas, before heading to their own lands, some of the travelers found in inviting neighbors who were welcoming them to seek shelter, warmth, and food sustenance during their travels. Foreman noted that "The Tuscarora Indians [Tehatiskaró:ros or Taskarorahá:ka] in the party accepted the invitation of the hospitable Shawnee [Šaawanwaki] in Kansas to abide for a time with them until they should regain their health." Finding refuge in a new land, these Haudenosaunee endured hardship, poor health, and bad weather to seek a new home next to distant kin and relations already living in the Kansas and Indian territories.[96]

By the beginning of the 1830s, then, many Native communities with homelands in the Old Northwest, Ohio Valley, and Great Lakes, considered relocation or had already moved to the West. For some Native communities like the Peewaliaki (Peorias), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), they had stories of their migrations and movements, and familiarities with lands near the mihši-siipiiwi (Mississippi). They had alliances and friendships with other Indian nations through long-held traditions of making strangers their relatives. Wažažes (Osages) and Okáxpas (Quapaws) remembered stories told by their parents and grandparents of historic alliances and agreements with other Native nations, like the Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking communities, for example. These alliances as well as migrations westward would help sustain Native communities. Native peoples utilized their tools of survivance, stories of kinship and connection with each other, as methods for helping themselves survive and thrive. White Earth Ojibwe/Anishinaabe

[96] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 67-71, 331-333. Quote from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 333-334.

scholar Gerald Vizenor, after all, had described survivance as the manifestation and continuation of Native stories, traditions, and peoples. Many Native communities who evaded or stalled the United States pressures to go westward, then, faced wholesale forced removal in the 1830s and 1840s that came with the prodding by military muscle and firearms pointed at them. By that time, however, they already had relatives and allies living in the Central Plains. Fortified with the stories of their interactions and long-established connections with others, their resilient and robust legacies of Native diplomatic protocols supported by the memories of wampum keepers who told the stories and enriched the physical white and black, or purple, shell beads strung together in strands and woven in belts. These long-held stories and methods of creating relationality would assist Native survivance and community continuities even in the darkest moments in the Era of Indian Removal.

Figure 2.1: William Clark Map of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, Completed 1810
Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Lenape (Delawares) resided around what is now western Illinois and eastern Missouri.
Source: Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *A map of part of the continent of North America : from longitude 89º W. of Washington City to the Pacific and between latitude 35 and 52 North : compiled from the information of the best informed travellers* [sic] *through that quarter of the globe in which the Missouri Jefferson's Lewis's & the upper part of Clark's river and the lower part of the Columbia river is partially corrected by celestial observations from the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi to the entrance of the Columbia into the Pacific Ocean ... : shewing Lewis & Clark's rout over the Rocky Mountains in 1805 on their rout to the Pacific from the United States* (1810) [Scale 1:3,168,000. 50 miles = 1 in.], WA MSS 303, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Yale University Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Available online at: Library of Congress, "Clark's Map of 1810," *World Digital Library*, October 19, 2015, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/3057/ (accessed 7 December 2017).

Figure 2.2: (See information and citation from Figure 2.1)

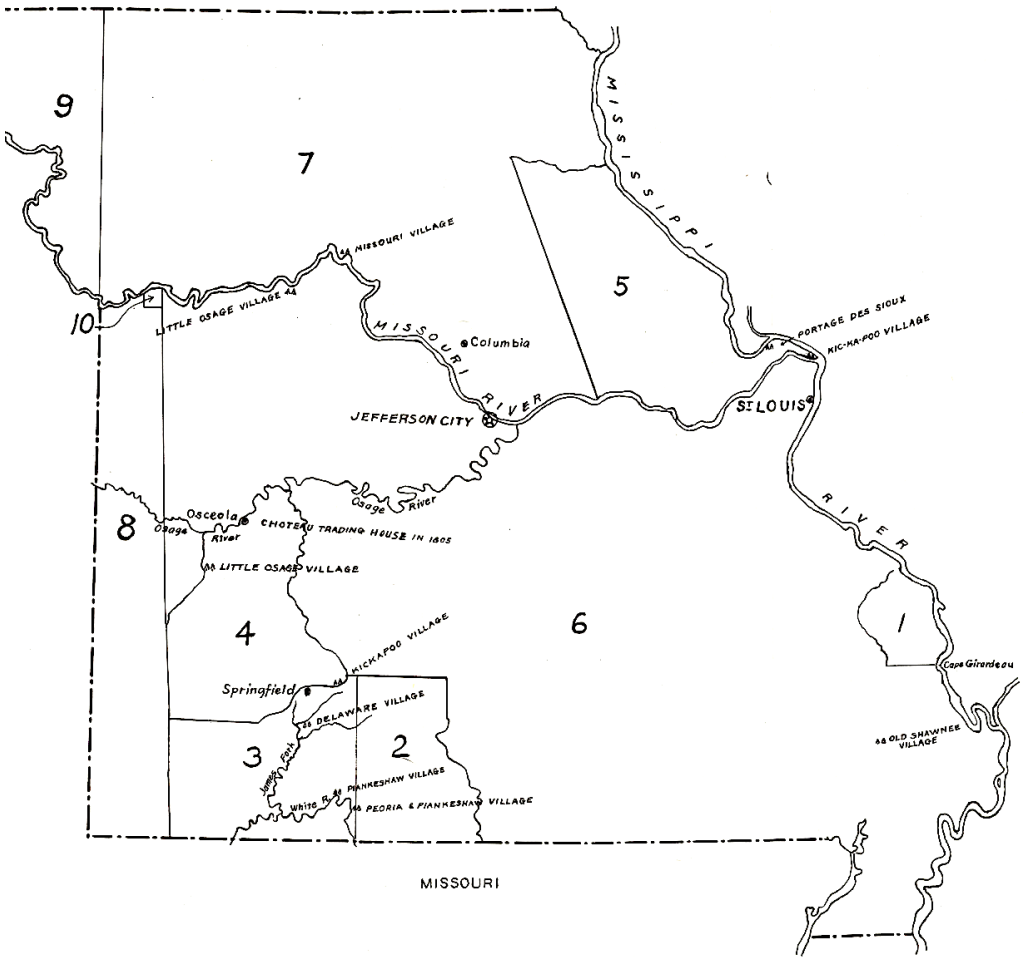


Figure 2.3: Missouri's Indigenous Inhabitants on the Eve of Removal
Map of what would become the state of Missouri—indicating not only the Cape Girardeau lands where many Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) lived, but also Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Lenape (Delaware), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Otoe-Missouria and Wažaže (Osage) communities who settled along southwestern Missouri rivers in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Not pictured is a Peewaalia (Peoria) village that was located, according to the 1818 treaty, on the Blackwater River (north-central Missouri). See the 1830s Missouri maps which contrast with Foreman's map and show varying areas labeled for Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), and others.
Source: Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), Map between pp. 34-35.

Figure 2.4: Tenskwatawa (The Prophet) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), 1835
"TENS-QUA-TA-WA or The One Who Opens the Door; Shawnese Prophet, *Brother of Tecumthe*" from James Otto Lewis, *The Aboriginal Portfolio* (1835). SAAM, Gift of H. Lyman Sayen to his nation. SAAM Collection, SAAM, SI. Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 2.5: Tenskwatawa (The Prophet) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), 1830
George Catlin, "Ten-sqúat-a-way, The Open Door, Known as The Prophet, Brother of Tecumseh" (1830). SAAM, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr. SAAM Collection, SAAM, Washington, D.C. Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution.

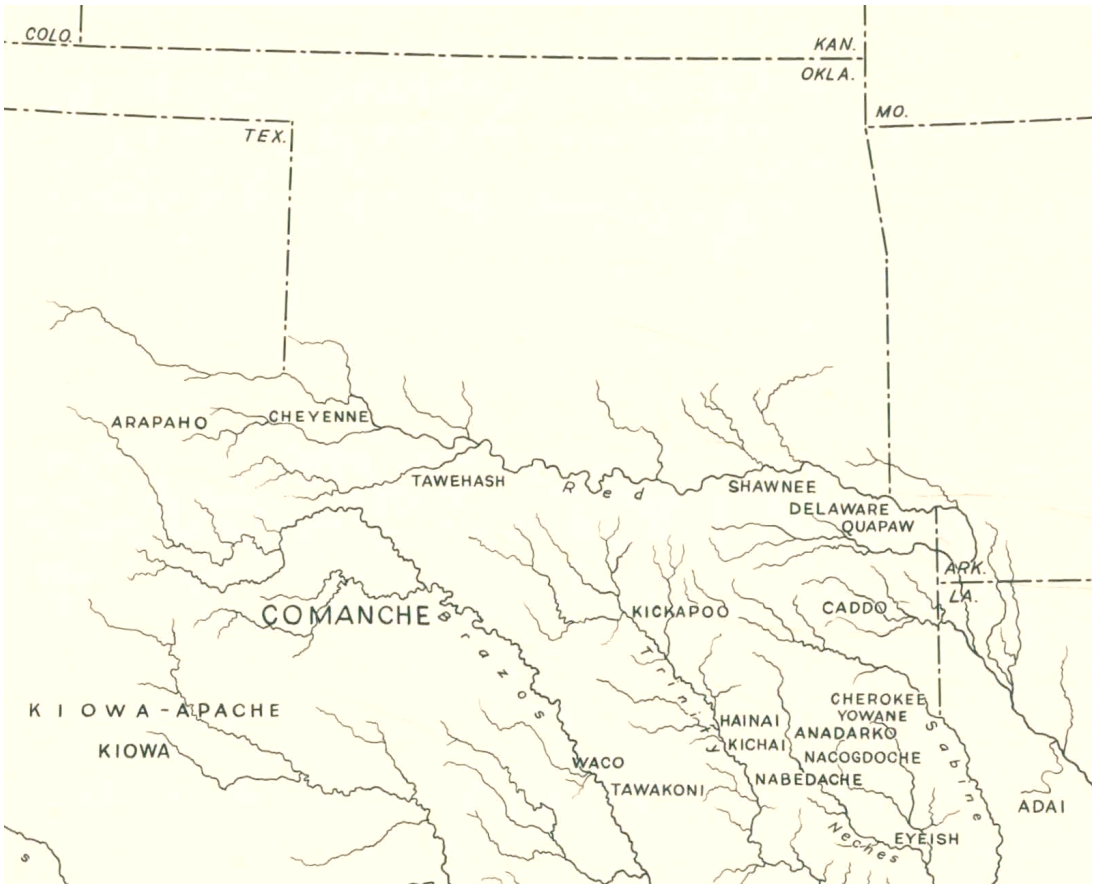


Figure 2.6: Eastern Texas Emigrant Indigenous Communities, 1830
Aniyunwiya (Cherokee), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), Okáxpa (Quapaw), and Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) peoples lived along the Red River and other waterways in eastern Texas by the 1830s.
[Close-up excerpt of the map—cropped; not displayed in its entirety].
Source: Jean Louis Berlandier, *The Indians of Texas in 1830,* edited by John C. Ewers and translated by Patricia Reading Leclercq (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969), 23, Figure 13: Map of the Indians of Texas.

Figure 2.7: Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) living in Eastern Texas, 1830
Painting of a Šaawanwa (Shawnee) couple living in the eastern part of Texas in 1830.
Source: Jean Louis Berlandier, *The Indians of Texas in 1830,* edited by John C. Ewers and translated by Patricia Reading Leclercq (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969), Plate 12: Shawnee Indians of Eastern Texas. Original Courtesy of the GM.

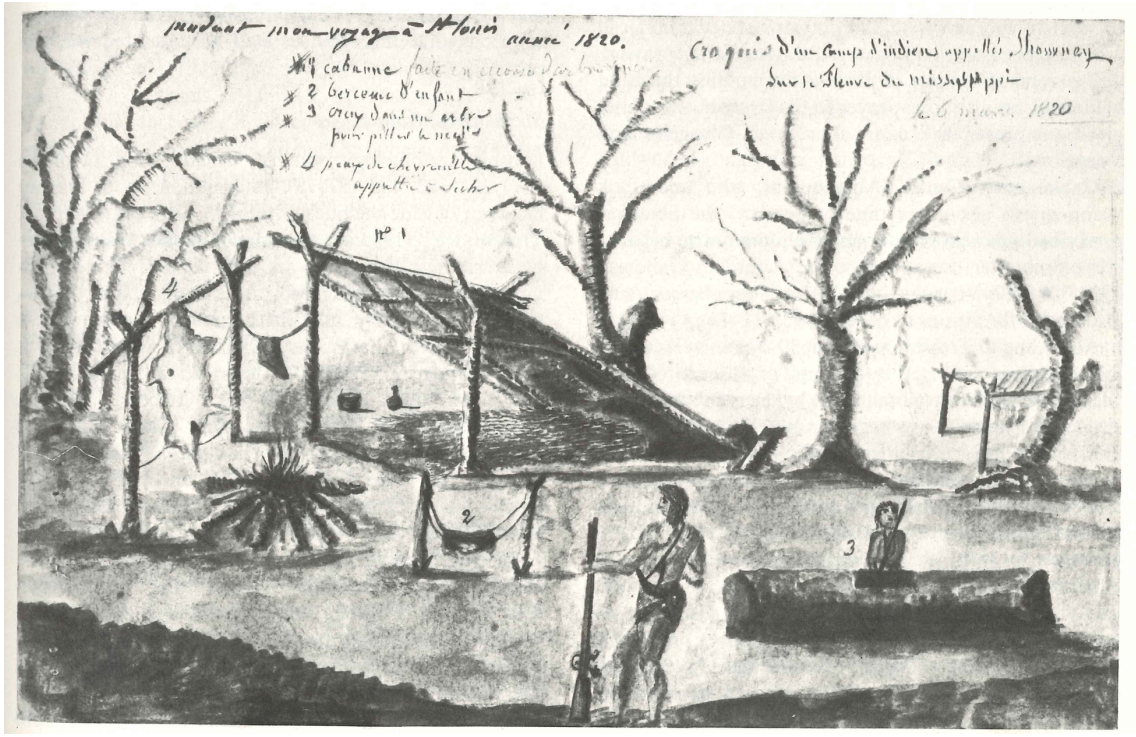


Figure 2.8: Šaawanwa (Shawnee) Camp, 1820
Listed as "pendant mon voyage à St. Louis, année 1820" [During my voyage to Saint Louis, Year 1820], dated March 6, 1820, and described as "croquis d'un camp d'indiens appellés Shawney—Sur le Fleuve du Mississippi" [Believed to be an Indian Camp of the Shawnees—on the Mississippi River] this sketch detailed the inner workings of Šaawanwa (Shawnee) family living in the West. Note the baby sling (No. 2). Women would grind corn a mortar made from a fallen tree (No. 3) while the men would hunt, and their returns would be stretched out to dry to make fur pelts and leather from animal skins (No 4).
Source: Charles Callender, "Shawnee," in *HNAI*, Vol. 15, 25. [Cropped for detail].
Original Courtesy of the Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library, New Orleans, Louisiana Collection.

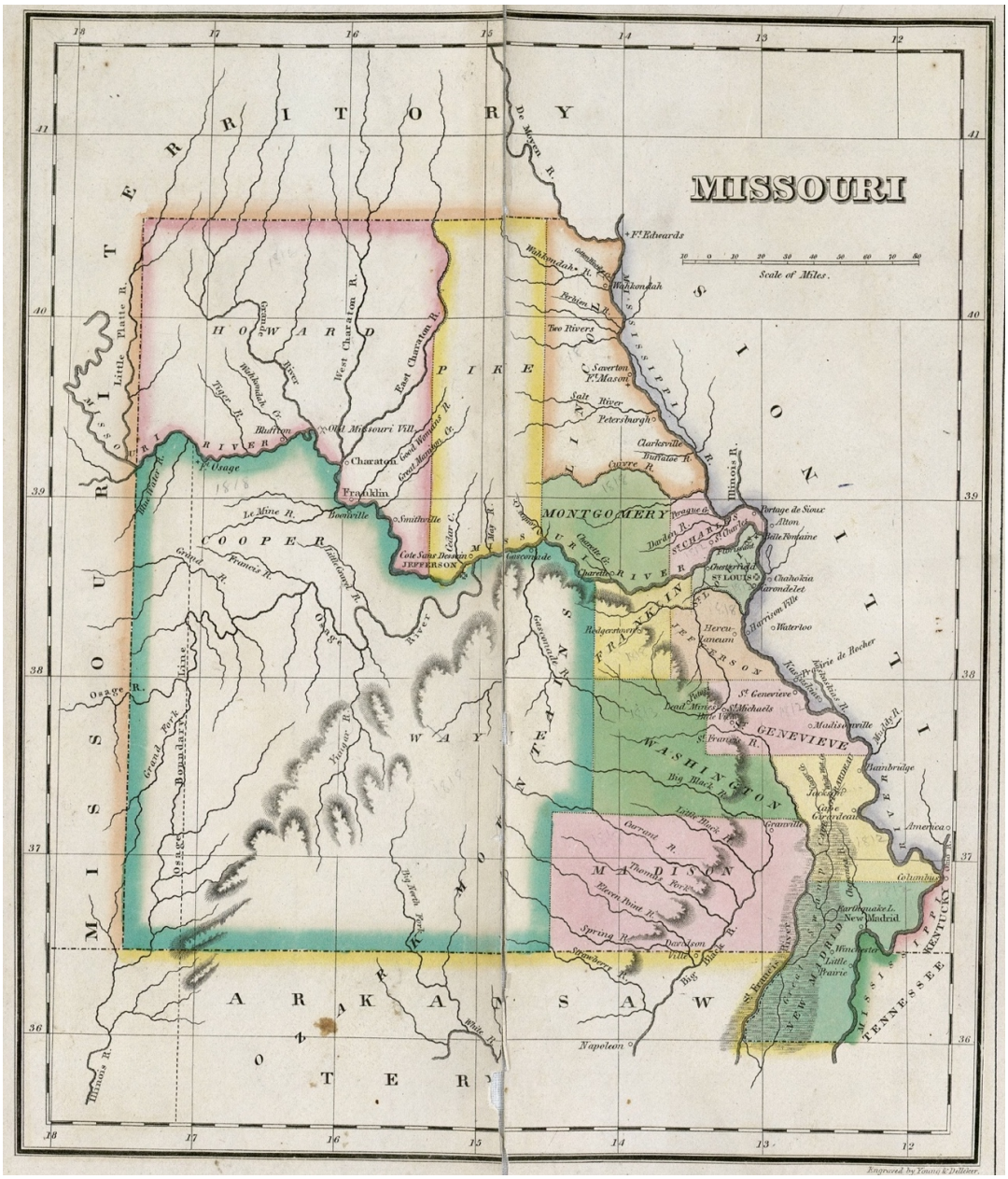


Figure 2.9: Map of Missouri, showing Arkansas Territory, 1822
While Illinois became a state in 1818, Missouri became one in 1821. This 1822 map, depicting the state boundaries of Missouri right after statehood, still showed the territory of Arkansas, which would not become a state until 1836.
Source: Henry Charles Carey, *Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Map of Missouri* (H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1822) [map]. State Historical Society of Missouri Map Collection, The State Historical Society of Missouri.

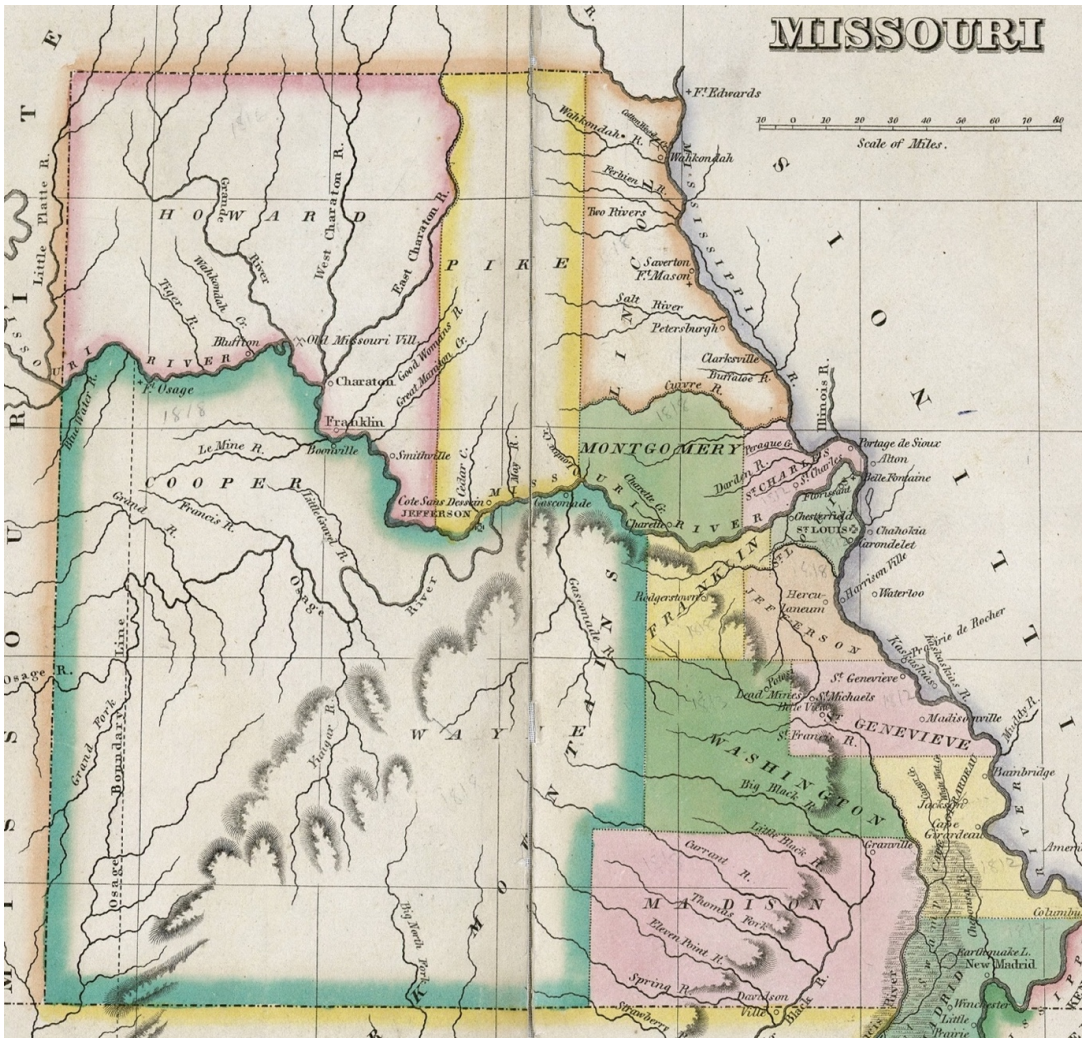


Figure 2.10: Map of Missouri, showing Arkansas Territory, 1822 (Detail)
This 1822 map (excerpted from original; close-up of Figure 2.9) shows central Missouri Territory. The Osage Boundary is indicated to the left. In light pencil you can make out "1818" which is when Saline County (where present-day location of Miami, Missouri is) was incorporated. That same year the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and others ceded their lands in Missouri for maintaining their reservation lands in Missouri. One such village was along Blackwater River—located between the La Mine River and the Missouri River.
Source: Henry Charles Carey, *Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Map of Missouri* (H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1822) [map]. State Historical Society of Missouri Map Collection, The State Historical Society of Missouri.

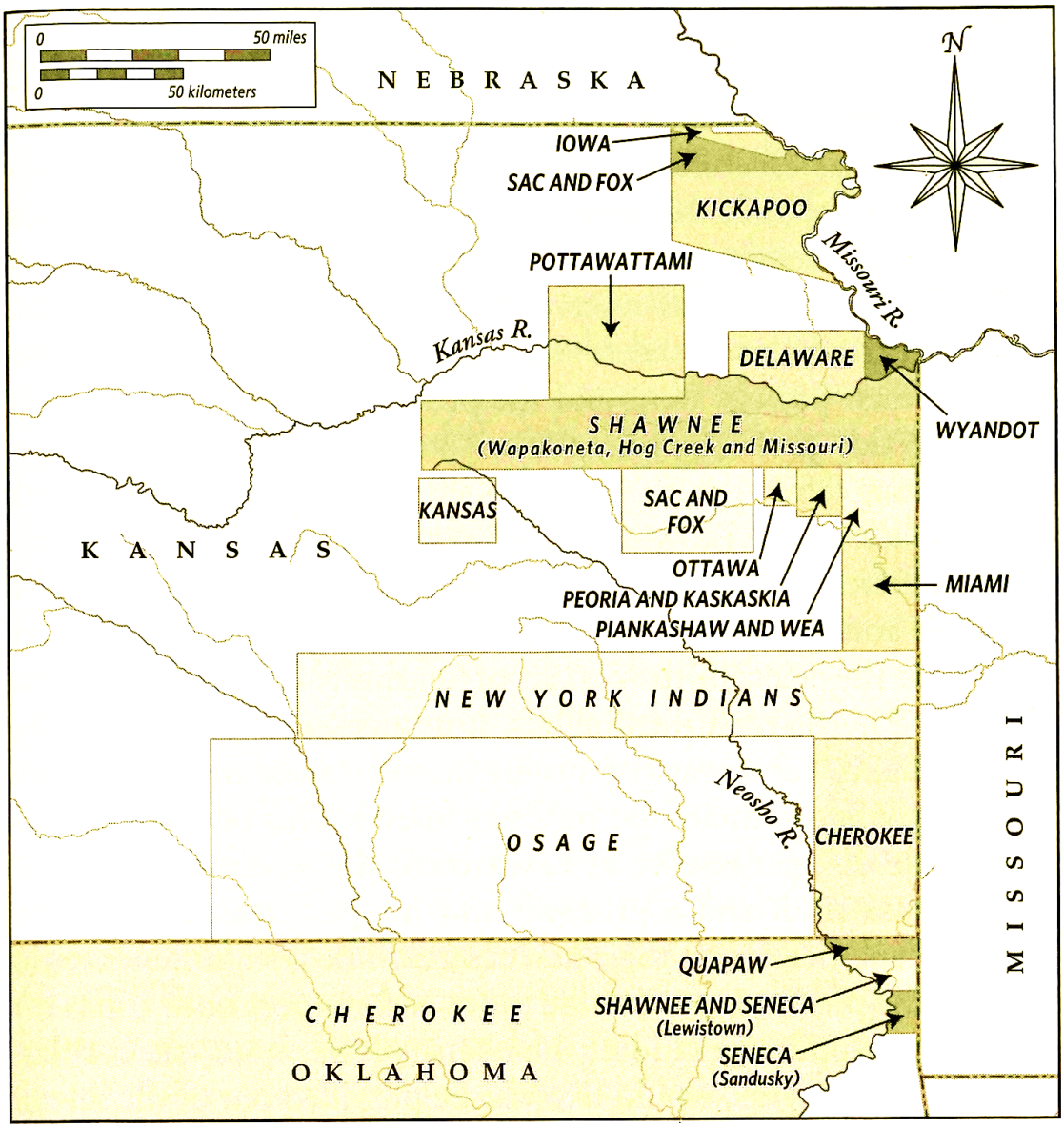


Figure 2.11: Map of Emigrant Indigenous Nations in Kansas
This map illustrates where Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) of Missouri were assigned lands in Kansas Territory, along with the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Lewistown Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Odawas (Ottawas), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), and Lenape (Delawares) from the state of Ohio. [Color corrected to emphasize the color differentials].
Source: Mary Stockwell, *The Other Trail of Tears: The Removal of the Ohio Indians* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2014), 221, Map 4.

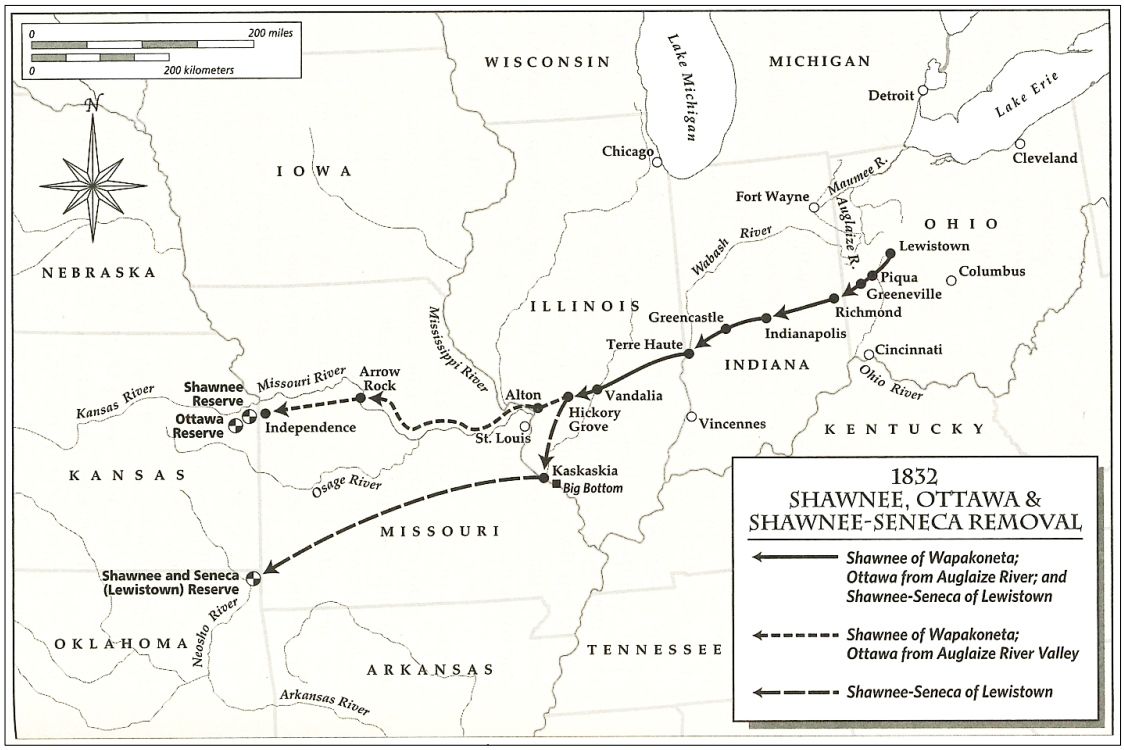


Figure 2.12: Šaawanwa-Odawa-Shotinontowane' (Shawnee-Ottawa-Seneca) Route
In 1832 Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Odawas (Ottawas) split ways with other Native nations at Saint Louis on their removal to the West. The Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) moved south to what would become the northeastern corner of Oklahoma, while the Wapakoneta Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) settled on the Kaatheewithiipiiki (Kansas River) and the Odawas (Ottawas) also resided in what would become the state of Kansas.
Source: Mary Stockwell, *The Other Trail of Tears: The Removal of the Ohio Indians* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2014), 239, Map 5.

Figure 2.13: Wapakoneta Šaawanwa (Shawnee) Removal Route, 1832-1835
The federal government first removed the Wapakoneta Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), led by Catahecassa (Black Hoof), to what would become Kansas in the 1830s.
Source: NMAI, SI, "How did Six Different Native Nations Try to Avoid Removal? Shawnee Nation Case Study," and "American Indian Removal: What Does It Mean to Remove a People?" *Native Knowledge 360°: New Perspectives on Native American History, Cultures, and Contemporary Lives*, 2018, http://nmai.si.edu/nk360/removal-six-nations/shawnee/map.cshtml (accessed 21 February 2018).
Map Produced by: Gene Thorp/Cartographic Concepts, Incorporated.

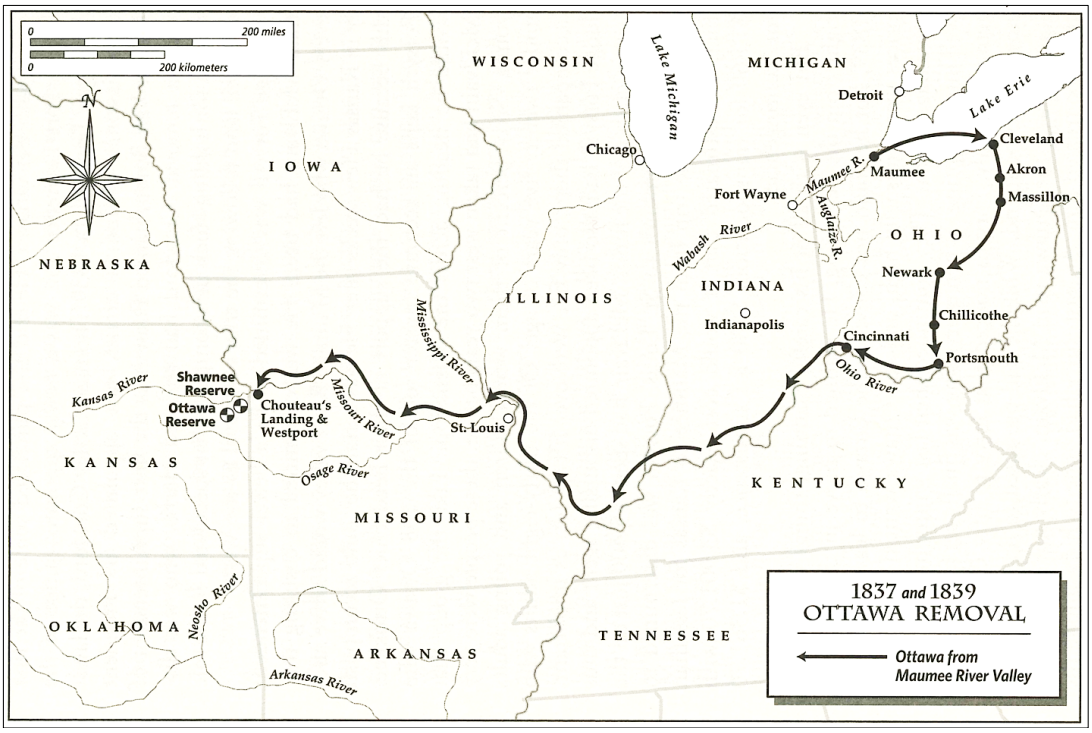


Figure 2.14: Odawa (Ottawa) Forced Removal Route, 1837-1839
This map shows the route the Odawas (Ottawas) took on their forced removal from Ohio to Kansas Territory in 1837 and 1839.
Source: Mary Stockwell, *The Other Trail of Tears: The Removal of the Ohio Indians* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2014), 273, Map 6.

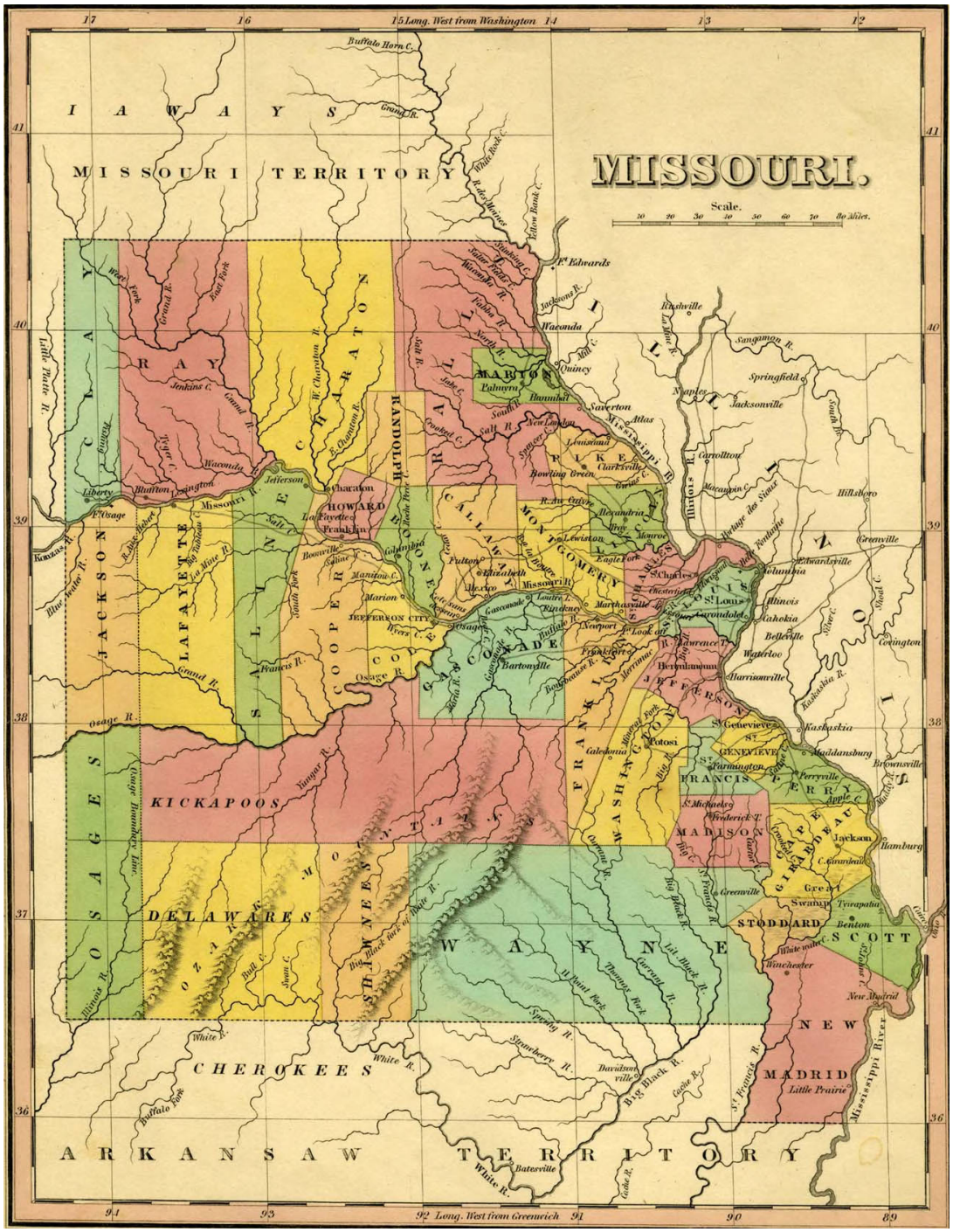


Figure 2.15: Map of Missouri Showing Emigrant Indian Nations, 1831
Very different from Grant Foreman's Missouri map, this shows colored areas reserved for Wažažes (Osages), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Lenape (Delawares), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking people still resided in the central-west part of the state (Saline County) until the 1830s.
Source: *[Map of] Missouri [Showing Counties]* (Young and Decker, 1831). State Historical Society of Missouri Map Collection, The State Historical Society of Missouri.

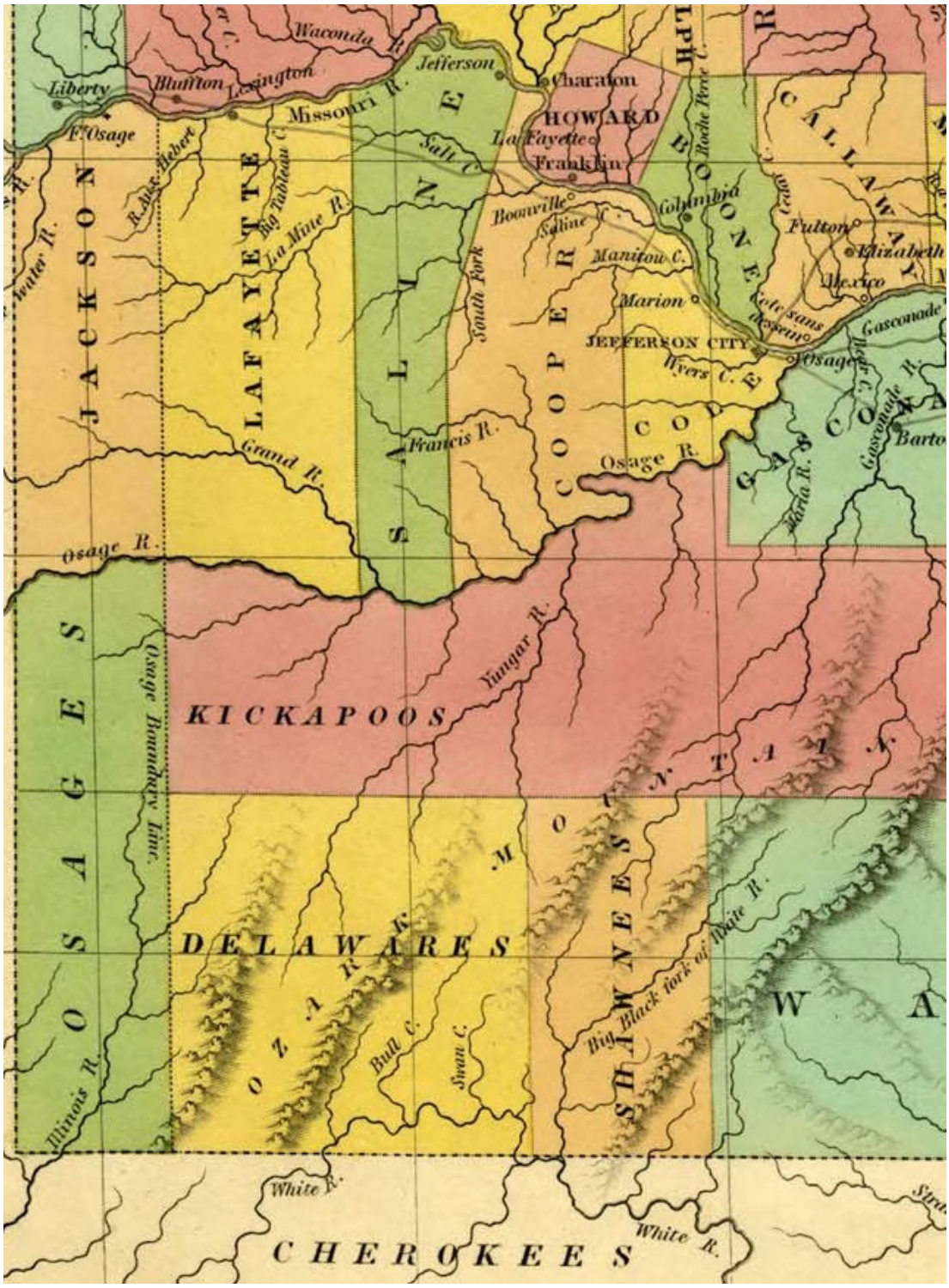


Figure 2.16: Map of Missouri Showing Emigrant Indian Nations, 1831, Detail
Note the Osage Boundary Line depicted in this 1831 Missouri map close-up.
Source: *[Map of] Missouri [Showing Counties]* (Young and Decker, 1831). State Historical Society of Missouri Map Collection, The State Historical Society of Missouri.

Figure 2.17: Eudora Fish (Šaawanwa/Shawnee-Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te))
This is the only known photograph of Eudora Fish, the namesake of Eudora, Kansas, possibly taken in the 1860s. Šaawanwa/Shawnee lands had been allotted in 1854 and the lands that became Eudora, Kansas was sold three years later in 1857. Smithsonian Institution archives records, however, recorded her father, Paschal Fish, Jr., as being of Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Myaamia (Miami), and Lenape (Delaware) descent.
Source: Eudora Area Historical Society's Facebook Page, March 29, 2016, https://www.facebook.com/EudoraCommunityMuseum/photos/a.460372760651485.104139.195114533843977/1078626535492768/?type=3&theater (accessed 12 February 2018).
[Cropped and color corrected for detail].

Figure 2.18: Eudora (daughter) & Paschal Fish, Jr. (Šaawanwa/Shawnee)
This statue located in Eudora City Park, Eudora, Kansas, is of the town's namesake Eudora Fish, daughter of Hester Zane (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) and her father Paschal Fish (Šaawanwa/Shawnee). Paschal Fish, Jr. sold the land in 1857 to German immigrants and he requested the town be named Eudora.
Source: Buried Past Consulting LLC's Facebook Page, January 31, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/BuriedPastConsulting/photos/pcb.2031491507093310/2031490253760102/?type=3&theater (accessed 12 February 2018).

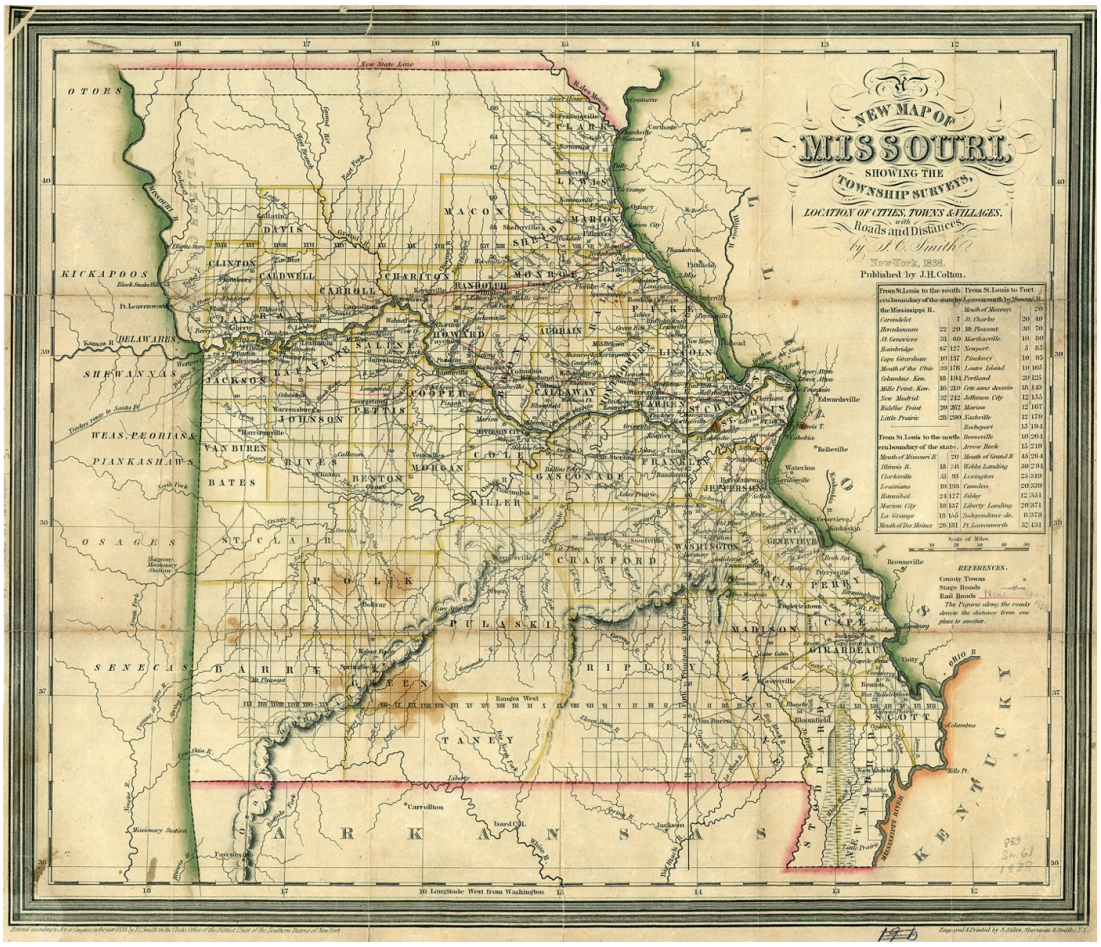


Figure 2.19: Map of Missouri showing Emigrant Indian Nations, 1838

Figure 2.19 (above) and Figure 2.20 (following page): The close-up of southwestern Missouri shows the Native nation communities on the other side of the border, in what would become Kansas Territory.

Source: J. Calvin Smith, *New Map of Missouri Showing the Township Surveys, Locations of Cities, Towns & Villages, With Roads and Distances* (J. H. Colton & Company, 1838). State Historical Society of Missouri Map Collection, The State Historical Society of Missouri.

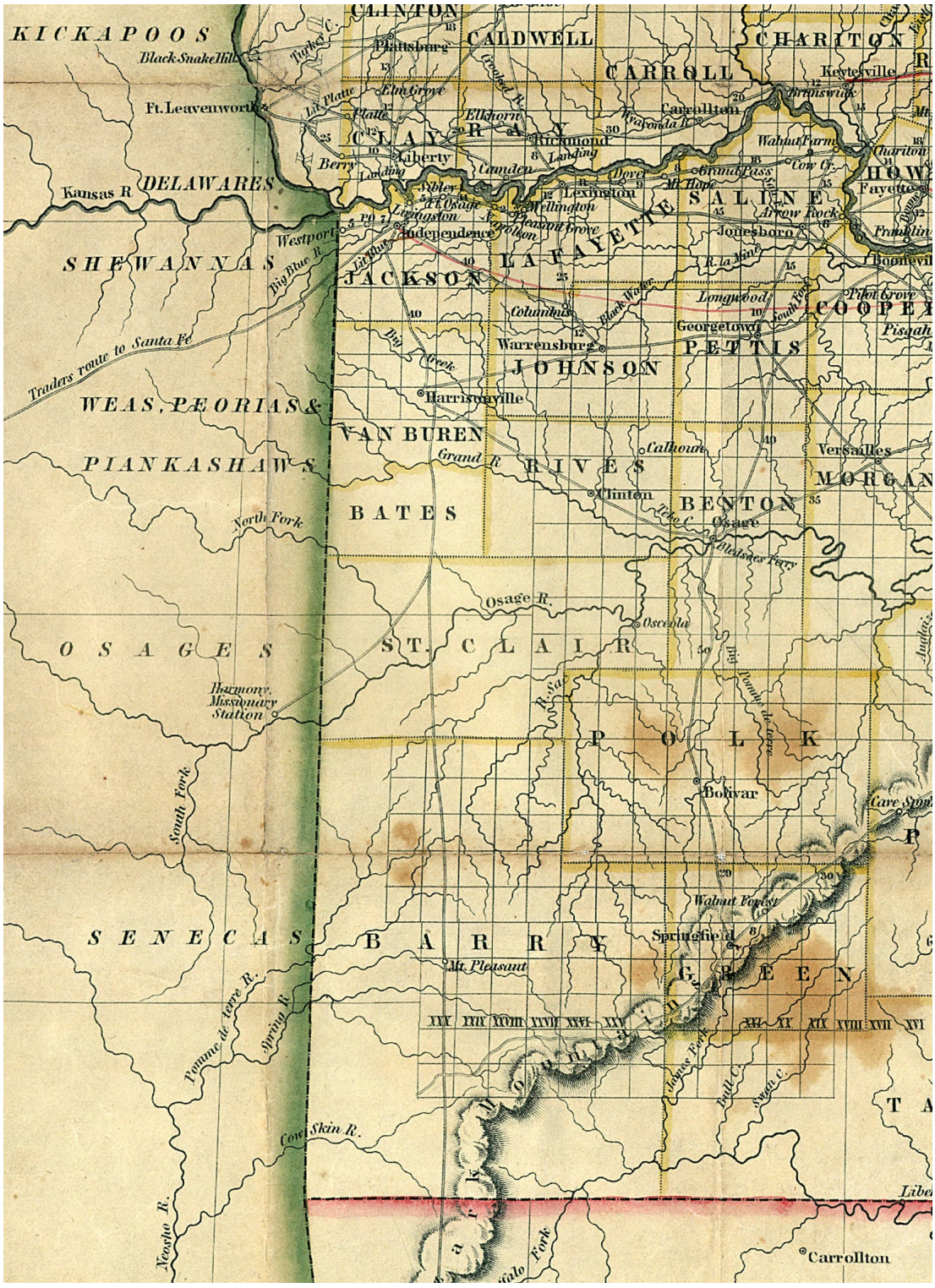


Figure 2.20: Map of Missouri showing Emigrant Indian Nations, 1838 (Detail)
(See information and citation from Figure 2.19)

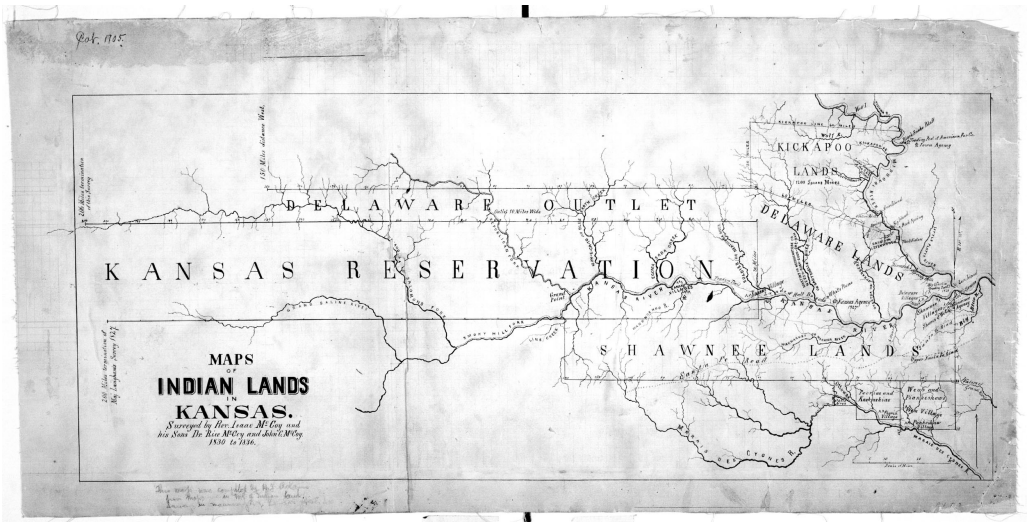
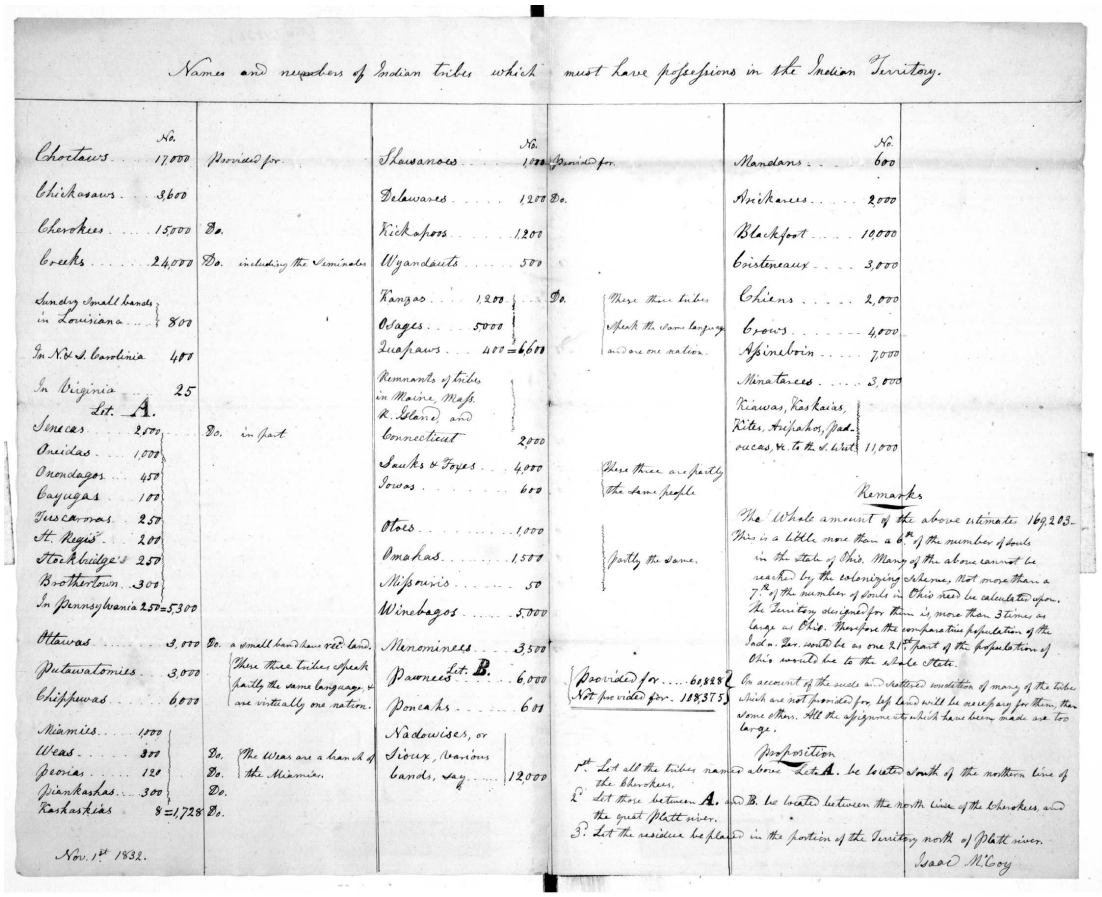


Figure 2.21: Isaac McCoy's Survey Map of Indian Lands in Kansas, 1830-1836
This survey map of Indian Lands in Kansas documents reservations, 1830-1836.
Source: Map of Indian Lands in Kansas, Isaac McCoy, KSHS. Digital Copy from *KSMEM.*



Names and numbers of Indian tribes which must have possessions in the Indian Territory.

	No.			No.			No.	
Choctaws	17,000	Provided for	Shawanoes	1,000	Provided for	Mandans	600	
Chickasaws	3600		Delawares	1200	Do.	Arikarees	2,000	
Cherokees	15,000	Do.	Kickapoos	1200		Blackfoot	10,000	
Creeks	24,000	Do. including the Seminoles	Wyandaults	500		Gristineaux	3,000	
Sundry small bands in Louisiana	800		Kanzas 1200		Do.	Chiens	2,000	
In N & S. Carolina	400		Osages 5000		These three tribes speak the same language and are one nation.	Crows	4,000	
In Virginia	25		Quapaws 400	=6600		Assineboin	7,000	
Lit. A.			Remnants of tribes in Maine, Mass. R. Island and Connecticut	2000		Minatarees	3,000	
Senecas	2,000	Do. in part	Sauks & Foxes	4,000		Kiawas, Kaskaias, Kites, Arapahos, Paducas, &c. to the S. West	11,000	
Oneidas	1,000		Iowas	600	These three are partly the same people			
Onondagos	450		Otoes	1,000				
Cayugas	100		Omahas	1,500	Partly the same.			
Tuscaroras	250		Missouris	50				
St. Regis	200		Winebagos	5,000				
Stockbridge's	250		Menominees	3,500				
Brothertown	300		Pawnees Lit. B.	6,000				
In Pennsylvania	250=5300		Poncahs	600				
Ottawas	3,000	Do. a small band have yet land.	Nadowisses, or Sioux, Various bands, say	12,000				
Putawatomies	3,000	These three tribes speak partly the same language, & are virtually one nation.						
Chippewas	6000							
Miamies	1,000							
Weas	300	Do. The Weas are a branch of the Miamies.						
Peorias	120	Do.						
Piankashas	300	Do.						
Kaskaskias	8=1728	Do.						

Provided for 60888
Not provided for. 108375

Remarks

The Whole amount of the above estimates 169,263. This is a little more than a 6th of the number of souls in the state of Ohio. Many of the above cannot be reached by the colonizing scheme, not more than a 7th of the number of souls in Ohio need be calculated upon. The Territory designed for them is more than 3 times as large as Ohio. Therefore the comparative population of the Indian Ter. would be as one 21st part of the population of Ohio would be to the Whole State.

On account of the small and scattered condition of many of the tribes which are not provided for, but little will be necessary for them than some others. All the assignments which have been made are too large.

Proposition

1st. Let all the tribes named above Lett A. be located South of the northern line of the Cherokees,
2d. Let there between A. and B. be located between the north line of the Cherokees, and the great Platt river.
3d. Let the residue be placed in the portion of the Territory north of Platt river.

Isaac M'Coy

Nov. 1st 1832.

Figure 2.22: List of Proposed Removed Tribal Nations, 1832
This list dated November 1, 1832 of proposed tribal nations to remove to Indian Territory, the lands reserved for Indians west of the Mississippi, included population statistics as well as notations regarding language affiliations and bands once associated with larger groups.
Source: Isaac McCoy, "Names and Numbers of Indian Tribes Which Must Have Possession in the Indian Territory," November 1, 1832. Isaac McCoy Papers, Coll. 422, Box 9, Folder 3. KSHS. Digital Copy from *KSMEM*.

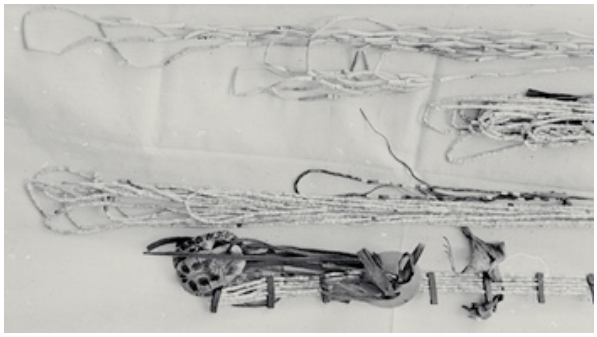


Figure 2.23: Mianza (Mary Williams)'s "Cordes de wampum… Wampum strings"
Charles Marius Barbeau took this photograph of what he described as Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) "Cordes de wampum… Wampum strings." Barbeau recorded that they belonged to Madame Isaiah Walker. This would be Mianza (Mary Williams), the wife of Towhoshrah (Isaiah Walker). This photograph, although tiny and unclear, serves to illustrate the diverse forms of wampum for intertribal diplomacy in Native North America. Whether in belts or strings/bundles, the wampum shells strung together in various forms served the same functions—they were (and are) mnemonic devices to record intertribal agreements of alliance and peacemaking.
Source: Charles Marius Barbeau, "Cordes de wampum faites de ceintures wampum wyandotte de Madame Isaiah Walker, réserve sénéca en Oklahoma [documents iconographiques] = Wampum strings made from Wyandotte wampum belts of Mrs. Isaiah Walker, Seneca reserve in Oklahoma," Black and White Negative (3 ¼ x 5 ½ in.), 1912. FMB, CMH/MCH. [Cropped from original].

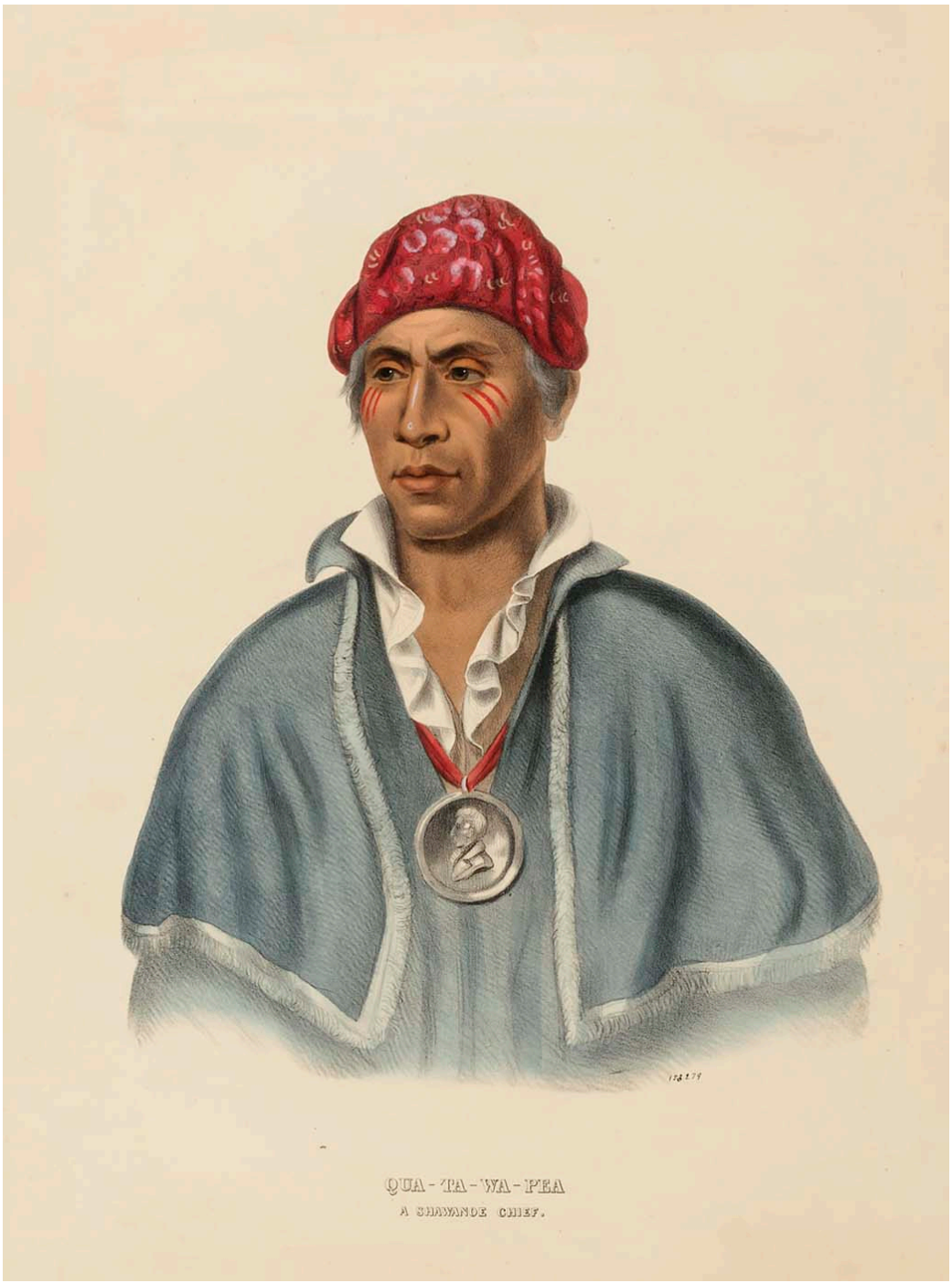


Figure 2.24: Quatawepea, aka Captain John Lewis (Šaawanwa/Shawnee)
Along with Takatoka, the leader of the Old Settler Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Quatawepea urged the relocation of the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) at Lewistown, Ohio to Indian Territory, in hopes of establishing a stronger unified indigenous coalition in the West.
Source: Thomas McKenney and James Hall lithograph from portrait by Charles Bird King, "QUA-TA-WA-PLA. A SHAWANOE CHIEF," from *History of the Indian Tribes of North America,* ca. 1837-1844, SAAM, Museum Purchase.

Chapter 3:
"Uniting to Keep Clear This Path": Kinship Networks and Intertribal Councils as Avenues for the Persistence of Native-Centered Geo-Politics During Removal, 1830s-1840s[1]

Although one cannot understate the devastating impact of forced removal from their original homelands to unfamiliar territory for the northwestern and southeastern Indian nations, when faced with the prospect of removal many Native peoples sought to maintain their political, cultural, and relational sovereignties. Removal from the Old Northwest virtually concluded with the Myaamiaki (Miamis) from Indiana and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) from Ohio in the 1840s. Some groups of Peewaliaki (Peorias), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Lenape (Delawares), and Old Settler Cherokees (Aniyunwiya), however, had already moved West by the 1830s. Native nations also retained political sovereignty in the assertion of indigenous protocols in their post-removal reconstruction of intertribal councils in the 1830s and 1840s. Historians have called the post-removal antebellum intertribal conferences which sprang up after communities regrouped in the new territories as ultimately noble but tragic failures. These, however, did have positive outcomes often masked by the most visible negative—the inability to sustain the expected noticeable intertribal union. Instead, Native communities utilized long-held traditions and beliefs to come together

[1] The first quote is taken from Colonel Albertson's words at the Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) Council meeting of 1845. In full, Colonel Albertson is reported to have said: "I am glad to see the white path renewed and extended to the Northern Tribes, and I am glad to see all uniting to keep clear this path" (Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations: The Creek Council of 1845," *COK*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Winter 1961-1962), 409). Mark Rifkin described indigenous "political cartography," geo-politics. Mark Rifkin, "Remapping the Family of Nations: The Geopolitics of Kinship in Hendrick Aupaumut's 'A Short Narration,'" *SAIL*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter 2010), 4.

as separate distinct and sovereign nations, who united in the common cause of intertribal peace and cultural continuity.[2]

Celebrity artist George Catlin's cartography detailing Indian Country in the 1830s (See Figures 3.1 and 3.2) and the 1840s (See Figures 3.3 and 3.4) detailed a Euro-American idealized version of the Mississippi Valley and the Southern and Central Plains of the United States. The maps did, however, also illustrate the close connections and settlements of removed Indians. They did show what the Euro-Americans hoped for—straight lines of Indian lands divided up, crossing the Plains like the New France's import of the French seigneurial system of land divisions in Québec or the colonial charters' claims extending outward from the East Coast (See Figure 3.5). The colorful cartographic lines and bars, however, also displayed, albeit very basically, general areas of where removed and emigrated Indians from the southeastern United States and the Great Lakes areas settled in the trans-Mississippi West. While the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Chahtas (Choctaws), Chikashas (Chickasaws), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), and Semvnoles (Seminoles) resided in the southeastern and south-central parts of what would become the state of Oklahoma, Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) would move to Wažaže (Osage) lands in Kansas Territory, directly West of the state of Missouri. By the late 1820s and early 1830s Indian agents reported population statistics in the thousands for Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Lenape (Delawares), Mvskokes

[2] Matthew L. M. Fletcher, "Sawnawgezewog: 'The Indian Problem' and the Lost Art of Survival," *American Indian Law Review*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2003-2004), 40n28.

(Muscogees (Creeks)), Chahtas (Choctaws), and in the hundreds for Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas).[3] This was both the federal government's design to push all Indians in consolidated lands in the West and Native agency to live next to their relatives and friends.

I. Crossing Through the "Ever-Present Shadow of Removal": Stoking the Fires in Transition [4]

"We have made a White road from your towns to ours, and we and all our people will travel it without danger. My Friends and Brothers, our young warriors travel through the Cherokee [Aniyunwiya], Muscogee [(Mvskoke/Creek], Choctaw [Chahta], Osage [Wažaže] and Quapaw [Okáxpa] Nations, and to all their houses. They are my friends. The road is a good white one, and when they travel it, there is no danger. When they travel to your towns, I hope they will also be safe… Here are your red Brothers we have all made peace. Do not break it. We want to raise all our children in peace. My Friends and Brothers, this talk I have given you, is from all my people. They told me to give it —It is also from our women and children. My talk is for all your Nations and

[3] Historian David La Vere quoted the statistics as: "By 1828 the western territory was home to about six thousand Cherokees [Aniyunwiya]; eighteen hundred Delawares [Lenape]; twenty-two hundred Kickapoos [Kiikaapoaki]; fourteen hundred Shawnees [Šaawanwaki]; fourteen hundred Weas [Waayaahtanooki] …; two hundred Piankashaws [Peeyankihšiaki]…; and about seven hundred [Mvskokes/Muscogees] Creeks and seven hundred Choctaws [Chahtas]" (David La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 54) and "By early 1832, eastern Indians in Indian Territory numbered 2,500 [Mvskokes/Muscogees] Creeks; 6,000 Choctaws [Chahtas]; 3,500 Cherokees [Aniyunwiya]; 3,000 Delawares [Lenape]; 1,800 Kickapoos [Kiikaapoaki]; 1,500 Shawnees [Šaawanwaki]; 400 Piankashaws [Peeyankihšiaki], Kaskaskias [Kaahkaahkiaki], and Peorias [Peewaaliaki]; 350 Weas [Waayaahtanooki]; and 340 Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka]" (La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 64). See also: George E. Lankford, "Shawnee Convergence: Immigrant Indians in the Ozarks," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Winter 1999), 390-413. For more statistics detailing hundreds of Lenape (Delaware), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Peewaliaki (Peorias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), and Wažažes (Osages) around Cape Girardeau and the Osage, Black, and St. Francis rivers, see: Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), 52; Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The Quapaws (Those who went downstream)* (Miami, Oklahoma: Dixons, Incorporated, 1976; Reprint, Quapaw, Oklahoma: Quapaw Tribal Council, 1982; Reprint, Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, for the Dobson Museum, 1999), 58.

[4] Daniel Heath Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History*, Indigenous Americas Series (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 157.

tribes. Here is some tobacco, when you get home, let all your people smoke of it, and when they do, they must think of us."

> Tooteeandee (Shotinontowane'/Seneca), also known as Thomas Brant (or Brand), speaking to Plains Indians—Numunuu (Comanches), Gáuigú (Kiowas), and Kitikiti'sh (Wichitas)—along with Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), Chahtas (Choctaws), Wažažes (Osages), Okáxpas (Quapaws), and other Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), at Camp Holmes, Indian Territory in August 24, 1835[5]

In *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History* (2006), Daniel Heath Justice recognized the staying power of forced removal, the Cherokee Trail of Tears, on Cherokee (Aniyunwiya) history and how it still influences Aniyunwiya, the Cherokee people, in the present day. Justice said it was hard to get away from the "ever-present shadow of removal."[6] He noted the importance of having "*consciousness of Removal*, the full embrace of history, pain, and continuing existence." For Native peoples, the emotions and repercussions, the pain and immense hurt and damage of forced removal, all of it must be expressed. At the same time, "The shadows of the Trail needn't kill us or drive us to despair, but we must understand the spirits who still travel in our world before we can reconcile that history."[7] While being practical in his continued messy relationship to the dark, dim history of forced removal, Justice also emphasized how faced with the setbacks, ultimately Native people still survived. After each difficulty and obstacle "the sacred fire of nationhood is rekindled, and we rise from the ashes, stronger and more defiant."[8] So too did the Native communities, who ended up residing north of the Cherokee Nation (Aniyunwiya) on the northeastern side

[5] Quote from: Montfort Stokes, Matthew Arbuckle, and Francis W. Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty with the Wild Indians, 1835," edited by Grant Foreman, *COK*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (December 1936), 416.

[6] Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm*, 157.

[7] Ibid., 171.

[8] Ibid., 206.

of the Neosho (Nį ózo) River in what would become the state of Oklahoma. These small Native nations survived and persevered, taking care of their relatives, kin, and families before, during, and after forced removal and relocation to the West.

Some Native communities by the 1830s remained aloof from federal oversight. The Okáxpas (Quapaws), whose main homelands center around the state of Arkansas along the Arkansas River and the Mississippi Valley and included parts of the state of Oklahoma and Missouri, often went to live among other friendly nations. They followed the indigenous custom of adaption by migrating to new lands when game became sparse or the crops depleted. Quapaws call themselves Okáxpa or the 'downstream people,' as they originally lived downstream from the Umąhą (Omahas), other Dhegihan Siouan peoples. Treaties in 1818 and 1824 ceded most of the Okáxpa (Quapaw) land claims in Arkansas. Many Okáxpas (Quapaws) removed to the Red River in the state of Louisiana next to the Hasínay (Caddos) because of their signing of the 1824 treaty.

Many of the Okáxpas (Quapaws) also by the end of the 1830s settled around near the Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in northeastern Indian Territory. Okáxpa (Quapaw) leader Heckaton and other Okáxpas (Quapaws) signed a treaty on May 13, 1833 at New Gascony, Arkansas Territory. With this treaty the Okáxpas (Quapaws) finally agreed to remove to Indian Territory and settle northeast of the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), on lands south or between the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). They did this reluctantly, however. Heckaton appealed to federal officials' charity and logic to be able to stay in Arkansas, reasoning: "To leave my native soil and go among Red men

who are aliens to our race is throwing us like outcasts upon the world. Have mercy. Send us not there."[9] After years of starvation and sickness with the Hasínay (Caddos), The Okáxpas (Quapaws) removed to what is now northeastern Oklahoma in 1835. In an 1838 survey of the Okáxpas' (Quapaws') lands, however, the lands were found to be not south of the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), but rather on lands already claimed by the Shotinontowane'á:ka's (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). Historian Grant Foreman romantically put it, the Okáxpas (Quapaws) "had been building their homes and making little farms, and the knowledge that they would again be dispossessed for reasons not of their making thoroughly demoralized and disheartened them. In this state of mind they wandered off again." Several hundred moved to the Canadian River, near what is present-day Holdenville, in Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) territory. Other Okáxpas (Quapaws) left to live among the Chahta (Choctaw), Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)), and Wažaže (Osage) nations.[10]

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[9] Arkansas Educational Television Network (AETN), *It Started Here: Early Arkansas and The Louisiana Purchase* [Transcript], October 5, 2016, http://www.aetn.org/programs/itstartedhere (accessed 9 February 2018). See also: Dyrinda Tyson-Jones, "Black Book: 39 Tribes," *Oklahoma Today Magazine*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (July/August 2010), 70. See also: "Treaty with the Quapaw, 1833: May 13, 1833. | 7 Stat., 424. | Proclamation, Apr. 12, 1834," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 396; Jerome O. Steffen, "Stokes Commission," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=ST040 (accessed February 13, 2016); W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People,* The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 77; Linda Parker, "Indian Colonization in Northeastern and Central Indian Territory," *COK*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring 1976), 109; Frank H. Harris, "Neosho Agency, 1838-1871," *COK,* Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring 1965), 42; Frank H. Harris, "Seneca Sub-Agency, 1832-1838," *COK*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Summer 1964), 89-90.

[10] Dallas T. Herndon, *The High Lights of Arkansas History*, Second Special Edition Printed for Distribution by The Arkansas History Commission (Little Rock: The Arkansas History Commission, 1922), 40; Weston Arthur Goodspeed, *The Province and the States: A History of the Province of Louisiana Under France and Spain, and of the Territories and States of the United States Formed Therefrom. In Seven Volumes. Illustrated with Numerous Maps and Portraits*, Vol. 4 (Madison: The Western Historical Association, 1904), 230; Linda Parker, "Indian Colonization in Northeastern and Central Indian Territory," 109; William Bright, *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 402; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 166, 309, 311; Jeannie M. Whayne, *Cultural Encounters in the Early South: Indians and Europeans in* Arkansas (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995), 152; Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory, During the Year 1819. With Occasional Observations on the Manners of the*

The Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees), like the Okáxpas (Quapaws), also stayed in a state of continual migration and movement, avoiding and refusing to live in the lands the federal government assigned to them. They did not want to live next to the Kaatheewithiipiiki Šaawanwaki (also spelled as Kaatheewithiipiiki Shaawanuwaki), the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) living along the Kaw River in Kansas Territory. Observers often called these Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) 'Apple Creek Shawnees' (Apple Creek Šaawanwaki), because of their settlement along Apple Creek near Cape Girardeau, Missouri. Having left Cape Girardeau around 1815 and pushed from the White River area in Arkansas, the communities of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) led by Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) would settle for a while next to the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) on the Cowskin River in what would become northeastern Oklahoma. Missouri setters, however, did not like the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) near them, and did everything they could to get them to leave.[11] They did not remain in northeastern Indian

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Aborigines. Illustrated by a Map and Other Engravings (Philadelphia: Printed and Published by Thomas H. Palmer, 1821), 94-95; Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory During the Year 1819*, edited by Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 103n8, 104-106; Grant Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes in the Indian Territory," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 1939), 381; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma: A Guide,* The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 301-312; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (1951; Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 218-222; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide* (Oklahoma City: OTRD, 2010), 53-54; Rennard Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 4-5; Ratified Treaty No. 123 (November 15, 1824), 3-5, DRT UWDC; *ASP*, Class 2, Vol. 2, 531; George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians. Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39, In Two Volumes With Four Hundred Illustrations from the Author's Original Paintings*, Third Edition, Vol. 2 (London: Published for the author by Tilt and Bogue, 1842), 40. Quote from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 311. Gaines came across a group of several hundred Okáxpas (Quapaws) camped on the Arkansas River who intended to go to Washington, D.C. This is presumably regarding the future 1833 Okáxpa (Quapaw) treaty (George Strother Gaines, *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines: Pioneer and Statesman of Early Alabama and Mississippi, 1805-1843*, edited by James P. Pate (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 94, 195n76).

[11] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 53-54, 60-61; Writers' Program of the Works Project

Territory for long, however, as they eventually joined other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in Kansas Territory (See Chapter 1).

After the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) left Cape Girardeau and then the White River in Arkansas, they persisted in their insistence to not join the other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in Kansas Territory. At first their requests started off as courteously requesting Indian Office consent for their permanent settlement elsewhere. In December of 1831 these Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) asked the Indian agent for permission to settle on the Verdigris River, an area between lands assigned to the Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) and Wažaže (Osage) nations. This was around the same time that the delegation protested any union with Kansas Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). The Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) supported their appeal with the evidence that the land was not assigned to other Native nations, and therefore could feasibly become the place for establishing their new homes. Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Saint Louis, William Clark, related to the Indian Office on December 14, 1831 that these lands, "they [the Šaawanwaki] say is not assigned to any nation of Indians." Clark inquired as to the truth as to whether the lands

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Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri* (1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 34-36; *CSEI*, Vol. 3, 634-636; *CSEI*, Vol. 4, 744-745. To maintain consistency in spelling, I will use Kaatheewithiipiiki Šaawanwaki (Kaw River Shawnees) instead of "Kaatheewithiipiiki Shaawanuwaki" (Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma: A Guide*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 359). See also: Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 355-359; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide* (Oklahoma City: OTRD, 2010), 34-35, 58-59; Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma*, 4-5, 32; Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 240-245; Don Greene, *Shawnee Heritage I: Shawnee Genealogy and Family History* (Morrisville, North Carolina: Lulu Press, Incorporated, 2008), 26-27; Lynn Morrow, "Trader William Gilliss and Delaware Migration in Southern Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (January 1981), 147-150; Gaston L. Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," *COK*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (September 1937), 253-254; Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri: From the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into The Union*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1908), 212-232. WPA writers described 'Appleton,' a town near where Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) originally settled (Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 524).

were assigned Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) lands, but at the time of the correspondence he could not provide any confirmation either way.[12]

Supervisors in the Indian Office bristled with what they saw as the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki's (Black Bob Shawnees') obstinacy. The first Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Elbert Herring, responded to William Clark in March of 1833, writing that these Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) had no choice and must join up with the group in Kansas. "It is desirable that the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] of Arkansas should join their brethren, with as little delay as possible," Herring politely responded, choosing his words very carefully. He then backpedaled to claim that his instance was for the Indians' own good and benefit. "It is so injurious to the Indians to be broken into little petty bands, without chiefs, to be responsible for them." Obviously, the Indian department did not like the added work and bureaucracy it would take to manage treaty obligations and federal annuities to a multitude of small sovereign indigenous entities. At the same, time, however, Herring did not falter to remind Clark of the possibility of military force and violence to carry out the federal government's demands. "[T]he department will not hesitate to direct the employment of force in the removal of these Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], should they neglect to comply, within a reasonable time, with your requisitions."[13]

When the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki's (Black Bob Shawnees') polite solicitation landed on deaf ears in the Indian Office in Washington, D.C., they then changed their tactics—opting instead for direct action and agency to stay south of Kansas. The Indian Office had wanted them to settle next to other Šaawanwa

[12] *CSEI*, Vol. 2, 705-706. Quote from: *CSEI*, Vol. 2, 706.
[13] *CSEI*, Vol. 3, 634-636. Quote from: *CSEI*, Vol. 3, 635.

(Shawnee) relatives in Kansas. Then, so, the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) recognized that other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), also related kin, resided in the Indian Territory. These were the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) who were part of the mixed band of Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) near the Cowskin River in Indian Territory. The Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) saw the opportunity to not only comply with the Indian Office's request to settle near other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) but also avoid being forced to move to the Kansas Territory. Captain Gordon, a sub-agent in charge of the affairs of the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees), explained the situation to the Indian Office. Gordon explained, "[t]he chiefs and head men of this band visited me in September, and informed me that they were unwilling to join the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] of Ohio, on the land assigned them on Kanzas [Kansas or Kaw] river." The Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees), "their band stopped on Cowskin river on lands they believed was outside of the State, and would go no further; and requested that a small piece of land might be given to them on the said Cowskin river, (or Six Bulls,) near the tract assigned to the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] and Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] from Lewistown." The Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) would exchange the lands assigned to them by their 1825 treaty for a bit of land near the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). After several months of living on the Cowskin River, however, the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) faced continual hostilities from white American settlers living in Missouri, near the Cowskin River. By that December William Clark reported "apprehensions of difficulties between the white settlers and the bands of

Shawnees [Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki], formerly of Cape Girardeau, and who have latterly moved from White river in Arkansas, and encamped within this State on Cowskin river, and near the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka].” They did not stay residing near their Lewistown Šaawanwa (Shawnee) relatives for long, for by 1835 the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) relocated to Kansas Territory.[14]

Resettlements, federal threats of forced compliance, and indigenous negotiations and persistence like these with the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) continued in the early years of the Indian Removal Era. Native presence had not been completely extinguished in the lands the federal government already promised to removed Indians. In 1832 Secretary of War Lewis Cass established the Stokes Commission with the hopes of fixing some of the unresolved issues and conflicts in Indian Country. The Commission was tasked with assisting in the resolution of removed-Plains Indian land disputes and conflicts as well as negotiating for land cessions for reservation lands for future removed Indians. The southern plains Indians such as the Wažažes (Osages), ~~G~~áuigú (Ga’igwu, Cáuigù, or Kiowas), and N~~u~~m~~u~~n~~uu~~ (Comanches) had constantly been raiding and showing hostilities to the removed Indians. Historian David La Vere succinctly put it: “If it was a diaspora for eastern Indians, it was an invasion to those people who lived on the southern prairie-plains” such as the Hasínay (Caddos), Kitikiti’sh (Wichitas), Wažažes (Osages), N~~u~~m~~u~~n~~uu~~

[14] *CSEI*, Vol. 4, 745-746; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States*, Vol. 4, 228. Quotes from: *CSEI*, Vol 4, 745. Historian Stephen A. Warren focused on Civil War and post-Civil War conflicts between the Kaatheewithiipiiki Šaawanwa (Kansas Shawnee) and Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwa (Black Bob Shawnee) groups, with little or no mention of the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki’s (Black Bob Shawnees’) time after Arkansas near the Cowskin River in Indian Territory. He did mention, however, the Civil War-era Šaawanwa (Shawnee) National Council’s plans to send some Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) to check out land near the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) before their final removal from Kansas (Stephen A. Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 168).

(Comanches), and ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas). Interesting, the federal government had not yet been able to pressure the Wažažes (Osages) and others to relinquish claims to their lands, yet they continued to forcibly remove Indians from the Old Northwest and the southeast into the middle West.[15] The Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) signed subsequent treaties. The Wažažes (Osages), however, failed to agree to a small reservation in what would become the state of Kansas. In 1833 Wažaže (Osage) leader Tchongtassábbee (Black Dog), also known as Manka-Chonka, after discussions about creating a new treaty with the Wažažes (Osages) for their removal more north in Kansas, illustrated his disdain. Recognizing the motivation for purchasing Wažaže (Osages) lands, Tchongtassábbee replied, "You want our land for another nation. I suppose you owe them something, and wish to pay them with our land." The Wažaže (Osage) leader suggested that the United States government give monetary payments instead of the Wažaže (Osage) land that still belonged to them. While the federal government wrestled with indigenous nations unwilling to sell their long-held hunting grounds and cherished homelands to them and intended to remove other Indian nations from the Old Northwest and southeastern United States to these lands, the Native nations did not quietly or quickly fold to the federal request.

Eventually only small residues of memory of the Wažaže (Osage) presence on the lands would continue to dot the landscape of far northeastern Oklahoma and eastern Kansas after their removal. All the emigrated Indians who ultimately resided in the

[15] La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 4, 72; John Bartlett Meserve, "Governor Montfort Stokes, *COK*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (September 1935), 339; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), 126. Quote from: La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 4. ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) may also be spelled Ka'igwu or Cáuijo:gyà (Amy K. Lyons, "Stems, Headwords, and the Kiowa Student Dictionary" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2010), 64).

northeastern corner of Oklahoma traveled through Baxter Springs, Kansas. Along with a historical marker at the state line between Oklahoma and Kansas that acknowledges the plethora of Native presence in the area, the Wažaže (Osage) trail called Black Dog Trail is also still recognized with a more weather-worn plaque in the center of the small town of Baxter Springs, Kansas, near the border of northeastern Oklahoma (See Figures 3.6 and 3.7).[16]

Just as the removal of eastern Indians onto lands occupied by the Wažažes (Osages) other Plains nations stirred conflict, so, too, did the forced removal of the southeastern Five Nations—the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Chahtas (Choctaws), Chikashas (Chickasaws), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), and Semvnoles (Seminoles)—and the smaller Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking communities complicated settlements. In the winter of 1832 at Buffalo Creek in Indian Territory the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) negotiated another treaty with the Stokes Commission (See Figure 3.8). The lands originally assigned to them encompassed lands that the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) then claimed. The 1831 agreement renegotiated for reservation lands west of the Cherokee (Aniyunwiya) Nation and east of the Neosho (Nį óžo) or Grand River.

The Stokes Commission was to verify the physical and geographic locations of the removed Nations, and revolve any of the land disputes, such as those between the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) and the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees). This would also

[16] La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 72-73; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 59-60; Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 373-403; Tracey Shannon Bever, "The Portrayal of Native Americans in Euro-American Art in 19th Century Oklahoma" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2010), 28; Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 40-43. Quote from: La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 73. The cover of *AIQ*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Summer 2017) also photographed this historical marker. None of the articles, however, are related to the photograph or the photographer's project. The Cover art is from: Shane Brown, *Ottawa County, Oklahoma—Roadside History Lesson*, from the series Learning as We Go, 2016. Shane Brown is Yunwiya (Cherokee), a member of the Cherokee Nation (Aniyunwiya).

provide the federal government with a better understanding of what lands in the West had already been claimed by already removed Native nations, and which ones were open. Other removals would bring more Indian nations to the area, and they needed to know exactly which lands were available for further settlement. In December 1832, the Stokes Commission concluded a treaty with the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees).[17] This Stokes Commission treaty established the Neosho Reservation—lands reserved outside of the Cherokee (Aniyunwiya) Nation that could then belong exclusively to the newly removed groups from the Ohio Valley. Instead of having the Grand River divide the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and the Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), they all renegotiated for eastern lands on one side of it.[18] The Lewistown or Mixed Band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) lived in the north while the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) of Sandusky resided to the south (See Figure 3.9). Readjustments such as these after forced removal provided the Native nations with more specific and concrete land allocations on which to raise their children and families.[19]

With their lands renegotiated for that of the east side of the Neosho (Nį óžo) or Grand River, the Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) also entered in an alliance

[17] William Omer Foster, "The Career of Montfort Stokes in Oklahoma," *COK,* Vol. 18, No. 1 (March 1940), 36-39; Meserve, "Governor Montfort Stokes," 339; Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 373; Curtis L. Nolen, "The Okmulgee Constitution: A Step Towards Indian Self-Determination," *COK,* Vol. 58, No. 3 (Fall 1980), 26; Linda Parker, "Indian Colonization in Northeastern and Central Indian Territory," 106-108; Frank H. Harris, "Seneca Sub-Agency," 82-83.

[18] "Treaty with the Seneca and Shawnee, 1832: Dec. 29, 1832. | 7 Stat., 411. | Proclamation, Mar. 22, 1833," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 383-385.

[19] Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 57-58, 340-341; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide*, 57-58; Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 56, 237-239; Strickland, *The Indians of Oklahoma*, 4, 32.

as the "United Nation of Senecas and Shawnees." Their 1832 treaty related that the mixed band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) "have lately formed a confederacy, and have expressed their anxiety to unite as one Tribe or Nation."[20] The Native communities formerly of Sandusky and Lewistown retained their separate communities in the West. Although they kept their own separate tribal councils, as anthropologist Brian Joseph Gilley explained, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) were "administratively consolidated" in the Indian Office's bureaucracy. In 1837 Western Territory superintendent William Armstrong in 1837 reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that at the Neosho Sub-Agency, where the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) resided, "[e]ach band knew their own country, and they were making arrangements for their permanent settlement."[21] Although the political merger was largely symbolic, these independent communities did maintain alliances and connections with each other, providing an added strength and synergy for the small emigrated Native nations.

While the removed Indians reestablished their homes and settled into their new homelands in northeastern Indian Territory in the early 1830s, the Indian Office's inattention and lack of vigorous oversight to the small sub-agencies irritated the federal officials living in the sub-agencies, the so-called 'boots on the ground.' In his seventies, Commissioner Montfort Stokes had replaced Captain George Vashon as the sub-agent for the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), and Okáxpas

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[20] "Treaty with the Seneca and Shawnee, 1832," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 383-384; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 83. See also: Amy Dianne Bergseth, "'Each Band Knew Their Own Country': Land, Cooperation, and Community in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Shawnee Intertribal Interactions," in *ESTORTA*. Quote from: "Treaty with the Seneca and Shawnee, 1832," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 384.

[21] Brian Joseph Gilley, *A Longhouse Fragmented: Ohio Iroquois Autonomy in the Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 92; *1837 ARCIA*, 543; Tyson-Jones, "Black Book: 39 Tribes," 71. Quote from: Gilley, *A Longhouse Fragmented*, 92; *1837 ARCIA*, 543.

(Quapaws) when Vashon died in 1836. A stubborn and experienced Stokes incessantly criticized the Indian Office of the meager pay and lack of supplies needed to carry out the sub-agency responsibilities for these smaller relocated Indian nations. Stokes admonished the federal government for adequate supplies and reasonable accommodations to carry out one's work was necessary and sensible. "We could expect nothing less from a Government professing a desire to promote the interests and secure the Comforts of the Indians who had been induced to remove to this Country under its protection," Stokes persuasively articulated to the newly-minted Commissioner of Indian Affairs C. A. Harris in 1836. Stokes marveled at how much time and effort the Aniyunwiya's (Cherokees') businesses occupied. This sub-agency under his care, however, included not only the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) but also the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Okáxpas (Quapaws). Wažaže (Osage) affairs also landed in Stokes's lap when the Osage agent was busy. Stokes pointed out that the Superintendent's own clerk's wages were "more than my salary as sub-agent for four nations." When distributing annuities Stokes had to travel from Fort Gibson: seventy-five miles to the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), eighty-five miles to the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), ninety miles to the Okáxpas (Quapaws), and one hundred and sixty miles to the Wažažes (Osages). The Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) did not get their own separate agency until 1837 with the forced removal of more Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) to the West, when Stokes took over that position and left the Indian Office business of the other small nations.[22]

[22] Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 383-388. Interestingly Stokes said to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he was not complaining, because he was old enough and wise enough to know that was often futile and not constructive. Instead, he gave his opinions of how they could organize, delegate, and carry out the work better and more efficiently than as was being handled

Although hindered by lack of federal supplies for these small sub-agencies and challenged by land conflicts that continued with removed and non-removed Indians in the trans-Mississippi West, life continued for the Native nations in these new lands. Faced with the fallout of hostilities with Plains Indians in the West, removed Indians and federal officials sought intertribal councils and treaty negotiations to resolve disputes. In the summer of 1834 the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition set out to contact the Southern Plains Indians—the ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas), N~~umunuu~~ (Comanches), Paáris (Pawnees), and Kitikiti'sh (Wichitas)—and several Shotinontowane' (Seneca) leaders came with them (See Figure 3.10). Named after the Dragoon Commanders Colonel Henry Dodge and Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth, the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition traveled in what is now the present-day state of Oklahoma. With representatives of the United States military and several armed dragoons in tow, the expedition traveled with around two dozen representatives of recently-removed eastern Indian nations. The official chronicler of the event, First Lieutenant Thompson B. Wheelock described the tour as not just an American excursion but rather also as an intertribal and international peace-making coalition with the main goal to persuade treaty negotiations. The Dodge-Leavenworth expedition included not only U.S. military but also eleven Wažažes (Osages), eight Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), six Lenape (Delawares), and seven Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). Indispensable to the Dragoons, the military men called them "our Indian Ambasaders [sic]." The Native leadership joined "to serve as guides, hunters, and interpreters, also as representatives of their several nations." Wheelock described the group of Indian leaders as "some of the

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currently (Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 384; Meserve, "Governor Montfort Stokes," 339. Quotes from: Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 384-385.

elite of the nations to which they belong."[23]

It was not just a peace-seeking mission for the United States army, but also for the numerous other Indian nations who had representatives present. On July 14, the Paáris (Pawnees) known as the Toyash, Wheelock detailed, "shook hands with the Osages [Wažažes], Cherokees [Aniyunwiya], Delawares [Lenape], &c., who were with us."[24] Two days later Wheelock editorialized, expressing hope for a positive outcome. He communicated, "Six nations, some of whom had but recently been at war with each other, shake hands together—a form, it is true, but a type, we believe, of a permanent peace that must promote the interest of all."[25] The six nations he noted were the Numunuu (Comanches), Wažažes (Osages), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Lenape (Delawares), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) along with the United States.

