

For Opinion See [447 F.Supp.2d 835](#)

United States District Court, N.D. Ohio.
OTTAWA TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA,

v.

OHIO DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RE-
SOURCES.

No. 05CV07272.

March 30, 2007.

Opinion on the Removal of the Ottawa of Ohio:
Voluntary or Forced

Name of Expert: Patrick M. Tucker **Area of Expertise:** Social Science >> Historian **Social Science-Historian** **Case Type:** Agriculture & Forestry >> Other Agriculture & Forestry **Agriculture & Forestry** **Other Agriculture & Forestry** **Case Type:** Environmental >> Endangered Animal/Protected Habitat **Environmental Endangered Animal/Protected Habitat** **Jurisdiction:** N.D. Ohio **Representing:** Plaintiff

The Treaties of August 30, 1831 at Miami Bay of Lake Erie and February 18, 1833 at Maumee, Ohio were the final treaties between the Ottawa of Ohio (known as the Ottawa of the Maumee, Roche de Boeuf, Wolf Rapids, Oquanoxa's Village, Blanchard's Fork, Great AuGlaize, and Little AuGlaize Rivers) and the United States government prior to their removal to Kansas Territory between 1832 and 1839. At the time of these two treaties, the Ohio Ottawa resided on Royce Areas 15, 19, 169, 170, 182, and 183 which totaled some 101,862 acres in northwest Ohio. The Ottawa of Ohio used many more lands east to the Huron River and west to the state boundary in northern Ohio in their winter treks for hunting, trapping, fishing, and making maple sugar.

It is my opinion that the chiefs, headmen, and native leaders of these Ottawa bands who signed these two treaties, evidenced by their totems or marks, did so under forced, pressured, or coerced conditions which influenced their decision to remove west of the Mississippi River in 1832, 1837, and

1839. This was contrary to their expressed will and intention to remain on the lands of their traditional use and occupancy since the days of the Ottawa Pontiac and Attawang, who with their followers, settled in the Maumee Valley of Ohio in October of 1763.

Although most of the Ohio Ottawa were forcibly removed to Kansas Territory, some decided to go to Walpole Island in the Sarnia Reserve of Canada at the invitation of kinsmen, and some Ottawa simply refused to go and remained in Ohio. Those Ottawa that existed as separate bands in Ohio who went to Kansas Territory during the 1830s became united into one corporate entity or tribe known as the Ottawa of Blanchard's Fork and Roche de Boeuf. These Ottawa were again removed to Oklahoma Territory in 1868 by the United States government. On November 30, 1938 the Ottawa of Blanchard's Fork and Roche de Boeuf became federally recognized as the "Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma."

What circumstances and conditions influenced the separate bands of Ottawa to be removed from Ohio by the United States government? The circumstances and conditions are explained as follows.

The American Government's Plan to Make White Citizens of the Ohio Ottawa

Between 1796 and 1819 the United States government had a plan to civilize and Christianize the Indians that lived east of the Mississippi River. The goal was to fully integrate the Indians into white society. Civilization and Christianization meant that the Ottawa of Ohio would have to give up their traditional semi-sedentary lifestyle of hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and horticulture for a permanent, sedentary lifestyle living in cabins or houses, dressing and eating as Americans of the period, going to school (to learn to read, write, and speak English), and to convert to Christianity forsaking their traditional religious beliefs and ideology. Such a plan would make it easier for the American government to gain title to Indians lands.

The American government established its own trade houses (called Indian factories) at points on the frontier in an attempt to control and prevent unlawful and unjust intercourse with the Indians by private traders. Goods were purchased on open markets in major cities and shipped to the trade houses, and furnished to the Indians at low prices in exchange for furs and pelts.

Fourteen government trade houses or factories were established between 1796 and 1808. In the Maumee River area, factories were established at Detroit (1802-1805), Fort Wayne (1802-1822), and Sandusky (1806-1822) where the local merchants were hostile to these stores due to the competition it created. Over time, the Indians would adopt the material culture and lifestyle of white Americans on the road to being fully integrated into American society and culture. While the Indians adopted a great many items of American manufactured goods, many Indian groups resisted efforts to fully integrate themselves into white society at the loss of their corporate, Indian identity. The Ohio Ottawa were no exception.

The Civilization Act passed by Congress in April of 1819 opened the door for more concerted efforts to Christianize the Ohio Ottawa. The American government funded various Christian religious societies to open missionary schools for the Indians to educate and indoctrinate them into Christian religious beliefs and ideology (United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, 2:457-459).