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[23] La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 75-76; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 45, 130-133; George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *COK*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring 1950), 5-6, 10; Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 393-394; Hugh Evans, Fred S. Perrine, and Grant Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans, Covering the First and Second Campaigns of the United States Dragoon Regiment in 1834 and 1835. Campaign of 1834," edited by Fred S. Perrine, *COK*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (September 1925), 175-177; Louis Pelzer, ed., "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834-1835," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (July 1909), 331-334, 341; James Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains; Being a History of the Enlistment, Organization, and First Campaigns of the United States Dragoons; Together with Incidents of a Soldier's Life, and Sketches of Scenery and Indian Character* (New York: Wiley & Long, 1836), 140-182; Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 36, 53-63, 477-492; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn, "The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains," *COK*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March 1930), 35-40; Bever, "The Portrayal of Native Americans in Euro-American Art," 26-41; Dora Ann Stewart, "The Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1933), 5. Quotes from: Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 10; Pelzer, ed., "A Journal of Marches," 359. The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition is often called just plainly The Dodge Expedition, as Leavenworth died before the end of the journey. See also: Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 382; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of its Development from the Date of the First European Exploration down to the Present Time, including Accounts of the Indian Tribes, both Civilized and Wild, of the Cattle Ranges, of the Land Openings and the Achievements of the most Recent Period*, Vol. 1 (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1916), 122n1, 123n1.

[24] Malcolm Donald McLean, ed., *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas*, Vol. 10: March 21 through July 25, 1835, The Ranger Rendezvous (Arlington, Texas: The University of Texas at Arlington Press, 1963), 80, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth28587/m1/81/ (accessed 16 September 2017). Quote from: Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 17.

[25] Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 188-189; Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 18-19; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 130-133. Quote from: Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 19.

Much of what was reported of the talks with the Paáris (Pawnees), N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanches), and ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas), illustrated a positive move towards peace after a long history of conflicts. At the Paári (Pawnee) village on July 22, Colonel Dodge prefaced his talks by saying that the federal government wanted to facilitate peace talks between the removed Indians and the Wažažes (Osages). Dodge noted that while they had been fighting the Wažažes (Osages), he desired "to secure peace between you [the Wažažes] and the Cherokees [Aniyunwiya], Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka], Delawares [Lenape], and Choctaws [Chahtas], and all other red men, that you may all meet together as friends, and not shed each other's blood, as you have done"[26] The N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanche) leader Weterrashahro reiterated, "We have been at war with the nations which we see around us to-day; we wish now to make peace with them." He specified: "We wish much to make peace with the Osages [Wažažes]; we have been long at war with them; we wish to see the lands of the [Mvskoke/Muscogee] Creeks and Cherokees [Aniyunwiya] also, to shake hands with all. We want now to hear those Indians who came with you speak to us."[27] For the Native nations would regularly encounter each other more often than the federal officials. While the dragoons and federal ambassadors would leave and return to their homes in the Coast East and Washington, D.C., the Indian communities would remain. The Plains Indians, then, wanted to talk to the removed Indians who would be, reluctantly or not, their new neighbors.

Unfortunately, not much remains in the historical record about the Shotinontowane' representatives at these meetings. Wheelock does list that the leader

[26] Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 23.
[27] Ibid., 27.

of the seven Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) was named Denathdeago.[28] That much is known. Shotinontowane' (Seneca) perspectives, however, remain mute. While Wheelock recorded what the Lenape (Delaware), Wažaže (Osage), and Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) representatives said to the N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanches) on July 23, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) seemed to be absent. We do not know what the Shotinontowane' (Seneca) leaders said throughout the expedition. Wheelock recorded that, "The four leaders of the bands of Indians who were with us were present at the talk, and participated therein." On July 23, while the Lenape (Delaware), Wažaže (Osage), and Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) representatives all spoke to the N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanche) leader Weterrashahro, it seemed as if the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) were not there.[29] Evans detailed that the "chief men of the four tribes now spoke" but he only detailed the speeches of one Yunwiya (Cherokee), two Wažažes (Osages), and one Lenape (Delaware) who spoke to the group of N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanches) and Paáris (Pawnees). What interaction and discussion that was recorded, however, was mediated through a Yunwiya (Cherokee) delegate who knew some Spanish, the ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) and N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanche) prisoners brought along for captive exchange, and a Paári(Pawnee)/Toyash Indian who knew some Hasínay (Caddo) and could talk with the ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) through the Hasínay (Caddo) language with a Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) representative who was familiar with it.[30]

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[28] Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 10; Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns*, 143; Iowa State Historical Department, Division of Historical Museum and Archives, *The Annals of Iowa: A Historical Quarterly,* Third Series, Vol. 17 (1929), 175; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 130-131.

[29] Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 26-28. Quote from: Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 26.

[30] Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 17-21, 31, 34; Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 394; Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns*, 167-173; Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 189-203. Quote from: Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 201. On the similarities (i.e. almost verbatim dictation of the speeches) between Sergeant Hugh Evans and Lieutenant Thomas B. Wheelock, see: Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The

It is possible that the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) did not speak to the Plains Indians as they were sent to remedy the situation not very detailed but briefly mentioned in Wheelock's official record. The United States Dragoons were on the brink of starvation. The Dragoons had been in poor shape, eating starvation rations. Lieutenant Hugh Evans described how the troops did not hesitate to accept the bison (buffalo), corn, and fruit that the Paáris (Pawnees) offered to them when they met in council because they "on the brink of starvation having nothing to eat save what we got from those Indians." Another observer described the banquet spread the Native women brought of corn, squash, buffalo meat, and watermelon, and the soldiers saw corn fields as applauded and appreciated indicators of nourishment. The Dragoon soldier remarked: "What could be more welcome to the eyes of half starved [sic] soldiers."[31]

By July 26, Evans commented that the troops were "out of provision[s] except some horse & mule meat bought from the Indians." Two days later Hughes described "hunger thirst and a burning sun" that "the men cannot endure it much longer." On July 23 the N~~u~~mun~~uu~~ (Comanche) leaders met with Colonel Dodge and the other Indians but not the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). Instead, it was not until almost a week later, July 28, when the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), "who had been left to hunt for the men left at this camp" rejoined the intertribal coalition. The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) probably continued to serve not only as political representatives but also interpreters and hunters throughout the trip. Hughes continually mentioned that "our hunters" as well as the troops themselves helped to provide bison meat "in great

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Journal of Hugh Evans," 179.

[31] Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 193; Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns*, 176-181; Pelzer, ed., "A Journal of Marches," 355-358. Quotes from: Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 193; Pelzer, ed., "A Journal of Marches," 355.

abundance." He admired the way the Native hunters killed bison with such speed and accuracy (See Figure 3.11). George Catlin also marveled that with about a hundred Nu~~mu~~nu~~u~~ (Comanches) who joined the thirty Wažažes (Osages), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), "we formed a most picturesque appearance while passing over the green fields."[32]

Despite being led by the U.S. Dragoons, the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition ultimately had to follow Native protocols if it wanted to be successful. Much of the discussions with the Paáris (Pawnees), ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas), and Nu~~mu~~nu~~u~~ (Comanches) centered on the exchange of prisoners. For the safe exchange of prisoners and exhibiting assurances of safe travels, was as Montfort Stokes had argued, one of the only ways that United States government could persuade the already very skeptical and distrusting Western Native nations to talk about peace with them. Stokes also suggested military dragoon escorts to and from treaty negotiation locales and their homes. Prisoner exchanges and pledges of safe travels would demonstrate to the Native communities their peacemaking desires in action. If the United States wanted something—the negotiations to sue for peace—they had to show reciprocity by ensuring the safe return of captured prisoners from those communities and assisting in making the travels to the treaty tables safe and secure. The most moving of these exchanges on the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition culminated with the heartfelt, tearful reunion of a young ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) who had been captured by the Wažažes (Osages) and who was the daughter of a prominent ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) leader present at the negotiations.

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[32] Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 206, 208-209; Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 57. Quotes from: Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 206, 208; Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 55-86.

Before initiating discussion, however, Native protocols of exchange and reciprocity had to be followed. Wheelock denoted that on July 14, the Nɯmunɯɯ (Comanches), "they came to beg tobacco, and to talk with Colonel Dodge." Additionally, on July 24 talks resumed with the Gáuigú (Kiowas) only after "the [peace] pipes having [had] made their rounds." Only after the exchange of ritual peace offerings of Native tobacco and pipe smoking to clear the air and set the tone for unencumbered, respectful dialogue could the conferences continue.[33]

Smoking the calumet or peace pipe and burning tobacco had a long history of tradition among the Native peoples and it cast a wide net of its use throughout the continent. The calumet and tobacco buttressed connections and interactions and augmented actions and displays of friendship and kinship.[34] As the adventurer-botanist Thomas Nuttall explained in Arkansas Territory in 1819: "The pipe was brought forward on every solemn occasion, and to ratify every serious pledge of peace, integrity, and friendship." "The rites of hospitality, sanctioned by this ceremony, were irrefragable, as well as every commercial and political contract," he continued. The

[33] Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 17, 31; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 130-133; Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 203-205; Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns*, 171-175. As historian Amy C. Schutt noted when discussing the Delawares, "Tobacco was often involved in the gift giving that strengthened ties between peoples" (Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 26). See also: Catlin, *Letters and* Notes, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 55-86; Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 379. Also quoted in: Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926), 144.

[34] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together: American Indian Treaty Visions of Law and Peace, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 40-49; "Glossary of Figures of Speech in Iroquois Political Rhetoric," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, edited by Francis Jennings (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 121; Michael M. Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties: Amended Iroquois Condolence Rituals," *AIQ*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Summer 1995), 328-329; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through the Eyes of Teharonhia:wako and Sawiskera*, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors Series (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 246; Stephen Aron, *American Confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State*, A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier Series (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 19-20; Russell M. Lawson, *The Land between the Rivers: Thomas Nuttall's Ascent of the Arkansas, 1819* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 54-55.

story of the origin of the practice of sharing the calumet, the peace pipe, itself had an association with historic intertribal interactions. Nuttall detailed: "The Hurons [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] say, that the Indian nations derived the sacred pipe from the great luminary to whom it is dedicated, and, that it was first presented to the western nation of the Pawnees [Paáris]."[35] The use of tobacco and the calumet or peace pipe, then, signified important steps of intertribal interactions that persisted.

At Fort Gibson on August 24, when the expedition neared the end of its trip, the chronicler noted that "[r]unners have been sent to the chiefs of the Osages [Wažažes], Cherokees [Aniyunwiya], [Mvskokes/Muscogees] Creeks, Choctaws [Chahtas], &c., for the purpose of assembling them in council with the Indians who have accompanied us."[36] Famed artist George Catlin described "[s]even or eight tribes flocked to us in great numbers on the first day of the month [September 1, 1834], when the council commenced."[37] An estimated one hundred and fifty Indians met at Fort Gibson, including Chahtas (Choctaws), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), Wažažes (Osages), ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas), Paáris (Pawnees), N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanches), and Wacos. Methomea (Civil John) and Totolis represented the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas).[38]

The tribal delegates at the Fort Gibson meeting initiated conversations with the exchange of tobacco and wampum. On the third day of deliberations the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) suggested sharing the peace pipe. As western historian Grant Foreman

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[35] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory,* 276; Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 298.

[36] Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 38; Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns*, 181. Quote from: Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 38.

[37] Letter from George Catlin, Fort Gibson, September 8, 1834, quoted in: Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns*, 183.

[38] Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. 1, 124-125; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*.

detailed, "Now a difficulty arose: 'who shall fill the pipe?' This was finally adjusted by Rogers, the Cherokee [Aniyunwiya] chief, who selected 'the eldest of all the Red men present—the [Shotinontowane'á:ka's] Senecas,' Civil John and To-to-lis, for that responsibility."[39] This could be interpreted as the two Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) were the oldest in terms of years of experience and witnessed the most cycles of the seasons. It also could recognize that of all the Indian nations present the Haudenosaunee were endowed with the most respect and regard and also had the longest tradition of wampum diplomacy of those present. The Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) began by giving the Plains-Prairie Indians wampum and tobacco. They reiterated: "'Our custom is to give beads and tobacco; the white beads are an emblem of 'peace and purity'—when you smoke the tobacco of friendship, all evil will go off with the smoke['']." "[T]he beads and tobacco, you must take home to your people—tell them 'the beads show to them the road is clean' and let them smoke the tobacco in remembrance of us who send it," he added.[40] Then Methomea (Civil John) spoke as the selected representative for the whole group of emigrated eastern Indian nations present, echoing similar sentiments: "'when you smoke this tobacco you will remember that you have made peace with the Seneca; and the white beads will always remind you that the road between us is open and plain and pure.'"[41] Trusted with the responsibility of filling the peace pipes with tobacco, Methomea and Totolis must have initiated the smoking of the peace pipe, and then passing it around to all the delegates present to

[39] Quote from: Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 134.

[40] Quote from: Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 134. Also quoted in: Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*, The Lamar Series in Western History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008; Dallas: Published in Association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2008), 68.

[41] Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 135.

partake and share in smoking the tobacco.

Other tribal representatives, Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)), Wažaže (Osage), and Chahta (Choctaw) delegates, continued to press the importance of the symbolism and metaphor of the white beads—that they illustrated a clear and open road, a path to peace and friendship. The Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) representatives Roley McIntosh and Chilly McIntosh both reiterated that the white beads were the clear, peaceful road and pathway between the tribal nations. Chilly McIntosh explained: "'These white beads are the white path that leads from your door to our door.'" If one did not recognize yet the road being a clear and open, peaceful (white) one, others echoed the same sentiments. Moosholatubee (Chahta/Choctaw) summarized: When we talk with our Red Brethren, we love to talk of white paths, over which we can travel in safety, many tribes have here met; have entered this door like one family."[42]

The ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) had warily watched the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition, especially the Wažaže (Osage) scouts with the group. Only a year previously, sometime in the late spring or early summer of 1833, Wažažes (Osages) had come across a ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) village while the men were away. They killed and beheaded everyone in the village—an estimated one hundred and fifty (150) old men, women, and children—except two captives. The Wažažes (Osages) also stole the ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa)'s T<u>á</u>imé medicine bundle. When the ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) saw approaching U.S. dragoons and allied Indian scouts, including some Wažažes (Osages), they had no reason to

[42] Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 135-137. Quotes from: Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 136. Although spelled as Moosholatubee in Foreman's work, more recent historians spell his name as Mushulatubbee. See: Greg O'Brien, "Mushulatubbee and Choctaw Removal: Chiefs Confront a Changing World," *Mississippi History Now: An Online Publication of the Mississippi Historical Society*, March 2001, http://www.mshistorynow.mdah.ms.gov/articles/12/mushulatubbee-and-choctaw-removal-chiefs-confront-a-changing-world (accessed 11 March 2018).

believe the approaching visitors were harmless or nonviolent.[43]

The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition, did end up doing what it set out to do: contact the Plains Indians and initiate dialogue for peace between the United States and other removed Indian nations. Wažažes (Osages) agreed to return to the ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) significant medicine bundles that they had stolen on previous raids. The numerous tribal representatives, although mediated through "[i]nterminable interpretation" with translators, embraced and shook each other's hands respectfully. However, many of the Plains Indian leaders present at the Fort Gibson treaty negotiations after the expedition, similarly to what they expressed during the tour, had little authority among the many different bands of Indians. During the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition the N~~u~~m~~u~~n~~uu~~ (Comanche) leader Tawequenah had acknowledged that he desired peace, but that there were many different bands of N~~u~~m~~u~~n~~uu~~ (Comanches) in which he needed to consult for any N~~u~~m~~u~~n~~uu~~(Comanche)-wide peace to be established. The leaders of the Plains groups could express their desire for peace, yet the on-the-ground results depended on numerous individual bands and villages.[44]

A reiteration of the Stokes Commission emerged about a year later that followed indigenous protocols for treaty-making and resulted in the assembly on August 22, 1835 and treaty signing two days later. The negotiations took place at Camp Holmes, also known as Fort Mason and the future site of Chouteau's Trading Post, for consulting

[43] Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *Carabine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937; Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 3-12; William C. Meadows, *Kiowa Ethnogeography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 96-99, 194-195, 218, 261; William C. Meadows, "Black Goose's Map of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation in Oklahoma Territory," *Great Plains Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2006), 272, 277.

[44] Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," 29, 38; Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 394; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 130-133. Quote from: Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 133.

with the Plains Indians. N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanches), ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas), Kitikiti'sh (Wichitas), Chahtas (Choctaws), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Važažes (Osages), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Okáxpas (Quapaws) met alongside with the Stokes Commission representatives, interpreters, and traders commissioned to bring the obligatory present exchange necessary for indigenous protocols. The leaders from the eastern tribes brought along offerings of tobacco and white wampum beads. Preparations in the days preceding the treaty signing the Stokes Commission was busy gathering all the necessities and "purchasing presents to take to the treaty ground."[45]

Interpreters then had to be found to be able to articulate each delegate's views to all the others. This included not only the Plains Indians but also for the eastern Indians who themselves also spoke a variety of languages. The Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) leader Roley McIntosh concluded his speech by saying, "I would talk more to you now, but all I say has to be interpreted into so many languages that I will not say more."[46]

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[45] La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 78; Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 396-398, 405-407; Howard F. Van Zandt, "The History of Camp Holmes and Chouteau's Trading Post," *COK*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (September 1935), 316-320; C. C. Rister, "A Federal Experiment in Southern Plains Indian Relations, 1835-1845," *COK*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (December 1936), 445-446; Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 382-383; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 137-138. Quote from: Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 405. On trade dependency and extortion, see: George Catlin noted, in 1834, that "I have traveled too much among Indian tribes, and seen too much, not to know the evil consequences of such a system [of trading]. Goods are sold at such exorbitant prices, that the Indian gets a mere shadow for his peltries, &c. The trappers, and other men in the employment of these traders, are generally the lowest and most debased class of society, who corrupt the morals of the savage without setting them one good example. The Indians see no white people but these, and of course judge us all by them: they consequently hold us, and always will, in contempt, as inferior to themselves, as they have reason to do, and they neither fear nor respect us." (George Catlin letter from Fort Gibson, September 8, 1834, quoted in: Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns*, 185). On profits companies made in Indian Removal in the 1830s and 1840s see: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 131n7; David Andrews Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 171.

[46] La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 78-79; Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 213; Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 413-415; Quote on: Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First

Numerous interpreters translated each speaker's words. Every time a United States representative such as Colonel Dodge or Major Armstrong spoke, delegates then waited for the words to be translated to understand the context. Then when the Važaže (Osage), Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Aniyunwiya (Cherokee), ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa), or N~~umunuu~~ (Comanches) leaders spoke, not only did their words have to be translated into English but also the numerous indigenous languages not mutually intelligible to each other. Preparations for gift giving, translations, and other treaty protocols occurred the preceding weeks before the large gathering and treaty negotiations could even begin to take place.

Not only was it a large undertaking to get the material provisions, but the tribal representatives of both the Plains and removed groups had to also travel, as they came from all over. Historian Carl C. Rister marveled, "There was never held on the prairies a more significant and imposing Indian assemblage. The chiefs and head men of the Eastern Indians represented more than fifty thousand souls, and those of the West perhaps a third more." He concluded: "The names of only the important delegates affixed to the agreement filled more than four pages of foolscap; and it is estimated that seven thousand Indians were camped about the treaty ground."[47] Lieutenant Hughes described first-hand the impressive nature of the gathering. "For several days those Indians were gathering in from all parts." "All those Indians had their different encampments although were entirely friendly when they met." He added, "To see this motly [sic] collection of severally toungs [sic] and different tribes mingling together in harmony and friendship would be a fit subject for a writer; for it resembled a fair or an

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Treaty," 414.

[47] Rister, "A Federal Experiment," 448-449.

Election more than anything else I could compare it; with their different dresses and ornaments they looked really well—!"[48] The gathering of both Plains and Eastern Indians together, along with a sufficient number of traders and interpreters to suffice decent communication and procedure needed for treaty negotiations, was a vast undertaking.

The Shotinontowane'á:ka finally had their debut to talk to the Plains Indians and other removed Indians, as they were absent at the main discussions of the previous Dodge-Leavenworth expedition. Ohio Shotinontowane' (Seneca) representative Tooteeandee (Thomas Brant) reiterated that fact, stating, "My Friends and Brothers, this is the first time you have heard the talk of the Six Nations of Seneca's [sic] [Shotinontowane'á:ka]." He also stressed that his speech was not only his own voice, but was spoken on behalf of his tribal nation. "[T]his talk I have given you, is from all my people. They told me to give it." "It is also from our women and children," he added.[49] The council negotiations, then, went beyond the male leadership present. The men continually stressed that they spoke on behalf of, and for, their Native communities—all their various communities' men, women, and children.

The Indian delegates, including the Ohio Shotinontowane' (Seneca) leader Tooteeandee (Thomas Brant) and the Okáxpa (Quapaw) representative Heckaton, utilized symbolism of peace and friendship and addressed each other—both Plains and Eastern Indians alike—using familiar indigenous kinship terms. Tooteeandee on behalf the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) addressed those eastern Indians and Americans

[48] Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 212.

[49] Rister, "A Federal Experiment," 448; Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 416. Quote of Thomas Brant speech in: Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 416.

present as friends and brothers. By using the terminology of brothers, they recognized the equal footing that they held as they stood next to each other. It also indicated their relationships of connections—of the rights and duties that came with being each other's brothers. Brant described amicable relations and the free trade and travel between them. "We have made a White [peace] road from your towns to ours," he affirmed. "[O]ur young warriors… they travel through the Cherokee [Aniyunwiya], Muscogee [Mvskoke/Creek], Choctaw [Chahta], Osage [Wažaže] and Quapaw [Okáxpa] Nations, and to all their houses. They are my friends." Similarly, they wished for a white (peaceful) road to and from the Plains and eastern removed Indians. The Okáxpa (Quapaw) leader Heckaton also addressed the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), Chahtas (Choctaws), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Wažažes (Osages) calling them "My Old Brothers." Heckaton was brief, explaining that those who spoke before him repeated the same sentiments that he had. He simply added, "There must not be any blood on that road unless it be the blood of the Buffalo."[50] George Catlin described the numerous Indians, both Plains and removed, "embracing them [each other] in their arms with expressions of friendship, and of smoking the calumet together, as the solemn pledge of lasting peace."[51] All the Native representatives recognized the importance and solemnity of kinship incorporation, and they noted how important it was for the establishment of peace and the ability to travel safely and securely on a clear, unencumbered road.

Following indigenous language of traveling a white peaceful road, the

[50] Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, "The Journal of the Proceedings at Our First Treaty," 415-416. For filial terminology (ex. brothers), see: Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 71-74.

[51] Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Lottinville, 103n8; Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns,* 183. Quoted in: Hildreth, *Dragoon Campaigns*, 183.

representatives recognized how they wanted to live and interact with each other where mobility as well as safety and security predominated. They cleared paths to peace. As treaty diplomacy expert and Lumbee legal scholar Robert Williams remarked: almost every single Indian treaty council opened with a speaker relating a short story about "'opening the path of peace,' or 'clearing the road,' between the two sides."[52] Path and roads as well as chains and linked arms connected peoples—Native and non-Native alike—together.[53] Many wampum belts, often dubbed "road belts," illustrated the metaphor of following and traveling on paths. Perhaps the most famous example of this is the renowned Kahswènhtha (also spelled Guswentah, Kaswentha, Kahsweñhda or Kuswentah) belt that symbolized the parallel sovereign traditions of the Haudenosaunee and Euro-Americans.[54]

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[52] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 85-87, 97. Quote from: Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 85.

[53] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 175. A good place to start is the systematic breakdown of Iroquoian metaphors. See: "Glossary," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 115-124; Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties," 322.

[54] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 32, 221n16; G. Malcolm Lewis, "Intracultural Mapmaking by First Nations Peoples in the Great Lakes Region: A Historical Review," *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring 2006), 2, 4-6; George S. Snyderman, "The Functions of Wampum," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 98, No. 6, Studies for the Library of the American Philosophical Society (December 23, 1954), 476; George R. Wilson, "The First Public Land Surveys in Indiana; Freeman's Lines," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March 1916), 32; John B. Dillon, *History of the Early Settlement of North-western Territory, From its Earliest exploration by Europeans, to the Close of the Terretorial [sic] Government in 1816: With an Idtroduction [sic] Containing: Historical Notes of the Discovery and Settlement of the Territory of the United States North-West of the River Ohio* (Indianapolis: Sheets & Braden, 1854), 393; Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, Wisconsin Historical Publications Collections Vol. 23, Draper Series Vol. 4 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1916), 141; Stella Pendleton Lyles, "Shawneetown," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (April 1929), 167;); Patricia Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward: Dreaming First Nations' Independence* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 1999), 36-37; Irving Powless, Jr., *Who Are These People Anyway?* edited by Lesley Forrester, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors Series (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2016), 174; Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia, 1534-1701* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010), xlviii, 24-25, 316n46, 317n46, 317n47; Karl Scott Hele, ed., *The Nature of Empires and the Empires of Nature: Indigenous Peoples and the Great Lakes Environment*, Indigenous Studies Series (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), 347; Karen J. Travers, "Empire Revisited: The Covenant Chain of Silver, Land Policy, and the Proclamation of 1763 in the Great Lakes Region, 1760-1800," in *The Nature of Empires and the Empires of Nature: Indigenous*

Although historians have described these early treaty negotiations between the Plains and eastern removed Indians as utter failures—the peace was, indeed, fleeting—these peace councils served as the foundations for future intertribal relations. It seemed, after all, to be the first time the Shotinontowane' (Seneca) leaders had been able to speak directly to the Wažaže (Osage) and Nu~~mu~~nu~~u~~ (Comanche) representatives in a formal setting. Native representatives did sign a treaty for peace and conflict resolution on August 24, 1835, emphasizing their intent to find constructive ways of dealing with conflicts and settling disputes.[55] This 1835 peace conference and many others like it in the 1830s and other iterations from the 1840s came with small incremental, lasting influences. Although often painted as the "failed confederacies of the 1840s," these intertribal councils set the foundation for later agreements between Native nations in Indian Territory and Oklahoma, stressing the importance for maintaining their indigenous traditions, families, and communities after the trauma and difficulties of forced removal.[56]

II. Post-Removal Intertribal Councils and Re-Established Kinship Networks, 1830s-1840s [57]

"These white beads seem small and unimportant. They are to us everything. Our creed, our faith. The mode of perpetuating the customs and traditions of our forefathers. As our children grow up we train them in the same old customs. Cherish and love them."

Peoples and the Great Lakes Environment, edited by Karl Scott Hele, Indigenous Studies Series (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), 85-94. Kahswènhtha is the Kanien'ke (Mohawk) term for the Two-Row Wampum. See: Audra Simpson, "Jolene Rickard," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 45-47; Ryan Rice, "Kwah Í:ken Tsi IROQUOIS," in *KÍT Iroquois*, 16, 59; Gerald Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Second Edition (1999; Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press Canada, 2009, 76.

[55] Rister, "A Federal Experiment," 448-454; Evans, Perrine, and Foreman, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 213n60; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 137-138.

[56] John P. Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 124, 137. Quote from: Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 124.

[57] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 137.

> Tuckabatchee Micco (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), speaking to Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Okáxpa (Quapaw), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Peewaalia (Peoria), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Lenape (Delaware), Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)), Semvnole (Seminole), Chikasha (Chickasaw), Chahta (Choctaw), Ważaže (Osage), and Hasínay (Caddo) leaders, at an intertribal council held at the Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) Council Grounds, Indian Territory, 1845 [58]

Intertribal councils of the 1830s and 1840s re-established ancient indigenous kinship connections and fostered new ones. Establishing reassuring signs such as the welcoming glow of the council fire that greeted strangers, friends, and relatives alike, Native communities in Indian Territory assembled. Although wrought with conflict and differences, the meetings signaled the possibilities of condolence and conflict resolution gifted by Deganawídah.

Meeting regularly, annually for at least several decades, the Native nations used their familiar ways of agency and intertribal interactions to face both old, familiar threats and new ones. The well-accustomed dangers to indigenous political and cultural sovereignty still occurred. Federal government pressures for land cessions, settler intimidation and harassment, and cultural and linguistic deterioration and loss plagued nineteenth-century Native communities. New risks arose in the trans-Mississippi West such as conflict and disagreements with the original inhabitants to the area, Plains nations such as the Paáris (Pawnees), Ważažes (Osages), and N~~u~~mu~~uu~~ (Comanches), who still saw the lands as part of their expanded hunting territories, not conclusively surrendered to the federal government. While they met with familiar faces in their allies, friends, and relatives who they resided by and fought alongside in battle with in

[58] Quoted in: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 406. Tuckabatchee Micco's name came from being the civil leader, the micco, of the Upper Creek town of Tuckabatchee (Janis Elaine Campbell, "The Social and Demographic Effects of Creek Removal, 1832-1860" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1997), 52, 56-57, 90, 135, 165, 190, 253.

the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes homelands, the emigrated Indians also encountered indigenous strangers of speaking unacquainted languages and possessing different cultural traditions. Despite being faced with both old and new threats, the emigrated Native nations used their accustomed "usual ceremonies"—wampum diplomacy, kinship connections, lighting of the council fires, and clearing pathways to peace, condolence, and conflict resolution.[59] Relationality remained important for indigenous persistence, endurance, continuance, and survivance. Indigenous nations, communities, and leaders utilized the deep-rooted and long-standing, the old and ancient, the tried-and-true, adapted and modified to suit the various circumstances and needs, to assist them in building a healthy indigenous present and better future after removal.

In the new lands removed tribal nations not only clashed with the Wažažes (Osages) already living there, but also the nations living in the Central Plains such as the Paáris (Pawnees) and Otoes who also inhabited the area. Conflicts turned violent in 1832 and 1833 and the Lenape (Delawares) fought the Paáris (Pawnees) and Otoes. The Stokes Commission organized a meeting at Fort Leavenworth in November of 1833. Paáris (Pawnees), Kansas (Kaws), Ioways, Otoes, and Umąhą (Omahas) met with Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Peewaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), and Lenape (Delawares). They signed a treaty signed on November 12. The Native nations prefaced that for them "believing it good for our people to live in amity with those whom the Great Spirit [Creator] has marked as brothers," they entered into treaty negotiations. The signers resolved to stop all hostilities and retributions, as "each tribe mutually agrees with the others to maintain

[59] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 76.

peace." While the treaty's language seems to indicate the credit for having the initiative to congregate belonged to the Stokes Commission and the federal Indian agents, the Indian leadership there at the treaty negotiating tables focused on coming together as brothers and kin.[60]

Numerous delegates as well as interpreters behind the scenes brought the final agreed treaty document to fruition. Lahtowah (John Perry), Pamlahtah (William Perry), Wylahlahpish, Wahshokahkonsan (Cornstack [sic]), Kahkouskah (McNair), Cahkaskah (Spybuck), Chahwah, and Lusah (Lewis) signed for the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) with A. Shane interpreting. Ohnahnoquashpah and Ohicah (Pole Cat) represented the Odawas (Ottawas). Peter Cadue interpreted for the Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), and Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos). The Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) had Wahpishahpahnoh (White Shield), Pahmekahwahtah (Big Harry), Komahrahmiah (Jim Peoria), and Gehmahsheh (Le Coigne). Quikwah (Negro Leg), Waponquiah (Swan), Fohtahkahpuah (One Who Stand By Himself), Shekahnlah (Charley), and Kishewah (Bull) represented the Waayaahtanooki (Weas). Baptiste Peoria, a Waayaahtanwa (Wea), served as the interpreter for these Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking groups. About a week later the Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws)—Mansonshek (The Sun), Sarharsh (The Ant), and Nahhahlouwah—signed the treaty document on November 21 at the Shawnee Agency.[61] These removed

[60] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 182, 237-238; Vine Deloria, Jr., Raymond J. DeMallie, and Daniel K. Inouye, eds., *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, 1775-1979*, Legal History of North America Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 700-704; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas* (1939; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 36. Quotes from: Deloria, DeMallie, and Inouye, eds., *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy*, 700.

[61] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 182, 237-238; Deloria, DeMallie, and Inouye, eds., *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy*, 700-704. Quotes from: Deloria, DeMallie, and Inouye, eds., *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy*, 700. Catlin spelled The Swan's name as Wapponjea instead

Indian nations represented by the tribal delegates who signed the treaty confirmed their desire for peace and conflict resolution with the Plains Indians.

While Native nations signed treaties for peace and friendship after forced removal, the indigenous communities, and American bystanders also, had their sights on reorganization. In April of 1837, Isaac McCoy, a Baptist minister and missionary who had lived among the Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) in Indiana, proposed to the Native communities in Indian Territory a method of organization as an Indian government to the United States. Not much is known regarding the Native opinions on his plan. McCoy himself, however, argued that the eleven smaller nations that congregated had agreed upon and accepted his proposal. These were the Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Ioways, Potewatmis (Potawatomis), and Odawas (Ottawas). Scholars do not have any other evidence to counter or solidify McCoy's beliefs that the smaller Native nations liked his idea. The larger southeastern Five Nations (Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Chahtas (Choctaws), Chikashas (Chickasaws), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), and Semvnoles), however, did not like McCoy's plan. What might have attracted the smaller nations was McCoy's proposal for the establishment of the Indian capital along the Osage River, a vicinity close to the agencies of the petite nations.[62]

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of Waponquiah (Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 99).

[62] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 229-236; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 140-142; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 183-188; James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Culture, 1665-1965* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 257; *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881,* 271-275; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 45; Nellie McCoy Harris, "The Reverend Isaac McCoy," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 86. Interestingly, Isaac McCoy named a young Odawa (Ottawa) Indian boy after him, and

Native delegates met to discuss McCoy's plans for a confederated Indian state. From October 14 to 16, 1837 Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Okáxpas (Quapaws) traveled to Tahlonteskee, then the capital of the Old Settler Cherokee (Aniyunwiya) Nation, and near the home of the Yunwiya (Cherokee) leader Ahuludegi (John Jolly). The Indian Office instructed Commissioner Montfort Stokes, Indian agent at the time for these four Native nations—the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Okáxpas (Quapaws)—to explain the meaning of the bill. Foreman described, however, that "the Indians very promptly declined to have anything to do with the project."[63] Despite the good intentions of the missionary Isaac McCoy might have had, as a non-Native-initiated plan for indigenous confederation without allowing input and collaboration during the proposal process, the project was certainly condemned to fail to obtain supporters from the removed Indian nations, both of large populations and small.

When a similar bill folding the Indian nations into a federal organization resurfaced in 1846, the Chahta (Choctaw) Nation leader Peter Pitchlynn asserted that the diversity of the Native nations—in terms of their languages, traditions, customs, laws, and governments, as well as population sizes and agricultural or hunting interests differed—were not adequately considered. In his rebuttal he anticipated disagreement by noting where he came from in his position and stance on the issue. "'It may be

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so there was a 'Isaac McCoy,' an Odawa (Ottawa) Baptist minister living in Oklahoma in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Mattie E. McCoy, "Isaac McCoy's Successor," in *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 93). See also: "Rev. Isaac M'Coy," in *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881*, 271-275; George A. Schultz, *An Indian Canaan: Isaac McCoy and the Vision of an Indian State*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series Vol. 121 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972).

[63] Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 388-389; Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," 255; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 185-188. Quote from: Foreman, "The Life of Montfort Stokes," 389. See also: Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, "ᏗᎾᏂᏁᏅᏍᏓᏕ Attractions: Tahlonteeskee," *ᏗᏁᏂᏍᏓᏕ ᏁᏔᏎ ᏗᏕᏅ*. http://visitcherokeenation.com/ATTRACTIONS/Pages/tahlonteeskee.aspx (accessed 6 January 2018).

thought that I write with too much feeling; but let it be remembered, that the history and character of nearly all these tribes are familiar to me—that I have spent my life among them[']" He continued and implored: "['H]ence my anticipations of the future are based upon the history of the past, and not upon mere speculation, and my country, my people, my home and my children—all that can stimulate a man, are at stake in this matter.'"[64]

The five larger removed nations invited each other and their neighboring Native nations to half a dozen intertribal council meetings in the next two decades, from 1837 to 1845. Central and Southern Plains groups such as the Hasínay (Caddos), Kitikiti'sh (Wichitas), Wažažes (Osages), Okáxpas (Quapaws), ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas), and Paáris (Pawnees) came. Algonquian-speaking nations such as the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Peewaliaki (Peorias), and others, originally from the East and the Great Lakes, also came.[65] First efforts at an intertribal peace council among the removed and Plains Indians happened in October of 1837. Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), and Okáxpas (Quapaws) met.[66]

In 1839 and 1842 Native nations met at the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) and Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) nations respectively, focusing on peace and reconciliation. The first major intertribal council met several miles from the newly

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[64] Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 189-194. Quote from: Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 193-194.

[65] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 42; Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 399-400; Jeff Burton, *Indian Territory and the United States, 1866-1906: Courts, Government, and the Movement for Oklahoma Statehood*, Legal History of North America Series (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 14. Quote from: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 400.

[66] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 138; Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 399-400; La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 92.

established Cherokee Nation capitol of Tahlequah in 1839. Although the Five Nations dominated the leadership, eleven different smaller communities also represented their communities at the intertribal council. The nations present elected Yunwiya (Cherokee) John Luna as a head chief of the intertribal council, "with authority to call the tribes together again." Luna also was designated as the keeper of the council's wampum belt, "the symbol of friendship" for all the Native nations who gathered. Second in command was Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) Roley McIntosh while Yunwiya (Cherokee) Joseph Vann was elected as the military representative of the group. A Yunwiya (Cherokee) named Young Wolfe served as the 'microphone' for all council speeches. All representatives had to go to him and his cohort of eleven interpreters to speak to the large group. Once again, many observers and historians gave credit for the meeting to Governor Stokes and the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), but the Indian nations present at the intertribal council meeting made it what they wanted.[67] In May of 1842 Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) invited neighboring Indian nations to a large council near the Deep Fork River, near present-day Eufaula, Oklahoma. This time even more Native nations showed up. Sixteen nations came, including the recently removed to the West and those indigenous to the area. Semvnole (Seminole), Chahta (Choctaw), Chikasha (Chickasaw), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Wažaže (Osage),

[67] Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, late Major-General in the United States Army*, edited by Grant Foreman, The American Exploration and Travel Series (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1930; Reprint, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 69-70, 70n45; Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," 255-261; La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 93-95; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 139-140.

Okáxpa (Quapaw), Hasínay (Caddo), Taovaya Kitikiti'sh (Wichita), Kichai, Tawakoni, and Paári (Pawnee) people congregated.[68]

The most famous and largest intertribal council, memorialized by the famous American artist John Mix Stanley, was the 1843 intertribal council at Tahlequah (See Figure 3.12). The Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), particularly the Yunwiya (Cherokee) leader John Ross, led the sessions. Twenty-one different Native communities attended, and all the speeches were translated at least nine times for the various multilingual delegates. An estimated four thousand Native peoples attended, either participating as delegates during council meetings, or as auxiliary encampments surrounding the meetings who attended the extracurricular food and festivities. The Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), Wažažes (Osages), Lenape (Delawares), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kitikiti'sh (Wichitas), and others represented their nations. The intertribal council of delegates drafted a set of international laws, an "International Compact," to resolve major intertribal conflicts and to help settle disagreements. Only the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), and Wažažes (Osages), however, signed the final document on July 3, 1843. The Odawas (Ottawas) said they needed to consult their missionary friends and tribal relatives in Michigan before agreeing. Most significantly, the international agreement dealt with the dissolution of tribal lands. The international council permitted no nation who agreed to sell any of their lands without the consultation and consent of all the others. As a means to prevent further dissolution of tribal land bases, this measure served as a checks and balances on land sales. The

[68] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 399-400; Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 168-169; La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 97-105.

Native nations who agreed to the compact saw it necessary to consult their other indigenous neighbors and relatives before further sale of lands. Only a small fraction of the represented nations signed and agreed to the final treaty document, but it still represented a move towards continuity of indigenous relational sovereignty and the maintenance and reestablishment of positive and constructive intertribal interactions.[69]

What the 1843 Tahlequah council did do was maintain kinship connections and indigenous protocols of diplomacy. As historian John P. Bowes noted about the 1843 Tahlequah intertribal council, "[k]inship terms structured clearly delineated relationships among eastern Indians" and "the legacy of their former alliances [served] as a foundation" for responding to removal. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call(ed) the Lenape (Delawares) their grandfathers and the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) their elder brothers. Although Bowes described these councils as examples of how the nations "attempted to recover from the dislocation caused by removal," it in fact *was* a rebuilding of the post-removal foundations. Not just an attempt at recovery, it was a concrete step towards that recovery. Although not all the tribal nations signed the final

[69] Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 329; Burton, *Indian Territory and the United States*, 100-102; Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 399-400; Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 161; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 122, 141-146; James Peck, "Indian Territory, 1819-1861: Romanticism and the Spirit of Discovery," in *Picturing Indian Territory: Portraits of the Land That Became Oklahoma, 1819-1907,* edited by B. Bryon Price (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 15-16; La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 72, 76; Robert J. Conley, *Cherokee Thoughts, Honest and Uncensored* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 129; Bever, "The Portrayal of Native Americans in Euro-American Art," 3, 42-51; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 417; Emma Lila Fundaburk, ed., *Southeastern Indians: Life Portraits; A Catalogue of Pictures, 1564-1860* (Birmingham: Birmingham Printing Company, 1958), Illustration No. 329. See also: Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, Chapter 4. Historians have claimed four signers of the intertribal compact. Four had agreed, but the Odawas (Ottawas) needed to double check with their relatives living elsewhere. Potentially, then, only three nations signed, as the Odawas tentatively agreed, after further consultation. Jotham Meeker Journals, Vol. 2, 87-88. Transcript from *KSMEM*. Meeker noted in his diary on July 18 and 20, 1843 that the Odawas (Ottawas) met in council, "to decide whether they will, as a nation, sign the articles &c. adopted at the said Cherokee council" (Jotham Meeker Journals, Vol. 2, 88. Transcript From *KSMEM*).

draft of the international agreement, the process of following the Native protocols of diplomacy, of mutual consultation based on kinship relations, and of the solidification and reinforcement with wampum *was* significant. The messy process itself—the enactment and practice of fellowship and meeting for negotiation—was just as significant as the clean outcome of a polished final document signed by the few. Although historian James Clifton summarized the Tahlequah intertribal meeting as: "producing a weighty compact which, in the end, had little effect" maintenance and rebuilding of sovereignty, especially after the devastating effects of removal, would not happen overnight. Instead, it would take time and effort, multiple endeavors. Much work had to be put in to repair, build, maintain, and create both new and old connections to support indigenous efforts in Indian Territory. [70]

The intertribal councils of the 1830s and 1840s not only included the expected Indians from the east such as the large and prominent Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), but also the smaller Indian nations who had relocated piecemeal on their own to the West. New relationships with southern Plains tribal nations created new ties of reciprocity and connection between Native nations in the trans-Mississippi West. One such example was the meeting of a group of Native nations in Texas along Tawakoni Creek in 1843 (See Figure 3.13). Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Lenape (Delawares) met with Hasínay (Caddos) and other tribes from Texas. Although historians have not detailed much about this particular intertribal council, it illustrated, however, the coming together and

[70] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 125, 137; Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 329. See also kinship note: Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 126n3. Quote from: Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 329. For more information on this report of the Tahlequah meeting and compact, July 1843, see: Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 474n79; See also: RG75 M234 R215, NARA; Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West: Annals to the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854* (Topeka: KSHS, 1972), 485; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 206.

utilizing indigenous diplomatic protocols and intentions to foster peaceful relationships and interactions with each other highlighted Native relational sovereignty, often understated in the historical records.[71]

Despite being fraught with miscommunications and the absence of vital delegations, the 1845 Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) Council was one of the most important antebellum intertribal councils. The historical record stressed the nations' prominence of cultural continuity and maintenance of traditions. "The Indian Council," also called "the Council of the neighboring tribes called by the [Mvskokes/Muscogees] Creeks" opened on May 12, 1845, at the Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) Council Ground, near what is now present-day Eufaula, Oklahoma. The largest group of representatives present were Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), who numbered seven hundred and thirty. The Mvskokes' (Muscogees' (Creeks')) Muskogean-speaking relatives, the Semvnoles (Seminoles), came with the second-largest grouping of delegates, amassing forty-seven delegates. Additionally, the Chahtas (Choctaws), Chikashas (Chickasaws), and Wažažes (Osages) and sent about a dozen diplomats each.[72] As the Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) leader Tuckabatchee Micco spoke to the

[71] Bever, "The Portrayal of Native Americans in Euro-American Art," 3, 42-51; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 161-162; Burton, *Indian Territory and the United States*, 14; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 168-171. Quotes from: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 162. Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Lenape (Delawares) intermarried with other Native communities in Texas and Indian Territory. The Wichita Agency at Anadarko in 1868 included Native nations who left Texas, including many Lenape (Delaware), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Hasínay (Caddo), Iona, Kitikiti'sh (Wichita), Waco, Kiachai, Tawaconi, Penetethka Numunuu (Comanche), and Ioway peoples (Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 282-285).

[72] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 399-400, 405; La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 102. As Arrell Morgan Gibson pointed out, two large first-hand accounts exist of this council: Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Agent Pierce M. Butler's journal (in NARA M234 Roll 923), sent on behalf of Western Superintendent William Armstrong, and William P. Ross's accounts. Butler's report is reproduced in: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 401-406. The date is presumed to be May 12, as the first official date listed is the next day, May 13, 1845. Thirteen Chahtas (Choctaws), eleven Chikashas (Chickasaws), and a dozen Wažažes (Osages) were present the first day of the Muskogee (Creek) Council proceedings (Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United

other indigenous leaders: "We men once living in the East have now built a council fire in the West."[73] The removed Native nations sought peaceful and healthy restoration of their communities and families in their new homelands in the West. Relighting of council fires indicated the resilient nature of Native nations to rebuild themselves anew. They maintained their pasts, heritages, and traditions, but knew they were renewing their communities with an uncertain present and future.

The Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), however, were significantly absent at this 1845 intertribal meeting. Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) leader Roley McIntosh indicated his disappointment that the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) were not there. Pierce M. Butler, the agent for the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) at the time, did come as an observer and on behalf of the Indian Office for the Western Superintendent William Armstrong. Butler described the frustration with the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) absence. As Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) leader Roley McIntosh explained to the group, the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), "they held the 'wampum' by which the tradition of their forefathers could be properly interpreted."[74] As historian Amy C. Schutt explained, wampum not only "represented the spoken word" but it was a way to "give words legitimacy." Wampum substantiated messages and emphasized the veracity of the speakers bringing the messages.[75] As decided back in the 1839 Tahlequah meeting, the intertribal council entrusted the wampum to the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees). Without the wampum the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) were supposed to bring to the intertribal meeting, the negotiations lacked the assurances and validities that wampum held.

Nations," 401-406).

[73] Quoted in: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 406.

[74] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 403.

[75] Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 11; Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 51-53, 76-77. Quote from: Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 11.

Possibly a reason for the Aniyunwiya's (Cherokees') absence was the related setback of miscommunication regarding invitations to the council. Only a few representatives from the smaller tribes were present at the 1845 Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) Council at its start. Six Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and four Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) were present, while only one delegate came each from the Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw) and Lenape (Delaware) communities. The next day, on May 13, however, a half a dozen Okáxpas (Quapaws) and three Peewaaliaki (Peorias) trickled into the meeting. Contrary to Roley McIntosh's adamancy that the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) had sent calendar sticks to all the neighboring communities, through an interpreter the Okáxpas (Quapaws) described a miscommunication. These sticks served as calendar tallies. Daily marking of the sticks counted the days until a meeting. McIntosh said he "sent the 'broken days' to all their brothers in reach," which was sent to at least fifteen different neighboring Native nations. The interpreter did not think any of the other northern groups would arrive, as he believed the messages failed to reach their intended audiences. The interpreter for the Okáxpas (Quapaws) said that the Okáxpa (Quapaw) delegates were only there "by accident." By a stroke of luck, he received the message while busy on a different business foray. Eventually eight Hasínay (Caddos) and five more Semvnoles (Seminoles), those lead by the war leaders Mickenopa and Coacoochee, arrived. The agent for the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Butler, believed that "[o]ther representations would doubtless have attended, had 'word' reached the different tribes in due season."[76] Setbacks like these complications of

[76] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 400-408, 410n21. Quotes from: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 403, 405.

communication and the lack of wampum's presence to solidify the spoken words as true, sincere, and valid, hindered the council's productivity and results.

The 1845 meeting did have one very important outcome; it resolved the conflicts between the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) and the Chahtas (Choctaws) and Chikashas (Chickasaws).[77] In a dramatic flourish American Indian and Western historian Arrell Morgan Gibson spoke of the space between Missouri and Arkansas that "comprised a sort of corridor through which bands of fierce Kickapoo [Kiikaapoaki] roamed at will." "[A]cknowledging fealty to no official United States Indian agency, and posing a constant threat to the peace and order of this middle border region," the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) terrorized Chahtas (Choctaws) and Chikashas (Chickasaws). The intertribal council, despite all its hitches, was able to finally resolve this conflict between the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) and the Chahtas (Choctaws) and Chikashas (Chickasaws) and establish peace.[78]

The pressing matter and shared agreement of the need for cultural maintenance and the retention of tribal traditions was the other major import of this 1845 council expressed. The council declared that they: "wish[ed] to see old habits and recollections preserved and perpetuated. The chain thus will be kept bright and the spark alive." Despite the lack of full intertribal participation—the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) held the wampum and they were absent—the council still followed indigenous protocols. As Butler detailed, nonetheless, "the pipe of peace was smoked, the white paths cleared, the Council fire lighted afresh."[79] Far from the extinguishment of Indian agency and

[77] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 400.
[78] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 398-400. Quote from: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 398.
[79] Quotes from: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 405, 408.

cultures, the council fires lit anew signified renewal and retention of long-established, old ways.

Alongside the overtly political aspects of the treaty-negotiations—the exchange of wampum and translations of speeches—the councils also included the more relaxed evenings which became a way for the tribal communities to showcase their cultural sovereignty and share aspects of their unique cultures with each other. As Butler detailed, "The nights were enlivened by the 'Terrapin Shell dance' [stomp dance] of the Muscogees [Mvskokes/Creeks], and the songs, drums, reeds and saltations [sic] (jumping and leaping) of the Osages [Wažažes]."[80] Each in their own ways, the Native nations fellowshipped with each other through sharing their songs and dances.

The council also focused on old and new kinship connections. Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) leader Tuckabatchee Micco addressed the Lenape (Delawares) as grandfathers and recognized how for the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) the Lenape (Delawares) had introduced the wampum protocols to them. Those delegates present would share the wampum and speeches with others not present at the meetings and discussions. Although the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) did not have representatives there, Tuckabatchee Micco's talk included them. The Ojibwe (Chippewa), Menominee, Winnebago (Hocąk), and Odawa (Ottawa) nations, although not present, sent their own peace pipe with wampum—described as "a stick full of eagle feathers and four strands of beads"—to the meeting via the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)). Drenched in symbolism, the different colored beads represented all the different languages. Deeming the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) and all others present at the meeting as their friends, the Winnebago (Hocąk), Menominee, Ojibwe (Chippewa), and Odawa

[80] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "An Indian Territory United Nations," 406.

(Ottawa) nations wanted the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), on their behalf, to shake hands with the other delegates present at the meeting. When returned, the wampum also served as a reminder to share the events and decisions of the council with the nations who sent it to the meeting. Although they were not at the meeting in Tahlequah two years previous, and could not at present attend again, these nations wanted to still be a part of the intertribal meeting. They wanted to be included in the talks "to devise the best plan by which our children shall be trained up in the straight path of peace."[81]

The Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) nation summarized the mutual desire by all for community and cultural survival. What the Euro-Americans might have slighted as trivial, the Native nations appreciated and valued. Tuckabatchee Micco avowed: "These white beads seem small and unimportant. They are to us everything. Our creed, our faith. The mode of perpetuating the customs and traditions of our forefathers." From the past, the Native nations also looked to the future. "As our children grow up we train them in the same old customs. Cherish and love them." "The principal object of this council is peace. To clean the white path and cover up blood that has been spilled," he continued.[82] Therefore, with the difficult past of forced removal behind them—although this past was not necessarily forgotten easily or quickly ignored —the Native nations looked towards a bright indigenous future where their cultural, linguistic, and political sovereignties persevered and flourished in a positive, post-removal Native world.

The delegates also reflected on the ways in which wampum had helped with intertribal conflicts since removal to the West. Tuckabatchee Micco explained: "Since arriving and kindling here our new fires, we have had the pleasure to see some of our

[81] Ibid., 406-412.
[82] Ibid., 406.

western brethren, and have taken great interest in explaining to them the ways of our Forefathers." Their own forefathers did not know of wampum. They "knew nothing of the emblem's I hold in my hands, as in those days there was nothing but war and bloodshed among the people." He continued, "But since the adoption of these emblems, and the use of them for making peace between different tribes, becoming a custom among the Red people, they have proved of great benefit, and form the ground work of training our children in the path of peace." These gifts Deganawídah first gave to the Haudenosaunee centuries before and continued to be useful tools for condolence, reconciliation, and peacemaking for many other indigenous nations.[83]

Although scholars tend to view the antebellum intertribal councils as failing in resulting in the creation of formalized intertribal unity, the process and action of renewing tribal bonds and kinship was just as important, if not more so, than the final product. The activity and practice polished up the past chains of connection to create a bright and renewed present and future. The covenant chains and indigenous relationships required continual reassertion, maintenance, and renewal. The council fires had to be stoked and rekindled after the devastating effects of forced removal. Far from being utter failures, these intertribal councils allowed for the continuation of the strength of relational sovereignty and the phoenix-like renewal and revitalization in new homelands that Native communities made all their own.

III. Brightening the Indigenous Chains of Connection and Dusting Off Wampum Diplomacy

[83] Ibid., 407.

"When the majority of the [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)] people removed to the south-west, they demanded to have the belts, as these might be a safeguard to them. Some of these belts recorded treaties of alliance or of peace with other tribes which were now residing in that region, and it might be of great importance for the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandottes] to be able to produce and refer to them. The justice of this claim was admitted, and they were allowed to have the greater part of the belts."

> Joseph White (Wendat/Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)), speaking to ethnologist Horatio Hale at the Anderdon Reserve, near Trenton, Michigan, in the late 1800s[84]

The first couple of Indian nations to remove to Kansas and Oklahoma did so before the federal government's strong-armed shove with the final declaration of removal as federal policy with the implementation of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 that pushed other groups westward as well. The two Šaawanwa (Shawnee) groups (often known as the Eastern and Loyal Shawnees) as well as the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), and Okáxpas (Quapaws) all negotiated removals before the end of the 1830s. They obtained reservation lands in the West relatively comparable in acreage to the size of their reservations ceded in the East. As historians and scholars have documented these events extensively, only a cursory summary discussion of these removals will suffice to illustrate how the removed communities originally from the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes ultimately resided in the West through coerced treaty cessions and then forced removal. Despite all this, however, the Native nations did what they could to maintain their communities. They continued to carry and

[84] Joseph White (Wendat) quoted in: Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records: A Study of Aboriginal American History and Mnemonic Symbols," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 26 (1897), 232-233. See also: Charles Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology, With an Appendix Containing Earlier Published* Records, Canada Department of Mines Geological Survey Memoir 80, Anthropological Series No. 11 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 4.

practice their wampum diplomacy and kinship terminologies brought with them from the East to the West.[85]

One of the last indigenous groups that the federal government forcibly removed from the state of Ohio was the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation in 1843. By the 1830s the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) still had their reservation at Upper Sandusky in the state of Ohio. Rah´hahntah´seh (Matthew R. Walker), brother to Hähshäh´rēhs, and other Ohio Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) delegates traveled in 1841 to Indian Territory, visiting the Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Lenape (Delaware), and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) nations, in preparation for removal. On March 17, 1842, however, they signed a treaty to cede all their remaining lands in Ohio and Michigan with the promise of acreage in western lands "set apart for Indian use, and not already assigned to any other tribe or nation." The federal government forcibly removed the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in July of 1843 (See Figure 3.14).[86]

In preparation for removal to Indian Territory, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s) first consulted with their relatives in Michigan and Canada to take the wampum belts with them. Seventeenth-century Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) diplomacy as depicted in wampum belts, then, would become significant in Kansas and Indian territories. When anthropologist Horatio Hale traveled to the Anderdon Reserve

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[85] Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma*, 4-5, 32; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 355-359; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide*, 34-35, 58-59; Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma*, 4-5, 32; Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 240-245.

[86] William Elsey Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," in *PGNT-JWW*, 24n1; "Treaty with the Wyandot, 1842," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 534-537; Washington Henry Chick, "A Journey to Missouri in 1822," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 100-101; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States*, Vol. 4, 230. Quote from: "Treaty with the Wyandot, 1842," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 534. As the same with the Myaamia (Miami) Nation, scholars have extensively documented the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation's history of forced removal. See: James Buss, "The Politics of Indian Removal on the Wyandot Reserve, 1817-1843," in *Contested Territories: Native Americans and Non-Natives in the Lower Great Lakes, 1700-1850*, edited by Charles Beatty-Media and Melissa Rinehart (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 167-193.

in the late nineteenth century, his informant Joseph White (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)), explained how the number of wampum belts had once been numerous. "[T]here were belts enough, if spread out, to cover the floor of the room in which we sat," he detailed.[87] White continued to explain why the plethora of belts were no longer there and the floor was now basically empty. White said, "When the majority of the people removed to the south-west, they demanded to have the belts, as these might be a safeguard to them." As records of coalitions and associations between their ancestors and grandparents with other Native nations, the wampum would be useful. "Some of these belts recorded treaties of alliance or of peace with other tribes which were now residing in that region, and it might be of great importance for the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/ Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] to be able to produce and refer to them. The justice of this claim was admitted, and they were allowed to have the greater part of the belts." The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) belts that remained were mostly local. He noted that, "[t]hey left those which related to the title of the Indian lands in Canada, to the adoption of the Christian religion, and a few others."[88]

Many Native nations were able to use their connections with each other and their relatives across Canada and the United States for assistance before, during, and after forced removal, especially for wampum retention. Just as Haudenosaunee wampum belts "circulated… 'under-ground'" among Algonquian communities in times of conflict in centuries before forced removal, so, too, did Native leadership carry other

[87] Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 231-232. Quote from: Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 232.

[88] White quoted in: Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 232-233. For more on Canadian indigenous removals to the United States, and petitions for indigenous migrations to Canada, see: Phil Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity: The Anishnaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 111-130.

wampum belts along a covert network in the nineteenth century in the Removal Era.[89] The Canadian Department of Indian Affairs heard about the cache of Native wampum and historical documents that the Canadian Wendat kept ready for removal to the Western United States when their Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) kin would be forcibly relocated from Ohio to Kansas Territory. In 1842 the Superintendent of Indian Affairs George Ironside, also a tribal member, demanded that the "trunk containing the wampum belts and documents" be confiscated and brought to him. The individual in possession of the trunk ignored the orders and, as Peter Dooyentate Clarke told it, the tribal member "refused to give it up." Quickly it spirited away to Ohio, then to Kansas. These ancient archives, physical manifestations of intertribal relationships and diplomatic agreements—infused with religious importance to boot—remained crucial for rebuilding connections and relationships in the new lands. Although faced with new situations and living in new, strange places and spaces unlike their original homelands, the Native nations knew they could use their long-held, historical wampum and kinship relations. They could be brought out as reminders of past interactions with each other, of condolences acknowledged and healed, and of making strangers into relatives. The old archives could be re-polished, and revitalized, and become practical and valuable tools in the new present and potential future.[90]

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[89] On "circulated League wampum belts 'under-ground'" with Algonquians in the pays d'en haut, see: Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, 228.

[90] Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts, and Sketches of Other Indian Tribes of North America. True Traditional Stories of Tecumseh and His League in the Years 1811 and 1812* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1870), 130; Douglas Leighton, "IRONSIDE, GEORGE (d. 1863)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 9 (Toronto and Québec: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1987), 2003-2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ironside_george_1863_9E.html (accessed 6 January 2018). A thank you goes out to Jeremy Turner for noting my discrepancies here. Confusing everything is the fact that two Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Anderdon communities have existed, one on either side of the Detroit River. One is in Canada and the other in the United States. The non-federally recognized Wyandot of

In telling this story of wampum traveling with the Wa^{n}dat removal, the ethnographer Horatio Hale minimized the significance of the remaining belts in Canada, motivated by the opportunity he had of purchasing some of the belts from the community. He was motivated to devalue these materials he himself would then purchase to persuade the indigenous keepers to sell them to him. Seeing them as valuable museum objects, Hale could then collect them and purchase them. In an exaggeration of almost comical proportions, Hale flippantly commented, "of late years, since the majority of the people went away, the remaining belts have been little but useless lumber." He did add the caveat that they were proof of local treaties or land agreements. White sold four belts, said to be "his private property, and which he could sell to me"—even Hale added the persuasive words to seal the deal that "I inferred that they were belts which had ceased to be of practical use, and which the former wampum-keepers, in accordance with tribal usage, had left at his disposal."[91] Although a Euro-American exaggeration of the importance of the wampum belts, these comments also illustrated that community members and tribal leaders took the most significant belts

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Anderdon Nation are located near Trenton, Michigan. A Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) reservation existed on the Canadian side of the river, in Anderdon Township, today Amherstburg, Ontario, Canada. In both Peter Dooyentate Clarke and Hubbard's stories, they described Ironside as the Indian agent at Anderdon. See also: Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976, 2 vols.; Reprint, Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 825; "History on the Web" Course, History Department and the Centre for Digital Scholarship (CDIGS), University of Windsor, "Anderdon Township," *Walking Through History: Neighborhoods of Windsor & Essex County*, http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/neighborhood-history/exhibits/show/amherstburg/wyandotte-indian-cemetery/anderdon-township (accessed 8 January 2018). See also: Jeremiah Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting of Friends, Composed of Indians* (Carthage, Missouri: Press Book and Job Printing House, 1886), 84-86. Georges Sioui (Wendat) described how "Until 1836, the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandottes] had the 'Huron Reserve' opposite Detroit, in the present Ontario township of Anderdon near the town of Amherstburg (Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, Revised Edition, translated from the French by Jane Brierley (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1994; Reprint, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 228n98). See also: Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 514-516.

[91] Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records," 233.

detailing indigenous alliances with other nations when they moved to the West during the forced and coerced removals.

Other wampum belts would enter Euro-American museum and art collections in the decades after the immediate dangers of removal had already subsided. Frank G. Speck purchased belts for Gustave Heye's private collection, the founding pieces of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian. One he purchased "from the wife of a Wyandot [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandotte] chief in Oklahoma." Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leader Silas Armstrong had maintained a seventeenth-century wampum in Kansas Territory. His widow, Zalinda Hunter Armstrong sold the belt to Heye's collection before the beginning of the twentieth century. Another belt, one dating back to the seventeenth-century, Frank Speck said came from a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) named Atowa Thohonadiheto in 1903.[92] Although the belts dissolved from indigenous possession and ended up in many museum collections by the twentieth century, Native community leaders maintained and preserved their belts throughout removal. The belts served as important tools for Kansas Territory and Indian Territory negotiations with other Indian nations. An endurance of the long-held Native diplomatic protocols, kinship relations, and reading of wampum belts existed, despite otherwise massive discontinuities caused by forced removal.

By the time the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) made it to Kansas, the federal government had not yet assigned them a permanent reservation. The emigrated Indians already in Kansas Territory, however, did not necessarily sell the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) some of their newly-acquired Kansas lands without any strife.

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[92] Frank G. Speck, "Some Huron Treaty Belts," *The Penn Museum Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1911), 27; Wampum Belt, 1600-1650, Catalog No. 1/2132, NMAI, SI.

Kansas historian William Elsey Connelley visited and interviewed Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in both the Kansas and Indian territories, as well as other neighboring Native nations such as the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas). Interestingly, Connelley detailed how, according to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), their treaty with the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) supposed to give them some of their lands. Connelley relayed, "The Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandottes] complained that when the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] and Delawares [Lenape] were homeless they [the Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s] had 'spread a deer skin for them to sit down upon' and given them each a large tract of land—to the two tribes the greater portion of Ohio, in fact." Connelley continued, "[a]nd now that the Wyandots [(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandottes] were without a home, the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] would not even sell them one, and the Delawares [Lenape] exacted from them more than the true value of the land sold." Eventually the Lenape (Delawares) sold the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) thirty-six sections of land, and gave them three as a symbol of good faith. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) agreed to pay $46,080 for the thirty-six sections of land.[93]

The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) then purchased land, now present-day Wyandotte County, Kansas, from the Lenape (Delawares) who were already in the Kansas area at an intertribal council meeting on December 14, 1843 (See Figure 3.15). As "old allies" with the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), the Lenape (Delawares) had connections and obligations with them, as well as connections with the neighboring

[93] William Elsey Connelley, "Preface," *PGNT-JWW*, v-vi; William Elsey Connelley, "The Wyandots," in *PGNT-JWW*, 2, 2n3-4, 3; Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 17-19. See also: Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas and Its People*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 69.

Šaawanwaki (Shawnees).[94] Their land sale and agreement read that "a long and intimate acquaintance and an ardent friendship… has for a great many years existed between the Delawares [Lenape] and the Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s], and from a mutual desire that the same feeling should continue, and be more strengthened by becoming near neighbors to each other" the Lenape (Delawares) sold to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) a portion of their reservation. They sold thirty-nine sections of their land on the eastern end of the Lenape (Delaware) reservation. In return, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) would pay them $6,080 up front and $4,000 annually for the next ten years. The Lenape (Delawares) used kinship language, detailing that they were "very anxious to have their uncles the Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s] to settle and reside near them." They illustrated the continuity of kinship networks and reciprocity in indigenous post-Removal politics and reservation land exchanges and agreements.[95]

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[94] "Agreement with the Delawares and Wyandot, 1843," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 1048; Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 184-185; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 82-152, 179; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 93-99; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States*, Vol. 4, 231; Christopher E. Sherman, Ohio Division of Geological Survey, and Ohio Co-operative Topographic Survey, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions: Being Volume III, Final Report (in Four Volumes)* (1925; Reprint, Columbus Ohio: Press of the Ohio State Reformatory, Ohio Department of Natural Resource, Division of Geological Survey, Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey, 1976), 212; Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*,120-121; Connelley, "The Wyandots," 2, 2n3-4, 3; Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County*, Vol. 1, 69-70; Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas, Containing A Full Account of Its Growth From an Uninhabited Territory to a Wealthy and Important State; Of Its Early Settlements; Its Rapid Increase in Population and the Marvelous Development of Its Great Natural Resources. Also, a Supplementary History and Description of Its Counties, Cities, Towns and Villages, Their Advantages, Industries, Manufactures and Commerce; To Which Are Added Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Prominent Men and Early Settlers, Illustrated* (Chicago: Alfred Theodore Andreas, 1883; Reproduction, Atchison and Topeka: Atchison County Historical Society in cooperation with the KSHS, 1976), 70; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 205-208; Washington H. Chick, "The Vicissitudes of Pioneer Life," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 210.

[95] "Agreement with the Delawares and Wyandot, 1843," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 1048; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, ix; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 98; Kevin F. Kern and Gregory S. Wilson, *Ohio: A History of the Buckeye State* (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 125-126, 139, 198-199. Treaty quoted in: "Agreement with the Delawares and Wyandot, 1843," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 1048.

Once the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) did secure permanent lands in Kansas Territory, the difficulty was obtaining ratification by the federal government. Medical doctor and Indian agent for the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation, Dr. Richard Hewitt reported to the Indian Office that it was he who suggested at a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) council meeting on May 15, 1846 for the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) to seek a new treaty. Instead of seeking congressional request for the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) purchase of the Lenape (Delaware) lands, instead they requested an international treaty to be made—a treaty between the Lenape (Delawares), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), and the United States. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) must have known that the best legally-binding and appropriate action was with a signed treaty. Four days later, on Tuesday, May 19, 1846, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) council voted to seek an international treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Lenape (Delawares), and the United States for the tribal land purchase.[96]

The difficulty lay in the fact that until Congress ratified the agreement on July 25, 1848, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) hold on their new Kansas Territory homelands remained tenuous. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) and Lenape (Delaware) continually sought congressional approval and wrote to Washington, D.C. with their requests. In January 1848 the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) National Council commissioned George I. Clark and John M. Armstrong to speak to the Indian agent Major Cummings, regarding a Wa^{n}dat-Lenape (Wendat/Wyandot(te)-Delaware)

[96] William Walker, "The Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory—First Book, *From March 29, 1845, to September 22, 1849*," in *PGNT-JWW*, 182-183. Dr. Richard Hewitt not only tended to physical ailments and health crises (Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 158, 161, 164-165, 168, 170, 221, 258).

treaty. Cummings responded with a letter which was read to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Council on February 1. Disillusioned, Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) called Cummings's answer "[a]ll equivocal [vague, ambiguous]." Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) concluded: "The Government is determined upon 'foul play' upon us poor Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s]."[97] Despite getting the run-around and hesitating replies by the Indian Office, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) finally received congressional confirmation of their treaty. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) paid the Lenape (Delawares) in installments, with their last payment for the lands being paid off by October 1848. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) finally had official tribal lands in West.[98]

The Myaamia (Miami) removal and resettlement to Kansas Territory also resulted from pressures to remove with other Native communities who had lived in Indiana and Ohio just decades before. Again, the federal government, without a having a definitive grasp of the lands available in the West on which to deposit the Myaamiaki (Miamis), remained vague. The Myaamia (Miami) 1838 treaty ceded more lands in exchange for lands in Kansas Territory. The language remained unclear, however, as the treaty negotiators did not detail specifics. Instead, the Myaamiaki (Miamis) were only to remove, "contiguous to the other Indians who had emigrated from Indiana and Ohio… whenever they should be ready."[99] With the Treaty of 1840 the Myaamiaki (Miamis) ceded the last of their lands in the state of Indiana and they were forcibly removed to Kansas Territory. One early correspondence between Daniel Geary to

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[97] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 167, 167n1, 193, 193n1, 223, 228-229, 268; Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County*, Vol. 1, 69-70. Quote from: Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 229.

[98] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 243, 243n1.

[99] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 125-126.

Secretary George W. Martin narrated the removal. One witness, Daniel Geary, only a small boy at the time, recalled governmental officials forcing the Myaamiaki (Miamis) to load upon canal boats. At Saint Louis the Indians were then switched to steamboats. They arrived in November of 1846 and first settled at Sugar Creek by 1847 (See Figures 3.16 and 3.17).[100]

Ironically, the Potewatmis (Potawatomi) had already established themselves for almost a decade in the western part of the Sugar Creek area before the Myaamiaki (Miamis) arrived. By the 1840s the Potewatmis (Potawatomis) in the West were split into three different groups. The first community was located at Council Bluffs, Iowa, while the other two were in eastern Kansas: one at Potawatomi Creek, near present-day Osawatomie, Kansas, and the other along Sugar Creek. When the Potewatmis (Potawatomis) left the state of Indiana and the first group came in 1837, with a larger group coming the next year in the infamous 'Potawatomi Trail of Death of 1838.' The Catholic-influenced Potewatmis (Potawatomis) decided on November 4, 1838 to stay on Sugar Creek, separate from their kin at Potawatomi Creek. The federal government and Indian Office agents, however, wanted to get all the Potawatomis they could to agree to relocate to one central location.

The Osage River and Council Bluffs Potewatmis (Potawatomis) both signed this "removal and reunion treaty of 1846," in which they would sell their current lands for a

[100] *KSHS Collections, 1909-1910*, 282. For two really good summaries of Myaamia (Miami) removal, see the scholarship of Melissa A. Rinehart as well as the Myaamia (Miami) Nation's publications: Melissa A. Rinehart and Kate A. Berry, "Kansas and the Exodus of the Miami Tribe," in *The Tribes and the States: Geographies of Intergovernmental Interaction*, edited by Brad A. Bays and Erin Hogan Fouberg (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and Oxford: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Incorporated, 2002), 29-50; Melissa A. Rinehart, "Miami Resistance and Resilience during the Removal Era," in *Contested Territories: Native Americans and Non-Natives in the Lower Great Lakes, 1700-1850*, edited by Charles Beatty-Media and Melissa Rinehart (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 137-165.

larger reservation that could incorporate the many communities, along the Kansas River.[101] In 1847 many Potewatmis (Potawatomis) had reestablished their communities around and built the St. Mary's Mission, the present-day location of the Kansas State Historical Society and the Kansas History Museum in Topeka, Kansas.[102] The wish for one central Potewatmi (Potawatomi) group, however, did not come to fruition. Some Potewatmis (Potawatomis) settled at the Wakarusa Creek, while others remained around Sugar Creek. The Myaamiaki (Miamis) settled on the eastern portion of Sugar Creek—on Little Sugar Creek.

The Potewatmis (Potawatomis) remained on Sugar Creek, despite all efforts to relocate them before the Myaamiaki (Miamis) came to the area. Superintendent Thomas H. Harvey reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Medill on March 21, 1848: "I learn that Miamis will be here in a few days. If they cannot be brought to agree on one site, I presume that we will have to modify the plan; every effort will doubtless be made… to unite them." He resolved, "Unless otherwise ordered

[101] Joseph Francis Murphy, *Potawatomi Of The West: Origins Of The Citizen Band*, edited by Patricia Sulcer Barrett (Shawnee, Oklahoma: Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe, 1988), 41, 60, 64, 69, 85, 96-97, 127-132; Shirley Willard, "Chief Nas-wau-kee Family Honored," *Potawatomi Trail of Death Association*, February 18, 2018, http://potawatomi-tda.org/chiefnwk.htm (accessed 26 February 2018). This article, based on the research of Michale Edwards (Potewatmi/Potawatomi). Many thanks go out to Michale Edwards for helping me better understand the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) removal and their relationship to the Myaamiaki (Miamis) who also relocated along Sugar Creek, further to the east. The Potewatmi (Potawatomi) at Sugar Creek resided at a fork of Big Sugar Creek (Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States, In Three Volumes*, Vol. 2 (New York: The America Press, 1938), 189-190). On neighboring Odawas (Ottawas), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Ojibwes (Chippewas), see: Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, Vol. 2, 220-221.)

[102] Murphy, *Potawatomi Of The West*, 144. See also: KSHS, "Potawatomi Mission," *Kansas Historical Society*, 2018, https://www.kshs.org/p/potawatomi-mission/11910 (accessed 26 February 2018). Stephen Gristy, an informant for Albert Samuel Gatschet in November 1895 observed that still in the 1880s Potawatomis lived along the Marais Des Cygnes, emptied into the Little Osage River. Also, he met with the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) in 1857 on Sugar Creek near the Missouri state border. He recalled Tawaahkwakinanka (George Washington Finley)'s father and Peter Dagenette among the 160-200 Peewaaliaki (Peorias) camped on Sugar Creek (Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Notes on the Miami, 1890-ca. 1895*, Notebook No. 2, NAA MS 3025, NAA, NMNH, SI).

by you, I shall impress upon the Potawatomies [sic] that the government will not transact business with a fraction of the nation."[103]

The Subagent for Myaamia (Miami) removal, Alfred J. Vaughn, reported that the Myaamiaki (Miamis) "located temporarily near the Osage River Indian agency one mile west of the Military Road on Little Sugar Creek," named for the sugar maple trees nearby. The Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call the sugar maple trees ahsenaamiši or ahsenaamišaahkwi, and they had a Sugar Creek (ahsenaamiši siipiiwi) in Indiana, so likely they also named it ahsenaamiši siipiiwi. The Myaamiaki (Miamis) rebuilt their homes in what is today Linn and Miami counties, situated near familiar kin from the Ohio Valley. The Waayaahtanooki (Weas) and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) resided to the north, and the Potewatmis (Potawatomis) were to the West. Nearby were communities of the Niswi-mishkodewin, the Three Fires Confederacy—the Odawas (Ottawas), Ojibwes (Chippewas), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis).[104] The East, of course, was the newly-minted state of Missouri. A year later they moved to the Marais des Cygnes River and established Miamitown, Kansas. [105]

Immense sickness and negative influences of the border town alcohol and other vices also influenced the move. Reportedly they also relocated to be closer to a newly-

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[103] Murphy, *Potawatomi Of The West*, 146, 155n46. Quote from: Murphy, *Potawatomi Of The West*, 146. Italics are used in Murphy's quotations.

[104] Arlene B. Hirschfelder and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, *The Extraordinary Book of Native American Lists* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 56; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 36, 205; Daryl Baldwin and David J. Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani / Miami-Peoria Dictionary* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Nation, developed through the Myaamia Project at Miami University, 2005), 17, 114, 166, 181; Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 464.

[105] In my MA Thesis, I focused on the correspondence of the Indian agent regarding the move of the majority of the Miamis to a new location near a schoolhouse. After either a more careful review or fresh reread, I see how more complicated this situation was. Amy Dianne Bergseth, "Our Claims and Rights are Nothing': Causes of Myaamia (Miami Indian) Removal from Kansas to Oklahoma" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2011), 7-8; George Michael Ironstrack, "Trails Along the Marais des Cygnes River," *Aacimotaatiiyankwi: A Myaamia Community Blog*, February 11, 2013, https://myaamiahistory.wordpress.com/2013/02/11/trails-along-the-marais-des-cygnes-river/ (accessed 27 February 2018).

established school. On February 28, 1848 Thomas H. Harvey wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Medill letter. He made it sound like the Myaamiaki (Miamis) moved because he had located the school to that location. Harvey reported: "The recent determination of the Miamis to remove from their location near the state line, & settle higher up the country, where I have located the Miami School renders it necessary that they should have a smith's shop established immediately." Harvey wrote of "the Miamis' new location" later in May. After the death of Ozandeah (Owl), "a number of families have moved up to the new location," Harvey explained.[106] The rationale for the Myaamia (Miami) resettlement remains unclear. The Myaamiaki (Miamis) did establish a Catholic school in 1848, but remained open only for two years (See Figure 3.18).

What is known, however, is that the Myaamiaki (Miamis) settled on their new lands, joining other local tribal nations such as Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and affiliated nations, the Niswi-Mishkodewin (Three Council Fires), and Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) in Kansas, becoming a part of the Osage River Sub-Agency (See Figures 3.19, and 3.20). Many Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and Myaamiaki (Miamis) attended Potawatomi Sugar Creek events. Having been neighbors back in Michigan and Indiana, it is not a surprise then that many Catholic-minded Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Myaamiaki (Miamis), and Peewaaliaki (Peorias) socialized and attended each other's festive occasions in Kansas.[107] Jesuit historian Gilbert Joseph Garraghan called the new missionary efforts

[106] RG75 M234 R416, NARA; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 72.

[107] Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, Vol. 2, 221-235; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 126-131, 201-202; John Rydjord, *Kansas Place-Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 54; Bert Anson, *The Miami Indians*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 238; Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1995), 131; Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Third Edition, Vol. 2, 100. See also: Thomas N. Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers:*

in Indian Country to be a "revival… of the eighteenth-century Jesuit Miami-Potawatomi [Myaamia-Potewatmi] Mission on the St[.] Joseph River" located in what is now present-day Michigan.[108]

In the 1840s the emigrated Indian nations interacted with each other, supporting their kinship and connections with each other. This meant reciprocity both in terms of alliance as well as assistance. Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker)'s diary served as excellent record detailing the little, everyday interactions that, although seemingly unimportant, added up to the meaningful continuance of relational sovereignty. Hähshäh´rēhs and his children occasionally attended Methodist camp meetings hosted by the Lenape (Delawares) at what is now White Church, near present-day Kansas City, Kansas. Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) noted in his diary when he bought some baskets from several Munsee women. In the 1840s, then, the removed Native nations in Kansas and Indian territories continued to interact with each other, attending each other's important cultural and political events as friends, relatives, and allies.

The removed Indian communities invited and joined each other at their special occasions. In the summer of 1846 the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) National Council appointed Sarrahess, Tauroomee, and George Armstrong as "a deputation to the Senecas, South." A Shotinontowane' (Seneca) messenger, however, arrived with an invitation for them "to be present at the installation of the new Head Chief" in Indian Territory. Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) noted his attendance at a funeral on Sunday, June 20, 1847 for a Shotinontowane' (Seneca) leader who had recently died of smallpox. When some Walker wrote June 9, 1846 two hundred and ten Shotinontowane'á:ka

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Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removals (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 161-162, 179.

[108] Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, Vol. 2, 175.

(Senecas) from Cattaraugus, Tonawanda, and Buffalo, New York, migrated to join their relatives in the West, a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) delegation, led by Tauroomee and Sarrahas, met and politicked with them. Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) noted how the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) had a "diplomatic interview with the [New York Shotinontowane' (Seneca)] emigrants."[109]

With the tribal rebuilding, also came the most significant return of indigenous diplomacy—what came to be called the reestablishment of the old Northwest Confederacy in October of 1848. Preparations began as early as the summer of 1846, when news circulated about the convening of the international intertribal meeting. Numerous different meetings took place in the next several years with various different tribal participants. One of the most important early meetings was when the Lenape (Delawares) hosted a meeting with the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and Paáris (Pawnees), and on the Kansas River on May 12-13, 1847. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leader Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) attended the international council meeting. A wealthy and educated polyglot, Hähshäh´rēhs not only knew English, French, Latin, and Greek, but also the Myaamia (Miami), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Pottawatomi, and Lenape (Delaware) languages along with Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)). He admitted, however, at this meeting it was the "first time in my life that I heard the [Paári] Pawnee language

[109] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 165, 173, 173n2, 187, 189, 189n2, 191, 208, 257. Quotes from: Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 187, 191. Tauroomee is also spelled Tauromee. For reciprocity commitments and obligations, see: Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together*, 63. White Church was built in 1832 (Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 565). See also: Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 338-339.

spoken." This assemblage ended with a future gathering planned for the next year, 1848.[110]

The tribal nations held this next meeting in early October of 1848 on Lenape (Delaware) lands not far from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leader Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) called the meeting "the grand convocation of Indian tribes near Fort Leavenworth" (See Figure 3.21). The subagent for the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) in Kansas, Dr. Richard Hewitt, just happened to almost stumble upon the meeting when he returned from picking up tribal annuities at Saint Louis. When he returned from his trip the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) invited him to attend the international council that was soon to begun, "a grand council… [to be] held in the Delaware [Lenape] territory."[111]

Delegates and leaders from the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Lenape (Delaware), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Munsee, Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Ojibwe (Chippewa), Odawa (Ottawa), Myaamia (Miami), Peewaalia (Peoria), Waayaahtanwa (Wea), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), Meskwa (Fox), Kaw (Kansa), and other tribal nations were present. The Lenape (Delaware) leader Tawhelalen(d), also known as Captain Ketchum, presided. Joseph Parks (originally from Hog Creek) and other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) also attended the meeting. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leaders Francis A. Hicks, John Hicks, Sr., James Rankin, and

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[110] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 147-148; Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 194, 194n1, 200-201, 201n1, 223, 230, 247, 249; Connelley, "The Wyandots," 3-4; William Elsey Connelley, "The Walker Family," in *PGNT-JWW*, 12.

[111] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 147-148; Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 265; *1848 ARCIA*, 488. For Walker quote, see: Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 265. For "a grand council… [to be] held in the Delaware territory" quote, see: *1848 ARCIA*, 488. See also: Joseph Francis Murphy, "Potawatomi Indians of the West: Origins of the Citizen Band" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1961), 280-281. See also: *KSHS Transactions, 1897-1900*, 99-100; Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County*, Vol. 1, 129-130.

Hähshäh´rēhs (Wi. Walker) also came. Those who had belonged to the Old northwestern Indian confederacy included the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), Ojibwes (Chippewas), Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Myaamiaki (Miamis). Kansas (Kaw), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Meskwaki (Foxes), and others were new.[112] When Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) and others made it to the council grounds Tuesday evening October 10, 1848, many of the other tribal nations already camped in the area for the meetings that were to take place in the following days. "Found the Delawares [Lenape], Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], Miamis [Myaamiaki], Peorias [Peewaliaki], Kanzas [Kaws/Kansas], Sacs and Foxes [Thakiwaki and Meskwaki] already on the ground," Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) reported in his journal.[113]

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[112] Probably due to the multiple different meetings, some scholars and observers specify that the October 1848 meeting was on the Lenape (Delaware) Reservation, while others wrote that it was on Wa^{n}dat lands. Foreman reported that it was on Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) lands, but the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Indian agent's correspondence in the *1848 ARCIA* that Foreman quoted or paraphrased extensively specified that it was held on Lenape (Delaware) lands. Parks detailed that the meeting took place on the Lenape (Delaware) Reservation. Walker's journal just mentioned the October 1848 council taking place near Fort Leavenworth. Peter Dooyentate Clarke perhaps confused other historians, as he only mentioned the summer 1846 discussions that began the preparations for the larger, more significant meeting. Otherwise, regarding the October 1848 meeting Peter Dooyentate Clarke did not specify its dates. John P. Bowes wrote that multiple meetings took place, one of which was the May 1847 on the Kansas River on the Lenape (Delaware) Reservation. As Bowes explained, "although councils held in 1847 and 1848 included members of some western nations with whom they hoped to settle affairs, other invitations were limited to the members of the original alliance" (Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 147). Although Bowes stated that Peter Dooyentate Clarke was in error, it seems that Peter Dooyentate Clarke just did not provide specific dates (Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 149n39). See also: *1848 ARCIA*, 488-489; Ronald D. Parks, *The Darkest Period: The Kanza Indians and Their Last Homeland, 1846-1873*, Civilization of the American Indian Series Vol. 273 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 24-25; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 147-150; George P. Morehouse, "History of the Kansa or Kaw Indians," in *KSHS Transactions, 1907-1908*, 361; William Elsey Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," in *KSHS Transactions, 1897-1900*, 99; Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 131-132; Connelley, "The Wyandots," 3-4; Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 265-266; William Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," in *PGNT-JWW*, 61-63; Stephen A. Warren, "The Methodists, the Baptists, and the Shawnees: Conflicting Cultures in Indian Territory, 1833-1834," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Autumn 1994), 160. Captain Ketchum's name has been also spelled as Tah-whee-la-len or Tawhelaum (Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 228, 1030).

[113] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 265. For more on Francis A. Hicks, see: Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 189n1.

The historical significance of the meeting, especially the intertribal exhibition of wampum, was not lost on the participants and later observers. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) displayed many of the treasured wampum belts relating to international agreements and the confederacy's history. Historian William Elsey Connelley noted that "the wampum belts—the archives and records of the confederacy… [t]hese belts had not been explained nor shown in council for a quarter of a century."[114] At this meeting the leaders read the wampum and discussed the intertribal agreements of peace that had been made in the past with those nations in attendance. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) historian Peter Dooyentate Clarke later explained: "At this gathering was rehearsed the hidden contents of each wampum belt—representing their international compacts, &c.—which the Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] exhibited by spreading them on the ground in the midst of the assembled tribes." Peter Dooyentate Clarke later noted that with the spread of all the old wampum belts together, and keepers reciting their meanings: "This scene reminded the older Chiefs and warriors of olden times."[115]

Besides the recitation of wampum, the confederacy also renewed and relit the confederacy's council fire. Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) detailed the dialogue that followed. He described how, "when the members of the league… demanded '*Where is the Council fire'?* The Keeper promptly responded : [sic] 'When I rose from my seat in the East with my face to the West, I snatched the only fire brand yet burning in the

[114] Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," 99-100.

[115] Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 132. Hubbard also very closely paraphrased, if not copied, Peter Dooyentate Clarke's words. Hubbard wrote, "At this gathering were rehearsed the hidden contents of each wampum belt, representing their international compacts, and which the Wyandottes exhibited by spreading them on the ground in the midst of the assembled tribes" and that "This scene reminded the older chiefs and warriors of olden times" (Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting of Friends*, 86).

Council fire and bro't it with me; and here my brethren I rekindle it in the West. Light the pipe and scour up my dish and Camp kettle again.'"[116]

Symbolically, then, the western Indian confederacy, marred only the disruption of removal, picked up where it left off. Continuity, not discontinuity, marked the occasion. The Native nations renewed their long-held relationships and fellowships and prepared to enter into new rapports with others. Forced removal and relocation, "caused some derangement in our intercourse with each other—caused an interruption of the usual interchange of friendly messages," Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) editorialized.[117] The post-removal era, however, became a time of revitalization, retention, restoration, and renewal for the emigrated nations, as signified by this confederacy meeting. They rekindled the council fire brightened and polished the chains of relationships and connections with one another.

Indian agent Dr. Richard Hewitt recognized the significance of the 1848 international Indian council. He recorded the visual and emotional atmosphere. He listed witnessing and experiencing the "grandeur of Indian costume [regalia], displayed on this occasion, the social and friendly feeling exhibited amongst the people there congregated, the enjoyment of the dance, and the great number engaged in them." These festivities, Hewitt explained, "contrasted with the sober and staid countenances of the older chiefs," who remained stoic in their quietness regarding the significance of the event. This, along with "the harmless countenance and the musical voice of the

[116] Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," 63. Also quoted in: Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," 99.

[117] Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," 63, 63n1. Also quoted in: Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," 99.

females present, was, altogether, such a scene as I had never witnessed, and one that my pen cannot describe."[118]

Not all of the meeting, however, was without strife. A conflict with the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) marred the optimistic and affirmative festivities. The meeting did not result in a complete approval of measures by all Native nations present. In fact, while the recitation of the wampum agreements and histories reaffirmed the western confederacy, it also actually opened fresh wounds for the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) regarding unresolved warfare and unexpressed condolences. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leader Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) noted that "It is well known the Sacs and Foxes [Thakiwaki and Meskwaki] played an unmanly part on this occasion and we have had no explanation."[119] Dr. Richard Hewitt called this "some misapprehension and unfounded suspicions" that caused the Thakiwaki to leave the council.[120]

Others, however, knew exactly why this had happened. The Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) had long historical conflicts with the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) and others and one particular wampum belt reified this bloodshed. Peter Dooyentate Clarke explained how the Meskwaki (Foxes) "knew of a certain dark bead belt then in the hands of the Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s], with the shape of a tomahawk of a red colour on it, indicating some contemplated warfare whenever it was exhibited in a general Council." "They knew,

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[118] *1848 ARCIA*, 489. Also quoted, with some variation, in: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 230. Also partially quoted in: Parks, *The Darkest Period*, 25.

[119] Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," 61-63. Quote from: Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," 63.

[120] *1848 ARCIA*, 489. Also paraphrased very closely by: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 230.

too, of the hostile incursions their forefathers used to make against the Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] and other tribes about Detroit [probably the Niswi-Mishkodewin, the Three Fires Confederacy: Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), and Ojibwes (Chippewas)], over a century ago ; how they were chastised by them at different times, and that they never made peace with each other," he continued. When that wampum belt came out, that is when the Meskwaki (Foxes) left the council.[121]

Connelley described how "[a]t length" Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) spoke about the tomahawk wampum belt and that it symbolized the historic warfare against the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) that the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)) had brought the fight and conflict to the whole confederacy. Again, when the confederacy discussed the belt, that is when all agreed the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes) finally left the assembly. "Messengers were sent after them," Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) noted, "but they could not be induced to return to the congress."[122]

As the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) were long-time allies and closely related to the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) and Meskwaki (Foxes), it seemed surprising, then, that they agreed to join the confederacy, despite the Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac) and Meskwa (Fox) abstentions. Of all the nations assembled, the Kansas (Kaws) were the only group who were not emigrated nations, Indian nations who did not have their original homelands in the area but who would move there either through force or persuasion. The Kansas (Kaws) hailed from the lands that would become the state of Kansas.[123] The Kansas,

[121] Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 132. Also quoted/paraphrased in: Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting of Friends*, 86-87.

[122] Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," 99-100.

[123] Morehouse, "History of the Kansa," 361; Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee,"

however, almost did not stay and commit themselves to the confederacy. Hewitt credited himself as being tasked with "urging upon the indigenous or wilder tribes the necessity of joining their red brethren." Dr. Richard Hewitt even himself noted, however, that the kinship relationships assisted in leadership at the confederacy. The Lenape (Delaware) leadership of Tawhelalen(d) (Captain Ketchum), "their 'great uncle,'" asked that Dr. Richard Hewitt go and speak to the Kansas (Kaws) and ask them to stay. The day after the Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) left, the Kansa (Kaw) leader and his men were about to follow suit, but Hewitt, "at the request" of Tawhelalen(d), "earnestly advised him to remain and hand in his wampum in person."[124] Although the rest of the indigenous delegates to the renewed northwestern Indian confederacy had a long history of being a part of the union, the confederacy invited the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) and Kansas (Kaws) to join the group.

Part of the reason for the permission to include the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) and Kansas into the confederation, might have been due to the meeting's goals. The main goal of the meeting was to rekindle the council fire and renew relationships among the various tribal nations of the confederacy. They also, however, hoped to be able to settle and resolve conflicts with some of their Plains neighbors. In a separate, private meeting apart from the grand council, Lenape (Delaware) leader Tawhelalen(d), also known as Captain John Ketchum, told Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)), and Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) leadership that he hoped they would "devise means by which the difficulties arising between the different tribes shall be adjusted and put a stop to

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63; Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," 99; Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 230; *1848 ARCIA*, 488-490.

[124] *1848 ARCIA*, 489.

horsestealing practiced by the prairie tribes."[125] The Native nations of the Old Northwest Indian confederacy invited their new Native neighbors to join the grand alliance in the West. A part of that, then, was to join in treating each other as relatives and allies, rather than sources for their next horse theft.

The 1848 council meeting not only included the standard solemn customs of reading wampum, rekindling the council fire, and reciting condolence rituals, but also the more casual fellowship symbolized by the exchange of food, dance, and other festivities. Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) described how the one Plains group in attendance, the Kansas (Kaws), kept themselves very busy, "in a bustle, making preparations for a grand dance."[126] Peter Dooyentate Clarke detailed how "the women [were] busy cooking meats and corn for a general feast" and Indian dogs begged for bones and scraps.[127] "I was talking to an old chief the other day and he was telling me about that feast," Quaker missionary Jeremiah Hubbard reported forty years later.[128] Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leader Terratuen (Irvin Patton Long) related to Jeremiah Hubbard, that it was "a wonderful sight to see those old Indians thus together and to

[125] Quoted in: Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 148. See also: Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 251. Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) noted in his diary on Friday, November 3, 1848: "Finished copying the Journal of the Indian Congress." But William Elsey Connelley noted that he could never find this copy. "I have searched unsuccessfully for fifteen years for this Journal. It must be lost; probably among the papers spoken of as having been destroyed by mice. What a pity so valuable a historical document should meet such a fate!" (Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 269, 269n1). A copy of the meeting minutes of this October 1848 international meeting can be found at the Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

[126] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 265. Also quoted in: Parks, *The Darkest Period*, 25.

[127] Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, 132. Hubbard basically copied Peter Dooyentate Clarke, and wrote: "women busy cooking meats and corn for a general feast and dogs fighting over bones all around them" (Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting of Friends*, 86).

[128] Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting of Friends*, 86.

hear them talk."[129] The shared dances, cuisine, and dialogues, both formal in daytime treaty debates and in informal after-hours conversations (See Figure 3.22).

Native communities started arriving the evening of Tuesday, October 10 for preparations and encampment, and council meeting discussions started Wednesday, October 11, and lasted for about a week, until Tuesday, October 17.[130] On Friday, October 13, Tawhelalen(d) (Captain Ketchum), led the condolence rituals. He cleared the eyes and ears of the participants, so they could see and hear clearly, unencumbered by ill feelings, narrow-mindedness, or hate. Then the keepers of the wampum, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), directed by Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker), read the wampum archives to the delegates, explaining the histories and lessons embedded in the woven wampum beads. The following day, then, the Potewatmis (Potawatomis) recounted the origin of the confederacy's council fire, of the beginning of the alliance of the old northwest. This went back to the four-nation confederation—with the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) and the Niswi-Mishkodewin—the alliance between the Odawas (Ottawas), Ojibwes (Chippewas), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis) (See Chapter 1). The tribal nations present at this October 1848 meeting also voted to retain the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) as keepers of the confederacy's wampum and the council fire. They all agreed to meet all together annually in the future years.[131]

The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas),

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[129] Ibid., 87.

[130] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 265-266. Dr. Richard Hewitt erroneously wrote this assent with wampum took place on Sunday, October 17. Sunday, however, was October 15, and the council did last until Tuesday, October 17 (*1848 ARCIA*, 490).

[131] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 148-149; Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," 61-62; Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 24; Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," 63; Connelley, "The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," 99; Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting of Friends*, 82-83; *1848 ARCIA*, 490.

Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Meskwaki (Foxes), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and Kansas (Kaws) signed the agreement. The Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), however, remained aloof. The markers of assent were not X-marks or signatures on paper, however. Instead, wampum predominated. On the last day of the congress, October 17, as one observer noted, a "colorful ceremony of union and allegiance took place" in which everyone could watch as the leaders were "each chief handing in his wampum as his sign manual, or autograph." As Hähshäh´rēhs (W. Walker) attested, forced removal of the Native communities that made up the Western Indian Confederacy did create a disruption in terms of their continued diplomacy. Removal could not completely destroy their kinship and diplomatic connections with one another and their confederation with each other for mutual support and survivance.[132]

With the push of most of the Indian nations in the state of Kansas south into Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, many scholars and contemporaries saw the renewal of the northwestern confederacy as initially helpful, but ultimately ineffective. Grant Foreman argued: "This council obtained some notoriety for a few years; and, while it did not assume a place of great importance, it undoubtedly contributed to the welfare of the Indians and to the friendly relations among them and with the federal government."[133] Scholar of Potewatmi (Potawatomi) history James A. Clifton acknowledged that the result did produce the "renewal of the old ties of friendship and the confirmation of the Wyandot [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s] as traditional keepers of the council fire, but the council had little long-range effect." He argued: "The

[132] *1848 ARCIA*, 489-490. See also: Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 230.
[133] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 230-231.

members were already too divided, and too easily further subdivided by American agents, for them to sustain a united front in pursuit of their common long-range interests."[134]

Unlike the federal government who interpreted treaties and agreements as one-time, with specifics and finality, Native peoples focused more on the maintenance, continuation, and creation of relationships. The twentieth-century's Indian Claims Commission (ICC) which served as a federal judicial mechanism for settling any Native grievances and claims against the United States, is probably one of the most notable sizeable, large-scale example. The underlying intention of the ICC was to completely define, decide, and ultimately monetize the failure of the federal government to follow through on promised treaty obligations. Native communities, however, focused on the ongoing connections and relationship building beyond just the 'termination' (bringing something to an end or close) of discussions and dialogue that comes with producing final products and end results. The Indian Office reported that this restoration of the northwestern Indian confederacy in 1848 did seem "promotive of peace, harmony, and good neighborhood" and was a way for the nations to "renew to each other the pledge of friendship, peace, and amity."[135] This renewal of kinship obligations, intertribal confederation for peace, unity, mutual benefit, and protection, was a way for the Native communities, when faced with forced removal, provide some sort of limited agency, some efforts to change and influence their destinies and futures.

One historical document, a "Statement of the Legislative Committee" of the Wa^{n}dat Nation, although mysterious in its precise meanings, illustrated how the

[134] Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 359, 477n13; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 781. Quote from: Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 359.

[135] *1848 ARCIA*, 489.

northwestern alliance reestablished in the Central Plains provided a valuable tool for the emigrated Native nations. Connelley noted that this document was a copy in Hähshäh´rēhs's (William Walker's) handwriting, from the archives of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation. Although undated, it undoubtedly came from the late 1840s and early 1850s, surrounding the creation of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In it the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation Council, in anticipation of the changing federal Indian policies towards them, requested action by the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), as the keepers of the confederacy wampum to be able to assemble the emigrated nations. In the statement the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) contended that "the present Indian policy is about to undergo an important, and to us emigrant tribes, vital change." The Indian policy had been to remove Indians to the Plains, purchasing lands from other tribal nations for their resettlement. Now, they believed, the federal government intended to buy from them their newly-obtained lands. "This presents to us a new question," the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) indicated. "If we submissively fall into this new line of policy, what is to become of us? further west we can not [sic] go… What are the emigrant tribes to do?" The answer was simple: "In this exigency the Committee would respectfully suggest to the Executive Council the propriety of sending *the messenger with the Wampum* to the tribes composing the Confederacy and such other tribes as emigrated from the East as we may be upon friendly terms with, apprising them of this apprehended change with a view to a consultation upon the propriety of uncovering the great Council fire, and devising the measures necessary to be adopted in this new case."[136]

[136] Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," 61-64; Quotes from: Walker, "Statement of the Legislative Committee," 63-64. This statement must be dated sometime after the renewal of the

While crossing through the shadows of removal in the nineteenth century, the emigrated Native nations maintained their council fires, bringing the embers with them on the trek, and reigniting them in the West. They often resided next to friends and long-time allies they had been familiar with back in the East. Native communities also used familiar indigenous tools and protocols for resistance and survival. Before crossing the Mississippi River, they armed themselves with the relevant wampum belts with the anticipation that they would prove useful in the West. When faced with new threats—of being forced to remove once again, this time from Kansas Territory, the Native nations were armed and ready. They had their kinship networks, wampum diplomacy, and northwestern Indian confederacy council fires they could evoke and bring back. This was a real arsenal for indigenous agency and resistance that would prove valuable, especially when the sectional politics of Bleeding Kansas and Civil War secession along with an Indian policy of further removal of all Indian nations from Kansas to Indian Territory became clear and present dangers.

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northwestern confederacy in October of 1848 and more than likely to be before 1854, when Kansas and Nebraska became official United States territories.

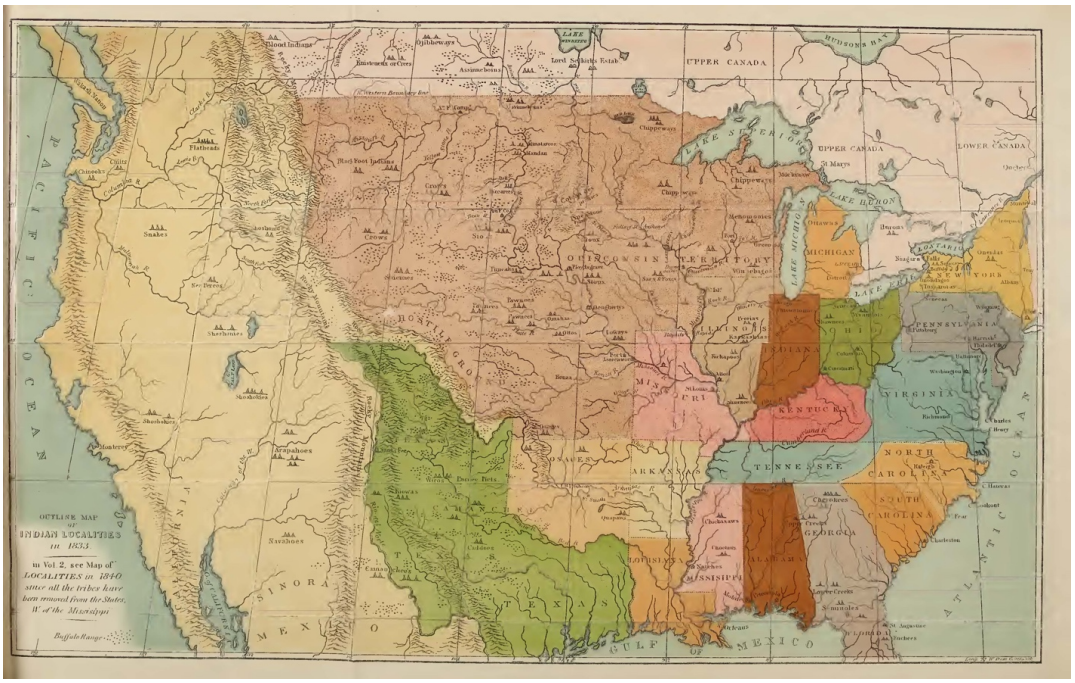

Figure 3.1: George Catlin's "Outline Map of Indian Localities in 1833"
This colorized engraving of Catlin's "Outline Map of Indian Localities in 1833" makes the state outlines very distinct with alternating colors.
Source: George Catlin, "Outline Map of Indian Localities in 1833," in *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, & Condition of the North American Indians. With Letters and Notes, Written During Eight Years of Travel and Adventure Among the Wildest and Most Remarkable Tribes Now Existing, With Three Hundred and Sixty Coloured Engravings from the Author's Original Paintings*, Vol. 1 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876). Original Courtesy of The Libraries of The University of Toronto.

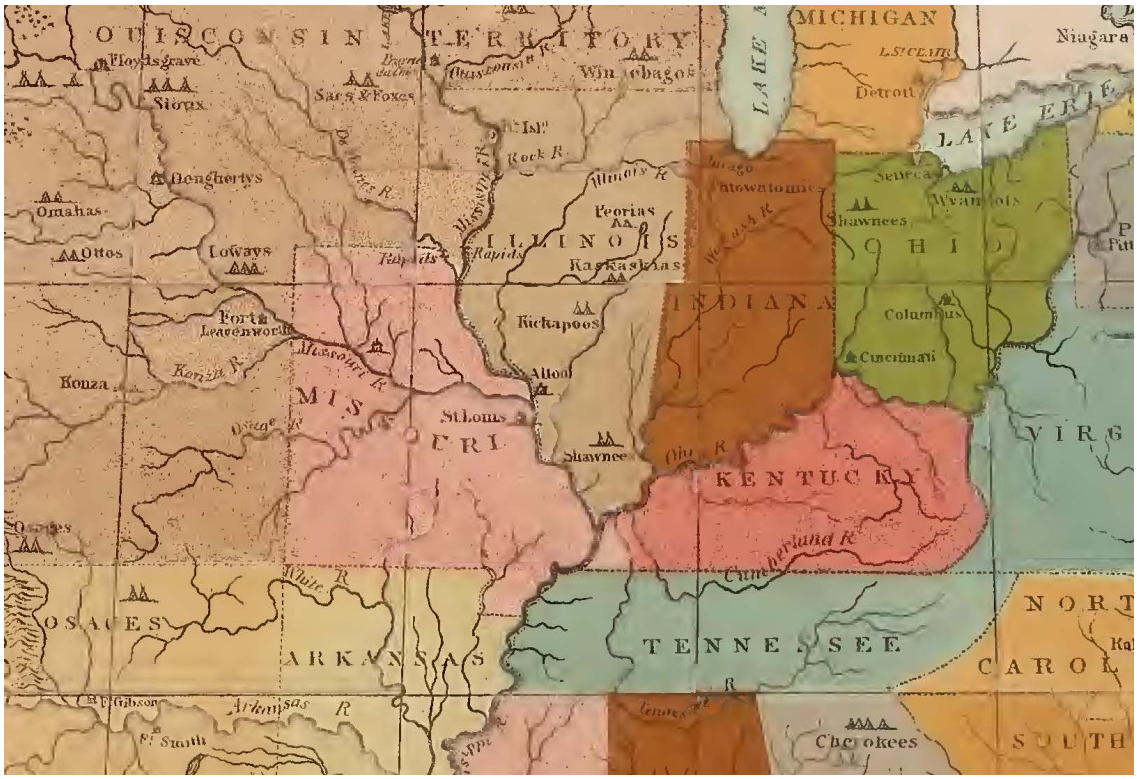

Figure 3.2: George Catlin's "Outline Map of Indian Localities in 1833" (Detail)
George Catlin's map of 1833 shows statehood achieved by Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio by the 1820s. Native communities, however, still lived in area, as indicated by the inclusion of small teepees peppered throughout the map—Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis).
Source: George Catlin, "Outline Map of Indian Localities in 1833," in *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, & Condition of the North American Indians. With Letters and Notes, Written During Eight Years of Travel and Adventure Among the Wildest and Most Remarkable Tribes Now Existing, With Three Hundred and Sixty Coloured Engravings from the Author's Original Paintings*, Vol. 1 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876). Original Courtesy of The Libraries of The University of Toronto.

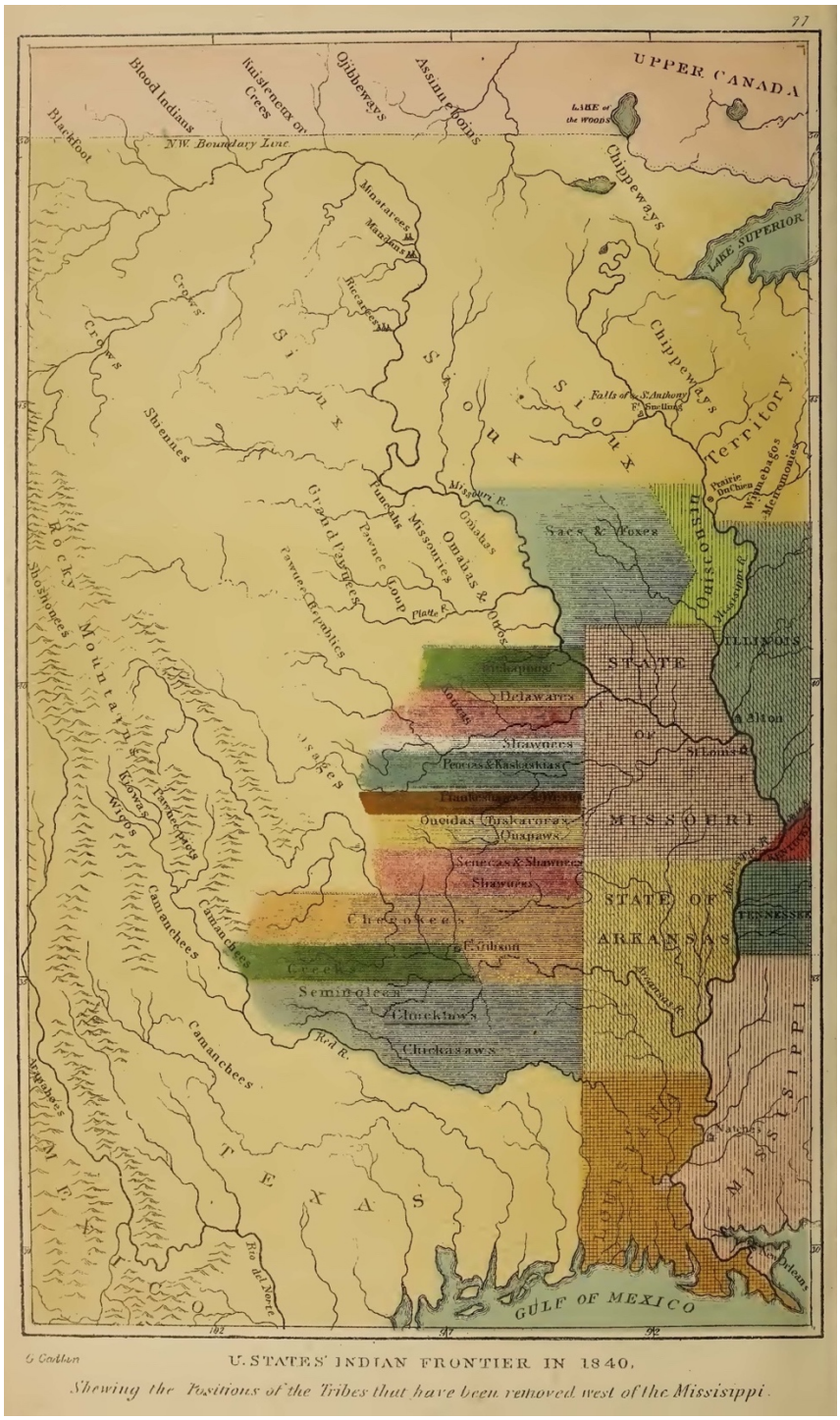

Figure 3.3: George Catlin's "United States Indian Frontier in 1840"
George Catlin colorfully depicted the 'United States' Indian Frontier in 1840.'
Source: George Catlin, "U. States' Indian Frontier in 1840. Showing the Positions of the Tribes that have been removed west of the Mississippi," in *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, & Condition of the North American Indians. With Letters and Notes, Written During Eight Years of Travel and Adventure Among the Wildest and Most Remarkable Tribes Now Existing, With Three Hundred and Sixty Coloured Engravings from the Author's Original Paintings*, Vol. 2 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876). Original Courtesy of The Libraries of The University of Toronto.

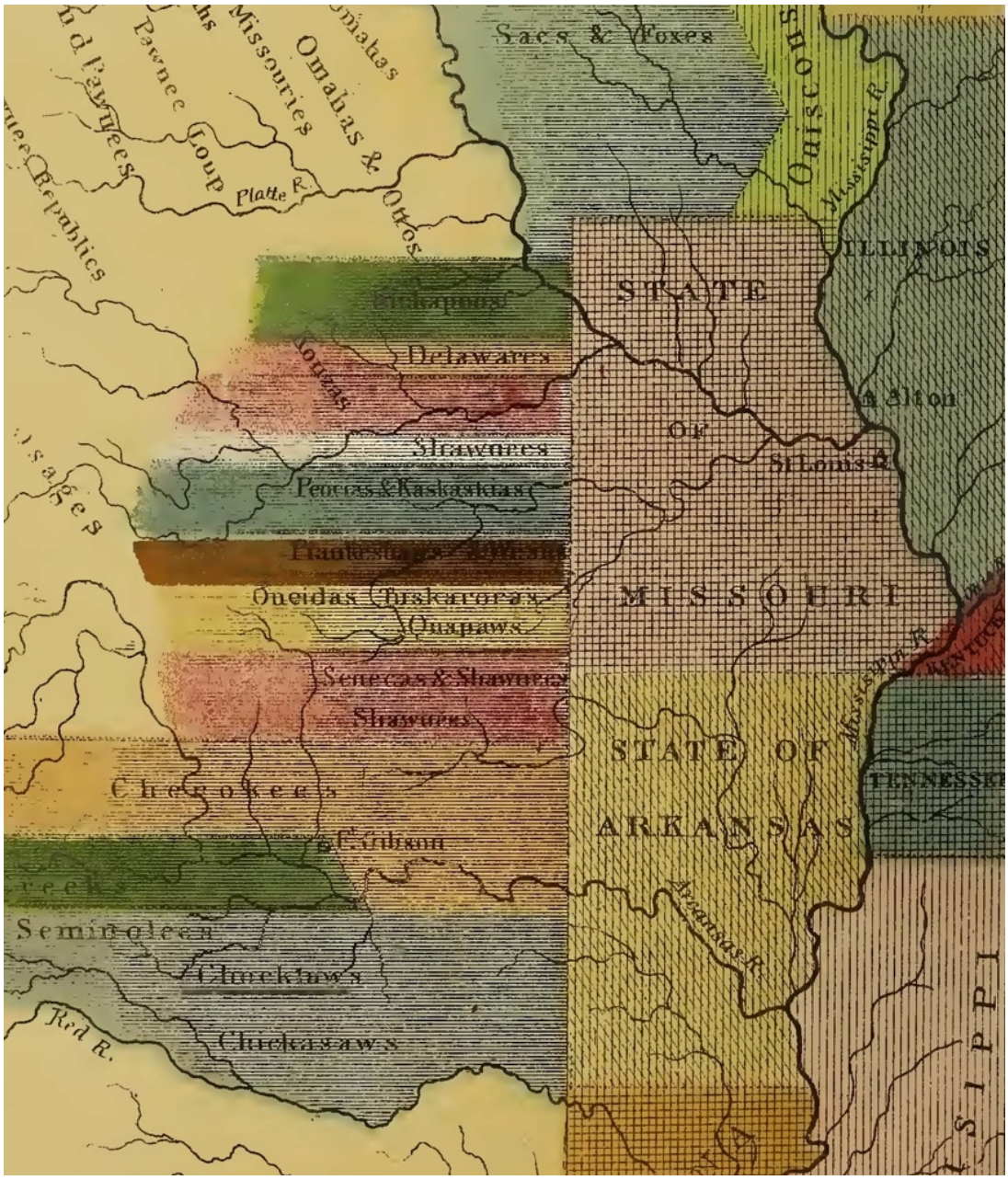

Figure 3.4: George Catlin's "United States Indian Frontier in 1840" (Detail)
This colorized Catlin map visually drew horizontal lines for territories the United States claimed for the emigrated Indian nations.
Source: George Catlin, "U. States' Indian Frontier in 1840. Showing the Positions of the Tribes that have been removed west of the Mississippi," in *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, & Condition of the North American Indians. With Letters and Notes, Written During Eight Years of Travel and Adventure Among the Wildest and Most Remarkable Tribes Now Existing, With Three Hundred and Sixty Coloured Engravings from the Author's Original Paintings*, Vol. 2 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876). Original Courtesy of The Libraries of The University of Toronto.

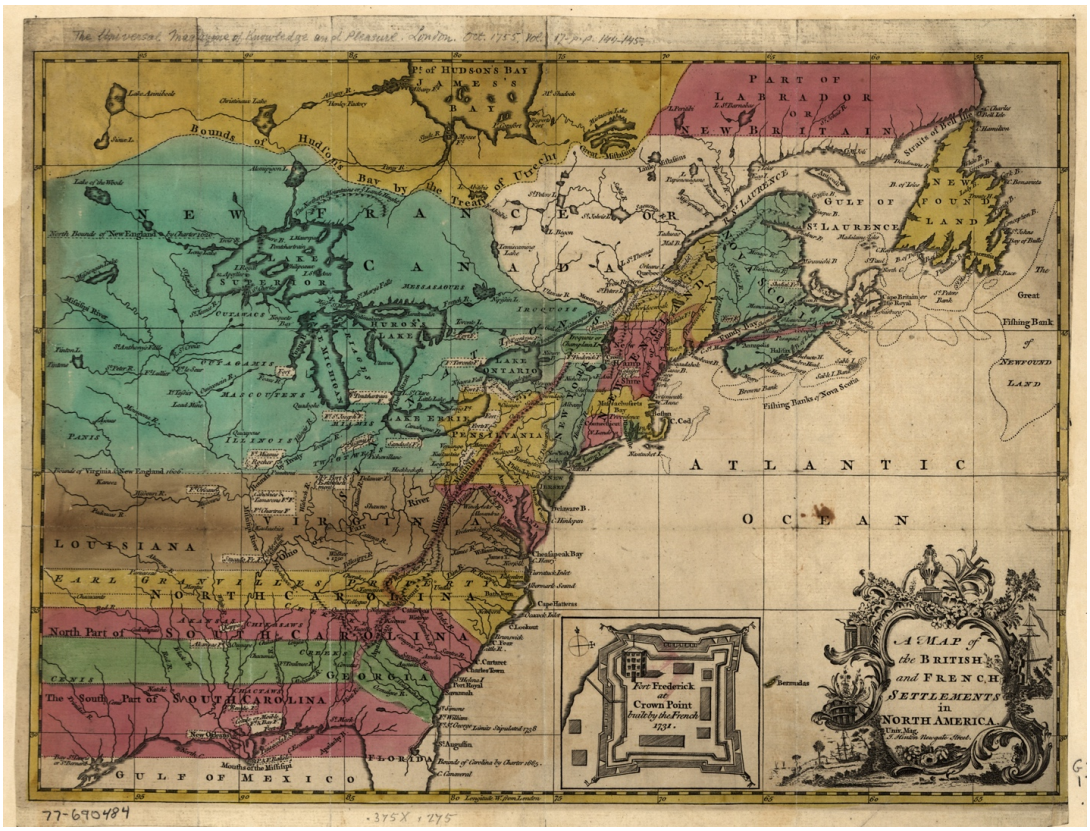

Figure 3.5: Map of British and French claims to North America, 1755
George Catlin's early nineteenth-century maps of Indian Country show colorful horizontal lines like the ones depicted on this 1755 map of British and French claims to North America. This followed the standards of depicting un-demarcated and unclear frontiers as extended claims and stretched possessions.
Source: John Hinton, "A Map of the British and French Settlements in North America" (London: J. Hinton, 1755), *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, Vol. 17 (October 1755), in The Library of Congress, *A Map of the British and French Settlements in North America*, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3300.ar003600/ (accessed 27 November 2017).
Original Courtesy of the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.

Figure 3.6: Historical Road Marker between Kansas and Oklahoma
On the road between Kansas and Oklahoma, from North Miami, Oklahoma, and Baxter Springs, Kansas, stands this historical marker that recounts the indigenous history of the emigrated tribal nations of the region.
Source: Photograph by the author, June 20, 2014.

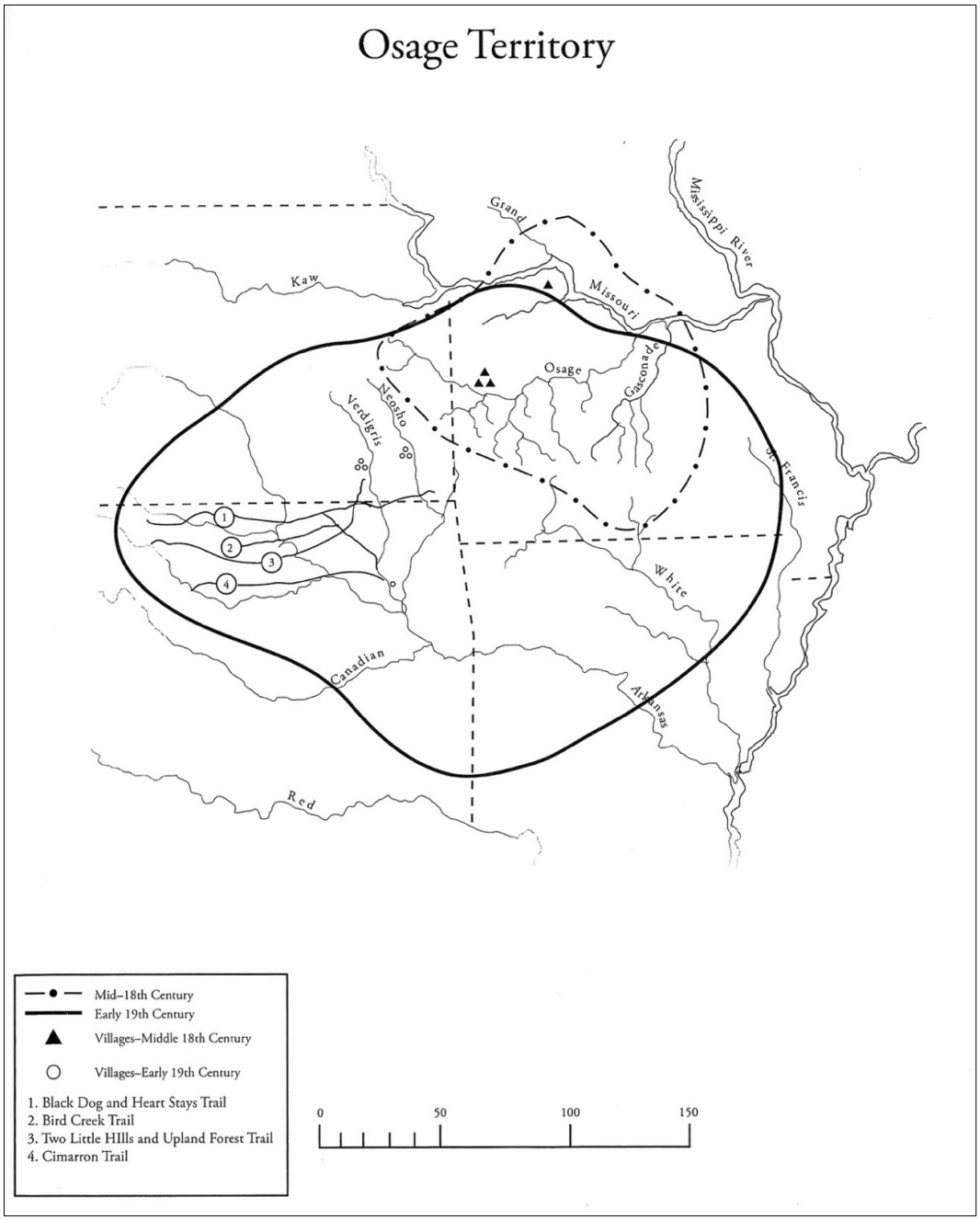

Figure 3.7: Wažaže (Osage) Territories, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries
Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Wažaže (Osage) territories included a trail named for the common roads that the Wažažes (Osages) traveled between winter and summer months. Black Dog Trail—named for the Wažaže (Osage) leader Tchongtassábbee (Black Dog), also known as Manka-Chonka—and Heart Stays Trail started around the vicinity of present-day Baxter Springs, Kansas.
Source: Garrick Bailey, ed., *Traditions of the Osage: Stories Collected and Translated by Francis La Flesche* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 11.

Figure 3.8: Seneca Sub-Agency in Northeastern Oklahoma (Est. 1832)
One of the first Indian agencies the U.S. government created in the area known today as northeastern Oklahoma was the Seneca Sub-Agency near the Cowskin River, also called the Elk River or Six Bulls River, in 1832.
Source: Frank H. Harris, "Seneca Sub-Agency, 1832-1838," *COK*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Summer 1964), 76.

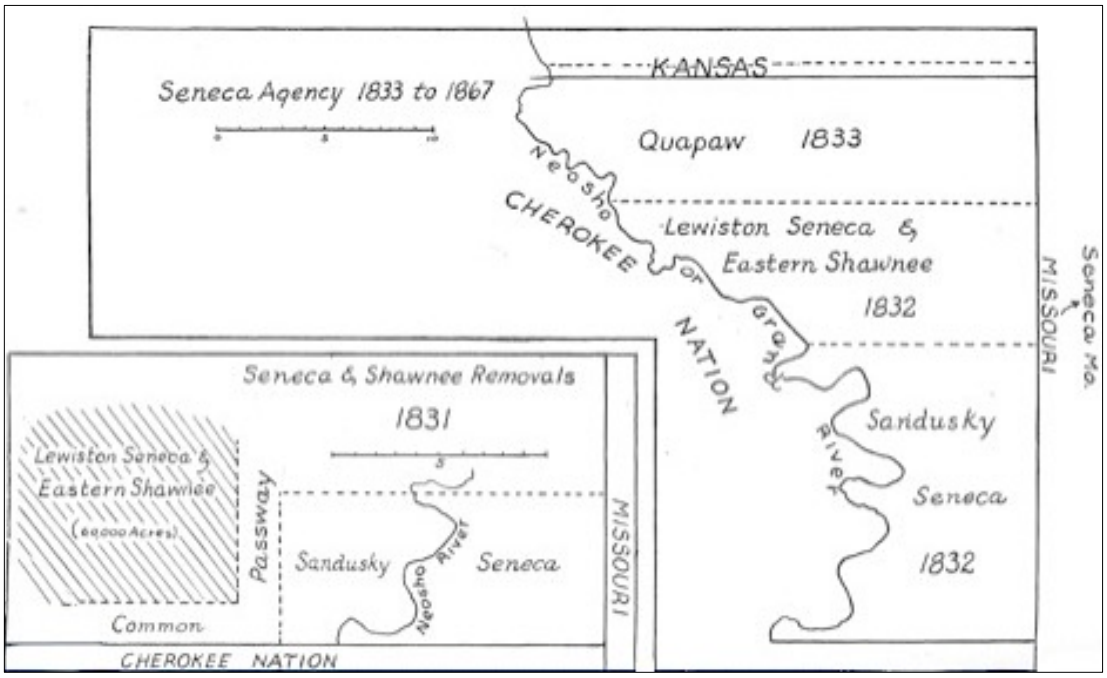

Figure 3.9: Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) & Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), 1831-1867
Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) removed to northeastern Oklahoma. At first their new lands straddled the very southern portion of the Neosho (Nį óžo) or Grand River, next the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee Nation). With the Stokes Commission, however, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) renegotiated for lands west of the Neosho (Nį óžo) and that became bordered by the states of Kansas and Missouri.
Source: Joseph J. Fensten, "Indian Removal," *COK*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (December 1933), 1072.

Figure 3.10: Nɯmɯnɯɯ (Comanches) approaching the Dodge Expedition, 1834
George Catlin depicted Nɯmɯnɯɯ (Comanche) riders on horseback approaching the United States' military dragoons of the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition in the summer of 1834. The Expedition, along with an intertribal cohort of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Wažažes (Osages), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), and Lenape (Delawares), sought to initiate dialogue and to foster peace talks with the Plains Indian nations.
Source: George Catlin, *Comanche Meeting the Dragoons, 1834-1835*, oil, SAAM, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.

Figure 3.11: Native Hunters Chasing Bison on the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition
While on the 1834 Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition, Native hunters who were a part of the international delegation gained the admiration of the American military onlookers when they shot and killed bison, providing much-appreciated food and meat for the United States Dragoons.
Source: George Catlin, *An Osage Indian Lancing a Buffalo*, 1846-1848, oil, SAAM, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr.

Figure 3.12: Tahlequah International Indian Council, 1843
The Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Nation hosted an international Indian council at Tahlequah in 1843. Conflict resolution between the emigrated Indians and other tribal nations in the region was one of the key issues on the council's agenda.
Source: John Mix Stanley, *International Indian Council (Held at Tallequah* [sic]*, Indian Territory, in 1843)*, 1843, oil, SAAM, Gift of the Misses Henry.

Figure 3.13: Intertribal Indian Council at Tehuacana Creek, Texas, 1843
This intertribal Indian council along the Tehuacana Creek where it meets with the Brazos River, Texas, painted by John Mix Stanley, probably more than likely included Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) in attendance.
Source: Scott Manning Stevens, "Witnessing History, Staging History: The American Indian Paintings of John Mix Stanley," in Mindy N. Besaw and Peter H. Hassrick, *Painted Journeys: The Art of John Mix Stanley* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 112, Figure 5.2.
John Mix Stanley, *Indian Council, Tehuacana Creek, Texas* (1843), oil on canvas, Private Collection. Digital Scan Courtesy of *EBSCOhost eBook Collection* (accessed 19 November 2017).

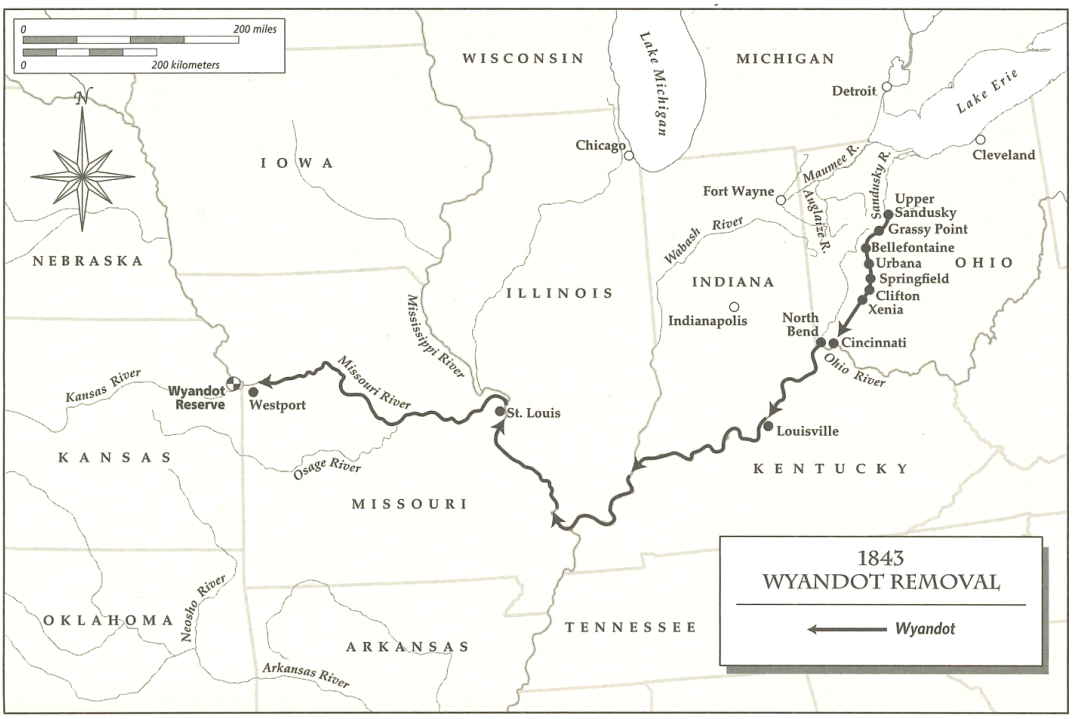

Figure 3.14: Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Removal Route, 1843
One of the last tribal nations the federal government forcibly removed from the Ohio Valley and Old Northwest was the Wa^{n}dat in 1843. The Myaamiaki (Miamis), centered in the present-day state of Indiana, would follow several years later in 1846-1847.
Source: Mary Stockwell, *The Other Trail of Tears: The Removal of the Ohio Indians* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2014), 317, Map 7.

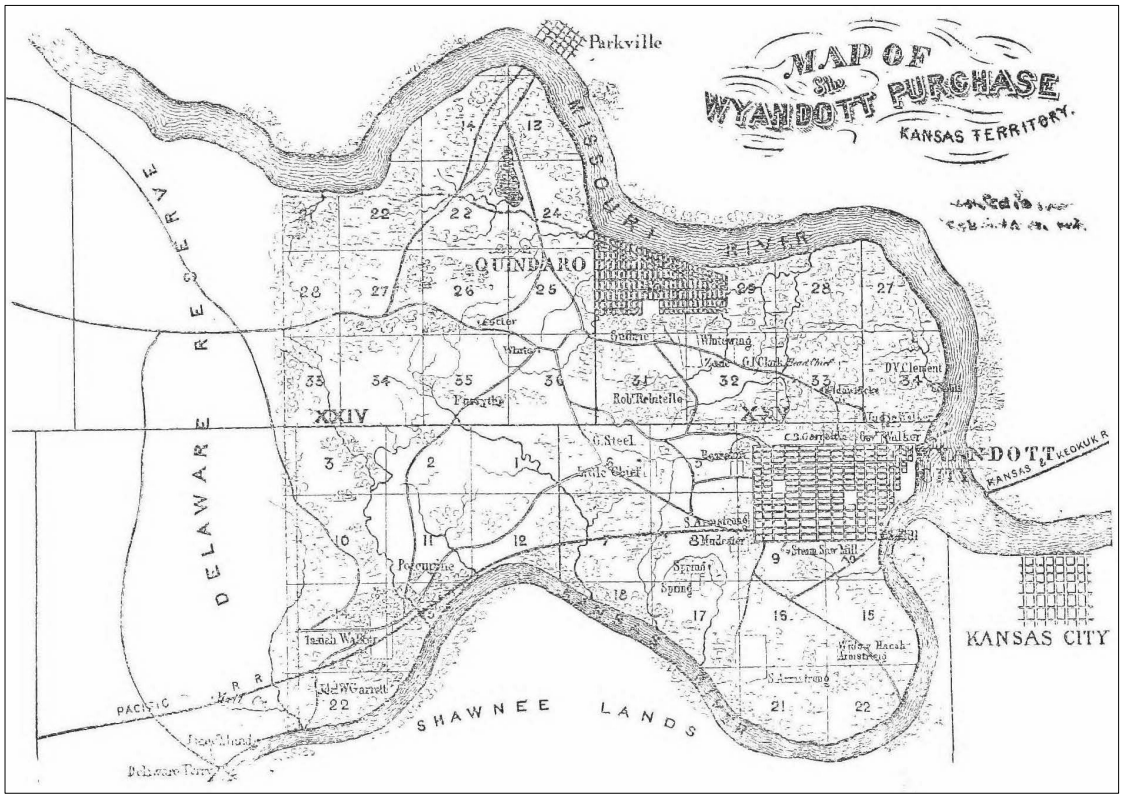

Figure 3.15: Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Lands Purchased in Kansas Territory
The 'Wyandot Purchase' of Kansas Territory was the land the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s) bought from the Lenape (Delawares). At first the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) had pledged to sell some of their lands. The Lenape (Delawares) and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), however, reached a land sale agreement in 1843.
Source: *PGNT-JWW*, Opposite p.1.
Digitization Support from Microsoft Corporation. Original Courtesy of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

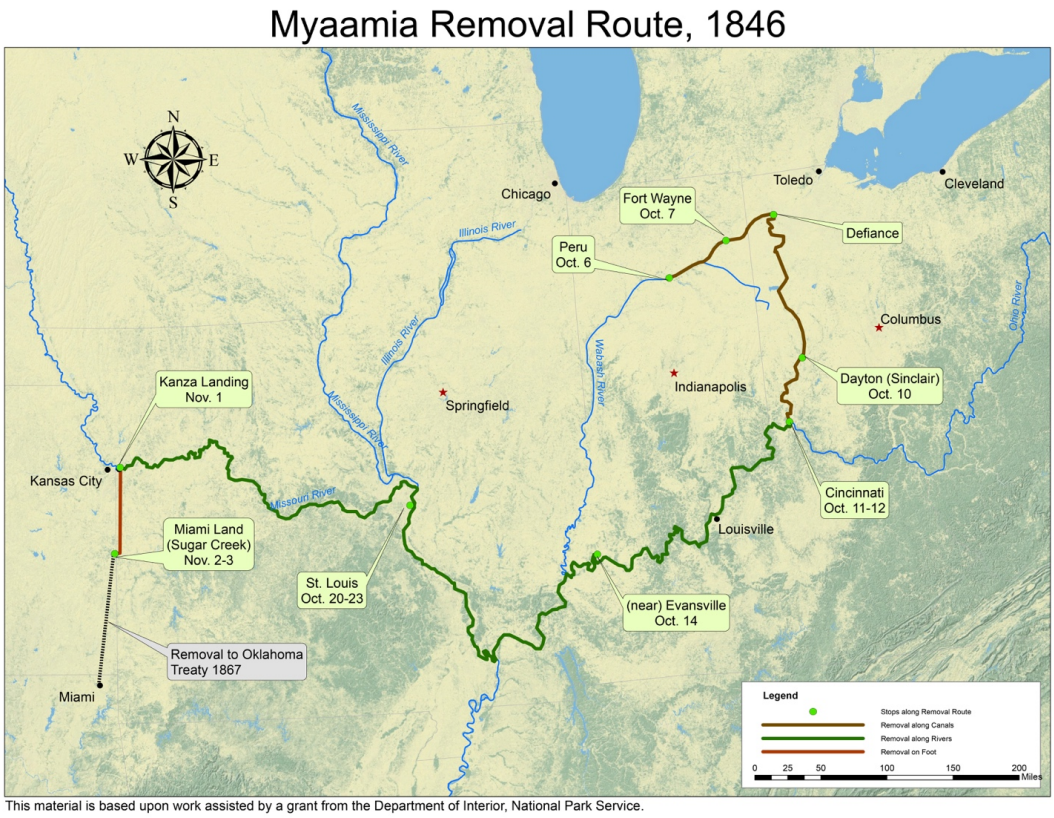

Figure 3.16: Myaamia (Miami) Removal Route, 1846
The Myaamiaki (Miamis) were among the last of the tribal nations the federal government forcibly removed from the Old Northwest in 1846. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in Ohio previously relocated in 1843. People initially called Kansas City, Kansas, Wyandotte City for the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) who settled there in the mid-nineteenth century.
Source: Miami Nation of Oklahoma.

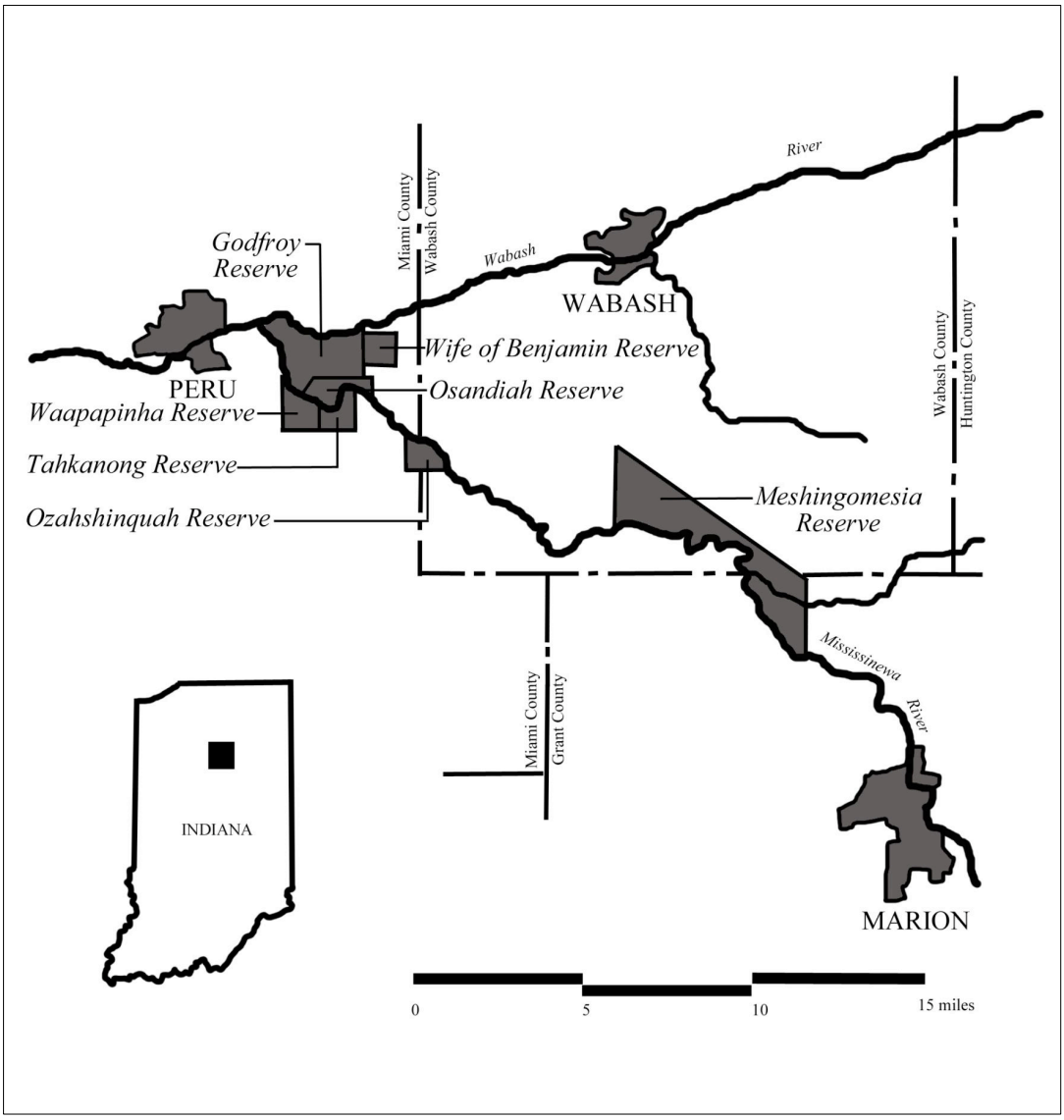

Figure 3.17: Myaamia (Miami) Post-Removal Reservations in Indiana
While the majority of the Myaamiaki (Miamis) removed to Kansas Territory, many families who were exempted from removal continued to maintain their lands in the East. These reservations became sanctuaries for Myaamia (Miami) people who resisted removal and for those who stubbornly returned to the East, contrary to federal policy of moving West.
Source: Scott Michael Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins: Narratives of Landscape, Representation, and the Miami Nation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2011), 56, Figure 3.

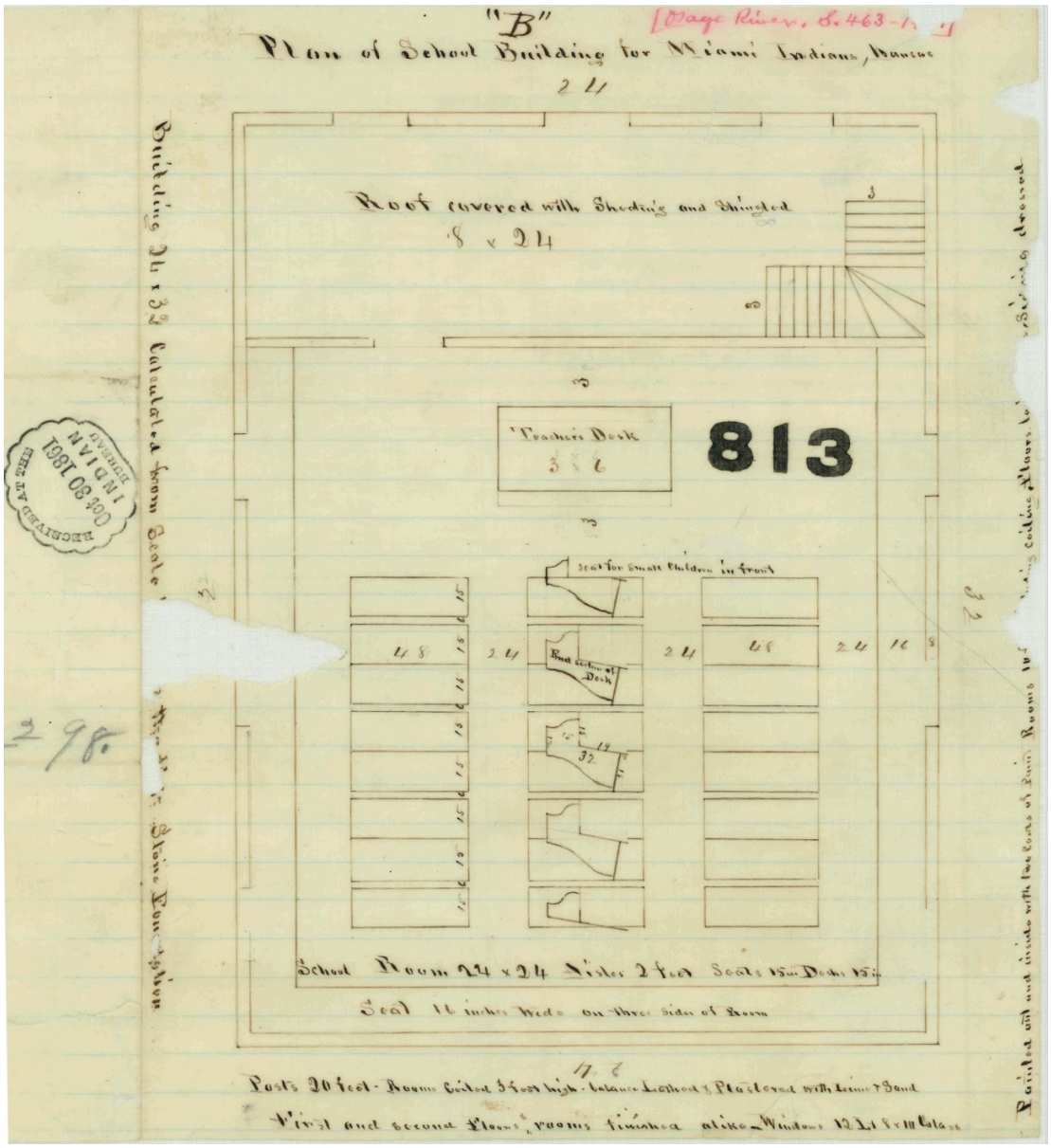

Figure 3.18: Kansas Territory Myaamia (Miami) School Architectural Plan
As this architectural drawing is dated received in 1861 by the Indian Office, it either refers to one of the two former Miami Mission buildings built for Catholic instruction and education, or is a proposed plan for a new school.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 813, NARA II. [Map cropped for detail].

Figure 3.19: Map of Proposed Eastern Kansas Indian Lands
This map, showing the vicinity of the Osage River, shows proposed locations for emigrated and relocated Indian nations, including the Odawas (Ottawas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking peoples.
Source: RG75 M234 R642, NARA. [Cropped for detail].

Figure 3.20: Osage River Area for Emigrated Indians
Another version of the map of the Osage River region, clearly shows Sugar Creek. One can barely discern 'Miami lands' [Myaamionki] in the eastern portion of Sugar Creek, near the Missouri state border.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 4314, NARA II. [Cropped and rotated for detail].

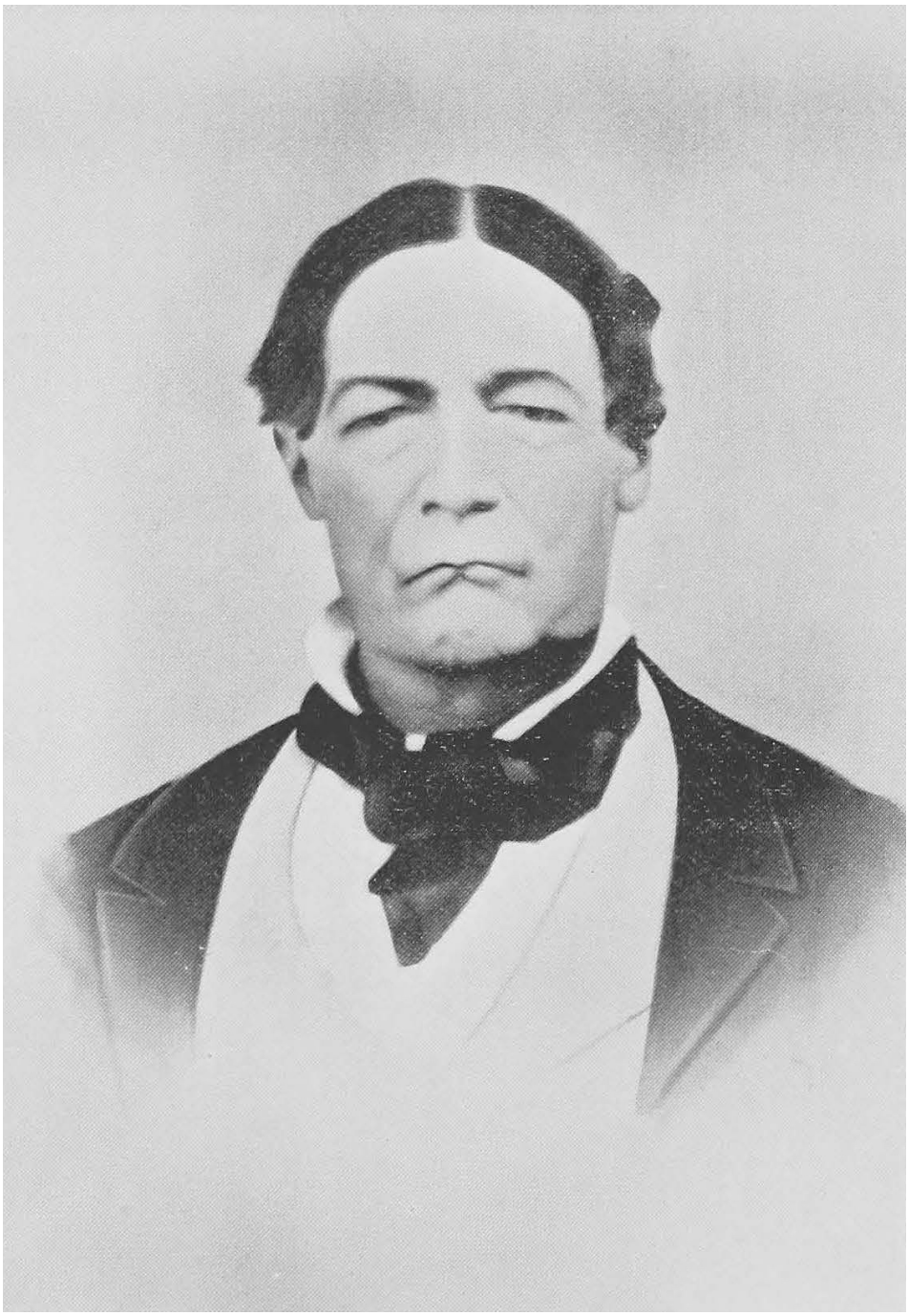

Figure 3.21: Gov. Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te))
Hähshäh´rēhs, William Walker, a wealthy and educated polyglot, journaled about his experiences as a member of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) National Council in the mid-nineteenth century. He is mostly remembered as being elected provisional governor of the Nebraska Territory on July 26, 1853.
Source: *PGNT-JWW*, Frontispiece. Digitization Support from Microsoft Corporation. Original Courtesy of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

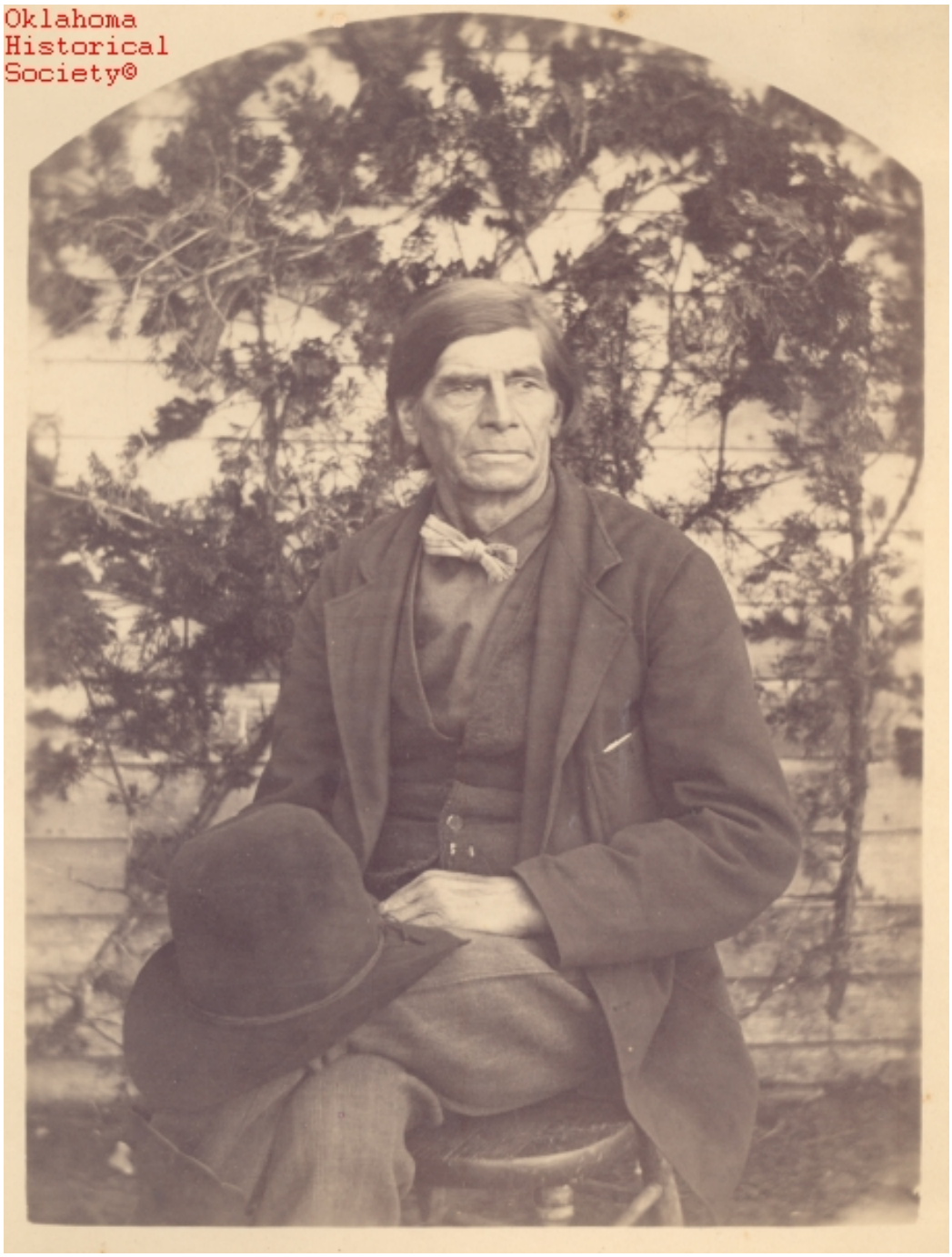

Figure 3.22: Terratuen (Irvin Patton Long) (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te))
Terratuen (Irvin Patton Long) was one of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) who voted to elect Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) as the provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory on July 26, 1853.
Source: Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Chapter 4:
"A Few Daring and Resolute Spirits" and The Fight Against "Selling Out to the Gov't" in Antebellum Indian Country

Within just barely fifteen years after Congress established Indian Territory (May 26, 1830), most of the Native communities living in what would become the state of Kansas would once again remove. This time, however, most of them would join relatives, kin, and neighbors in the south, in what would become Oklahoma. An unwelcoming environment, atmosphere of hostility, and violence had simmered in the several decades after forced removal. Americans were on the brink of war. The American Civil War (1861-1865) not only split the United States into North and South, Union and Confederacy, but it also brought violence and warfare back to the doorsteps of indigenous homes. The sectional crisis that became known as Bleeding Kansas in the early 1850s was the struggle over popular sovereignty in United States territories. Missionaries and reformers, many who had come into Native lands, continued to seek indigenous converts for their religious denominations. Many Native people did convert to Christianity, took sides in the sectional conflicts, and had elite eastern education and acquired great wealth. Despite acculturation, assimilation, and Christianization, much of the Christian imagery utilized familiar themes of indigenous condolence practices and rituals essential to intertribal diplomacy. Elite Native leadership also fought to retain Native-control over territorial organization, seeking Native jurisdiction over territorial lands.

H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau's *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871* (1978) was among the first studies to look at federal policy towards Native Americans in the historically-neglected geographical area of the

present-day state of Kansas. Miner and Unrau explained the significance of Kansas history to American Indian history, explaining, "Too often it is forgotten that between 1854 and 1871 there was accomplished a second major removal of Indians in America, and yet, by comparison to the first—the one inaugurated during the Jacksonian era—virtually nothing from a serious, documentary point of view is known about it."[1] Many trails and many tears all across Indian Country paralleled the Cherokee Nation (Aniyunwiya)'s and other Five Tribes' legendary 'Trail of Tears.' Unrau and Miner reinserted a significant portion of American Indian history back into the historical limelight. Historians had overlooked Kansas in American Indian history due to the preoccupation of other Indian removals and the "classic 'Bleeding Kansas' theme" which dominated historical narratives in the state of Kansas.[2]

Miner and Unrau detailed how in mid-nineteenth-century Kansas Territory aggressive land speculators and immoral squatters wreaked havoc, terrorizing Indian communities in efforts to force them off the valuable allocated lands. Total chaos reminiscent of the later early twentieth-century infamous Osage (Wažaže) 'Reign of Terror' was a continual occurrence. Lenape (Delawares), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Thakiwaki and Meskwaki (Sauks and Foxes), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and many other tribes faced similar predicaments.

Squatters boldly took up residence on Indian land and proclaimed their right to live on that land. Indian agents complained to their authorities and asked for assistance in removing the illegal settlers. Authorities repeatedly did nothing. Settlers argued that

[1] H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), ix-x.

[2] Miner and Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas*, 3.

it was their right as American citizens to occupy the land and organized community-action groups.[3] Native families who chose to stay behind and not relocate faced harassment from squatters. Settlers, Miner and Unrau described, "threatened Indians with ax and lynch noose."[4] Miner and Unrau poignantly noted that the federal government no longer gave the Indian tribes in Kansas any protection because they relinquished their rights to protection as sovereign Indian people.

Settlers as well as railroad speculators fraudulently obtained land from negotiated cessions or other questionable means. "Indian rings," government-backed Indian leadership who were not necessarily legitimate spokespeople, agreed to speculator-pressured bargains. Despite being plagued with community disintegration, devastating effects of alcoholism, and constant pressures to designate government chiefs to sign away land, Native communities responded and tried to resist, despite overwhelming odds and the sense of inevitability of additional removals from their newly-established homelands. It is with this sort of protest that Indian peoples once again faced a second removal—this time to Indian Territory further south.

Nevertheless, Miner and Craig's title—*The End of Indian Kansas*—dismissed any retention of Indian peoples in Kansas after the nineteenth century. Over a decade after Miner and Unrau's *The End of Indian Kansas*, Joseph Herring published *The Enduring Indians of Kansas: A Century and a Half of Acculturation* (1990). Herring refuted Miner and Unrau's pessimistic view that the state of Kansas was no longer a part of Indian County by the end of the nineteenth century. Herring focused less on the "unscrupulous business activities and the demographic changes that resulted" and more

[3] Ibid., 19.
[4] Ibid., 138.

on accommodation, persistence, and struggle for continued survival in Kansas by the Kickapoos, Chippewas, Munsees, Iowas, Sauks, and Prairie Potawatomis.[5] Many Indian groups or leaders advocated adjusting to the changing times, but to still selectively keep certain traditional indigenous values. Those who moved south of Kansas included the Lenape (Delaware), Myaamia (Miami), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Odawa (Ottawa), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), and Meskwa (Fox), Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), Waayaahtanwa (Wea), and other nations. An estimated thirty-six different tribal communities had removed to Kansas Territory, and only four remained in the state into the twentieth century with federal recognition and contemporary reservation land bases.[6]

By the antebellum years, Native nations faced numerous pressures for removal. The sectional crisis of Bleeding Kansas (1854-1861) and the American Civil War (1861-1865) devastated these indigenous communities. Henry Charlo (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) and Kanien'ke/Mohawk), told an interviewer in the early twentieth century that when the Civil War broke out, his family waited. "We stayed in our homes here [in Indian Territory] as long as we could and when it was seen that we

[5] Joseph B. Herring, *The Enduring Indians of Kansas: A Century and a Half of Acculturation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 11.

[6] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas* (1939; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 36-37; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub & Company, 1908), 40-41. The four remaining Indian nations in the state of Kansas by the twenty-first century were: the Ioways (Iowas): The Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska in White Cloud, Kansas; the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos): The Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas in Horton, Kansas; the Potewatmis (Potawatomis): The Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation in Mayetta, Kansas; and the Thakiwaki and Meskwaki (Sacs/Sauks and Foxes): The Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri in Kansas and Nebraska in Reserve, Kansas. Other Native peoples such as the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) and Myaamiaki (Miamis) remain in the state. They either lost federal recognition, however, when the rest of the nation moved south to Oklahoma. This happened with the Wyandot Nation of Kansas. Others, when possible, reenrolled their tribal membership with their respective nations at the Oklahoma headquarters, as such is the case with many Myaamiaki (Miamis).

could not stay here, and the Government advised that our parents take our families to Kansas for protection," his family and others left. Much was destroyed—"homes were destroyed, fences burned and the fields overgrown." Even while in Kansas, they still witnessed theft and destruction. Quantrill's raiders destroyed the Indian Agency building used to store food and other supplies, Henry Charloe noted.[7]

As Jesuit historian Joseph Francis Murphy concluded regarding the Potewatmis (Potawatomis), "during the era of major disorder in the Kansas Territory, especially 1854-56, they, along with other tribes, suffered appreciably."[8] They faced violence and threats to persons and property from angry sectionalists, Baptist, Methodist, Quaker, and Catholic missionaries jockeying for influence and power among the very same indigenous communities. White settlers scrambling to obtain a piece land often still belonging to the Native nations. Despite these onslaughts, the Native people continued to use treaty council imagery and diplomacy to respond to the situations.

Both Native Christian converts and the white missionaries used familiar imagery and language to persuade other Native peoples to adopt Christianity. Often at odds with indigenous traditions, however, the mission-produced literature did indicate the continued presence of Native language and cultural traditions. As Marcus Briggs-Cloud (of Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) and Semvnole (Seminole) descent) has argued, "Christian missionization has colonized our languages." He countered the argument made by Lamin Sanneh that "vernacularizing Christianity was anticolonial because it

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[7] Henry Charlo (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) and Kanien'ke/Mohawk), interview, August 24, 1937, in Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, 2001), 49-50. See also: Henry Charlo (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) and Kanien'ke/Mohawk), interview, n.d., in Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, 47.

[8] Joseph Francis Murphy, *Potawatomi Of The West: Origins Of The Citizen Band*, edited by Patricia Sulcer Barrett (Shawnee, Oklahoma: Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe, 1988), 172.

revitalized the languages of local populations rather than imposing European languages on the subordinate other." Instead, Briggs-Cloud contended that Western settler-colonial values had infiltrated Native worldviews and languages.[9] In other words, settler colonialism had damaged Native relationships to the land and each other (for example: in terms of gender and sexuality).[10] Missionaries aimed to hinder or extinguish customs that did not fit the Christian mold. As a close analysis of the Native language materials will illustrate, not only did Native customs and traditions continue despite Christian disapproval, but indigenous metaphors of following a 'good path' Indian diplomacy and peacekeeping also served to persuade Native peoples of the positives of incorporating and following what is today termed the 'Jesus Road.'

By analyzing the extant copy of the first two pages of the November 1841 publication of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) language newspaper the *Siwinowe Kesibwi*, one can see that the publication not only utilized familiar metaphors recognizable to the Christian canon, but also imagery that had long-developed for peacemaking in treaty councils. Although persuasive pieces of propaganda aim at converting Native peoples to Christianity, the newspaper articles accommodated Native worldviews. Both light-dark imagery and the importance placed on indigenous kin and relatives added to inducement. Tales of peaceful pathways and clearing minds were positive goals Native peoples hoped to attain. By describing Christianity as the way to those objectives, the newspaper played on indigenous aspirations of peace and clarity.

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[9] Marcus Briggs-Cloud, "Tradition and Indigenous Languages: Accessing Traditions Epistemologically Through Critical Analysis of Indigenous Languages," in *Native Studies Keywords*, edited by Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle H. Raheja, Critical Issues in Indigenous Studies Series (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 245.

[10] Briggs-Cloud, "Tradition and Indigenous Languages," 247-252.

While facing increased pressures for removal and recognizing the impending onslaught from the federal government, antebellum Native leadership made concerted efforts to maintain indigenous control to the land and territories of Indian Country. They witnessed the increase of illegal squatting, non-Native land claims, and town establishments on Indian lands, and predicted the even greater wave of non-Natives who would enter the region once the federal government opened it officially and legally for white settlement. Often the wealthy, educated tribal members with backgrounds of mixed ancestry took it upon themselves to become cultural brokers, and spearheaded efforts to organize the territory. By beating the congressional bills to the organization process, they hoped to maintain some financial and political control over the outcomes.

I. Continuing to Move Through Paths Toward the Light: Kernels of Survival, Syncretism, and Indigenous Imagery of Peace and Diplomacy in Nineteenth-Century Missionary Literature

"Hopakekiliwewa Tapalamalikwa Siwinowitowatota*. Siwinwike sakimeki laniwake palako peace msaloke, hoaenoke miti. Mositiwe tipapakecike peace laniwaweke. Hotipenekeke pilohe makekobeke ksikea miti [unclear]ikomiwile Tapalamewalece. Hoaeneke milakhe Howase Eawekitake ealitowawice litowaeile. Skiti cieike wieikotikke mosi nakote weponiniwi. Eawekitake piese keali netiwike eone wieioce namotake wieace mankwitoke. Cieike pwiei ponikke eomi eawekitake tipapakecike pipambake. Kekikikeake mah[lsa] wise hikwalamikwa Tapalamalikwa chena wise nieabiwbake ketasetahawanani. Tapalamalikwa hewi; tbwalani selaniwake wanakisecke kokwalikwise walaniwaweke pwieinakisecke, wahiskime hikecbake*."
"*A message from the Shawnee-speaking God.* A long time ago there were many Shawnee Indians, but not now. At that time they were living in the dark. They were trying hard and finally they were too weak because they didn't know their God. Now part of the Good Book is written in their language. I wish for everyone to know it and everyone to have one. The Good Book is like a light because it directs you toward heaven. Everyone who doesn't have this Good Book travels in the dark. It teaches us how to love God and keep an open mind, God said. There are three ways to live a certain way, however, if they don't follow the right path they will forever be down." *Shawnee Sun*, Fall, 1841.

Introduction to the *Siwinowe Kesibwi [Shawnee Sun]*, November 1841[11]

The Baptist missionary Jotham Meeker came to Indian Territory in the fall of 1833. He dragged with him a very large and heavy printing press, settling next to the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) communities in Kansas. Meeker started printing a monthly newsletter titled *Siwinowe Kesibwi*, the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) on February 24, 1835 and it ran for almost a decade, until 1844. Acclaimed as potentially the first indigenous-language-only newspaper printed in the United States, the *Siwinowe Kesibwi* remains a very significant historical artifact.[12] In 2008 the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) elder George Blanchard translated the two pages of the only extant issue of the newspaper known to have survived into the present day. As Blanchard did not speak English until reaching

[11] James K. Beatty, "Interpreting the *Shawnee Sun*: Literacy and Cultural Persistence in Indian Country, 1833-1841," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Winter 2008-2009), 252-254. This original November 1841 issue of the *Siwinowe Kesibwi (Shawnee Sun)* mentioned in Beatty's article resides at The LaBudde Special Collections Department, Miller Nichols Library, University of Missouri-Kansas City. The KSHS maintains a facsimile of the LaBudde original. Beatty published photographs of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) language version (p. 252-253), while provided a transcription from George Blanchard's translation (p. 254). Translated by George Blanchard (Absentee Šaawanwa (Shawnee) Tribe of Oklahoma, now works in the Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) Language Program (244n3, 254n1). Indianz.com wrote that "the Sun was nothing but a tool for missionaries trying to bring the Natives to Jesus" (Indianz.com, "Blog: Shawnee elder translates Baptist newspaper," *Indianz.com*, March 4, 2009, http://www.indianz.com/News/2009/013408.asp (accessed August 23, 2014)). See also: N. T. Grove, "Union Cemetery," *AKSC*, Vol. 2, 222-223. The Kansas WPA writers declared: "No copies of the *Sun's* early issues are known to be in existence; but a copy of one of the later issues, dated November 1841, was found in Kansas City a few years ago" (Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 121).

[12] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 45. For history of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, see: Staff Reports, "Cherokee Phoenix celebrates 184 years," February 21, 2012, *Cherokee Phoenix*, http://www.cherokeephoenix.org/Article/Index/5993 (accessed 14 February 2018); Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 74. For more on the Baptist, Methodist, and Quaker missionaries' efforts at jostling for status and power among the Native communities, see: Stephen A. Warren, "The Methodists, the Baptists, and the Shawnees: Conflicting Cultures in Indian Territory, 1833-1834," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Autumn 1994), 148-161; Kevin J. Abing, "Before Bleeding Kansas: Christian Missionaries, Slavery, and the Shawnee Indians in Pre-Territorial Kansas, 1844-1854," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring 2001), 54-71; Kevin J. Abing, "A Holy Battleground: Methodist, Baptist and Quaker Missionaries Among the Shawnee Indians, 1830-1844," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Summer 1998), 118-137.

the first grade, he has a strong mastery of the Shawnee language, his first language. A teacher of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) language, Blanchard has spent decades educating and advocating for language learning and its continued indigenous language use.[13]

With its main purpose being the conversion of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) to Christianity, James K. Beatty, author of the *Kansas History* essay entitled "Interpreting the *Shawnee Sun*: Literacy and Cultural Persistence in Indian Country, 1833-1841," called the newspaper "a highly didactic publication."[14] Beatty argued that, "[a]lthough the Shawnee Sun has typically been viewed as a tribal newspaper, the November 1841 publication is more akin to a Baptist sermon. The opening paragraphs of the Sun are rich in imagery of light and darkness, which has deep roots in both the Hebrew Scriptures and New Testament."[15] At the same time, however, indigenous peoples had their own Native stories of the creation of day and night. Council fires provided invitation and provided light against the backdrop of the dark roads between two nations. Iroquois- and Algonquian-speaking peoples maintained metaphors of the West being the area, marked by the setting of the sun.

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[13] Tom Lindley, "New Indian Country," *Oklahoma Today Magazine*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (July/August 2010), 57-58. See also: "In Memoriam.: Hon. Richard Baxter Taylor," in *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881*, 166.

[14] Beatty, "Interpreting the *Shawnee Sun*," 244. See also: Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas and Its People*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 422; Weston Arthur Goodspeed, *The Province and the States: A History of the Province of Louisiana Under France and Spain, and of the Territories and States of the United States Formed Therefrom. In Seven Volumes. Illustrated with Numerous Maps and Portraits*, Vol. 4 (Madison: The Western Historical Association, 1904), 229; Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas, Containing A Full Account of Its Growth From an Uninhabited Territory to a Wealthy and Important State; Of Its Early Settlements; Its Rapid Increase in Population and the Marvelous Development of Its Great Natural Resources. Also, a Supplementary History and Description of Its Counties, Cities, Towns and Villages, Their Advantages, Industries, Manufactures and Commerce; To Which Are Added Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Prominent Men and Early Settlers, Illustrated* (Chicago: Alfred Theodore Andreas, 1883; Reproduction, Atchison and Topeka: Atchison County Historical Society in cooperation with the KSHS, 1976), 70.

[15] Beatty, "Interpreting the *Shawnee Sun*," 254n2.

James K. Beatty noted how, without any clear idea of Native motivations, the reasoning and purpose behind indigenous collaboration with the missionaries in this translation project remain murky. Although he does posit potential rationales. The Shawnee language publication allowed for the continued retention of cultural and tribal identities, persisting in the use of the language and elevating its importance in the missionary and Native communities. The work also had economic and political usefulness, where the collaborating Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) could curry favors and enjoy potential perks, monetary or material, of working with the missionaries. Beatty lastly continued that the Christian Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) may have also had "sincere interest in the Christian faith during a time of profound change and uncertainty."[16] Although briefly recognizing the 'two-way street' characteristic of Christianization, citing Tracey Leavelle's work on religious translation, Beatty focused mostly on the revelation of the issue's moralistic tones and condemnations of indigenous beliefs and continuing cultural and religious practices.[17]

Beatty annotated the English translation of the *Siwinowe Kesibwi* issue, finding correlations with scriptures located in the books of Proverbs, Genesis, Deuteronomy,

[16] Beatty, "Interpreting the *Shawnee Sun*," 244-245. Quote from: Beatty, "Interpreting the *Shawnee Sun*," 244.

[17] Beatty, "Interpreting the *Shawnee Sun*," 245n6; See also: Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The *Shawnee Sun*: The First Indian-language Periodical Published in the United States," *KHQ*, Vol. 2 (November 1933), 339-342; Kevin J. Abing, "A Fall From Grace: Thomas Johnson and the Shawnee Indian Manual Labor School, 1839–1862" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Marquette University, 1995); John Mark Lambertson, "'Servant': The Reverend Jotham Meeker and the Ottawa Baptist Mission" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Kansas, 1992); Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen, *Jotham Meeker: Pioneer Printer of Kansas* (Chicago: Eyncourt Press, 1930). See also: Tracy Neal Leavelle, *The Catholic Calumet*: *Colonial Conversions in French and Indian North America*, Early American Studies Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Tracy Neal Leavelle, "'Bad Things' and 'Good Hearts': Mediation, Meaning, and the Language of Illinois Christianity," *Church History*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (June 2007). One example of indigenous refusal of incorporation, adoption or adaptation, of Christianity, can be seen in: Willard H. Rollings, *Unaffected by the Gospel: Osage Resistance to the Christian Invasion, 1673-1906: A Cultural Victory* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

and the gospel of Matthew.[18] What he did not perhaps recognize, however, was the extent of indigenous metaphors and other ingredients of indigenous culture in the beginning of the 1841 issue. Light and dark was not only, a part of Western Christian literature, but also, as the issue noted, one that Šaawanwa-(Shawnee-)speaking people could relate to and understand. These parallels, as Beatty noted, could have been intentional for the missionaries seeking better indigenous understanding of the Christian messages, or the Christian converts' appeals to indigenous worldviews. Like the indigenous diplomacy echoed all the way to colonial Indian-white treaty council notes, the illumination of light and clearing pathways, of keeping both an open physical pathway and an open mind, retained indigenous connections in the religious translation.

Just as the treaty language which ended the War of 1812 focused on dark and obstructed pathways marred by bloodshed and persistent warfare, the resolution of conflict also brought the opportunity for traditional condolence practices to clear a new way forward. So, too, whether it was council pathways between two council fires, but also in a road to heaven. As the translation noted, without the Biblical teachings, "Everyone who doesn't have this Good Book travels in the dark." Beatty correlated this light and dark imagery as one that "has roots in the creation story of Genesis where God created light and separated it from darkness."[19] Beatty argued that the "Baptists evidently selected even the title of the *Shawnee Sun* with great care, evoking a centuries-old contrast between the light of the gospel and the darkness of a sinful world."[20] Beatty also noted James Merrell's book, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, to highlight how unlike White, Merrell

[18] Beatty, "Interpreting the *Shawnee Sun*," 254, 254n3-254n11, 255, 255n17.
[19] Ibid., 254.
[20] Ibid., 246.

focused on "two irreconcilable worlds… crossed by only a few intermediaries at their own risk." Beatty continued to focus on the Euro-American/Western/Christian perspective that aimed to convert indigenous peoples. One should recognize that Christianity does not hold a monopoly on light/dark imagery. James Merrell indicated how both Native Americans and Euro-Americans had mutually-shared places and spaces of darkness that they had to cross before getting to the other's comforting council fires. The Euro-Americans were not the only ones with dark and light imagery and metaphors. Light-dark metaphoric language was not lost on the Native collaborators: both dark paths lit by council fires and the west as a cardinal direction was the land of the setting sun.[21]

The *Shawnee Sun*'s introduction also included accolades to the enlightenment that would come with Christianity and Biblical instruction. The 1841 *Shawnee Sun* aimed to persuade that not only love, but an "open mind" was achievable through reading and following the Bible. Indigenous readers would also have recognized the goal of clearing the mind. This had long been an aspect of indigenous condolence practices of clearing the eyes and ears. With indigenous preoccupations with following a good path and living a good life, then, this would clearly resonate with Native readers. The *Shawnee Sun* also included a list of things that the Devil, *Miceminato* (the bad snake) promoted: promiscuity, theft, murder, alcoholism, cursing, etc. The list also included positive indigenous values that the Devil destroyed. The indigenous readers would recognize these. For example, the issue said that the Devil also taught "how to quit thinking about elders and also children" as well.[22] With the custom of indigenous

[21] Ibid., 248n21.
[22] Ibid., 255.

treaty councils focusing often on the future—on the continuity and maintenance of their families and traditions—Native readers would recognize how the Devil discounted their common beliefs. Native cultures valued their elders and fiercely took care of their families. The newspaper described a Devil that was contrary to indigenous values of family and community.

At the same time, however, the *Shawnee Sun* also commented on indigenous customs that they did associate with the Devil and his teachings. The Devil encouraged going to Native dances, "how to pray to the sick person's spirit," and other Native customs that the missionaries condemned.[23] This tension between the Native cultural practices that fit Christian values—emphasis on family, elders, and community—and those seen as antithetical to Baptist beliefs—Native dance practices and indigenous prayers—is clear. While the newspaper both played with and utilized indigenous imagery that conveniently and suitably fit with Christian and Baptist beliefs—metaphors of light and dark, clearing and creating an open mind—it also called for the disregard of other Native traditions they saw as heretical and demonic.

Jotham Meeker's Odawa-language publication also demonstrated how the Odawas (Ottawas) maintained their traditions. The presence of prohibitions of Native traditions, ironically illustrate the need to address bans. Jotham Meeker, who's Ottawa name was Wrltot Uhihak, published the *Ottawa First Book… and The Ottawa Laws* (1850)—in Odawa (Ottawa) titled *Otawa Muskenaikun… Kuer Otawak Otepakonikrwiniwan*—in the first month of the new year. Of particular interest is the one law regarding gambling: "OTAWAK OTEPAKONIKRWINIWAN… TATIWIN. 17. Kelpin uweu Otawa ukif mukisini takrt, wapunhikasot nel opemenukwue uli apetu

[23] Ibid., 255.

tutipaikr." Meeker gave the English translation as: "OTTAWA LAWS… GAMBLING. 17. If any person on the Ottawa land shall be seen at moc[c]asin playing he shall pay two dollars and a half."[24] Although the reception of these laws in the Ottawa (Odawa) Nation itself can only be speculated, Jotham Meeker himself wrote that the Odawas (Ottawas) did discuss editing their laws. Jotham Meeker wrote in his diary for January 21, 1845: "The Ottawas meet in general Council at my house to consider, revise & enforce their Laws."[25] The extent to which the Ottawas (Odawas) agreed to the fiscal punishment and prohibition of the moccasin game, however, remains unclear.

While white missions and missionaries condemned Native traditions that they saw as immoral or un-Christian and thus the majority of Native peoples remained unconverted, the promotion and continued use of their mother languages by the churches, did resonate with Native peoples. Preaching in the vernacular provided avenues for Native audiences to hear their languages being spoken and see their languages being valued, appreciated and utilized. While the Methodist missionaries disliked these texts translated by Baptist preachers for Native use, the communities protested any attempts to remove the books, hymns, and other printed literatures that Meeker's printing press generated and circulated.

One Methodist missionary noted in his diary that the Indians responded immediately to even the possibility of getting rid of the books. The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) responded that "if the books were shut out from [the Indians'] society [the

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[24] Jotham Meeker, *Ottawa First Book. Containing Lessons for the Learner; Portions of The Gospel By Luke, Omitted by Matthew and John; and The Ottawa Laws*, Second Edition (Ottawa Baptist Mission Station: J. Meeker, Printer, 1850) | Wrltot Uhihak, *Otawa Muskenaikun. Wlki Ukenoumatewin; Kuer Anint Ominwahimowin Nok, Kapwa Olepeumowat Mrto Kuer Han; Kuer Otawak Otepakonikrwiniwan*, Nalif Wrlhikatrk (Otawa Prptise Rukekwrwikumikof: Uhihak, Mrsenaikunikrt, 1850), 102-103, 114-115, 124-125. From Jotham Meeker Papers, KSHS. Available on *KSMEM*.

[25] Jotham Meeker Journals, Vol. 2, 143. Transcript from *KSMEM*.

Methodists] were too."[26] This comment indicated that despite the various missionary teachings and religious denominations who came for conversion, the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) would kick out anyone who asked them to stop reading the newspapers, hymns, and other religious circulars written in their languages. For many Christian Indians in Indian Country, religion was and could be a shared commonality that strengthened their ties to each other, valued their indigenous languages, and emphasized positive cultural values (while also denying others).

II. The Indigenous-Led Movement for a Provisional Nebraska Territory and The Contest Over The "Buy Up [of] the Surplus Lands Belonging to These Little Tribes"

"[At the 1848 International Council Fire Meeting, the Indians,] they consulted as to what they should do, they foresaw the invasion of the white people, although the government had promised the Indians beyond the Missouri river never should be disturbed. They met to consult and consider what to do ; out of that grew the political situation which resulted in Governor Walker being made provincial governor of Nebraska ; from that the Kansas-Missouri border agitation, the Civil War had its remotest beginning when our tribes met around the council fire to see what to do."

Lilian Walker Hale (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), 1922[27]

Native incorporation of Christianity and indigenous syncretism of beliefs was and remain complex, contentious, and much debated in Indian Country. So, too, were prominent nineteenth-century Native leadership in their time. Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) was and is a controversial historical figure. Multilingual, he was knowledgeable of the French, English, Greek, Latin languages as well as the

[26] Abing, "A Holy Battleground," 124.
[27] Lilian Walker Hale, "Some Reminiscences of the Wyandottes," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 119.

Algonquian languages and dialects of Potewatmi (Potawatomi), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Myaamia (Miami), Lenape (Delaware) and Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te). Hähshäh´rēhs served as interpreter and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) National Council member. He is most noted for becoming the first provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory in 1853.[28]

Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) was very astute and perceptive about tribal, federal, and international politics, worldly and educated. Worldly and accomplished. Reflecting on the Mexican-American War in June 1846, Hähshäh´rēhs surmised: "The worst of all is our government is in fault. We are actually the aggressors." In June 1846, hoping to improve his physical and spiritual health and wellbeing, Hähshäh´rēhs adopted the Islamic practice of morning prayers and daily body washing. Intelligent, multi-lingual, and well-read, he still retained his language and culture. His diary revealed a small bit of his indigenous humor when he noted the return of the Wa^{n}dat soldiers and warriors from the war. On August 9, 1848, he commented: "[Wāh'wahs] Joel Walker and our Mexican warriors landed off the Wyandott steamer. 'Sweet Lucy Pinks' got a young 'un. 'Ah ha, a hae." Reminiscent of what are called 'drinking songs,' possible forerunners of the modern '49 song, before the advent of '49s and modern powwow culture, Hähshäh´rēhs revealed a small snippet of his Native humor in the situation. The very next week he detailed the start of Green Corn ceremonial festivities.[29]

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[28] William Elsey Connelley, "The Walker Family," in *PGNT-JWW*, 12-16.

[29] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 184-187, 257-258. Quotes from: Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 186-187, 257. I am indebted to the discussions with Richard Zane Smith (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) regarding this diary entry, January 2018. Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) often inserted dry humor within the mundane daily notations. For example, on December 30, 1845 he flatly noted: "Held Council here and did some wise things" (Walker,

As all humans and historical figures are complicated, multifaceted people, so too, was Hähshäh´rēhs. Hähshäh´rēhs was a slaveholder, a fact which made him very controversial. Antebellum Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) people disagreed regarding slavery. George I. Clark, head chief of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in the 1850s, argued that slavery was, as Connelley put his argument, "wholly foreign to ancient Wyandot customs and usage." George I. Clark contended that Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) people had an 'all-or-nothing- stance towards outsiders. They either "killed or adopted all prisoners of war."[30] The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) would eliminate potential enemies or adopt them as relatives and kin.

Other Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) including Rah´hahntah´seh (Matthew R. Walker), Francis A. Hicks, and others owned slaves. Hähshäh´rēhs bought his first slave in 1847, a thirty-two-year-old domestic slave named Dorcas. Walker wrote in his diary after his slave auction purchase: "If I have erred in this act, may God in his infinite mercy forgive me, though I feel no condemnation for this act." He did, maintain, however that he would try to be a good slave master: "I shall endeavor to come up fully to what was said by the auctioneer who sold her, who said, when it was announced that I was the purchaser, 'Now Dorcas, you have a good and kind master."[31]

"The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 159). For the transformation of the meaning of 'powwow' from first a New England Algonquian ceremonial leader, then council, and then intertribal dance, see: William Bright, *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 397.

[30] William Elsey Connelley, "Documents Relating to the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," in *PGNT-JWW*, 47n2.

[31] Quote from: Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—First Book," 194. See also: Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, Kansas, *The African-American Presence in Kansas City, Kansas* (Kansas City, Kansas: Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, Kansas, n.d.); Connelley, "Documents," 77n1; William Walker, "The Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory—Second Book, *From September 22, 1849, to June 25, 1854*," in *PGNT-JWW*, 394. Quote from: Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 394. See also: On Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) being predominantly educated, rich, and prominent business people, see: Washington Henry Chick, "A Journey to Missouri in 1822," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 100-101. Although the Kansas City Public

Despite his slaveholding proclivities, elite education, and accumulated wealth that ushered him into an exceptional category apart from other Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Hähshäh´rēhs would become known as the spokesperson for the Nebraska Territory, being nominated as the provisional governor for the Nebraska Territory in 1853.

Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) was probably the most well-known and recognized Native leader at this time. Kansas historian William Elsey Connelley interviewed many wealthy and educated Native leaders and community members decades later. He spoke to Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), as well as those imbedded in the Seneca, Missouri and surrounding area communities, through marriage and/or adoption to Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayuga) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias). Connelley noted: "The leading tribes were the Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s], the Delawares [Lenapes], the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], the Miamis [Myaamiaki] and Kickapoos [Kiikaapoaki]. In all of these tribes were men of education and influence. They comprehended their condition and could plainly discern the tendencies of the times." Connelley narrated: "It was obvious to them that they were occupying the country through which the great highway to the Pacific Ocean must be built in the near future. Along this line of road must be settlers, and these settlers must live on land then belonging to the Indians." Connelley added: "The pressure along the western line of

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Library in Kansas City, Kansas wrote that Baptiste was also one of Walker's slaves, it seems he was not. The Kansas City Public Library detailed that Dorcas married Baptiste and that Hähshäh´rēhs (Walker) freed them before the Civil War. Although Hähshäh´rēhs (Walker) did call him "our garcon [sic] Baptiste," his journals indicate that Baptiste was a hired servant: March 18, 1854: "My boy Baptiste, having completed his three months service, the length of time for which I engaged him, went home to-day" (Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…--Second Book," 398).

Missouri was increasing, and white men looked across an arbitrary line and saw the Indian country… and they wanted it; and the Indian knew they wanted it." "It was plain to the intelligent indians that the tribes would soon be compelled to move. If they must sell their lands, they wanted as good a price as could be obtained."[32] Many of these affluent and educated leaders of their tribal nations would plan and make a concerted effort to thwart federal plans at territorial organization. Even as late as October 1853 the missionary Jotham Meeker noted in his diary that he had a long discussion with Lenipinšia (Baptiste Peoria) (Waayaahtaanwa/Wea), Tauy Jones (Odawa/Ottawa), and others about the plans for Nebraska delegate to Congress.[33]

The indigenous-led territorial organization began when conversations and murmurs began about forthcoming changes in federal Indian policy. Witnessing white settlers on the Missouri side of the border starting to congregate, Native peoples began to discuss further matters and future courses of action and how to combat external territorial encroachment. As early as 1845 Congress began discussing the organization of a Nebraska Territory. The considerations snowballed, and newspapers in 1851 started encouraging the government to make treaties with the Indian nations and extinguish their titles to the lands. Indian agents echoed these sentiments. Missouri citizens congregated, discussed petitions, and held public meetings on the issues. Settler trails to Santa Fe, California, Oregon, and Mormon lands, crossed much of Indian Country, and Native people recognized this.

Half a dozen white Missouri citizens attempted territorial organization in the spring of 1852, meeting at the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) trading post called Uniontown.

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[32] William Elsey Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," in *PGNT-JWW*, 18-23. Quote from: Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 23.

[33] Jotham Meeker Journals, Vol. 3, 120. Transcript from *KSMEM*.

Initially opened only four years prior in 1848, Uniontown was a gathering place, both for Potewatmi (Potawatomi) people to collect their allotment payments and annuities, but also where white Missourians could go to collect their debts. Its name indicated the ambitions of Indian agents and traders to unify what would become known today as the Citizen and Prairie bands of the Potewatmis (Potawatomis). Located along the Oregon-California Trail, Uniontown became a hub for buying and selling provisions. Its usefulness as an Indian trading post had dwindled and by 1852 Uniontown had "faded." This meeting at Uniontown hit 'close to home' for the Native peoples living in what would become eastern Kansas. [34]

Guided by an unnamed white resident from Westport, Missouri, about five to six pro-slavery Missourians met at Uniontown, and adopted a resolution begging Congress to organize the area as a territory in the spring of 1852 (See Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3). The lands in what would be Kansas and Nebraska, however, remained closed to white development and settlement. The lands were still Indian lands, although increasingly recognized for their potential for Euro-American growth and development. As historian James S. Merritt noted, they had "covetous glances upon the fair prairies and valleys of our eastern border, and were already commencing to lay their plans to add to the Union another slave State."[35] One of the Missourians at that meeting, L. R. Palmer, described

[34] KSHS, "Uniontown," *Kansapedia*, November 2004, http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/uniontown/12228 (accessed 17 February 2018); Walker, "Nebraska Territory," in in *PGNT-JWW*, 60; Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County*, Vol. 1, 130; Tom Ellis, "Uniontown and Plowboy–Potawatomi Ghost Towns: Enigmas of the Oregon-California Trail," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter 2014–2015), 211-212, 217-223; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 82-83; Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West: Annals to the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854* (Topeka: KSHS, 1972), 1041-1129.

[35] James S. Merritt, "Movements for Territorial Organization," in *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881*, Vol. 1, 104. Abing described Westport as "a zealously proslavery settlement" (Abing, "Before Bleeding Kansas," 56. See also: Anne Farrar Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A New History of the North American West, 1800-1860* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011; Reprint, New York:

two or three of them as "sporting gentlemen." This type could refer to the eighteenth-century hunter, but by the middle of the nineteenth-century this phrase became more and more correlated with boxing and racing, and also became synonymous with gambling and betting by the end of the nineteenth century. The other participants, Palmer described as "merchants who had furnished goods for the Indians, and always came at such times to collect."[36] Although southern newspapers detailed their intentions, these Missourians were not able to get Congress to agree to open settlement and begin territorial organization.

The Native nations, then, seized the initiative. After their "earlier petitions having been ignored" they decided their best bet would be to go ahead and elect their own territorial representative to the Thirty-Second United States Congress. After publicizing the event, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) hosted an election for territorial governor at their council house in what is now Kansas City, Kansas on October 12, 1852. Abelard Guthrie himself was not a tribal citizen, but his wife, Quindaro Nancy Brown, was (See Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Quindaro Nancy Brown, described as "a Wyandot-Shawnee girl, of the Big Turtle Clan of the Wyandot Tribe and the Turtle Clan of the Shawnee Tribe." The Wyandots adopted Guthrie and gave him the name Tahkeh'yohshrah'tseh (Two Brains, or The Man with Two Brains). Native and non-Native people alike unanimously elected Abelard Guthrie, as that delegate. A decade later Guthrie would reveal that the military at Fort Leavenworth

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HarperCollins Publishers, 2012), 184, 475. Map from Figure 3 may also be found duplicated, in a black and white format: Ellis, "Uniontown and Plowboy," 221.