The board of trustees of the Western Missionary Society of Pittsburgh presented a petition to the Congress of the United States in February 1822 for a section of land on the Maumee River in Ohio. This society proposed, and eventually erected, buildings and other improvements for the purpose of bringing the arts of civilized life and the knowledge of the Christian religion to the Ottawa. The society established a Presbyterian mission and school called *Ebenezer* six miles upriver of Perrysburg on the south bank of the Maumee River in November of 1822. The society received an additional \$800 from the American government in addi-

tion to its annual appropriation of \$300 for the mission and school. The mission was headed by the Reverend Isaac Van Tassel and his wife, and was situated on elevated ground which contained 650 acres of heavily timbered land with 50 acres cleared and enclosed by a wooden fence (United States National Archives 1959, record group 75, microcopy 234, roll 419, frames 0336-0344, 0641 0649; Marsh n.d.a; United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, 2:459, 522-524). There were several wooden frame buildings constructed which consisted of a main, two story residence that contained a hall or dining room with a kitchen and five bedrooms, a school house, a stove house, blacksmith shop, and horse stable. In 1823, there were 21 teachers and 10 Indian scholars. In 1825, there were 29 Indian scholars (17 males and 12 females between the ages of 6 and 27) of 3/4 to 1/4 degree of Indian blood. In 1831, there were 31 Indian scholars (17 males and 14 females) mostly from the Ottawa bands of the local area, and five white students whose parents paid their own tuition. Students were instructed in Christianity, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and agriculture. The agricultural department of the school taught the Indian students the expediency and necessity of using substantial enclosures to protect their crops. Of the 50 acres cleared at the mission/school, 37 were planted with corn and potatoes, and the remainder reserved for pasture. Livestock consisted of 44 horned cattle, 28 sheep, 150-200 hogs, and two horses. The agricultural program also experimented with the silk worm industry. Mulberry trees were indigenous to the area and their leaves were used to feed silk worms for the production of unrefined silk. Much of the labor was performed by the older Indian boys who were found to be more willing and industrious in agricultural pursuits.

The mission was transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society on October 25, 1825, and consolidated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in June of 1826. Thomas L. McKenney, Commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs in the War Department, stated in his annual report for 1826 that the Ebenezer mission school on the Miami River was "... known to be a

model in all that is excellent in every branch of teaching. Nothing can be more interesting, or to that region more valuable, than this school.” (United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, 2:675).

Although the mission school produced some 90 Indian graduates from 1823 to its closing in 1835, the American government undercut its purpose and longevity when it decided that removal of the Indians in the states and territories to west of the Mississippi River was the ultimate solution to the Indian problem. VanTassel convinced his mission board in October of 1833 to offer a portion of the mission lands on the Maumee River to the Ottawa who did not want to remove to Kansas Territory after the 1833 treaty (VanTassel 1833:469). The board consented provided the Ottawa who wished to remain would erect buildings, open agricultural fields, abandon their unsettled lifestyle, avail themselves of religious instruction and education for their children, and stop the consumption of alcohol. Only 10-12 Indian families showed any interest in VanTassel's proposition of the 600-700 Ottawa that resided on the lower Maumee River at that time. Additionally, this plan met with adverse reaction from members of the local white population who increased the number of liquor shops for the sale of alcohol to the Ottawa which caused them to become more dissipated, and less inclined to labor. The Reverend Cutting Marsh, one of the mission school's Presbyterian ministers, observed that very few Ottawa, male or female, were not addicted to alcohol (Marsh n.d.b).

There was substantial resistance by the Maumee River Ottawa to become fully civilized and incorporated into American frontier culture despite the intense pressure exerted upon them by the American government (Stothers and Tucker 2006:200). The *Ebenezer* mission school and the American government's efforts to civilize and Christianize the Maumee Ottawa only helped a few mixed-blood Ottawa families attempt to make the transition from Indian to white, and this completely failed when the government decided upon removal.

The United States Congress held debates on wheth-

er or not to abandon the Indian civilization and educational programs instituted by religious societies with government funding during 1819 and 1820. By 1825, the American government had decided to implement a plan for removal of the Indians in the states and territories west of the Mississippi River. And, when newly elected President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian removal bill that passed through Congress in 1831, the *Ebenezer* mission, along with thirteen other mission schools in the country, were doomed to failure and extinction.

The Reduction of Ottawa Reservations and Lands in Ohio

The Ottawa of Ohio underwent a steady decrease in their acreage of lands used to support a semi-sedentary lifestyle. The decrease in reservations and Indian lands for the Ottawa meant a decrease in basic food resources acquired through hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and horticulture to provide food for their families, and periods of starvation for their children.

The Ohio Ottawa participated in nine treaties with the United States government from 1795 through 1833 (Table 1). These treaties were the result of Ottawa indebtedness through private and government-sponsored trade houses that made it easier for the American government to obtain land cessions for white settlers.

In 1795, it is estimated that the Greenville treaty resulted in the loss of two-thirds of native lands in Ohio to the American government. The Ottawa maintained an interest, with other native groups, to 8,958,160 acres (Royce Areas 53, 54, 66, 87, and 88). They were granted 115,200 acres (Royce Areas 15 and 18) reserved specifically for their use and occupancy by the Greenville treaty in the Maumee Valley for the joint sale of two-thirds of Ohio.

In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson wrote to William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, and stated that to promote the exchange of lands from Indian possession to the American government it would be necessary to provide the Indians with essential goods and commodities they

wanted by trade and credit in order to force individuals into debt beyond what they could pay (Carter 1934-1944, 7:90-92). Such indebtedness on the part of the Indians would make their leaders more willing to sell their lands at treaties to alleviate their financial indebtedness and obligations to government and private traders alike.