[36] Andrew Miller, "Winning it All: The Cinematic Construction of the Athletic American Dream," in *American Dreams: Comparative Dialogues in U.S. Studies*, edited by Ricardo Miguez (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2007), 105-106. Quote from: Merritt, "Movements for Territorial Organization," 261

threatened to arrest and imprison him if the election took place. Regardless of the hostilities and intimidations, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) held the election.[37]

Thirty-five individual male citizens voted that day to elect Abelard Guthrie as a Nebraska Territory representative to Congress. While not all who voted on October 12, 1852 were Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)) tribal members, more than half of those listed were heavily involved in tribal government and politics. Abelard Guthrie himself voted, as did Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) and his brothers Wāh'wahs (Lost Turtle) (Joel Walker) and Rah'hahntah'seh (Twisting the Forest) (Matthew R. Walker). John W. Ladd, one of the voters, was the father of Wāh'wahs (Joel Walker)'s wife, Mary Ann Ladd. Connelley described Daniel McNeal as a "'hired man' in the 'Nation.'" Peter Dooyentate Clark of the Canadian Anderdon reserve would become renowned after his return to Canada and the publication of *The Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts* in 1870. While in Kansas, however, Peter Dooyentate Clarke did participate

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[37] Birdsall, Williams & Company, *The History of Jackson County, Missouri, Containing A History of the County, Its Cities, Towns, Etc., Biographical Sketches of Its Citizens, Jackson County in the Late War, General and Local Statistics, Portraits of Early Settlers and Prominent Men, History of Missouri, Map of Jackson County, Miscellaneous Matters, Etc., Etc. Illustrated* (Kansas City, Missouri: Union Historical Company, Birdsall, Williams & Company, 1881), 669-670; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 83; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1129; Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 24-27; Connelley, "Documents," 82; Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 363; William Elsey Connelley, "A Brief Sketch of Abelard Guthrie, the First Delegate to Congress from Nebraska Territory," in *PGNT-JWW*, 103; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 207-208. Quotes from: Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 208; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1129; Connelley, "A Brief Sketch of Abelard Guthrie," 103. Goodspeed reported: "There is a report of an election of a delegate in 1852 by the few whites living among the Wyandotte Indians, but it is not well authenticated" (Goodspeed, *The Province and the States,* Vol. 4, 232). The Wyandot Council House, in use from 1843 to 1861, was located around what is now 4th Street, between Nebraska and State Avenue in Kansas City, Kansas (Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 215). Mrs. Lydia B. (Ladd) Walker, wife of Rah'hahntah'seh (Matthew R. Walker) (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), donated the records of the October 12, 1852 meeting to the KSHS. Wyandotte: Poll-book, election of Delegate to Congress for Nebraska, Oct. 12, 1852 ("Manuscript Contributions," in *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881*, Vol. 1, 104). She herself was described as a survivor of the forced removal. See also: William Walker, "Polling Book, delegate election, Wyandott nation, Nebraska Territory," October 12, 1852. From *KSMEM*; Birdsall, *The History of Jackson County, Missouri*, 677; Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 24, 24n1, 25n1, 25.

in tribal politics. He would be elected a Kansas Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) councilmember in 1856. The Garrett family was also well known in the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation. Charles B. and Russell Garrett had recently returned from the California gold expedition as members of the "Wyandott Mining Company" in the summer of 1849. Dr. Edward B. Hand, a non-Native, had accompanied the gold mining team. Cyrus Garrett was a tribal council secretary and clerk while Joel W. Garrett was appointed Special Clerk to the Executive Committee. Henry Garrett also voted that day. Also voting for Abelard Guthrie was Presley Muir, originally a Canadian Wyandot. Other tribal members included James Long, Isaac Long, Henry C. Norton, Samuel Rankin, William Gibson, Thomas Coonhawk, Francis Cotter, and Nicholas Cotter (See Figure 4.6).

Little information is available on Jose Antonio Pieto, James Garlow, Benjamin N. C. Andrews, John Lynch, William Trowbridge, Edward Fifer, and Henry W. Porter. Other names, however, also were significant in tribal politics and Native businesses. Henry C. Long worked as a blacksmith, sheriff, and tribal council delegate. The Indian Office and the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation employed both Isaac Baker and Samuel Priestly as blacksmiths. George I. Clark would be elected chief in 1856, and Francis A. Hicks, a hereditary chief, had led the exploring expedition from Ohio in 1839. Isaac W. "Ike" Brown and his wife Eliza had relocated from Upper Sandusky Ohio on the forced removal in 1843 (See Figure 4.7). Deemed an 'incompetent' when he got to Kansas, Brown worked as the tribe's "National Jailor" in the 1850s.[38]

[38] Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 24-27; Merritt, "Movements for Territorial Organization," 262; Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas*, Vol. 1, 130-131; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 386, 530, 686, 867, 1129, 1136-1139, 1173-1174, 1189. The names of Thomas Coonhawk, Samuel Rankin, Francis Cotter, Henry C. Norton, Charles B. Garrett, Dr.

News of this election that took place at the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation for a territorial representative to the Thirty-Second Congress had ripple effects. In the next coming weeks, a flurry of nominations would be declared for people as candidates vying for this congressional seat that the Wa^{n}dat elected to be Abelard Guthrie. At St. Mary's Mission, on the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) reservation, individuals deemed an election to take place on November 16, at five polling places. The first was Bellevue, Nebraska.

The second was the Great Nemaha Indian Agency, Indian office headquarters for the Ioways (Iowas), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), and Thakiwaki and Meskwaki (Sacs/Sauks and Foxes) of Missouri. One polling location would serve the people of Fort Leavenworth, while the Lenape (Delawares) and Potewatmi (Potawatomis) would have voting stations at Delaware Crossing and St. Mary's Mission. Guthrie still won and he reaffirmed his place as delegate to go to Washington. A Dayton, Ohio newspaper declared: "Abelard Guthrie, Esq., formerly a resident of this city, and now the delegate to Congress from Nebraska territory, intends taking his Indian wife [Quindaro Nancy (Brown) Guthrie…] with him to Washington. She will create a 'sensation' at the Capital." In November and December Abelard Guthrie traveled to Washington. While he was not recognized as a congressional delegate, his presence pushed the issue of creating a Nebraska Territory.[39]

E. S. Hand, appear in the Council records as election candidates, bond sureties, bond guardians for incompetents and orphans, holders of estates, payers of debts, and petitioners. See: *WICR*; Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 114; "Isaac Brown and his wife Eliza, ca. 1855," *Wyandot History: A Guide to Original Sources and Current Scholarship*, edited by Robert S. Wicks, http://wyandothistory.com/index.html/items/show/21 (accessed 16 February 2018). Original Courtesy of the William Elsey Connelley Collection, Kansas City, Kansas Public Library, Kansas City, Kansas.

[39] Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1129-1137; Walker, "Nebraska Territory," 60; "Abelard Guthrie [To accompany bill H. R. No. 381]", House of Representatives, 37th Congress, 2nd Session,

That very summer, however, Abelard Guthrie oversaw another congregation of Indian Country citizens, once again hosted by the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) at their Council House in Wyandotte City, Kansas (now Kansas City, Kansas). In June they publicized notices that indicated key support in Lenape (Delaware), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) "precinct[s]." This Territorial Convention had originally planned to coincide with the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Green Corn ceremonies and tribal homecoming festivities. Kansas historian William Connelley explained that "The other emigrant tribes were notified of this intention, and asked to send delegates." For white people, their status was complicated. Only Indian Office workers, missionaries, and traders, technically were permitted to live among the Indians and on Indian lands. Only those Euro-Americans who were employed for the Indian nations, the federal government, and missionary work, would be permitted to vote at the Territorial Convention.

For reasons that even today are not very clear, the Territorial Convention got pushed back to July instead of August. Lobbyists for a central railroad route through Missouri planned a meeting for July—a "Rail Road Convention." At that election on July 26, 1853, Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) became the provisional Governor, with George I. Clark (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) as Secretary and Abelard Guthrie as Congressional Delegate to the Thirty-Third U.S. Congress. Other Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s: Russell Garrett, Silas Armstrong, Joel W. Garrett, Charles B. Garrett, Tauromee, Wāh'wahs (Joel Walker), Rah´hahntah´seh (Matthew R.

Report No. 67, Report, April 3, 1862. Reprinted in: Connelley, "Documents," 67-76). For Dayton, Ohio newspaper quote, see: Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1134. On the biography of Abelard Guthrie, see: Connelley, "A Brief Sketch of Abelard Guthrie," 101-152.

Walker), Francis A. Hicks, John W. Gray-Eyes, Terratuen (Irvin Patton Long), and Henry C. Long.

Other notable Indians who made it to the July 26, 1853 Territorial Convention were Stihyeh′stah (Captain Bull-Head), Lenipinšia Samuel Baptiste Peoria, Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog), and Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket). Stihyeh′stah (Carrying Bark, also known as Ohndooh′tooh or Captain Bull-Head) was a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) war veteran of the War of 1812. Connelley described him as "a man of great intelligence and well informed in the history and traditions of his people." Lenipinšia Samuel Baptiste Peoria (Waayaahtanwa/Wea) was most commonly called just plain 'Baptiste Peoria' (See Figure 4.8). Baptiste Peoria served as an interpreter for the Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Lenape (Delawares).

Baptiste Peoria married Mary Ann Isaacs (Dagenette) Peoria (Brothertown Indian) who was affectionately called 'Mother Batees.' She herself was well known as the widow of Wisroncah (Waayaahtanwa/Wea), also known as Christmas (Noël) Dagnette (See Figures 4.8 and 4.9).[40] Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog) (Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke(Seneca-Cayuga)-Wa^{n}dat(Wendat/Wyandot(te)) originated from Canada, lived in Kansas, and by the time he relocated to Oklahoma he would be dubbed "the famous

[40] Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 30-34, 34n1-6, 35, 35n6; John P. Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 230; Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 382-384; Mike McCormick, "'Weauteno' existed before Terre Haute plat," *Tribune Star*, May 22, 2016, http://www.tribstar.com/community/weauteno-existed-before-terre-haute-plat/article_5134590f-9a23-5ea3-88e4-852b3c234f07.html (accessed 27 February 2018); Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 47; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 83. On the millionaire nickname for Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog), see: Connelly, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 35n6. William Elsey Connelley on Stihyeh′stah (Captain Bull-Head), see: Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 302n2; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 221, 245-254, 316, 383, 792, 896, 977, 1058, 1136-1137, 1173-1174, 1189-1190, 1213-1220. Greyeyes alternatively spelled as Grey-Eyes, Gray-Eyes, or Grayeyes.

'Millionaire Indian'" (See Figures 4.10). Dyutruture lived near Kansas City, Kansas, where he started many prosperous businesses. Dyutruture married a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) woman named Eliza Charloe Barnett. Eliza Charloe Barnett herself had been born in Sandusky, Ohio. After removing to Oklahoma, Dyutruture built a church in 1896, dedicating it to his wife Eliza Splitlog, which still stands today as the Cayuga Mission Church (See Figures 4.11 and 4.12).[41]

Adaptations such as citizen dress, English fluency, eastern education, and Christian conversion, did not necessarily mean nineteenth-century Native peoples became separated from their Native identities. Although many of these representatives at the Territorial Convention had wealth and power, many of them were generally seen as mostly liked by their tribal nations. Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) was the son of Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket) and grandson of the famed Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Weyapiersenwah (Blue Jacket) (See Figure 4.13). He was a Methodist minister, but also held a heredity war chief position in the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) nation, dating back to Piqua, Ohio and Weyapiersenwah (Blue Jacket). Kalwe was an acquaintance of Tenskwatawa (The Prophet) and attended his funeral in 1836. Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) lived at Hog Creek before the forced removal. Connelley described Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) in 1899 as "an honest man and much loved by the Shawnees, and greatly respected by the white people." Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) established a nice home in Johnson County, Kansas (See Figure 4.14).[42]

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[41] Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 34, 34n6, 35, 35n6; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 87. See also: Cayuga Mission Church, *Cayuga Mission Church*, 2000-2017, http://www.cayugamission.org/ (accessed 2 March 2018); Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, 2001), 90.

[42] Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 18n1; Barry, *The Beginning*

It is not to say that he was necessarily universally liked; the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) themselves split along Missouri/Black Bob and Ohio lines in the antebellum era. But as cultural brokers, Indians such as Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) were still steeped in indigenous traditions and spoke their languages. They also had a Western and American education, and with that came skills and tools for economic self-sufficiency. They had chances and opportunities for political clout and spheres of influence in both Native and non-Native circles.[43]

The white men at the election worked either directly or indirectly with the Native nations. Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) described those present as electing William P. Birney, a trader with the Lenape (Delawares), to preside over the convention. Also attended were: William F. Dyer, a trader with the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos); James Findley, trader with Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Lenape (Delawares); Isaac Mundy, blacksmith for the Lenape (Delawares); and the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) Indian Agent John Wilkins Whitfield. The Reverend Thomas Johnson of the Shawnee Methodist Mission also kept involved in the proceedings and discussions

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of the West, 824; Stephen A. Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795-1870* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 102, 117-118, 140. Quote from: Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 18n1. Stephen A. Warren showed this same residence with the caption "This depiction of Charles Blue Jacket's residence in Johnson County, Kansas, captures the elite status of national council members, even after American settlers robbed most Shawnees of their wealth in land and property" (Stephen A. Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors*, 128). This cropped image focused on the elite status and wealth. The original image, however, also provides the opportunity to remind scholars of the contributions of Šaawanwa (Shawnee) women. After all, the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) described their creator in female terms. Continual conversations with and talks by Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) chief Glenna Wallace as well as the "A Search for Eastern Shawnee History" children's book highlighted this fact. See: Renée Gokey in collaboration with the Eastern Shawnee History Project, *The Story of Our Corn*, Shawnee words provided by George Blanchard and illustrated by Carrie Silverhorn (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Print Shop, Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, 2016). See also: George J. 'Buck' Captain (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 12, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 61.

[43] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 371. See also: Stephen A. Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors*, 2005.

(See Figure 4.15). Another person present was the Reverend Joel Grover, who worked at the Kickapoo Methodist Mission in Kickapoo Village, Kansas. William Gilpin, was a Lieutenant Colonel stationed at Fort Mann, a frontier army base along the Santa Fe Trail, located at what is now present-day Dodge City, Kansas. They set the date of October 11, 1853 for the official election for a territorial delegate and the convention set ground rules for the election.[44]

The Preamble and Resolutions decided at the July 26, 1853 meeting emphasized the protection of the rights of Indian nations and of indigenous individuals who owned land in the area. William F. Dyer, Abelard Guthrie, and Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) all added to the document. While it cannot be ascertained that the penmanship and handwriting of one person indicates their endorsement for certain issues, one does find that Walker added the clause on Indian rights. Walker penned the information regarding Indian rights and treaty responsibilities on the manuscript. The resolution in his handwriting stated: "while we earnestly desire to see this territory organized, and become the home of the white man, we as earnestly disclaim all intention or desire to infringe upon the rights of the Indians holding lands within the boundaries of said territory."[45] The territorial convention, then, while recognizing the inevitable and even

[44] William Walker, "Governor Walker's Notes on the Early History of Nebraska," in *PGNT-JWW*, 58-60; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 343, 465, 502, 533, 569, 732, 754-759, 767, 771-778, 783, 792, 867, 895, 967, 977, 1025-1030, 1058, 1129-1137, 1170-1174, 1179, 1189-1191, 1204; Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 34n4, 35, 35n1, 36, 36n1, 37-42; Connelley, "Documents," 43-49. Mundy was often misspelled as 'Monday.' James Findley is also sometimes spelled as Findlay. From William Elsey Connelley's investigations and interviews with participants, he came to believe it was not the missionary Reverend Joel Grover, but rather one of his sons, either D. A. N. or Charles H. Grover, who attended these meetings. William Elsey Connelley also wrote that Joel Grover was a missionary who worked with the Lenape (Delawares), not the Kiikaapooki (Kickapoos). See: Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 112.

[45] Connelley, "Documents," 46, 46n2. Quote from: Connelley, "Documents," 46.

wanting the lands to be opened to white settlement, did not want to do so without acknowledging Indian rights and treaty obligations.

Supporters of slavery saw the July 26, 1853 elected delegate, Abelard Guthrie, himself a vocal free-state advocate, as not representing their interests. On September 20, 1853, then, they elected an alternative candidate, the Shawnee Methodist Mission's Reverend Thomas Johnson at Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) Village (See Figure 4.16). Advertised as a "Grand Barbeque and Meeting in Mass Convention" and celebration, citizens, Native and non-Native alike, came and voted to place Thomas Johnson on the ballot as the territorial delegate to the Thirty-Third Congress. The advertisement for the preliminary election announced: "The citizens of Nebraska, including the chiefs and leading men of its Indian tribes, are invited to attend." They were also careful to note that the plans for white settlement would be decided at this meeting would be one "without detriment to the rights of the Indians."[46]

Familiar names endorsed the pronouncement of the September 20, 1853 meeting at Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) Village. William F. Dyer, a licensed trader with the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) and H. Rich, a sutler at Fort Leavenworth, had top billing. Dyer traded with the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) as well as the Lenape (Delawares) and Potewatmis (Potawatomis). At one point newspapers described Dyer as a candidate for the delegate of the territory. The missionary with the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Joel

[46]Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 83; Abing, "Before Bleeding Kansas," 63; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States,* Vol. 4, 232; Michael W. Cluskey, ed., *The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopedia. Containing Everything Necessary for the Reference of the Politicians and Statesmen of the United States*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: James B. Smith & Company; Washington, D.C.: Cornelius Wendell, 1858), 348. Quote from: Cluskey, ed., *The Political Text-Book*, 348.

Grover, and a farmer also with the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), H. Dawson, both also signed their names. [47]

The advertisement was quick to point out Indian support and affiliations. The names of a couple Potewatmis (Potawatomis) added to the list. White men who were married to Indian women—A. Higbee, Joseph Lorton, Joseph Kennedy, A. S. Smith, and H. Weld—were all specified. Peter Dessout and the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) chief Wamgosee (Joseph LaFromboise) were pointed out as "Half-breed[s]," while other Potewatmi (Potawatomi) endorsements included Lewis Vieaux, Charles Vieaux, and Fred Sloyce. John Ogee, J. Wilson, and Dr. Bowton, missionaries among the St. Mary's Catholic Mission, Union Mission, and Baptist Mission, had their names added as well.

Others who attended the September 20 primary worked with the Indian nations in the area. Francis (Frank) J. Marshall was a licensed trader with the Paáris (Pawnees) and had a ferry at the "Big Blue crossing" Marysville. Robert C. Miller, had a trading post first with the Lenape (Delawares) and later Potewatmis (Potawatomis) on Soldier Creek, with his partner G. L. Young. E. G. Booth, trader at St. Mary's Mission, had been appointed election commission for the area of St. Mary's Mission at the October 21 meeting.[48] Robert C. Miller and Thomas Johnson had both participated in the July 26

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[47] Cluskey, ed., *The Political Text-Book*, 348; Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas*, Vol. 1, 131; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1179-1180; Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 38-39; Walker, "Governor Walker's Notes," 58-60; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 769, 796, 879, 949, 1016, 1031, 1041, 1059, 1123, 1130-1131, 1170-1174, 1191.

[48] Barry explained, "In 1852 the military permitted private enterprise to handle the situation, by allowing Francis J. Marshall to establish a ferry and trading post at this 'Marysville' crossing of the Big Blue" (Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 909). Marshall was licensed to trade with the Paáris (Pawnees), "Marshall established his (first, and only) trading post on the Big Blue (at present Marysville) not earlier than1852. His site was at the crossing of the (1) Fort Leavenworth-Fort Kearny military road, and (2) St. Joseph branch of the Oregon-California trail" (Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1067). See also: Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1059, 1108, 1130-1138, 1149-1153, 1171-1183, 1225.

election. H. Miles Moore and W. S. Yohe both would later be members of the Leavenworth town Association, an illegal land venture on Lenape (Delaware) lands organized June 13, 1854, that was tolerated and allowed.[49]

People voted at various locations on October 11, 1853, presumably not only the precincts of Delaware, Wyandotte, Shawnee, but also—as had been encouraged by the Kickapoo Convention—Potewatmi (Potawatomi) and Thakiwa and Meskwa (Sauk and Fox) Agency locations and elsewhere. A month later the convention announced that Thomas Johnson was the winner. Guthrie contested the election and criticized the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for his blatant display of favoritism.[50] Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) was not surprised by the outcome. He noted in his diary that the Reverend Thomas Johnson "had the whole power of the Federal government, the presence and active support of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the military, the Indian agents, Missionaries, Indian Traders, &c. A combined power that is irresistible." Johnson was said to be elected "by Indian votes."[51]

A month before the territorial election, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs George Manypenny came to Indian Country, backed Thomas Johnson for delegate, and spoke regarding the opening of the territory up for settlement and the selling of Indian lands. Hähshäh´rēhs surly noted in his diary when Commissioner Manypenny

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[49] Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 83; Abing, "Before Bleeding Kansas," 63; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States,* Vol. 4, 232; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 234; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1227. I found no information on George B. Patten.

[50] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 396-397; Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 40-41.

[51] Andreas, *History of the State of* Kansas, 83; Abing, "Before Bleeding Kansas," 63; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1179-1180; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States,* Vol. 4, 232; Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 388-389; Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 39. Quotes from: Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 388-389; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States,* Vol. 4, 232. Also quoted in: Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 39.

organized a meeting, stating that the speeches were "the subject of the Territorial organization, [and] selling out to the gov't."[52] Abelard Guthrie and the other candidate, Hadley D. Johnston still went to Washington, D.C., hoping to contest the seat. Even though Thomas Johnson had been declared the winner, Congress still did not recognize him and his position.[53] As Hähshäh´rēhs noted, the struggles for a representation were all for naught. The federal government and the public at large described the political organizing in Indian Country "revolutionary" and "illegal."[54]

Others, such as the Native participants at the forefront of the political action, however, saw these movements as a part of their assertions of indigenous agency. When Congress and the Indian Office ignored their petitions concerning territorial organization Native peoples, they then decided to 'beat others to the punch'—to organize the territory and elect delegates who would advocate for Indian interests. Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) asserted: "in each of the emigrant tribes of Indians elections were held and they voluntarily and freely participated in them; showing clearly that they anticipated and were prepared for the change in their political condition which they saw would soon be wrought out."[55]

The election of Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) as provisional territorial governor, and the elections of Abelard Guthrie in 1852 and the contested 1853 votes, all represented ways in which the Native and non-Native people living in Indian Country sought out actions that would recognize Indian agency and treaty obligations for lands.

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[52] Quoted in: Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," 38. See also: Connelley, "Documents," 80-82.

[53] Abing, "Before Bleeding Kansas," 63-65; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1184; Walker, "Governor Walker's Notes," 60.

[54] Walker, "Governor Walker's Notes," 59-60.

[55] Ibid., 60.

This took place before the Bogus Legislature of 1855 and the establishment of the Kansas Constitution at the Wyandotte Convention of 1859. At the time the general atmosphere and public opinion was that the Indian nations would have to remove again. The lands of Kansas and Nebraska had become valuable assets that the Indians possessed that the white population wanted. Native and non-Native alike all believed the opening of the Indian lands to white settlement was inevitable.[56]

Various tribal nations signed treaties, often dubbed the "Manypenny treaties" because of the influence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny in their acquisition, providing for the survey and allotment of their reservations to tribal citizens and the cession of the remaining Kansas lands to the United States. Manypenny made various treaties with Indian nations including the Otoe-Missourias, Umąhą (Omahas), Ioways, Thakiwaki and Meskwaki (Sacs/Sauks and Foxes), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoo), Winnebagos/ Hocąk, and various Ojibwes (Chippewas) in 1854 and 1855. Manypenny and his Indian agents urged tribes to send delegates to Washington, D.C. to sell their lands. At least five different treaties signed by various tribal nations ceded lands in Kansas Territory: 1) Lenape (Delawares) (May 6, 1854); 2) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (May 10, 1854); 3) Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) (May 30, 1854); 4) Myaamiaki (Miamis) (June 5, 1854); and 5) Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) (January 31, 1855). Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) translated for the Šaawanwaki

[56] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 49-52, 513-516; Charles Robinson, "Address of Governor Robinson," January 18, 1881, in *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881*, 118; "Governor Andrew H. Reeder," *Kansas Transactions, 1875-1881*, 148-152; "Early Military Posts, Missions and Camps," in *KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881*, 266; Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas*, Vol. 1, 134-139; John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown, Liberator of Kansas, and Martyr of Virginia*, edited by F. B. Sanborn (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1891), 176, 229n2.

(Shawnees), while Baptiste Peoria interpreted for the Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking nations. While the Myaamiaki (Miamis) signed their own separate treaty and had representatives from the Eastern Myaamiaki (Miamis) from the state of Indiana involved in their negotiations, the Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) agreed to confederate together and planned to negotiate with the federal government as one large coalition.[57]

Manypenny had encouraged the relinquishment of Indian title to Kansas lands. Virtually all of the Indian nations did not want to move once again and did not want to sell their lands. Native nations had for a while considered intertribal councils.[58] On December 3, 1853 a group of seven Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) with some Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and one Lenape (Delaware) came to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) tribal council. The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) came "to remind the Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] that they were once appointed the keepers of the Council fire, and it was the wish of the Six Nations [Haudenosaunee] that they should re-kindle the fire in the West." Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) described the Wandat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) response. "They were replied to thro' the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], that the Council fire had been rekindled in the West five years ago last October, and the reason why they (the six nations) were not invited to attend and assist in the ceremonies must be plain and obvious to them," he detailed. The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) "they did not belong to the Ancient Confederacy of the

[57] Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 150-151; Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 401, 403; Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 608-646, 677-681, 685-693, 732-735; Goodspeed, *The Province and the States*, Vol. 4, 231-232; Dyrinda Tyson-Jones, "Black Book: 39 Tribes," *Oklahoma Today Magazine*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (July/August 2010), 70.

[58] Abing, "Before Bleeding Kansas," 65-66.

N. W. Indians, but to the Iroquoise [Haudenosaunee] Confederacy; therefore could claim no rights, nor have any voice in it."[59] Although this response may seem harsh, given that the Kansas (Kaws) and Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) joined the Western Indian Confederacy's fold, this interaction did illustrate that the Native nations recognized the threat of Nebraska territorial organization, and sought out their alliances as a means of combating threats to their persons and properties.

A year later many of the tribal nations did meet in a 'Grand Council' in April 1854. The Tahlequah council back in 1843 discussed the idea of entering a pledge to not sell any tribal lands without the consent of each other. They once again brought up this same proposal. While some historians have described the 'Grand Council' meeting as consisting of nine nations, it was the Lenape (Delawares) *PLUS* nine others. The tribal nations represented included the: 1) Lenape (Delawares), 2) Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), 3) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), 4) Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), 5) Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), 6) Meskwaki (Foxes), 7) Potewatmis (Potawatomis) 8) Myaamiaki (Miamis), 9) Peeyaankihšiaki (Piankashaws) 10) Peewaaliaki (Peorias).[60] They met "for the purpose of entering into a compact or league whereby they were mutually to pledge each other, not to sell their lands to the Government of the United States with out [sic] the consent of each tribe, being a member of the League" [61]

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[59] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 391-392. This seems contrary to Bowes, who wrote, "The Shawnees told the Senecas in 1853 that the latter had not been invited to the 1848 council because 'they did not belong to the Ancient Confederacy of N. W. Indians, but to the Iroquoise Confederacy; therefore could claim no rights, nor have any voice in it'" (Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 148n38). My reading of this interaction, however, places the words of non-acceptance into the confederacy into the mouths of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), as interpreters, only served as the vehicle through which to express their words.

[60] Ratified Treaty No. 267 (May 6, 1854), 6-9, DRT UWDC.

[61] Ratified Treaty No. 267 (May 6, 1854), 7-8, DRT UWDC. I guess this interpretation is whether the Sauk and Fox are treated as separate nations or not. Agent Robinson, however, perhaps did leave it hazy, describing "when I visited the Delawares [Lenape] for the purpose of calling a convention

When the Indian Agent for the Lenape (Delawares), Benjamin F. Robinson, notified the nation needed to decide on a delegation to go to Washington, D.C., the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) and Lenape (Delaware) representatives left the intertribal conference.[62] This, as well as all the discussions on organizing the territory, did cause an uproar and concern among the other tribes. For when the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) spoke to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny in Washington, D.C. later that month, they said that all the buzz of territorial organization worried the tribal nations. "Other tribes seem[ed] scared," Joseph Parks admitted.[63] Agent Robinson's talk with the Lenape (Delawares) did "cause a good-deal of dissatisfaction with the Council, particularly, the Wyandotts & Tyrome [Tauromee] their principle or head chief made a long talk." It does not seem like any league was formed, and all the tribal nations would send delegates within the year to the nation's Capital.[64]

Although the departure of the Lenape (Delawares) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) seemed to end the intertribal council's effort at preventing the sale of lands by way of a unilateral league, it did not mean that the Native nations in their independent treaty negotiations wanted to sell all their lands. In fact, hardly any of the tribal nations wanted to sell *ALL* their lands. When the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) delegation asked the Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny what he wanted, Manypenny

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of that tribe in accordance with your instructions, I found those people together with the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki] & nine other tribes in (what I might call) a grand council assembled" (Ratified Treaty No. 267 (May 6, 1854), 7, DRT UWDC). He concludes his correspondence with a postscript: "The tribes represented in the grand council mentioned were (to wit):

Delawares	Potawatomies
Wyandotts	Miam~~m~~ies
Shawnees	Piankeshawz &
Kickapoos,	Peorias

Sac~~z~~ & Fox" (Ratified Treaty No. 267 (May 6, 1854), 9, DRT UWDC).

[62] Walker, "The Journals of William Walker…—Second Book," 400-401; Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers*, 150-151; Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 2-3, DRT UWDC.

[63] Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 14, DRT UWDC.

[64] Ratified Treaty No. 267 (May 6, 1854), 8, DRT UWDC.

said he wanted all their Kansas lands. Repeatedly the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) representatives had to make sure they understood: "Do you want the whole country?"

The Šaawanwa (Shawnee) delegation, including Joseph Parks, Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob), and Catahecassa (Black Hoof), had only come to sell only a portion, and not all their reservation lands. The leadership would agree to compromise and give up some of their lands. They reasoned they could sell some more of their lands and shave off a portion of the most-coveted lands, make the Americans happy, and continue to live and reside in the area. The Native communities and their leadership did not want to sell the whole or totality of their reservations, as the federal government and the Commissioner wanted them to do.[65]

Commissioner Manypenny reasoned that the Kansas-Nebraska lands no longer suited the emigrated tribal nations and were more of a bother than a benefit. He argued the location was to blame. They needed a "more secluded location"[66] Manypenny argued: "When they first removed to where they are now, it was no doubt thought a good place for them—but changes have taken place by the acquisition of Texas, California, &c. Emigrants passing over their country make it now not so desirable."[67] The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) even explained that with the mobilization for the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), troops came through their lands. They did not always leave the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) people alone, as injuries and losses resulted.[68]

The Šaawanwa (Shawnee) and Myaamia (Miami) delegates both pointed out to the Commissioner that there had been a long history of breaking promises that had been

[65] Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 3-5, 10, 25, DRT UWDC. Quote from: Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 25, DRT UWDC.
[66] Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 3, DRT UWDC.
[67] Ibid., 8, DRT UWDC.
[68] Ibid., 15, DRT UWDC.

made in treaties. The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) noted that when they came to the territory, more and more tribal nations, "other tribes coming in who were told the same things as they were."[69] All were told that the land would remain their permanent homes. The Myaamia (Miami) leader Nahwelanquah (Big Legs) contended: "we think we have a right to complain" and only came to sell a portion of their lands.[70] Even the Indiana Myaamiaki (Miamis) said they were not there to sell their lands, nor even enter any treaty agreements. Meshingomesia said he instead came to discuss the treaty-guaranteed annuities and to ensure the past promises. "[H]e wants these things for his women and young men, & children now growing up… for all his relations," the treaty minutes noted him saying.[71]

The tribes did their best to negotiate the best possible future for their nations, knowing full well that the territory would become open for settlement. Even before removal some Native people, recognizing the federal government and Euro-American people's poor track records regarding treaty promises and westward expansion, they viewed the permanency of their new homes in the West with skepticism. Even back in the fall of 1830 Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) had commented: "Now we must go to the new land. Soon [several] more times we will have to move again."[72] The perpetual discussions about the creation of a Nebraska territory made the emigrated tribes once again recognize, less than two decades later,

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[69] Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 12-14, DRT UWDC. Quote from: Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 14, DRT UWDC.

[70] Ratified Treaty No. 274 (June 5, 1854), 3, 12-13, DRT UWDC.

[71] Ibid., 18, DRT UWDC.

[72] Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket), "An Indian's Own Story" (1829-1831), transcribed and edited by John Allen Rayner (March 1886), Indian History MS Collection No. 590, Box 6, Subgroup 22, Series E, KSHS. Also available on *KSMEM*. Ohio History Connection, "A Story of the Shawanoes," *Ohio History Central*, http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/A_Story_of_the_Shawanoes (accessed 11 March 2018).

that they would have to remove again. Joseph Parks (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) told the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Manypenny in April 1854, the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees): "They know that [the United States] Government would organize a Territory in that [Kansas-Nebraska] country—have no doubt but it will be so."[73] Less than a month later, on May 30, 1854, President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act into law, paving the way for the states of Kansas and Nebraska to be created by the vote of popular sovereignty, where citizens could decide for themselves if they wanted their states to be slave or free.

After the Native nations mobilized and responded to congressional efforts to organize the Indian Territory in the formal Kansas and/or Nebraska territories, and the organization came to fruition with the presidential signature turning the proposed bill of the Kansas-Nebraska Act into law, everything escalated significantly. With the repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 that set the 36°30′ line as the boundary that prohibited slavery in the North, the territories now could vote themselves whether they would permit slavery or not. Conflicts escalated and Indian peoples found themselves on the front lines of the sectional conflict that often turned violent.

The conflict and violence that broke out after 1854 greatly affected most the Native communities in eastern Oklahoma. On January 10, 1855, the Methodist reverend James Sayre Griffing wrote to his friends and family back home that although white settlers flocked to the area, the land was still "surrounded entirely by Indians" (See Figure 4.17).[74] White citizens from Potawatomi Creek, 1856, Miami County, Kansas, reported: "that the roads are now in a state of blockade and organized bodies are known

[73] Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 28, DRT UWDC.

[74] James Griffing to Unknown, 10 January 1855, *CWWB.* Original Courtesy of Baker University, Baldwin City, Kansas.

to infest the Peoria [Peewaalia] and Miami [Myaamia] Reserves threatening to return and complete their work of devastation and murder."[75] Victoria Daugherty (Šaawanwa/Shawnee-Lenape/Delaware) was told stories growing up of the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in Kansas, of "how they had to hide to keep away from white attackers. The white people literally did attack them, physically to do physical harm"[76] The Native nations in Kansas Territory found themselves at the forefront of the national conflict over slavery.

Many Native peoples sided with free-state organizers. Perhaps the most recognized individual was Tauy Ottawa Jones, nicknamed 'Ottawa Jones,' who considered the infamous abolitionist John Brown to be a good friend (See Figure 4.18). He was a Christian, and had often helped the missionaries translate materials into the Odawa (Ottawa) language. John Brown had always not only found sympathy and empathy with African Americans, but also Native Americans while growing up in Ohio. His son, John N. Brown, moved to Kansas Territory in the spring of 1855, and settled on what had been Potewatmi (Potawatomi) lands ceded to the federal government.[77]

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[75] "Petition of Sundry Citizens of Pottamatomie [Creek or valley], 1856," in *Territorial Troubles Correspondence, 1855-1856*, *KSMEM*.

[76] Victoria Daugherty (Šaawanwa/Shawnee-Lenape/Delaware), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 13, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 73.

[77] See various entries throughout: Jotham Meeker Journals, Vols. 1-2, Transcript from *KSMEM*. Some scholars write that this was on Šaawanwa/Shawnee lands. It is more likely to have been Potewatmi (Potawatomi) lands, as the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) reservation was in what is now Franklin County and western Miami County, Kansas. John Brown's sons in their own correspondence to their father, say that the lands were sold from the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) reservation. John Brown's sons wrote to their father June 22, 1855: "The land on which we are located was ceded by the Pottawatomie [Potewatmi] Indians to the Government. The Ottawa [Odawa] lands are soon to be sold, each person of the tribe reserving and choosing two hundred acres; the remainder open to pre-emption after their choice is made. The Peoria [Peewaalia] lands have been bargained for by the Government, and are to be sold to the highest bidder without reservation. But Missourians have illegally gone on to these Peoria [Peewaalia] lands, intending to combine and prevent their going higher than $1.25 per acre, and then claim, if they go higher, a large amount of improvements, — thus cheating the Indians. The Ottawas [Odawas] intend to divide into families, and cultivate the soil and the habits of civilized life, as many of them are now doing.

John N. Brown himself had moved to that place partially because he had relatives lived nearby. The famous abolitionist John Brown's half-sister, Florella Brown, had married a missionary, Samuel Lyle Adair, who had moved to the area. Later John Brown joined them and established "Brown's Station" in the southeastern corner of Franklin County, Kansas, west of what is now Osawatomie, Kansas (See Figure 4.19).[78]

While the Shawnee Methodist Mission would become a known to have pro-slavery sympathies with the slave owner Thomas Johnson directing, the Ottawa Indian Baptist Mission, established in 1835 by the missionary Jotham Meeker, supported the abolitionist and free-state causes. One specific Odawa (Ottawa) individual, an interpreter who worked for the Ottawa Mission named Tauy Jones (John Tecumseh Jones), became a significant actor in the Bleeding Kansas crisis. Although he managed to stay away from most the fray and remained mostly neutral, he was a known abolitionist and supported John Brown. Tauy Jones found common cause with John Brown's philosophies advocating for social and political equality for all people, including African Americans and American Indians.[79]

They are a fine people. The Peorias [Peewaaliaki] are well advanced, and might do the same but for a bad bargain with our Government." (John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 195-196). See also: Murphy, *Potawatomi Of The West*, 144; William Elsey Connelley, *John Brown*, Vol. 1 (Twentieth Century Classics Series No. 10, June 1900) (Topeka: Crane & Company, Publishers, 1900), 132; William Elsey Connelley, *John Brown*, Vol. 2 (Twentieth Century Classics Series No. 11, July 1900 (Topeka: Crane & Company, Publishers, 1900), 157; John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 321. Anne Farrar Hyde's masterful synthesis *Empires, Nations, and Families* (2011) situated the Bleeding Kansas story, "While Kansas Bled" and "Native People Fled," as the John Brown family homes being on Old Wažaže (Osage) lands (Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families*, 475-477).

[78] Tony Horwitz, *Midnight Rising: John Brown and the Raid That Sparked The Civil War* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2011), 16, 40-59; John Brown and Karl Gridley, "An 'Idea of Things in Kansas': John Brown's 1857 New England Speech," edited by Karl Gridley, *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 27, Nos. 1-2, Special Issue: Kansas Territory and the Struggle for a 'Free' Kansas (Spring-Summer 2004), 76; James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* (1942; Reprint, New York: Haskell House Publishers, Limited, 1971), 491-497.

[79] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 266-267. See also: Richard Cordley, *Pioneer Days in Kansas* (New York, Boston, and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1903), 20. John Brown quoted another, saying that Tauy Jones's estate was often called the "hospital headquarters of Free-State men" (John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John*

Jones himself was also instrumental in Brown's success in Kansas Territory. Brown even credited Tauy Jones with saving his life, by providing him and his family refuge, explaining he was very "dependent on the charities of the Christian Indian and his wife."[80] Tauy Jones's estate also became the neutral ground during prisoner exchange between John Brown and a pro-slavery party in June of 1856. Due to the assistance Tauy Jones gave Brown, his family, and his followers, Ottawa Jones and his family became a target. One evening in 1856 Tauy Jones's life and limb as well as house and home were targeted by armed pro-slavery men. He survived with his life, but the pro-slavery hostiles burned his home to the ground. John Brown told the Massachusetts Legislature in 1857, regarding his hotel that burned a year earlier: "I saw it while it was still standing, and afterwards saw the ruins of the most valuable house and property of a highly civilized, intelligent, and exemplary Indian, which was burned to the ground by the ruffians."[81]

Brown, 321).

[80] John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 245-277. Two institutions with collections focusing on indigenous peoples have a small amount of materials that illustrate the Native involvement in Bleeding Kansas and the work of the famous abolitionist John Brown. Bacone College (Muskogee, Oklahoma)'s Ataloa Lodge, built in the early twentieth century, contains a large fireplace comprised of stones from across the United States. The college enlisted the help of the general public to amass five hundred stones, building blocks for the foundation of the lodge's chimney. The collection was to be representative of the diversity, both historic and geographic, of the tribal nations across the country. One of the stones comes from the area of John Brown's cabin. The correspondence regarding the stone indicated that because John Brown was a friend to the Indian and Indian people supported his cause, the donor decided to send a stone from the Osawatomie, Kansas vicinity. Thank you goes out to Dr. Patti Jo King (Yunwiya/Cherokee) and John Timothy (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)) for sharing this information with me. See also: Bacone College, *Ataloa Lodge*, 2016, http://www.bacone.edu/about/facility-rental/ataloa-lodge/ (accessed 2 March 2018). Additionally, the NAA, NMNH, SI has in its photographic print files a photograph of John Brown's cabin, Franklin County, Kansas, 1871 [NAA OPPS NEG 57244, in "Historical" File Print Folder, NAA, NMNH, SI]. Anthropologist William C. Sturtevant made a copy of the original he borrowed from Arthur C. Townsend, of the Smithsonian Institution's American Studies Program in the 1970s.

[81] Connelley, *John Brown*, Vol. 2, 167; John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 240; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 267, 485. See also: Connelley, *John Brown*, Vol. 2, 203; John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 321-323. See also the edited script of John's speech, which retained halting language: "I saw while it was standing; & afterward saw the ruins of a most valua [sic] house full of good articles &

A white laborer named Nathaniel Parker later testified about what happened when Jones's house burned to the ground. On December 5, 1856 Parker testified that he came to Indian Territory and began working for Tauy Jones in the fall of 1855. He originally came to obtain a piece of land when the Indian lands became open to sale to the public. Nathaniel Parker noted, however, that the lands he had selected "[t]his claim proved to be in the Reserve Lands & I lost it & my money."[82] Then one night on August 2, a group of pro-slavery men from Westport, Missouri, came to retaliate against Tauy Jones. In the middle of the night they awoke the family. Parker was living with them, as well as Jones, his wife, and an adopted ten-year-old Potewatmi (Potawatomi) boy, and a sixteen-year-old hired hand. While the children and Jones's wife were spared any molestation, the house was burned to the ground. Parker survived to tell his story only because he did not die from the throat-slitting he received. Left for dead he woke up later at the Ottawa Creek where the group dumped him.[83] Despite the financial and material loss to himself, Jones continued to support John Brown. Later in 1857 he mailed John Brown some money from him, a "free-will offering from your friend," even though he was unable to get the Odawa (Ottawa) Nation to provide financial support.[84]

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stoves: which had been burned by the Ruffians, for a highly civilized, intelligent, & most exemplary Christian Indian: for being suspected of favouring Free State men. He is known as Ottawa Jones; or John T[.] Jones" (John Brown and Karl Gridley, "An 'Idea of Things in Kansas,'" 83).

[82] Thaddeus Hyatt, "Testimonies of Nathaniel Parker, Horace L. Dunnell, Hinton S. Dunnell, Alexander MacArthur, James Hall, Jerome Hazen, and Charles Henry Caulkins" (December 5, 1856 to December 7, 1856), Thaddeus Hyatt Collection, MS Collection No. 401, Box 2, Folder 3, KSHS. From *KSMEM*.

[83] *Territorial Troubles Correspondence, 1855-1856*. From *KSMEM*. See also: John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 321.

[84] John Tecumseh Jones to John Brown, October 13, 1857, John Brown Collection, MS Collection No. 299, Box 1, Folder, 28, KSHS. From *KSMEM*. See also: John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 245n1, 246n1, 247n1. Quote from: John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 245n1.

Individuals and towns in Kansas Territory—a place still with a significant Native presence—became known as either pro-slavery or abolitionist sympathizers. Westport, Missouri and Battisteville and Paola, Kansas, while people knew Lawrence and Ottawa, Kansas identified as free-state locations.[85] Pro-slavery forces also took up strongholds in and around the Indian lands. Several hundred southern men who became to be known as 'Buford's Expedition' for the leadership of the Alabaman slave-owner Jefferson Buford, camped on the Myaamia (Miami) Reservation in 1856. When an Indian agent stopped to speak with the Buford Expedition, he was shot and killed. Slavery supporters even found Tauy Jones and his estate to be a good reference for intelligence regarding the conflicts. Edward W. Hoagland relayed in November of 1856 that he had learned about the arrest of the Free State Militia Captain James R. Holmes after staying at Ottawa Jones's place.[86]

The antebellum era and the outbreak of the Civil War would cause great disruption, chaos, and disorder for the Native nations. Violence swept through the land. Guerilla fighters and soldiers alike burned buildings and destroyed crops. Everyone was looked upon with suspicion as supporters of the other side of the conflict. Despite these difficulties, Native leaders like Catahecassa (Black Hoof) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) and Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)) saw themselves as

[85] John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 276, 276n1; Washington H. Chick, "The Vicissitudes of Pioneer Life," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 208; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 113; *KSHS Collections, 1919-1922*, 350-351. For more Bleeding Kansas incidents in Indian Country, see: Amy Dianne Bergseth, "Our Claims and Rights are Nothing': Causes of Myaamia (Miami Indian) Removal from Kansas to Oklahoma" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2011).

[86] John Brown, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 230; Connelley, *John Brown*, Vol. 1, 96, 100-101; Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six*, 661-662.

representatives for their nations and advocated for the health and wellness of their nations.[87]

For decades both the federal government and the indigenous nations recognized the need to look towards the future. By forecasting federal Indian policy as best as they could Indian nations and their leaders hoped to get a lead and any sort of advantage in the direction it was headed—territorial organization and further Indian land cessions and additional removal. The Methodist missionary Thomas Johnson wrote in October 1849, "'For many years my mind has been directed to the probable destiny of these remnants of tribes west of Missouri.'" He was "'fully satisfied that they never can be extensively improved as separate nations" eventually would "throw around this country some form of government, and buy up the surplus lands belonging to these little tribes.'"[88] The tribal nations and their representatives, recognizing that they would be asked to sell their lands, discussed creating a league, one in which, as banded together, they could prevent the wholesale loss of the Native reservations. When efforts at negotiations failed, others sought the creation of a new territory of Nebraska, one in which Native representatives could promote tribal interests and seek the best deals they could get.

Although they were in a new era of treaty negotiation rather than warfare and bloodshed, Native leaders still recognized that their stances—of standing up for their communities, was still carried out with a warrior spirit and resolve to provide for and help their communities, as their relatives and kin. In Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker)'s

[87] Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 4, 19, DRT UWDC.
[88] Quoted in: Abing, "Before Bleeding Kansas," 62.

recounting of the events, he called the Nebraska territorial advocates "a few daring and resolute spirits in the Wyandott [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)] nation."[89]

"Bleeding Kansas" and its subsequent outbreak of the American Civil War greatly disrupted indigenous peoples in Kansas and Oklahoma.[90] Some nations, like the Myaamiaki (Miamis), initially maintained their neutrality by invoking their sovereign status. Some individuals, such as those belonging to the Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Lenape (Delaware), and Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) nations, enlisted in the armies of the North and the South. Families found themselves as refugees, displaced by the war, many residing temporarily at the Sac & Fox Agency in Kansas. Others, such as the Okáxpas (Quapaws), moved to the Odawa (Ottawa) Reservation in Kansas or with Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) near Lawrence, Kansas. Split along proslavery/anti-slavery lines, tribal nations signed treaties with the Confederacy and the Union.[91]

When the Civil War ended, then, the federal government already recognized the necessity of renegotiating treaties and rebuilding their relationship with Indian nations, both those who remained loyal to the Union as well as those who tested their luck with

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[89] Walker, "Nebraska Territory," 60.

[90] Angie Debo, "History," in Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 24.

[91] Velma Seamster Nieberding, "St. Mary's of the Quapaw," *COK*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Spring 1953), 3; *KSHS Collections, 1923-1925*, 617; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of its Development from the Date of the First European Exploration down to the Present Time, including Accounts of the Indian Tribes, both Civilized and Wild, of the Cattle Ranges, of the Land Openings and the Achievements of the most Recent Period*, Vol. 4 (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1916), 1531-1532; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 53-54; Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The Quapaws (Those who went downstream)* (Miami, Oklahoma: Dixons, Incorporated, 1976; Reprint, Quapaw, Oklahoma: Quapaw Tribal Council, 1982; Reprint, Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, for the Dobson Museum, 1999), 99-101. See also: Abelard Guthrie to James Henry Lane, November 21, 1864; George W. Collamore to William P. Dole, April 21, 1862. Both letters from *KSMEM*.

an alliance with the Confederacy.[92] After the Civil War, Native nations negotiated new treaties with the federal government, which initiated a new round of removals and intertribal interactions for these emigrant Indian Nations.[93]

[92] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 516.

[93] Birdsall, *The History of Jackson County, Missouri*, 480.

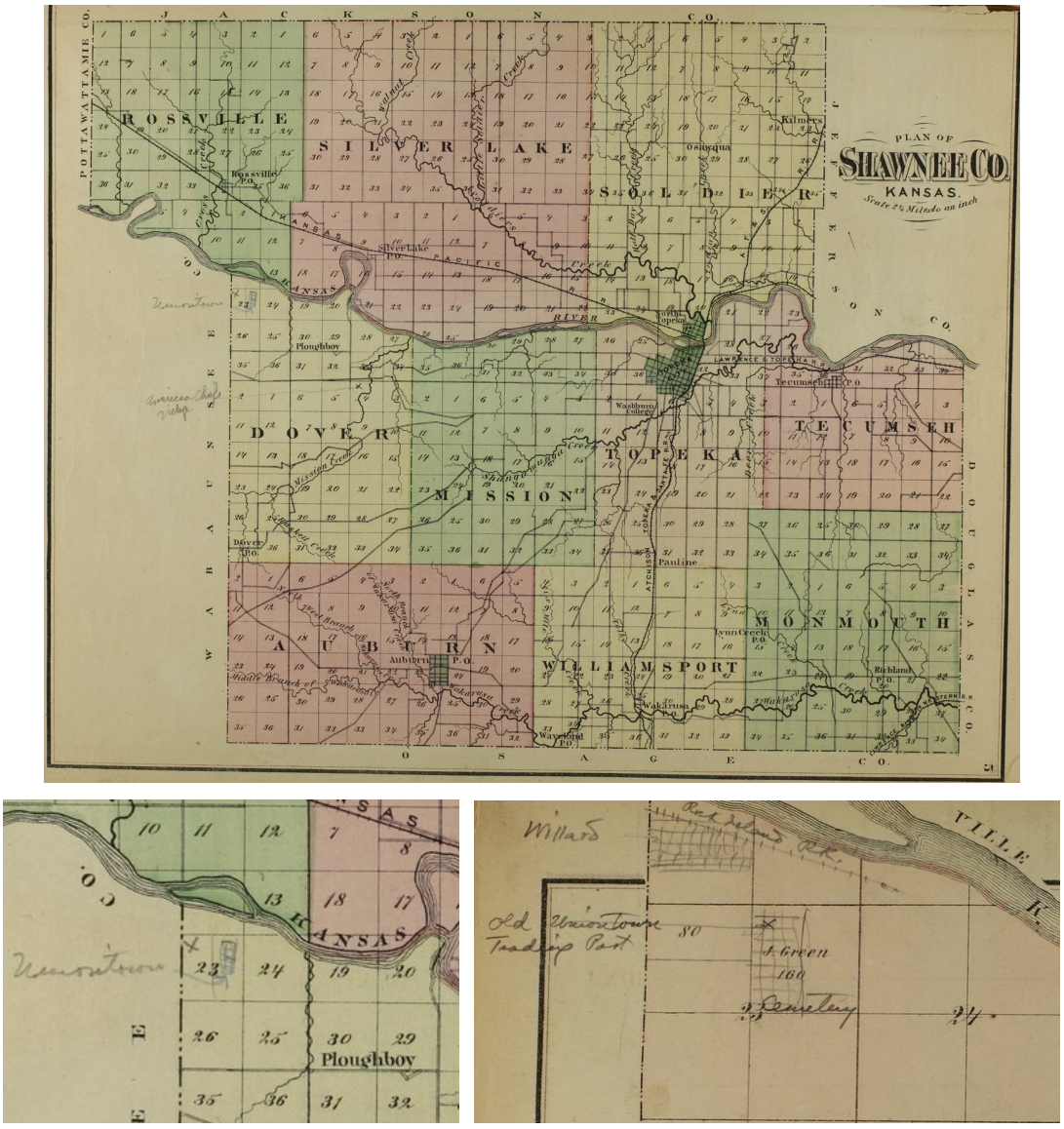

Figure 4.1: Uniontown Trading Post (now in what is Shawnee County, Kansas)
Figure 4.2: Uniontown Trading Post (Detail)
Figure 4.3: Uniontown Trading Post (Detail)
Figure 4.1 (Top), and Figure 4.2 (Bottom Left) and Figure 4.3 (Bottom Right): A dozen Missourians met at the Uniontown Trading Post in the Potewatmi (Potawatomi) Reservation, just over the border in Kansas, in the spring of 1852.
Source: Figures 4.1 and 4.2: "Map, (Outline,) of Shawnee Co.," in Frederick W. Beers, *Atlas of Shawnee County, Kansas. From Recent and Actual Surveys and Records Under the Superintendence of F. W. Beers* (New York: F. W. Beers & Company, 1873), 5. KSHS. Figure 4.3: "Dover [Township Plans]," in Frederick W. Beers, *Atlas of Shawnee County, Kansas. From Recent and Actual Surveys and Records Under the Superintendence of F. W. Beers* (New York: F. W. Beers & Company, 1873), 24. KSHS [Cropped detail].

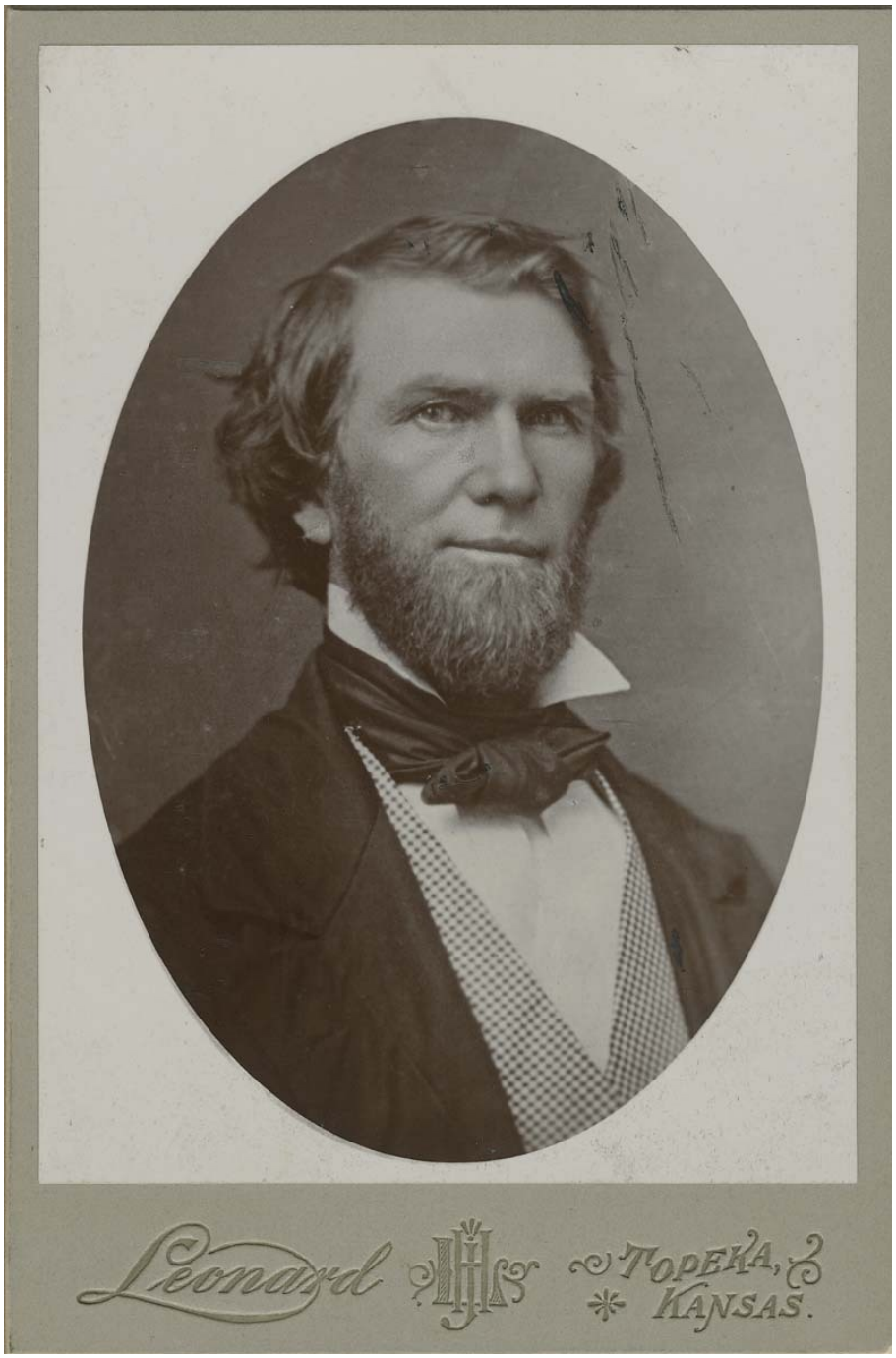

Figure 4.4: Tahkeh'yohshrah'tseh (Abelard Guthrie)
In October of 1852 a group of thirty-five men, a majority of them Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), elected Tahkeh'yohshrah'tseh (Abelard Guthrie), adopted into the community through marriage, to go to Washington, D.C. and represent the Nebraska Territory before Congress.
Source: Photograph of Abelard Guthrie, KSHS. Digital Copy from *KSMEM*.

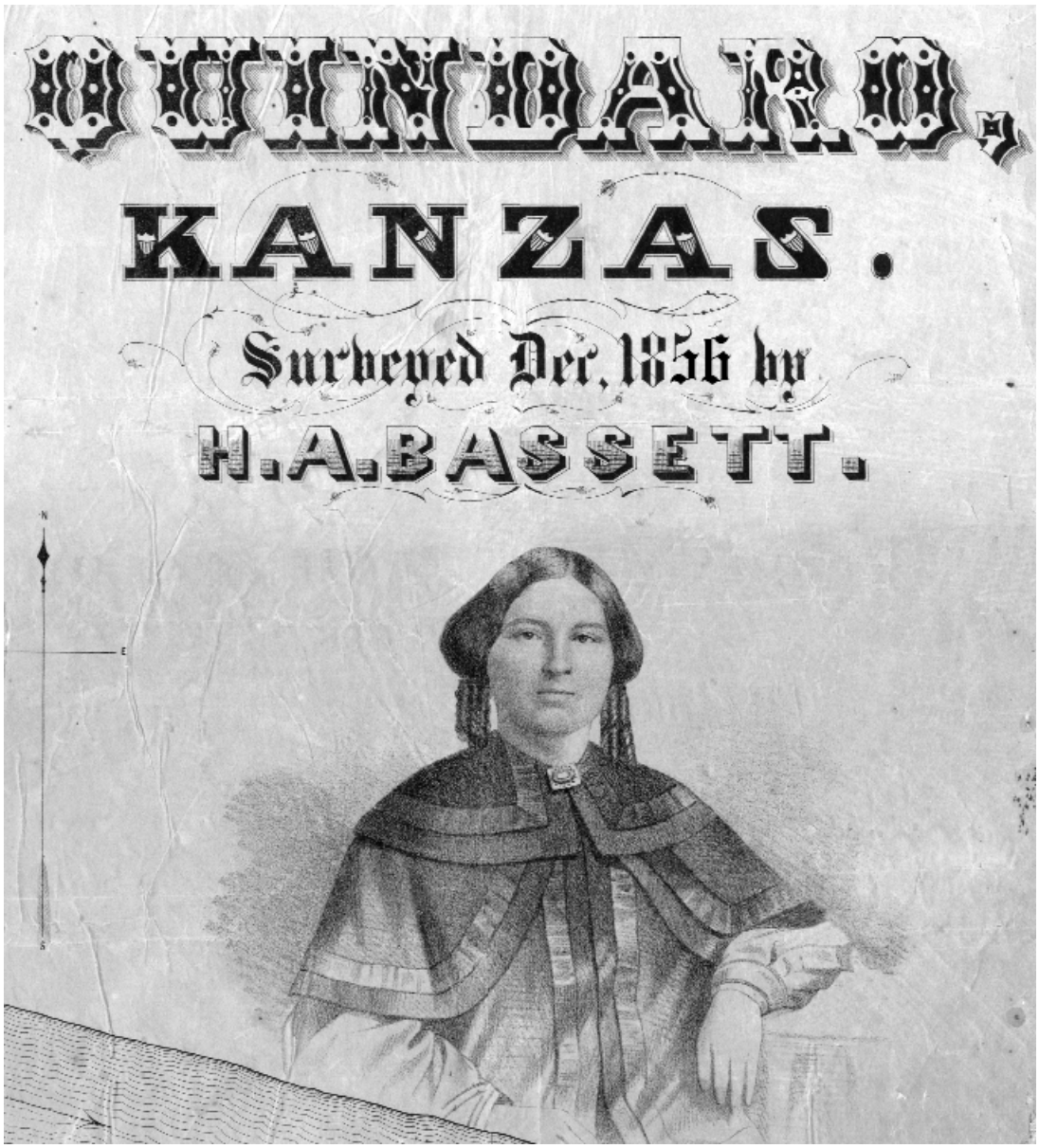

Figure 4.5: Quindaro Nancy Guthrie (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)-Šaawanwa/Shawnee) Quindaro Nancy (Brown) Guthrie, a woman of the Wandat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation and of Šaawanwa/Shawnee decent, and wife of Tahkeh'yohshrah'tseh (Abelard Guthrie, an American adopted through their marriage), was the namesake for Quindaro, Kansas.

Source: Jeff R. Bremer, "'A Species of Town-Building Madness': Quindaro and Kansas Territory, 1856-1862," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Autumn 2003), 157.

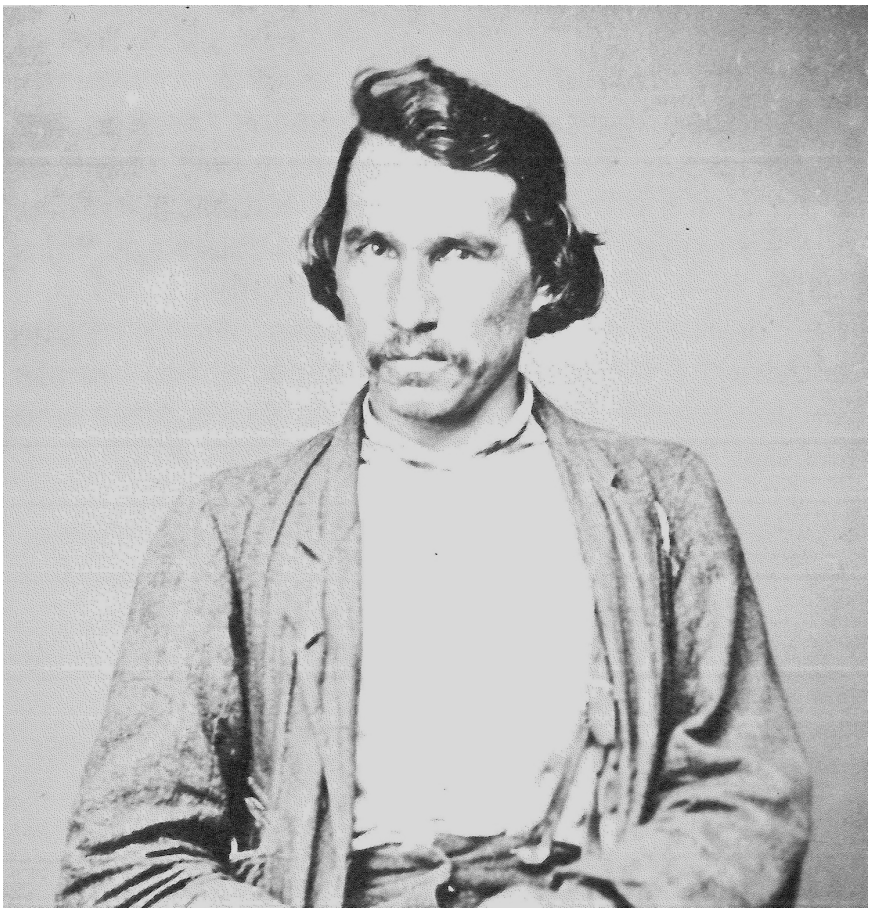

Figure 4.6: Nicholas Cotter (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te))
Nicholas Cotter (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) was one of the thirty-five men who voted for a Nebraska Territory representative in October of 1852. In the early 1880s he would serve as the chief of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) in Oklahoma.
Source: Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The History of Ottawa County* (Miami, Oklahoma: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1983), 311.

Figure 4.7: Isaac and Eliza Brown (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), c.1843-1854
Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) husband and wife pair Isaac and Eliza Brown came to Indian Territory from Upper Sandusky, Ohio when the nation was forcibly removed from the state in 1843. Isaac Brown would vote in the October 12, 1852 election for a Nebraska Territorial delegate that took place at the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Council House, in what is now Kansas City, Kansas.
Source: Photograph of Isaac and Eliza Brown. KSHS. Digital Copy from *KSMEM*.

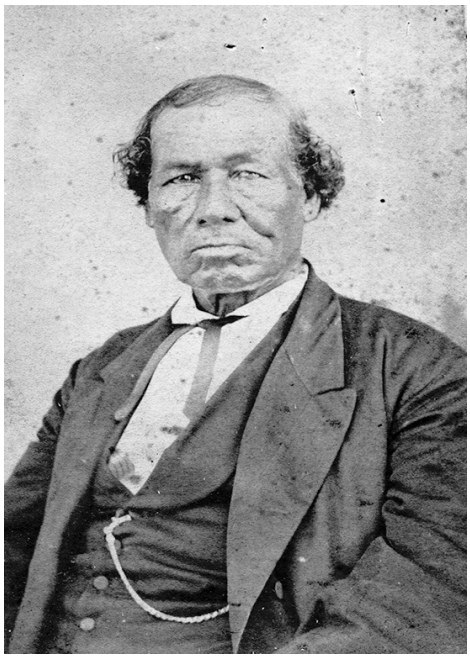

Figure 4.8: Lenipinšia (Samuel Baptiste Peoria) (Waayaahtanwa/Wea)
Lenipinšia (Samuel Baptiste Peoria), known as Baptiste Peoria, was an interpreter and tribal leader for the confederated Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking nations.
"Baptiste Peoria (ID: 005, Page: 06)," in Paola Free Library, Paola, Kansas, *1903 History of Paola Photo Album*, April 14, 2016, http://www.paolalibrary.org/info/test-2/baptiste-peoria-page-06/ (accessed 24 February 2018). [Cropped for detail].

Figure 4.9: Mary Ann Isaacs (Dagenette) Peoria (Brothertown Indian)
Mary Ann Isaacs, known as 'Mother Batees,' was the widow of the late Wisroncah (Waayaahtanwa/Wea) and later married Lenipinšia (Samuel Baptiste Peoria).
"Mrs Baptotiste [sic] Peoria – Wife of Baptiste (ID: 008, Page: 06)," in Paola Free Library, Paola, Kansas, *1903 History of Paola Photo Album*, April 14, 2016, http://www.paolalibrary.org/info/test-2/mrs-bapotiste-peoria-page-06/ (accessed 24 February 2018). [Cropped for detail].

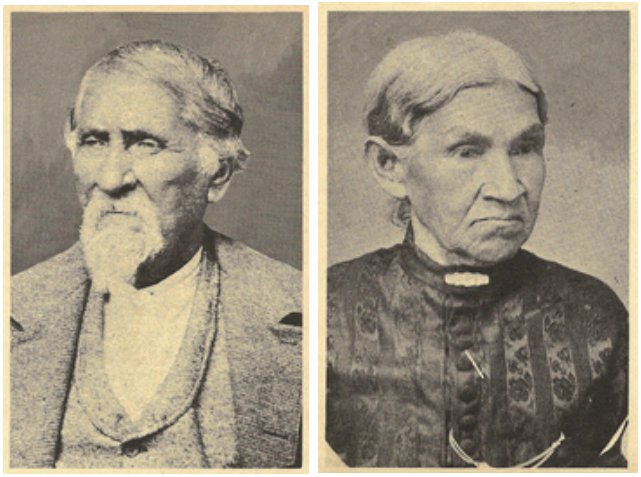

Figure 4.10: Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog) (Haudenosaunee-Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te))
Figure 4.11: Eliza Charloe Barnett Splitlog (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te))
Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog) (Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke/Seneca-Cayuga-Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) was one of the delegates at the July 26, 1853 territorial convention at the Wandat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Council House that elected Abelard Guthrie as their delegate to the Thirty-Third U.S. Congress. He married Eliza Charloe Barnett Armstrong, of a prominent Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) family.
Source: Velma Seamster Nieberding, "Matthias Splitlog's Salted Mine," *The West: True Stories of the Old West*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (July 1965), 22.

Figure 4.12: Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog)'s Cayuga Mission Church (Est. 1896)
Dyutruture (M. Splitlog) built this church in 1896 in Cayuga Springs, Indian Territory.
Source: Photograph by the author, September 14, 2014.

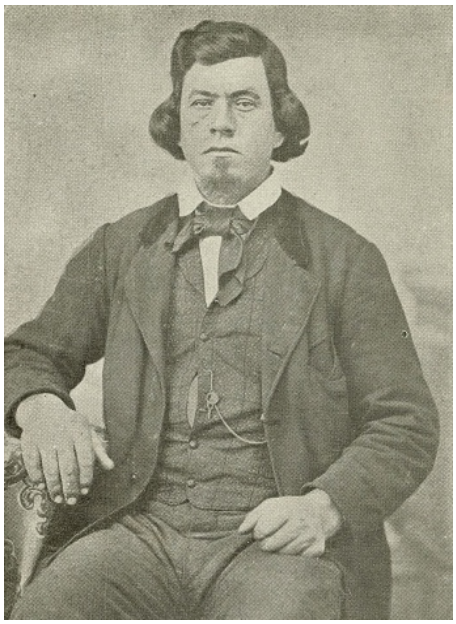

Figure 4.13: Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee)
Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket), the grandson of Weyapiersenwah (Bluejacket) and son of Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket), was both an ordained Methodist minister and a trusted tribal leader.
Source: NAA INV 00173900, Photo Lot 24 SPC Mw Shawnee BAE, NAA, NMNH, SI. [Cropped from original]. Digital copy provided by: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution.

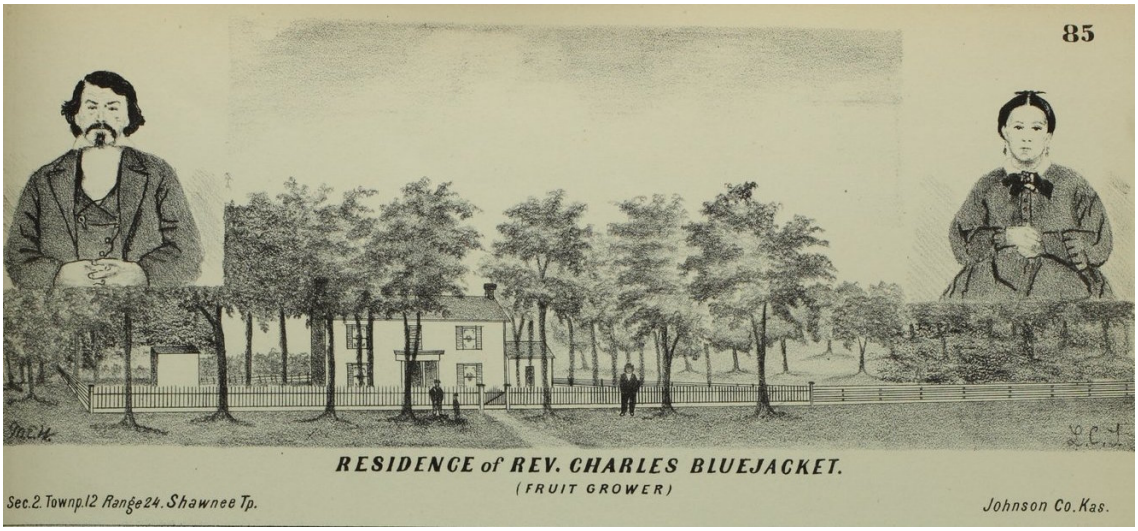

Figure 4.14: Home of Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) & Wife
The woman shown opposite Kalwe is either his second wife Wahnahtathequa (Winitabekwa) (Julia Ann Daughtery; married in 1841, died in 1870) or Louisa Captain (married the following year in 1871, while still in Kansas). Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) and Louisa Captain Bluejacket would both remove to Oklahoma in 1869.
Source: *Atlas Map of Johnson County, Kansas. Compiled from Actual Personal Surveys and Records by E. F. Heisler and D. M. Smith. History of Johnson County, Kansas by Oliver H. Gregg* (Wyandott, Kansas: E. F. Hiesler & Company, 1874), 85. KSHS. Digital Copy from *KSMEM.*
[Image Cropped to emphasize detail].

Figure 4.15: Šaawanwa (Shawnee) Methodist Indian Mission, Kansas
Children from many different emigrated tribal nations in eastern Kansas attended the Shawnee Mission from its beginning in 1839 until it closed shortly after the outbreak of the American Civil War.
Source: North Building, Shawnee Indian Mission State Historic Site, Fairway, Kansas. Photograph by the author, May 14, 2014.

Figure 4.16: Election for Territorial Delegate at the Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) Village
Judging that the July 1853 convention at the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/ Wyandot(te)) Council House ignored pro-slavery wishes, citizens elected another candidate at the Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) Village on September 20, 1853: Shawnee Mission's own Thomas Johnson.
Source: Illustration from: Albert Dane Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean. Life and Adventure on the Prairies, Mountains, and Pacific Coast. With More Than Two Hundred Illustrations, From Photographs and Original Sketches, of the Prairies, Deserts, Mountains, Rivers, Mines, Cities, Indians, Trappers, Pioneers, and Great Natural Curiosities of the New States and Territories, 1857-1867* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1867).
KSHS. Digital Copy from *KSMEM*.

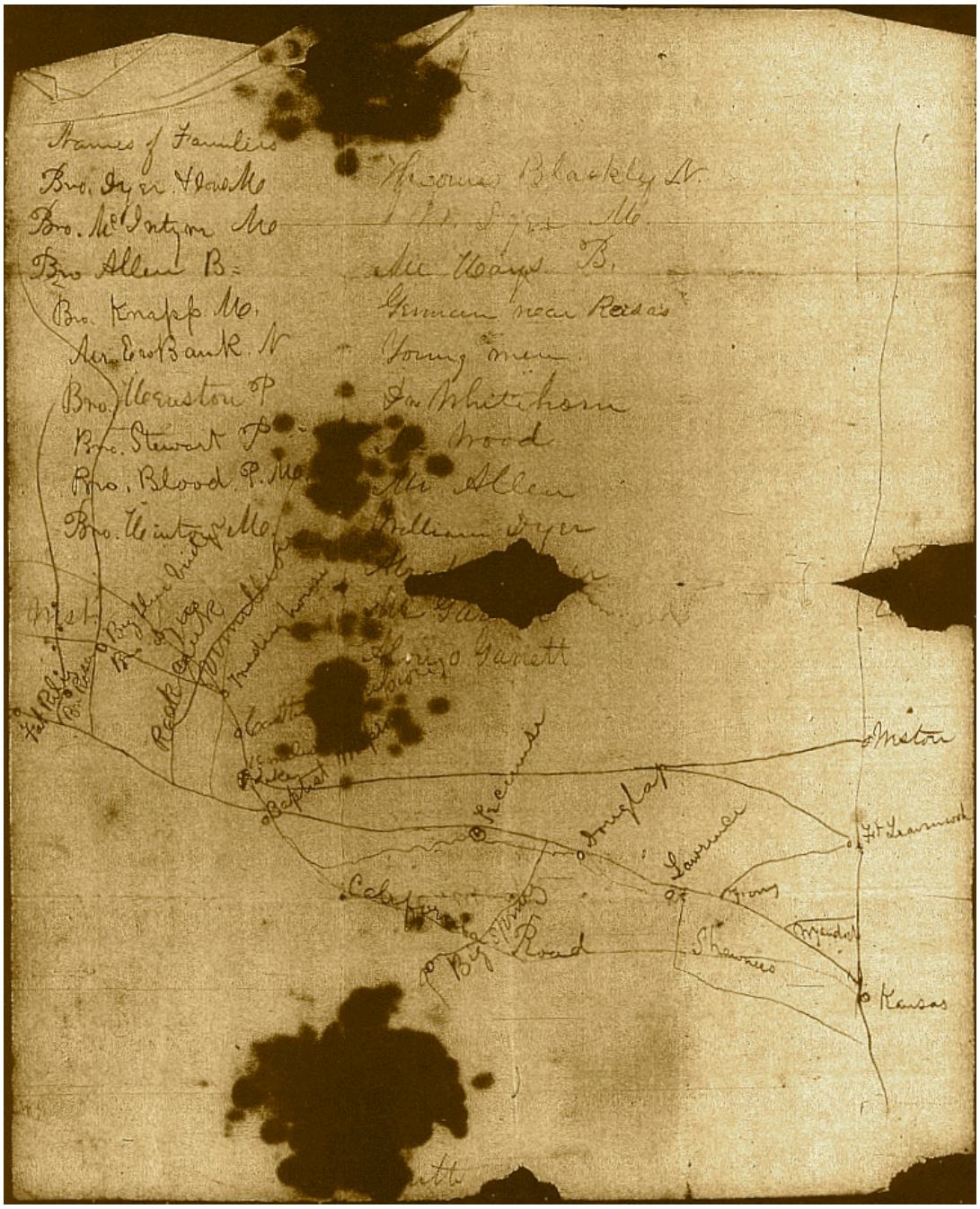

Figure 4.17: Map of Kansas Territory by James Sayre Griffing, 1854
A traveling Methodist minister assigned to the area in 1854, James Sayre Griffing, signified the locations of a trading house, the California Road, and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) communities on his map.
Source: Unknown Author, "There is much to be done here," *Private Letters: The Correspondence of Rev. James S. Griffing & J. Augusta Goodrich* (blog), n.d. https://privatelettersjsg.wordpress.com/1854-1856-bleeding-kansas/there-is-much-to-be-done-here/ (accessed 17 February 2018). Unfortunately, the unnamed author of this blog, does not relate the provenance of this map, beyond being the penmanship of the Reverend James S. Griffing. Many of the primary sources discussed come from private collections, The United Methodist Historical Library, Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas, or the KSHS.

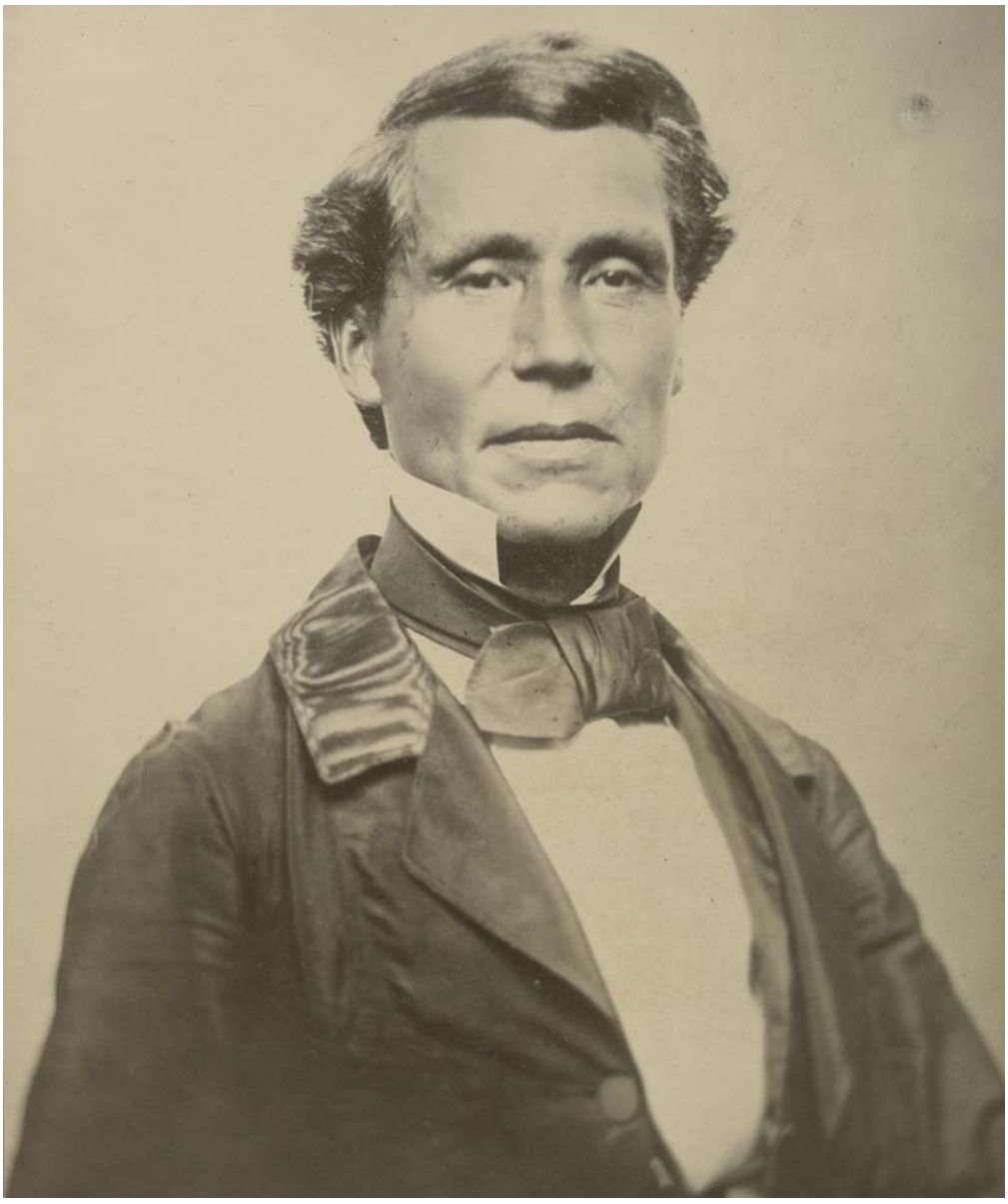

Figure 4.18: Tauy Jones, aka "Ottawa Jones" (Odawa/Ottawa)
The (Ottawa) Indian nicknamed 'Ottawa Jones' provided invaluable, indispensable assistance to the infamous John Brown during the Bleeding Kansas conflicts.
Source: Photograph of John Tecumseh Jones. KSHS. Digital Copy from *TKSO*.

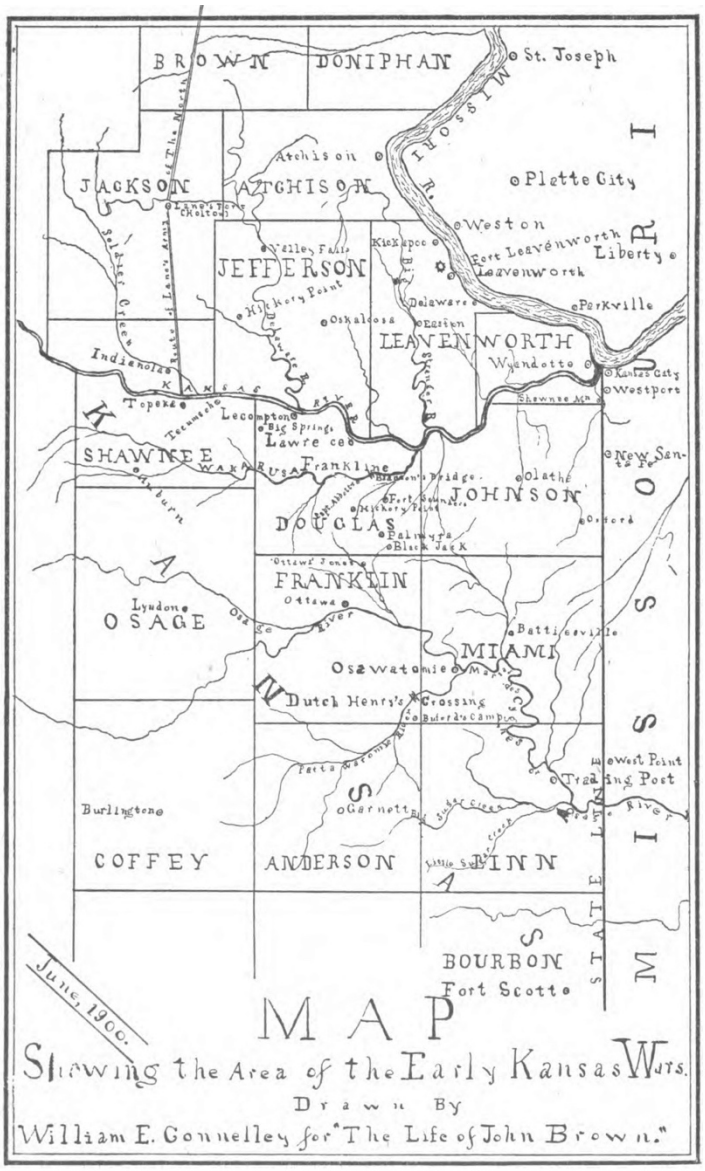

Figure 4.19: William Elsey Connelley's Map of Bleeding Kansas
William Elsey Connelley's map of Bleeding Kansas in *John Brown* shows both the river systems (ex. Big Sugar Creek, the location of the Catholic Potewatmi (Potawatomi) St. Mary's Mission and the Marais des Cygnes, where much of the Myaamiaki (Miamis) resided), as well as cities such as Wyandotte City and Kickapoo. Westport, near the Shawnee Mission, and Battiesville (Paola) were known pro-slavery towns, while Ottawa, Kansas and Ottawa Jones's place provided refuge for free staters. "Brown's Station" was located several miles west of Osawatomie.
Source: William Elsey Connelley, *John Brown*, Vol. 1 (Twentieth Century Classics Series No. 10, June 1900) (Topeka: Crane & Company, 1900), Opposite Title Page.

Chapter 5:
"Where the Remnants of a Number of Small Indian Tribes Live": Intertribal Interaction in Northeastern Oklahoma[1]

Northeastern intertribal interactions in the second half of the nineteenth century could be described as belonging to three different categories. First involved the physical landscape: the land cessions and establishment of Indian reservations. The second and third were political and cultural in nature. Native leadership engaged in intertribal councils and established policies to maintain Native control and desires in Indian Territory. Native peoples also interacted with each other, participated in each other's ceremonies and more secular friendship dances. After the end of the American Civil War, Native peoples once again began to rebuild and reestablish their relationships to the land and each other. Many Native nations sold their lands for revenue to rebuild and sustain their communities after their buildings and crops had been destroyed during the American Civil War. Many had become refugees, following the 'Loyal' Indian troops who fought for the Union in their retreat to Kansas (See Figure 5.1).

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Native refugees swarmed Kansas Territory, seeking asylum and reprieve from the destruction and chaos. In 1913, while in his nineties, the Odawa (Ottawa) elder named Kotohwan, known also as Joseph B. King, recounted the challenges of these years. By the time of the war, he explained, Tauy (John Tecumseh) Jones co-owned a general store with him. Kotohwan detailed that "[s]everal tribes from the Indian Territory were temporarily quartered on the Ottawa

[1] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 285.

[Odawa] reservation during the Civil War," residing near the general store Tauy and himself owned. Kotohwan recalled that Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Okáxpas (Quapaws), and Wažažes (Osages) all came and lived on the Odawa (Ottawa) reservation during the war.[2]

With the retreat of federal forces from forts in Indian Territory by the summer of 1861, the small Native nations were left vulnerable, surrounded by a growing number of Southern sympathizers in the area. While this may seem an inevitable outcome, it is nonetheless worth remembering that these tribes had been promised federal protection in various treaties with that government. The Confederate States of America approached the Native nations, including the small tribes. In the fall of 1861 leadership from the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), the mixed band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and the Okáxpas (Quapaws)—the three small tribal nations who resided in what is now the northeastern corner of the state of Oklahoma—met with representatives from the Confederate States of America in Tahlequah, Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Nation. They signed treaties with the Confederacy that included provisions they had previously made with the United States. The stipulations included protection from foreign invaders, the education of their children, and the right to hunt and fish in their territories. Watishinekehde of the Okáxpas

[2] Joseph B. King, "The Ottawa Indians in Kansas and Oklahoma," in *KSHS Collections, 1913-1914*, 377; Brian Joseph Gilley, *A Longhouse Fragmented: Ohio Iroquois Autonomy in the Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 103-105; Arrell Morgan Gibson, "America's Exiles," *COK*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring 1976), 15; Linda Parker, "Indian Colonization in Northeastern and Central Indian Territory," 113; Frank H. Harris, "Seneca Sub-Agency, 1832-1838," *COK*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Summer 1964), 94. Tauy Jones (Odawa/Ottawa) was also instrumental in bringing about the development of Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kansas. Now a private Christian college. It began as a Baptist school for Odawa/Ottawa children, but transitioned to settler colonial education. It is now a private Christian college and Tauy Hall does bear Tauy Jones's name. For a while, with Dr. Beverly E. Roger (Myaamia/Miami) as the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, the university fostered a relationship with the Odawas (Ottawas) in Oklahoma—the Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma. For more on the controversy, see: Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

(Quapaws), Little Town Spicer and Small Cloud Spicer of the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Thehconagah (Lewis Davis) and Joseph Mohawk of the mixed band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), as neighbors familiar with each other, camped together to and from the Confederacy's meeting.[3]

Velma Seamster Nieberding explained, "As the war developed, it became obvious that the Quapaws [Okáxpas] would not be able to hold their land. This also was true of their neighbors, the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] and Seneca-Shawnees [Shotinontowane'á:ka-Šaawanwaki]. All of them saw their homes looted and horses and cattle stolen while their men, suspected of being a part of Stand Watie's Cherokee [Confederacy] troops, were shot or captured." Nieberding reiterated that, "This is a tribal memory of the war when the country, as they say, 'broke in two' but it is not found in official documents." It is found in recollections of key participants looking back from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was not about any specific geographical locations or events. As Nieberding noted: "It is rather a fixed impression of fear, hunger, and exile, added to a deep sense of betrayal by the Government they had trusted." Like the other Native refugees who withdrew to Kansas, Nieberding noted: "the lean bellies of the Quapaws did not ache the less because they were fewer in number." Just because they did not have large populations like the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), the small nations went through similar episodes of (ante)bellum violence, fear, and retreat.[4]

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[3] Watishinekehde was also called Wartoshe, variously spelled as Warteshe, Wartesha, or Watesha. Thehconagah is also spelled Quashacaugh. See also: Glenna J. Wallace, "Chiefs of the Eastern Shawnee Tribe," in *ESTORTA*, 173-174; Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The Quapaws (Those who went downstream)* (Miami, Oklahoma: Dixons, Incorporated, 1976; Reprint, Quapaw, Oklahoma: Quapaw Tribal Council, 1982; Reprint, Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, for the Dobson Museum, 1999), 97-99.

[4] Nieberding, *The Quapaws*, 99.

The United States government and the Indian Office took these opportunities to also relocate other Indian nations—especially those in the newly formed state of Kansas (1861). The second and third interactions are what Leech Lake Ojibwe/Anishinaabe and Mdewakanton Dakota scholar Scott Richard Lyons has called "the twin pillars of sovereignty: the power to self-govern and the affirmation of peoplehood."[5] That is, the political—the maintenance and creation of government—and the cultural—the expression of indigenous languages, ceremonies, music, and material cultures. In all three 'categories' the small tribal nations of utilized kinship connections and their relationships to themselves and others as significant factors for preservation, maintenance, and survival as both sovereign indigenous governments and as individual people with unique cultures and languages.

For many tribal nations in Kansas, Bleeding Kansas, the American Civil War, and the division and allotment of their tribal lands devastated their communities. With the breakup of the reservations often came yet more diasporas (See Figure 5.2). Many Native people who were granted U.S. citizenship and declared 'competent' to maintain their own separate lands, would lose their lands to unscrupulous business deals or the accumulation of debts. An exception, Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) maintained their reservation lands until the federal government forced them to relocate south to Indian Territory (See Figure 5.3 and 5.4). Most would move to live with their Absentee Šaawanwa (Shawnee) kin in what is now the middle of Oklahoma, but some would relocate with the Loyal and Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). Other Native people maintained their small allotments. Some selected the choice of United

[5] Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty: What Do American Indians Want from Writing," *College Composition and Communication*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (February 2000), 456.

States citizenship when faced with the option of forced removal south to Indian Territory or to retain their lands as individual law-abiding citizens of the United States and the state of Kansas.[6]

I. Negotiating for "A Home Down There": Post-War Removal, Reconstruction, and the Creation of a Diverse Northeastern Oklahoma Indian Country[7]

"[W]hen my friend [Seneca George] Spicer, the Cowskin Seneca [Shotinontowane'] came to the Agency where I was, on his way here I had ~~then~~ agreed to make a treaty with the Peorias [Peewaaliaki], but ~~I~~ when I found out that they had made a treaty with the Quapaws [Okáxpas] I changed my mind and said if I did not treat with the Peorias [Peewaaliaki] I would treat with the Shawnese [Šaawanwaki/Shawnees] and it is my wish when I leave the Shawnese [Šaawanwaki/Shawnees] to go with the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka], that they shall have the lands and have such Indians to live with them as they wish."

John Whitetree (Shotinontowane'/Seneca), Washington, D.C., February 5, 1867[8]

American Indians became a part of America's Reconstruction and Reunion, which for them as for newly freed African Americans, was a time of tentative peace punctuated by continuing violence and the threat of backlash. While the rest of the nation worked to reunite the southern states with the Union and find a place for the newly-emancipated African American slaves with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, the Native nations in the American West, especially those in the border areas of what would become Kansas and Indian Territory, took the lead in another contemporaneous process of political and physical rebuilding. One of the

[6] R. David Edmunds, "'Paint Me As Who I Am': Woodland People at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century," in *Always a People: Oral Histories of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 12.

[7] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 76, DRT UWDC.

[8] Ibid., 23-24, DRT UWDC.

biggest pieces of legislation that significantly shaped the northeastern Oklahoma region was the Omnibus Treaty signed on February 23, 1867 in Washington, D.C. (See Figures 5.5 and 5.6).[9]

The 1867 treaty was an accumulation of many different negotiations between numerous Native nations. It had two main purposes: 1) to provide a source of revenue for an indigenous reconstruction and 2) to remove those Indians in Kansas down to Indian Territory. The beginning of the treaty language focused on the post-war financial windfall that it would give to those Native nations selling their lands to other Indian communities. The Treaty started by explaining that it was "necessary to provide certain tribes… now residing in the Indian country, with means of rebuilding their houses, reopening their farms, and supporting their families." "[H]aving been driven from their reservation[s] early in the late war, and suffered greatly for several years, and being willing to sell a portion of their lands to procure such relief," then the 1867 treaty land sales were an answer to those problems.[10]

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[9] This photograph is also duplicated in: Paula Richardson Fleming, *Native American Photography at the Smithsonian: The Shindler Catalogue* (Washington, D.C. and London: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 19. This publication listed Thakiwa (Sauk), Meskwa (Fox), and Wažaže (Osage) delegations in the left balcony, with Chippewa (Ojibwe), Kansa (Kaw), and Nakota (Yankton) representatives in the front row. There were at least two Tetonwan (Teton) Lakotas pictured: a Sičháŋğu Oyáte (Sicangu or Brulé Lakota) and an Oohanunpa (Two Kettle) Lakota (Paula Richardson Fleming, *Native American Photography at the Smithsonian: The Shindler Catalogue* (Washington, D.C. and London: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 19). See also: North Dakota State Government, "The History and Culture of The Standing Rock Oyate: Tribal Historical Overview," *North Dakota Studies*, https://www.ndstudies.gov/sr-tribal-historical-overview (accessed 27 March 2018).

[10] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 104, DRT UWDC. See also: Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 960; Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas, Containing A Full Account of Its Growth From an Uninhabited Territory to a Wealthy and Important State; Of Its Early Settlements; Its Rapid Increase in Population and the Marvelous Development of Its Great Natural Resources. Also, a Supplementary History and Description of Its Counties, Cities, Towns and Villages, Their Advantages, Industries, Manufactures and Commerce; To Which Are Added Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Prominent Men and Early Settlers, Illustrated* (Chicago: Alfred Theodore Andreas, 1883; Reproduction, Atchison and Topeka: Atchison County Historical Society in cooperation with the KSHS, 1976), 71-73; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of its Development from the Date of the First European Exploration down to the Present Time, including Accounts of the Indian Tribes, both Civilized and Wild, of the Cattle Ranges, of the Land Openings and the Achievements*

Even before the adoption of the 1867 Treaty, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) in Kansas had contemplated moving south. Faced with the violence and chaos of Bleeding Kansas sectionalism on the border, as well as the disintegration of their lands held in a common reservation with their 1855 'Manypenny' Treaty which provided for a land survey and allotment, some of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) decided to voluntarily relocate to Indian Territory. Haʔtaraš (Matthew Mudeater) led almost half of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) living in Kansas Territory to the Indian Territory (See Figure 5.7). Without any guarantees of a place to reside they made the one-hundred-and-fifty-mile journey in the summer of 1857.[11] Peter Dooyentate Clarke described the diaspora of the Wyandots within the last five years. "Since the last Treaty the Wyandott [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)] Nation are pretty much broke[n] up," Dooyentate explained. "Some have emigrated to the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka]. Some to Ohio and some remains [sic] in Kansas."[12] Asked years later in 1875 about their arrival to Indian Territory, John Sarrahass, leader of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), explained: "We came in small bands and parties."[13] Instead of

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of the most Recent Period, Vol. 1 (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1916), 387; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub & Company, 1908), 110.

[11] John Steckley, "The Name 'Mudeater,'" *Wyandotte Nation*, October 4, 2015, http://www.wyandotte-nation.org/tribal-news/the-name-mudeater/ (accessed 4 March 2018); Robert Emmett Smith, Jr., "The Wyandot Indians, 1843-1876" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 1973), 146; Wayne T. Walker, "Matthias Splitlog: Millionaire Indian," *Pioneer West*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (February 1972), 12-13. One of Gatschet's informants said that someone with the last name Mudeater lived in the Miami Reserve. The name Mud Eater, however, Gatschet had in his list of Shawnee Personal Names. The name after Mudeater—Tooley—the informant did say "Tooley is really Wyandot [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandotte]." This perhaps further mixture / confusion by the informant. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Notes on the Miami, 1890-ca. 1895*, Notebook No. 2, NAA MS 3025, NAA, NMNH, SI.

[12] Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 94-95.

[13] *TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)*, 82.

one concerted forced removal, many Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) followed friends or relatives to Indian Territory, Ohio, or across the border into Canada.

After the defeat of the Nebraska Territory, some Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) began discussing purchasing land from the Cowskin or Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). Hähshäh´rēhs, (William Walker) wrote to his brother Rah´hahntah´seh (Matthew R. Walker) on June 22, 1856. While he was in Washington, D.C., Hähshäh´rēhs had run into other Native representatives conducting business. "The [Shotinontowane'] Seneca delegation from Cow Skin [sic] are here," he detailed. His other brother, Wāh'wahs (Joel Walker) had told him that "[John W.] Gray Eyes and [John S.] Bearskin wished to perfect some arrangement with them for the benefit of such a decline coming under the laws of Kansas Territory; but unfortunately, according to what Geo[.] Herron says, this is 'all gammon.'"[14]

It would not be until 1859 that Haʔtaraš (Matthew Mudeater) and his group of Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) made arrangements with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and bought land from then in Indian Territory. In the agreement the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) would gift to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) two-and-a-half-mile strip of their reservation lands. The Civil War thwarted any attempt at fulfilling this promise and transaction.[15] This pact, however, did not necessarily turn into a ratified treaty. Instead it was an agreed upon deal, where the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) "at some future time when they needed it" would give the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) the land as a token of their appreciation for their

[14] W.W. [William Walker] to M. [Matthew Walker], June 22, 1856. From: *KSMEM*.

[15] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 3-8, DRT UWDC. See also: Wayne T. Walker, "Matthias Splitlog: Millionaire Indian," 12.

"former kindness when they were in Ohio."[16] This former kindness, we must remember, is that the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) permitted the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) to reside near them in the Ohio Valley along Tsaʔ^{n}dúhstiʔ, the Sandusky River, in the early nineteenth century (See Chapter 1). Those Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) became known as the 'Sandusky Senecas,' the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) who lived along the Sandusky River in the Ohio Valley.

This 1859 agreement was couched in terms of reciprocity to their friends who they had resided next to when in the Ohio Valley. The rationale was that "under an old understanding… the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] acknowledge their obligations to the Wyandott[e]s [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] for giving them a home in Ohio, and desire to reciprocate the favor."[17] When 1867 discussions began, the first order of business was to clarify what former arrangement the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) had made with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). The Indian Office representatives asked about the "contemplated… arrangement."[18]

The agreement was for the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) to give to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) the two and a half acres. The Sandusky or Cowskin Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) fulfilled their agreement—but this time the specifics was to sell a larger portion, instead of giving them the two and a half acres. The treaty provided, in Articles 13 through 15, for the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) to sell some of their reservation lands to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). This was the lands specifically mentioned that the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) sold in

[16] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 9-10, DRT UWDC.
[17] *1866 ARCIA*, 55-56.
[18] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 6, DRT UWDC.

Article 1. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) received, "for their future home, the land ceded by the Senecas" in Article 1.[19]

Before the 1867 Treaty tribal nations with reservation lands in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma were the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), the Okáxpas (Quapaws), and the Lewistown mixed band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) (See Figures 5.8 and 5.9). In the south end were the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) with around 67,000 acres (See Figure 5.10). The Okáxpas (Quapaws) were up near the Kansas state border with 96,000 acres (See Figure 5.11). The Lewistown mixed band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) resided in the middle, sandwiched between the Cowskin Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and the Okáxpas (Quapaws) (See Figure 5.12).

With the 1867 Omnibus Treaty, however, the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and affiliated nations, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), and the Odawas (Ottawas) came to reside on some of the lands formerly of the Okáxpas (Quapaws) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) (See Figures 5.13 and 5.14). A dozen tribal nations—the Mixed Band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), the Cowskin Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and affiliated nations—the Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Peeyaankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas)—the Okáxpas (Quapaws), Odawas (Ottawas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) negotiated for land sales and purchases. The Kansas River Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Myaamiaki (Miamis), although not directly involved in the treaty, had interests in the outcomes. The Kansas River Šaawanwaki (Shawnees)

[19] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 21-23, 108-109, DRT UWDC. Quote from: Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 108-109, DRT UWDC.

wanted to negotiate for lands in Indian Territory, and the Myaamiaki (Miamis), although not involved in the sales, many anticipated also moving down south.

The first business of the 1867 treaty was the sale of some Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and mixed band Shotinontowane' (Seneca) and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) lands. Articles 1 through 3 provided for the sale of a northern portion of the Shotinontowane' (Seneca) lands, as well as half of the Shotinontowane' (Seneca) portion and twelve thousand acres of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) portion of the Mixed Band reservation. This had been designated and solidified with the Stokes Commission Treaty made in 1832 at Buffalo Creek, Indian Territory. Article 4 of the treaty sold the western portion of the Okáxpa (Quapaw) reservation, as well as the far northern portion on the Kansas side of the border called the 'Quapaw Strip.' Today the Okáxpas (Quapaws) have some of this land held in trust, and the legal system has ruled in their favor for extension of their gaming revenues and other businesses on those lands (See Figures 5.15 and 5.16). The lands sold to the other Indians were a portion of the lands assigned in the May 13, 1833 New Gascony, Arkansas Territory treaty with the Okáxpas (Quapaws).[20]

These land sales served as a source of revenue for reconstruction and rebuilding after the devastation and losses from the American Civil War. Articles 5 through 8 regarded the formal split of the Lewistown mixed band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). Although having allied themselves with each other and living near each other in the Ohio Country (Lewistown, Ohio), the split now seemed appropriate. The division and land sale created an income for reconstruction. The

[20] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 105-106, DRT UWDC. See also: Nieberding, *The Quapaws*, 103-105.

Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) would unify with the Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). By September of 1868 the Indian Agent reported that "the mixed Senecas [Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka] have nearly all moved down with the Cowskin [Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka] Senecas."[21]

From this unification and sale of some of their lands, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) would receive much-needed revenue. The nations could rebuild their homes and purchase farming tools and other necessary machines and materials. This was for "agricultural implements, seed, and provisions for themselves and their families" and for "establishing their homes… and other articles necessary for the general welfare of the people."[22] The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) became known as the Eastern Shawnees, the Eastern Šaawanwaki. The Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) then agreed to confederate with the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). Articles 9 through 11 of the treaty provided for the sale of Okáxpas (Quapaw) lands for other Native nations, those relocating from Kansas. Again, the revenue would bring much added relief and assistance, greatly needed since the Civil War.[23]

Article 12 of the Treaty regarded an investigation into any compensation or monies that the federal government might award to the Native nations for losses during "Bleeding Kansas" and the Civil War. The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Okáxpas (Quapaws), the treaty outlined, had been "driven from their homes during the late war, and their property destroyed, the government being under obligations to protect them, but for the time unable to do so." Ironically the last part of that statement, the part recognizing that the U.S. government

[21] *1868 ARCIA*, 733.
[22] Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 961-962.
[23] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 106-107, DRT UWDC.

was supposed to protect them but did not, was stricken from the final treaty language after Congress got a hold of it for amendments and comments. Regardless, Article 12 provided for a federal investigation into claims for losses during the war. This included crops and farm lands as well as their homes, buildings and other 'improvements.'[24]

Many Native people from Kansas had already moved down to live with neighbors and kin who had reservations in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma, either during the Bleeding Kansas period or after Civil War disruptions.[25] Many Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) already moved south with the Lewistown Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) reported that during the Civil War many of them went to Kansas. Border ruffians harassed Native communities. Faced with death threats and escalating violence, families and whole communities fled the bloodshed and violence. The Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader named Tomahawk spoke to the General Council of the Indian Territory in 1875 and narrated the situation the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) found themselves on the eve of the Civil War in Kansas Territory. Relieved by the free-state supporters called "jayhawkers" Tomahawk explained that the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) were then able to return to their reservation lands "but found some of their lands already settled upon by white people." Some of their people would then relocate and live among the Absentee Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), or Aniyunwiya (Cherokees).[26] Shortly after these 1867 agreements, in 1868 and 1869, many more tribal

[24] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 107, DRT UWDC; Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 962.

[25] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 104-121, DRT UWDC.

[26] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 70-71.

members, those involved specifically with these treaty negotiations, as well as those who individually relocated, moved down to Indian Territory.[27]

Those who did not end up with land in Indian Territory because of the 1867 treaty were the Kansas River Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). The hope was that these Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) could purchase some of the lands the Mixed Band intended to sell. The Mixed Band Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) already agreed, however, to sell some land to the Peewaaliaki (Peorias).[28] The year before a delegation of Kansas Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), including Charles Bluejacket himself, went down to Spring river to talk to Thehconagah (Lewis Davis) and the other Mixed Band Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). They knew the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) were going to split, and both the Mixed Band and the Kansas River Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) had hoped some of the land would go to Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). On his way back to the Kansas River lands Charles Bluejacket recalled that he ran into Baptiste Peoria. Peoria told Bluejacket: "I want you to understand that I do not want to be in your way but wherever you go I want to go also and live as neighbors close by you, and wherever you settle I will settle close by you… [but] if you make any arrangements with the Senecas, I will not interfere with them." Both the Peorias and Shawnees who had become friends with their neighbors, and having relatives and kin in the south, wanted to also relocate to Indian Territory.[29]

Ironically, the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) secured the Mixed Band lands, not the Kansas Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). By the time of the signing of the 1867 treaty, the

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[27] Thoburn and Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma*, 110.

[28] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 22-28, 35, 47-53, 63-67, DRT UWDC.

[29] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 37-42, DRT UWDC. Quote from: Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 41-42, DRT UWDC.

Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) already agreed to sell their Mixed Band lands to the Peorias. Whitetree explained: "We [the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas)] agreed to let the [Peewaaliaki] Peorias have the undivided half of the reservation."[30] A Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader from the Mixed Band, Thehconagah (Lewis Davis), told Whitetree: "My Brother, I think I ought to do as you have done—you have gone with your own people who speaks [sic] the same language and I think I ought to do the same. I ought to join [with] the Shawnese [Šaawanwaki/Shawnees]." But, as Whitetree explained, the Mixed Band Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) representatives were "delegated to carry out the treaty with the [Peewaaliaki] Peorias."[31] Whitetree even admitted: "we were a little too fast in making a treaty with the Peorias."[32]

Instead, the Odawas (Ottawas) purchased some of the Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) reservation lands. Like the Okáxpas (Quapaws) who sold the western half of their reservation to the Peewaaliaki (Peorias), so too, did the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) sell the western half of their reservation to another Indian group—the Odawas (Ottawas), often called the Odawas (Ottawas) of Blanchard's Fork and Roche de Bœuf, the names of their Ohio reservations.[33] Partee (John Wilson), and Tauy Jones (John Tecumseh Jones) signed for the Odawas (Ottawas) with Nawquakeshick (Noon Day) (William Hurr) as interpreter (See Figures 5.17 and 5.18).[34]

Partee (John Wilson), and his negotiations with the Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Thehconagah (Lewis Davis), is credited as bringing about this land

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[30] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 33, DRT UWDC.
[31] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 95-97, DRT UWDC.
[32] Ibid., 35, DRT UWDC
[33] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas* (1939; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 268; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 69.
[34] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 109-110, DRT UWDC. See also: Fleming, *Native American Photography at the Smithsonian*, 237-238.

acquisition. The Odawas (Ottawas) purchased 14,000 acres of the western half of the Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) reservation. In later years Kotohwan (Joseph B. King) relayed that Partee, "John Wilson, our chief, realizing that they could not care for the money received from the sale of their lands and believing that most of the Ottawas [Odawas] would soon be penniless if not protected, entered into a contract with Theh-con-a-gah ([Thehconagah, Lewis] Davis), who was chief of the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], for the purchase of a part of the Shawnee [Šaawanwa] reservation, in the Indian Territory."[35]

The confederated Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) would purchase two sections of land. First, the northern lands that the mixed band sold. Upon the division of the Lewistown or Mixed Band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) retained this northern portion that butted up against the Okáxpas (Quapaws) to their immediate north. The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) then sold this lands to the confederated Peewaaliaki

[35] Joseph B. King, "The Ottawa Indians in Kansas and Oklahoma," 377; Blue Clark, "Ottawa," in Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma: A Guide*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 258-260; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide* (Oklahoma City: OTRD, 2010), 48-49, 53-54; "Treaty with the Seneca, Mixed Seneca and Shawnee, Quapaw, etc., 1867: Feb. 23, 1867. | 15 Stats., 513. | Ratified June 18, 1868. | Proclaimed Oct. 14, 1868.," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 963-964; Clarence King (Odawa/Ottawa), interview by Peggy Dycus, Vol. 49, Tape No. T-443-1, Side A, Part I (May 16, 1969), 2, DCAIOH, WHC, OU; The Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma, "History Archives Library," *Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma*, http://www.ottawatribe.org/history-archives-library/ (accessed 11 February 2016); W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People,* The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 79; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma: A Guide,* The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 301-312; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (1951; Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 218-222; Rennard Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 4-5; "Treaty with the Seneca, Mixed Seneca and Shawnee, Quapaw, etc., 1867: Feb. 23, 1867. | 15 Stats., 513. | Ratified June 18, 1868. | Proclaimed Oct. 14, 1868.," in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2, 961-962. Quote from: Joseph B. King, "The Ottawa Indians in Kansas and Oklahoma," 377.

(Peorias). The Peewaaliaki (Peorias) also purchased the western half of the Okáxpa (Quapaw) lands (See Figure 5.19). The Confederated Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyaankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) who signed the 1867 treaty included Lenipinšia Samuel Baptiste Peoria (Waayaahtanwa/Wea)— most commonly known as just 'Baptiste Peoria'—John Mitchell, and Edward Black.[36]

While the Myaamiaki (Miamis) did not formally have any transactions that involved the 1867 Treaty, they remained interested parties. Mihtohseenia (Thomas Miller), and Waapimaankwa (White Loon) (Thomas Franklin Richardville) signed for the Myaamiaki (Miamis), while Eecipoonkwia (John B. Roubideaux) served as interpreter (See Figures 5.20 and 5.21). The 1867 treaty noted that despite citizenship that some of the Myaamia (Miami) people obtained, many would want to relocate to Indian Territory. In that case, those who wished, could relocate with the Peewaaliaki (Peorias), on the lands they purchased from the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). This remained hypothetical—that in the future if the Myaamiaki (Miamis) would want to relocate south, they would then ally with the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking nations, and be named, "upon such confederation the united tribe shall take the name of 'Peorias and Miamies.'"[37] Although a congressional act passed in 1873 technically 'united' the Myaamia (Miamis) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias), and the western Myaamiaki (Miamis) removed to Peewaalia (Peoria) reservation lands in northeastern Indian Territory, the

[36] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 6, 104-112, DRT UWDC.
[37] Ibid., 23, 112-114, DRT UWDC.

Myaamia (Miami) Nation continued to maintain their separateness from the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) (See Figure 5.22).[38]

This Myaamia (Miami) hypothetical perhaps would happen if they saw themselves as in a similar situation as the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s). The federal government gave both the Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) the option of becoming citizens and remaining on allotted lands, or relocating to Indian Territory. The federal government saw these plans as bestowing some sort of agency upon these Native Nations. Native individuals could avoid another relocation and removal, but in doing so they would become United States citizens. Those 'competent' Indians, mostly wealthy and of mixed ancestry, could possibly 'pass as white' and become shining examples of American society, blend and assimilate with the rest of Kansas and through industry and hard work become prosperous and industrious American citizens.

In view of the assumptions which underlay this federal approach, it should surprise no one that the consequences were in fact quite negative. This sort of benevolence, coupled with neighborly aggression and hostility towards Indians in general, often had the result of creating landless, debt-ridden, and unwelcomed Native peoples surrounded by unfriendly whites. In the negotiations for Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) relocation, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) only wanted as neighbors those who shared the same values. George Spicer noted, the nation had agreed to have "only the Indian Wyandot[t]es [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s] … we

[38] Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, *Visit Miami, Oklahoma* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2014), 37-38; Thoburn and Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma*, 227. See also: Amy Dianne Bergseth, "Our Claims and Rights are Nothing': Causes of Myaamia (Miami Indian) Removal from Kansas to Oklahoma" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2011).

want to have live with us." The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leader Tauromee (Captain John Hat) chimed in that those especially vulnerable and needed to move were the poorest tribal citizens. Seneca Spicer also noted that "since the war, we have scarcely anything at all."[39] Their charity and kindness would belong to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation in their time of need, when they too, found themselves in desperate measures and stuck in poverty. Similarly, if the Myaamiaki (Miamis) found themselves poor and wanted to relocate next to others who spoke their language, they could do so. Another of the stipulations of the 1867 treaty was that the federal government would rebuild the Indian agency houses "destroyed during the late war" (See Figure 5.23). The agency would change to the "Quapaw Agency" in 1871 (See Figure 5.24).[40]

John Whitetree (Shotinontowane'/Seneca) of the Mixed Band summed up the complexity of the treaty negotiations. "[W]hen my friend [Seneca George] Spicer, the Cowskin Seneca [Shotinontowane'] came to the Agency where I was, on his way here I had ~~then~~ agreed to make a treaty with the Peorias [Peewaaliaki]," he explained. Whitetree continued: "but… when I found out that they had made a treaty with the Quapaws [Okáxpas] I changed my mind and said if I did not treat with the Peorias [Peewaaliaki] I would treat with the Shawnese [Šaawanwaki/Shawnees]." In the end Whitetree resolved: "it is my wish when I leave the Shawnese [Šaawanwaki/Shawnees]

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[39] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 13, 16-17, DRT UWDC. Quotes from: Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 13, 19, DRT UWDC.

[40] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 114, DRT UWDC. Figure 5.22 is the same building as the one published by Jefferson C. Davis Riddle, the son of Winema (Toby Riddle), in his history of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs). Jefferson Riddle captioned that the house was built around 1875 (Jefferson C. Davis Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (c. 1914; Reprint, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2004), 283). The Gilcrease has a photograph that it labels as "Quapaw Agent's Residence," c. 1850-1900, but it is not the same as the house in the Riddle publication or Dyer materials. Accession No. 4337.4514. GM.

to go with the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka], that they shall have the lands and have such Indians to live with them as they wish."[41] When the final treaty negotiations occurred, however, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) sold their half of the mixed band lands to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), while the Odawas (Ottawas) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias) would purchase lands from the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Okáxpas (Quapaws), and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas).

Many of the Kansas River Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) had to wait two years until they made an agreement with the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Nation. Their situation became very different from the other Native nations. The Lenape (Delawares) and these Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) ended up agreeing, for their removal to the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Country, to become Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) citizens and incorporate themselves into those communities. On June 7, 1869, the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) and Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) agreed Graham Rogers and Charles Tucker signed on behalf of the on the part of the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and that year many Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) would move to northeastern Oklahoma, settling mostly in what is now Craig County, Oklahoma.[42] Historians in the early twentieth century described the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees): "they settled among the [Aniyunwiya] Cherokee, becoming [Aniyunwiya] Cherokee citizens by adoption. They have always lived in a neighborhood by themselves near the town of Bluejacket, and have preserved many of their ancient customs and many of them still speak the [Šaawanwa] Shawnee language.

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[41] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 23-24, DRT UWDC.

[42] Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, *Visit Miami*, 37-38; Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. 1, 388, 388n3, 389. The names of both individuals, Graham Rogers and Charles Tucker appear in Gatschet's notes on Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria). It remains unclear, however, whether the informant conflated or confused the Algonquian-speaking communities who resided in Kansas Territory (Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Notes on the Miami, 1890-ca. 1895*, Notebook No. 2, NAA MS 3025, NAA, NMNH, SI).

They are progressive and many of them are well educated." Other Šaawanwa (Shawnee) communities resided and still live around White Oak, Sperry, Bird Creek, and Vinita, Oklahoma.[43]

Many Native peoples saw the opportunity to relocate to Indian Territory as a welcomed respite, as they could once again live in an area with Indian majorities and the federal government regulated outsiders such as traders and missionaries with licenses. Even before the Civil War, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) had sent delegations "down into the Seneca [Shotinontowane'] Country" and negotiated for "a home down there."[44] Just as many Native peoples voluntarily moved west of the Mississippi when it came to the forced removals of the 1830s and 1840s, so, too, did some individuals move south to live next to their relatives and friends.

[43] Thoburn and Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma*, 231; David J. Costa, "Miami-Illinois and Shawnee: Culture-Hero and Trickster Stories," Told by George Finley, Elizabeth Vallier, and an Unknown Shawnee Speaker, translated by David Costa, in *Algonquian Spirit: Contemporary Translations of the Algonquian Literatures of North* America, edited by Brian Swann (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 298; Dyrinda Tyson-Jones, "Black Book: 39 Tribes," *Oklahoma Today Magazine*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (July/August 2010), 71; Jason Baird Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds in Oklahoma," in Jason Baird Jackson and Mary S. Linn, *Yuchi Folklore: Cultural Expression in a Southeastern Native American Community*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series Vol. 272 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 168. Quote from: Thoburn and Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma*, 231.

[44] Ratified Treaty No. 361 (February 23, 1867), 76, DRT UWDC.

II. Incorporating Others: Responding to The Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), Nimíipuu (Nez Perce), Ppąkka (Poncas) and The Creation of The "Agency of the Captive Indians in Indian Territory"[45]

"When our… people were forcibly removed from that area [homelands in Nebraska in 1877] we became one of the thirty-nine nations here in Oklahoma. They [the federal government, the U.S. military] brought us through Baxter Springs, Kansas, and brought us here to this area where the Quapaw [Okáxpa] Nation, our cousins speak the same language as us [lived]. And they took us in. And they cared for us. We were reduced to five hundred people at that time. And we had very little ways of understanding how to live—how to regroup ourselves… And we didn't know how to go about the next step in our lives. My own grandfather, mama's daddy, was only eight years old on that walk. And yet here we are, sister. Here we are."

Casey Camp-Horinek (Ppąkka/Ponca), activist and tribal leader, 2016[46]

Many of the Native nations from Kansas Territory voluntarily relocated to Indian Territory, where familiar friends and relatives already lived. Others, however, like the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), had very opposite experiences. Forced to come to Indian Territory as prisoners of war, Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) were corralled like sheep into railcars that were designed for cattle transport. They were sent across the country to Indian Territory as punishment as enemies of the United States. This place that became known as the 'Agency of the Captive Indians in Indian Territory,' was

[45] Ideas and material from this section comes from my NCAIS Summer Seminar 2014 paper: Amy Dianne Bergseth, "From The Modoc War of 1872-1873 to Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual: 'Reading' a Late-Nineteenth-Century Klamath-Modoc Dictionary," A Paper Submitted to The Newberry Consortium in American Indian Studies (NCAIS) and The D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies at the Newberry Library, Chicago, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the NCAIS Summer Institute "Recording the Native Americas: Indigenous Speech, Representation, and the Politics of Writing," July 7, 2014-August 1, 2014. See also: Captive Agency Cash Book, 1875-1876, E.31, Box "E. 30, 31," RG75, Records of the Miami (Quapaw) Agency, The U.S. National Archives Records Administration at Fort Worth, Fort Worth, Texas (Southwest Regional Archives).

[46] Earl Hatley and Casey Camp-Horinek, "Environmental Climate Issues and Standing Rock," Presented at the 18th National Environmental Tar Creek Conference, Miami, Oklahoma, September 14, 2016.

none other than Baxter Springs, Kansas, on their way to Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory.[47]

Although given no choice but to allow these now-homeless prisoners to create a home, however temporary, on their reservation lands, the Native communities used their long-established traditions of incorporating others into their societies. The Native peoples already established at Quapaw Agency by the late nineteenth century, incorporated and welcomed the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) and other Native peoples. Some arrived just temporarily like the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) and Ppą́kka (Poncas), while others stayed for a longer, more permanent stay, like the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs). Although many Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs), when given the opportunity in the early twentieth century, returned to their northwestern homelands, some families and individuals remained, known today as the Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma.

First, one must understand the prelude to the arrival of the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks in Indian Territory in 1874—the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks Shéllual (The Modoc War) of 1872-1873. By 'listening' to Mák̲lak (Modoc) voices concerning the causes and consequences of the war, one can see that they emphasized the need to maintain their homelands and the distrust brought about with Euro-American violence in the decades before the outbreak of the war, eroding their confidence in Euro-American society and the United States. Remarkably, these first-hand accounts, hidden in 'salvage anthropologist' notes and documentation and only hurriedly and briefly mentioned, provide a better understanding of the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks Shéllual (The Modoc War) of 1872-1873.[48]

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[47] Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. 1, 390.

[48] The Modoc name for themselves are the Mák̲laks, or alternatively spelled Mak̲´laks. The

Infamous as the costliest Indian war for the United States, the Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (The Modoc War) of 1872-1873 epitomized other conflicts that continued with indigenous peoples in the American West. Although in 1868 the United States President Ulysses S. Grant advocated a 'Peace Policy,'—one in which Native peoples would compliantly agree to settle on reservation lands set aside for Indian peoples, assimilate to agriculture for their livelihood rather than hunting, and adopt Western dress and the English language—those who did not agree and comply faced retribution, violence, and coercion. Northeastern Oklahoma became the temporary "Agency of the Captive Indians in Indian Territory." While the United States brought Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), Nimíipuu (Nez Perce), and Ppąkka (Poncas) to the small

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Klamath spelling is with 'q,' Maqlaqs, meaning person or Indian. Others have said the Klamath word *mo:wat'a:kkni:* meaning 'Southerners' (William Bright, *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 262, 292). In a published book on Oklahoma history, the Modoc name is spelled as "Makalaks, meaning 'the people'" (Thoburn and Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma*, 242). Past and present scholars have either ignored or only briefly referenced this ethnologist's work. Touted as possibly the best-researched narrative on the Modoc War, Keith A. Murray's *The Modocs and Their War*, first published in 1959, fleetingly cited Gatschet's report. He used it to note the presence of epidemics, raiding, and slavery in Modoc and Klamath life before the war. The material from the Gatschet's report that Murray used was pulled from the introductory pages. He did not venture beyond those inaugural pages. See: Keith A. Murray, *The Modocs and Their War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1959] 1976), 12-13, 18, 325. On the extensiveness and thoroughness of Murray's monograph see: Albert L. Hurtado, "The Modocs and the Jones Family Indian Ring," in *Oklahoma's Forgotten Indians,* edited by Robert E. Smith and Bob L. Blackburn (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1981). Remarkably, then, this source has been underutilized in analysis and narratives of the Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (Modoc War) of 1872-1873. Robert Aquinas McNally's *The Modoc War: A Story of Genocide at the Dawn of America's Gilded Age* (2017) does not acknowledge these Native sources. See also: Robert Aquinas McNally, *The Modoc War: A Story of Genocide at the Dawn of America's Gilded Age* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2017. Much of Modoc history has also focused on the conflict and warfare—the extremely significant Modoc War of 1872-1873. The most recent, Boyd Cothran's 2014 monograph, traced the memory of the war in the public sphere and among Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modoc people). Patricia Nelson Limerick's chapter "Haunted America" in *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West* pointed out the colonial conquest and violence inherent in American history. The Modoc War was a poignant, dark example of violent conflicts with American Indians and it was the embodiment of the nation-wide patterns towards Indians. Limerick used the Modoc War as a specific example of her generalizations and patterns in Indian-white relations and most of American history. These included perpetual lack of treaty ratifications by the federal government and the fact that confusion and frustration in negotiations often boiled over into war and conflict. See: Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000).

northeastern corner of what would become Oklahoma, Native peoples, faced with unhealthy and harsh conditions, sought to rebuild bonds and connections with each other, and even these newcomers.

The story of the Modoc War is well known. What is not well known, however, is that salvage anthropologists interviewed and talked to Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modoc people) engaged in the conflict. Albert Samuel Gatschet, the Swiss-born Bureau of American Ethnology linguist, began to collect interviews and materials for his published ethnological report and accompanying dictionary in 1877, not yet five years after the conclusion of the war. His compilation, a two-volume Bureau of Ethnology report entitled *The Klamath Indians of Oregon* (1890), is said to be his life's work.[49]

Admirers of Gatschet's work recounted that "[t]he material was procured by extended research among the Klamath on their home reservation [in Oregon and California], supplemented by visits to their cousins, the exiled Modoc [Mō´dokni Mák̲laks] in eastern Oklahoma."[50] Gatschet included both the É-ukshikni (Klamath) and Mō´dokni (Modoc) dialects and spoke to multiple informants and interpreters. He repeatedly verified pronunciations, words, and phrases among both the California-Oregon and Oklahoma É-ukshikni (Klamath) and Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs). Gatschet clarified: "The Klamath or Mák̲laks language is spoken in two dialects, that of the Klamath Lake Indians, or É-ukshikni [the É-ukshikni Mák̲laks], and that of the Modocs [Mō´dokni Mák̲laks]. No obstacle prevented the gathering of the terms of both dialects into one and the same word-list, because the dialects differ but slightly."

[49] "Albert Samuel Gatschet—1832-1907," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 9, No. 3 (July-September 1907), 562-564; Neil M. Judd, *The Bureau of American Ethnology: A Partial History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 9-12.

[50] "Albert Samuel Gatschet—1832-1907," 564.

Although both were variants of each other, the speakers of both languages could understand each other.[51] Gatschet proudly asserted, "there is perhaps not a single word in this voluminous Dictionary that has not been repeatedly verified through Indian informants, and what could not stand this test has been scrupulously eliminated.[52]

Although Gatschet had many cooperative informants who helped him compile his materials, his work nonetheless remained quite difficult. Gatschet wanted to collect more histories, but he found 'roadblocks.' His desire to collect as much information that he could collided with Klamath-Modoc cultural practices. Gatschet aired his frustrations, resolving: "I conclude… that historic traditions do not exist among these mountaineer Indians. If there are any, I was unable to obtain them." Informants refused to give him names as cultural taboo to speak the name of the deceased. The lack of

[51] Albert Samuel Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), 1.

[52] Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 2, 2. Scholars, especially linguists, have been skeptical of Gatschet's phonetic accuracy and linguistic, skills, however, and further research and discussion is needed. Alfred Louis Kroeber said of Gatschet: "Gatschet was thoroughly sound, but his field work lacked decisive phonetic underpinning. He was brought up on book languages written with consistent letters, and to have to commit the seemingly fluctuating sounds of native languages into readable symbols evidently disconcerted him. I infer this from his published reports, such as on Klamath" (Alfred Louis Kroeber, "Powell and Henshaw: An Episode in the History of Ethnolinguistics," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 35, Nos. 1/4, A Retrospective of the Journal Anthropological Linguistics: Selected Papers, 1959-1985 (1993), 46). See also: informal discussions with linguist David Costa regarding Gatschet as a linguist, scholar, and collector of ethnological and linguistic materials. Costa maintained that despite the lack of linguistic training as recognized as being necessary today for fieldwork with indigenous people, Gatschet's interest in languages, initially as 'arm-chair' enthusiast turned Bureau of American Ethnology expert, allowed him to not be hindered by preconceived notions of the sounds of the language. The documentation, however, might have not been as accurate as someone with linguistic skills able to translate and transcribe the words to paper phonetically correctly, but he had some leeway as unhindered by preconceived notions of the sounds as other linguistics today might be. Additionally, it is only relatively recently that scholars have begun to look at Native-authored documents regarding U.S.-Native military conflicts. The 'language barrier' has barred from any major interpretations. The divulgence and better understanding of Native-authored documents in indigenous languages, have slowly allowed for further historical and linguistic inquiries. Correspondence and letters home to their families from Dakota prisoners after the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 letters are one example: Clifford Canku and Michael Simon, eds., *The Dakota Prisoner of War Letters | Dakota Kaśkapi Okicize Wowapi* (Saint Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2013). See also: Gwen N. Westerman and Glenn M. Wasicuna, "Letters from the Dakota, 1838-1878," Presented at "Translating Across Time and Space: Endangered Languages, Cultural Revitalization, and the Work of History" Conference, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 15, 2016).

success in requesting for collection undisclosed knowledge or information aggravated him.[53]

Gatschet himself also struggled with terminology and nomenclature. Ultimately to avoid misrepresentation and for just plain convenience Gatschet opted for the use of Euro-American designations in the title of his work. One cannot be certain as to whether he recognized the political implications and power struggles that came with the use of vocabulary, but Gatschet did wrestle with the complexities of naming and the decision of his publication's title. Gatschet described the confusion and (mis)appellation that led him to decide on his publication's title. One can see Gatschet's extensive logic and reasoning here:

> For the *Klamath people* of Southwestern Oregon there exists no general tribal name comprehending the two principal bodies, except Mák̲laks, *Indian*. This term when pronounced *by themselves* with a lingual k̲ has a reflective meaning, and points to individuals speaking their language, Modocs as well as Klamath Lake Indians; when pronounced with our common k it means *Indian* of any tribe whatsoever, and *man, person* of any nationality. The derivation of mák̲laks will be found in the Dictionary. I have refrained from using it in the title and body of my work to designate these Oregon Indians because it would be invariably mispronounced as mäk´kläks by the white people, and the peculiar sound of the k̲ would be mispronounced also. To call them simply *Klamath Indians* or *Klamaths* would lead to confusion, for the white people upon the Pacific coast call the Shasti, the Karok or Ara, the Hupa, the Yurok or Alíkwa Indians on Klamath River of California, the Shasti upon the Siletz Reservation, Oregon, and our Mák̲laks all Klamaths. It was therefore necessary to select the compound appellation, 'the Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon.'[54]

The recognition of the inevitability of Western and Euro-American misappellations decided the answer for him. Nonetheless, Gatschet still used Klamath-Modoc (É-ukshikni-Mō´dokni) subtitles in his reconstruction of The Modoc War. The Modoc

[53] Albert Samuel Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology,* Vol. 2, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), xli-xlii.

[54] Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 1, iii.

War, then, became more appropriately "Mō´dokni Mák̲laks shéllual."[55] As a result, the dictionary and the report showed what the Modoc War meant to the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modoc people), documented using their own language and providing a translation of it.

Gatschet even provided a hypothesis for why the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) clashed with Euro-Americans more than their northern É-ukshikni (Klamath) neighbors. Gatschet noted that the location of their homes was a major factor in the relationship between the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) and their white neighbors. Gatschet still commented, however, that the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) "showed themselves more aggressive and murderous towards the white element than the Klamath Lake [tribal peoples]."[56]

Even without any formal linguistic skills, and from just a cursory glance, once can find—to use Gatschet's term—"lexical treasures" that described the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) adjustment to reservation life and the lingering memory and importance of the most significant recent event and history—still a painful or fresh memory, the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks Shéllual (Modoc War) of 1872-1873.[57]

For example, the word for "Indian Agent" eventually entered Native lexicons sometime in the nineteenth century, and for Native people, in both their language and in common understanding, the Indian agents were distrustful and held a power to destroy and split their families without warning. The É-ukshik-Mō´dok(Klamath-Modoc) word for Indian agent, *shuashulaliámpkish,* denoted "watcher, watchman, guardian." The word derived from *shualaliámpka* which had multiple meanings. It could mean "to keep watch" or to "protect, watch the interests of" and "to take care of." The word for

[55] Ibid., 33.
[56] Ibid., xl.
[57] Ibid., 25.

shepherd was similarly *shī'p shuashulaliámpkish*.[58] The term for Indian Agent, then, included connotations of surveillance as well as responsibility. When the war broke out, then, the inability of the federal government and the Indian agents to follow out their promises of protection and assistance contributed to the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks' (Modocs') turn to war as a last resort. Other Native peoples of the Quapaw Agency also feared the Indian agents. Far from being a 'benevolent uncle or provider' for Native people, they instead were looked upon with fear and distrust. George J. 'Buck' Captain (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) would recount in later years as an elder, that everyone feared the Indian agents, because they took the children, as young as the age of three and four, often without any notice, to be forced to go to the boarding schools, as was mandated by the federal government.[59]

The Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) stressed the underpinnings of the war began with disputes over their reservation lands and Euro-American violence that threatened peace. Although these stories of antebellum violence perpetrated by Euro-Americans are recounted elsewhere and often repeated in discussions of the causes of the war, the 'voices' of the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) Gatschet interviewed, arguably, described the early 1850s violence with more specific details in a calculated articulation of their

[58] Original published definition is in italics. The italics are omitted here in quotation. Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 2, 363. The use of the term "lexical treasures" comes from Gatschet's introduction where he explained to the reader that "Narratives and other texts, correctly worded, yield the most important contributions to a word-collector, and are in every way preferable to the gathering of disconnected terms from an unknown language. I have therefore availed myself fully of the lexical treasures stored up in the historic, ethnologic and poetic specimens obtained from the natives; but, since their interlinear translation cannot, in the narrow space allotted, give in every instance the full import of a term or phrase, a thorough understanding of my Klamath Texts, especially of the songs, implies the unremitting use of the Dictionary." Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 2, 2.

[59] George J. 'Buck' Captain (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 12, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 56.

point of view to a Euro-American observer. Kaitchkona Winema, known as simply Winema (Toby Riddle), Mō´dok (Modoc) interpreter and respected cousin to Kintpuash (Captain Jack), recounted stories to Gatschet (See Figure 5.25 and 5.26).

Kaitchkona Winema told Gatschet of the massacre of Mō´dok (Modoc) families in the early 1850s while the village camped under the white flag of truce (See Figure 5.27 and 5.28). Winema explained: "*at nû k´léwi shishû´kash, shû´ûtanksh shaná-ulî p´laikî´shăm palpálish shîl k´-uleˇxan*," which roughly translated, meant that "now that I quit fighting, I desired to raise God's white flag in meeting in council." This Winema described as the prelude to the massacre perpetrate by Ben Wright. Armed white settlers led by Benjamin Wright from Yreka, California sought revenge and retaliation against Indians, and indiscriminately targeted any Native peoples, regardless of their culpability, in response. Winema's use of the adjective "*p´laikî´shăm*" implied adhering to Christian principles.

It is unclear whether this word was used by Wright himself or selected by Toby in the recounting of the story. It nonetheless indicated either the Mō´dok (Modoc) or American—or even mutual—'sacredness' of the forthcoming negotiations. Wright disregard these protocols of peace and Christian kindness, by killing Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) who came to him with the understanding that the white flag meant peace. Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) had trusted that Euro-Americans had peaceful intentions when approaching Wright's camp in Christian amity, but instead would be massacred by him. In the Gatschet's sketched map in his field notes one can make out Wright's Cave, discernable in the bottom right corner (See Figures 5.29, 5.30, and 5.31).[60]

[60] Again, the English translation is smoothed to better approximate English speech. Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 1, 14. See also: Rebecca Bales, "Winema

Winema's narratives transcribed and translated by Gatschet also detailed the complexity of the white settler Ben Wright's nefarious motives. Winema added that Wright not only encouraged the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) to come visit him, "to meet in council with him," but he also promised to butcher an ox for such an occasion. She explained that "*Nā´sh tchē´k Yámakni Bóshtinash tchawínatko*," "one Warm Spring Indian who lived among the Americans" told the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) of the feast and offering of food. Some believed the butchered ox was itself poisoned. Regardless of whether the poisoned ox was truth or fiction fed and fueled by rumors and gossip, "*At tánkt ká-i tídsh hemkánka, Mō´dokni at gä´mpĕle*," or "at the time it was not well talked, so the Modocs left for home."[61] This feature may not be detailed elsewhere, as it was not described in the published memoir of Winema (Toby Riddle)'s son, Jefferson Riddle, then just ten years old at the time of the war (See Figure 5.32).[62]

Gatschet also summarized what the Mō´dok (Modoc) informants told him about the beginning of the war. Gatschet explained, "According to the war chronicle obtained by me in the [Mō´dok] Modoc dialect from the Riddle family the war originated in a petition sent by the settlers to the President [Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877)] to have the Indians removed from their old homes to the Reservation." The "soldiers and the settlers of the neighborhood then fired upon the unprotected women and children of another [Mō´dok] Modoc camp farther north, for which brutal act the [Mō´dok] Modoc men retaliated in the afternoon." The conflict, Gatschet explained, was that "[t]he

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and the Modoc War: One Woman's Struggle for Peace," *Prologue Magazine: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration*, Vol. 37, No.1 (Spring 2005), https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2005/spring/winema.html (accessed 18 February 2014).

[61] Gatschet's divided narrative writes the translation as "One / then / Warm Spring Indian / the Americans / having lived among / the Modocs / notified." My division into segments—the original provides spacing between each word. Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 1, 18.

[62] Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War*, 44-45.

presence of the [Mō´dokni Mák̲laks] Modocs in their 'old country,' though contrary to the letter of the treaty, was tolerated by the Government until the autumn of 1872, when the complaints of the white settler against the Indians became too frequent and serious to be… disregarded."[63] Gatschet's own analysis concluded as well that the disputes over the location of the Mō´dok (Modoc) reservation were one of the chief catalysts for the violence and outbreak of the war. Today Klamath people acknowledge, as stated by the Klamath spokesperson Taylor Tupper in 2013: "When they [Klamaths and Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs)] were forced to live together on Klamath land, that's when the conflict started."[64] These interviews and narratives the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) shared with Gatschet added a richer, more nuanced understanding of the late-nineteenth-century situations at the on-set of the war and in its aftermath.

Gatschet's informants also explained the etymologies behind the Anglicized proper names and nicknames of the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) involved in the war. One was Bā″ntcho (One-Eyed Jim) (also spelled as Bancho or Barncho). Winema and others explained that his nickname came from his likeness to "Sancho Panza on account of his exterior." This was a reference to the Spanish novelist Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's portly sidekick and squire to Don Quixote de la Mancha in the classic *Don Quixote*, first published in the seventeenth century. After a series of absurdly hurried and unfair trials, the federal government executed Kintpuash (Captain Jack), Schochin John, Bóstîn Charley (Boston Charley), and Black Jim by hanging on October 3, 1873 (See Figures 5.33 and 5.34). Bā″ntcho, along with Sloluck, were spared from execution.

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[63] Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 1, lxxi.

[64] Alysa Landry, "Native History: Rigged Trial Sentences Modoc Leader Captain Jack to Death," *Indian Country Today*, October 3, 2013, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/history/events/native-history-rigged-trial-sentences-modoc-leader-captain-jack-to-death/ (accessed 7 March 2018).

Their sentences were commuted to life in prison at Alcatraz Island in California. Bā′ntcho died from illness at Alcatraz in 1875, while Sloluck eventually was sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and then to join the other exiles at the Quapaw Agency in Indian Territory.[65]

The word for Oregon white settlers was "*Óregînkni Bóshtinash*"—basically Bostonian Oregonians.[66] This was a derivative of Boston, being that the first Euro-Americans encountered in the Northwest originated from Boston, Massachusetts. The word for someone of mixed-race descent then became "*Boshtinága*." Boston Charley's name in the Modoc dialect, was the Bóstîn Charley.[67] By looking at the etymology of the names for the Modoc participants in the war, the dictionary provides further information adding to the complexity of the story.

The families, relatives, and other Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) deemed participants in the war, then, were exiled to Indian Territory. One hundred and fifty-five (155) Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) were loaded on to the four boxcars designed for cattle. Soldiers as armed military guards bookended the four boxcars. Men and boys were shackled while the women and girls were let be. The numbers would diminish to one hundred and fifty-three (153), as Bā′ntcho and Sloluck transferred to go west on their journey to Alcatraz. The remaining one hundred and fifty-three (153)

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[65] Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 2, 26; *Daily (Richmond, VA) Dispatch*, Vol. 45, No. 48 (25 August 1873), 1. Quote from: Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Vol. 2, Part 2, 26. See also: Robert Aquinas McNally, "Four More Heads for the Indian Trophy Room," *Indian Country Today*, June 15, 2016, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/history/events/four-more-heads-for-the-indian-trophy-room/ (accessed 7 March 2018); National Park Service, "The Army and American Indian Prisoners: The Army and American Indian Prisoners on the Rock," *Alcatraz Island*, November 14, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/alca/learn/historyculture/the-army-and-american-indian-prisoners.htm (accessed 7 March 2018).

[66] Ibid., 252.

[67] Ibid., 26-27.

went East. They remained on the boxcars until they arrived at their destination, the railroad terminal at Baxter Springs, Kansas, on November 16, 1873 (See Figures 5.35, 5.36, and 5.37).[68]

From Baxter Springs the United States army escorted the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) to "Seneca Station (on Shawnee [Šaawanwa] land) … at the Quapaw Agency." Agents would report in their official correspondence and government records with the location as being the "Agency of the Captive Indians in Indian Territory." Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) arrived at the Quapaw Indian Agency by mid-November 1873. Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Tom Captain, detailed in 1969 that the federal government just "brought them [Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs)] down here. They settled them on our reservation just east of us."[69] The federal government also selected the location for the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) to build temporary lodgings. With $524.40 worth of "scrap lumber" authorities ordered the Mō´dok (Modoc) prisoners to build their own shelters. They would be under the watchful eye of the Indian agent, as the camp was set up only twenty feet away from the Quapaw Agency headquarters.

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[68] Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, *Visit Miami*, 37. The "View No. 4: Modoc Indians In Their New Home," Photographed by McCarty, Baxter Springs, Kansas," is titled as "View Through Camp." (LOC P&P Lot 13703 No. 5). "View No. 1: Modoc Indians In Their New Home," Photographed by McCarthy, Baxter Springs" (Lot 13703 No. 4). Both list "This Set Consists of Six Stereoscopic Views." Only two, however, could be located at the Library of Congress (LOC)'s collection of stereographs in Washington, D.C., and are the only two from a Baxter Springs, Kansas photography studio that the author has ever come across in archival research.

[69] Tom Captain (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-535-2 (September 16, 1969), 1, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. See also J. W. Tyner's summary of the Modoc exile in: Tom Captain (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-535-2, Index Side A, Second Part, and Index Side B, First Part (September 16, 1969), 1, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. See also: The Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma, "History of The Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma," *The Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma: Tribal History & Photos*, 2014, http://www.modoctribe.com/history.html (accessed 9 March 2018).

Eventually the Mō´dok (Modoc) exile became permanent. Federal officials thought the land that the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) would ultimately end up living on would be that of the Okáxpas (Quapaws), the largest tribal nation in terms of population in northeastern Oklahoma. Instead the Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnees) sold a small amount of land to them. Finalized in June 23, 1874, the federal government purchased some of the Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) reservation lands for a permanent location for the Mō´dok (Modoc) exiles and prisoners of war. The federal government promised to pay the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) $6,000 for the 4,000 acres. Years later the Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leadership would question whether they ever received monetary compensation or not.[70] Nevertheless, this land purchase and the forced exile of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) created the "square-shaped anomaly" one would find on maps of Oklahoma Indian reservation lands (See Figures 5.38 and 5.39).[71] Like the other Native nations in northeastern Indian Territory the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) became farmers and ranchers (See Figure 5.40).

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[70] Lela Barnes, ed., "An Editor Looks at Early-Day Kansas: The Letters of Charles Monroe Chase–*Concluded*: III. The Letters of 1873," *KHQ*, Vol. 26 (*Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. 43), No. 3 (Autumn 1960), 288-291; Odie B. Faulk, *The Modoc People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1976), 83; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 203-208; Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, 184-186; OTRD, *Oklahoma Indian Country Guide*, 44; Strickland, *The Indians of Oklahoma*, 5; The Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma, "Tribal History & Photos," *The Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma*, 2009, http://www.modoctribe.net/history.html (accessed 29 October 2014); Linda Parker, "Indian Colonization in Northeastern and Central Indian Territory," 113-116; Faulk, *The Modoc People*, 83, 86. "Settlement, etc., of Modoc Indians," 18 Stat., 447, in Forty-Third Congress, Sess. II, Ch. 132 (1875), in Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 1, 157-158; Julian Boles Bluejacket (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Peggy Dycus, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-428-2, Side B, Part I (May 14, 1969), 4, DCAIOH, WHC, OU; Julian Boles Bluejacket (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-545-1 (November 24, 1969), 4-5, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. On payment for the Modoc reservation, Thomas A. Captain relayed: "we sold Modocs [Mō´dokni Máklaks] some land and we never did get a dime out of it, off of our reservation, that I know of." See: Tom Captain (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Peggy Dycus, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-428-1, Side A (May 16, 1969), 3-4, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. See also Lucille J. Martin, "A History of the Modoc Indians: An Acculturation Study," *COK*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Winter 1969-1970), 422-428.

[71] Quote from: Amy Dianne Bergseth, "'Each Band Knew Their Own Country': Land, Cooperation, and Community in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Shawnee Intertribal Interactions," in *ESTORTA*, 78. Interviewer commentary explained that "Indian Territory maps as late as the 1900

Other Native nations would come to the northeastern corner of Oklahoma, the makeshift 'Agency of the Captive Indians in Indian Territory,' involuntarily, but often also only temporarily. The federal government forced the Ppąkka (Poncas) to relocate to Indian Territory, ordering for their forced removal on April 2, 1877. Over the summer months of May, June, and July, the Ppąkka (Poncas) relocated to Okáxpa (Quapaw) lands.[72]

While the time the Ppąkka (Poncas) spent on Okáxpa (Quapaw) land was only temporary, and the Okáxpas (Quapaws) refused to sell their lands to them, the Ppąkka (Poncas) today still recognize and remember the shelter with the Okáxpas (Quapaws) as friends and relatives. Ppąkka (Ponca) environmental and political activist and tribal councilperson Casey Camp-Horinek recalled the forced removal in 2016. "When our… people were forcibly removed from that area [northeastern Nebraska, having homelands in the Dakota Territory] we became one of the thirty-nine nations here in Oklahoma," she explained. "They [the federal government, the U.S. military] brought us through Baxter Springs, Kansas, and brought us here to this area where the Quapaw [Okáxpa] Nation, our cousins speak the same language as us [lived]. And they took us in. And they cared for us. We were reduced to five hundred people at that time. And we had very little ways of understanding how to live—how to regroup ourselves… And we didn't know how to go about the next step in our lives. My own grandfather, mama's daddy, was only eight years old on that walk. And yet here we are, sister. Here we

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showed those separate Indian reservations" in northeastern Oklahoma. Robert Whitebird (Okáxpa/Quapaw), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 51, Tape No. T-546-3, Index Side B (December 23, 1969), 1, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

[72] Thomas Brown, "In Pursuit of Justice: The Ponca Indians in Indian Territory, 1877-1905," in *Oklahoma's Forgotten Indians,* edited by Robert E. Smith and Bob L. Blackburn (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1981), 53-54.

are."[73] Once again the Ppąkka (Poncas) packed up their belongings this time moved to a reservation for themselves next to the Kansas (Kaw) nation, in the summer of 1878.[74]

Lastly, the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) also came to the Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory, as prisoners and exiles, in 1879. The federal government moved them around, ironically, first to the Quapaw Agency and then to the Ppąkka (Poncas). Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) were first brought to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas in the winter of 1877-1878. That summer the federal government sent the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) to Indian Territory. There at the place to which they were exiled, they called, "*Eikish Pah*—'the hot place,'" because of the extreme heat and humidity to which they were unaccustomed.[75]

In the oppressive Oklahoma summer heat of July 1878, the military escorted the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) to the Baxter Springs, Kansas train station. The Indian Agent Hiram W. Jones greeted their arrival and escorted the exiles to the Quapaw Agency.[76] Federal officials reported: "Agent Jones had made arrangements for wagon transportation of persons and materials to the new camp. Their being none fit to walk in this terribly hot weather" on July 22, 1878. They were relocated next to other prisoners of war, the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs). In fact, it was a group of Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) who picked them up at the Baxter Springs, Kansas train station. Since their

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[73] Earl Hatley and Casey Camp-Horinek, "Environmental Climate Issues and Standing Rock," Presented at the 18th National Environmental Tar Creek Conference, Miami, Oklahoma, September 14, 2016).

[74] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma*, 356-357; Thomas Brown, "In Pursuit of Justice," 54-58.

[75] Elliott West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 293-301.

[76] Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma*, 294; D. David Tate, "The Nez Percé in Eastern Indian Territory: The Quapaw Agency Experience," 8-11; Larry D. O'Neal, *Nez Perce Exile: The Struggle for Freedom, 1877-1885* (Wallowa, Oregon: Bear Creek Press, 2006; Reprint, 2007), 16-24. Quote from: O'Neal, *Nez Perce Exile*, 24.

arrival in the northeastern corner of Indian Territory, the agent purchased heavy wagons for their use, for as he paternalistically rationalized, the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) unfamiliar with wagons needed the sturdier vehicles so they would not break them.[77]

The Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) also came to see the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) when they first arrived. They were possibly sympathetic and saw a resemblance to their own situation, as they had also arrived just five years previously, shackled and imprisoned. The Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) could possibly seeing themselves reflected in the Nimíipuu's (Nez Perce's) situation.[78] Historians noted that the "[l]ack of medicine, broken promises, ration shortages, and a corrupt [Indian Agent Hiram W.] Jones administration did not exhaust the of problems facing the Nez Percés [Nimíipuu and Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs), and others, etc.] in the winter of 1878."[79]

The Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) leaders Hinmatóowyalahtq̇it (Chief Joseph) and Cúułim Maqsmáqs (Yellow Bull) as well as Bogus Charley (Mō´dok/Modoc) and many other people complained of the Agency's lack of provisions, food, shelter, and basic medical care. In October of 1878 in Seneca, Missouri a congressional joint committee was traveling around the country to investigate the possibility of moving the Indian Office back over to military jurisdiction. These inquiries ended up becoming testimonies and an investigation into the corruption of Hiram W. Jones and the Quapaw Agency. Complaints had flooded the Indian Office from surrounding white neighbors in the region and protests from the Indians themselves.

Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs), as well as the other Quapaw Agency Native nations, wanted to cultivate peace, have good relationships with other Indians, and

[77] Quote from: Tate, "The Nez Percé," 11. See also: Larry D. O'Neal, *Nez Perce Exile*, 16-24.
[78] Tate, "The Nez Percé," 14.
[79] Ibid., 16.

simply take care of their families, relatives, and their tribal people. In the congressional investigation, Bogus Charley spoke on behalf of the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs). He explained: "we try farming… We want to learn. I got children. I want to do what is right." "[T]here is another thing, my friends, [that] I want to say to you," Charley spoke up. "We die; we lose a good many in this country; this land don't [sic] suit them. My heart; I tell you what I feel now. We die out; my people… We want health" (See Figure 5.41). It is not like the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) wanted to stay there or had any choice. Most of their family and friends lived back west in California and Oregon. They were the families sent to Indian Territory as punishment for the war. Those who relocated, Bogus Charley explained, even if they survived the journey, they often did not survive. It was starting to have a toll on the people. "[W]e lose too many. Everybody feel[s] like they want to get home… We love to live; don't want to die." At this point all the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) wanted, he explained, was basic subsistence and survival, the chance to live. "We want good health. We don't want to stay here, because we have not health."[80]

Thomas Peckham (Peewaalia/Peoria) admitted to the congressional investigators: "It is an unhealthy country for strangers to come into."[81] So when the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) arrived at the agency, the small Native nations already settled in the area had extended food and hospitality to the newcomers and strangers. Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), and Myaamiaki (Miamis) approached their

[80] *TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)*, 80; O'Neal, *Nez Perce Exile*, 24-28. O'Neal quoted Bogus Charley as saying that Indian Territory was "a good place for an Indian to die" (O'Neal, *Nez Perce Exile*, 28). In this testimony here, however, one can read that Bogus Charley did testify that his people: "in this country… We die out" but does not specific speak about Indian people in general, but rather the experience of his own people (*TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)*, 80). Quotes from: *TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)*, 80.

[81] *TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)*, 81.

camps and gave them corn and other foodstuff.[82] As indigenous practice extending far back in time, like the 'Wood's Edge' Ceremony and the wartime incorporation of strangers into relatives with the adoption of captives, the small Native nations showed reciprocity and assistance to other Native families. They continued these ancient protocols of hospitality and respect.

The Indian Office's original idea was to purchase land from the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) for the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce), as they had bought Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) lands for the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs). After much sickness and starvation, the even the Indian agents recognized that the Quapaw Agency was not a good place. The Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) relocated to the Ponca Agency in the summer of 1879. It would not be until 1885 that the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) returned to their homelands in what is now the state of Idaho.[83]

Indian Territory, and especially the northeastern corner, had truly become America's 'dumping ground' for Indians by the end of the nineteenth century. Many different groups of indigenous prisoners of war ended up being shuffled through the Quapaw Agency before being relocated to the other side of the state or elsewhere. For a while the federal government even considered relocating the Tickanwatic, or Tonkawas, to the northeastern corner of Indian Territory in the 1880s. The idea was that the

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[82] Elliott West, *The Last Indian War*, 301. See also: J. Diane Pearson, *The Nez Perces in the Indian Territory: Nimiipuu Survival* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008); J. Stanley Clark, "The Nez Perce in Exile," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (July 1945), 221-223.

[83] Tate, "The Nez Percé," 18-23; O'Neal, *Nez Perce Exile*, 29-32; Elliott West, *The Last Indian War*, 300-301. Western historian Elliott West explained: "The summer heart in what is today eastern Oklahoma is relentless, and the low altitude, about eight hundred feet, and high humidity keep the nights close and uncomfortable. For people acclimated to the high dry air of the Wallowa valley and the Salmon River country, it must have seemed like living compressed in a warm, wet sponge" (Elliott West, *The Last Indian War*, 301). See also: Clifford E. Trafzer, ed., *The Northwestern Tribes in Exile: Modoc, Nez Perce, and Palouse Removal to the Indian Territory* (Sacramento: Sierra Oaks Publishing Company, 1987).

government would purchase some of the lands of the Okáxpas (Quapaws) for the Tickanwa (Tonkawa) reservation (See Figure 5.42). Instead the government moved the Tickanwatic (Tonkawas) next to the Ppą́kka (Poncas) in the summer of 1885, to where the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) had been.[84]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Native nations in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma would often participate in each other's dances and ceremonies. While maintaining their independent sovereign status as tribal nations with distinct languages and cultures, they still fostered goodwill, friendships, and positive relationships with their neighbors. Some of this came naturally, as they had been allies and neighbors to each other since their residencies in other lands and homelands. The Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), for example, ended up with reservations next to each other, as one acknowledged the assistance they had been given back in the Ohio Country. Others, however, like the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) and Okáxpas (Quapaws) had to build relationships and contact with indigenous people very different from themselves.

III. The Indian Territory General Council: An Intertribal Arsenal for Collective Action and the Continued Fight for Tribal Sovereignties

"Allow me, then, on behalf of the [Odawas] Ottawas, to thank the [Aniyunwiya] Cherokees, [Mvskokes (Muscogees)] Creeks, [Chahtas] Choctaws and others, for the lessons of patriotism taught us, by their thus far successful efforts to stay the proposed encroachments of Congress. The [Odawas] Ottawas are aware of the fact that their rights and liberties, alike with your own, have been nobly and manfully defended by you at your own cost, for which they [my people, the Odawas/Ottawas] only have to offer the thanks of truly grateful Indians."

[84] Tonkawa Tribe of Oklahoma, "Tonkawa Tribal History," *Tonkawa: The Tonkawa Tribe Official Website*, 2015, http://www.tonkawatribe.com/history.html (accessed 8 March 2018).

Francis King (Odawa/Ottawa) to the Fifth Annual General Council of Indian Territory, Okmulgee, Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) Nation, May 7, 1874[85]

With more Native peoples relocating to the northeastern corner of Oklahoma, Indian nations large and small began to meet in intertribal councils, with the intention of protecting and strengthening their political integrity in the new Indian Territory. Beginning in 1870 numerous Native nations met in a General Council of the Indian Territory at the Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) Nation's Council House at what is now Okmulgee, Oklahoma. The larger nations such as the Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) and the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) presided. Representatives also included those from the smaller nations—the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), Odawas (Ottawas), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), Meskwaki (Foxes), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). These international, intertribal meetings permitted the smaller Native nations to not only bring recognition of the existence of the little tribes to the larger nations, but also utilize the power and pull that a concerted Indian confederacy would have on preventing territorial organization without their consent.

Although the coordination and assembly of these Native nations did not endure into a lasting territorial organization or Native state, it still served as a way for the Native nations to gather and organize for the "collective security of their sovereign rights."[86] Scholars have recognized the significance the Okmulgee Constitution and the General Council of Indian Territory as an expression of indigenous collective action and

[85] *JASGCIT 5th* (1874), 18-19.
[86] Bergseth, "'Each Band Knew Their Own Country,'" 78.

advocacy for self-determination. [87] Despite the failure to ratify the constitution, the intertribal meetings still unified Indian Territory. The 1870 Okmulgee Constitution prefaced that the independent sovereign Indian nations met to "draw themselves together in a closer bond of union, for the better protection of their rights, the improvement of themselves and the preservation of their race."[88]

The American public and newspapers described sheer panic regarding these Native efforts. As for the Okmulgee Constitution, eastern newspapers said, "intended as an alliance of the Indians against the encroachments of the whites, [that if]… carried into effect would result in the establishment of a barbaric dominion within a civilized republic, subdivided into nearly twenty different nations, all speaking different languages, and each under its individual chiefs." In short, the Indian Territory General Councils and the Okmulgee Constitution both fought for indigenous sovereignties and right to self-governance. This the general American population and federal government could not accept. The tribal nations, however, asserted themselves as a 'United Nations' of sort—of an assembly not consisting of one large Indian government, but rather a constellation and confederacy of many numerous sovereign entities.

The *Cherokee Advocate* reported this "cry of danger to the Great Government from the acts of an Indian Council" they saw as both comical and absurd. They argued,

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[87] Legal scholar David Wilkins called the Okmulgee Constitution, the intertribal constitution created and drafted from the first Indian Territory General Council meeting, as setting an "intertribal diplomatic precedent" ("Okmulgee Constitution (Several Indian Nations in Indian Territory, 1870)," in *Documents of Native American Political Development: 1500s to 1933*, edited by David E. Wilkins (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 134). See also: David La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 187; *JASGCIT 1st* (1870), 3-4; Curtis L. Nolen, "The Okmulgee Constitution: A Step Towards Indian Self-Determination," *COK,* Vol. 58, No. 3 (Fall 1980), 264, 267-271. See also: Andrew Denson, *Demanding the Cherokee Nation: Indian Autonomy and American Culture, 1830-1900*, Indians of the Southeast Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), Chapter 4.

[88] "Okmulgee Constitution," in *Documents of Native American Political Development*, 135.

however, that "every action taken by the Indian Nations in concert, is narrowly watched; because there is the general apprehension that they might by some action of their own, ward off for a long period the extinction of their nationalities." That is exactly what the Native nations and their delegates wanted. They sought nothing less than the survival, persistence, and existence of themselves as Native nations and indigenous peoples and cultures. For the Okmulgee Constitution "proposed that the Indian Nations should act jointly in forwarding their own interests under their treaties."[89] The Indian Territory General Council saw themselves as only asserting what was already supposed to be given—the integrity and maintenance of nation-to-nation agreements and obligations formerly agreed upon between separate sovereign entities in their treaties.

The smaller Native nations, within this Okmulgee Constitution, would have received two delegates, as representatives would be decided by population sizes of the tribal nations. The Okmulgee Constitution called for an organization like that of the United States. The Indian Territory would arrange into judicial, executive, and legislative branches. The legislative branch had both a Senate—called the General Assembly, consisted of delegates calculated from tribal population censuses. The Okmulgee Constitution would have given the smaller Native nations two representatives in the General Assembly. The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), and Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in the southern portion of the northeastern corner of Oklahoma would have one delegate. The northern small

[89] "The Okmulgee Constitution," *Cherokee (Tahlequah, OK) Advocate*, Vol. 2, No. 45-97 (March 2, 1872). Transcript from WHC, OU.

nations hugging the Kansas state border—the Odawas (Ottawas), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), and Okáxpas (Quapaws)—would have another.[90]

Debate among the representatives of the Indian nations, however, often circled around proportional representation in this intertribal alliance.[91] What was not up for debate, however, was that the judicial branch would follow and obey the all tribal nations' laws and separate distinct jurisdictions. The Indian Territory courts would abide by the distinct laws of the tribal nations, especially those international agreements noted in treaty documents.[92]

The General Council emphatically maintained that the Native nations of Indian Territory would not accept an imposed government. Any external governance without tribal consent and input threatened the political sovereignty of every individual tribal nation within the Indian Territory. The delegates and the people who they represented, the General Council reported, "cling to their homes, to their laws, to their customs, to their [tribal] national and personal independence, with the tenacity of life itself" and that all those assembled wanted was "a government of their *own choice*."[93] Although perhaps overly enthusiastic and exaggerated the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Donehogawa (Ely Samuel Parker), himself a New York Shotinontowane' (Seneca), called the Okmulgee Council "the most important council ever held among the Indian

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[90] "Constitution of the Indian Territory," in *JASGCIT 1st* (1870), 46; "Constitution of the Indian Territory," in *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 101.

[91] Clara Sue Kidwell, *The Choctaws in Oklahoma: From Tribe to Nation, 1855-1970*, American Indian Law and Policy Series No. 2 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 84-85; *JASGCIT 2nd* (1871), 7, 10-14; *JASGCIT 4th* (1873), 7, 10-11, 15-17; Nolen, "The Okmulgee Constitution," 274; Ohland Morton, "Reconstruction in the Creek Nation," *COK,* Vol. 9, No. 2 (June 1931), 175.

[92] "Okmulgee Constitution," in *Documents of Native American Political Development*, 139; Nolen, "The Okmulgee Constitution," 271-273; *JASGCIT 1st* (1870), 7; *JASGCIT 3rd* (1872), 12.

[93] *JASGCIT 1st* (1870), 23-24

tribes of the country."[94] The federal government did endorse and fund the intertribal councils. They saw the meetings as 'civilizing influences' that promoted good, well-behaved Indian farmers to learn to live like Euro-Americans (See Figures 5.43 and 5.44).

Although the southeastern Five Nations—the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Chahtas (Choctaws), Chikashas (Chickasaws), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), and Semvnoles (Seminoles)—predominated, delegates for the small tribes were always in attendance and actively participated throughout the 1870s. This often included either Francis King, Moses Pooler, or John W. Early (for the Odawas/Ottawas). All the different Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) nations sent representatives. Not only did the Absentee Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) attend, but also the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). Lazarus Flint, James Choctaw, or William McDaniel served as delegates for the Eastern nation. George Lane, Robert P. Lumbard, Samuel Vallier, or Lewis Quapaw came for the Okáxpas (Quapaws), while James King, George Spicer, or Joseph White Crow attended on behalf of the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas).[95]

Familiar faces, veterans of tribal politics well-versed in indigenous diplomacy, appeared at the annual General Council conferences. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leadership included James Hicks, George Wright, and John W. Greyeyes. Even Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker), himself an old man in his seventies, attended. Tribal

[94] C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight Over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 89; Barry Babcock, "The Story of Donehogawa, First Indian Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *Indian Country Today*, May 6, 2017, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/history/events/the-story-of-donehogawa-first-indian-commissioner-of-indian-affairs/ (accessed 8 March 2018).

[95] Glenna J. Wallace, "Chiefs of the Eastern Shawnee Tribe," in *ESTORTA*, 177.

leadership commemorated his absence and the deaths of others in the years following. Edward H. Black (Peewaalia/Peoria) represented the confederated nations, and when the Myaamiaki (Miamis) relocated to Indian Territory, they, too, sent a representative, Eecipoonkwia (John B. Roubideaux) (Myaamia/Miami), on their behalf.[96]

When the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) arrived in northeastern Oklahoma in the winter of 1874, the General Council reasserted the relationship building and mutual respect each tribal nation represented had for each other and reached out to the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs). The Odawa (Ottawa) delegate Francis King requested that the General Council inquire as to their absence. They resolved for the Indian Office to "convey to the Chiefs and headmen of the Modoc [Mō´dok] tribe of Indians through their Agent or otherwise the sympathies and brotherly feelings of this Council together with the information that the object of this Council or confederation is to preserve peace and friendship between themselves and all other red men." They assured the extension of a "hand of friendship and the privilege of participating and co-operating with the General Council at its next meeting." The next year Chĭkclĭkam-Lupalkuelátko (Scarface Charley), with Bogus Charley as his interpreter, attended.[97]

By 1875 more indigenous representatives joined the ranks of the General Council. The Chahtas (Choctaws), Chikashas (Chickasaws), Semvnoles (Seminoles), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Lenape (Delawares), Potewatmis (Potawatomis) joined as well as numerous Plains nations. Paáris (Chaticks si Chaticks) (Pawnees), Kansas (Kaws), Hasínay (Caddos), Wažažes (Osages), N~~u~~mu~~nuu~~ (Comanches), Tsistsistas

[96] *JASGCIT 1st* (1870), 3-4, 10-11, 18, 32; *JASGCIT 2nd* (1871), 3-4; *JASGCIT 3rd* (1872), 3-6; *JASGCIT 4th* (1873), 3-6, 20, 34; *JASGCIT 5th* (1874), 3-4. Samuel Vallier is sometimes listed as William or Wm. Vallier or Valier. Early also was spelled, even in the same meeting minutes, as either Early or Earley. Joseph White Crow is sometimes listed as James Whitecrow.

[97] *JASGCIT 4th* (1873), 13; *JASGCIT 5th* (1874), 4; *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 3-4, 10-11.

(Cheyennes), Arapahos, Kitikiti'sh (Wichitas) and others attended. By the last meeting at least thirty (30) different tribal nations were represented at the General Council (See Figure 5.45).[98]

The Indian Territory General Council followed well-established indigenous protocols for welcoming any newcomers such as the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs). Stephen Foreman (Yunwiya/Cherokee), Coweta Micco (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), Coleman Cole (Chahta/Choctaw), Fushutche Harjo (Semvnole/Seminole), and Sucktummahkwa (Black Beaver) (Lenape/Delaware) organized and planned the welcome for the afternoon of May 12, 1874. All the delegates went out "in the open ground in front of the council building" and shook hands with Chĭkclĭkam-Lupalkuelátko (Scarface Charley) and Bogus Charley. Oosenahle (Rabbit Bunch) (Yunwiya/Cherokee), as "*pipe bearer*," passed around the peace pipe to the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) and all the other General Council delegates "according to custom."[99] Although the General Council meetings, in many respects looked like any other Western or American assembly, the Native nations of the Indian Territory still retained threads of continuity to their long-held, ancient customs of intertribal diplomacy.

By the last sessions of the General Council of Indian Territory the small Native nations recognized and appreciated the Council's endeavors in resisting federal

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[98] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 3-4, 10, 81; Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence*, First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies Series (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 33, 60-61, 87. Also the Huntington Library has a copy of this image, see: Photograph of "Grand Council. Delegates of 34 Civilized and non-Civilized tribes at the Grand Council, Okmulgee, Indian Territory, Oklahoma," 1874 or 1875 [but John K. Hillers photograph from May 13, 1875]. Photographs, Huntington Digital Library. Photo Archives, George W. Ingalls Photograph Collection, Box 20, Folder 25 (14). The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California.

[99] *JASGCIT 5th* (1874), 36-37; "Oo-Se-Nah-Le—Rabbit Bunch," *Muskogee (OK) Phoenix* (28 May 1891), 8; Angie Debo, "History," in Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma*, 26.

micromanagement as well as any state and territorial violations of tribal sovereignty. They recognized that any federally or externally-imposed governance on Indian Territory infringed upon the rights and self-governance of the tribal Nations. The small nations saw the Council as helpful in their own fight to maintain their sovereignty. John W. Greyeyes (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) attested: "In the several remnant[s] of tribes of us, and placed as we are in close neighborhood, we are friendly and harmonious toward one another, so much so that we are often led to believe that we can always live without laws in this small confederacy, in the northeast corner of the Indian Territory." But they knew in the future some sort of governing body would extend over them, their lands and people, like the state and territories of Kansas did previously. Greyeyes declared that: "The Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] are opposed to the extension of a Territorial law or constitution, instead of that of the Indian laws or constitution." Any laws should be an indigenous-led and Native-based governance, and they should not infringe upon the individual tribal nations and their own separate laws. As it was the General Council of the Indian Territory recognized the sovereign status and independent legal systems of the tribal nations over which they supervised. [100]

The smaller nations, with smaller governing infrastructures, lobbying powers, and financial purses from which to draw than those of the Five Nations and others, recognized the importance of the intertribal Council. The Odawa (Ottawa) leader Francis King wanted to make sure to thank the leadership of the Five Tribes. Without them, the "thus far successful efforts to stay the proposed encroachments of Congress" would be more difficult. "The [Odawas] Ottawas are aware of the fact that their rights and liberties, alike with your own, have been nobly and manfully defended by you at

[100] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 18.

your own cost, for which they [my people, the Odawas/Ottawas] only have to offer the thanks of truly grateful Indians," Francis King acknowledged.[101]

Many of the Native nations looked towards the future and appreciated the cultivated intertribal relationships that had resulted on account of the General Council. The Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) micco 'Tvlof Haco (Talof Harjo, Pleasant Porter), chair of the 1875 General Council of Indian Territory, expressed what he saw as the significance of the General Councils—strengthening the relationships between all of the sovereign tribes, and building a better political future. All the Indian nations, large and small, "benefited" in supporting the "[common] interests which are applicable to all nations alike." "Your Councils have largely strengthened the bonds of friendship and brotherhood throughout the confederated tribes and nations of the Territory," 'Tvlof Haco explained. "I invite your attention to your rising generation, who will soon occupy the places you now fill."[102] They had all become brothers and relatives with other Native nations and their leadership such as Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker), and upon his death and the passing of other esteemed elders, the assembly reflected on the Council's influence and significance.

The leadership of the northeastern corner of the state, as well as with others throughout Indian Territory, found fulfillment in comradery and support from each other by the end of the nineteenth century. Bogus Charley of the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) spoke about the welcoming hospitality other nations had given his upon coming to the area, even in the awful state in which they arrived as shackled prisoners

[101] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 18-19.

[102] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 6-7; James H. Hill, "Creek Chiefs Known by J. Hill," in Mary R. Haas and James H. Hill, *Creek (Muskogee) Texts*, edited and translated by Jack B. Martin, Margaret McKane Mauldin, and Juanita McGirt, University of California Publications in Linguistics Series Vol. 150 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 40. Quotes from: *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 6-7.

of war. Bogus Charley relayed to the General Council in 1875: "The Government brought us here in irons about two years ago… [but since then] [w]e have worked with a good heart." "The Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s], Ottawas [Odawas], Peorias [Peewaaliaki], Quapaws [Okáxpas], Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka], are all like brothers toward us. We feel like we are amongst good friends. We feel at home," he admitted.[103] When it was Peewaalia/Peoria Edward H. Black's turn to talk, he referred to Bogus Charley and his speech. The Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) "taken prisoners, and conveyed to the country where they are now. And since their removal they have gone to work and are industrious, hard working people." Black called him "[o]ur friend and brother, Bogus Charley."[104]

Many of the delegates, like Edward H. Black (Peewaalia/Peoria) served as interpreters for their nations over the years for various treaty negotiations and councils. Many of them recognized the usefulness of being educated in American customs and having fluency in the English language. They could provide practical services for their tribal nations, translating and interpreting American laws and the treaty documents. Edward H. Black, like many of the other delegates, encouraged education and agriculture for Native peoples. Black confessed that, as a member of such a small tribal nation, his English skills helped in international relations as well as intertribal communications. "If it was not for the education that I have, I could not talk to you, we could not understand one another. But through the English language we can manage to understand one another," he explained. Through the General Council other Native

[103] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 21.
[104] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 24.

nations could learn about the small tribal nation of the Peewaaliaki (Peorias). Black continued, "And I venture to say that you never knew that there were such Indians as Peorias [Peewaaliaki] in existence. But through the English language I have known of all the Indians in the United States, their customs and manners, and the situation of their respective countries." Black recognized the complex benefits to his English education.[105]

Black also spoke up and relayed how he believed these separate, sovereign nations were all heading in positive directions. With the networking and commiserating with other Native nations, Black and other Native peoples could come together and support each other. With education to assist in understanding the Euro-American world and ways, and with agriculture as a stable means for community sustenance and general welfare, Black hoped that all the Indian nations present would remain dedicated hard workers for their families, communities, and nations. Regardless of the varying degrees of assimilation or understanding of white ways, all the tribal nations, even the southern Plains nations, Black said, "I hope they will continue in that good path."[106]

Not only did all the nations meet with each other annually to discuss political strategies to stave off threats of imposed governance from the federal government, but they also retained friendly relationships, fostering goodwill and connections with each other. Moses Pooler (Odawa/Ottawa) conveyed to the whole group: "The Wyandotts [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] and Ottawas [Odawas] combine [arguably, meaning they socialize as well as intermarry and create families] together, also [the same goes with] the Modocs [Mō´dokni Mák̲laks] and the Peorias [Peewaaliaki]." "The Modocs

[105] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 23-24.
[106] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 23-24.

[Mō´dokni Mák̲laks] at first were pretty wild, but through kindness they have become good children," Pooler said, using the metaphor commonly evoked for the Indian Office, of the Great Father (President) and his children (the Indians). "My people were like you, but buffalo gave out," Pooler explained. "They saw ahead and found out they could not make a living, so [they] went to work," employing themselves in agricultural endeavors.[107]

Although they have been deemed to be failures in preventing federal manipulation and the further assault on tribal sovereignties with Oklahoma statehood granted in 1907, the Okmulgee Constitution, General Council of the Indian Territory, and other intertribal territorial governances asserted indigenous rights, peoplehood, and self-determination.[108] Like the Nebraska Territorial Convention hosted by the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Nation in Kansas several decades before, and the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention later in 1905, scholars have continued to describe these early organizational efforts as failures and disappointments.[109] As it was, the Native nations had been stripped from their original homelands and many communities were still reeling from being freshly forced into new territories with new people. And yet, even

[107] *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 27.

[108] Brad A. Bays, *Townsite Settlement and Dispossession in the Cherokee Nation, 1866-1907* (New York: Garland, 1998), 79. In what reads like it is written in an 'Angie Debo fashion,' the *WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma* argued: "This council was discontinued when the United States government refused to finance it further because the delegates had reached the point of proposing to form an Indian Territory according to their own conception and writing out a constitution for its government. When it became certain that Washington would insist upon retaining the veto power on any legislation enacted by this Territory's legislature, there no longer existed a reason for the Council, and the 1875 meeting was the last" (Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma*, 182-183). See also: Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma*, 75.

[109] Casey Welsch, "Nebraska's First Governors: Spectacular Failures," *Lincoln Journal Star*, January 20, 2015, http://journalstar.com/news/state-and-regional/govt-and-politics/nebraska-s-first-governors-spectacular-failures/article_130355ce-646e-5e92-883b-75d74a38d5d9.html (accessed 15 February 2018); Dennis Wiedman, "Upholding Indigenous Freedoms of Religion and Medicine: Peyotists at the 1906–1908 Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and First Legislature," *AIQ*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 2012), 219-220.

while they were in this reduced state, they continued to pursue the preservation of their nations and cultures.

For building and rebuilding relationships and connections with other tribal nations required time and patience, healing and condolence, as well as careful consideration and thorough discussions to come with intertribal consensuses that would not step on any sovereignties and integrities of each unique individual Indian nation. Today running jokes have developed that play on tribal councils' inability to bring about anything other than painfully-slow molasses-speed change. Indigenous decision-making often cherished (and still value) not only the unity of the collective but individual rights of its tribal membership. As Šaawanwa (Shawnee) council critiqued the Indian Office in handing out hurried 'all-or-nothing' deals without negotiation and consideration. The Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) scolded the Indian Office: "When doing business time must be taken to do well."[110] Once again, by the close of the last General Council meeting, the Indian delegates anticipated what was coming—a state government for the Indian Territory. They hoped that the United States would recognize the individual tribal political sovereignties and the cultural diversity of Indian Territory. They did not want "hastily… any organization that may be designed to blend in one harmonious system the whole of them."[111] For the Indian Territory General Council of the 1870s, in its assembly and union, used strength in numbers and one unified voice, to advocate and defend the interests of all the individual tribal nations and Indian communities.

[110] Ratified Treaty No. 268 (May 10, 1854), 29, DRT UWDC.
[111] *JASGCIT 1st* (1870), 23.

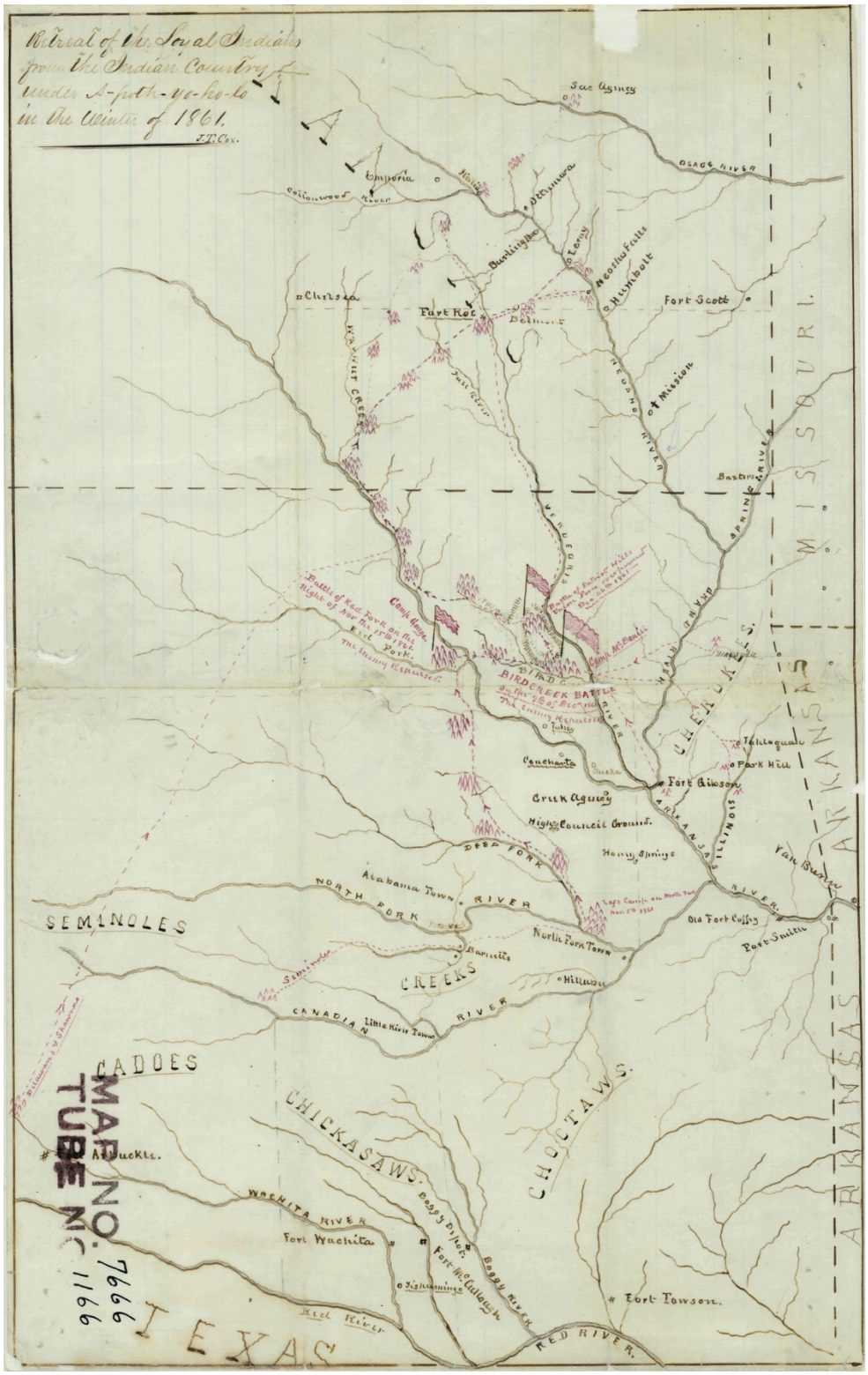


Figure 5.1: Opothleyahola (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek))'s Retreat, 1861
Opothleyahola (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)) led his people, as well as numerous other refugees, out of Indian Territory, flooding into Kansas in the winter of 1861.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 7666, NARA II.

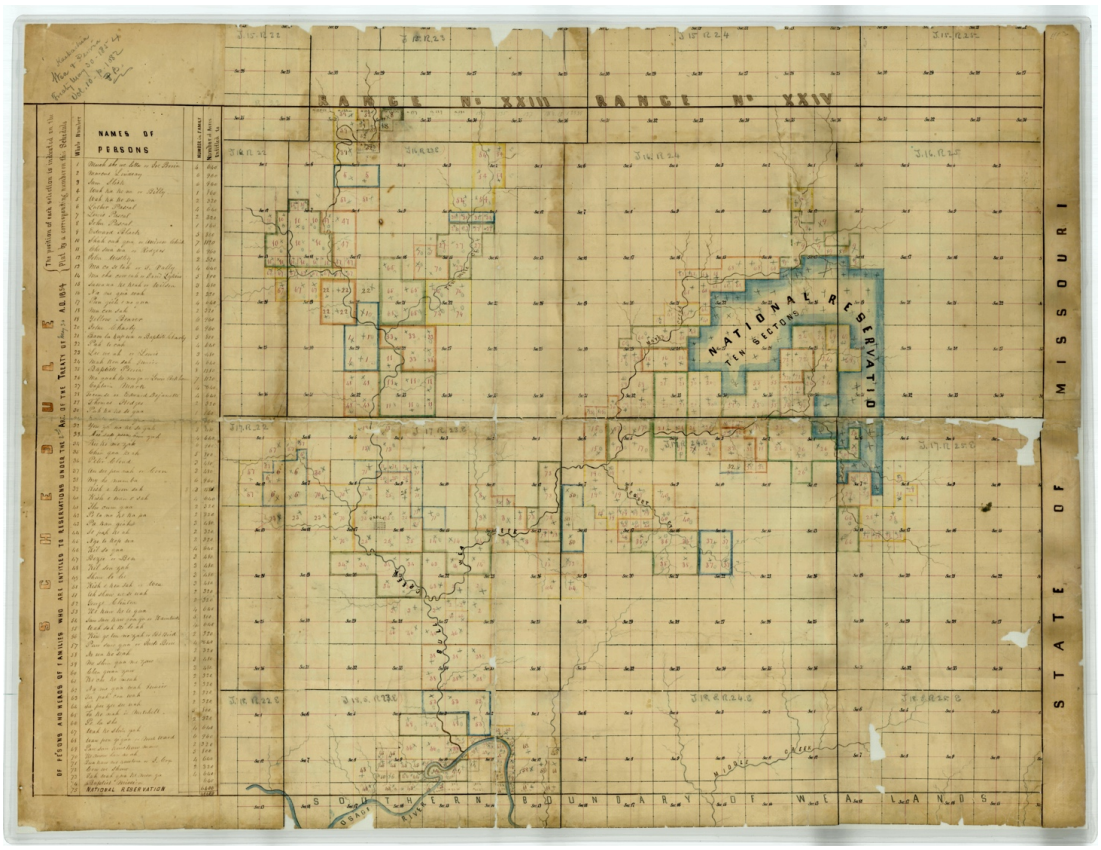


Figure 5.2: Peewaalia (Peoria) & Other Confederated Nations Allotments, 1854
Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) confronted early land allotment—long before the General Allotment Act, Dawes Act of 1887, affected other Native communities in Indian Country—with their 1854 'Manypenny Treaty.'
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 237, NARA II.

Figure 5.3: Kaatheewithiipiiki Šaawanwaki (Kansas River Shawnees) Allotments
When the Kaatheewithiipiiki Šaawanwaki (Kansas River Shawnees) allotted their reservation in Kansas in the 1860s, as per their 1854 'Manypenny Treaty,' the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) refused division (Blue), while remaining lands were designated for 'absentees' (Green) and other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (Red), as indicated by the color coding on this 1884 map.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 197, NARA II.

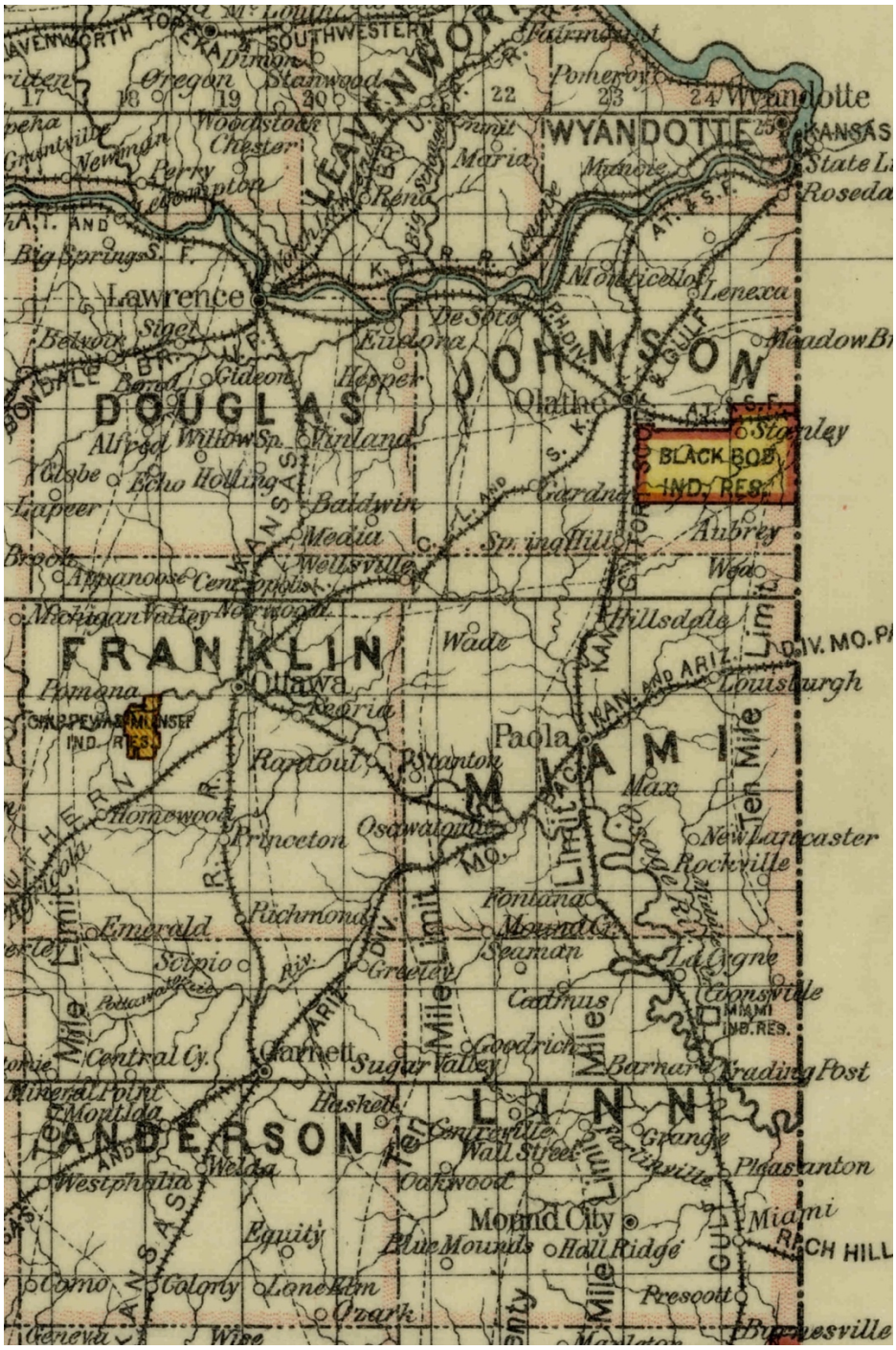


Figure 5.4: Southeastern Kansas Indian Reservations, 1884
This detail from a map of railroad lines in Kansas in 1884 shows the small amount of lands designated to Native peoples. The map still shows the Black Bob reservation as well as a small Myaamia (Miami) Reserve in Linn County, Kansas. Most of the Myaamiaki (Miamis) who did not choose citizenship, however, would follow the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other Native nations to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), by the end of the nineteenth century. [Cropped for detail].
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 930, NARA II.

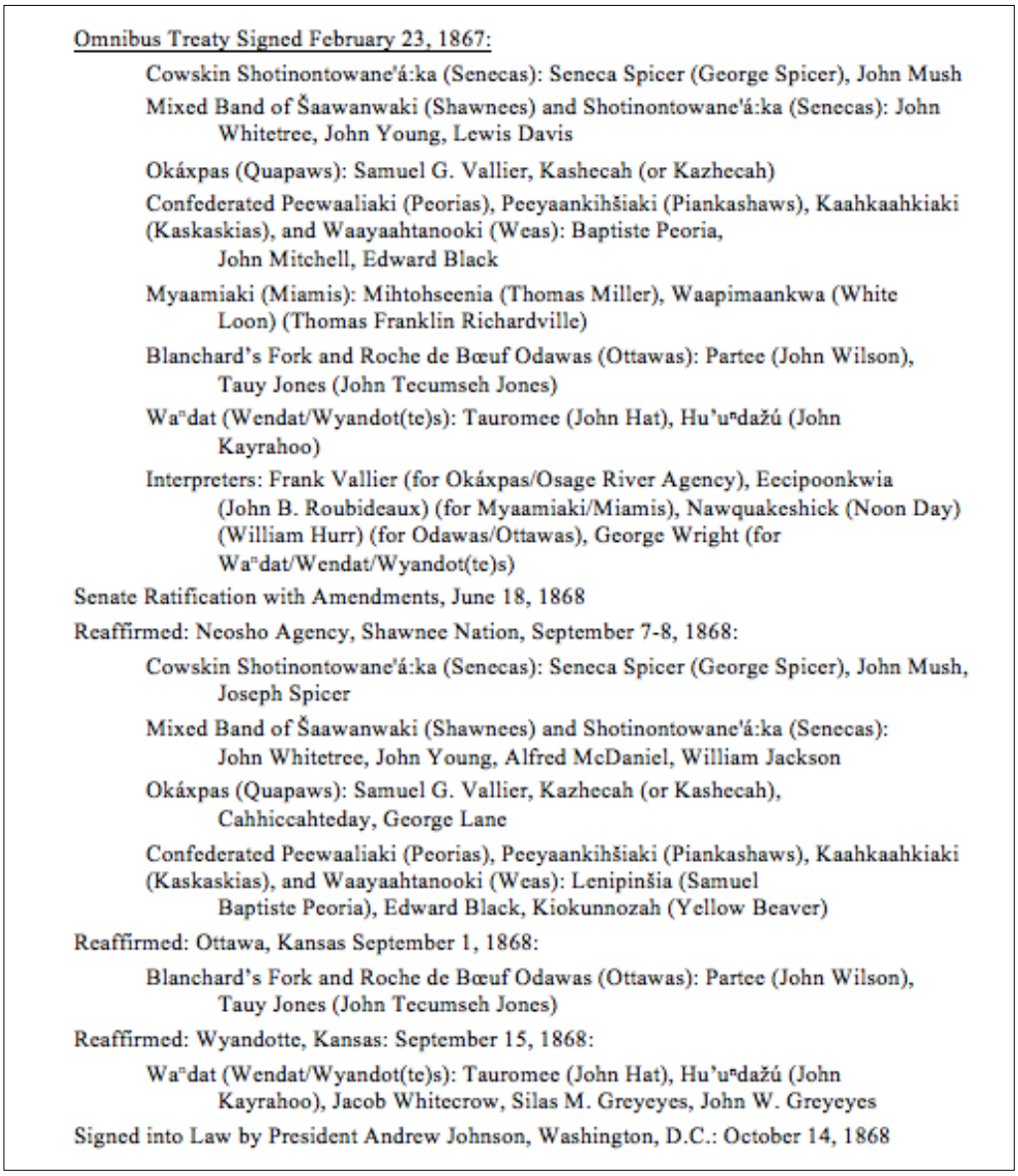


Figure 5.5: Omnibus Treaty Signers, February 23, 1867
The Omnibus Treaty was not only signed originally in February, but others signed it as well with when the circulated amendments made the rounds, before becoming law.
Source: Image created by the author, 2018.

Figure 5.6: Native Delegations Pose in Front of the White House, 1867
Although the caption lists only Myaamia (Miami), Odawa (Ottawa), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), Meskwa (Fox), Ojibwe (Chippewa) delegates as well as representatives from the Ihanktonwan Nakota (Yankton), Dakota, and other Sioux nations who posed for this photograph in front of the White House with President Andrew Johnson (1865-1869) on February 23, 1867, delegations from the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas): both Cowskin Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Mixed Band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas); Šaawanwaki (Shawnees): including the Absentee, Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) Šaawanwaki, Kaatheewithiipiiki Šaawanwaki (Kansas/Kaw River), and Mixed Band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas); as well as the Okáxpas (Quapaws), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) also came to Washington, D.C. to negotiate new treaties in February of 1867.
Source: Photograph by Alexander Gardner. Catalog No. P10142, NMAI, SI.

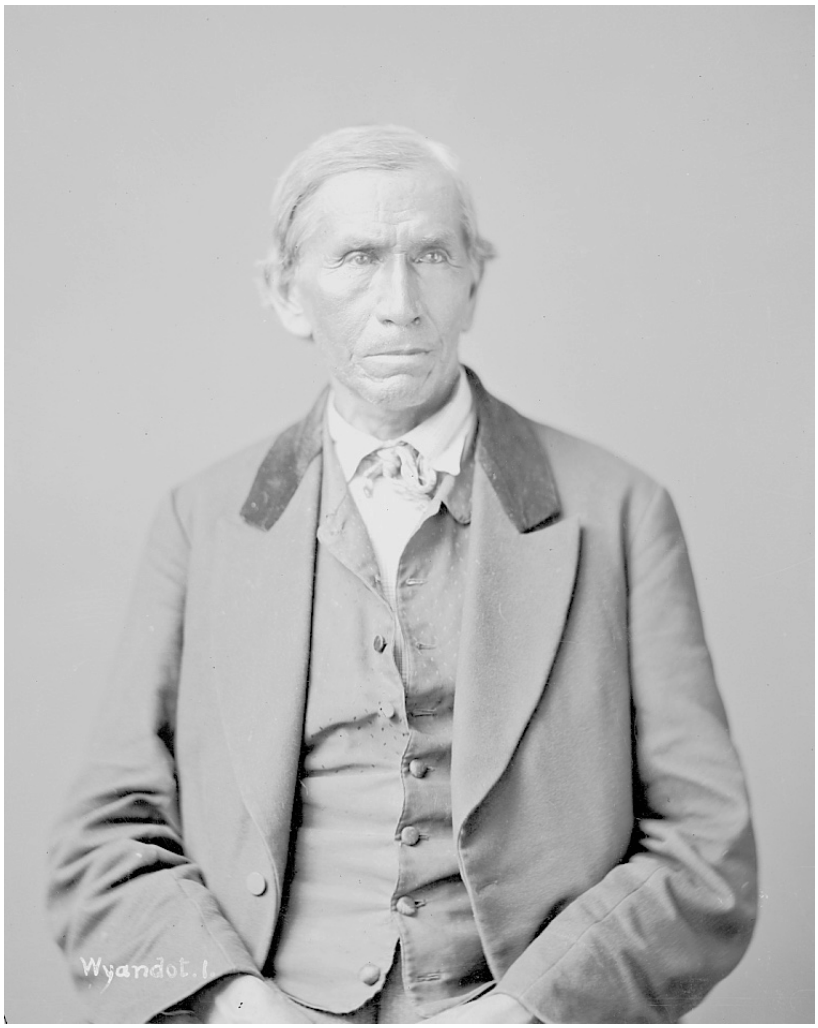


Figure 5.7: Haʾtaraš (Matthew Mudeater) (Waⁿdat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), 1875
Haʾtaraš, known by his English name Matthew Mudeater, led a group of disenfranchised Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and settled next to their friends from the Ohio Country, the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) in 1857. Less than twenty years later he would have this photograph taken as part of the Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) delegation to Washington, D.C. in 1875.
Source: "Portrait (Front) of Mathew Mudeater 1875," 1875. Photograph by John K. Hillers. Washington, D.C. BAE GN 00973A 06209000, NAA, NMNH, SI. Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution. [Cropped/Edited for Detail].

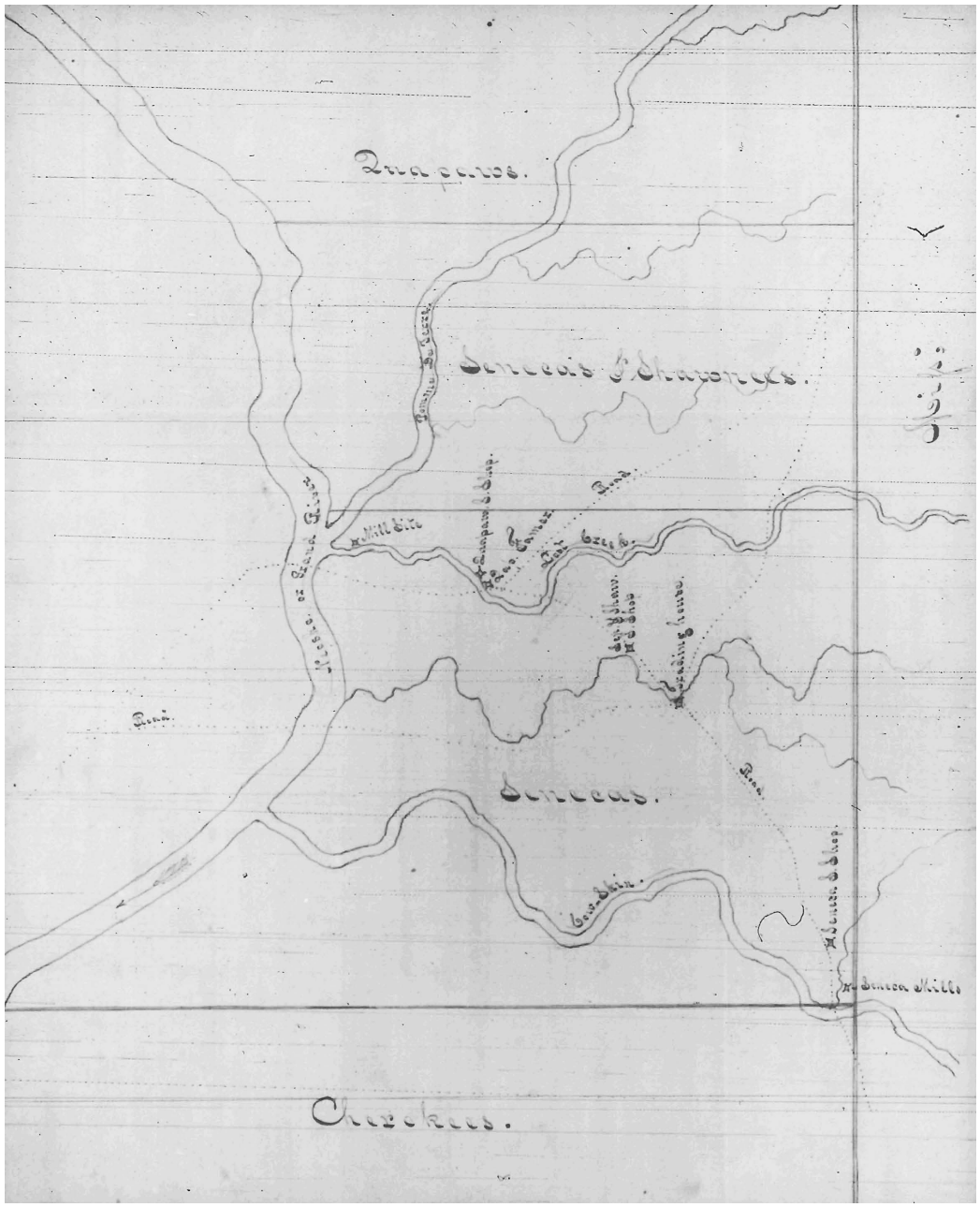


Figure 5.8: Northeastern Oklahoma By The Civil War: Three Tribal Nations
By the Civil War, the tribal nations between the Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) Nation and the state of Kansas were the Sandusky Senecas, often as the Cowskin Senecas, in the South, the Okáxpas (Quapaws) in the north, and the mixed band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) in the middle.
Source: RG75 M234 R530, NARA.
[Cropped and edited color/brightness/contrast for clarity and detail].

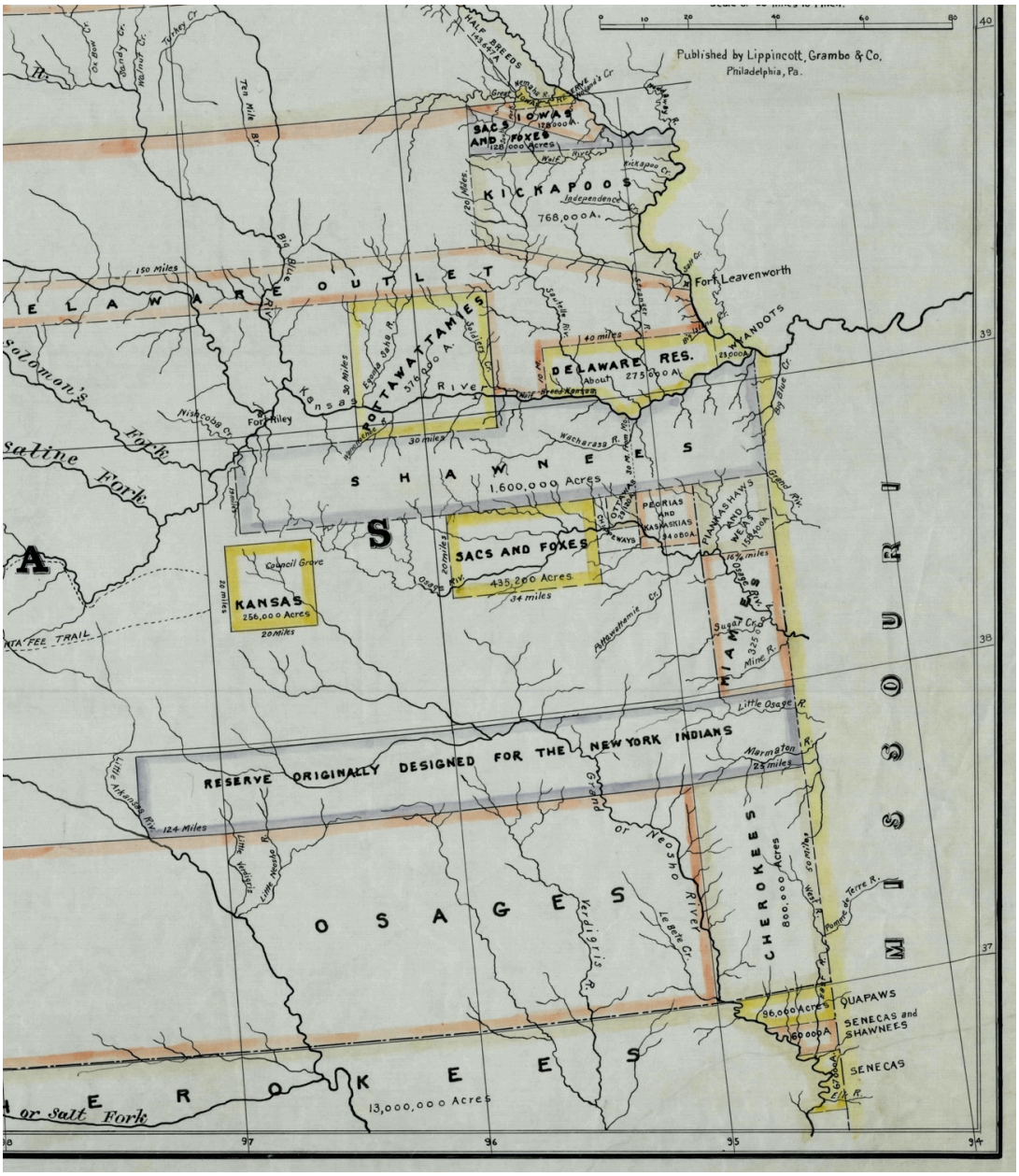


Figure 5.9: Okáxpa-Shotinontowane'-Šaawanwa (Quapaw-Seneca-Shawnee) Lands

This 1854 map of reservation lands contains 'treaty notes' denoting reservation acreage. Down in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma one can recognize: Okáxpas (Quapaws)—96,000 acres; Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees)—60,000 acres; and Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas)—67,000 acres.

Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 974, NARA II.

Figure 5.10: Sandusky or Cowskin Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas): 67,000 Acres
The Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), also known as the Cowskin or Elk River Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), had around 67,000 acres in the very southern portion of the Northeast Corner of Oklahoma, as confirmed with their 1832 Treaty.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 61, NARA II. [image cropped for detail].

Figure 5.11: Okáxpas (Quapaws): 96,000 Acres
By the time of their removal to the northeastern corner of Oklahoma, the Okáxpas (Quapaws) had a reservation of 96,000 acres, stretching from the Neosho River to the Missouri border, at the northern edge of Indian Country touching the state of Kansas.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 962, NARA II.

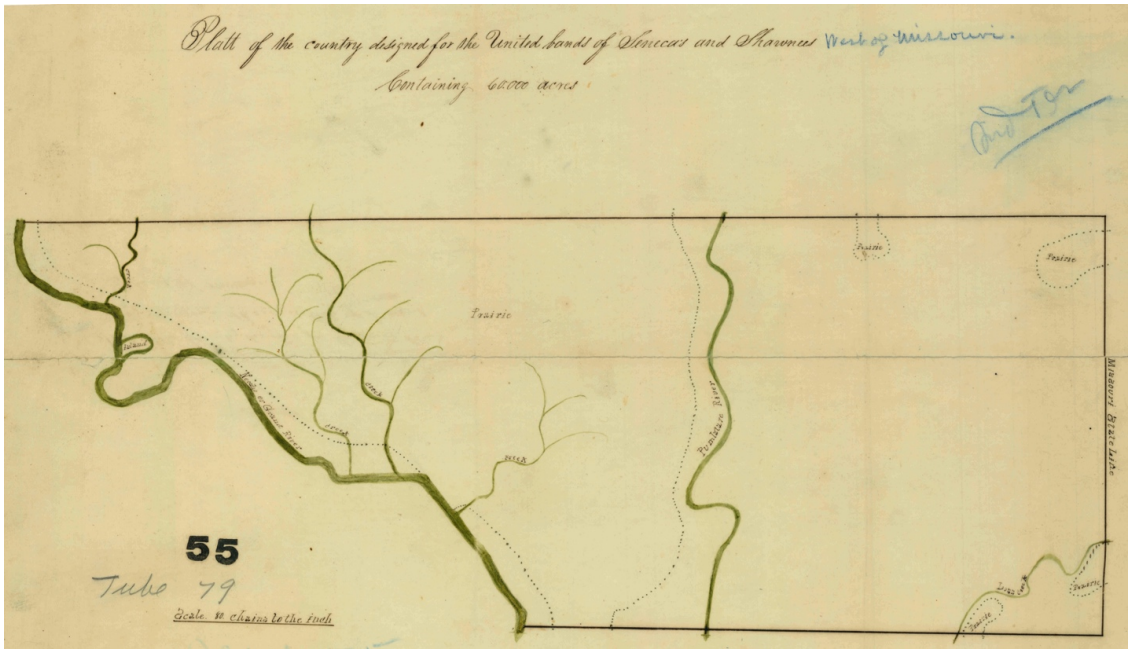


Figure 5.12: Haudenosaunee & Šaawanwaki (Shawnees): 60,000 Acres
The Lewistown or Mixed Band of Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) originally had a shared reservation, amassing a total of 60,000 acres, in northeastern Oklahoma.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 55, NARA II. [Cropped for detail].

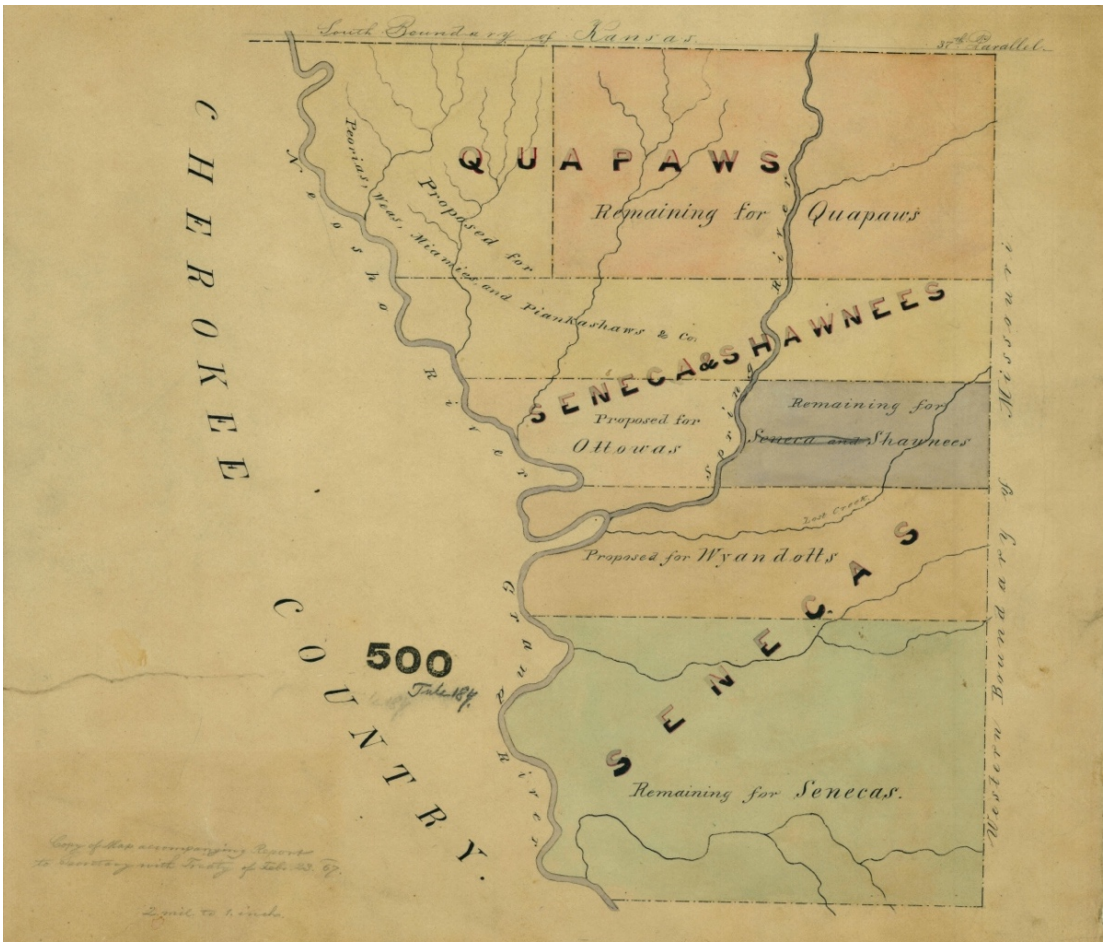


Figure 5.13: Reservation Consolidation & Expansion to Diverse Communities
This map served two functions. 1) It illustrated with bold typeface the current (pre-1867) reservations for the Okáxpas (Quapaws), the Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas). 2) Proposed reservation locations for the Myaamia-Peewaalia-(Miami-Peoria)-speaking peoples, the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), and the Odawas (Ottawas), were indicated by various color shades. In pencil in the bottom left corner one can also make out: "Copy of Map accompanying Report to Secretary with Treaty of Feb. 23, 1867."
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 500, NARA II.

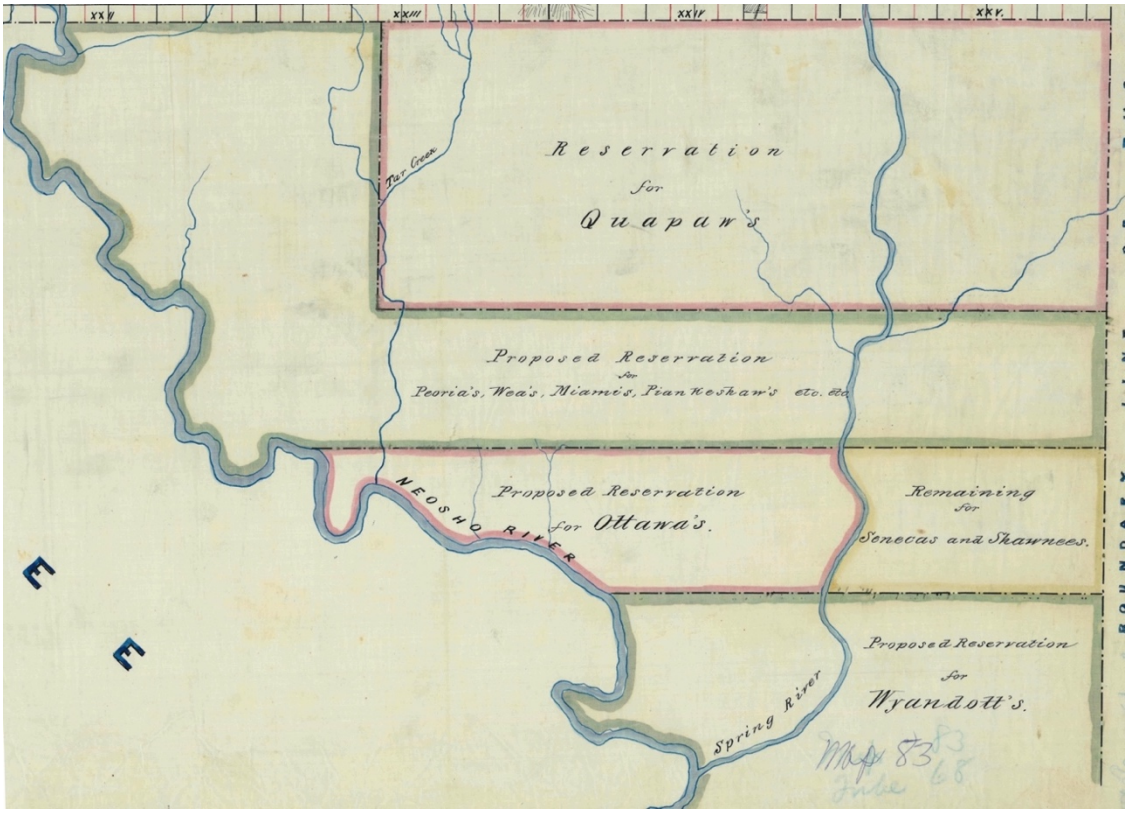
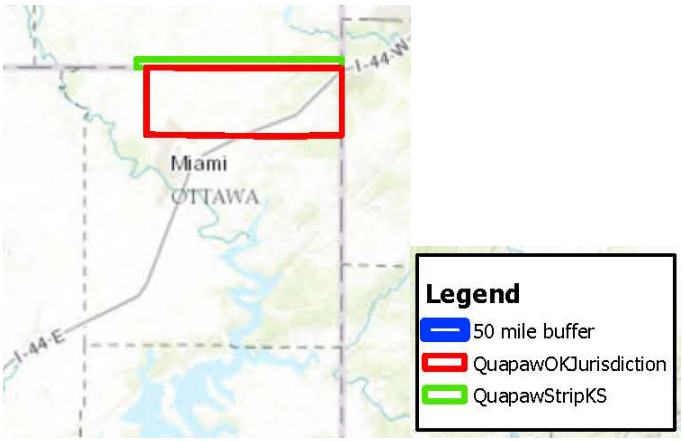


Figure 5.14: Proposed Reservations for Peewaaliaki (Peorias) & Others, Etc.
Showing the northern portion of the proposed reservations for the emigrant Kansas nations, this map listed what Figure 5.13 crossed out. The yellow-outlined area would become the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnee) lands.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 83, NARA II. [Cropped for Detail].



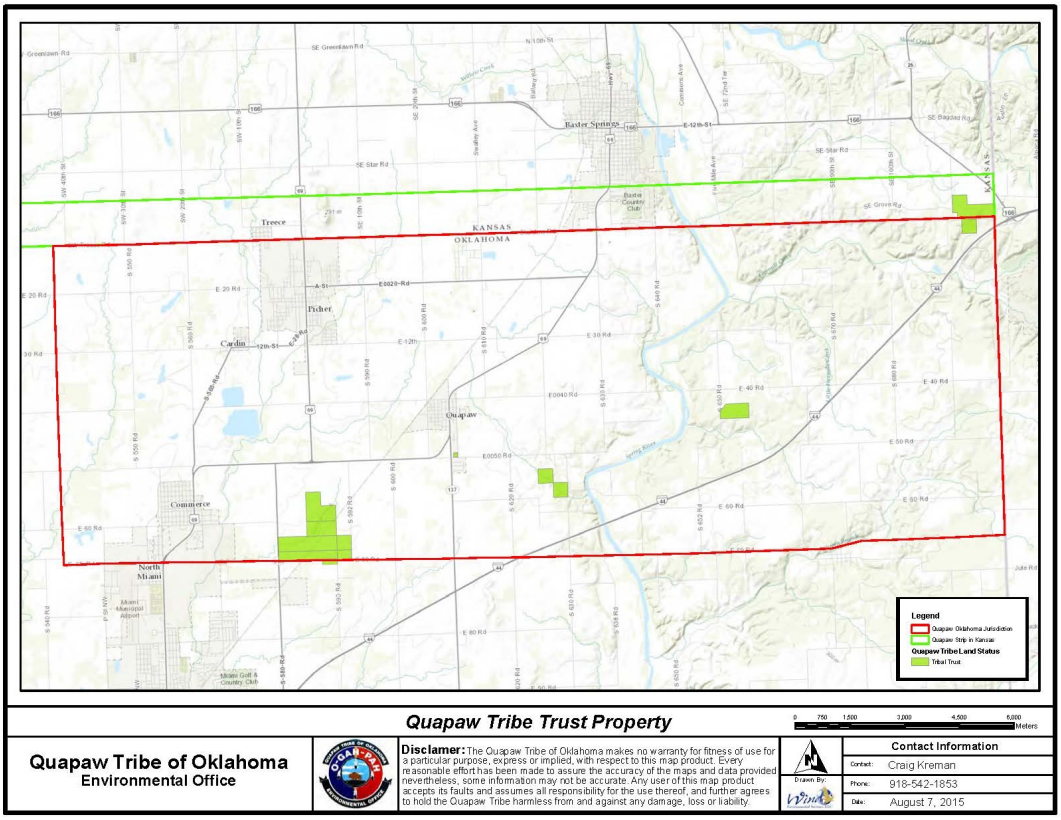


Figure 5.15: Okáxpa (Quapaw) Jurisdiction, Ottawa County (Detail)
Figure 5.16: Contemporary Okáxpa (Quapaw) Trust Property
Above is a cropped detail (not to scale), of Okáxpa (Quapaw) historic jurisdictions in Ottawa County (Figure 5.15 (Top)). The bottom (Figure 5.16) details the patches of twenty-first-century lands held in trust (Solid Green) within those boundaries (Okla. Reserve: Red, 'Quapaw Strip': Green).
Source: "Appendix B: Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma Map and Trust/Restricted Indian Land Holdings within The Quapaw Tribe of Indians Jurisdiction" [Map 2 (p. 3)]. From: "Treatment as a State for Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma for Clean Air Act Non-Regulatory Authorities: Notice of Application from The Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma for TAS under the Clean Air Act," August 7, 2015, *United States Environmental Protection Agency*, January 29, 2018, https://www.epa.gov/caa-permitting/treatment-state-quapaw-tribe-oklahoma-clean-air-act-non-regulatory-authorities (accessed 5 March 2018). Maps by Craig Kreman, Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma Environmental Office, August 7, 2015.

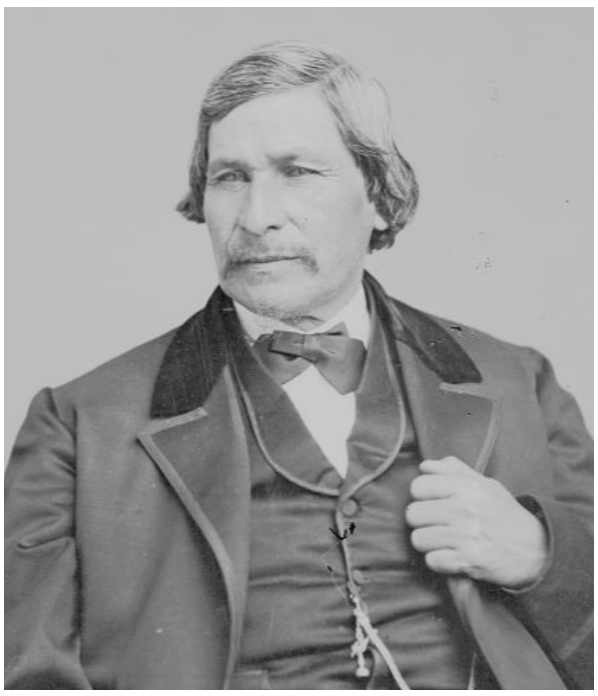
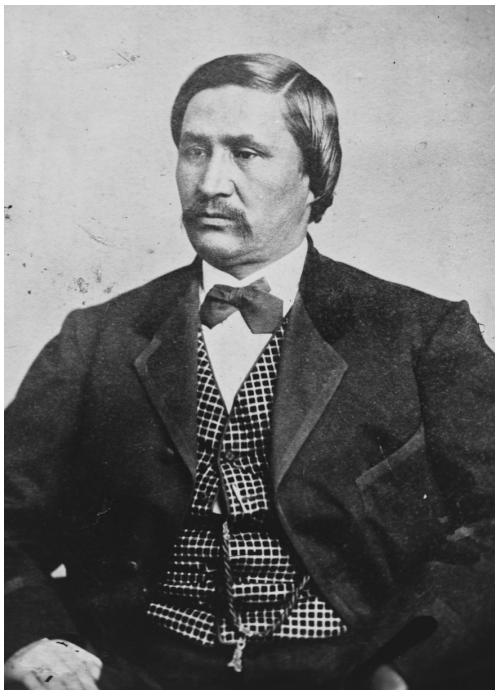



Figure 5.17: Partee (John Wilson) (Odawa/Ottawa), 1869
Figure 5.18: Nawquakeshick (Noon Day) (William Hurr) (Odawa/Ottawa)
With Nawquakeshick (Noon Day) (William Hurr) as their interpreter, Partee (John Wilson) and Tauy Jones (John Tecumseh Jones) signed the 1867 Treaty on behalf of the Blanchard's Fork and Roche de Bœuf Odawas (Ottawas). The Odawas (Ottawas) purchased part of the western portion of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) reservation lands.
Source: Figure 5.17: (Left): "Portrait (Front) of Partee, Called John Wilson," 1869. Photograph by Antonio(n) Zeno Shindler, Washington, D.C. BAE GN 00782 06183900, NAA, NMNH, SI. Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution. [Cropped for Detail].
Source: Figure 5.18: (Right): Photograph of "William Hurr (Ottawa), Councilor and Interpreter, Indian Territory," 1869. Photograph by Antonio(n) Zeno Shindler, Washington, D.C. Photographs, Huntington Digital Library. Photo Archives, George W. Ingalls Photograph Collection, Box 22, Folder 28 (7). The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California.

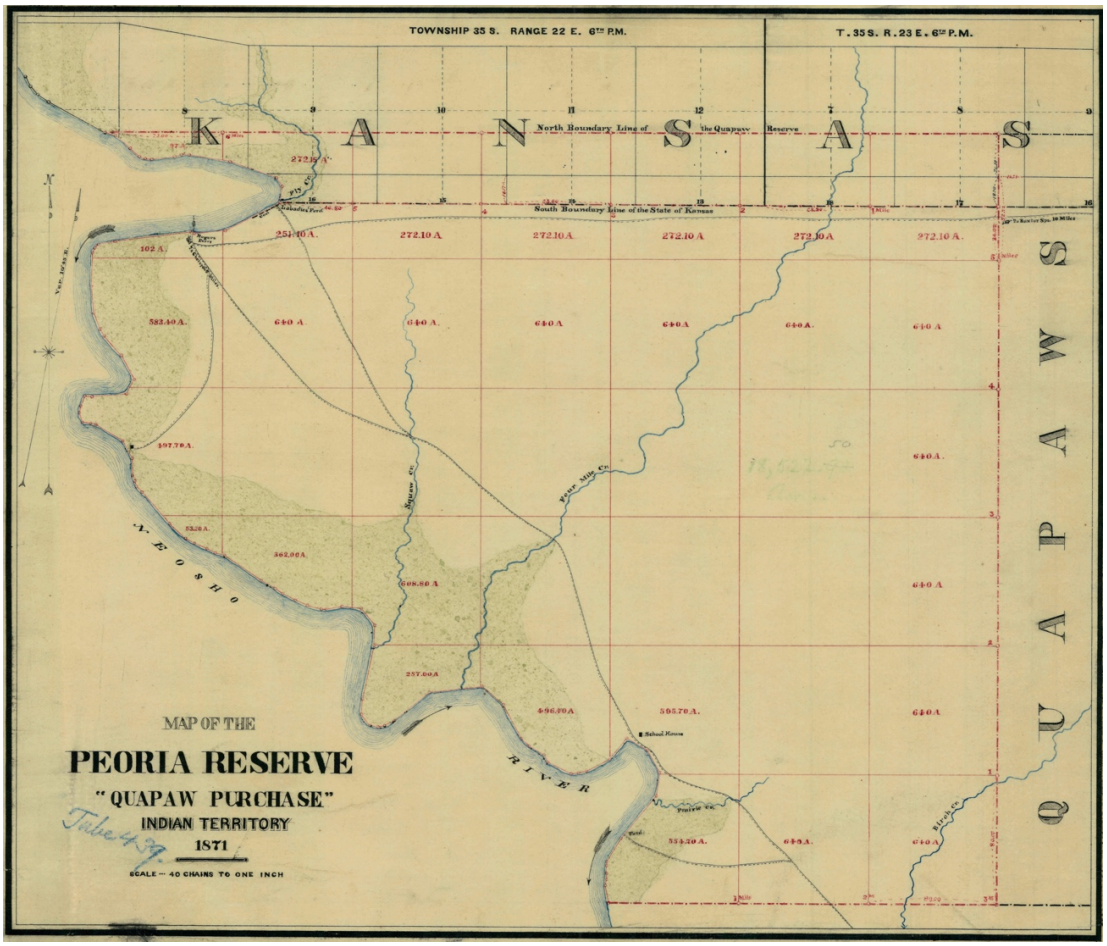


Figure 5.19: Peewaalia (Peoria) Purchase from the Okáxpas (Quapaws)
The Peewaaliaki (Peorias) and other Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking nations ended up with an irregular shaped reservation in northeastern Oklahoma. Part of their lands, they bought from the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), which resided south of the Okáxpas (Quapaws). The other land, the 'Quapaw Purchase' depicted here, was the lands the Okáxpas (Quapaws) sold in the western side of their reserve that touched the Neosho River.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 48, NARA II.

Figure 5.20: Mihtohseenia (Thomas Miller) (Myaamia/Miami), 1869
Figure 5.21: Eecipoonkwia (John B. Roubideaux) & Waapimaankwa (T.F.R.)
Figure 5.20 (Left) and Figure 5.21 (Right) photographs taken during tribal delegation trips to Washington, D.C., and are of three of the Western Myaamia (Miami) political leaders: Mihtohseenia (Thomas Miller), Eecipoonkwia (John B. Roubideaux), and Waapimaankwa (Thomas Franklin Richardville).
Source: Figure 5.16 (Left): "Portrait (Front) of Thomas Miller (Mixed Blood) 1869." Photograph by Antonio(n) Zeno Shindler, Washington, D.C. BAE GN 00799 06185900, NAA, NMNH, SI. Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution. [Cropped for Detail].
Figure 5.17 (Right): "Portrait of Roubideaux and Thomas F. Richardville (Mixed Bloods) 1869." Photograph by Antonio(n) Zeno Shindler, Washington, D.C. BAE GN 00803 06186500, NAA, NMNH, SI. Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution. [Cropped for Detail].

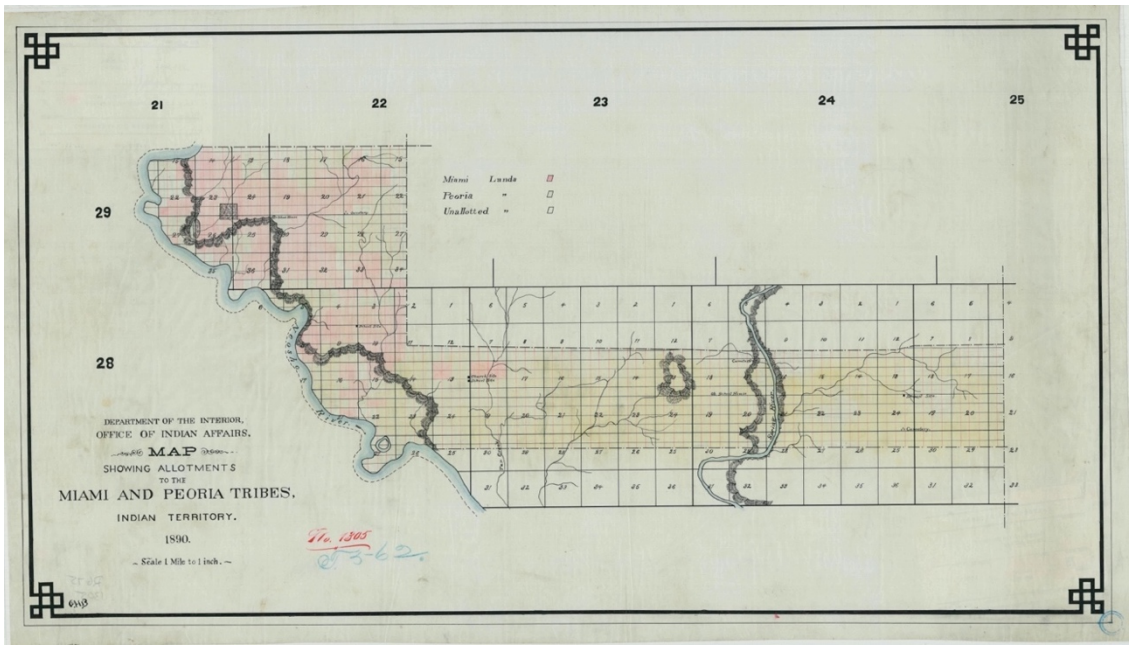


Figure 5.22: Myaamia (Miami) and Peewaalia (Peoria) Lands, 1890
Although the 1867 Treaty called for the possibility of Myaamia (Miami) and Peewaalia (Peoria) unity, Myaamiaki (Miamis) maintained their separateness. The Western Myaamia (Miami) Nation relocated to Peewaalia (Peoria) reservation lands in northeastern Oklahoma in the 1870s, mostly on what was the 'Quapaw Purchase.'
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 1305, NARA II.

Figure 5.23: Two-Story Home of Agent Dyer, Quapaw Agency, I.T., 1882
Part of the 1867 Omnibus treaty provided for the rebuilding of the Indian Agency buildings. The buildings had been destroyed during the Civil War.
Source: Daniel B. Dyer Photograph Collection of Indian Territory Agencies and Osage and Quapaw Indians, 1868-1909 [RH PH 5.1(f)]. Collection No. RH PH 5. Oversize Box 2, Folio Album Page 4, Photo No. A. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

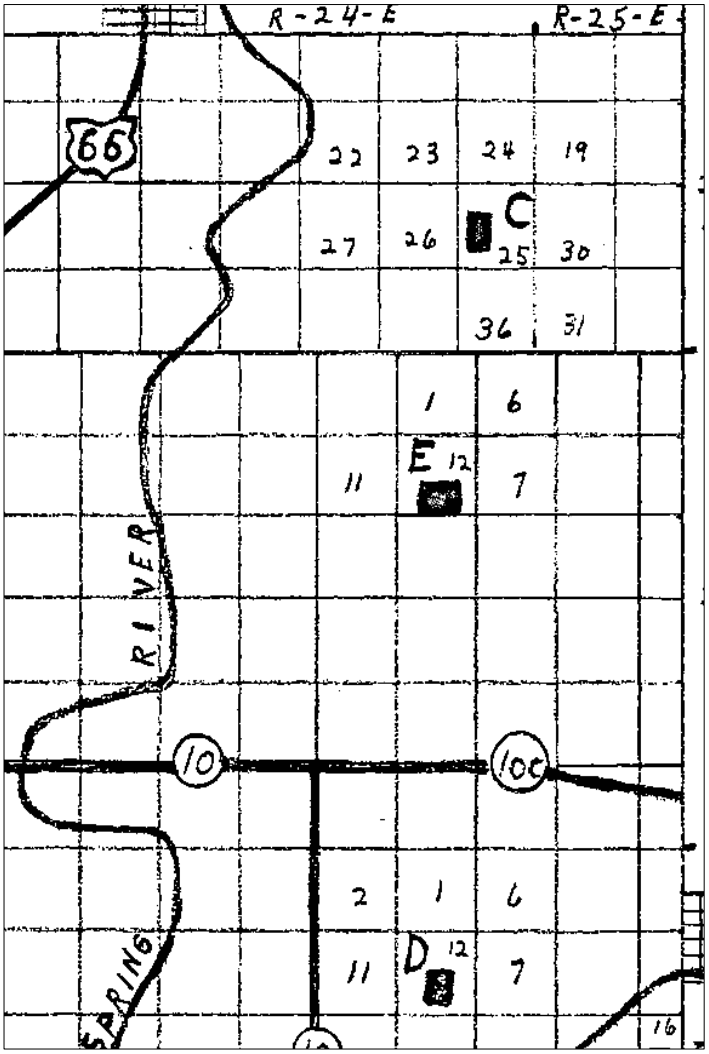


Figure 5.24: Quapaw Agency Location, Near the Spring River
Listed as "D" is the last location of the Neosho Agency, after the Civil War to 1871, when it changed to the Quapaw Agency.
Source: Frank H. Harris, "Neosho Agency, 1838-1871," *COK*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring 1965), 37.

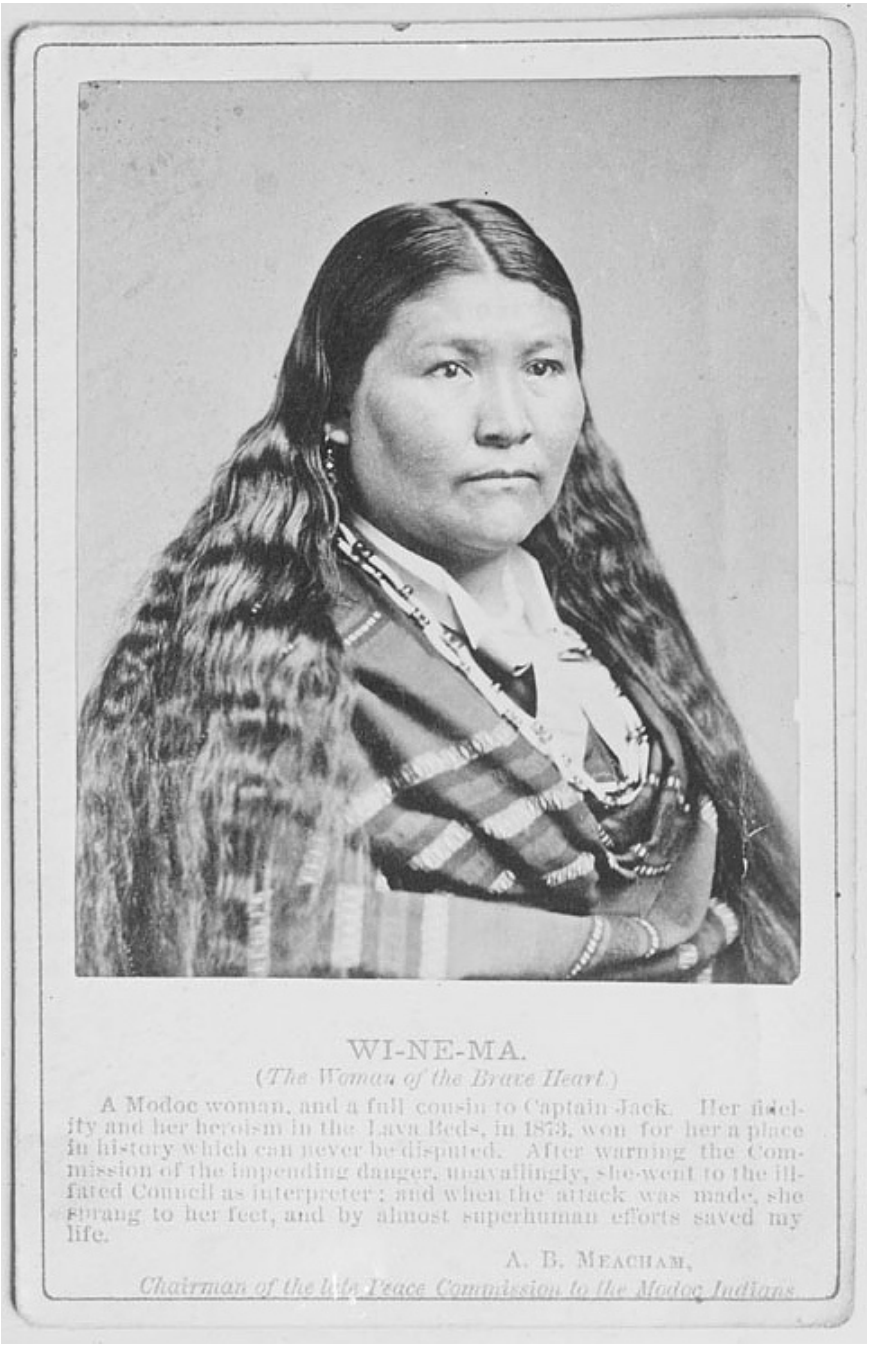
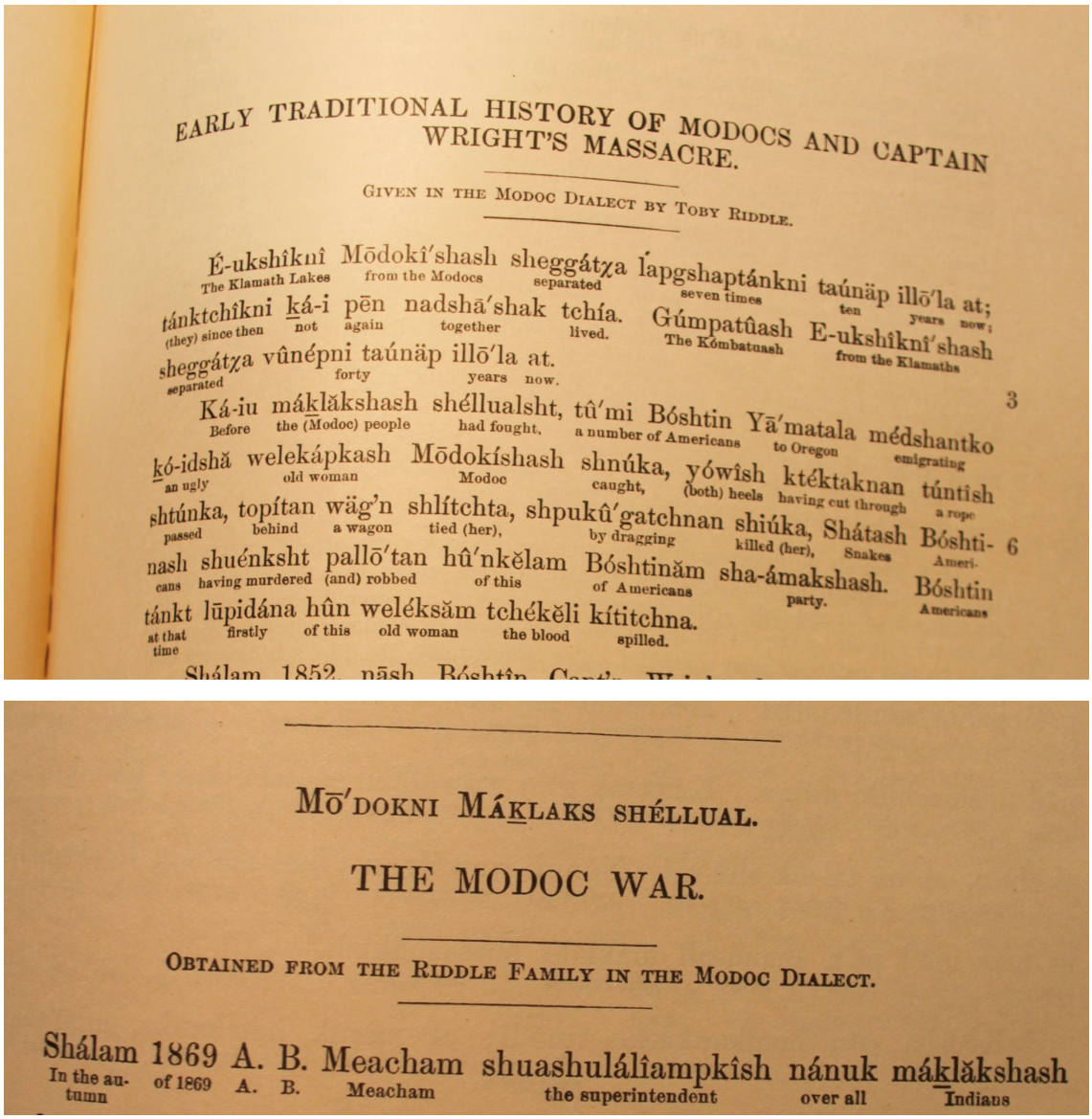


Figure 5.25: Kaitchkona Winema (Toby Riddle) (Mō´dok/Modoc) (Native Regalia) Kaitchkona Winema (Mō´dok/Modoc), shown here in Native dress, was also known as Toby Riddle. She was an interpreter during the Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (The Modoc War) of 1872-1873. The Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) linguist Albert Samuel Gatschet interviewed her and other Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s.

Source: Photograph of Winema (Mō´dok/Modoc). Black and White Gelatin Glass Negative by De Lancey W. Gill. Copy of Print by Louis Herman Heller, 1873. BAE GN 03051B 06492000, NAA, NMNH, SI.

Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 5.26: Kaitchkona Winema (Toby Riddle) (Mō´dok/Modoc) (Western Dress)
This 1877 photograph of Winema, also known as Toby Riddle, shows her dressed in Western attire.
Source: "Portrait (Front) of Kaitchkona Winema (Woman Sub-Chief), Called Toby Riddle, Wife of Frank Riddle (Non-Native), 1877." Black and White Collodion Glass Negative by Charles Milton Bell [Uncertain]. BAE GN 03051A 06491900, NAA, NMNH, SI.
Digital Version from: Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution.



EARLY TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF MODOCS AND CAPTAIN WRIGHT'S MASSACRE.

GIVEN IN THE MODOC DIALECT BY TOBY RIDDLE.

É-ukshîknî Mōdokî'shash sheggátza lapgshaptánkni taúnäp illō'la at;
The Klamath Lakes from the Modocs separated seven times ten years now;
tánktchîkni ká-i pēn nadshā'shak tchía. Gúmpatûash E-ukshîknî'shash
(they) since then not again together lived. The Kómbatuash from the Klamaths
sheggátza vûnépni taúnäp illō'la at.
separated forty years now.

Ká-iu máklăkshash shéllualsht, tû'mi Bóshtin Yā'matala médshantko 3
Before the (Modoc) people had fought, a number of Americans to Oregon emigrating
kó-idshă welekápkash Mōdokíshash shnúka, yówîsh ktéktaknan túntish
an ugly old woman Modoc caught, (both) heels having cut through a rope
shtúnka, topítan wäg'n shlítchta, shpukû'gatchnan shiúka, Shátash Bóshti- 6
passed behind a wagon tied (her), by dragging killed (her), Snakes Ameri-
nash shuénksht pallō'tan hû'nkĕlam Bóshtinăm sha-ámakshash. Bóshtin
cans having murdered (and) robbed of this of Americans party. Americans
tánkt lūpidána hûn weléksăm tchékĕli kítitchna.
at that time firstly of this old woman the blood spilled.

Shálam 1852 nāsh Bóshtîn Capt'n

MŌ'DOKNI MÁKLAKS SHÉLLUAL.

THE MODOC WAR.

OBTAINED FROM THE RIDDLE FAMILY IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

Shálam 1869 A. B. Meacham shuashulálîampkîsh nánuk máklăkshash
In the autumn of 1869 A. B. Meacham the superintendent over all Indians

Figure 5.27: Narratives from Kaitchkona Winema (Toby Riddle) (Mō´dok/Modoc)
Figure 5.28: Narratives from Kaitchkona Winema (Toby Riddle) (Mō´dok/Modoc)
Source: Albert Samuel Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Vol. 2, Pt. 1 [of 2] (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), 13, 33. Ayer 301 .C7 1877 Vols. 1-2, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

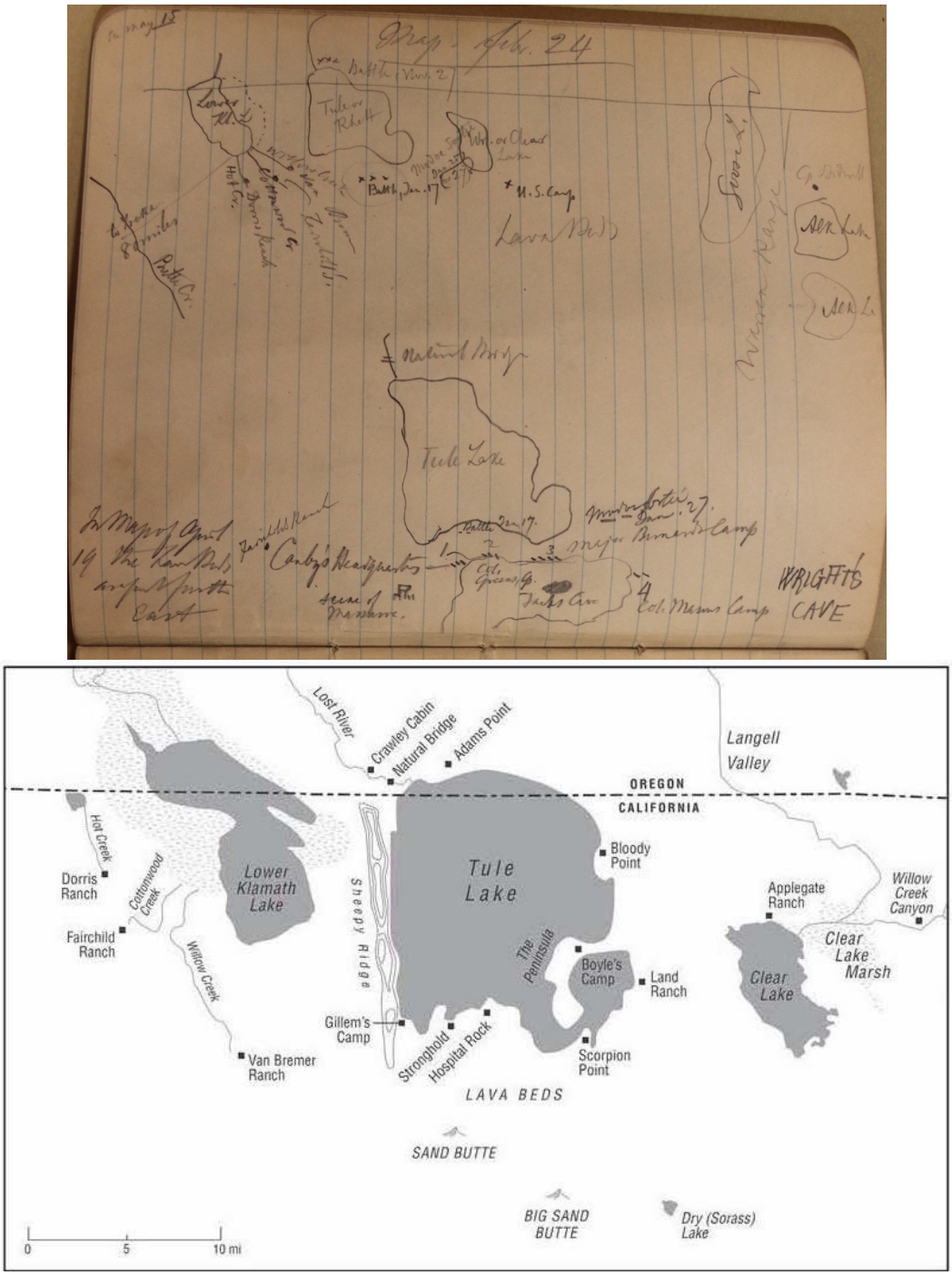


Figure 5.29: Gatschet's Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (Modoc War) Map
Figure 5.30: 21st-Century Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (Modoc War) Map
Comparisons of this late nineteenth-century map (Figure 5.28 (Top)) with a twenty-first century one (Figure 5.29 (Bottom)), shows visually what was recalled and emphasized by both indigenous and non-Native people past and present. [Both cropped & rotated].
Source: Figure 5.29 (Top): Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Modoc War December 27, 1872-June 16, 1873*, NAA MS 1571, NAA, NMNH, SI. Figure 5.30 (Bottom): Robert Aquinas McNally, *The Modoc War: A Story of Genocide at the Dawn of America's Gilded Age* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), Map 2, 141.

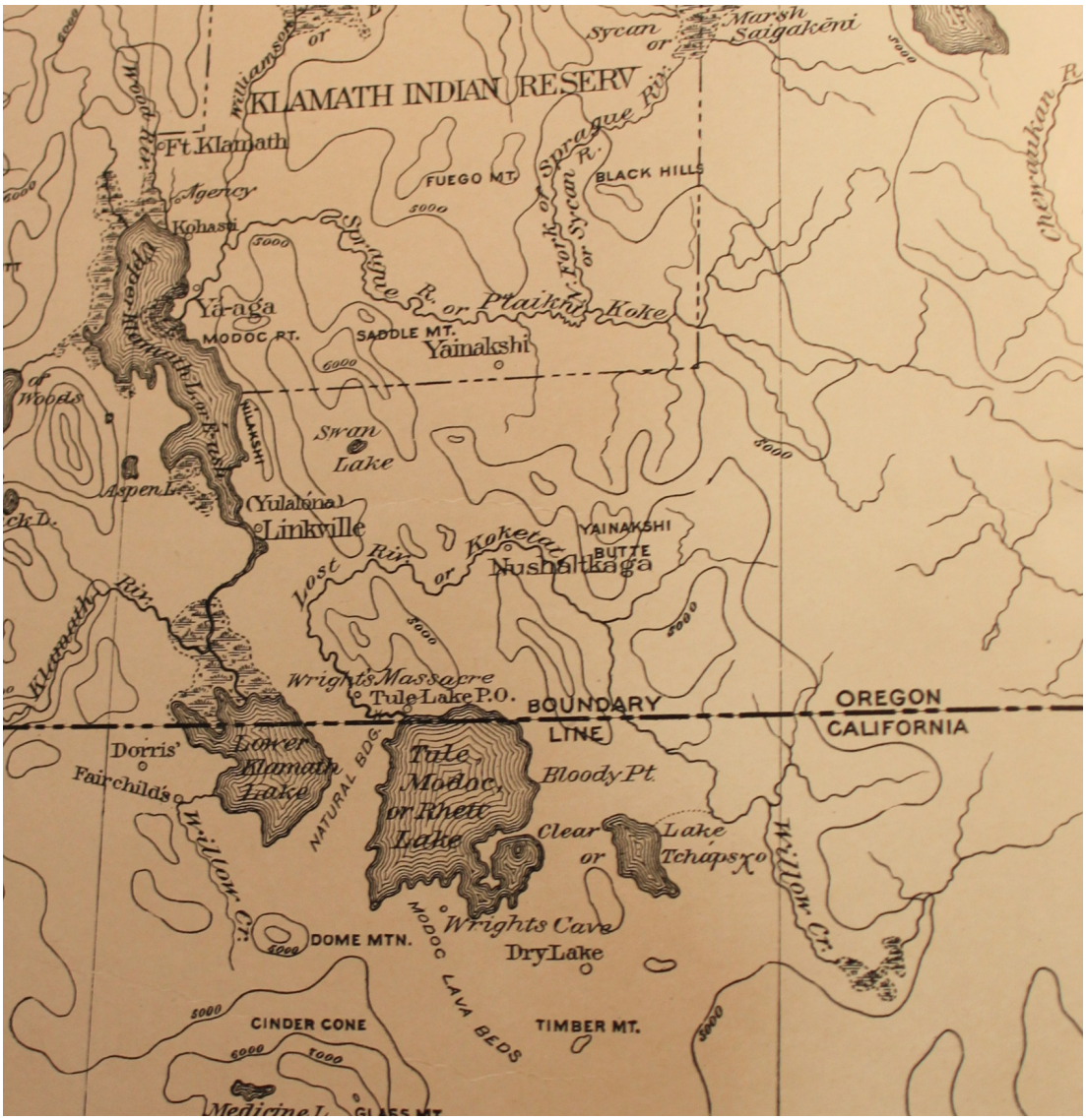


Figure 5.31: Frontispiece From Gatschet's *The Klamath Indians of Oregon* (1890)
The frontispiece from Albert Samuel Gatschet's "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon" is pieced together from not only national news reports, but also information gathered by Native informants. [Research photograph by author; cropped for detail].
Source: Albert Samuel Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Vol. II, Pt. 1 [of 2] (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), Frontispiece. Ayer 301 .C7 1877 Vols. 1-2, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

Figure 5.32: Winema (Toby Riddle) (Mō´dok/Modoc) & Her Son, Jefferson
The Riddle family, especially Winema (Toby Riddle) and her son Jefferson Riddle, shared their experiences and histories. Albert Gatschet would credit Toby Riddle and her family with much of his stories he collected in the Mō´dok (Modoc) language of the events of the Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (Modoc War) of 1872-1873.
Source: Photograph No. 15, LOT 11480, Prints and Photograph Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Photograph by Louis Herman Heller, c. 1873.
[Research photograph; Cropped and color corrected].

Figure 5.33: Bóstîn Charley (Boston Charley) (Mō´dok/Modoc)
Figure 5.34: Schonchin John & Kintpuash (Mō´dokni Máklaks/Modocs)
Source: Figure 5.33 (Left): Boston Charley, Photograph by Louis Herman Heller, 1873. Photograph No. 4, LOT 11480, Prints and Photograph Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Figure 5.34 (Right): Schonchin and Capt. Jack. Photograph by Louis Herman Heller, 1873. Photograph No. 12, LOT 11480, Prints and Photograph Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Photograph by Louis Herman Heller, c. 1873.
[Research photograph; Cropped and color corrected].

Figure 5.35: "Modoc Indians In Their New Home: View Through Camp" (c. 1874) Although part of a set of six (6) stereographs entitled "Modoc Indians In Their New Home," only two (2) of the Baxter Springs, Kansas photographs of Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) in Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory, can be located by the author. This one is listed as View No. 4 ("View Through Camp") by McCarty of Baxter Springs, Kansas. Source: View No. 4 ("View Through Camp") of "Modoc Indians In Their New Home" Stereograph Set by McCarty, Baxter Springs, Kansas. Photograph No. 5, LOT 13703, Prints and Photograph Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Figure 5.36: Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) as Prisoners of War, Indian Territory
This Stereograph (View No. 1) exemplifies the human toll and impact the war had on not only the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) who were warriors and soldiers who took part in the armed conflict and combat, but also their families. Those in this group portrait are listed as: 1) Indian Agent Hiram W. Jones, 2) Hooka Jim, 3) Shacknasty Jim, 4) Chǐkclǐkam-Lupalkuelátko (Scar-Faced Charley), 5) Mr. Squier of the Interior Department, 6) Bogus Charley, 7) Faithful William, 8) Long Jim, 9) Hooka Jim's wife, 10) Bogus Charley's wife and son, 11) Chǐkclǐkam-Lupalkuelátko (Scar-Faced Charley)'s wife, 12) Princess Mary ("[Kintpuash's] Capt. Jack's sister"), 13) Lizzie ("[Kintpuash's] Capt. Jack's favorite wife"), 14) Little George and his mother, 15) Amelia, and 16) Lucy.
Source: View No. 1 of "Modoc Indians In Their New Home" Stereograph Set by McCarty, Baxter Springs, Kansas. Photograph No. 1, LOT 13703, Prints and Photograph Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [Cropped to show detail].

Figure 5.37: Mō´dok (Modocs) Group Portrait, Indian Territory
A group portrait belonging to the Chairman of the Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma, Bill G. Follis, although published as a clipped landscape across two pages, is like the stereograph but has more distinguishable features of the people photographed.
Source: Odie B. Faulk, *The Modoc People*, Indian Tribal Series (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1976), 84-85.

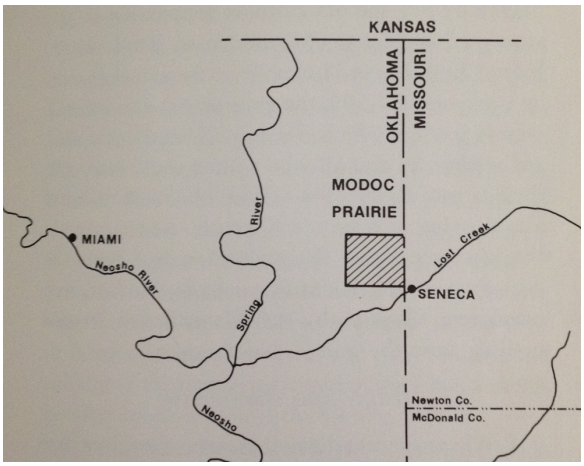


Figure 5.38: The New Home of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), Oklahoma
This basic map shows where the Modoc Reservation in Indian Territory resided. What is not shown is the other Indian reservations surrounding it.
Source: Odie B. Faulk, *The Modoc People*, Indian Tribal Series (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1976), 91.

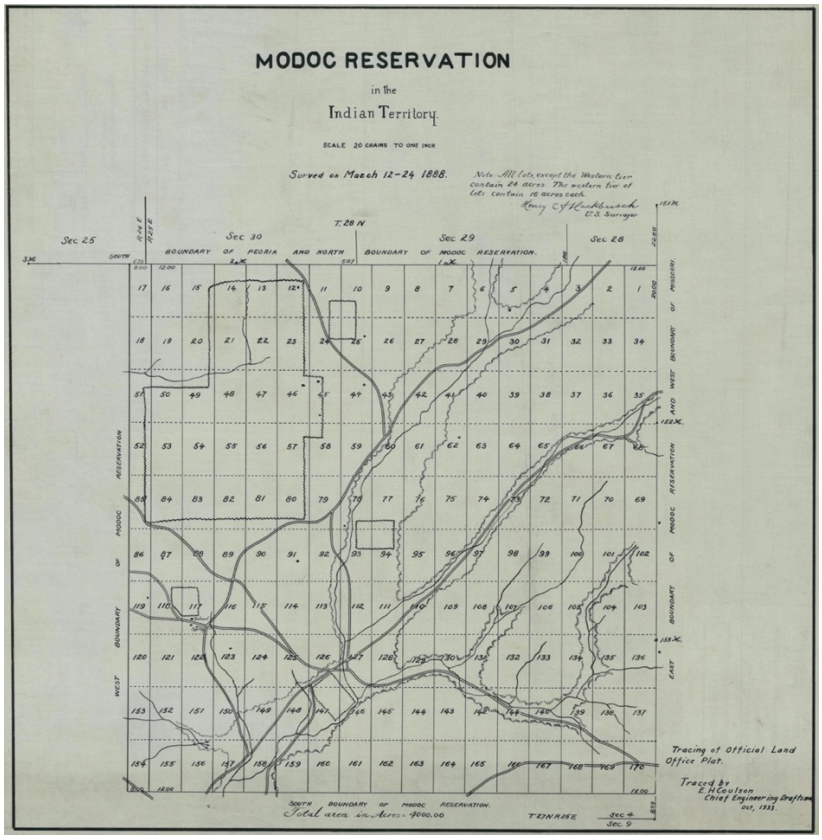


Figure 5.39: Mō´dok (Modoc) Reservation in Indian Territory, 1888
This map of the Mō´dok (Modoc) Reservation surveyed and plotted, shows their lands bounded by the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) to the north. To the East is the Missouri state line, while the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) are to the south and west.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. CA 132-2, NARA II.

Figure 5.40: Bull Tail and Moloch (Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs)), Ind. Terr.
The Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) became farmers as well as wagon teamsters.
Source: NAA INV 09827900, Photo Lot 90-1, No. 70, NAA, NMAI, SI. [Stereograph cropped for detail].

Figure 5.41: Bogus Charley (Mō´dok/Modoc) with His Wife & Son, 1873
Louis Herman Heller not only photographed the male participants in the war, but also families who were also deemed "prisoners under my charge." Bogus Charley with his wife and son is one such example.
Source: "Bogus Charley and Family." From "Photographs of Modoc Indian Prisoners" (WA Photos 2) by Louis Herman Heller, 1873. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Yale University Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Figure 5.42: Okáxpa (Quapaw) Lands Proposed for the Tickanwatic (Tonkawas)
While the Quapaw Agency also became the "Agency of the Captive Indians in Indian Territory," military and Indian Department officials considered relocating many Native nations, such as the Tickanwatic (Tonkawas) to the Quapaw Agency.
Source: RG75 CMF Map No. 1046, NARA II. [Cropped to show detail].

Figure 5.43: Indian Territory General Council Meeting, 1875
Figure 5.44: Indian Territory General Council Meeting, 1875
Although Native-led with indigenous-planned agendas, the Indian Territory General Council was also supported by the Indian Office due to its general encouragement of education and agriculture. Sometimes Indian agents spoke, like the Union Agency's George W. Ingalls, shown (standing in center), at the 1875 annual gathering.
Sources: Figure 5.43: (Top): Photograph of "Annual Grand Council of delegates from 34 tribes, representing 55,000 Indians. G. W. Ingalls, presiding," 1874 or 1875. Photographs, Huntington Digital Library. Photo Archives, George W. Ingalls Photograph Collection, Box 20, Folder 25 (16). Figure 5.44: (Bottom): Photograph of "Annual Grand Council, 34 tribes. G. W. Ingalls, agent, addressing farmers," 1874 or 1875. Photographs, Huntington Digital Library. Photo Archives, George W. Ingalls Photograph Collection, Box 20, Folder 25 (15). Both: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California. [Cropped for detail].

Figure 5.45: Indian Territory General Council Group Portrait, May 13, 1875
Posed in front of the Mvskoke (Creek) Council House, delegates from at least thirty different tribal nations met for the annual Indian Territory Grand Council meeting. When welcoming the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) to the intertribal council all the delegates met outside on the lawn of the Council House, smoked the peace pipe, and greeted them either in English or in their mother languages, with the assistance of a cadre of Native interpreters. Bogus Charley, with a decent fluency in English, interpreted for Chĭkclĭkam-Lupalkuelátko (Scarface Charley).
Source: "Delegation at Creek Council House" in NMAI, SI, "The Removal of the Muscogee Nation," *Native Knowledge 360°: New Perspectives on Native American History, Cultures, and Contemporary Lives*, 2018, http://nmai.si.edu/nk360/removal-muscogee/img/Delegation-at-Creek-Council-House.jpg (accessed 21 February 2018). Photograph by Jack Karl Hillers. Original Courtesy of the National Archives, 75-1P-1-49.

Chapter 6: "[O]ur Indian friends have promised to give some war dances, stamp dances and pony races": The Celebration of Indigeneity in the Late Nineteenth-Century Northeastern Oklahoma [1]

"Several Small Tribes Live in One Community in Oklahoma" divulged the interviewer about his conversation with eighty-three-year old Rose Carver, a Myaamia (Miami) Indian from Oklahoma. After listing off the many different Indian nations residing in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma—the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Okáxpas (Quapaws), etc.—Rose Carver reiterated that "each of them have their own community."[2] Many small American Indian tribes found their new homes situated next to each together in the corner of the state after nineteenth-century forced removals from their original homelands. In the face of this history of disruption, the skeptical interviewer may have been unsure of the maintenance of the American Indian communities and cultures among the relatively small or minor tribes. The interviewer probed, "But the various little tribes up in here all retained their identity?" Carver responded with a definitive "Oh yeow."[3] By looking at northeastern Indian history through interviews such as Rose Carver's, one can see that despite the assaults of assimilation and allotment these communities continued to practice their traditions and to speak their languages into the twentieth century. These Native testimonies documented cultural, linguistic, and political perseverance and showed that intertribal

[1] Quote from Figure 6.7: RG75 Special Cases, 1821-1907, Box 160, SC-147 1891, NARA I.

[2] Rose Carver (Myaamia/Miami), interview by J. W. Tyner, transcribed by Monette Coombes, Vol. 42. Tape No. T-307 (September 9, 1968), 2, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. For more information on the interviewer, J. W. Tyner (Yunwiya/Cherokee), see: Rose Stremlau, *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation,* First Peoples Series (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 215.

[3] Rose Carver (Myaamia/Miami), interview by J. W. Tyner, transcribed by Monette Coombes, Vol. 42. Tape No. T-307 (September 9, 1968), 3, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

interactions aided community survival and maintenance of sovereignty.

As Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) art historian Dr. Julie Pearson-Little has noted, gradually by the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cultural expressions of indigeneity came to gain 'seeds' of respectability and acceptability in America. She explained: "Some of the earliest signs of change happened where they were least expected: inside Indian boarding and mission schools." "These schools had not abandoned their assimilation goals," she argued, "but they began to encourage what in many cases was a kind of watered-down Native cultural production that could be marketed to non-Indians."[4] Perhaps one of the most renowned examples of this is the birth of the American Indian ledger art medium. ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) and Tsistsista (Cheyenne) warriors, imprisoned at Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida in the 1870s and handed paper and pen and encouraged to create, created one of the most enduring expressions of American Indian identity and culture. Native peoples in northeastern Oklahoma began to also find ways to express themselves and used their connections to each other to strength and maintain their traditions, both ceremonial dances and progressively more often as secular powwows and other demonstrations, despite efforts at assimilation and the suppression of indigenous traditions.

Native peoples, many of whom who had missionary and academic upbringings, sought out ways to express their identities and cultures in the late nineteenth-century Indian Territory. Native cultures recognized what is now called the twin pillars of

[4] Julie Pearson-Little Thunder, *A Life Made with Artists: Doris Littrell and the Oklahoma Indian Art Scene* (Oklahoma City: The RoadRunner Press, 2016), 3. Indian fairs and other Native-based events and showcases often began as the agricultural and educational fairs of the late nineteenth century. See also: *JASGCIT 1st* (1870), 16; Andrew Denson, *Demanding the Cherokee Nation: Indian Autonomy and American Culture, 1830-1900*, Indians of the Southeast Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), Chapter 5.

sovereignty: cultural and political sovereignty. Not only did Native peoples exercise their own self-governance, but also maintained their communities and cultures. For without the 'glue' of language and culture, many Native peoples recognized that their sovereignty would perhaps begin to unravel. Late nineteenth-century American Indians fought to sustain their distinct communities, take care of their families, as well as practice their own customs and traditions and speak their own languages. Native peoples of northeastern Oklahoma, despite their small populations and their close proximities to each other, ironically used their relationships to others to maintain who they were. As Frederik Barth himself noted "cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence."[5] Many Native families, who found themselves without permanent ceremonial grounds or annual traditions, turned to each other for support. Mobility allowed for themselves to take care of each other, emotionally and mentally with shared ceremonies and dances, but also physically with sharing food and meals with each other. Interacting and socializing with other nations provided spaces for those belonging to the small Native nations in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma to continue to expression their individual tribal identities.

Even with curious white neighbors gawking at the 'exotic Indians' with customs and traditions very unlike their own, powwows, parades, barbeques, and rural fairs and holidays offered relatively safe and welcomed platforms for Native peoples express their indigeneity to each other and to the outside world by the late nineteenth century. Events like the Okáxpa (Quapaw) Fourth of July powwow and even the Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke(Seneca-Cayuga) Green Corn invited Native and non-Native

[5] Frederik Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, edited by Frederik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 10.

visitors some evenings.[6] By beginning of the twentieth century the numerous Native communities in the northeastern corner of the state of Oklahoma socialized and shared their traditions with each other and their neighbors.

I. Unexpected Indigenous Arsenals: Academic and Religious Tools for Tribal Cultural Sovereignty

"*Kipa'pemi i'lethi'menî'pe i'ni' we'tsi'la payedse'. Hisinamuā'dsi wi'lawa yuye'hka'gi, paye'kwa wawi'gi'meti'gi', tegî lutha'mi. Kihî' matchi'lepwa'pwa, te'gi hutha'mi kisepikwa'nwa. Paye'kwa wisi'gitehe'ku. Pile'pe kiehutamhā'wa. Yuya'ʼhki negalela'kwe. Paye'kwa melona'hi we'si' halueleti'we. Welasimu$_x$ ta'tiku. Wie'tha pitchthawe'$_x$kie kietha'ma.*"
"That we die, naturally, the matter with us, that's the way it has been for a long time. Our forefathers (deceased) came before us, but don't exhort them so much. You must not sorrow, do not shed as many tears. But be strongminded. Don't hinder them by sorrowing so much. The deceased left us. But be good relatives. Talk kind to each other. Anyone who comes into your house, feed them."

> Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), Bluejacket, Indian Territory, parentation (funeral) speech, or eulogy, transcribed by the linguist Albert Samuel Gatschet in 1890-1892 [7]

"Christianization" has had a devastating impact on indigenous communities. Christianity often required assimilation, the predominance of English language, and the negligence and abandonment of indigenous traditions that were viewed as satanic or heathenistic. At the same time, however, it would be remiss not to also recognize syncretism, and how Christianity often became a tool to, ironically, maintain and strengthen indigeneity. Just as Christianity and the English language could become

[6] Pearson-Little Thunder, *A Life Made with Artists*, 31; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 220.

[7] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Shawnee Words, Phrases, Sentences and Texts, 1890-1892*, Vol. 1, NAA MS 615, NAA, NMNH, SI. The original is in sections, broken up into specifics. For this quotation, I rearranged for English clarity and comprehension.

tools for Native peoples to continue to maintain their identity and traditions, so, too, were boarding schools.

Adaptations such as citizen dress, English fluency, eastern education, and Christian conversion, did not necessarily mean that nineteenth-century Kansas and Oklahoma Native peoples became separated from their identities and indigeneity. Adaptability, has always been a hallmark of indigeneity, the expressions of indigenousness and Native cultures and identities. Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket), who was a Methodist minister, was an acquaintance of Tenskwatawa (The Prophet) and attended his funeral in 1836. Indigenous values that resonated in Christianity for Native peoples, and that resonated in Native cultures to have affiliations and parallels to Christian values—vice versa—predominated.[8]

Although residing on separate northeastern Oklahoma Indian reservations, Native peoples did find ways of interacting with each other and maintaining their traditions and cultures (See Figure 6.1). Sometimes this was through Christian religious worship and gatherings; and sometimes this was in ceremonials or secular dances such as powwows or stomp dances. Trips into neighboring towns for supplies also gave the opportunity to socialize with others. Ceremonies as well as secular holidays enabled the indigenous inter-tribal fellowship that was so essential to sustaining ideas of tribal sovereignties and provided ways of expressing pride in the nations and cultures from which they came. Businesses in border towns such as Baxter Springs, Kansas, and Seneca, Missouri, welcomed Native customers when they had money from their annuity payments.

[8] William Elsey Connelley, "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," in *PGNT-JWW*, 18n1.

The American historian Francis Parkman provided strong evidence of cultural and commercial vitality within Indian Country when he wrote the following description of life in Westport, Missouri: "'Westport is full of Indians, whose little shaggy ponies were tied by dozens along the houses and fences. Sacs [Thakiwaki /Sauks] and Foxes [Meskwaki], with shaved heads and painted faces; Shawnee [Šaawanwaki] and Delawares [Lenape] fluttering in calico frocks and turbans; Wyandottes [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] dressed like white men, and a few wretched Kansas [Kaws] wrapped in old blankets, were strolling about the streets. Whiskey circulates more freely in Westport than is altogether safe in a place where every man carries a loaded pistol in his pocket.'"[9] Donna Elliott Vowel (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) explained how trips into town became major outings. "To most of the Indians the trip to Seneca, Missouri, for buying and trading also afforded an opportunity to visit with friends of their own and other tribes of this part of Indian Territory," she explained to interviewers.[10]

Hiram W. Jones, the Indian agent who oversaw the Quapaw Agency for the Okáxpas (Quapaws), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Odawas (Ottawas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), had, before his forced exit from the Indian Service, both cheated the wards of his agency out of their own supplies but also sold things to them at

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[9] *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 98-99; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri* (1941; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 245. Quote from: Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 245.

[10] Donna Elliot Vowel (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 54, Tape No. T-618-4, Index Side B (July 20, 1970), 3, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. For another comment on nearby border towns see: May Snell Butler (Yunwiya/Cherokee), interview by J. T. Tyner, Vol. 11, Tape No. T-618-2, Index Side A, Second Part (July 6, 1970), 1, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. Many Native families went to Baxter Springs, Kansas, or Neosho, Missouri, for supplies. See also: Henry Charlo (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) and Kanien'ke/Mohawk), interview, n.d., in Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, 2001), 47.

inflated prices. One farmer told the joint committee investigators that Hiram W. Jones, he "supplies his private table with government stores." Indians could also purchase much-needed supplies and foodstuff at the agency store right there, but Jones would charge three-fold. Native people found, as the farmer explained, when they took the trouble of traveling several miles across the border to Seneca City, Missouri, flour and other foodstuffs at much lower prices. To avoid "exorbitant prices" Native peoples went to Seneca or Baxter Springs, where they met other like-minded Indians who endeavored to get a fair deal for their wants and necessities.[11]

By the late nineteenth century, border towns like Baxter Springs, Kansas and Seneca City, Missouri, then, became social spaces for northeastern Oklahoma Native peoples. The Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Peewaaliaki (Peorias) commented to linguists and anthropologists in the 1890s that "senika peehkatwi minooteeni… Seneca is a fine town" and spoke of "neeyohkaanki kaansa sitionkiši… four of us went to Kansas City."[12] Although border towns could also be sites of prejudice and violence, they often brought reprieve from the nepotism, hegemony, and strict control of the Indian agent at the local Agency.

In one humorous story Lenipinšia (Frank Beaver), an elder Peewaalia/Peoria shared with the Bureau of American Ethnology linguist Frank Gatschet in the 1890s regarding Ciinkweensa (Young Thunder) (See Figure 6.2). He began, "meehci eehtooki ooniini šooli iiyaata seenikionkiši. meemaata iilahosiwaaci keekaanohšiahi, neehi nkoti ahkihkiwahkihkwa moohkine wiiški… After he got this money he went to Seneca. He

[11] *TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)*, 84-87.

[12] Daryl Baldwin and David J. Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani / Miami-Peoria Dictionary* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Nation, developed through the Myaamia Project at Miami University, 2005), 81, 93, 104.

bought a team of mules and one clay jug full of whiskey." But then, "meehci maaciihkaaci awiikinkiši eehinki miiyonki, kipahkaakani ahkihkiwahkikonki peehsikohkaaki neehi kweelotanki… After he started off down the road for home, the stopper on the jug came loose and he lost it." "nihswi cimiinawa niiwaahkwe ciika kiipalwahwaaci ahkihkiwahkihkooli ooni šooli… He stopped up the jug with nearly three or four hundred dollars of the money." For Native people like Ciinkweensa (Young Thunder) (Peewaalia/Peoria), Seneca, Missouri and other border towns provided a sense of commercial freedom. They could purchase just about anything with their tribal annuity payments, and at lower prices than at the Agency.[13]

Church services became vital social gatherings as well as occasions of religious practice. Eleanor 'Nellie' McCoy Harris, reminisced about religious services at the Shawnee Methodist Mission and the surrounding area of Westport, Missouri. She detailed: "Our Indian neighbors were, many of them, earnest attendants at meetings for Divine worship. Especially I remember the Puttawattomies [Potewatmis/Potawatomis], Weas [Waayaahtanooki], Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], Delawares [Lenape] and Wyandottes [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s]." "The camp-meetings just east of the present town of Shawnee, Kansas, were stirring services, where Indians, whites and our colored servants for many miles around attended," Nellie Harris explained.[14] Also while still in Kansas, Jotham Meeker noted in his diary that Peewaaliaki (Peorias) came to pick up copies of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) newspaper. Many Native people adopted Christianity and it became a way to socialize and with the publication of indigenous

[13] *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana / Myaamia and Peoria Narratives and Winter Stories,* edited and translated by David J. Costa (Oxford, Ohio and Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma, developed through the Myaamia Project at Miami University, 2010), 1, 4-5. Quotes from: *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana*, 4-5.

[14] Nellie McCoy Harris, "Old Time Religion," *AKSC*, Vol. 2, 159.

translations of the Bible, Christian hymns, and other religious texts, continue to use their languages. [15]

A significant minority of Native people affiliated themselves and their families with Christian denominations such as Catholicism or Methodism and attended religious functions and schools with Christian instruction. Many Native families sent their children to the (Okáxpa) Quapaw Catholic schoolhouse for education (See Figure 6.3). Founded in 1893 at the request of Okáxpas (Quapaws), many of whom had long-established familiarity with the Catholic Church, was a place many children, when required to go to school, went to the 'Quapaw Mission,' often called St. Mary's of the Quapaws. A school had already been in session by 1894 and it stayed open until 1927. Many Okáxpa (Quapaw), Wažaže (Osage), Myaamia (Miami), Peewaalia (Peoria), and Odawa (Ottawa) children attended the school together. The Myaamia-Peewaalia(Miami-Peoria)-speaking communities called the Okáxpa (Quapaw) mission school piloohsaki eehi nipwaaminci kaahpaanki," "where the children are schooled in the Quapaw lands," or the "kaahpa neepwaantiikaani," the Quapaw schoolhouse.[16] Religion became a unifying factor for some Native peoples in northeastern Oklahoma.

Victoria Daugherty (Šaawanwa/Shawnee-Lenape/Delaware), told interviewers in the 1990s, that while growing up the church did not prevent or condemn their dances and ceremonials. They were tolerated. The 'Christianizing influences' of missionaries in Indian Country, then, by the end of the nineteenth century, it seems, had given

[15] Jotham Meeker Journals, Vol. 1, 61. Transcript from: *KSMEM*.

[16] Velma Seamster Nieberding, "St. Mary's of the Quapaw," *COK*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Spring 1953), 2-14; Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 50, 93, 109; *JASGCIT 6th* (1875), 21; Floyd E. Leonard (Myaamia/Miami), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 12, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 141.

greater leeway for indigenous practices. Native peoples deemed 'Christianized' no longer seemed like much of threats to neighboring white communities. It is not to say that indigenous practices were not still condemned or prohibited and racism and colonialism still were not rampant—they were. The murder of a young Mō´dok (Modoc) named Shepalina in Seneca, Missouri in summer of 1879 continued to "intensify already strained relations." But often the thin veil, inclusion and incorporation of, or even outright adoption of Christianity by Native people added to the general tolerance of Native neighbors.[17]

Indigenous ceremonial customs and dances, then, provided another way for the small nations to interact with other tribes. Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee Rosa Kissee recalled in the late 1960s that the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) had a dance and other Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) like those at White Oak, Oklahoma, would attend, participate, and assist. She detailed that at the Eastern event, "they didn't do the singing now they ah, the Cherokee Shawnee [Aniyunwiya-Šaawanwaki or White Oak Šaawanwaki/Shawnee] came up and sang." This was because there "aren't too many of 'em that can sing."[18] While the White Oak Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) came up to Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) events, Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) also went to White Oak and other areas where Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) lived. Clyde Bluejacket "[W]e do have

[17] Victoria Daugherty (Šaawanwa/Shawnee-Lenape/Delaware), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 13, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 74. See also: Robert Emmett Smith, Jr., "A Life for a Pair of Boots: The Murder of Shepalina," *COK*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Spring 1991), 26-47. Quote from: Robert Emmett Smith, Jr., "A Life for a Pair of Boots," 27. John P. Bowes included a photograph of the gravestone of a Mō´dok (Modoc) named Shepaline Smith. He also variously listed 152 or 154 Mō´dokni Mákl̲aks (Modocs) forcibly removed to Indian Territory in 1873. See: John P. Bowes, *Land Too Good for Indians*, 226-227. It remains to be seen whether this is the same Shepalina, murdered in Seneca, Missouri on May 29, 1879. The death date in the published version of the photograph is unclear.

[18] Rona Kissee (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Peggy Dycus, Vol. 52, Tape No. 428-3, Side B, Part II (May 15, 1969), 2, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

Cherokee Shawnee [Šaawanwa] Indians [Aniyunwiya-Šaawanwaki] located around from Bluejacket on west, White Oak, where they make and carry on tribal dances in which we do have several of our Eastern Shawnee [Šaawanwa] members that participate," Clyde Bluejacket explained. Even if the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) no longer held their own ceremonies and dances, they still participated and attended others.[19] Julian Boles Bluejacket, a Bluejacket relative, explained how White Oak, "[w]hen I was a kid, everyone went down there a lot."[20]

Not only did Native peoples from the same tribal affiliations participate in these customs, but also allied neighbors did, too. Other Native peoples, even though without Haudenosaunee backgrounds, assisted and participated in Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke(Seneca-Cayuga) ceremonies. When the Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka] held some of their ceremonies they would send invitations out to other nations in the area, such as the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). 'Runners' would be dispatched to spread the news and sometimes traveled up to twenty-five miles to alert neighboring Native communities.[21] Like the wampum strings in use for centuries, Native peoples continued to use similar ways to communicate news and other announcements. Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) families often went to White Oak.[22] This Šaawanwa (Shawnee)

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[19] Clyde Leroy 'Blue' Bluejacket (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Velma Seamster Nieberding, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-654-1 (May 15, 1970), 5, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. Although the interview is dated May 15, 1970, at the end of the transcript of the interview Velma Seamster Nieberding said it is May 5, 1971.

[20] Clyde Leroy 'Blue' Bluejacket (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Velma Seamster Nieberding, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-654-1 (May 15, 1970), 5, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. Although the interview is dated May 15, 1970, at the end of the transcript of the interview Velma Seamster Nieberding said it is May 5, 1971. See also: Glenna J. Wallace, "Chiefs of the Eastern Shawnee Tribe," in *ESTORTA*, 197-201.

[21] Bill Connor (Okáxpa/Quapaw), interview by Velma Seamster Nieberding, Vol. 51, Tape No. T-621-2 (December 15, 1969), 3-4, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

[22] Robert Long (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 54, Tape No. T-589-1 (May 26, 1970), 13, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. See also: Janie Blalock Logan (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Velma Seamster Nieberding, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-619-4 (January 5, 1970), 1, DCAIOH,

ceremonial center was 'put on the map' and became known nationally when it served as the location for the 1973 American Indian Movement (AIM) annual conference. It was, and still is, a place where many of local indigenous community members, come together in fellowship and the practice of their languages, customs, traditions, and religions.

Local area Native communities participated in each other's activities and relatives and kin from outside of Oklahoma came and did as well. When faced with language loss in the twentieth century, many Native communities found ways to deal with changes. Jason Baird Jackson and Mary S. Linn detailed that community members often turned to shorter, fixed scripts when describing Euchee (Yuchi) responses to language loss when they still practiced ceremonials requiring use of the language. Other tribal nations, like the Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayuga) in northeastern Oklahoma, used a different tactic. Jackson and Linn explained: "Faced with the local obsolescence of Cayuga [Kaion'ke], they [the Oklahoma Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayuga)] have invited Canadian Cayuga [Kaion'ke] speakers to travel to Oklahoma to fill these roles in their annual ceremonials."[23] Other Native individuals would assist when asked to help in any ways they could in ceremonies.[24] Relationships with others, both near neighbors within

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WHC, OU; Tom Captain (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-535-2, Index Side A, Second Part, and Index Side B, First Part (September 16, 1969), 2, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

[23] Jason Baird Jackson and Mary S. Linn, "Calling in the Members," in Jason Baird Jackson and Mary S. Linn, *Yuchi Folklore: Cultural Expression in a Southeastern Native American Community*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series Vol. 272 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 72.

[24] Charles Dawes (Odawa/Ottawa), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 12, 1995, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 82.

northeastern Oklahoma, and those more distant Haudenosaunee relatives, assisted in the maintenance of their tribal traditions.

In these earlier years, Natives and non-Natives alike were often permitted to attend the Native events. Lillian Hale (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) recalled the 1868 Green Corn Feast when they still remained in Kansas. "Quite a number of white citizens attended," she recollected. This included a young white man who, for his troubles of requesting an Indian name, received an appellation that he came to found out translated as 'Skunk.' Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) had bestowed the name on him in jest. Hale articulated that for many different reasons such as Euro-American exploitation these celebrations had begun to be more secluded.[25] By the twentieth century, Charles Banks Wilson's aptly titled painting *Some Come Just to Watch* (2001) came to epitomize intertribal interactions and the general public's acceptance of Native North America in the northeastern corner of the state of Oklahoma (Figure 6.4).

One way some of the Indian communities decided to express their tribal identities was through dance—especially with the advent of intertribal powwows. One of the biggest celebrations in northeastern Oklahoma came to be the Okáxpa (Quapaw) powwow held on Fourth of July weekend. One of the oldest Indian powwow in the country, the Okáxpas (Quapaw) Nation traced its history to at least the 1870s. For a while many Ppąkka (Poncas), who had once resided net to the Okáxpas (Quapaws) for a brief amount of time in 1877-1878, often returned for the Quapaw Powwow. One broadside advertised in tri-state papers, encouraged visitors to see the attractions and

[25] Lilian Walker Hale, "Some Reminiscences of the Wyandottes," *AKSC*, Vol. 1, 120. James Little, a visitor to the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) Quaker Mission in the 1850s, spoke of teasing, explaining that one of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) girls "called me all sorts of names, some in Indian and some in English. One I remember was 'Skunk'" (Perl W. Morgan, *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas and Its People*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 54.

events in Indian Territory, especially the big celebrations at Okáxpa (Quapaw) Nation (See Figure 6.5). Publicizing a 'Big Indian Reunion' at Devil's Promenade, a prominent riverfront feature within the Okáxpa (Quapaw) Nation, visitors could not only enjoy camping, ice skating, and other sports and activities, but Indian dances such as the stomp dances would be demonstrated by the Native communities.[26]

One of the unique cultural manifestations that came to be in northeastern Oklahoma, was the integration of stomp dance with the intertribal powwow. With this comes intertribal interaction stressing relationality (connectedness) and reciprocity. The northeastern Oklahoma Indian nations by the mid-twentieth-century turned to integrating stomp dances in secular, other than ceremonial, settings, to preserve and continue their ways and traditions. Even if they did not maintain specific set 'ceremonial grounds,' stomp dances elsewhere allowed for greater mobility and flexibility. Without a set location, tribal communities could still continue practicing and speaking their languages, songs, and dances. Jason Baird Jackson, scholar of Euchee (Yuchi) culture, described the northeastern Oklahoma Native communities as "the only

[26] Dyrinda Tyson-Jones, "Black Book: 39 Tribes," *Oklahoma Today Magazine*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (July/August 2010), 70; Anthony P. Grant and David J. Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Winter, 1991), 426; Clyde Leroy 'Blue' Bluejacket (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Velma Seamster Nieberding, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-654-1 (May 15, 1970), 5-6, DCAIOH, WHC, OU; Julian Boles Bluejacket (Eastern Shawnee), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-545-1 (November 24, 1969), 9-10, DCAIOH, WHC, OU; Jason Baird Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds in Oklahoma," in Jason Baird Jackson and Mary S. Linn, *Yuchi Folklore: Cultural Expression in a Southeastern Native American Community*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series Vol. 272 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 144-145; Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, 2001), 150. Although not reflecting on the Ppąkka's (Poncas') residence next to the Okáxpas (Quapaws) in the 1870s, a group interview on Eastern Shawnee history described Ppąkka (Poncas) coming to the Quapaw Powwow. The Ppąkka (Poncas), however, had historical precedence for coming to the Quapaw Powwow—they had briefly been neighbors during their forced removal to Indian Territory. the Ponca forced removal from Nebraska. See: "An Interview with Winifred 'Winkie' Froman, Brett Barnes, and Rhonda Barnes," in *ESTORTA*, 306. Dr. Stephen A. Warren (historian) and Eric Wensman (Bird Creek Šaawanwa/Shawnee) were the interviewers who asked the questions to the interviewees.

network in which powwows and stomp dances occur together." Yunwiya (Cherokee) anthropologist Robert K. Thomas defined pan-Indianism as the creation and formation of a new identity, one that surpassed tribal and Native Nation identities to become "a new ethnic group, the American Indian."[27] Although often described in the mid-twentieth century as expressions of 'pan-Indianism,' stomp dances, unlike powwows, is not a 'pan-Indian' phenomenon. For, as Jackson asserted, "no community today hosts stomp dances without a deep ancestral claim to the dance." The secularization or integration of the stomp dance with powwows, Jackson argued, came about as a means of creative adaptation. By no means conflating tribal traditions, but rather maintaining distinctiveness and sovereignty, socializing and interacting with each other in their dances allowed for cultural continuance. Jason Baird Jackson described the secularization as occurring by the 1970s and 1980s, but archival evidence extends the development to decades earlier in the 1890s.[28]

Although secularization of the stomp dance came to be a new phenomenon that began in the late nineteenth century and was solidified by the mid-twentieth century, both the values of Native relationality as well as the dances remained from deeply rooted indigenous traditions. Jason Baird Jackson described this as "the Woodland tradition of dance and song embodied in the stomp dance represents an old and complex social institution that links local communities into larger social networks in which local differences in culture articulate with partially shared regional values, beliefs, and

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[27] Robert K. Thomas, "Pan-Indianism," *Midcontinent American Studies Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2, The Indian Today (Fall 1965), 75.

[28] Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds," 166-173. Quotes from: Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds," 166, 168. See also: Henry Charlo (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) and Kanien'ke/Mohawk), interview, n.d., in Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two* (Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, 2001), 48.

customs."[29] In other words, local distinctiveness remains in stomp dance cultures, but many different Native peoples, especially those with origins in the Woodlands, Northeast, and Southeast, have stomp dance culture. Participation connects individuals to the larger system of traditions and connects people to indigenous values of reciprocity and thanksgiving.[30]

Most of the northeastern Oklahoma Indian nations stemmed from this 'Woodlands traditions, and by the end of the nineteenth century these communities routinely hosted social events and dances with both Native and non-Native visitors. One interesting newspaper advertisement of the Fourth of July celebration at the neighboring border town of Baxter Springs, Kansas in the 1890s described Native participation in these regional festivities (See Figure 6.6). Included in the schedule were multiple indigenous presentations and demonstrations of Native dances from a variety of tribal cultures. Indian Mounted Police participated in the 10:00 am parade. Another advertisement specified Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) and Okáxpas (Quapaws) in the parade (See Figure 6.7).

Couched in terms of Christianized Indian friends, the advertisement included war and stomp dances, visual and aural hallmarks of Indian identities. After a noon barbeque and a rendition of the Star-Spangled Banner, over a hundred Indian children sang other songs. The Indian children came from both the Wyandotte and Quapaw Missions. St. Mary's of the Quapaws, established by the mid-1890s and opened until the end of the 1920s, served variously as both a day school and boarding school for

[29] Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds," 154. See also: Jason Baird Jackson, "The Opposite of Powwow: Ignoring and Incorporating the Intertribal War Dance in the Oklahoma Stomp Dance Community," *Plains Anthropologist*, Vol. 48, No. 187 (2003), 237-253.

[30] Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds," 155.

those proselytized into the Catholic faith. The Wyandotte Mission, also known as the Seneca Indian School, was a federally-run Indian school at Wyandotte, Oklahoma (See Figures 6.8 and 6.9). Mostly local Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Shotinontowane' (Seneca) and Kaion'ke (Cayuga) children attended this school, although many other tribal nations had children in attendance there (See Figure 6.10). Children from Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Kaion'ke (Cayuga), Okáxpa (Quapaw), Myaamia (Miami), Peewaalia (Peoria), and Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw) communities as well as others attended these schools. [31]

In the evening, the war dance (powwow) included the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Okáxpas (Quapaws). "Bring your wife and babies" and "Don't forget the kids" the advertisements exclaimed. "[O]ur Indian friends have promised to give some war dances, stamp [stomp] dances and pony races." "Come and see the 'red man of the forest' under the christianizing [sic] influences of a 4th of July celebration at Baxter Springs," it concluded. While stressing the Christianized temperament and civilizing behaviors of the Indian nations in northeastern Oklahoma, many neighboring white communities welcomed Native entertainment, including their stomp dances, war dances, and other 'spectacles.'[32]

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[31] Indian Country Today Staff, "12 Images from Seneca Indian Boarding School," *Indian Country Today*, July 29, 2017, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/history/people/12-images-seneca-indian-boarding-school/ (accessed 13 March 2018).

[32] Similar photos, but not the same are found at the Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado, and are said to be from the Wyandotte Mission School, Kansas. Given these photos date to 1880-1900, however, it is more likely to be the Seneca Indian School, operated from 1872 to 1980, and taught Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Šaawanwa (Shawnee), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) students. Another name of the federally-run school was the Wyandotte Mission, as it was in Wyandotte, Oklahoma. See also: *JASGCIT 5th* (1874), 15-18; Edward Leonard Thompson (Lenape/Delaware), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 14, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington

Native and non-Native visitors attended Indian amusements. This included Barbeques and Indian pony races (See Figure 6.11). Many Native people continued to play their games of chance, and often people observed and looked on (See Figure 6.12). At many of the Native events, ceremonial and otherwise, food was provided. Especially at events such as the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Shotinontowane' (Seneca), and Kaion'ke (Cayuga) Green Corn ceremonies, food was always provided and passed out to the community. Still today in ceremonies and at powwows committees and organizers of events provide a meal or circulate provisions (See Figure 6.13). Charles Marius Barbeau noted in the early twentieth century the complimentary meat the Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayugas) had in the early nineteenth century (See Figure 6.14).

At a critical time in American history, with the declaration of the 'end of the American frontier' and establishment of Indian reservations for even the Plains nations, Native peoples in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma found opportunities to 'safely' express and share their identities and cultures with each other and their white neighbors.[33] Local tri-state communities still celebrate their interactions, historic or otherwise, with their Indian neighbors. Seneca, Missouri maintains a mural depiction of a 1917 Fourth of July celebration and mounted Native warriors in headdress are included in the queue and parade lineup (See Figure 6.15).

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and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 237; Floyd E. Leonard (Myaamia/Miami), interview, in *Always a People*, 141; Guy Willis Froman (Peewaalia/Peoria-Myaamia/Miami), interview, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 100. Reprinted from: *The Peorias: A History of the Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma,* edited by Dorris Valley and Mary M. Lembeke (Miami, Oklahoma: The Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, 1991), 158-161, 206-208.

[33] See: Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Philip Joseph Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004).

By the end of the nineteenth century many northeastern Indian peoples participated in both ceremonial and secular social dances such as powwows hosted by other tribes.[34] As the late Myaamia (Miami) akima Floyd E. Leonard noted to interviewers in the 1990s, northeastern Oklahoma hosted numerous dances, powwows, and stomps where "all different tribes came to the same gatherings."[35] Leonard added, however, that all the Nations maintained their own unique separate tribal traditions. As Jason Baird Jackson noted, "Such memberships [of a ceremonial ground], fostered by intermarriage, friendship, or other factors, do not diminish the Shawnee [Šaawanwa/Shawnee] identity of a Shawnee [Šaawanwa] ground."[36] Just because Myaamiaki (Miamis) or Peewaaliaki (Peorias) might have attended White Oak ceremonials, Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) assisted and participated in the Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke (Seneca-Cayuga) Green Corn did not lessen their identities. Native peoples of northeastern Oklahoma, while sometimes relying on and assisting each other in the businesses of their ceremonies, the tribal identities remained firmly intact.

II. Linguistic and Cultural Intertribal Interactions: Multilingualism and Cultural Retention Through Kinship Connections

"[*N*]*kotenwi-hsa mihšihkatokaawaaci Kiikaapoaki aleniaki. tawaani peekantankiki eehi eeteehsiyokaawaaci. ciinkweensa ihsa peekantanki tawaani ahpwaakani, eeyoowaaci aalinta maalhsi. neehi-has ciinkweensa naalaahkwaahkici maalhsi, peehkišanki*

[34] As Thomas W. Kavanagh noted, although secular, "elements of the powwow—particularly the drum and eagle feathers—are often considered sacred, and there are often prayers and blessings… [and] a variety of 'honorings'—of veterans, of elders, of knowledge, of symbols of identity—that give the event an aura beyond the merely secular" (Thomas W. Kavanagh, "Powwows," in *HNAI*, Vol. 2, 327).

[35] Floyd E. Leonard (Myaamia/Miami), interview, in *Always a People*, 141.

[36] Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds," 157.

pakwantioni. neehi-hsa akootayi paapintenki. neehi-hsa aleniaki keeweešinoonci, paapaakahamoowaaci anehkawe."
"Once, some Kickapoo [Kiikaapoa] men were having a war dance. They were striking the post, where they were doing the warrior dance. Ciinkweensa then struck the post with a pipe-tomahawk, while some others were using a knife. And then Ciinkweensa pulled out a knife, cutting his belt in two. His breechcloth fell down. He was laughed at by the men, and they clapped their hands."

> Tawaahkwakinanka (George Washington Finley) (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw/ Peewaalia/Peoria), story about the Peewaalia/Peoria named Ciinkweensa (Young Thunder) who married a Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) woman, told to Bureau of American Ethnology linguist Albert Samuel Gatschet in the 1890s[37]

A significant number of Native people from these small Native nations also married other Indians and started their intertribal families in Kansas and Indian territories (also then Oklahoma with statehood in 1907). Although they often retained separate tribal loyalties, often following patrilineal or matrilineal lines, children often knew about both tribal heritages. Sharon Burkybile, a Myaamia (Miami), also of Chahta (Choctaw) and Odawa (Ottawa) descent, noted in the 1990s: "We're in a county of thirty-something thousand people, and eight tribes were relocated to this area. We have so many intermarriages. My mother-in-law was full-blooded Loyal Shawnee [Šaawanwa] and Delaware [Lenape]."[38] Native people inevitably then, with much intertribal interactions and socialization married other Indians. For example, Janie Blalock Logan (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee and Peewaalia/Peoria)) explained in the late twentieth century that her mother, who spoke mostly Šaawanwa (Shawnee) married a Peewaalia (Peoria). Her mother still spoke mostly Šaawanwa (Shawnee). Manfred Pooler, son of the Odawa (Ottawa) leader Moses Pooler, married a Myaamia (Miami)

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[37] *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana*, 4-7.

[38] Sharon Burkybile (Myaamia/Miami), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 12, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 42-43.

and so the Pooler family had (and has today) ties to both the Odawa (Ottawa) and Myaamia (Miami) nations.[39]

Native peoples from different tribes had families, and often would have themselves buried in the Peewaalia (Peoria) or Odawa (Ottawa) cemeteries (See Figure 6.16). The Peewaalia (Peoria) cemetery included (and still includes) an intertribal northeastern corner that includes Waayaahtanooki (Weas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees). Myaamia (Miami) and Peewaalia (Peoria) leaders interred at the Odawa (Ottawa) Indian cemetery. Nokeesis (or Nano Keesis) Charles Dawes (Odawa/Ottawa) even insisted: "I keep telling them that I think there's more heads of state buried there than any other spot in the world."[40] The Quapaw Agency, now known as the Miami Agency, then, by the end of the nineteenth century was highly a diverse community that maintained their many small distinct tribal governments and cultures.

With so many small tribal nations in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma, many people were multilingual and learned each other's languages. Many were at least familiar with or could understand a little bit of each other's languages. Linguists Anthony P. Grant and David J. Costa deemed "Ottawa County, [Oklahoma,] once the county with the most varied native speech in the United States." Intermarriages were commonplace and often added to the complexity of self-designations of Ottawa County people. Bilingualism or multilingualism often became the norm. Not only did Native peoples in Ottawa County, Oklahoma know English as well as maintained their own

[39] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Notes on the Miami, 1890-ca. 1895*, Notebook No. 2, NAA MS 3025, NAA, NMNH, SI; Janie Blalock Logan (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Velma Seamster Nieberding, Vol. 52, Tape No. T-619-4 (January 5, 1970), 2, 5, DCAIOH, WHC, OU. See also: Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two*, 52, 139.

[40] Charles Dawes (Odawa/Ottawa), interview, in *Always a People*, 81; Guy Willis Froman (Peewaalia/Peoria-Myaamia/Miami), interview, in *Always a People*, 100. Reprinted from: *The Peorias*, edited by Valley and Lembeke, 158-161, 206-208. Quote from: Charles Dawes (Odawa/Ottawa), interview, in *Always a People*, 81.

Native languages, but they often were also familiar with or understood other neighboring tribal languages. Costa and Grant concluded: "We must recognize a certain level of intertribal contact and intermarriage in Ottawa county [sic?] which resulted in bi- or multilingualism."[41] What has yet to be fully understood and investigated is the complexities and nuances of intertribal connections, interactions, and borrowings—cultural, linguistic, social, familial—by the beginning of the twentieth century in northeastern Oklahoma.

Many of the northeastern Oklahoma Indian nations came from Algonquian or Iroquoian language families. Iroquoian peoples such as the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) all spoke their own separate languages, but they could often understand or recognize similarities and differences in words and phrases.[42] The Kaion'ke (Cayuga) elder Kenneth Oyler described the unique diversity of northeastern Oklahoma. "There's a lot of different tribes. Some of 'em talk Indian," Oyler said. "You can see and hear where the different tribes can understand one another."[43] Sarah Dushane Longbone (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee) told interviewers in the 1930s that she grew up learning the Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)), and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) languages. Dushane Longbone even worked as an interpreter for her nation when they

[41] Grant and Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," 411-430. Quotes from: Grant and Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," 411, 428.

[42] Clarence King (Odawa/Ottawa), interview by Peggy Dycus, Vol. 49, Tape No. T-443-1, Side A, Part I (May 16, 1969), 8, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

[43] Kenneth Oyler (Kaion'ke/Cayuga), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 10, Tape No. T-572-3 (April 13, 1970), 4, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

needed to understand the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s).[44]

Regarding the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(tes), census takers noted in 1890 detailed: "Many of these Indians use their own language in their families, although nearly all speak English; many, however, will not do so unless to their advantage. In council with the whites they must have an interpreter." So even though they had the ability to speak English, many Native people around the end of the nineteenth century, such as in this Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(tes)) example, continued and insisted on speaking their Native languages.[45] Many Native people in northeastern Oklahoma by the end of the nineteenth century either worked as interpreters or were familiar with a little bit of each other's languages.

One of the unique developments of the late nineteenth century was the extension of the use of peyote into Indian Country with the creation of the Native American Church. At the Quapaw Agency (now Miami Agency) in what is now Ottawa County, Oklahoma this was deeply linked to intermarriages and intertribal social interactions. By the 1860s and 1870s peyotism became common in western Indian Territory, especially among the ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas), N~~u~~m~~unuu~~ (Comanches), and Apaches, whose reservation became known as the "Cradle of Peyotism." John Wilson (Hasínay/Caddo-Lenape/Delaware), often named Nishkû'ntu (Moonhead), the founder of Big Moon

[44] Sarah Longbone (Eastern Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Nannie Lee Burns, Indian-Pioneer Interview No. 6962 (July 27, 1937), 4 [197], IPPOHC, WHC, OU; Grant and Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," 427.

[45] U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (Except Alaska): At the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 248. For a contemporary example of how language usage did serve and can still serve as a form of political resistance, see: CBC Radio, "Speaking Ojibwe an 'act of defiance' says 19-year-old language teacher," *CBC Radio*, March 11, 2018, http://www.cbc.ca/radio/unreserved/speaking-ojibwe-an-act-of-defiance-says-19-year-old-language-teacher-1.4566107 (accessed 12 March 2018).

Peyotism would often travel to northeastern Oklahoma in the 1880s. Nishkû'ntu (John Wilson) shared the religion with Okáxpas (Quapaws), Wažažes (Osages), and other Lenape (Delawares). In fact, a train accident after leaving a ceremony with the Okáxpas (Quapaws) would end Nishkû'ntu (John Wilson)'s life. Nishkû'ntu was buried on Pazhanke (Peter Clabber)'s allotment.

By the end of the nineteenth century Big Moon Peyotism could be found in northeastern Oklahoma, being practiced by Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayugas), Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), Okáxpas (Quapaws), and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) as well as Lenape (Delawares) and Wažažes (Osages). One artifact in the collections of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) is a gourd rattle made by Nishkû'ntu (John Wilson) that was the possession of John Mohawk, an Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee), who often joined a Okáxpa(Quapaw)-majority Native American Church (See Figures 6.17 and 6.18). Maggie Boyd who spoke Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) called the practice *piyóti*, when she spoke to anthropologists in the early twentieth century. Linked to the intertribal communication and socialization of the boarding school era as well as intermarriage, peyotism came to be practiced and is still practiced by many northeastern Oklahoma Indian people.[46]

The material of Bureau of American Ethnology linguist Albert Samuel Gatschet provides a good basic overview of the status of indigenous language usage by the end of

[46] Dennis Wiedman, "Upholding Indigenous Freedoms of Religion and Medicine: Peyotists at the 1906–1908 Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and First Legislature," *AIQ*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 2012), 222-225, 238; Daniel C. Swan, "The Native American Church," in *HNAI*, Vol. 2, 317-322; Grant and Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," 424-425; Roberta White Smith and Jennifer Logan, *A Brief History of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. Book Two*, 136; Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The Quapaws (Those who went downstream)* (Miami, Oklahoma: Dixons, Incorporated, 1976; Reprint, Quapaw, Oklahoma: Quapaw Tribal Council, 1982; Reprint, Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, for the Dobson Museum, 1999), 137-148, 159, 211-214; Weston La Barre, *The Peyote Cult*, Fifth Edition, Enlarged (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938; Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989). Quote from: Swan, "The Native American Church," 319.

the nineteenth century in northeastern Oklahoma. Although it is unclear where or how he obtained his information, Gatschet had a surprisingly accurate description of the tribes in the area. Gatschet's data echoed the 1891 Quapaw Agency, now Miami Agency, statistics kept by the Indian Office. One can speculate that Gatschet's numbers were gained through his informants. He listed that by the 1890s only a couple dozen Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) fluent speakers lived in the area. Gatschet also estimated that about half of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) spoke their language and that most Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Odawas (Ottawas), and Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) still spoke their languages.[47] Whether they are Gatschet's own estimates obtained by his authoritative informants or collected elsewhere, these numbers still illustrated the continuity of indigenous language usage by the end of the nineteenth century. Gatschet's estimates describe a relatively stable, albeit perhaps waning or endangered, group of indigenous language speakers by the end of the nineteenth century.

Despite pressures for assimilation many languages did endure into the twentieth century and many of the tribes in northeastern Oklahoma often spoke to each other across linguistic divides. Robert Whitebird, an Okáxpa (Quapaw), recalled to an interviewer in the 1960s that at the annual powwow his wife "overheard three Indian women carrying on a conversation, yet each speaking in their own, and different tribal language."[48] It is unclear who his wife overheard, but Whitebird's comment highlighted

[47] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, 238. NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI. Tribal populations (as of August 1, 1891) listed in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1891: 260 Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), 291 Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), 79 Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), 68 Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs), 166 Peewaaliaki (Peorias), 75 Myaamiaki (Miamis), 155 Odawas (Ottawas), and 206 Okáxpas (Quapaws). See: *1891 ARCIA*, 234.

[48] Robert Whitebird (Okáxpa/Quapaw), interview by J. W. Tyner, Vol. 51, Tape No. T-546-3, Index Side B (December 23, 1969), 3, DCAIOH, WHC, OU.

the linguistic exchanges that continued in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma. Those speakers of languages in the Iroquoian language family—the Shotinontowane' (Seneca), Kaion'ke (Cayuga), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) vernaculars—very likely understood each other despite linguistic differences. As elder Sa`tsi`tsuwa` (Smith Nichols), an eighty-three-year-old Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) with Kaion'ke/Cayuga ancestry born in Sandusky, Ohio, explained to Canadian anthropologist Charles Marius Barbeau in the early twentieth century: "When they each speak their own language, together, they can understand each other" (See Figure 6.19).[49] Those languages from similar language families such as Algonquian speakers of Peewaalia (Peoria), Myaamia (Miami), and Šaawanwa (Shawnee) would be able to understand each other relatively easily (and still do so today).[50]

Northeastern Oklahoma Native peoples exchanged at least some mutual intelligible conversations with each other in their own languages. They also shared songs. The adoption of each other's songs occurred even before Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples' removal from the Midwest. Sa`tsi`tsuwa` (Smith Nichols) revealed to Barbeau that the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) had adopted the use of a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) war song— *truijŭ´yărę^{n}da´*—when they were still residing in the Ohio Valley.[51] A pipe song was another sung by many and was used in

[49] B-G-132.5, Huron-Wyandot Files, FMB, CMH/MCH. The Marius Barbeau Collection is organized by catalog numbers—ex. B-G-1.1.i—that are catalog control numbers that do not necessarily correspond to a specific box or archival locations; instead it is related to the collection, series, and file and document numbers. B is for Marius Barbeau Collection, G is for "Series G"—the Huron-Wyandot Files, and 1 is for the file number, and .1 for the document number (with further subdivisions such as to indicate page numbers (.i), if applicable). Hereafter the Huron-Wyandot Files of the Marius Barbeau Collection will be cited by the catalog number (ex. B-G-1.1.i).

[50] David J. Costa and Grant noted: "John White told Costa in early 1992 that he heard some old women speaking to each other in Peoria at a Quapaw powwow in the mid-1950s" (Grant and Costa, "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary," 426).

[51] B-G-89.4, FMB, CMH/MCH. See also B-G-10.16 and B-G-89.4.iv, FMB, CMH/MCH.

intertribal interactions, diplomacy, and peacemaking. Barbeau noted: "In the old time, the Shawnees [Šaawanwaki], Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka], and Wyandots [Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)s] used to gather together sometimes and smoke together the pipe of peace and then they would sing this song."[52] Sa`tsi`tsuwa` (Smith Nichols) relayed how Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and other Indian peoples would send people to spend time among the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) to learn their songs.[53] The Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) also sang a Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) swan song, according to Ya˘rǫñą'a·wi´'^{i} (Catherine Coon Johnson) and Te˘we´'sǫ' (Mary Whitewing Kelley).[54] Many of the materials collected by anthropologists and other interviewers also indicate the post-removal exchange of songs among the different Native communities. Two elder Wyandots, Sa`tsi`tsuwa` (Smith Nichols) and Eldridge H. Brown, both explained about the history of one of the recorded songs, Barbeau's Recording No. 154. Both detailed that it was originally a Šaawanwa (Shawnee) song used for dances but that the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) also sang it.[55]

Native peoples shared songs and vocabularies in the post-removal era. New word creation inserted new goods, tools, and clothing into the Native communities' lexicons. For example, Gatschet's Mō´dok (Modoc) dictionary and word lists document the introduction of clothing, tools, and other new materials previously unknown to the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) in their northwestern homelands. The

[52] B-G-216.4, FMB, CMH/MCH.
[53] B-G-216.5.iv, FMB, CMH/MCH. See also B-G-90.8.ix, FMB, CMH/MCH.
[54] B-G-90.10.iv, FMB, CMH/MCH.
[55] B-G-90.8.viii, FMB, CMH/MCH.

Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) described *hushtanulo'lash*—the buckskin strip of ornamentation on the back of the Plains regalia used for dances. *Kō´ks* was the name of a long deerskin shirt worn mostly by Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) women when they temporarily resided in Indian Territory as prisoners after the U.S.-Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) War of 1877.[56] When describing a *la´-ikash,* a small, tight mesh net, Gatschet (or the Mō´dok (Modoc) informants) indicated that this net was those seen in use by the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas).[57]

The anthropologists' linguistic inquiries also provided an opportunity to discuss the maintenance and dissolution of post-removal traditions and customs such as dances. Tawaahkwakinanka (George Washington Finley) Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw-Peewaalia/Peoria informant, worked with Albert Gatschet in the late nineteenth century. Gatschet described him in 1892 as the "best Peoria [Peewaalia] interpr. [interpreter]… about 36 years old.—Very near Miami town, in Ottawa [Odawa] Nation. His English [is] no good nor fluent." For Gatschet, then, Finley served as the ideal informant for gaining Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word lists.[58] Finley explained that the word *mishikamikwa* meant "dance ground." Gatschet added the comment next to the definition: "now quit,--but Shawn. [Šaawanwaki/Shawnees] & Quapaws [Okáxpas] still keep this up, also Senecas [Shotinontowane'á:ka]." Gatschet specifically added Finley as his source, clarifying that Shotinontowane' (Seneca) dance ceremonies occurred in a long house, and that the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees)

[56] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Modoc Vocabulary*, NAA MS 2849, NAA, NMNH, SI. Nez Perce comes from the French for pierced nose, *nez percé* (William Bright, *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 325).

[57] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Modoc Vocabulary*, NAA MS 2849, NAA, NMNH, SI. See also: Albert Samuel Gatschet, "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology,* Vol. 2, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), xli-xlii.

[58] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, 51. NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI. See also: *myaamia neehi peewaalia aacimoona neehi aalhsoohkaana*, xi-xii, 9.

still practiced the bread dances. Finley also described the *shishikwa'ni* (gourd-rattle) used in Native dances, both ceremonial and secular. He said that the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) maintained a dance grounds near Tom Captain's place, and that the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) had theirs by the Cowskin River.[59] Alongside the listed terms and dictionary definitions, however, ethnologists' informants such as Tawaahkwakinanka (Finley) provided extra details regarding the dance practices among the Native communities in northeastern Oklahoma (See Figure 6.20).

Food and plants were different in the new territory and the informants' documented terminologies illustrate these changes. For Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs), *kû´t* or *ku´t* was a cornmeal-like flour made from an indigenous seed found in their original homelands. In the new lands, however, those northwest coast plants did not exist in what would become the state of Oklahoma. Instead, the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) ate new plants and cooked new foods from local plants found in Indian Territory. *Shle´-idsh* was a weed or tree that the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) would make a tea with and drink. They also ate a seed they called *palu´tch*. Mō´dok (Modoc) informants indicated that blackberries, *tchui´tchmatxash*, grew on the Okáxpa (Quapaw) Reservation. Similarly, Gatschet's Myaamia (Miami) and Peewaalia (Peoria) informants explained that *missimina ta´wani*, papaws, could be found all along the Spring River.[60] Native informants, then, documented the changing landscapes and foodways in their details.

[59] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, 185, 195. NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI. See also: Wallace, "Chiefs of the Eastern Shawnee Tribe," in *ESTORTA*, 177-182.

[60] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, 3. NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI.

The relocation to Oklahoma also provided for the creation of new place names in the new homelands. For the Myaamia (Miami) and Peewaalia (Peoria), they adopted the word for a digger of a water well to also mean a miner. *Pa'walia'ki wa'lxkîngi* was "the Peoria diggings, mines."[61] The first name the Peorias adopted for the main river at their new removed location, the Spring River, was called *tchänk8tanwi' sipiwi*, "Roaring River." Gatschet noted that this was "because when the Peorias [Peewaaliaki] first came down here from Kansas in 1868, they camped between bends on Spring River, where a riffle was above and another below, between Jim Charley Ford and Daniel Eddy's crossing. Crossings are always near riffles, because the water is more shallow there."[62] Place names such as these provide Native definitions and understandings of their new surroundings.

The *Pa'walia'ki wa'lxkîngi*, "the Peoria diggings, mines" would prove to be a complicated legacy for northeastern Oklahoma by the mid-twentieth century (See Figures 6.21, 6.22, and 6.23). By the 1880s and 1890s the area would be on the cusp of tri-state lead and zinc mining booms (See Figures 6.24 and 6.25). As early as 1806 Euro-American explorers noted Kansa (Kaw) Indians wearing ornaments made from lead. Just about seventy years later, in the 1870s, the area started to become intently mined. It first began in the 1850s with lead mining beginning in Missouri. Then lead and zinc was discovered in the extreme southeastern corner of Kansas, at Galena, Cherokee County, Kansas, in 1876. The area of Peoria, Indian Territory would be mined mostly in the 1890s (See Figure 6.26). By World War I the mining concentrated

[61] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, 192. NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI.

[62] Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, 192-193. NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI. See also: Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, 45. NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI.

around what is now Picher, Oklahoma. Eventually southeastern Kansas, southwestern Missouri, and northeastern Oklahoma would become the world's leading lead and zinc mining district (See Figures 6.27 and 6.28).[63]

Galvanized by the pressing need for lead for bullets for World War I and World War II, the area became the world's largest supplier of lead. Some estimates range from fifty percent of the bullets from the world wars came from the area to seventy-five percent came from Picher, Oklahoma alone. Despite the statistical fluctuations, the area became the largest producer of lead in the country, if not the world. By the end of the twentieth century the area would also garner the title of also the largest Superfund site in the nation. Congress passed the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERLA) in 1980, colloquially called Superfund. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)'s Superfund program established in 1980 and

[63] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Lead and Zinc," in *Drill Bits, Picks, and Shovels: A History of Mineral Resources in Oklahoma*, edited by John W. Morris (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1982), 112-120; Wayne T. Walker, "Matthias Splitlog: Millionaire Indian," *Pioneer West*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (February 1972), 61-62; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), 19; Velma Seamster Nieberding, "Matthias Splitlog's Salted Mine," *The West: True Stories of The Old West*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (July 1965), 22; Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, 192. NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas* (1939; Reprint, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 87, 518; Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas, Containing A Full Account of Its Growth From an Uninhabited Territory to a Wealthy and Important State; Of Its Early Settlements; Its Rapid Increase in Population and the Marvelous Development of Its Great Natural Resources. Also, a Supplementary History and Description of Its Counties, Cities, Towns and Villages, Their Advantages, Industries, Manufactures and Commerce; To Which Are Added Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Prominent Men and Early Settlers, Illustrated* (Chicago: Alfred Theodore Andreas, 1883; Reproduction, Atchison and Topeka: Atchison County Historical Society in cooperation with the KSHS, 1976), 43; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 83, 233-240, 421-423, 434-438, 453-454, 504-505, 530, 535-537; Joseph Bradfield Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of its Development from the Date of the First European Exploration down to the Present Time, including Accounts of the Indian Tribes, both Civilized and Wild, of the Cattle Ranges, of the Land Openings and the Achievements of the most Recent Period*, Vol. 4 (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1916), 1379; ; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma*, 220, 330-331.

designated the country's worse toxic waste sites in the country. Still today the place is said to be the most toxic place in the country.[64]

All these designations came from the fact that the lands were Native lands. Individuals and companies signed leasing compacts with individual Indian allottees. As it was Indian lands, however, they had no obligations to clean up the lands. Much in terms of the lands' alternations remained hidden in underground caverns of excavated areas. The urban myth was that the underground roads could travel from Picher, Oklahoma to the outskirts of Kansas and Missouri, thereby skirting the requirement to pay royalties to Native allottees who owned the lands. Whether this was fact or fiction, the rumor illustrated how companies and excavators knew Native people would receive some royalties, even if slim, for the lead and zinc excavated from the region. In the 1930s companies started using "comingling agreements" where they no longer had to be restricted to one allotment area. Instead, they could bring all the mined ore to one central area. This sort of agreement could be the continuation of past habits through more legal means and could perhaps indicate some truth to the 'urban legends.' Like many Native peoples in Gilded Age America, individual allottees in northeastern Oklahoma did end up defrauded of their lands and royalties. Many Native peoples filed suit against the companies and the Indian Office for the lower than average royalty percentages. The Indian agent at Miami, Oklahoma admitted that these commingling

[64] See: Todd Stewart and Alison Fields, *Picher, Oklahoma: Catastrophe, Memory, and Trauma*, Charles M. Russell Center Series on Art and Photography of the American West, Vol. 20 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016). Oklahoma historian John W. Morris reported that from "1915 to about 1930 Picher was the center of the largest zinc mining area in the world, and during most of those years more than 50 percent of the world's zinc was mined in Ottawa County" (John W. Morris, *Ghost Towns of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 147).

and central mill agreements did create lower payouts to the Indian landowners. Mining operations continued with larger consolidated corporations into the 1960s.[65]

Like their more famous Wažaže (Osage) neighbors, who many with their oil leases were made wealthy, many other northeastern Oklahoma Indian peoples from these smaller lesser-known tribal nations also earned substantial capital from the lead and zinc annuities. The lead and zinc area centered around Okáxpa (Quapaw) lands, but also included allotments of some Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) individuals. Although the mining companies and the Indian Office defrauded the Indian landowners by agreeing to very low royalty payments, offering small allowances instead of the full amount to individuals instead of paying the full amounts. The Indian Office often paid allowances to the Indian landowners, who they saw as incompetent wards as a way to monitor what they believed would be inappropriate and excessive spending.[66]

Purposefully, many of these Native individuals and families turned around and invested their money into expressions of Native pride and identity. Ironically, this often

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[65] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Lead and Zinc," 119-124. See also: Ed Keheley, "Picher Mining Field Historical Records," Presented at the 16th National Environmental Tar Creek Conference, Miami, Oklahoma, September 23, 2014.

"The History of Miami," in Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, *Visit Miami, Oklahoma* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2014), 5-6; "Miami Past," in *2010 Miami Chamber of Commerce Community Profile & Business Directory* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Chamber of Commerce, 2010), 6; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma*, 220, 330-331; Edwin T. McKnight and Richard P. Fischer, *Geology and Ore Deposits in the Picher Field Oklahoma and Kansas*, Geological Survey Professional Paper No. 588 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), 93-101; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Missouri, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri*, 421-423, 434-438, 453-454, 504-507, 530, 535-537; Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. 4, 1379; Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Oklahoma, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma*, 219-220.

[66] Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Lead and Zinc," 120-124; Stephanie Buck, "The Oklahoma town that produced most of WWI's bullets is now a poison graveyard," *Timeline*, August 9, 2017, https://timeline.com/picher-oklahoma-lead-toxic-186e5595232b (accessed 14 March 2018). Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) people also detailed how "aloonhsi neenkiteeki the lead melts; aalimatwi kiitahaminki aloonhsi… digging lead is hard, difficult." The word for bullet and lead in the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) language is the same: *aloonhsi* (bullet, lead) (Baldwin and Costa, *myaamia neehi peewaalia kaloosioni mahsinaakani*, 22, 93, 164).

came from the harbingers and epitomizers of assimilation into American civilization—the Indian boarding schools. Haskell Institute, the federal Indian boarding school established in 1884 in Lawrence, Kansas, became a place where Native people made the space their own. The assimilationist agendas, harsh and draconian disciplinary measures, inadequate food and unhealthy accommodations, coupled with high mortality and excessive sickness rates of Indian boarding schools cannot be denied or ignored. Paradoxically, however, around the same time as the publication of the *Meriam Report*: *The Problem of Indian Administration* (1928) brought to the national limelight the failures and troubles that would become the Bureau of Indian Affairs today, Native people cultivated and redefined the schools for themselves. They made them their own. Boosted by economic wealth from oil and mineral leases, many Native people spent their money and in ways of their own selection and choosing.

In 1926 indigenous alumnus and other Native supporters of Haskell Institute, (today Haskell Indian Nations University,) paid for the building of the school's athletic stadium and memorial arch. Many of these financial backers were from the Quapaw, now Miami Agency, in northeastern Oklahoma. Imbued with pride in the school and the support they could give, Native peoples themselves paid completely and independently for the stadium construction. An Okáxpa (Quapaw), Harry Crawfish, was the "greatest single contributor" to the fund. Although he himself never attended Haskell, Crawfish had often visited the school (See Figure 6.29). Two other Okáxpas (Quapaws), Haskell alumnae Agnes Quapaw-Hoffman and Alice Beaver Hallam, both Okáxpas (Quapaws) from Miami, Oklahoma, paid for the construction of a World War I Memorial Arch for the stadium (See Figures 6.30 and 6.31). Other Okáxpas (Quapaws)

of Oklahoma also gave an estimated donation of over $56,000 to the stadium fund (See Figure 6.32).[67] Regarding the fundraising, the Haskell Athletic director Frank McDonald, believed it was the "'recently oil- and mineral-rich Osage and Quapaw Indians of Northeastern Oklahoma…[who] unquestionably built the stadium.'"[68]

An estimated five to ten thousand Native people—supporters and contributors, alumnus and alumnae, as well as their families—came to the Haskell Homecoming in 1926 for the stadium and arch's dedication. It was described as the "largest assembly of Indians in peacetime and the most diverse meeting of Native Americans in the twentieth century."[69] As cultural scholar Kim Warren noted, while touting their progress and education, the Native supporters of the stadium were "accused of still adhering 'to many old tribal customs of dress, dance and language'" by newspaper coverage.[70] Barbeques and powwow dancing were on the schedule for the Haskell Homecoming. While utilizing their economic power, then, many Native people saw Haskell Institute and the school as their own. These financial expressions of tribal identities, created by the

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[67] Kim Warren, "'All Indian Trails Lead to Lawrence, October 27 to 30, 1926': American Identity and the Dedication of the Haskell Institute's Football Stadium," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 2007), 2-19; Amy Dianne Bergseth, Trevor Mohawk, Bobbi Rahder, and Mioshia L. Wagoner, *Haskell Indian Nations University's 125th Commemoration 125 Influential People: Or, A List of 125 Influential Haskell Indian Nations University People, Who, In No Particular Order, Were Influential Either: (1) To Haskell Students, (2) In Their Work at Haskell, or, (3) After They Left Haskell*, Compiled for the 125th Commemorative Anniversary Committee (Lawrence: Haskell Indian Nations University Cultural Center and Museum, August 6, 2009); Nieberding, *The Quapaws*, 186.

[68] Quoted in: Kim Warren, "'All Indian Trails Lead to Lawrence, October 27 to 30, 1926,'" 17. Little or no attention to the Okáxpas (Quapaws) or Matthias Splitlog (Shotinontowane'/Seneca-Kaion'ke/Cayuga and Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)) ended up in: Alexandra Harmon, *Rich Indians: Native People and the Problem of Wealth in American History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). For the literature on wealthy Indians, mostly it does regard oil, see: Harmon, *Rich Indians*; Tanis C. Thorne, *The World's Richest Indian: The Scandal Over Jackson Barnett's Oil Fortune* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Terry P. Wilson, *The Underground Reservation: Osage Oil* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985). See also: Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Kansas, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 228-230.

[69] Kim Warren, "'All Indian Trails Lead to Lawrence, October 27 to 30, 1926,'" 3.

[70] Ibid., 4.

boarding school era meant for assimilation into mainstream America, provided avenues for Native pride.

Not only did Native people maintain their tribal identities, cultures, and traditions, and retained their languages and provided outlooks and viewpoints uniquely of their own making. Exploration into the materials of Albert S. Gatschet and C. Marius Barbeau not only provides a look at understudied historical documentation, but the use of language also adds an opportunity for extensive discussion of perspectives and translations. Northeastern Oklahoma Indian elders such as Sa`tsi`tsuwa` (Smith Nichols) (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot) and George W. Finley (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw/ Peewaalia/Peoria) provided their own viewpoints and perspectives. These Native testimonies enrich historical narratives by emphasizing the maintenance of Native customs and languages and illustrate the complexities of post-removal Indian histories in northeastern Oklahoma. They describe a significant period of transition for these tribal nations. Despite the challenges of assimilation, the general assault on Native cultures, and the waning public support of tribal traditions at this time, many Native people in Northeastern Oklahoma maintained their traditions and languages.

More significantly, relational sovereignty—that is the connection and relationships between the tribal nations—assisted greatly in the continued use of tribal languages, customs, and traditions by the end of the nineteenth century. Like the political counterparts in wampum diplomacy and council fire and pathway metaphors, Native cultural ways persisted as examples of intertribal interactions that solidified and maintained communities. Although many scholars link the beginning of the powwow traditions to the Inloshka (Wažaže/Osage) and Hethuska (Umąhą/Omaha-

Ppąkka/Ponca) societies and their war ceremonies, but some have also recognized the link to the Wažaže/Osage's Wawathan Peace ceremonies—the Pipe or Calumet Dance. Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) peoples had a long-held tradition of a Calumet Dance. Wažaže/Osage historians, however, have acknowledged their connection of this tradition with the Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) peoples (as noted in Chapter 1). Powwow historian Thomas W. Kavanagh described the Wažaže (Osage)'s Calumet Dance as one that was "diffused widely and was a mode of establishing intertribal peace." By pulling back the timeline of the birth of powwows and intertribal dances to these early Algonquian traditions observed by colonial Jesuit missionaries, then one can see the immense continuities in powwows and other dances as significantly associated with intertribal interactions and peacemaking. So when "specials" such as sharing their unique tribal dances and stomp dances with each other as well as their white neighbors, this served as a means of not only maintaining their traditions but stemmed from deeply rooted indigenous protocols of community gathering for goodwill, reconciliation between and among communities.[71] By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, then, Native communities of northeastern Oklahoma focused on relationships and kinship connections as a means of survivance. Although these connections often came from boarding school and missionary legacies, they still

[71] Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds," 159. It gets tricky, however, as some of these 'tribal signature' dances are belonging to the culture for which they are named, and are to be danced only by them. See: informal discussions at the 2017 Algonquin Conference, Stroud, Oklahoma, October 21-22, 2017. See also: Sharon Burkybile (Myaamia/Miami), interview, in *Always a People*, 39-41; Kavanagh, "Powwows," 326-334; Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds," 168. Quote from: Kavanagh, "Powwows," 328. Velma Seamster Nieberding also noted how the early-eighteenth-century Governor of Louisiana Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, described the Waayaahtanooki (Weas) allied with the Arkansas (Okáxpas/Quapaws) to fight the Chickashas (Chickasaws). See: Nieberding, *The Quapaws*, 31.

sustained and adapted indigenous threads of continuity to relationship building and peacemaking.

What Jason Baird Jackson explained regarding twenty-first-century tribal ceremonies also applies earlier. Native communities conduct their own unique tribal activities during the day, but at night friends and "visiting delegations from other communities" come.[72] The significance is in that "such visitation establishes reciprocal relationships of support in which groups benefiting from the participation of visiting communities in turn attend the dances of their guests." He continued, explaining that "groups come to know their neighbors, to appreciate patterns of cultural similarity and variation, and to perceive and acknowledge one another in corporate rather than strictly individual terms."[73] Continuing into the twentieth and first-centuries Native intertribal interactions in northeastern Oklahoma, then, through relational sovereignty, maintained and fostered relationships with each other. This not only strengthened their own communities and the maintenance of their traditions but sustained long-held indigenous values relationality and reciprocity.

[72] Jackson, "On Stomp Dance and Powwow Worlds," 160.
[73] Ibid., 160.

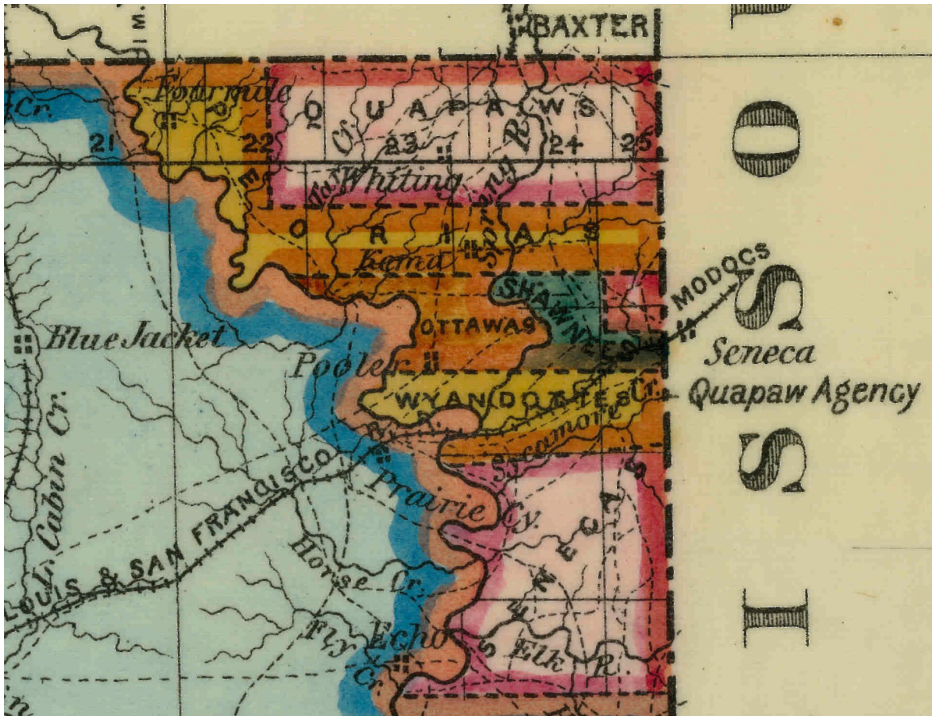

Figure 6.1: Northeastern Oklahoma By the End of the Nineteenth Century
By the end of the nineteenth century more than half a dozen tribal nations came to have reservations and homes in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma.
Source: RG77 CMF Map No. 932, NARA II. [Cropped for detail].

Figure 6.2: Lenipinšia (Frank Beaver) (Peewaalia/Peoria), c. 1890
Lenipinšia (Frank Beaver) (Peewaalia/Peoria) shared with ethnologists one particularly comical story of a trip into the neighboring town of Seneca, Missouri. Indian people not only traveled to the nearby towns for shopping but also to socialize with others.
Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (Except Alaska): At the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), between pgs. 248-249. Original Courtesy of The Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. [Research Photograph; Cropped for Detail].

Figure 6.3: Students at Okáxpa (Quapaw) Mission, Indian Territory
When mandated to send their children to schools, many Native people would send them to the Catholic-run Quapaw Mission, often known as St. Mary's of the Quapaws.
Source: NAA INV 09827800, Photo Lot 90-1, No. 69, NAA, NMAI, SI.

Figure 6.4: Charles B. Wilson's *Ceremonial—Some Come Just to Watch* (2001)
This painting shows the longhouse at the ceremonial grounds maintained by the Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayugas) in northeastern Oklahoma. Many Native friends and visitors in the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth came, participated, or observed their traditions. This also continues to this very day.
Source: Charles Banks Wilson, *Ceremonial—Some Come Just to Watch* (2001). 9.813 x 27.5, oil/canvas. Original Courtesy of the GM.

Figure 6.5: *Big Indian Reunion* Broadside, September 2-7, 1918
Catering to Natives and non-Natives alike, this advertisement hyped up a week-long Okáxpa (Quapaw) event, promoting not only dances but also ice skating and camping. Source: *Big Indian Reunion: One Entire Week, September 2nd to 7th, 1918 at Devils' Promenade, Eight Miles South of Baxter Springs* [Broadside and Accompanying Newspaper Clippings]. Collection No. RH Q246. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

THREE
Morning Trains
ARE TO RUN TO
Baxter Springs
SATURDAY,
JULY 4
PROGRAM:

5:30 a. m., National Salute of 44 guns by Button's Artillery.
8:00 a. m., Music by the Baxter Cornet Band.
10:00 a. m., Grand Street Parade, headed by the Gigantic Elephant "Romeo."
Immense Pyramidical Float containing 44 beautiful young ladies and Tom Smith as the Goddess of Liberty.
Capt. Frank Bahr, from Richardson's Hypadrome, with his wonderful collection of Antique Animals, Horribles, Diabolicals, Rangatoos and a hundred other eccentricities.
Columbus City Council and Galena School Board.
Indian Mounted Police.
Springvalley Cavalry Regiment.
Melrose Cavalry.
Gentlemen and Ladies on Horseback.
Floats Representing the business houses of Baxter Springs, Joplin, Galena and other cities.
10:30 a. m., March to the grove.
11:00 a. m., Music by Bands and Glee Clubs.
Address of welcome by Mayor J. J. Fribley.
Speech by HON. ALEX. DUNCAN, known as "Duncan of Pumpkin."
12 noon, BARBECUE DINNER and Basket Picnic.
1:00 p. m., Season of Patriotic Songs by Glee Clubs.
1:30 p. m., National Anthem. "My Country," by 100 Indian children from Wyandotte and Quapaw Mission schools.
2:00 p. m., Oration by HON. J. R. HALLOWELL, of Wichita. Addresses by Judge W. C. PERRY, of Fort Scott, and other good speakers.
8:00 p. m., Fireworks, Indian War Dances by the Modocs, Quapaws, Piankeshows, Etc.

You are guaranteed every comfort and a splendid time at Baxter Springs, and you would be silly to stay at home or waste your patriotic hours with some inferior, one-horse side show where there is no shade or sign of comfort, and the water smells like spoiled mackerel.

We will have an immense platform for dancing, and innumerable games, including baccarat and other innocent and aristocratic sources of amusement. There will be nothing barred in Baxter Springs on the 4th of July. A big crowd and a grand good time.

Remember, there will be three Solid Vestibule Buffet Pullman Trains at half fare from Webb City to Baxter, leaving Webb at 8:30 a. m., 9:40 a. m. and 12:30, noon.

☞ SEE OTHER SIDE.

M. H. BARDNER, PRINTER, BAXTER SPRINGS, KANS.

22563 INDIAN OFFICE Indian No. 1891

JULY 4
AT
Baxter Springs.

The National Holiday will be celebrated in an old-fashioned, patriotic style, with a grand

OLD TIME BARBECUE

Eloquent oratorical display, soul stirring instrumental and vocal music, great spread eagle stump speeches, immense dancing platform, a gorgeous street parade by the Antiques, Horribles, Modocs, Rangatoos, Quapaws, Cranks and other civic orders.

Baxter Springs, with her magnificent groves, beautiful river, health restoring springs and pleasant surroundings, is conceded by all to be the most charming city in the Southwest. Come and see her in holiday robes. Bring your wife and babies for a day's enjoyment in the most magnificent grove in Kansas. Bring your young ladies. Come with the old men and the boys. Don't forget the kids, and fetch the hired girl. Everything goes in Baxter on the Fourth.

The committee will spare no expense to make this the most enjoyable gathering ever held in this section, and you can always have a good time at Baxter Springs. The Barbecue will be immense, and our Indian friends have promised to give us some war dances, stamp dances and pony races. Come and see the "red man of the forest" under the christianizing influences of a 4th of July celebration at Baxter Springs.

We have no bargains in city lots to give you, and no Chicago airship, but we can give you a good show for the money and beautiful prizes for the homeliest man; the best looking hired girl; the redheadedest baby; the noisiest boy, or the fastest lady foot racer---married, single or otherwise.

The Hon Alexander Duncan, known as

DUNCAN OF PUMPKIN

will harangue the natives in his peculiar style.

SENATOR PEFFER, JAS. R. HALLOWELL, W. R. COWLEY and other noted orators have been invited. Also the GREAT UNSOCKED JERRY SIMPSON, JOHN P. ST. JOHN, MRS. LEASE, Miss HELEN GOUGAR and many other calamity shriekers, imbeciles and cranks will be with us.

Special early morning Train on Gulf road, from Webb City, Carterville, Joplin and Galena at HALF fare.

For Stand Privileges and further information apply to
J. P. HARTLEY, Supt.

☞ SEE OTHER SIDE.

Figure 6.6: Baxter Springs Fourth of July Celebration Program, 1891
Figure 6.7: Baxter Springs Fourth of July Celebration Proclamation, 1891
Source: Figure 6.6 (Left) and Figure (6.7) Right: RG75 Special Cases, 1821-1907, Box 160, SC-147 1891, NARA I.

Figure 6.8: "United States Indian School, Wyandotte, Oklahoma," c. 1890
Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (Except Alaska): At the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), between pgs. 248-249. Original Courtesy of The Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. [Research Photograph; Cropped for Detail].

Figure 6.9: Seneca Indian School, aka Wyandotte Mission, Indian Territory
This is another view of Seneca Indian School students spending recreational time outside. The school remained open for area Native students into the 1980s.
Source: Daniel B. Dyer Photograph Collection of Indian Territory Agencies and Osage and Quapaw Indians, 1868-1909. Collection No. RH PH 5. Oversize Box 2, Folio Album Page 7. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. [Cropped for detail].

Figure 6.10: Seneca Indian School, aka Wyandotte Mission, Indian Territory
One can barely discern, under the dried scrapbook glue, the words 'Seneca, Shawnee and Wyandot," regarding this photograph of people, presumably students, on the front porch of one of the buildings at Wyandotte Mission, also known as the Seneca Indian School. This school hosted mainly Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayugas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) although other tribal nations also attended while it was open from 1872 to 1980.
Source: Daniel B. Dyer Photograph Collection of Indian Territory Agencies and Osage and Quapaw Indians, 1868-1909. Collection No. RH PH 5. Oversize Box 1, Folder 5.2. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

Figure 6.11: "Barbeque and Indian Races, Quapaw Reserve," Indian Territory
Source: Daniel B. Dyer Photograph Collection of Indian Territory Agencies and Osage and Quapaw Indians, 1868-1909. Collection No. RH PH 5. Oversize Box 2, Folio Album Page 5, Photo No. D. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

Figure 6.12: Games of Chance, Okáxpa (Quapaw) Reserve, Indian Territory
Setting precedence for the establishment of present-day Indian casino and gaming ventures, Native games of chance continued to be played in Indian Territory after removal. This was often met by the disapproval and chagrin of missionaries and federal officials, but also curious non-Native onlookers.
Source: Daniel B. Dyer Photograph Collection of Indian Territory Agencies and Osage and Quapaw Indians, 1868-1909 [RH PH 5.1(f)]. Collection No. RH PH 5. Oversize Box 2, Folio Album Page 5, Photo No. B. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

Figure 6.13: Charles Banks Wilson's *Dividing the Offering* (1954)
Charles Banks Wilson painted many northeastern Oklahoma Indian activities, many of which included seasonal distribution of the harvest.
Source: Charles Banks Wilson, *Dividing the Offering* (1954). Accession No. 0127.2477. 1954. Original Courtesy of the GM.

Figure 6.14: Complimentary Meat Distribution for the Feast, Seneca Reserve, 1911
Part of both ceremonial and secular Native events, free distribution of food to the indigenous community would often get noted as striking and memorable by ethnologists. Charles Marius Barbeau labeled this photograph: "Emplacement où la viande était coupée pour distribution gratuite, réserve sénéca en Oklahoma… Stand where meat was cut and distributed for free, Seneca reserve in Oklahoma" from 1911.
Source: Charles Marius Barbeau, "Emplacement où la viande était coupée pour distribution gratuite, réserve sénéca en Oklahoma… Stand where meat was cut and distributed for free, Seneca reserve in Oklahoma," Black and White Negative (4 x 5 in.), 1911, FMB, CMH/MCH. [Cropped for detail].

Figure 6.15: Seneca, Missouri Mural of 1917 Fourth of July Celebrations
Along the side of one of the storefronts off Main Street in Seneca, Missouri, one can find this painted mural that includes Native participants in the city's 1917 Fourth of July parade.
Source: Photograph by the author, September 20, 2014.

Figure 6.16: Odawa (Ottawa) Indian Cemetery
Many of the old Native cemeteries in northeastern Oklahoma, like the Odawa (Ottawa) Indian Cemetery, in Miami, Oklahoma, included not just people of their own respective tribes, but also often incorporated other Native nations.
Source: Photograph by the author, August 30, 2014.

Figure 6.17: Šaawanwa/Shawnee Nishkû'ntu(Moonhead)-Made Rattle, c. 1885. John Mohawk (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) owned this peyote gourd rattle, made by the founder of Big Moon Peyotism Nishkû'ntu (Moonhead) (John Wilson) (Hasínay/Caddo-Lenape/Delaware).
Source: Gourd Peyote Rattle Made by Nishkû'ntu [Moonhead] (John Wilson) (Hasínay/Caddo-Lenape/Delaware), c. 1885. Formerly owned by John Mohawk (Šaawanwa/Shawnee). Collected by Mark Raymond Harrington, 1917. NMAI. On Display at NMAI, New York, New York.

Figure 6.18 John Mohawk (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) with Okáxpas (Quapaws), c. 1899 Pictured in this Native American Church (NAC) group portrait are: Okáxpas (Quapaws): Standing L-R: Joe Whitebird, Pius Quapaw, Sig Dah Track, John Mohawk (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), Willie Thompson, John Crow, Francis Goodeagle and Levi Goodeagle (grandson). Sitting (L-R): John Beaver, Victor Griffin, Mary Thompson, Tall Chief, Johnny Buffalo (slightly behind), Pazhanke (Peter Clabber) (with drum).
From: Risë Supernaw Proctor, *Quapaw Tribal Ancestry Photos* (2011; Quapaw, Oklahoma: Risë Supernaw Proctor, 2015). Original Courtesy of the Risë Supernaw Proctor Collection, WHC, OU.

Figure 6.19: Three Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) Men, 1912
Three Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) posed in front of a wagon for Charles Marius Barbeau in 1912: John Schrimpsher (left), Sa`tsi`tsuwa` (Smith Nichols) (center), and Hu'u^{n}dažú (John Kayrahoo) (right). John Schrimpsher was also of Shotinontowane'/Seneca descent, and Smith Nichols was similarly also of Kaion'ke/Cayuga ancestry. Many Native peoples of northeastern Oklahoma participated in ceremonies and festivities of each other's nations and customs. They also intermarried, creating familial connections between the small Indian tribes.
Source: Charles Marius Barbeau, "John Schrimpsher, Smith Nichols, et John Kariho devant un chariot, réserve sénéca en Oklahoma [documents iconographiques] = John Schrimpsher, Smith Nichols and John Kariho, standing in front of a wagon, Seneca reserve in Oklahoma," Black and White Glass Negative (4 x 5 in.), 1912. FMB, CMH/MCH.

Figure 6.20: Tawaahkwakinanka (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw-Peewaalia/Peoria)
Family portrait of Tawaahkwakinanka (George Washington Finley) (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw-Peewaalia/Peoria) with his children.
Source: SPC MW MIAMI BAE 1-2 00158000, NAA, NMNH, SI.

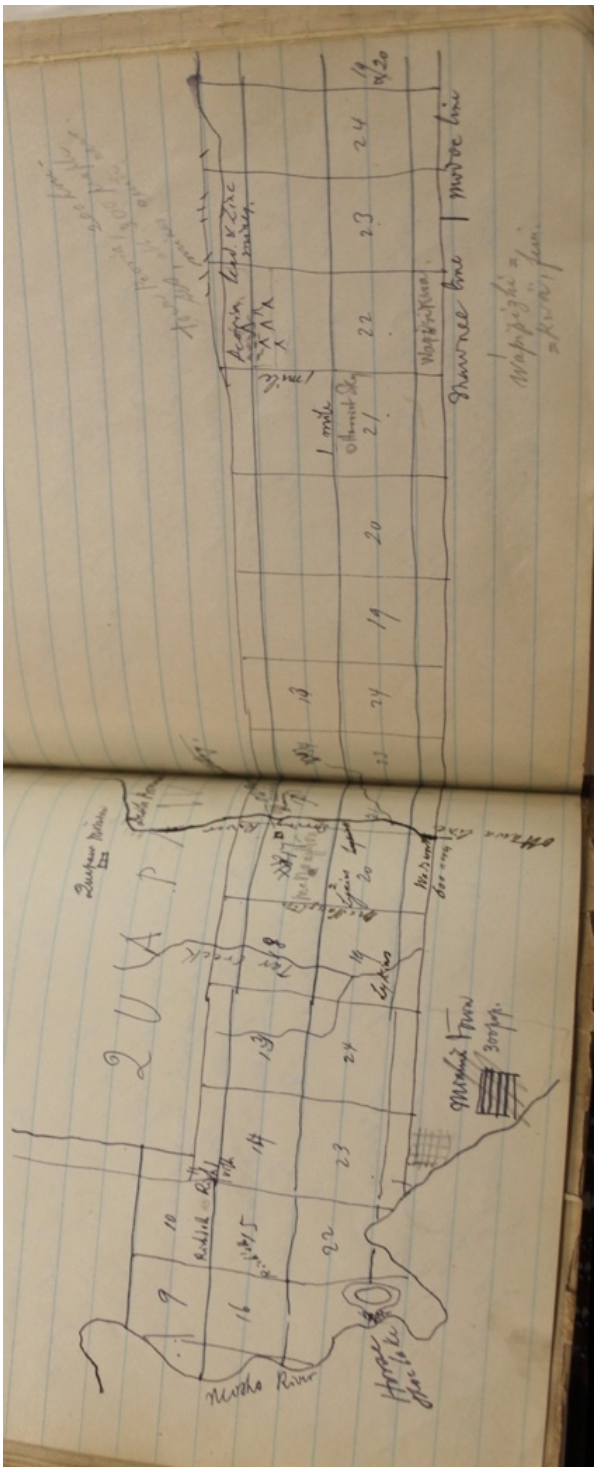

Figure 6.21: Okáxpa (Quapaw), Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) Lands, 1890
Source: Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, p. 226-227, NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI.

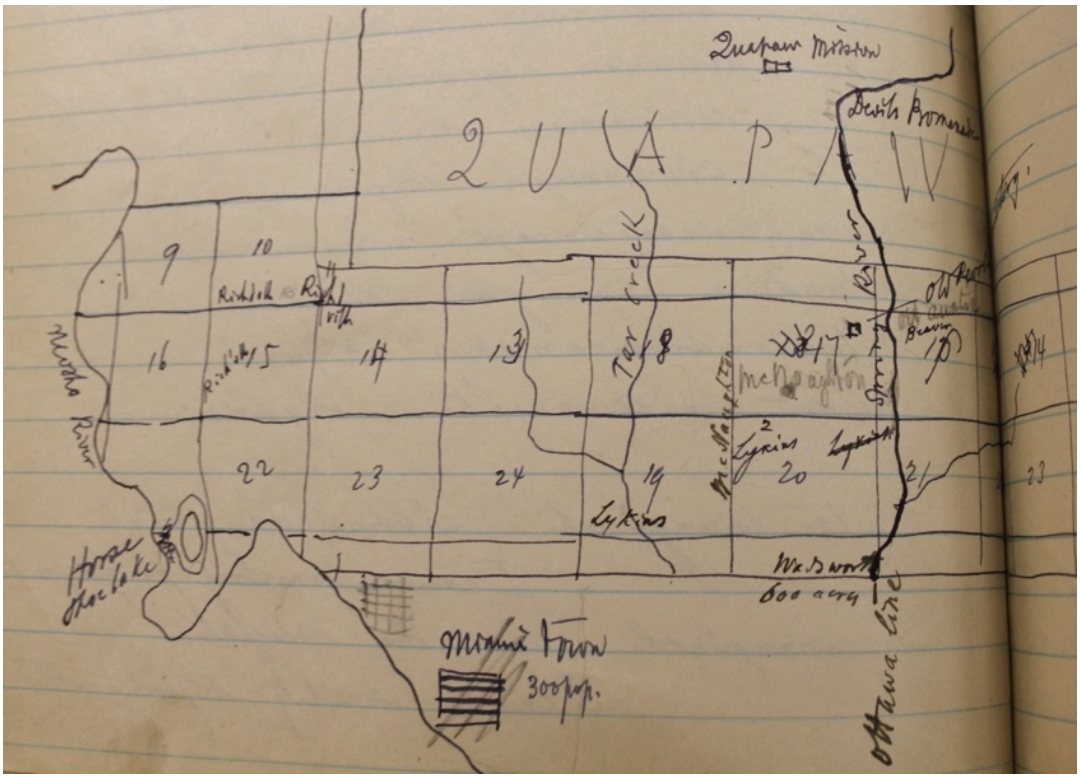

Figure 6.22: Miami Town, Quapaw Mission, & Devil's Promenade (Map Detail)
Source: Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, p. 226, NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI. [Cropped for detail].

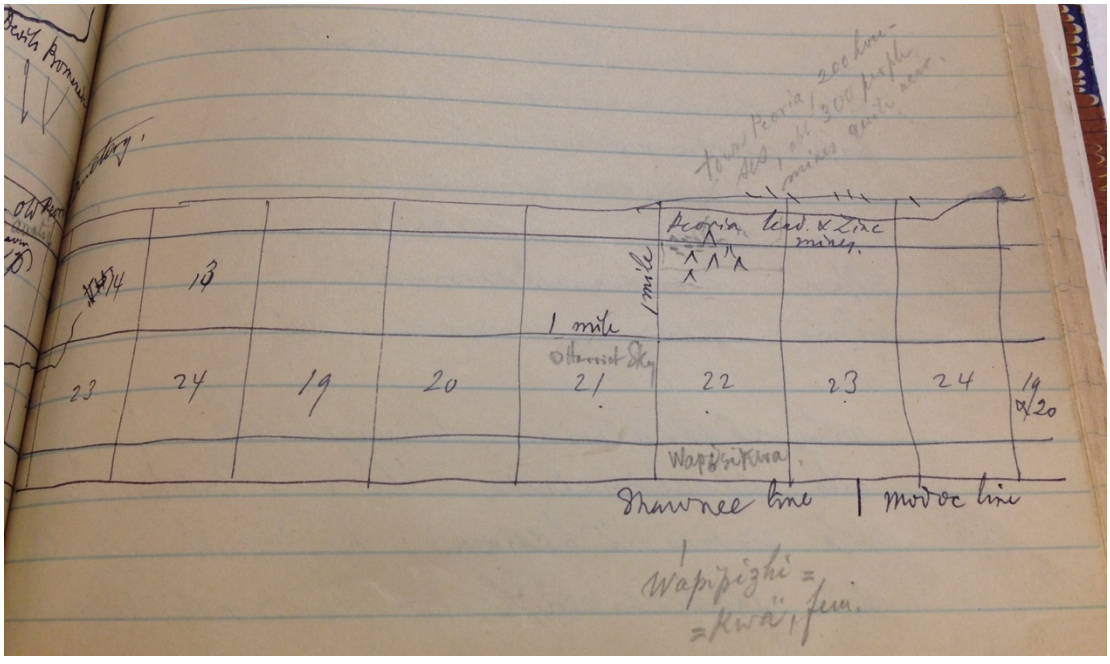

Figure 6.23: Peoria Lead & Zinc Mines, Peoria, Indian Territory (Map Detail)
Source: Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Vocabulary and Text ca. 1892*, Notebook No. 1, p. 227, NAA MS 236, NAA, NMNH, SI. [Cropped for detail].

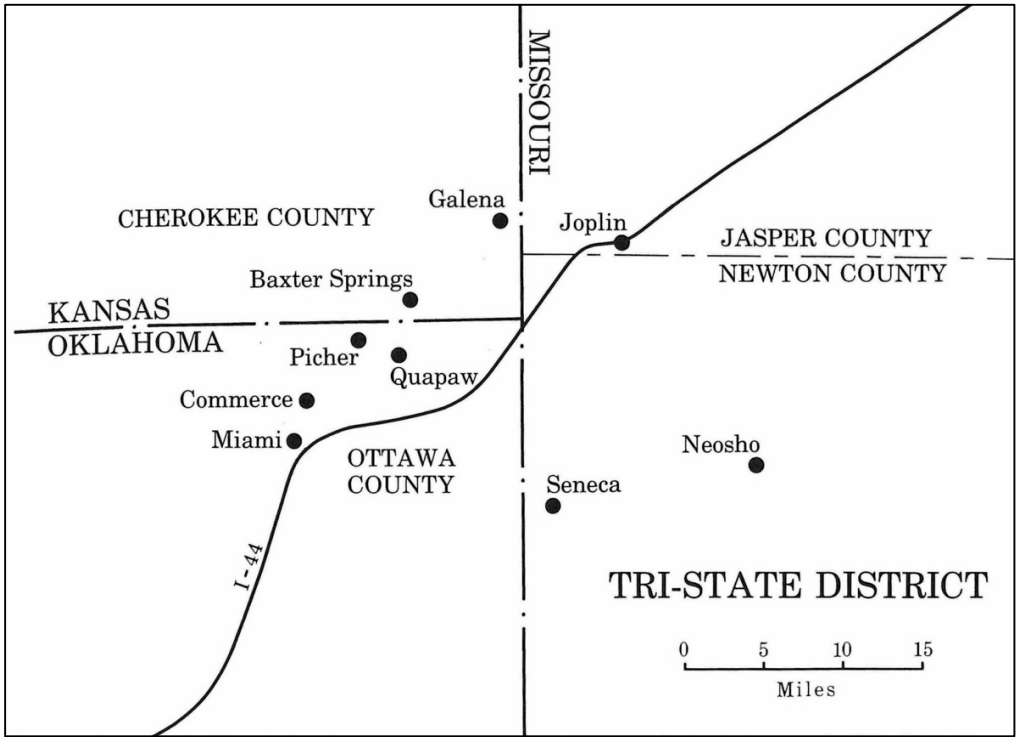

Figure 6.24: The Tri-State (Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma) Mining District
The lead and zinc mining area straddled three states—Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Joplin, Missouri, Galena, Kansas, and Picher, Oklahoma would all be built from mining income.
Source: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Lead and Zinc," in *Drill Bits, Picks, and Shovels: A History of Mineral Resources in Oklahoma*, edited by John W. Morris (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1982), 113. [Cropped for detail].

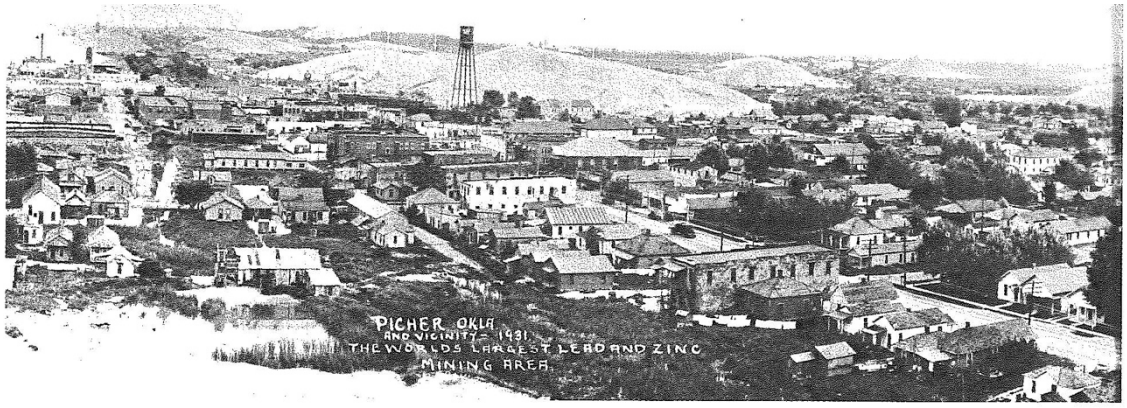

Figure 6.25: Picher, Oklahoma and Vicinity
This expansive photograph shows Picher, Oklahoma and the surrounding area, in 1931. Note the chat piles already accumulating in the background.
Source: John W. Morris, *Ghost Towns of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 149. [Cropped for detail]. Original photograph in WHC, OU.

Figure 6.26: Early Lead Mining in Peoria, Indian Territory
Peoria, Oklahoma was one of the first areas in Indian Territory to produce lucrative mining incomes, and was mined mostly in the 1890s and into the turn of the century. Nearby Picher, Oklahoma and other towns would become 'boom towns' in the early and mid-twentieth century, spurred by demand during both World Wars.
Source: Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Lead and Zinc," in *Drill Bits, Picks, and Shovels: A History of Mineral Resources in Oklahoma*, edited by John W. Morris (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1982), 166. Original Courtesy of the Joplin Mineral Museum Collection. Today this is the Joplin Museum Complex, also known as the Joplin History & Mineral Museum. It is the combined integration of The Dorothea B. Hoover Historical Museum and The Everett J. Ritchie Tri-State Mineral Museum, in Joplin, Missouri. [Scan Cropped for detail].

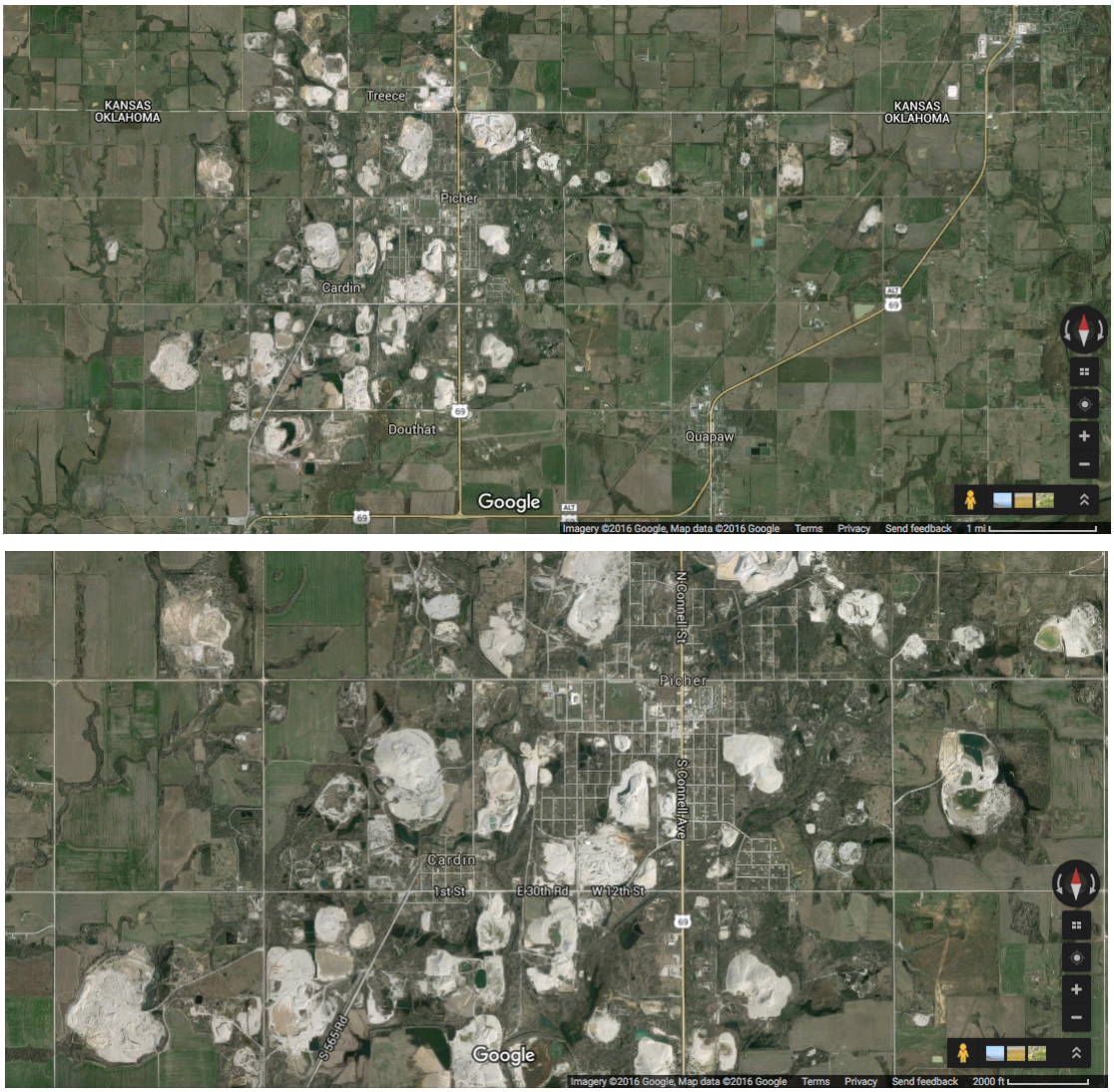

Figure 6.27: Picher-Cardin Region Today at Oklahoma-Kansas Border, 2016
Figure 6.28: Chat Piles from an Aerial View of the Picher-Cardin Area, 2016
Chat piles, large piles of the discarded residue from lead and zinc mining, remain in northeastern Oklahoma today. Despite the twenty-first-century repeated efforts of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as well as the singular work of the Okáxpas (Quapaw) Nation (and many combined efforts of the other tribal nations) to substantially remove many of the mounds and fill in areas threatened by cave-ins, it still seemed to have only made a small dent, given the scale and enormity of the problem.
Source: Google Maps, 2016, *Google Maps*, 2016, https://maps.google.com/ (accessed 2016-03-09). [Cropped to show emphasis and detail].

Figure 6.29: Harry Crawfish (Okáxpa/Quapaw), Largest Monetary Contributor
Figure 6.30: Alice Beaver Hallam (Okáxpa/Quapaw), Co-Haskell Arch Funder
Figure 6.31: Agnes Quapaw-Hoffman (Okáxpa/Quapaw), Co-Haskell Arch Funder
Many Okáxpas (Quapaws) who had allotted lands leased to mining companies such as Harry Crawfish, Alice Beaver Hallam, and Agnes Quapaw-Hoffman financed the all-Indian-funded Haskell Institute's Memorial Arch and Stadium in 1926.
Source: Figure 6.29: (Left): *Haskell Celebration Official Program (Facsimile), Lawrence, Kansas (October 27-30, 1926)*, 14, HCCM, HINU. Figure 6:30: (Middle): "Alice Beaver (Bear), Individual Photos – Identified (new I) Quapaw contrib. to Stadium fund," Box "File Photos Indian Club – Individual Photos: Unidentified 1940-1969 (6 of 10)," Folder "Individual Photos: Identified Before 1940," HCCM, HINU. Figure 6.31: (Right): *Haskell Celebration Official Program (Facsimile), Lawrence, Kansas (October 27-30, 1926)*, 12, HCCM, HINU.

Figure 6.32: Okáxpas (Quapaws) in Attendance at the Haskell Homecoming, 1926
Many Native people, including families, children, and elders, traveled to attend the Haskell Homecoming that dedicated the Stadium and Arch in 1926.
Source: *The Haskell Annual Published by The Senior Class of Nineteen Twenty-Seven of Haskell Institute* (Lawrence: Haskell Institute, n.d.). Original Courtesy of HCCM, HINU.

Figure 6.33: Okáxpa/Quapaw John Beaver's Teepee at Haskell Homecoming, 1926
Although captioned as "An Osage Tepee" this Haskell Institute photograph is of the tepee belonging to John Beaver, Second Chief of the Okáxpas (Quapaws), as the printing on the teepee's canvas indicates.
Source: "Haskell Institute Indian Pow Wow and Congress" 28 Photographs, October 1926, KSHS. [Cropped for detail].

Figure 6.34: Haskell Institute's World War I Memorial Arch, 1926
Source: Kim Warren, "'All Indian Trails Lead to Lawrence, October 27 to 30, 1926': American Identity and the Dedication of the Haskell Institute's Football Stadium," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 2007), 6. [Cropped for detail].

Conclusion

"Miami people, whether in Indiana, Kansas, or Oklahoma, had to endure efforts to dismantle the fabric that held us together. This was not a fertile and nurturing environment for our community or for our language… It was, rather, a period of dormancy for our language, for our corn, and for our knowledge, yet the Miami people did not disappear and survived the best they could. We as a community were ready again to plant the seeds for the rebirth of our corn and our language…We began to see the connections of the physical and mental health of our community and the revival of our language. With an enormous field before us as we began our efforts to combat these issues and revive our language, we started a small crop with a handful of seeds." "As we began to learn to grow our corn again and began to relearn our language, we have nourished our bodies, hearts, and minds… The Miami people have reawakened our language and our corn from their dormancies and replanted them in our homeland of Indiana and removed land in northeastern Oklahoma, and more importantly have replanted and reawakened them in our hearts and minds so that we can be in a place once again to properly take care of them.

ahkawaapamankwike, ahkawaapamelankwiki-kati—if we take care of them, they will take care of us."

Scott Michael Shoemaker (Myaamia/Miami), 2013 [1]

The forced removal of Native peoples was extremely disruptive, physically and psychologically. Most if not all of the Native communities who ended up residing in the states of Kansas and Oklahoma showed immense reluctance and restraint to move to the West in the early nineteenth century. Some Native people found ways around removal—but utilizing their relationships and connections with others to find refuge and other places to reside. In 1833 Lieutenant J. P. Simonton reported about his visit to the Waayaahtanooki (Weas) at Logansport, Indiana. Simonton described the Waayaahtanooki (Weas) as familial, linguistic, and cultural connections with Myaamiaki. Their kinship and shared traditions provided continued links to their original homelands even when circumstances became dire and removal seemed like the only solution.

[1] Heid Ellen Erdrich, *Original Local: Indigenous Foods, Stories, and Recipes from the Upper Midwest* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2013), 192-193.

Simonton noted, "The Weas [Waayaahtanooki] therefore, readily find a residence with the Miamies [Myaamiaki], and boast that as long as the latter own a foot of land, they have a home."[2] It is no wonder, then, that many Myaamiaki (Miamis) living today in the East, often called the Indiana Miamis or the Eastern Miamis, some of them whose families avoided or were exempted from forced removal, hold steadfastly to their lands, despite how small the acreage. The Meshingomesia schoolhouse, is one such example. Eastern Myaamiaki (Miami) have immense pride in their resilience and steadfastness on retaining some of their original homelands in the state of Indiana. Although divested of federal recognition as an Indian tribe in the late nineteenth century, the Eastern Myaamiaki (Miami) are still acknowledged by their federally-recognized relatives in the West. While some families and individuals chose to join the ranks of the Myaamiaki (Miami) in the West, the Western Myaamiaki (Miamis), conflict and emotional hurt can often remain high between the two groups into the present day. The politics of recognition and the continuing damages and disruptions reverberate still today from forced removals over a century before.[3]

Often when one Midwestern tribal nation moved to the trans-Mississippi West, due to their affinities and intermarriages, other Native communities who remained behind (and either delayed or avoided removal entirely), were nonetheless strongly affected. When the Potawatomis removed to the West in 1838 on what they term the

[2] Quoted in: Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), 132n18.

[3] Larry Nesper, "The Meshingomesia Indian Village Schoolhouse in Memory and History," in *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell (Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York, and Oxford: Altamira Press, 2002); Larry Nesper, "Remember the Miami Indian Village Schoolhouse," *AIQ*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter 2001), 135-151; Scott Michael Shoemaker, "Trickster Skins: Narratives of Landscape, Representation, and the Miami Nation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2011); Mary Annette Pember, "Healing Words," *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (March 4, 2010), 22-23.

"Trail of Death," some of those families who had married Myaamiaki (Miamis) were able to stay behind, while others did not. Sometimes federal officials would reappear in non-removed Native communities and see families with visible cultural affiliations of those who were forcibly removed. Deeming them uncooperative and noncompliant, federal officials would round them up for further relocation.[4]

Leaving one's homelands—the land and people one has always known and have a connection to, and who's languages are intimately connected to place—is a monumental disruption of life, whether on the plane of the individual or on the plane of the community. Observers witnessed Myaamiaki (Miamis) grabbing fistfuls of soil before being pushed onto canal boats destined for Indian Territory in 1846. As previously mentioned, when exploring parties could not find culturally-relevant plants such as maple trees in their new lands, they then wanted nothing to do with the relocation.[5]

Removal treaty signers often knew what agreeing to relocation and selling their tribal, communally-held and original homelands meant. In 1833 one Potewatmi (Potawatomi) representative named Pokagon sobbed as he signed a land cession and removal treaty.[6] Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) signers of the 1835 Treaty of New Echota

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[4] Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, 130-131.

[5] For more on Myaamia/Miami removal history, see: Kate A. Berry and Melissa A. Rinehart, "A Legacy of Forced Migration: The Removal of the Miami Tribe in 1846," *International Journal of Population Geography,* Vol. 9, No. 2 (2003), 93-112; Melissa A. Rinehart and Kate A. Berry, "Kansas and the Exodus of the Miami Tribe," in *The Tribes and the States: Geographies of Intergovernmental Interaction,* edited by Brad A. Bays and Erin Hogan Fouberg (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Incorporated, 2002), 29-50; Amy Dianne Bergseth, "Dislocated Heritage: Miami Removal from Ohio and Indiana," Student Exhibit in *William Holmes McGuffey Museum National Historic Landmark*, http://www.units.muohio.edu/mcguffeymuseum/ (accessed 14 December 2008). Also: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, *myaamiaki aancihsaaciki: A Cultural Exploration of the Myaamia Removal Route* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, 2011).

[6] Matthew L. M. Fletcher, "Sawnawgezewog: 'The Indian Problem' and the Lost Art of Survival," *American Indian Law Review*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2003-2004), 37, 37n10. The footnote reads the

knew they were signing their death sentences. By selling away Aniyunwiya (Cherokee) lands without community consent, these leaders knowingly violated clan law, *nigohilv tsuniyvwi dalasidv*, and they knew the unspoken penalty mandated for treason was execution. Therefore, the next several decades for after removal were especially tumultuous and painful for the Aniyunwiya. Dozens of indigenous nations had to deal with the 'fallout' of removal by the end of the nineteenth century.[7]

These examples are all used to show the complexities and difficulties of the history of Indian Removal that has continued into the present. The history of forced removal and its 'aftermath' or 'reconstruction' is difficult. The small Native nations after removal, however, despite the narrated 'failures' of intertribal confederation to prevent the onslaught of federally-imposed governance, Native communities focused on their families and relatives, their relationships to each other—the often-slow and invisible rebuilding of relational sovereignty. Relationships with each other, other small Native nations, many of whom they had long-established ties, friendships, and alliances with, remained, were reconstructed, or newly created new. Wampum diplomacy, kinship networks, (re)lighting of the council fires both ancient and new, and clearing pathways to peace and condolence with cultural expressions of language, dance, as well as informal social gatherings and dances.

Having reflected on community-engaged scholarship and even extracurricular social settings, I have come to see the most successful paths to collaboration and

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information came from: Elizabeth A. Neumeyer, "Indian Removal in Michigan, 1833-1855" (M.A. Thesis, Central Michigan University, 1968), 21.

[7] See: Patricia Jo Lynn King, "The Forgotten Warriors: Keetoowah Abolitionists, Revitalization, The Search for Modernity, and Struggle for Autonomy in the Cherokee Nation, 1800-1866" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 2013). Especially see her historiographical arguments and discussion of the cultural context surrounding the laws and subsequent executions: Patricia Jo Lynn King, "The Forgotten Warriors," 11-12, 81-82, 87-156, 352.

coalition building rest on the careful construction, cultivation, and maintenance of relationships. This often tends to be slow and steady, difficult but necessary. To build the best sturdy, solid foundations, I have come to believe, must include even the small details and a sustained, concerted effort. This involves taking care of one's relationships, both familial and kinship connections, and following and maintaining necessary responsibilities and reciprocity for sustainability.

Similar metaphors have been used for the Native art of ribbonwork, shared by many Woodland Indian cultures historically and still today. Myaamia (Miami) leaders have continued to describe the group effort and dedication need for *peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki* (Myaamia/Miami ribbonwork). Akin to language revitalization efforts, ribbonwork skills and mastery "requires community support and participation" as well as the "interweaving of vital [gender] responsibilities."[8] When Scott Shoemaker (Myaamia/Miami) reflected on language revitalization, he explained that it was in no way separated from reciprocity, relationships, and the community.

I see the history of removal in a similar way. Small 'seeds' and foundations remained, the foundation of strong resilient indigenous communities. Kinship networks, clan affiliations, and long-held traditions of thanksgiving and condolence often found in indigenous international diplomacy assisted Native peoples through the difficulties of forced removal. Council fires were lit anew, from the embers of their

[8] Scott Shoemaker quoted in: George Michael Ironstrack and Scott Michael Shoemaker, "peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki: Myaamia Ribbonwork," in Andrew J. Strack, Karen Baldwin, and Alysia Fischer, with contributions by George Michael Ironstrack and Scott Michael Shoemaker and consultation with Julie Olds, Daryl Baldwin, David Costa, and John Bickers, *peepankišaapiikahkia eehkwaatamenki | Myaamia Ribbonwork*, developed through the Myaamia Center, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio (Miami, Oklahoma: Myaamia Publications, 2016), 8, 11.

council fires from their original homelands. Native peoples responded to removal with the same 'arsenals' that had always retained their communities. Careful commitment to relationships and alliances with other neighboring nations served as tools to combat external dominance as well as cultural assimilation.

Although many of the Native communities in northeastern Oklahoma lost much of their languages and traditions—sometimes intentional and deliberate, and other times beyond much of their control given external assimilationist efforts to "kill the Indian, Save the man"—much of their survivance and continuities are due to the maintenance of relationships to each other. Ironically, intertribal interactions assisted in strengthening political and cultural sovereignties of individual, distinct tribal nations. The small Native nations of the northeastern corner of Oklahoma, although with small population sizes, slim economic agency, and often trivial political clout compared to their larger Native nations, continued to employ relationality and relationships to each other for their strength and survival (See Figure 7.1).

Politically this is often found today in the Inter-Tribal Council in Miami, Oklahoma, and culturally with visiting delegations to neighboring Native nation events (See Figure 7.2).[9] Myaamiaki (Miamis) and Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka

[9] Don E. Giles (Peewaalia/Peoria), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 12, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 117; Floyd E. Leonard (Myaamia/Miami), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 12, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 143; Louis E. Myers (Peewaalia/Peoria-Kaahkaahkia/Kaskaskia), interview, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 148. Reprinted from: *The Peorias: A History of the Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma,* edited by Dorris Valley and Mary M. Lembeke (Miami, Oklahoma: The Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, 1991), 211-213. Interestingly the Inter-Tribal Council, founded in 1967, began with some of the small tribal nations in northeastern Oklahoma but also some of the Five Tribes. The Bureau of Indian Affairs criticized the Inter-Tribal Council as it continued to maintain relationships and refused to cut ties with the small tribal

(Seneca-Cayugas) continue to engage in annual stickball or lacrosse (in Myaamia/Miami—*peekitahaminki*) competitions. The Myaamiaki (Miamis) refer to the Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayugas) as their "elder brothers" and they exchange invitation sticks. Notches are carved out of the stick to record the days leading up to the event, as well as wagers. Loyal and Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke (Seneca-Cayuga), Myaamia (Miami), and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) leadership and community members continue to attend each other's events and participate together in academic roundtables and conferences. Many of the small tribal nations continue to attend and participate in each other's ceremonial and secular social gatherings.[10]

Recovering from removal, also required careful consideration, patience, and concerted effort. The process itself was also just as important as the final product and results. Although the intertribal efforts at the creation of a Native-based Nebraska

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nations 'terminated' (unrecognized by the federal government) in the Era of Termination (Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The History of Ottawa County* (Miami, Oklahoma: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1983), 238). See also: Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, *Visit Miami, Oklahoma* (Miami, Oklahoma: Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2014), 37-38.

[10] Jarrid Baldwin and George Michael Ironstrack, "The Story of the Seneca-Cayuga Sash," *aatotankiki myaamiaki: An Official Publication of the Sovereign Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (Miami, OK)*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Section A (teekwaaki [Fall] 2014), 1B, 5B; Unknown Author, "Ohio History Connection holds Event at Tribal Council House," *aatotankiki myaamiaki: An Official Publication of the Sovereign Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (Miami, OK),* Vol. 12, No. 4, Section A (teekwaaki [Fall] 2014), 3A. Their website cited (http://www.bccc-nam.org/) is now defunct, but, for more information see: Linda Pasing, "Archaeology Blog: Ohio Historical Society receives National Endowment for the Humanities grant to increase knowledge about Midwest Native American Tribes," *Ohio History Connection*, March 6, 2013, https://www.ohiohistory.org/learn/collections/archaeology/archaeology-blog/2013/march-2013/ohio-historical-society-receives-national-endowmen (accessed 19 February 2018); National Endowment of the Humanities (NEH) Staff, "Native Americans in the Midwest: An NEH Bridging Cultures at Community Colleges Project," *National Endowment of the Humanities*, March 27, 2014, www.neh.gov/print/20631 (accessed 13 August 2014); National Endowment of the Humanities (NEH) Staff, "Featured Project: Native Americans in the Midwest: An NEH Bridging Cultures at Community Colleges Project," *National Endowment of the Humanities*, March 26, 2014, https://www.neh.gov/divisions/education/featured-project/native-americans-in-the-midwest-neh-bridging-cultures-community (19 February 2018); *Native Americans in the Midwest: Bridging Cultures at Community Colleges*, 2014 http://www.bccc-nam.org/ (accessed 21 August 2014; site now discontinued); Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma, "Seneca-Cayuga Tribe donates Bison to United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee," *Gah-yah-tont ⏐ It is Written: Newsletter of the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma (Grove, OK)* (July 2011).

Territory and a Native state of Indian Territory, ultimately 'failed'—the process of committed fight for tribal sovereignty, as the Odawa (Ottawa) leader Francis King noted in 1874, propelled and encouraged patriotism and pride in their respective tribal nations, their distinct laws, cultures, languages, customs, and traditions. The little Native nations, with smaller infrastructures, populations, and land bases, relied on relationships to nurture and maintain their nations and cultures.

This did not mean Oklahoma became a place of 'pan-Indianism.' On the contrary, the separate distinct tribal nations fiercely retained their diverse and unique languages and cultures. They did often find true strength in unity and relationships. Confederating and organizing with other Native nations strengthened defenses against settler colonial and federal assaults on their tribal sovereignties.

Like ribbonwork, then, the Native nations found strength in confederation and interaction with each other. Intertribal strength as well as internal national unity, came from collective efforts and community participation. Recovering from Indian removal was like the art of ribbonwork creation (See Figures 7.3 and 7.4). Designs are made from differing colored ribbons, cut and sewn to form one intricate design. It also takes work, exertion, and effort, to bring about the ribbonwork design and final product. Only after the careful placement, piecing, cutting, folding, and sewing of many different colored ribbons, does the final overall design appear. So, too, was recovery from forced removal. They were small, subtle, yet concerted efforts. Rebuilding strong scaffolds and infrastructure, tending to relationships with each other, these Native nations restored their communities. As Don Greenfeather (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) relayed to interviewers in the late nineteenth century, "In Indian Country we're struggling, but our

people are strong." By fostering positive intertribal relationships in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the small Native nations in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma restored and strengthened their communities despite the trauma of forced removal.[11]

[11] This idea comes from various conversations with Scott Shoemaker (Myaamia/Miami). Unable to find a suitable quotation that encompasses all the details in his metaphor, I have tried to recreate and communicate the idea here. It relies on not only time, effort, exertion, but also community and group effort from different, diverse group of people. See: Don Greenfeather (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), interview by Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, December 12, 1994, in *Always a People: Oral History of Contemporary Woodland Indians*, edited by Rita Kohn, W. Lynwood Montell, and Michelle Mannering (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 122.

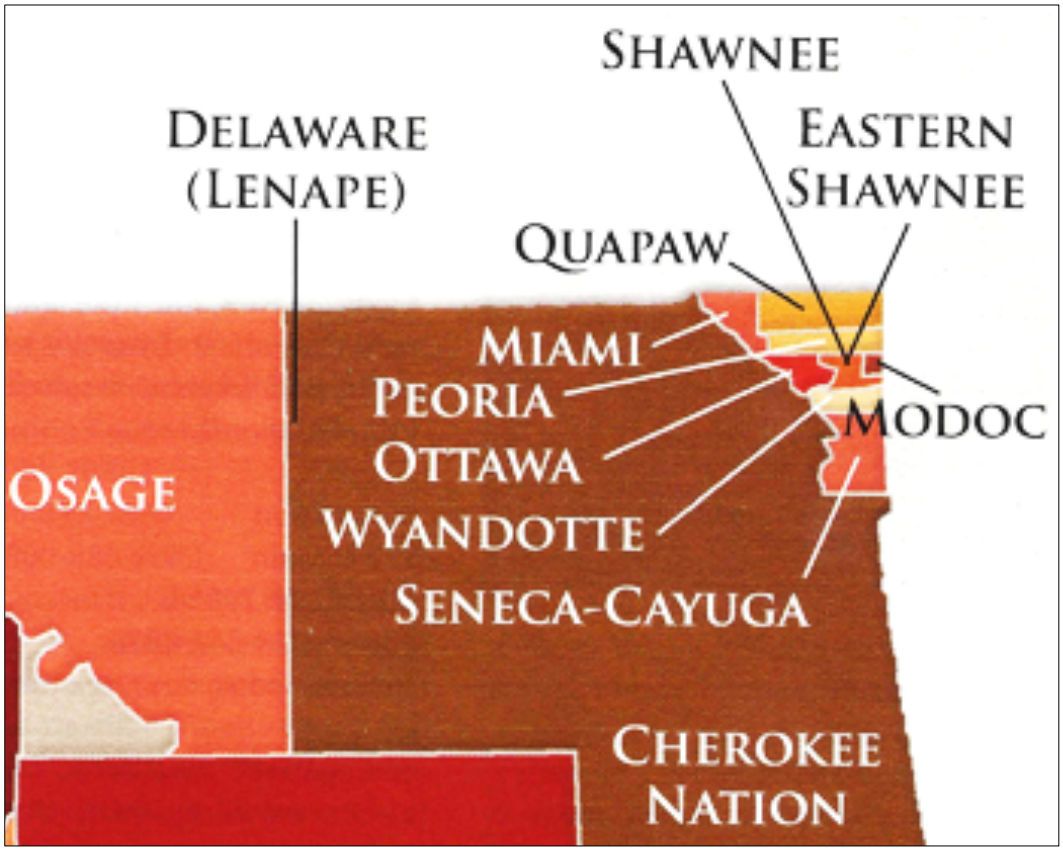

Figure 7.1: Detail of NE Corner of Oklahoma Tribal Jurisdictions Today
Often many contemporary maps label the numerous tribal nations in the small jurisdictions of northeastern Oklahoma, and must do so with arrows so that it is readable. The more than half a dozen tribal nation names will not fit in the tiny corner otherwise.
Source: Native American Times, "Oklahoma's Tribal Jurisdictions," *Native Oklahoma* (December 2014), 16-17. [Cropped for detail].

Figure 7.2: Inter-Tribal Council, Inc., Sign Near Highway, Miami, Oklahoma
A modern iteration of intertribal interactions and political alliances, the Native Nations in northeastern Oklahoma founded the Inter-Tribal Council in 1967. Today it includes all nine of the federally-recognized Native nations in that small corner of the state.
Source: Photograph by the author, September 11, 2014.

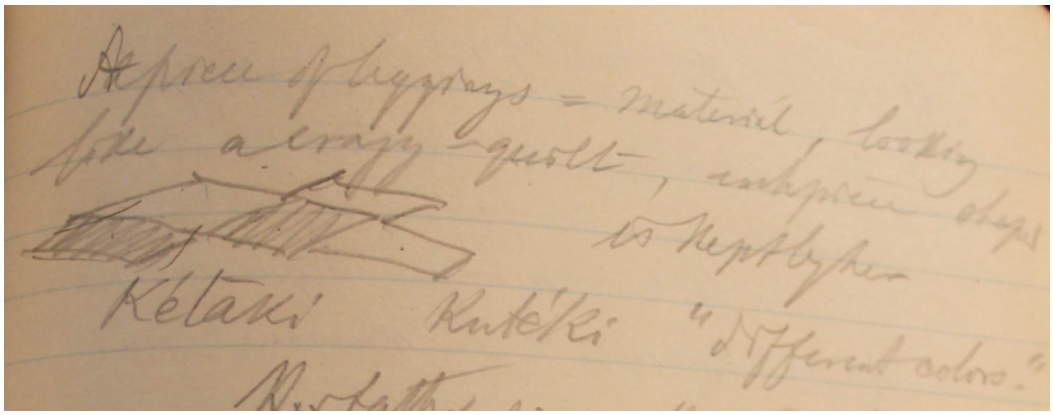

Figure 7.3: Excerpt of Gatschet's Elizabeth Valley (Peewaalia/Peoria) Notes, 1895
Elizabeth Valley (Peewaalia/Peoria)
Source: Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Notes on the Miami, 1890-ca. 1895*, Notebook No. 2, NAA MS 3025, NAA, NMNH, SI.

Figure 7.4: Eehkwaatamenki Peepankišaapiikahkia (Myaamia/Miami Ribbonwork)
Eehkwaatamenki Peepankišaapiikahkia, Myaamia (Miami) Ribbonwork
Source: Photo Collection No. 083, NMAI, SI, Washington, D.C.

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Appendix A: List of Abbreviations

1, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845. Arranged in Chronological Order. With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject, and Copious Notes of the Decisions of the Courts of the United States Construing Those Acts, and Upon the Subject of the Laws. With an Index to the Contents of Each Volume, and A Full General Index to the Whole Work, in the Concluding Volume. Together with The Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States; And Also, Tables, In the Last Volume, Containing Lists of the Acts Relating to the Judiciary, Imposts and Tonnage, the Public Lands, etc.*, edited by Richard Peters, Vol. 1 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845)
4, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845. Arranged in Chronological Order. With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject, and Copious Notes of the Decisions of the Courts of the United States Construing Those Acts, and Upon the Subject of the Laws. With an Index to the Contents of Each Volume, and A Full General Index to the Whole Work, in the Concluding Volume. Together with The Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States; And Also, Tables, In the Last Volume, Containing Lists of the Acts Relating to the Judiciary, Imposts and Tonnage, the Public Lands, etc.*, edited by Richard Peters, Vol. 4 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846)
7, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845. Arranged in Chronological Order. With*

	References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject, and Copious Notes of the Decisions of the Courts of the United States Construing Those Acts, and Upon the Subject of the Laws. With an Index to the Contents of Each Volume, and A Full General Index to the Whole Work, in the Concluding Volume. Together with The Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States; And Also, Tables, In the Last Volume, Containing Lists of the Acts Relating to the Judiciary, Imposts and Tonnage, the Public Lands, etc., edited by Richard Peters, Vol. 7 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846)
9, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America. From December 1, 1845, to March 3, 1851, Arranged in Chronological Order; With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject*, edited by George Minot, Vol. 9 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1862)
10, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America. From December 1, 1845, to March 3, 1851, Arranged in Chronological Order; With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject*, edited by George Minot, Vol. 10 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1855)
11, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large and Treaties, of the United States of America, from December 3, 1855, to March 3, 1859, And Proclamations Since 1791, Arranged in Chronological Order; With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject*, edited by George Minot and George P. Sanger, Vol. 11 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1859)
12, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations, of the United States of America, from December 5, 1859, to March 3, 1863. Arranged in Chronological Order and carefully collated with the Origins at Washington.*

	With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject, edited by George P. Sanger, Vol. 12 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1863)
15, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations, of the United States of America, from December 1867, to March 1869. Arranged in Chronological Order and carefully collated with the Origins at Washington. With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject*, edited by George P. Sanger, Vol. 15 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1869)
17, Stat. [pg. #]	U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large and Proclamations of the United States of America, from March 1871 to March 1873, and Treaties and Postal Conventions Arranged in Chronological Order and carefully collated with the Origins at Washington, With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject*, edited by George P. Sanger, Vol. 17 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1873)
AKSC, Vol. 1	Missouri Valley Historical Society, *State Centennial Souvenir Number and Program, 1821-1921 [Annals of Kansas City]*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (December 1922)
AKSC, Vol. 2	Missouri Valley Historical Society, *State Centennial Souvenir Number and Program, 1821-1921 [Annals of Kansas City]*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (December 1922)
AICRJ	*American Indian Culture and Research Journal*
AIQ	*American Indian Quarterly*
ARCIA	*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*
ASP, Class 2, Vol. 2	*American State Papers. Class II. Indian Affairs. Volume II. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the*

	First Session of the Fourteenth to the Second Session of the Nineteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing December 4, 1815, and Ending March 3, 1827, selected and edited under the authority of Congress by Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin, Vol. _ (Washington, D.C.: Published by Gales and Seaton, 1834)
CMF	Central Map File (NARA)
CMH/MCH	Canadian Museum of History ⏐ Musée Canadien de l'Histoire, Gatineau, Québec, Canada
COK	*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*
CSEI, Vols. 1-5	*Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of Indians, Between the 30th November, 1831, and 27th December, 1833, With Abstracts of Expenditures by Disbursing Agents, in the Removal and Subsistence of Indians, &c. &c., Furnished in Answer to a Resolution of the Senate, of 27th December, 1833, by the Commissary General of Subsistence*, 5 Vols. (Washington, D.C.: Printed by Duff Green, 1834-1835)
CWWB	The Kansas City (Kansas City, Missouri) Public Library, *Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas Conflict, 1854-1865*, http://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/ (accessed 17 February 2018)
DCAIOH, WHC, OU	The Duke Collection of American Indian Oral History, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma
DRT UWDC	National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Documents Relating to the Negotiation of Ratified and Unratified Treaties with Various Indian Tribes, 1801-1869 Series, Documents Relating to Indian Affairs Sub-Collection, The History Collection, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, University of Wisconsin Madison Libraries, Madison, Wisconsin

ESTODC	Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, the Ohio History Connection, and the State Library of Ohio, *Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma Digital Collection*, http://www.ohiomemory.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16007coll27 (accessed 10 February 2018)
ESTORTA	*The Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma: Resilience Through Adversity*, edited by Stephen A. Warren, in collaboration with the Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017)
FMB, CMH/MCH	Fonds Marius Barbeau, Canadian Museum of History｜Musée Canadien de l'Histoire, Gatineau, Québec, Canada
GM	Gilcrease Museum, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma
HCCM, HINU	Haskell Cultural Center and Museum, Haskell Indian Nations University, Lawrence, Kansas
HNAI, Vol. 2	*Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by William C. Sturtevant, Vol. 2: *Indians in Contemporary Society*, edited by Garrick A. Bailey (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2008)
HNAI, Vol. 15	*Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by William C. Sturtevant, Vol. 15: *Northeast*, edited by Bruce G. Trigger (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978)
IDIL, *TAEOI*	Institute for the Development of Indian Law, *Treaties & Agreements of the Eastern Oklahoma Indians*, American Indian Treaty Series (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, Incorporated, 1975)
IPPOHC, WHC, OU	The Indian-Pioneer Papers Oral History Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma

JASGCIT 1st (1870) Indian Territory General Council, *Journal of the General Council of the Indian Territory, Composed of Delegates Duly Elected From the Indian Tribes Legally Resident Thereof. Assembled in Council at Okmulgee, in the Indian Territory, under the provisions of the Twelfth Article of the Treaty Made and Concluded at the City of Washington, in the Year 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, and similar treaties between the United States and the Choctaw and Chickasaw, Muskokee* [*sic*]*, and Seminole Tribes of Indians, of the same date* (Lawrence: Excelsior Book and Job Printing Office, 1871; Reprint, Native American Legal Materials Collection Series, Wilmington, Delaware and London: Scholarly Resources, Incorporated, 1975)

JASGCIT 2nd (1871) Indian Territory General Council, *Journal of the Second Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory, Composed of Delegates Duly Elected from the Indian Tribes Legally Resident Therein, Assembled in Council, At Okmulgee, Indian Territory, From the 5th to the 14th (Inclusive) of June, 1871, Under the provisions of the Twelfth Article of the Treaty made and concluded at the City of Washington in the year 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, and similar Treaties between the United States and the Choctaw and Chickasaw, Muscokee* [sic] *and Seminole Tribes of Indians, of same date* (Lawrence: Journal Book and Job Printing House, 1871) [University of Oklahoma Microfilm Serial 160 of *Journal of the General Council of the Indian Territory, 1871-75* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1959)]

JASGCIT 3rd (1872) Indian Territory General Council, *Journal of the Third Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory, Composed of Delegates Duly Elected from the Indian Tribes Legally Resident Therein, Assembled in Council, At Okmulgee, Indian Territory, From the 3d to the 18th (Inclusive) of June, 1872, Under the provisions of the Twelfth Article of the Treaty made and concluded at the City of Washington in the year*

1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, and similar Treaties between the United States and the Choctaw and Chickasaw, Muscokee [sic] *and Seminole Tribes of Indians, of same date* (Lawrence: Journal Book and Job Printing House, 1872) [University of Oklahoma Microfilm Serial 160 of *Journal of the General Council of the Indian Territory, 1871-75* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1959)]

JASGCIT 4th (1873)

Indian Territory General Council, *Journal of the Fourth Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory, Composed of Delegates Duly Elected from the Indian Tribes Legally Resident Therein, Assembled in Council, At Okmulgee, Indian Territory, From the 5th to the 15th (Inclusive) of May, 1873, Under the provisions of the Twelfth Article of the Treaty made and concluded at the City of Washington in the year 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, and similar Treaties between the United States and the Choctaw and Chickasaw, Muscokee* [sic] *and Seminole Tribes of Indians, of same date* (Lawrence: Journal Book and Job Printing House, 1873) [University of Oklahoma Microfilm Serial 160 of *Journal of the General Council of the Indian Territory, 1871-75* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1959)]

JASGCIT 5th (1874)

Indian Territory General Council, *Journal of the Fifth Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory, Composed of Delegates Duly Elected from the Indian Tribes Legally Resident Therein, Assembled in Council, At Okmulgee, Indian Territory, From the 4th to the 14th (Inclusive) of May, 1874, Under the provisions of the Twelfth Article of the Treaty made and concluded at the City of Washington in the year 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, and similar Treaties between the United States and the Choctaw and Chickasaw, Muscokee* [sic] *and Seminole Tribes of Indians, of same date* (Lawrence: Journal Book and Job Printing House, 1874) [University of Oklahoma Microfilm Serial 160 of *Journal of the General Council of the*

	Indian Territory, 1871-75 (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1959)]
JASGCIT 6th (1875)	Indian Territory General Council, *Journal of the Sixth Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory, Composed of Delegates Duly Elected from the Indian Tribes Legally Resident Therein, Assembled in Council at Okmulgee, Indian Territory, From the 3d to the 15th (Inclusive) of May, 1875, Under the Provisions of the Twelfth Article of the Treaty made and concluded at the City of Washington in the year 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, and similar Treaties between the United States and the Choctaw and Chickasaw, Muscogee and Seminole Tribes of Indians, of same date* (Lawrence: Republican Journal Steam Printing Establishment, 1875; Reprint, Native American Legal Materials Collection Series, Wilmington, Delaware and London: Scholarly Resources, Incorporated, 1975)
Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 1	Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, Laws (Compiled to December 1, 1902)) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904)
Kappler, ed., *IALT*, Vol. 2	Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, Treaties (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904)
KHQ	*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*
KÍT Iroquois	Ryan Rice, Sue Ellen Herne, Lynn Hill, Colette Lemmon, Rick Monture, Stephanie Phillips, and Audra Simpson, *Kwah Í:ken Tsi Iroquois ⏐ Oh So Iroquois ⏐ Tellement iroquois*, edited by Emily Falvey; translated in French by Françoise Charron and in Mohawk by Hilda Nicholas (Ottawa, Ontario: Ne Ottawa Art Gallery ⏐ The Ottawa Art Gallery ⏐ La Galerie d'art d'Ottawa, Rononkwehón:we Ratinónhnha ne Kanonhstá:ton ⏐ Aboriginal Curatorial Collective ⏐ Le Collectif des conservateurs autochtones [Catalogue of an exhibition June 21-September 2, 2007], 2008)

KSHS	Kansas State Historical Society, State Archives and Library, Topeka, Kansas
KSHS Collections, 1909-1910	Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1909-1910. Embracing addresses at annual meetings; Swedish settlements in central Kansas; the Wyandotte Convention; manufactures in the Kansas District; the soldiers of Kansas; The Kansas school system; the Cheyenne, Pawnee, Chippewa, Munsee, and Sauk & Fox Indians; The German-Russian Settlements in Ellis County; Early days on the Union Pacific; the expedition of Villazur; The story of Lecompton; and personal narrative.* edited by George W. Martin, Vol. 11 (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1910)
KSHS Collections, 1913-1914	Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1913-1914, Together with Addresses at Annual Meetings, Memorials, and Miscellaneous Papers,* edited by William Elsey Connelley, Vol. 13 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, W. R. Smith, State Printer, 1915)
KSHS Collections, 1919-1922	Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1919-1922, together with addresses, memorials and miscellaneous papers*, edited by William Elsey Connelley, Vol. 15 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, B. P. Walker, State Printer, 1923)
KSHS Collections, 1923-1925	Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925, together with addresses, memorials and miscellaneous papers*, edited by William Elsey Connelley, Vol. 16 (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, B. P. Walker, Printer, 1925)
KSHS Transactions, 1875-1881	Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society. First and Second Biennial Reports, together with a statement of the collections of the society, from its organization, in 1875, to January, 1881,* Vols. 1-2 (Topeka: George W. Martin, Kansas Publishing House, 1881)

KSHS Transactions, 1897-1900	Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1897-1900; Together with Addresses at Annual Meetings, Memorials, and Miscellaneous Papers. Also, a Catalog of Kansas Constitutions, and Territorial and State Documents in the Historical Society Library*, edited by George W. Martin, Vol. 6 (Topeka: W. Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900)
KSHS Transactions, 1905-1906	Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906. Embracing Addresses at Annual Meetings; Early Missions in Kansas; Semicentennial of Territorial Organization; River Navigation; Political Administrations; The Soldiers of Kansas, and Miscellaneous Papers*, edited by George W. Martin, Vol. 9 (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1906)
KSHS Transactions, 1907-1908	Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1907-1908. Embracing Addresses at Annual Meetings; The Centennial of Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Visit, Including a Review of One Hundred Years Under the Flag; Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Free-State Territorial Legislature, 1857; Also, The First State Legislature, and the Session of 1868; The Disappearing Indians; The Soldiers of Kansas; Floods in the Missouri River; And Interesting Personal Narrative*, edited by George W. Martin, Vol. 10 (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1908)
KSMEM	Kansas State Historical Society, *Kansas Memory*, 2007-2018, http://www.kansasmemory.org/ (accessed 17 February 2018)
MS	Manuscript
NAA, NMNH, SI	National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland
NMAI, SI	National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

NARA I	The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (Archives I)
NARA II	The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, Maryland (Archives II)
OTRD	Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department
PGNT-JWW	William Walker and William Elsey Connelley, *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and The Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory*, edited by William Elsey Connelley (Lincoln: State Journal Company, Printers, A Special Publication of The Nebraska State Historical Society, 1899)
RG75	Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 1793-1989
RG75 M234 R215, NARA	Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 1793-1989, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Microcopy 234, Roll 215 (Council Bluffs Agency, 1836-1857), NARA
RG75 M234 R416, NARA	Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 1793-1989, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Microcopy 234, Roll 416 (Miami Agency, 1824-1841, 1846-1850), NARA
RG75 M234 R530, NARA	Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 1793-1989, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Microcopy 234, Roll 530 (Neosho Agency, 1831-1847), NARA
RG75 M234 R642, NARA	Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 1793-1989, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Microcopy 234, Roll 642 (Osage River Agency, 1824-1871), NARA

SAAM, SI	Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
SAIL	*Studies in American Indian Literatures*
TJCTIB (S. Misc. Doc. 45-53)	Joint Committee Appointed to Take into Consideration the Expediency of Transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department, *Testimony Taken by The Joint Committee Appointed to Take Into Consideration The Expediency of Transferring The Indian Bureau to the War Department*, 45th Congress, 3d Session, January 1, 1879, S. Misc. Doc. 45-53 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879)
TKSO	Kansas State Historical Society and Kansas Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, *Territorial Kansas Online, 1854-1861: A Virtual Repository for Territorial Kansas History*, January 5, 2016, http://www.territorialkansasonline.org/ (accessed 17 February 2018)
WHC, OU	Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma
WICR	*Wyandotte Indian Council Records*, MS Collection 590, Indian History, Box 7, Folder: Wyandotte, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas
WMQ	*The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series
US Stat. 1833, Vol. 2	*Laws of the United States, Treaties, Regulations, and Other Documents Respecting The Public Lands, With the Opinions of the Courts of the United States in Relation Thereto; To March, 1833*, compiled and printed in obedience to a resolution of the House of Representatives of March 1st, 1833, Vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Printed by Duff Green, 1836)

Appendix B: Glossary of Terms

Native Nations:

Aniyunwiya (pl.), Yunwiya	Cherokees, Cherokee
~~G~~áuigú (or Ga'igwu, Cáuigù) (pl.), ~~G~~áuigú (or Ga'igwu, Cáuigù)	Kiowas, Kiowa
Chahtas (pl.), Chahta	Choctaws, Choctaw
Chikashas (or Chikashshas) (pl.), Chikasha (or Chikashsha)	Chickasaws, Chickasaw
Hasínay (pl.), Hasínay	Caddos, Caddo
Haudenosaunee	Six (formerly Five) Nations, Iroquois, The People of the Longhouse
Kaahkaahkiaki (pl.), Kaahkaahkia	Kaskaskias, Kaskaskia
Kaatheewithiipiiki Šaawanwaki	Shawnees at the Kansas (Kaw) River
Kaion'kehá:ka (pl.), Kaion'ke	Cayugas, Cayuga
Kanien'kehá:ka (pl.), Kanien'ke	Mohawks, Mohawk
Kansas (pl.), Kansa	Kansas (Kaws), Kansa (Kaw)
Kiikaapoaki (pl.), Kiikaapoa	Kickapoos, Kickapoo
Kitikiti'sh (or Kirikirʔi:s) (pl.), Kitikiti'sh (or Kirikirʔi:s)	Wichitas, Wichita
Lenape (pl.), Lenape	Delawares, Delaware
Meskwaki (or Meškwahki) (pl.), Meskwa (or Meškwa)	Mesquakies/Foxes, Mesqua/Fox
Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (pl.), Mák̲lak	Modocs, Modoc
Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)) (pl.), Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek))	Muscogees (Creeks), Muscogee (Creek)
Myaamiaki (pl.), Myaamia	Miamis, Miami
N̲nēē, Ndee, or Indé (pl.), N̲nēē, Ndee, or Indé	Apaches, Apache

Nimíipuu (or Nimiipuu) (pl.), Nimíipuu (or Nimiipuu)	Nez Perces, Nez Perce
Niswi-Mishkodewin: Ojibwes, Odawas, and Potewatmis	The Council of Three Fires / Three Fires Confederacy: Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatomis
Nʉmʉnʉʉ (or Nʉmʉnʉ) (pl.), Nʉmʉ	Comanches, Comanche
Odawas (pl.), Odawa	Ottawas, Ottawa
Okáxpas (pl.), Okáxpa	Quapaws, Quapaw
Ojibwes (pl.), Ojibwe	Ojibwes (Chippewas), Ojibwe (Chippewa)
Oneniote'á:ka (pl.), Oneniote'	Oneidas, Oneida
Ononta'kehá:ka (pl.), Ononta'ke	Onondagas, Onondaga
Paáris (or Chaticks si Chaticks) (pl.), Paári	Pawnees, Pawnee
Peewaaliaki (pl.), Peewaalia	Peorias, Peoria
Peeyankihšiaki (pl.), Peeyankihšia	Piankashaws, Piankashaw
Potewatmis (pl.), Potewatmi	Potawatomis, Potawatomi
Ppąkka (pl.), Ppąkka	Poncas, Ponca
Prairie Band Kiikaapoaki	Prairie Band Kickapoos
Semvnoles (pl.), Semvnole	Seminoles, Seminole
Shotinontowane'á:ka (pl.), Shotinontowane'	Senecas, Seneca
Skipakákamithagî', or Skipakákamithagî' Šaawanwaki	Shawnees at the Big Blue River, Kansas
Šaawanwaki (pl.), Šaawanwa	Shawnees, Shawnee
Tickanwatic (pl.), Tickanwa	Tonkawas, Tonkawa
Tsistsistas (pl.), Tsistsista	Cheyennes, Cheyenne

Tehatiskaró:ros or Taskarorahá:ka (pl.), Taskarora	Tuscaroras, Tuscarora
Thakiwaki (or Thâkîwaki, Othâkîwaki) (pl.), Thakiwa (or Thâkîwa, Othâkîwa)	Sauks/Sacs, Sauk/Sac
Umąhą (pl.), Umąhą	Omahas, Omaha
Vermillion Band Kiikaapoaki	Vermillion Band Kickapoos
Waayaahtanooki (pl.), Waayaahtanwa	Weas, Wea
Wa^{n}dat (pl.), Wa^{n}dat	Wyandot(te)s, Wyandot(te); also, Wendat, Huron
Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki	Black Bob Shawnees
Wažažes (pl.), Wažaže, or Wazhazhe (pl.), Wazhazhe	Osages, Osage
Winnebagos/Hocąk, Winnebago/Hocąk	Winnebagos, Winnebago

Indigenous Terminology for Other Native Nations:[i]

Aniyunwiya (Cherokees)

- Chahtas (Choctaws) call them Chaląkki oka (pl.), Chaląkki
- Chikashas (Chickasaws) call them Chalukki or Chalakkiʾ
- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Á:dòmgàu ["tree under ones"]
- Huron-Wendat (Waⁿdat/Wyandot(te)s) call them entarironnon, or cheraki (French translation is given as: *nation au delà des tettes plates vers la mer*, modern *nation au delà des têtes plates vers la mer* [nation beyond with flat heads toward/to the sea])
- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Oyadʔagehó:nǫʔ
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Katoohwaki [referring to Keetoowah] (singular: Katoohwa)
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Cadᶜ̧a′ki or Chalakees
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call them Oyádaʾgé:aʾ [cave dweller]
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Caahikspahat
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Katowaki (singular: Katowa) [referring to Keetoowah]
- Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscaroras) call them Uyá·taʔ
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Shanahkîhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Senaʔkaneoʔo or Sanaceo
- Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) call them dɛˇwataˇyu´·ru·nǫʾ [hole in the ground or cave dweller]

Chahtas (Choctaws)

- Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) call them Ajahda ᎠᏩᏓ
- Chikashas (Chickasaws) call them Chahtas or Chahtaʾs
- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Á:dòmgàu ["tree under ones"]
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Caahtaki
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Ta′-qta
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Caahikspahat, or Tiihiiraraahkasa
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Tcataki (singular: Tcata)
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Châkitâhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Saktaeo

Chikashas (Chickasaws)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Á:dòmgàu ["tree under ones"]
- Huron-Wendat (Waⁿdat/Wyandot(te)s) call them 8ataęronnon (French translation is given as: *tettes plattes*, modern *têtes plates* [flat heads])
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them aciikašaki
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Tika′jă
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Caahikspahat, or Tiihiiraraahkasa
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Chikasaki (singular: Chickasa)

- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Chîkashâhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Zekasoeo

~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas)

- N~~u~~m~~u~~n~~uu~~ (Comanches) call them Kaaiwan~~uu~~
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Kaʔiwa
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Kâyowâhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Vétapåhaetóʔeoʔo or Vitapāto

Hasínay (Caddos)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Màu:sép [“nose-pierced”]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Su′d$^{¢}$ĕ
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Asuurit
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Kalahalachiki (singular: Kalahalachi)
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Kanakanâchîhaki or Kêtôhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Otaasétaneoʔo or Otāsetaneo [pierced-nose people]

Haudenosaunee (Iroquois)

- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias) call them Atchiss8ara Psicania
- Ojibwes (Chippewas) call them Nâdowé or Nâdowe
- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Hotinnonchiendi [completed cabin]

Ioways (Iowas)

- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Aayohoowiaki
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Pa′qutĕ

Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas)

- Chikashas (Chickasaws) call them Hatuk upi homa falummi aminti
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call the Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayuga) Naatowiaki (singular: Naatowia)
- Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas) call them Gayo·gwę́·gaʔ or Ganųnawęʔdowá·nęh
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call them Gayógwe:onö’
- Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscaroras) call them Kwęyukwęhá·ka·ʔ

Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks)

- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Ganyęʔgehó:nǫʔ
- Lenape (Delawares) call them chkáhaaw
- Ojibwes (Chippewas) call them Nahduwag
- Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas) call them Kayʌʔkeha·ká· or Kayʌʔkeha·ká·
- Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas) call them Ganyęʔgegáʔ
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call them Ganyë’ge:onö’

Kansas (Kaws)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Kàusáu:gàu [“Kaw-ones”]
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Kaansaki
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Kan′sĕ
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Arahuuʔ
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Akâthaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Anahō or Ooʔkóhtåxétaneoʔo, Hooxtxetaneo [cut-hair people]

Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos)

- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Ontarahronon or Ontaraęronnon, Kikap8
- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias) call them Kicap8
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Kiikaapoaki (singular: Kiikaapoa)
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Kika′pu
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Kîkâpôwaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Cikapo

Kitikiti’sh (Wichitas)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them T'ó:~~g~~út [“face-marked”]
- N~~u~~m~~unuu~~ (Comanches) call them Tuhkaʔnaiʔn~~uu~~ (pl.), Tuhkaʔnaaiʔ
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Wi′sitĕ
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Wakîchitâhaki

Lenape (Delawares)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Wáubáunáu:~~g~~ìgàu [“wabanaki ones”]
- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Dewáʔganhaʔ
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Waapanahkiaki (singular: Waapanahkia) or Waapanahkiihaki (singular: Waapanahkiiha): ‘Easterners’[waapan- it is light/dawn] [second spelling believed to be borrowed from the Thakiwa-Meskwa-Kiikaapoa (Sauk/Sac-Fox-Kickapoo) language family]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Wápand$^{¢}$akyă′
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Lenape′
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call them Shaganë’ga:’, Hadíshagánë’ga:’
- Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscaroras) call them Čhakyéha·ʔ
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Wâpanahkîhaki or Tanawêhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) possibly call them the same as Šaawanwaki: Savanaho or Savaneo

Meskwaki (Foxes)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call the Meskwaki (Foxes) and Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) Sá~~g~~íbò:gàu [“sauk-ones”]

- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Skenchiohronon or Skenchioronnon [French translation Renard/Fox]
- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias) call them Pac8askimina 8tagamis or Pac8 kimina
- Ojibwes (Chippewas) call them Otaka:mi:k [‘people of the other shore’ ‘people across the shore’]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call the Meskwaki (Foxes) and Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) Sa′kì-a′ [Thakiwa/Sauk/Sac]
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Mskwakithak
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call them Hasgwáhgihah

Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs)

- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Moontokaki [‘nt’ is pronounced as ‘d’] (singular: Moontoka) [also recorded as Múndok and Mōndok′syák^{i}’]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Ma^{n}′ta

Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks))

- Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) call them Gusoʔi JŦT
- Chikashas (Chickasaws) call them Mushkoki or Mashkooki’
- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Á:dòmgàu [“tree under ones”]
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Maaškooki (pl.), Maaškwa (sing.)
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Mo-chko′-ki
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them ʔomasko
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Mashkôhaki

Myaamiaki (Miamis)

- Anishinaabeg call them maamiig, ‘downstream people’
- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them [T]ochiengootr8nnon and possibly call them Attochingochronon
- Lenape (Delawares) call them Tuwéhtuwe
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Mä′-mĕ
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them ʔOtawaki (singular: ʔOtawa) [mistaken for Odawas?]
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Mayêmîhaki
- Other Native nations call them Towehtowe, Twehtwe, or Twightwee [cry of the crane]

Nimíipuu (Nez Perces)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Áulk'áu~~d~~ôigàu
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them I’nachĕ
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Otaasétaneoʔo or Otāsetaneo [pierced-nose people]

Niswi-Mishkodewin (Three Fires Confederacy)

- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Ahsę́h Hodijihsdáę:ʔ

Nu~~u~~nu~~u~~ (Comanches)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them ~~G~~yâigù ["war-ones"]
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Paatoohkaki
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Pa′tukă
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Pâtôhkâhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Šišinovozhetaneo [rattle snake people]

Odawas (Ottawas/Adawes)

- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Ok8aątat or 8taois
- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias) call them Kiscak8a Outa8as [Kiskakon Odawa/Ottawa]
- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Tsaʔgá:nhaʔ
- Ojibwes (Chippewas) call them Otahwah, Otâwag/Otawag, or Daawaa
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Ta′wa
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Taawaawaki (singular: Taawaawa)

Okáxpas (Quapaws)

- Central Algonquians call them Akansaki (singular: Akansa)
- Chahtas (Choctaws) call them Okahpas (singular: Okahpa)
- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Àlá:hògàu
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Kaahpaki [kaahpa siipiiwi, Arkansas River] (singular: kaahpa)
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Ukaahpaa
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them ʔOkapaki
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Kwâpâhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Anahō or Ooʔkóhtåxétaneoʔo, Hooxtxetaneo [cut-hair people]

Ojibwes (Chippewas/Anishinaabeg)

- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias)) call them 8tchip8eia [French translation is given as *sauteurs*, jumpers]
- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Tsaʔgá:nhaʔ
- Lenape (Delawares) call them Wshíipŭweew
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Acipwiaki (singular: Acipwia)
- Odawas (Ottawas) call them Ojibway
- Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas) call them Twaʔkánhaʔ or Twaʔkʌnhaʔ
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call the Anishinaabeg: Atirontok [Bark Eaters], and Tehakanus ['They Speak a Different Language']
- Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscaroras) call them Nwáʔkan

Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas)

- Kaion'kehá:ka)Cayugas) call them Ohnyahęhó:nǫˀ
- Lenape (Delawares) call them méengweew
- Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas) call them Nęyótga·ˀ or Dyonęyodahé·nųˀ
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call them Onëyotga:’ or Nẽ́yotga:’

Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas)

- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Onǫdagehó:nǫˀ
- Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas) call them Onutaˀkeha·ká· or Onutaˀkeha·ká·
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call them Onő́da’geh

Paáris (Pawnees)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them ~~G~~ûik'yàgàu [“wolf-men”]
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Paaniaki
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Pánimaha
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Pânîhaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Hoˀnéhetaneoˀo, or Honehetaneo ‘wolf people’ or Pâneneheo [pointed-teeth people]

Peewaaliaki (Peorias)

- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Ndata8a8a^{c}t or Ndata8a8ake [Illinois]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them I′tu-ka
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Pewalayki (singular: Pewalay)
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Mashkotêwaki

Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws)

- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Peang8ichia or Pean Keñikechia

Potewatmis (Potawatomis)

- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias) call them 8a8rahe Pout8atamis
- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Ndaton8atendi, or possibly Atsistehronon [disputed]
- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Tsaˀgá:nhaˀ
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Wahoonahaki (singular: Wahoonaha)
- Ojibwes (Chippewas) call them Boodawaadamiig [boodawaad- = build a fire]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Wahúwahá
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Pehkînenîhaka or Shîshîpêhinenîhaka

Ppąkka (Poncas)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Áultóàulkàuik'ìhà:gàu [“head-crazy-round-ones”]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Pañ̄′kă or Pō^{n}′-ka

Semvnoles (Seminoles)

- Chikashas (Chickasaws) call them Mashkooki' or Shimmanooli'
- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Á:dòmgàu ["tree under ones"]
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Seminooliaki
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Si′mi-no′-ni
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Caahikspahat, or Tiihiiraraahkasa
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Nasōnaho

Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas)

- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Onǫdowáʔga:ʔ
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Siníke
- Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas) call them Dewáʔga·ʔ, Do·náʔga·ʔ, Onųdawaʔgó·na, or Dyonųdowanęhé·nųʔ / Jyonųdowanęhé·nųʔ
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call the Shotinontowane'á:ka-Kaion'kehá:ka (Seneca-Cayuga) Naatowiaki (singular: Naatowia)
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Natowaki (singular: Natowa)
- Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscaroras) call them Kayęʔčarà·nęh [Door Keepers] or Twaʔá·ka·ʔ
- Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) call Tinǫ'ceñǫ·^{n}di' or Hu´ti˘nǫ'cɛñǫ·^{n}di' [they-houses-possess, the Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) interpreter Allen Johnson surmised that the meaning had to do with their expansionist and long history of warfare against other Native nations]

Šaawanwaki (Shawnees)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Sáuwáunôgàu ["Shawnee-ones"]
- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Cha8añonronnon or Cha8eñonronnon, or Chavañons
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Šaawanooki (singular: Šaawanwa) [also listed as ʃa:wanóʔǫ̊ and ʃawanóʔǒkį̊]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Cawána
- Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscaroras) call them Sawanuʔá·ka·ʔ (singular: Sawà·nu)
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Shâwanôwaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Savanaho or Savaneo

Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscaroras)

- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Dahsgáo:węʔ
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Taskaloolwaki
- Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) call them Taskarowë', Dásge:owë'

Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs)

- Anishinaabeg call them UtAgāmī`g ['People of the Other Shore']
- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call the Meskwaki (Foxes) and Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) Sá~~g~~íbò:gàu ["sauk-ones"]

- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Hvattoehronon, and originally called them 8a^{c}toęronnon or Saki (with French translation given as *gens du Saguinan*, with *8a^{c}toę = Le Saguinan*; 'people of the Saguinan')
- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias) call them Saki8o [Sakis]
- Ojibwes (Chippewas) call them Osagig, Osâgig, or Otaka:mi:k ['people of the other shore' 'people across the shore']
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call the Meskwaki (Foxes) and Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) Sa′kì-a′ [Thakiwa/Sauk/Sac]
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Saakiaki (singular: Saakia)
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Mskwakithak
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Sàkoz
- Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Skenchiohronon or Skäxshurunu ['Fox People']

Tsistsistas (Cheyennes)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them Sá:k′àut~~d~~àu ["winter-biters"]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Ca-ha^{n}′

Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s)

- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias) call them Nad8eia [Hurons]
- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Ohwehnagehó:nǫʔ
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Pahsiikaniaki [pahsihpatoo-saw/split wood]
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Waīn′-tă
- Peewaaliaki (Peorias) call them Pã- angdshaki or P$_{x}$si=ka′niaki ["split-legs… because they had settled between the forks of a river"]
- Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) call them Natowethaki (singular: Natowetha)

Važažes (Osages)

- ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas) call them K'áupàt~~d~~àu ["cut-smoothed-ones"]
- Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas) call them Wasahs<u>e</u>hó:nǫʔ
- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Wašaašiaki or Wašaašiiki
- N~~u~~m~~u~~n~~uu~~ (Comanches) call them Waʔsáasin~~uu~~ (pl.), Waʔsáasiʔ
- Okáxpas (Quapaws) call them Wajáje
- Skiri Paáris (Skidi Pawnees) call them Pasaai [from wasaasi, važáže]
- Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) call them Washâshaki
- Tsistsistas (Cheyennes) call them Vasāsan, Oo^{ʔ}kóhtåxétaneo^{ʔ}o, or Hooxtxetaneo [cut-hair people]

Winnebagos (Hocąk)

- Huron-Wendat (Wa^{n}dat/Wyandot(te)s) call them Aoueatsiouaenhronon
- Illinois (original subgroup of the Peewaliaki (Peorias) call them 8ndakia [French translation is given as *puans* [modern *puant* (stinking)?]

- Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miamis-Peorias) call them Wiinipiikwaki (singular: Wiinipiikwa)

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[i] Sources for this appendix include: William Bright, *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); Charles Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology, With an Appendix Containing Earlier Published Records*, Canada Department of Mines Geological Survey Memoir 80, Anthropological Series No. 11 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 271n4, 280n5; Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, *myaamiaatawaakani (Myaamia Dictionary)*, Version 2.1.2 (2016), http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/myaamiaatawaakani-myaamia-dictionary/id993757253?mt=8 (accessed 8 February 2018); Velma Seamster Nieberding, *The Quapaws (Those who went downstream)* (Miami, Oklahoma: Dixons, Incorporated, 1976; Reprint, Quapaw, Oklahoma: Quapaw Tribal Council, 1982; Reprint, Wyandotte, Oklahoma: The Gregath Publishing Company, for the Dobson Museum, 1999), 98; Natalia M. 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Places:

Aciipihkahkionki	Vincennes, Indiana, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, meaning place of roots; Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Michigameas, Kawakia (Cahokia), and Tamaroas, treaty signed there 1803-08-13
Ahkwesáhsne	Akwesasne (Saint-Régis), Kanien'ke (Mohawk) community and reservation that is in Québec and Ontario, Canada as well as New York, word meaning 'where the partridge drums,' sometimes listed as one of the 'Seven Nations of Canada' alliance
Ahsenaamiši Siipiiwi	Sugar Creek; Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word; river in Indiana, and presumed to be the name they gave to Sugar Creek, where the Myaamiaki (Miamis) first settled after forced removal to the West
Blackwater River	River in north-central Missouri, location of a Peewaalia (Peoria) town, maintained & described in multi-tribal 1818-09-25 Vincennes treaty (7 Stat. 181)
Blanchard's Fork	One of the four Odawa (Ottawa) reservations in northwestern Ohio before removal; on the Great Auglaize River, a tributary of the Maumee River; ceded in 1831-08-30 (7 Stat. 359) Gardiner treaty
Brazos Reservation (Texas)	One of three Texas Indian reservations 1854-1859 (along with Wichita and Clear Fork); included Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Lenape (Delaware), Hasínay (Caddo), Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)), Semvnole (Seminole), and other Native peoples
Čaʔnúhskye	Sandusky, Ohio, Taskarorahá:ka (Tuscarora) word

Caney Creek, Texas	Duwali/Bowles (Yunwiya/Cherokee) and various other Native peoples settled along this creek in Texas around 1832
Cape Girardeau, Missouri	Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Lenape (Delawares) settled near here after receiving a late 18th-c. Spanish grant; ceded in 1832-10-26 Castor Hill treaty (7 Stat. 397)
Castor Hill, Missouri	Near Saint Louis; Location of 4 October 1832 treaties: 1) Vermillion Band of Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) (Oct. 24), 2) Cape Girardeau Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) & Lenape (Delawares) (Oct. 26), 3) Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Michigameas, Kawakiaki (Cahokias), & Tamaroas (Oct. 27), 4) Waayaahtanooki (Weas) & Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws) (Oct. 29); ceded all indigenous claims to lands in Missouri and pushed them over the border into what would become Kansas
Clear Fork Reservation (Texas)	One of three Texas Indian reservations 1854-1859 (along with Brazos and Wichita); included Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Lenape (Delaware), Hasínay (Caddo), Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)), Semvnole (Seminole), and other Native peoples
Cowskin River	Also known as Elk River, or Six Bulls; tributary of the Neosho (Nį ózo) (Grand) River; location of first Indian agency in what would become northeastern Oklahoma: the Seneca Sub-agency; Lewistown mixed band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) removed to here in 1832; Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) came as well; also the Wawahchepaehai (Black Bob) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) briefly before relocating to Kansas by 1835

Detroit (Michigan)	A multi-tribal region along the Detroit River, present-day major U.S. city, Michigan; the French, Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Odawas (Ottawas), & Ojibwes (Chippewas) solidified their international alliance with wampum diplomacy in the mid-1700s
Eudora, Kansas	Location of a Šaawanwa/Shawnee village in Kansas; named for Eudora, the daughter of Paschal Fish, Jr., a Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader
Gahnawiyóʔgeh	Oklahoma, Kaion'ke (Cayuga) word, meaning ‘place of the beautiful rapid’
Glaize, The (Ohio)	Auglaize, present-day Defiance, Ohio; multiethnic Šaawanwa-Lenape-Myaamia (Shawnee-Delaware-Miami) community
Gnadenhütten, Ohio	Moravian Christian Indian town, founded by missionaries in 1722; meaning ‘Tabernacle of Grace’ in German language; site of a massacre March 8, 1782 of over ninety innocent Indians by Pennsylvanians
Hog Creek	One of the three Šaawanwa (Shawnee) reservations in Ohio before removal; ceded in 1831-08-08 (7 Stat. 355) Gardiner treaty
Kaahpa Siipiiwi	Arkansas River; tributary of the Mississippi River; Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word with Kaahpa(ki) (Quapaw(s)) (Okáxpas) associations
Kaanseenseepiiwi	The Ohi:yo’ (Ohio) River, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, possible reference is to pecans, kaanseenseemina
Kaansa Sitionkiši	Kansas City, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, new word creation through borrowing ‘Kansas City’
Kaatheewithiipiiki	Kansas (Kaw) River, Šaawanwa (Shawnee) word

Kaawinšaahkionki	Thorntown, Indiana; Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word meaning ‘thorn land’
Kahnawà:ke	Caughnawaga or Kahnawaké, Québec, Canada; Kanien'ke (Mohawk) community, word meaning ‘place of the rapids,’ one of the ‘Seven Nations of Canada’ alliance, as well as the location of the Seven Nations’ central council fire
Kahoniyen	‘A Place Divided Between Two Rivers,’ Huron-Wendat hometown of Kahetihsuk and Kaheto:ktha, mother & grandmother respectively, of Dekanawídah
Kanata:kowa	An Ononta'ke (Onondaga) town; locale of the Haudenosaunee central fire (katsistah), in present-day New York
Kanehsatà:ke	Kanesatake, or Oka, Québec, Canada; mostly Kanien'ke (Mohawk) community, one of the ‘Seven Nations of Canada’ alliance, with the Nippissings and the Algonquians at Kanehsatà:ke (Oka) being two others; name meaning ‘place of reeds,’ ‘at the foot of the hillside,’ or even ‘place of silvery sand’; Oka, an Algonquin word for walleyed pike
Kiihkayonki	Kekionga, a Myaamia (Miami) town, present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana; from Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word *(ah)/kihkionki* (‘on the earth’); late 18th century place shared with Lenape (Delawares) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), site of the Western Indian Confederacy council fire in 1789
Lewistown	One of the three Šaawanwa (Shawnee) reservations in Ohio before removal; mixed band with ceded in 1831-07-20 (7 Stat. 351) Gardiner treaty

Maamiig Ziibi	Maumee River, Odawa (Ottawa) word, referring to the Myaamiaki (Miamis); conversely, the Myaamiaki (Miamis) call it Taawaawa Siipiiwi (the Odawa (Ottawa) river)
Marais Des Cygnes River	River in what is now Franklin County, Kansas; pronounced as "*merry deseen*" by local Kansans; many relocated Native nations would reside around this river in the mid-eighteenth century, including the Odawas (Ottawas), Myaamiaki (Miamis), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis); French meaning 'marsh of the swans,' presumed to be from the translation of an original Wažaže (Osage) placename
Miamitown, Kansas	(Myaamia/Miami) second village in what would become Kansas; stable, enduring settlement of the Myaamiaki (Miamis); a multitude of reasons they left Ahsenaamiši Siipiiwi (Sugar Creek) and moved here (including propensity for sickness and negative Euro-American influences of western border towns); also possibly moved here to be closer to Catholic missions
Mihšisiipi or Mihši-siipiiwi	Mississippi River, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, meaning big or great river
Missouri	Name of the state and river, comes from both a name of a Chiwere Siouan-speaking group that is now known today as a part of the collective Oto-Missouria Nation; also is a Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word *mihsoori*, meaning big boat or canoe
Myaamionki	Myaamia (Miami) homelands, the place of the Miamis
Myaamionki Noošonke Siipionki	Myaamia (Miami) homelands along the Neosho (Nį ózo) (Grand) River in Oklahoma

Myaamionki Waapaahšiiki Siipionki	Myaamia (Miami) homelands along the Wabash River in Indiana
Myaamionki Waapankiaakamionki	Myaamia (Miami) homelands along the Marais des Cygnes River in Kansas
Niˈsni	Spring River, Indian Territory; Okáxpa (Quapaw) word, appears to be derived from Neosho (the Wažaže/Osage word)
Nį braska	Nebraska (state), and Platte River; from the Umąhą (Omaha) or Oto word for the Platte River, *nį braska* (flat water) in Umąhą (Omaha), and *nį bráθge* in Oto
Nį ózo	Neosho (Grand) River, Wažaže (Osage) word from *nį* (water/river) and *ózo* (principal)
Ni pt^{g}aˈ-ska	Platte River; Okáxpa (Quapaw) word, appears to come from same derivation as Nebraska
Noošonke Siipiiwi	Neosho (Nį ózo) (Grand) River, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word
Noošonke Siipionki	Miami, Oklahoma; at the Neosho (Nį ózo) (Grand) River; Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word
Odanak	Abenaki First Nations Reserve, Québec, Canada, meaning ‘at the village; along the Saint-François River; location of one of the ‘Seven Nations of Canada’ alliance, sometimes combined council fire with the Abenaki at Wôlinak, Québec
Ohi:yo’	Ohio; from Shotinontowane'/Seneca word *ohi:yo:h*, meaning ‘good river,’ in reference to the Ohi:yo’ (Ohio) River
Olathe, Kansas	Location of a Šaawanwa/Shawnee village in Kansas

Oquanoxa's Village (or Oquanoxie's Village)	One of the four Odawa (Ottawa) reservations in northwestern Ohio before removal; on the Little Auglaize River, a tributary of the Maumee River; ceded in 1831-08-30 (7 Stat. 359) Gardiner treaty
Paola, Kansas	Peoria Village (Peewaalia/Peoria); Miami County, Kansas; Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyaankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) resided in eastern Kansas; county in lands reserved for the Waayaahtanooki (Weas) and Peeyaankihšiaki (Piankashaws); originally called Battiesville; name derived from the Peewaaliaki (Peorias)
Pasuga	Claremore (Claremont)'s Wažaže (Osage) village, destroyed by armed band of Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in 1818
Peekamiiki Siipiiwi	Missouri River, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word
Peeyankihšionki	Piankashaw Place, the Place of the Piankashaws, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, referring to splitting off from the larger group
Pinkwi Mihtoseeniaki	Pickawillany, a Myaamia (Miami) town, near present-day Piqua, Ohio, often shared and settled with neighboring Algonquians like the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees)
Pointe-du-Lac	Near Trois-Rivières, Québec, Canada; Algonquin community; sometimes listed as one of the 'Seven Nations of Canada' alliance

Qótàjâun	Cutthroat Gap; near present-day Rainy Mountain, Oklahoma, the site of a massacre and beheading of an estimated one hundred and fifty (150) unarmed and non-combatant ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas)—old men, women, and children—by Wažažes (Osages) in late spring or early summer of 1833; ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) placename; also nearby mountain called Qóltàqòp—translated as Neck Cutting (Throat/Neck Cutting/Severing Mountain) or Beheading Mountain
Roche de Bœuf	One of the four Odawa (Ottawa) reservations in northwestern Ohio before removal; on the Maumee River; ceded in 1831-08-30 (7 Stat. 359) Gardiner treaty
Saakiiweesiipiiwi	The Myaamiaki (Miamis)'s 'Coming Out River,' St. Joseph River near present-day South Bend, Indiana
Saakiiweeyonki	The Myaamiaki (Miamis)'s 'Coming Out Place'
Sawekatsi	Oswegatchie; now Ogdensburg, New York; location of Haudenosaunee community, made a treaty with the 'Seven Nations of Canada' in 1796
Senika	Seneca, Missouri; Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word
Sindathon's Village (Brownstown)	Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) village, also known as Brownstown, situated on Brownstown Creek, in present-day Michigan; site of the Western Indian confederacy council fire in 1786
Taawaawa Siipiiwi	Maumee River, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, meaning Odawa (Ottawa) river; conversely, the Odawas (Ottawas) call it Maamiig Ziibi, referring to the Myaamiaki (Miamis)

Three Forks Area	Confluence of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Grand (Nį óžo/Neosho) Rivers, near what is today Muskogee, Oklahoma; Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Lenape (Delaware), and Wažažes (Osages) lived there in the early 19th century
Tsaʔⁿdúhstiʔ	Sandusky, Ohio, Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) word, meaning the place of good drinking water; also spelled as Sandouske or Sa'ndesti
Tc'atan′ka uma′ni	Devil's Promenade, Okáxpa (Quapaw) Nation, Okáxpa (Quapaw) word
Upper Sandusky	Waⁿdat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) town, considered to be the place of origin of the Western Indian Confederacy's council fire in September of 1783
Waapaahšiiki Siipiiwi	Wabash River, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, meaning 'shining light river,' or 'river that shines white,' referring to the white reflections
Waapankiaakami	Marais Des Cygnes River, Kansas; Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, meaning 'Swan Water'; this place name, however, is a contemporary reconstructed term, a new word creation through borrowing from the French 'Marais des Cygnes'
Waapankiaakamionki	Lands around the Marais des Cygnes River, Kansas; Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, meaning 'The Swan Water Place'; contemporary new word creation through borrowing from the French 'Marais des Cygnes'
Waapikamiki	White River (Indiana); Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word *waapikamiki* meaning 'it is white water'
Waayaahtanonki	Wea Place, or the Place of the Weas, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, meaning place of the whirlpool or eddy

Wapakoneta	One of the three Šaawanwa (Shawnee) reservations in Ohio before removal; ceded in 1831-08-08 (7 Stat. 355) Gardiner treaty
Wendaké	Huron-Wendat First Nations Reserve; Notre-Dame de la Jeune Lorette, Québec, Canada; name often shortened to Lorette; location of one of the 'Seven Nations of Canada' alliance
Wichita Reservation (Texas)	One of three Texas Indian reservations 1854-1859 (along with Brazos and Clear Fork); included Šaawanwa (Shawnee), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), Lenape (Delaware), Hasínay (Caddo), Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)), Semvnole (Seminole), and other Native peoples
Wolf Rapids	One of the four Odawa (Ottawa) reservations in northwestern Ohio before removal; on the Maumee River; ceded in 1831-08-30 (7 Stat. 359) Gardiner treaty
Wôlinak	Abenaki First Nations Reserve, Québec, Canada, meaning 'at the bay'; along the Bécancour River; location of one of the 'Seven Nations of Canada' alliance, sometimes combined council fire with the Abenaki at Odanak, Québec
Wyandotte City, Kansas	Kansas City, Kansas; first name given to the place, for the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/ Wyandot(te)s) to relocated to the area after purchasing land in Kansas Territory from the Lenape (Delawares) on December 14, 1843

Cultural Terms:

aadsookaan, aadsookaan (pl.)	Sacred story, Anishinaabemowin term, compared to dibaajmowin (personal account/history)
aalhsoohkaakani	Collection of sacred stories, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) term; these are the winter stories and often include the cultural hero Wiihsakacaakwa
aalhsoohkaania, aalhsookaana (pl.)	Sacred story, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) term; these are the winter stories and often include the cultural hero Wiihsakacaakwa; compare to aacimooni (narration/account); Šaawanwa (Shawnee) equivalent is hatθohkaaka
aacimooni, aacimoona (pl.)	Narration, account, or story, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) term, stories of particular people and places, history and events; compare to aalhsoohkaania (sacred story)
aetshiyaʔtotr´ō:kʔ	Haudenosaunee condolence practice of clearing eyes, ears, and throats; Kaion'ke (Cayuga) word, literally translates to 'they rub your bodies down'
Agado:ni	Elder Brothers of the Haudenosaunee: Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks), Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas), and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas)
akima	Leader or chief; Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word
dibaajmowin, dibaajimowinan (pl.)	Story of a personal account or history, Anishinaabemowin term, compared to aadsookaan (sacred story)
enētshatiyōtáhkwaʔ	Wampum invitation strings, Kaion'ke (Cayuga) word, meaning 'that which stretches a person's arm,' sent to nations for council assembly

Gueyiotiteshegué	Along with Ouichinotiteshesqué, one of the two Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) phratries; Gueyiotiteshegué included four families: Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Beaver
kaanseenseemini, kaanseenseemina (pl.)	pecan, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word, possibly
kaēhawahḗ:tōh	Haudenosaunee ‘At The Wood’s Edge’ Ceremony; Kaion'ke (Cayuga) word, symbolically and physically clearing any obstacles in times of conflict and crisis
kaswę́htaʔ	Wampum, Shotinontowane' (Seneca) word connoting spoken words and speech
katsistah	The Haudenosaunee’s central fire, located at Kanata:kowa, an Ononta'ke (Onondaga) town
Kayeneren:kowa	The Haudenosaunee’s ‘Great Law of Peace’
Kesathwa	Sun, Šaawanwa (Shawnee) word; the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) saw their new homelands in the West as the ‘Night lodge of Kesathwa’
Kheyáʔtaweñh	Younger Brothers of the Haudenosaunee: Oneniote'á:ka (Onondagas) and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas)
kilaahkwaakani or kilahkwaakani (pl.), kilaahkwaakana or kilahkwaakana	Wampum, Myaamia (Miami) term, referring to ‘speaker’ as the person who possesses and holds the wampum recites the meaning at international, intertribal council meetings
lenipinšia	Underwater Being, manetoowa/manitou; underwater panther, ‘horned monster’ of Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) lore
Longue Durée	Long duration, or long-term history, from the French Annales School
manidoog	Special animal beings, grandparents / ancestors of animals, Anishinaabe term

manetoowa	Special animal being, manitou, Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) word
mihtohseeniaki	‘the people,’ Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) term
matehkohkisenaakana	‘Old Moccasins,’ Myaamia-Peewaalia (Miami-Peoria) term for the people found at their Coming Out Place (saakiiweeyonki), when they returned
micco	Leader or chief; Mvskoke (Muscogee (Creek)) word; hereditary, white/peace moiety (not war); civil head of a town; colonial records often translated as ‘king’
Mingos	Term used to describe the Ohio Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), the “Senecas of Sandusky”; from Lenape (Delaware)—Munsee word *ménkwew* and/or Unami word *ménkwe*—translated often as “treacherous”; included a diverse mix of people: Kaion'kehá:ka (Cayugas), Kanastokas (Conestogas), Susquehannock, Conoy, Tutelo, Nanticoke, Erie (Eriehronon), Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks), Oneniote'á:ka (Oneidas), Ononta'kehá:ka (Onondagas), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Tehatiskaró:ros (Tuscaroras)
ne gaiihwiyo	‘Righteousness,’ one of the Haudenosaunee’s three key tenants that make up the Kayeneren:kowa (Great Law of Peace)
ne gashedenza	‘Power,’ one of the Haudenosaunee’s three key tenants that make up the Kayeneren:kowa (Great Law of Peace)
ne skenno	‘Health and Peace,’ one of the Haudenosaunee’s three key tenants that make up the Kayeneren:kowa (Great Law of Peace)

Neshepeshe	Panther; assisted Gocumtha, the first Šaawanwa (Shawnee) woman out of the water and on to dry land
oki	Special animal beings, grandparents / ancestors of animals, Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(tes) originate many of their clans with them
onkwe:honwe / ongwe	Human beings, Haudenosaunee (former) and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) (latter)
orenta (or ondera)	Life- and light-giving energy, Haudenosaunee (former) and Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) (latter)
Ox-Hide Purchase	(Lenape/Delaware) famous, legendary colonial Euro-American land swindle from American Indians; believed to be the Dutch purchase of what is now Manhattan, New York in 1626
otiyaner (pl.)	Clan mothers, Haudenosaunee Confederacy leadership is made up of fifty otiyaner and fifty royaner
Ouichinotiteshesqué	Along with Gueyiotiteshegué, one of the two Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)) phratries; Ouichinotiteshesqué included five families: Deer, Big Plover, Wild Potato, Small Plover, Kilion (Hawk)
royaner (pl.)	Peace chiefs, Haudenosaunee Confederacy leadership is made up of fifty otiyaner and fifty royaner
Skipakákamithagî’	‘Blue water Indians,’ Šaawanwa (Shawnee) word/name for the Wawahchepaehai Šaawanwaki (Black Bob Shawnees) who lived near the Big Blue River in Kansas
Skarenhesehkowah	The Haudenosaunee’s ‘Great White Pine’ or the ‘Great Tree of Peace’

tēHatiwēn´ō:taʔ	Wampum, Kaion'ke (Cayuga) word describing ‘reading’ wampum
Teyotiokwaonhas:ton	The Haudenosaunee’s ‘Laws of Creation’
Wabethe	Swan/Goose; assisted Washetche, the first Šaawanwa (Shawnee) man out of the water and on to dry land
wamppumeag	New England Algonquian word for white shell bead, came to be used for both white and black wampum beads
wampum	Long-established indigenous literary tradition, use of mnemonic devices, strings/bundles and belts made of beads from white and black drilled shells
wahatinahstashonteren, or whatitinahstanonteron	Kanien'ke (Mohawk) word for ‘extending the rafters’ of the Haudenosaunee Longhouse Confederacy, incorporating others into the Haudenosaunee fold
watrihwiHsʔǒhsraʔ	Kaion'ke (Cayuga) word for treaties, meaning ‘the completed matter’

Appendix C: List of Significant Figures

Aataentsic	Sky Woman (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)); Otsi:tsia to the Haudenosaunee
Angouriot	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), with Nicolas Orontony, led Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) to settle around Tsaʔ^{n}dúhstiʔ (Sandusky, Ohio) in the 1730s
Ayonhwathah	Hiawatha (Ononta'ke/Onondaga) (Maker of Wampum Belts, or One Who Combs), with Thadodáhoʔ obtained Haudenosaunee law; sometimes described as an adopted Kanien'ke (Mohawk)
Blalock, Alice (Black Hoof)	(Šaawanwa/Shawnee), née Black Hoof; born 1865 in Kansas; sometimes spelled Blaylock; speaker of Šaawanwa (Shawnee) and Peewaalia (Peoria) languages; informant for John Peabody Harrington in the 1940s
Boyd, Margaret (Maggie) Young (Beaver)	(Peewaalia/Peoria), née Beaver; born in Peoria, Oklahoma in 1882; lived in Commerce, Oklahoma; informant for John Peabody Harrington in the 1940s; married a Šaawanwa (Shawnee) named Sam Boyd
Bwandiag	Pontiac (Odawa/Ottawa) eighteenth-century military leader of pan-Indian military resistance in the Great Lakes/Old Northwest
Catahecassa	Black Hoof (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), early nineteenth-century leader of the Wapakoneta Mekoče (Mekoche/Maykujay) Šaawanwaki (Shawnees)
Charley, Bogus	(Mō´dok/Modoc) interpreter for the Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) forced to go to Indian Territory in November 1873
Chǐkclǐkam-Lupalkuelátko (Charley, Scarface)	(Mō´dok/Modoc) (alternatively: Scar Face, Scarfaced, Scar Faced Charley, Scar-faced, Scar-Faced, Chikchikam-Lupalkuelatko, Chikchackam Lulalkuelatko, Wagon Scar Faced) leader of the prisoner-of-war Mō´dokni Mák̲laks (Modocs) in Indian Territory after arriving in November 1873

Ciinkweensa (Myaamia/ Miami)	Young Thunder (William Wilson Peconga) (Myaamia/Miami); also spelled as Peconge, Pecongah, Pocongeah; shared stories with the linguist Albert Samuel Gatschet in the late 1800s; served as Eastern Myaamia (Miami) interpreter; of the Meshingomesia band of Myaamiaki (Miamis); sometimes translated as Little Thunder
Ciinkweensa (Peewaalia/ Peoria)	Young Thunder (Peewaalia/Peoria); born in Paola, Kansas; life story shared by Frank Beaver (Peewaalia/Peoria) with Albert Samuel Gatschet in the 1890s; left the Peewaaliaki (Peorias) around 1866 and moved with Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos); married a Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) woman, but later returned to live with the Peewaliaki (Peorias) over a decade later; sometimes translated as Little Thunder
Claremore (Claremont)	(Wažaže/Osage) early nineteenth-century leader; for whom Claremore, Oklahoma is named; band of armed Aniyunwiya (Cherokees) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) destroyed his village called Pasuga in 1818; also spelled Clermont, Clermos
Clarke, Peter Dooyentate	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), Canadian-born; moved with the Ohio Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) to present-day Kansas; historian, author of *The Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts* (1870) after his return to Canada
Cole, Coleman	(Chahta/Choctaw); along with Stephen Foreman (Yunwiya/Cherokee), Coweta Micco (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), Fushutche Harjo (Semvnole/Seminole), and Sucktummahkwa (Black Beaver) (Lenape/Delaware), organized and planned the Indian Territory General Council's welcome of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) on the afternoon of May 12, 1874
Coweta Micco	(Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)); along with Stephen Foreman (Yunwiya/Cherokee), Coleman Cole (Chahta/Choctaw), Fushutche Harjo (Semvnole/Seminole), and Sucktummahkwa (Black Beaver) (Lenape/Delaware), organized and planned the Indian Territory General Council's welcome of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) on the afternoon of May 12, 1874
Cúułim Maqsmáqs	Yellow Bull (Nimíipuu/Nez Perce) (also spelled Chuslum Moxmox) spoke out against atrocious living conditions in the Quapaw Agency—of the lack of adequate food, water, and shelter—for the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce) exiled in Indian Territory, 1878-1885

Dekanawídah	Deganawida (Wendat) (Two Currents Coming Down), Skennenrahawi (The Peacemaker) to the Haudenosaunee, alternatively translated as Two Rivers Flowing Together
Dyutruture	Self-Made Splitlog (Matthias Splitlog) (Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke/Seneca-Cayuga-Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), born in Ohio, moved to Kansas City; William Elsey Connelley informant; alternatively spelled as Mathias Splitlog
Duwali	John Bowl, or Bowles (Yunwiya/Cherokee), early nineteenth-century leader in the trans-Mississippi West and Texas
Eecipoonkwia	(John B. Roubideaux) (Myaamia/Miami) (also spelled as Atshequoggya, Roudeboux), nineteenth-century interpreter for Omnibus Treaty of 1867; Myaamia/Miami leader and akima
Fish, Eudora	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)-Šaawanwa/Shawnee), namesake of Eudora, Kansas, daughter of Hester Zane (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) and Paschal Fish, Jr. (Šaawanwa/Shawnee)
Fish, Hester Zane	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)); née Zane; early nineteenth-century wife of Paschal Fish, Jr. (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), and mother of Leander and Eudora Fish (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/ Wyandot(te)- Šaawanwa/Shawnee); nicknamed Hetty
Fish, Jr., Paschal	(Šaawanwa/Shawnee) early nineteenth-century leader in Kansas Territory, involved in Šaawanwa/Shawnee politics in the 1850s; ferry operator, innkeeper, and store owner; father of Eudora and Leander Fish; husband of Hester Zane Fish; said to also be of Myaamia (Miami) and Lenape (Delaware) descent; variously spelled as Pascel, Pascal, Paschall, Pasqual, and Pescel
Foreman, Stephen	(Yunwiya/Cherokee); along with Coweta Micco (Mvskoke/ Muscogee (Creek)), Coleman Cole (Chahta/Choctaw), Fushutche Harjo (Semvnole/Seminole), and Sucktummahkwa (Black Beaver) (Lenape/Delaware), organized and planned the Indian Territory General Council's welcome of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) on the afternoon of May 12, 1874
Gocumtha	(Grandmother) first woman of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) people, assisted by Neshepeshe (Panther) and pulled out of the water to safe land

Gotookopwoa	He Who Stands By Himself (Waayaahtanwa/Wea) early nineteenth-century leader; also spelled Gotokowpaha or Gotocopy; one of the Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), and Waayaahtanwa (Wea) leadership, who, along with Nawhacornmo (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw), Noutankqueshinggau (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw), and Wapshocouy (Kaahkaahkia/Kaskaskia) criticized the Indian Office's broken promises and conflicts with other Indians in the lands to which they were removed, in the trans-Mississippi West
Greyeyes, John W.	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) (also spelled as Grayeyes, Grey-eyes or Gray-eyes); veteran of the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) and Wa^{n}dat leader; spoke to the Indian Territory General Council about the need to fight against any externally-imposed government and to maintain Native authority and administration for Indian Territory
Guthrie, Abelard	Euro-American originally from Dayton, Ohio; married Quindaro Nancy Brown (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) and Šaawanwa/Shawnee); October 12, 1852 elected Nebraska territorial delegate to the Thirty-second Congress.
Guthrie, Quindaro Nancy Brown	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)-Šaawanwa/Shawnee); née Brown; married Abelard Guthrie; namesake of Quindaro, Kansas
Hähshäh´rēhs	William Walker (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) (The Stream Over Full), also known as Sēhs´tährōh (Bright); wealthy educated Wa^{n}dat, born in Ohio and removed to Kansas Territory; slaveholder; member of the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/ Wyandot(te)) National Council; elected provisional Nebraska Territory governor in 1853
Harjo, Fushutche	(Semvnole/Seminole); along with Stephen Foreman (Yunwiya/Cherokee), Coweta Micco (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), Coleman Cole (Chahta/Choctaw), and Sucktummahkwa (Black Beaver) (Lenape/Delaware), organized and planned the Indian Territory General Council's welcome of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) on the afternoon of May 12, 1874; also spelled: Fushut-che Harjo
Heckaton	(Turkey Buzzard or Big Buzzard) (Okáxpa/Quapaw) early nineteenth-century leader (spelled variously: Hakatton, Heckatoo, Hrackaton, or Kackatton), name from Okáxpa word *heka ttǫ* (turkey or big buzzard); leader during Okáxpa (Quapaw) removal from their Arkansas homelands

Hinmatóowyalahtq̓it	Chief Joseph (Nimíipuu/Nez Perce) (Also spelled: Heinmot Tooyalakekt and Hinmahtooyahlatkekt) leader of the Nimíipuu (Nez Perce), and exiled to Indian Territory in 1878
Hokoleskwa	(Cornstalk) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) eighteenth-century leader; father of Nerupenesheguah; also spelled Hokolesqua
Honayawus (Onayawos or Onaywos)	(Farmer's Brother) (called Farmer's Boy by G. Malcolm Lewis), possessed a circular wampum of Šaawanwa-Lenape-Myaamia-Haudenosaunee (Shawnee-Delaware-Miami-Haudenosaunee) alliance in 1793 at Ononta'ke (Onondaga)
Hooka Jim	(Mō´dok/Modoc) (aka Hooker Jim) one of the one-hundred-and-fifty-three (153) of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) exiled to Indian Territory after the Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (The Modoc War) of 1872-1873
Hu'u^{n}dažú (or Hu'^{un}da·ju´')	John Kayrahoo (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), born in Ohio around mid-nineteenth-century; also spelled Hu'^{un}da·ju´'; one of Canadian anthropologist Charles Marius Barbeau's informants in 1911-1912
Kalwe	Charles Bluejacket (Šaawanwa/Shawnee); son of Nawahtahthu (George Bluejacket) and grandson of the military leader Weyapiersenwah (Bluejacket); educated and wealth Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader; ordinated Methodist minister and trusted leader; lived at Hog Creek before removal; removed to Kansas and then Oklahoma, and for whom Bluejacket, Oklahoma is named; also spelled Kalui
Kintpuash	(Mō´dok/Modoc) (Strikes the Water Brashly) (also spelled as Kientpoos, Keiintoposes), known as 'Captain Jack'; leader of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) during the Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (The Modoc War) of 1872-1873
Jones, Tauy (John Tecumseh Jones)	(Odawa/Ottawa) aka "Ottawa Jones"; appointed to work with the Odawa (Ottawa) during removal; educated Baptist; adopted into the Odawa (Ottawa) nation in Kansas; also spelled as Tawey Jones
Hu´'^{u}craˇɛ`·wa's (or Craˇɛ̨´·wa')	Allen Johnson (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), aka Craˇɛ̨´·wa', interpreter for Charles Marius Barbeau's informants in 1911-1912

Kahetihsuk	She Walks Ahead (Huron-Wendat) Dekanawídah's mother, from the town of Kahoniyen
Kaheto:ktha	End of the Field (Huron-Wendat) Dekanawídah's grandmother, from the town of Kahoniyen
Kikathawenund (or Koktowhanund)	Creaking Boughs (William Anderson) (Lenape/Delaware) mid- to late-eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century leader; born in Pennsylvania and moved to Ohio; his son's murder instigated Lenape (Delawares), Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), and Meskwaki (Foxes) to retaliate against Wažažes (Osages) in the trans-Mississippi West in 1818
Lenipinšia (Samuel Baptiste Peoria)	Samuel Baptiste Peoria (Waayaahtanwa/Wea) interpreter (also spelled Batiste Paoli, Lanepeshaw); most commonly referred to as Baptiste Peoria; interpreter and leader of confederated Peewaaliaki (Peorias) in what would become Kansas and Oklahoma; owned hotel in Paola, Kanas
Lenipinšia (Frank Beaver)	Frank Beaver (Peewaalia/Peoria) leader; informant to anthropologist and linguistic Albert Samuel Gatschet in the 1890s
Mäkusita	(Myaamia/Miami-Peewaalia/Peoria); husband of Elizabeth (Skye) Vallier (Peewaalia/Peoria), and keeper of wampum
Mark (Mahican Mark)	(Mahican) records show that he said the Myaamiaki (Miamis) gave him a place of land to live on after being disposed following late-eighteenth-century border violence in the Ohio Valley
Meehcikilita	The Big-Bodied, or The Big (Myaamia/Miami); often referred using the French translation of his name: Le Gros; early nineteenth-century leader
Menominee	Wild Rice (Potewatmi/Potawatomi) early-nineteenth-century leader; spoke at treaty councils after the War of 1812
Methomea	Civil John (Shotinontowane'/Seneca); variously spelled Mesomea, Masomea; leader of the Lewistown mixed band of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas); migrated from Ohio during forced removal in 1832 and continued to represent those nations in the West

Mahkatêwimeshikê-hkêhkwa	Black Hawk (Thakiwa/Sauk/Sac) military leader; also spelled Makataimeshekiakiak; Conflict erupted between the United States and Meskwaki (Foxes) and Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), led by Mahkatêwimeshikêhkêhkwa Makataimeshekiakiak (Thakiwa/Sauk/Sac); known as the Black Hawk War (The U.S.-Thakiwa(Sauk/Sac) War); led a group of Thakiwa (Sauk/Sac), Meskwa (Fox), Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo), and Winnebago (Hocąk) warriors in the fight against American occupation of Native lands in what is now the state of Illinois
Mihšihkinaahkwa	Little Turtle (Myaamia/Miami) late eighteenth-century leader of Western Indian confederacy and Myaamia (Miami) akima
Mushulatubbee	(Chahta/Choctaw) (also spelled Moosholatubee); spoke at the 1834 Fort Gibson international treaty council and spoke of white paths of peace, indigenous metaphors for peacemaking and safe travels between villages and Indian nations
Nawquakeshick (Noon Day)	William Hurr (Odawa/Ottawa) (alternatively: Naquakeshick, Naquakezhick, Nawakwakishik, Nawquakeshick; and translated as: Noon Day, Midday, Noon Sky)
Nawahtahthu	George Bluejacket (Šaawanwa/Shawnee); son of the military leader Weyapiersenwah (Bluejacket) and father to Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket); born at Piqua, Ohio, around the turn of the century (1800); kept a diary that included details about Šaawanwa/Shawnee origins and forced removal from Ohio
Nawhacornmo	Fix With The Foot, To Fix With The Foot (Peeyankihšia/ Piankashaw) early nineteenth-century leader; also spelled Niacomo or Niacómo; one of the Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), and Waayaahtanwa (Wea) leadership, who, along with Gotookopwoa (Waayaahtanwa/Wea), Noutankqueshinggau (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw), and Wapshocouy (Kaahkaahkia/Kaskaskia) criticized the Indian Office's broken promises and conflicts with other Indians in the lands to which they were removed, in the trans-Mississippi West
Nerupenesheguah	(Šaawanwa/Shawnee), son of Hokoleskwa (Cornstalk), defender of Šaawanwa (Shawnee) interests in what is now the state of Kansas in the early nineteenth century
Nitakechi	Day Prolonger (Chahta/Choctaw) early nineteenth-century leader, spoke to Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), explaining they resided on lands that belonged to them in treaty agreements

Noutankqueshinggau	(Peeyankihšia/ Piankashaw) early nineteenth-century leader; also spelled Nowtaukashinggaw; one of the Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), and Waayaahtanwa (Wea) leadership, who, along with Gotookopwoa (Waayaahtanwa/Wea), Nawhacornmo (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw), and Wapshocouy (Kaahkaahkia/Kaskaskia) criticized the Indian Office's broken promises and conflicts with other Indians in the lands to which they were removed, in the trans-Mississippi West
Okweta:she	Bringer of the Haudenosaunee clan system; renamed Ronikohewaneh (He Who Has a Great Mind)
Oosenahle	Rabbit Bunch (Yunwiya/Cherokee); "*pipe bearer*," for the Indian Territory General Council; passed around the peace pipe to the Mõ´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) and all the other General Council delegates at the welcome on May 12, 1874
Oriwahento	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), James Sharloe, early nineteenth-century leader, aka Charlo (also spelled Cherloe)
Orontony, Nicholas	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), with Angouriot, led Wa^{n}dat to settle around Tsaʔ^{n}dúhstiʔ (Sandusky, Ohio) in the 1730s
Otsi:tsia	Sky Woman (Haudenosaunee), Aataentsic to the Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s)
Partee (John Wilson)	(Odawa/Ottawa) signed the Omnibus Treaty of 1867; he negotiated with the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), especially the Eastern Šaawanwa (Shawnee) leader Thehconagah (Lewis Davis) for Odawa (Ottawa) land in what is now Oklahoma; also spelled Pastee
Pawatomo	Kiikaapoa (Kickapoo) early nineteenth-century leader; outspoken at treaty councils, criticized United States' treatment and language
Pinšiwa	Bobcat (Jean Baptiste Richardville, Jean Baptiste de Richardville, John Richardville) (Myaamia/Miami) late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century leader
Quatawepea	Captain John Lewis (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) early nineteenth-century leader; urged removal of the Lewistown Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) to the West and assisted council discussions and other affairs regarding removal from Ohio

Quick, Captain John	(Lenape/Delaware) early nineteenth-century leader; with Isaac McCoy surveyed the new Indian Territory reservation boundaries in the fall of 1830
Ronikohewaneh	(He Who Has a Great Mind) bringer of the Haudenosaunee clan system, previous name was Okweta:seh
Rotea:he	The Keeper of the Standing Tree of Light, creator and husband of Otsi:tsia / Aataentsic
Sa`tsi`tsuwa`	He Gathers Flowers Habitually (Smith Nichols) (Kaion'ke/ Cayuga-Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)); born in Ohio, removed to Kansas, then to Oklahoma; main Charles Marius Barbeau informant, with niece Ya˘rǫñą'a·wi´'^{i} (Catherine Coon Johnson) contributed to the bulk of Barbeau's collected materials, linguistic and cultural knowledge in 1911-1912
Sarenhes, John	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) late nineteenth-century elder who shared stories with Hu'u^{n}dažú, John Kayrahoo, who then retold what he had heard to Charles Marius Barbeau in 1911-1912
Sawiskera	Flint (Haudenosaunee), twin grandchild of Sky Woman
Splitlog, Eliza Charloe Barnett Armstrong	(Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) born in Ohio; married Dyutruture (Matthias Splitlog) (Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke/Seneca-Cayuga-Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) in 1845; niece of Henry Jacques (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) leader); Dyutruture built The Splitlog Church (The Cayuga Mission Church), Cayuga, Oklahoma for her in 1896
Sucktummahkwa (Black Beaver)	(Lenape/Delaware); along with Stephen Foreman (Yunwiya/ Cherokee), Coweta Micco (Mvskoke/Muscogee (Creek)), Coleman Cole (Chahta/Choctaw), and Fushutche Harjo (Semvnole/Seminole), organized and planned the Indian Territory General Council's welcome of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) on the afternoon of May 12, 1874; also spelled Sucktummahkway
Takatoka	(Yunwiya/Cherokee) leader, one of the Cherokee 'Old Settlers,' early nineteenth-century head of an international, intertribal coalition of emigrated Indians in the trans-Mississippi West; along with Quatawepea (Captain John Lewis) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) urged the formation of a removed Indian confederacy

Tarhe	The Crane (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century leader in Ohio
Taˇwɛ´skaˇrɛ (or Tawiskaron)	Flint (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), twin grandchild of Sky Woman
Tawaahkwakinanka	George Washington Finley (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw / Peewaalia/Peoria), interpreter and informant for anthropologist and linguist Albert Samuel Gatschet in the 1890s
Tecumthe (Tecumseh)	Tecumseh ((Panther) Flies Across) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) late 18th c. military leader of Ohio Valley pan-Indian resistance (also spelled as Tecumthé, Tecumtha, Tecumsa, Tekamithi, Tikamthe, Ta'kamtha, or Tkamthka), name variously translated to mean 'Crosses the Path,' 'Shooting Star,' even 'Panther Lying in Wait,' 'Crouching Lion' and does have reference to a panther
Teceikeapease	(Šaawanwa/Shawnee) sister of Tecumthe (Tecumseh) lived in Cape Girardeau, Missouri Territory in the early nineteenth century; alternatively spelled as Tecumpease
Teharonhia:wako	He Who Grasps the Earth (Haudenosaunee), creator and husband of Otsi:tsia / Aataentsic
Teharonwetsia:wako	He Who Grasps the Sky with Both Hands (Haudenosaunee), twin grandchild of Sky Woman
Tenskwatawa	The Open Door (Šaawanwa/Shawnee), aka Lalawethika (The Noise Maker), The Prophet; late eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century religious leader and brother of Tecumthe (Tecumseh)
Terratuen	Irvin Patton Long (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) one of the Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te) who voted to elect Hähshäh´rēhs (William Walker) as the provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory on July 26, 1853
Thadodáhoʔ	Tadodaho (The Entangled) (Ononta'ke/Onondaga) leader, with Ayonhwathah obtained and brought the Haudenosaunee law
Thahpequah	(Kiikaapoa/Kickapoo) leader spearheaded the Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos) movement in 1874 to settle near the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), and Meskwaki (Foxes) in Indian Territory, becoming what is now known today as the Kiikaapoa Nation or Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma

Thehconagah	Lewis Davis (Shotinontowane'/Seneca-Šaawanwa/Shawnee); leader of Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees); credited along with Partee (John Wilson) (Odawa/Ottawa) for selling some of their Indian Territory lands to the Odawas (Ottawas) in the Omnibus Treaty of 1867; also spelled Quashacaugh
Tooteeandee	Thomas Brant (or Brand) (Shotinontowane'/Seneca) early nineteenth-century leader of Ohio Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), spoke to other Indian nations in treaty councils
Totolis	Shotinontowane' (Seneca); leader of the Lewistown mixed band Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), with Methomea, selected by tribal representatives at Fort Gibson in September 1834, following the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition, to
Tsɛ^{n}sta’ (or Tsestah)	Fire (Wa^{n}dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)), twin grandchild of Sky Woman
‘Tvlof Haco (Talof Harjo)	Talof Harjo (Crazy Bear) (Pleasant Porter) (Mvskoke/ Muscogee (Creek)) micco; chair of the 1875 General Council of Indian Territory; also spelled ‘talo·fhá·co
Vallier, Elizabeth (Skye)	(Peewaalia/Peoria), née Skye; also spelled Valley; Albert Samuel Gatschet informant
Vallier, Frank	(Okáxpa/Quapaw) (also spelled Valle) interpreter; Albert Samuel Gatschet informant
Waapanaakikaapwa	Gabriel Godfroy (Myaamia/Miami) leader; born in the early nineteenth century in Indiana, related stories and knowledge to Jacob Piatt Dunn in the early 1900s
Waayaahtanwa	Whirlpool Person (Waayaahtanwa/Wea), who’s namesake and village became the foundation for the Myaamiaki-Peewaaliaki (Miami-Peoria) group known as the Waayaahtanooki (Weas)
Wadsworth, Sarah	(Waayaahtanwa/Wea) interpreter; Albert Samuel Gatschet informant

Wapshocouy	(Kaahkaahkia/Kaskaskia) early nineteenth-century leader; also spelled Wakpesehsee; one of the Peewaalia (Peoria), Peeyankihšia (Piankashaw), Kaahkaahkia (Kaskaskia), and Waayaahtanwa (Wea) leadership, who, along with Gotookopwoa (Waayaahtanwa/Wea), Nawhacornmo (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw), and Noutankqueshinggau (Peeyankihšia/Piankashaw) criticized the Indian Office's broken promises and conflicts with other Indians in the lands to which they were removed, in the trans-Mississippi West
Washetche	(Husband) first man of the Šaawanwa (Shawnee) people, assisted by Wabethe (Swan/Goose) and pulled out of the water to safe land
Wawahchepaehai	Black Bob (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) (also spelled Wawahchepaekar) early to mid-nineteenth-century leader of what would be known as the 'Black Bob' division of the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees); led a community of Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) in the West, residing in what would become the states of Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas; resisted allotment
Weyapiersenwah	(Blue Jacket) (Šaawanwa/Shawnee) mid-eighteenth-century leader; affiliated with Mihšihkinaahkwa, led military Indian alliance in Ohio; his grandson was Kalwe (Charles Bluejacket), who removed to Kansas and then Oklahoma, and for whom Bluejacket, Oklahoma is named; also spelled Wehyehpihehrsehnwah, Wehyahpihehrsehnwah′, Wehyehpiherhsehnwah and Weyapiersenwaw
White Seneca	(Shotinontowane'-Kaion'ke/Seneca-Cayuga); along with five other Shotinontowane' (Seneca) and Kaion'ke (Cayuga) leaders, as an exploration delegation, went to the Osage River area in 1837, and reported on the land and the area of prospective removal

Winema (or Kaitchkona Winema)	(Máklak/Modoc) Kaitchkona Winema (Strong Hearted Woman, or Woman Sub-Chief); Toby Riddle (also spelled variously: Tobey, Riddell, Winemah, Kaitchkana, etc.; also known as a child as Nanooktowa or Nannookdoowah); cousin of Kintpuash (Captain Jack), leader of the Mō´dokni Máklaks (Modocs) during the Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (The U.S.-Modoc War) of 1872-1873; interpreter; warned American Peace Commissioners of impending assassinations, credited with saving the life of Indian agent Alfred Meacham; became famous; informant for Albert Samuel Gatschet less than a decade after the end of the war, relayed valuable linguistic, cultural, and historic information
Wisroncah	(Waayaahtanwa/Wea), of French heritage; also known as Christmas (Noël) Dagnette; alternative spellings include: Noel, Dashney, Dashnay, Dagnette, and Dagenet; first husband of Mary Ann Isaacs (Dagenette) Peoria (Brothertown Indian); facilitated and urged the Waayaahtanooki's (Weas') removal from Illinois
Ya˘rǫñą'a·wi´'[i]	She is Sailing or Floating in the Sky (Catherine Coon Johnson) (Wa[n]dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)); main Charles Marius Barbeau informant, along with her uncle Sa`tsi`tsuwa` (Smith Nichols) (Kaion'ke/Cayuga-Wa[n]dat/Wendat/Wyandot(te)) provided the majority of Barbeau's collected materials, linguistic and cultural knowledge in 1911-1912

Appendix D: Timeline

1000 to 1500	Founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy
1785-01-21	Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), Ojibwes (Chippewas), & Odawas (Ottawas) (7 Stat. 16)
1786-01-31	Treaty with the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (7 Stat. 26)
1789-01-09	Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), Odawas (Ottawas), Ojibwes (Chippewas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), and Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs) (7 Stat. 28)
1789-08-03	Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Odawas (Ottawas), Ojibwes (Chippewas), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Eel River Myaamiaki (Miamis), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) (7 Stat. 49)
1789-08-20	An act (1 Stat. 54) authorized Indian Affairs under the War Department
1803-03-01	Ohio Statehood
1803-08-07	Treaty with the Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Eel River Myaamiaki (Miamis), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Kiikaapoaki (Kickapoos), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias) (7 Stat. 77)
1803-08-13	Treaty with the Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Michigameas, Kawakiaki (Cahokias), and Tamaroas (7 Stat. 78)
1805-08-21	Treaty with the Lenape (Delawares), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Eel River Myaamiaki (Miamis), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) (7 Stat. 91)
1809-09-30	Treaty with the Lenape (Delawares), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Myaamiaki (Miamis), and Eel River Myaamiaki (Miamis) (7 Stat. 113)
1812-06-04	Territory of Missouri established
1812-06-18	War of 1812 started with United States declaration of war against Great Britain

1814-07-22 Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), and Myaamiaki (Miamis) (7 Stat. 118)

1814-12-24 Treaty of Ghent signed between Great Britain and the United States formally ended the War of 1812

1815-09-08 Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Lenape (Delawares), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Ojibwes (Chippewas), Odawas (Ottawas), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis) (7 Stat. 131)

1816-12-11 Indiana Statehood

1817-09-29 Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Lenape (Delawares), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Potewatmis (Potawatomis), Odawas (Ottawas), and Ojibwes (Chippewas) (7 Stat. 160)

1818-08-24 Treaty with the Okáxpas (Quapaws) (7 Stat. 176)

1818-09-25 Treaty with the Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Michigameas, Kawakiaki (Cahokias), and Tamaroas (7 Stat. 181)

1818-10-06 Treaty with the Myaamiaki (Miamis) (7 Stat. 189)

1818-12-03 Illinois Statehood

1820-03-06 President James Monroe (1817-1825) signed the Missouri Compromise, allowing Missouri statehood as slave state and Maine as a free state

1821-08-10 Missouri Statehood

1824-03-11 Office of Indian Affairs created in the War Department

1824-11-15 Treaty with the Okáxpas (Quapaws) (7 Stat. 232)

1825-11-07 Treaty with the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (7 Stat. 284)

1830-05-28 Indian Removal Act (4 Stat. 411)

1831-02-28 Treaty with the Sandusky Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) (7 Stat. 348)

1831-07-20 Treaty with the Lewistown Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (7 Stat. 351)

1831-08-08 Treaty with the Hog Creek & Wapakoneta Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (7 Stat. 355)

1831-08-30 Treaty with the Blanchard's Fork & Oquanoxa's (or Oquanoxie's) Village Odawas (Ottawas) (7 Stat. 359)

1832-01-19 Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) (7 Stat. 364)

1832-05-14 Conflict erupted between the United States and Meskwaki (Foxes) and Thakiwaki (Sauks/Sacs), led by Mahkatêwimeshikêhkêhkwa (Thakiwa/Sauk/Sac); known as the Black Hawk War (The U.S.-Thakiwa(Sauk/Sac) War)

1832-07-09 Congress authorized presidential appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs (4 Stat. 564)

1832-07-14 Congress appointed The Stokes Commission

1832-08-02 The Black Hawk War (U.S.-Thakiwa(Sauk/Sac) War) ended

1832-10-26 Treaty with the Cape Girardeau Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) and Lenape (Delawares) (7 Stat. 397)

1832-10-27 Treaty with the Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Michigameas, Kawakiaki (Cahokias), and Tamaroas (7 Stat. 403)

1832-12-29 Treaty with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas) and Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (7 Stat. 411)

1833-02-18 Treaty with the Odawas (Ottawas) (7 Stat. 420)

1833-05-13 Treaty with the Okáxpas (Quapaws) (7 Stat. 424)

1833-05 or 06 Cutthroat Gap (Qótàjâun) Massacre near present-day Rainy Mountain, Oklahoma; in late spring or early summer of 1833 Wažažes (Osages) massacred and beheaded an estimated one hundred and fifty (150) unarmed/non-combatant ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowas)—old men, women, and children—elevating ~~G~~áuigú (Kiowa) distrust and fear of others

1833-09-26 Treaty with the Ojibwes (Chippewas), Odawas (Ottawas), and Potewatmis (Potawatomis) (7 Stat. 431)

1834-06-15 U.S. Dragoons left Fort Gibson, starting out on what would become known as the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition, a peace-keeping mission to initiate peace negotiations with Plains Indians in the West

1834-06-30 Congress established "Indian Country" as areas west of the Mississippi, past Missouri, Louisiana, and Arkansas

1835-02-24 First issue of the *Shawnee Sun* published, the first newspaper in Kansas, and the second—only to the Aniyunwiya's (Cherokees') *Tsalage Tsilehisanihi / Cherokee Phoenix* in 1828-02-21—newspaper printed in an indigenous language in the United States)

1836-06-15 Arkansas Statehood

1837-01-26 Michigan Statehood

1838-11-06 Treaty with the Myaamiaki (Miamis) (7 Stat. 569)

1840-11-28 Treaty with the Myaamiaki (Miamis) (7 Stat. 582)

1841-03-01 The Chahta (Choctaw) General Council ordered other Native nations off their lands by this deadline

1841-11-01 Deadline date for further Indian removal from Chahta (Choctaw) and Chikasha (Chickasaw) lands

1842-03-17 Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) (11 Stat. 581)

1843-10-23 Treaty with the Myaamiaki (Miamis) (7 Stat. 458)

1843-12-14 Agreement with the Lenape (Delawares) and Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s)

1848-01-24 Gold discovered in California

1849-03-03 Office of Indian Affairs transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior

1850-04-01 Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) (9 Stat. 987)

1853-07-28 Wa^{n}dat (Wendat/Wyandot(te)s) meeting at their council house organized a Provisional Kansas-Nebraska Territory, electing Häh-shäh´-rēhs (William Walker) as the provisional territorial governor

1854-05-10 Treaty with the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (10 Stat. 1053)

1854-05-30 Kansas-Nebraska Act opened Kansas Territory for U.S. settlement; President Franklin Pierce (1853-1857) signed it into law

1854-05-30	Treaty with the Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), and Waayaahtanooki (Weas) (10 Stat. 1078)
1854-06-05	Treaty with the Myaamiaki (Miamis) (10 Stat. 1093)
1855-01-31	Treaty with the Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) (10 Stat. 1159)
1861-01-12	Kansas Statehood
1861-04-12	American Civil War began
1862-06-24	Treaty with the Blanchard's Fork and Roche de Bœuf Odawas (Ottawas) (12 Stat. 1237)
1865-05-13	American Civil War ended
1865-09-13	Agreement with the Aniyunwiya (Cherokees), Mvskokes (Muscogees (Creeks)), Chahtas (Choctaws), Chikashas (Chickasaws), Važažes (Osages), Semvnoles (Seminoles), Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), and Okáxpas (Quapaws) (Unratified)
1867-02-23	Treaty with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Odawas (Ottawas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) (15 Stat. 513)
1867-03-02	Agreement with the Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (Unratified)
1867-07-20	Congress established the Indian Peace Commission
1871-03-03	An amendment to the Indian Appropriations Act ended treaty-making
1872-06-05	An Act to Ratify an Agreement with the Shotinontowane'á:ka (Senecas), Šaawanwaki (Shawnees), Okáxpas (Quapaws), Peewaaliaki (Peorias), Kaahkaahkiaki (Kaskaskias), Waayaahtanooki (Weas), Peeyankihšiaki (Piankashaws), Myaamiaki (Miamis), Odawas (Ottawas), and Wa^{n}dat (Wyandot(te)s) (17 Stat. 159)
1872-11-29	The Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (The U.S.-Modoc War) started
1873-06-01	The Mō´dokni Máklaks Shéllual (The U.S.-Modoc War) ended

1874-06-23	Agreement with the Eastern Šaawanwaki (Shawnees) (Unratified)
1887-02-08	The Dawes Severalty Act, or General Allotment Act, (24 Stat. 388)
1898-02-28	Curtis Act (30 Stat. 495) extended allotment to Oklahoma nations and abolished tribal governments
1903-06-11	Agreement with the Odawa (Ottawas)
1914-10-10	Native American Church of Oklahoma incorporated, NAC organized
1926-11-11	Haskell Institute's Stadium dedicated in Lawrence, Kansas