In 1805, the Treaty of Fort Industry on the Maumee River witnessed the loss of almost 50 percent (4,090,218 acres - Royce Areas 53 and 54) of the remaining Ottawa lands (in joint use and occupancy with other native groups) to the United States and agents of the Connecticut reserve. In accordance with article 6 of the 1805 treaty, the Indian nations signatory to this treaty (of which the Ottawa of the Maumee River were represented) maintained hunting and fishing privileges to lands ceded to the United States (i.e., Royce Area 54).

The Treaty of November 17, 1807, at Detroit saw the sale of 384,640 acres (Royce Area 66) that included their lands in southeastern Michigan that bordered Detroit.

The remaining half of Ottawa lands (4,608,819 acres) were sold to the American government at the Treaty of September 29, 1817 at the foot of the rapids of the Miami River (Maumee River). By 1817, the Ottawa were confined to six small reserves which they were forced to cede in 1831 and 1833 (see Stothers and Tucker 2006: 53 Table 2, 55-57 Table 3; Royce 1899; Downs 1975; United States Congress 1848a, 1848b, 1846; Feest and Feest 1978:777-778; Bauman 1949; Schoolcraft 1851-1857, 1:483; Foreman 1946).

In summary, the Ottawa of Ohio lost 27,293,219.38 acres of land in Ohio used for hunting, trapping, fishing, planting, gathering, and maple sugaring within 38 years of coming under jurisdiction and control of the United States of America. Such a loss of acreage to a subsistence based economy caused the Ottawa to undergo periods of hunger, starvation, and stress within individual families and bands.

The Decline of Ottawa Population in Ohio under

the American Government

American efforts to civilize and Christianize the Ottawa of Ohio and the growth of white settlements near their reservations during the early nineteenth century proved devastating to Ottawa band populations.

In 1816, John E. Hunt estimated there were 1500 Ottawa along the lower Maumee River of Ohio from a survey he conducted for Governor Lewis Cass of the Michigan Territory. (Hunt [1979]:25; Historical Society of Northwest Ohio 1933:80; Wisconsin Historical Society 1854 1931, Draper Collection 21 S: 80). In 1819, John Johnston, Indian Agent for the Ohio Agency at Piqua, who had jurisdiction for Blanchard's Fork, Oquanoxa's village, the Great and Little AuGlaize Rivers, and at Roche de Boeuf reported 270 Ottawa (Johnston 1820:270). Overall, there were approximately 2000 Ottawa (men, women, and children) in 1816 for the state of Ohio.

Nine years later, in 1825, the Ottawa constituted about 6 percent (1877) of some 30,666 Native Americans reported living in Ohio and the Territory of Michigan (see Stothers and Tucker 2006:51, Table 1 and 224-225, f.n.21 for an explanation of problems with census data reported by Morse, McKenney and Calhoun in Morse 1822:93-94, 362, Table 1; United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, 2:145-146).

In 1828 and 1829, approximately 350 Ottawa from Ohio emigrated to Sarnia Reserve on Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron and Walpole Island in Lake St. Clair, both in Canada, for fear of removal to Kansas Territory by the American government (Bauman 1952a:297).

In September of 1832, Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, received a letter from James Jackson, Subagent to the Maumee Ottawa, that requested payment to Dr. Oscar White of Maumee, Ohio for vaccination of the Ottawa against the disease of smallpox (United States National Archives 1959, record Group 75, microcopy 231, roll 421, Frames: 0122-0124, 0270-0271). White's letter

stated that he was directed by the War Department to administer the vaccinations to the Ottawa over a forty mile square tract near the mouth of the Maumee... He found the Ottawa very much diseased with rheumatism, ulcers, syphilis, hopping cough, and measles. And, two weeks after he started his vaccinations, smallpox appeared among the Ottawa.

In 1833, Reverend Isaac VanTassel, Presbyterian minister at the Ebenezer Mission on the Maumee River, reported there were 700 Ottawa left along the lower Maumee River "... wholly destitute of country or home" (VanTassel 1833:469).

Three groups of Ottawa totaling 353 (191 males and 162 females) were removed to Kansas Territory in 1832 (72), 1837 (174), and 1839 (107) (United States National Archives 1959, roll 427 and roll 603:frame 0240; Wolfe [1916]:2; King 1915:373; Barlow and Dawes 1981:18-19).

The Ottawa of Ohio during the early nineteenth century underwent a steady decline in population during the administration of Indian affairs by the American government so that by 1830 the Ottawa were in no position to refuse government offers of removal. Slightly more than 55 percent (1000) of an approximate total Ottawa population of 2000 estimated for Ohio in 1816 had been reduced by 1839 (excluding those that relocated to Kansas Territory). This population reduction is attributed to Ottawa deaths caused by disease, liquor, and intra-band feuding that resulted from alcohol consumption.

The Growth of White Towns and Villages near Ottawa Reserves

In 1817, the towns of Perrysburg and Maumee were established at the center of the Twelve Miles Square Reserve, on opposite sides of the Maumee River. Both towns were commercial centers for the Indian trade in furs, peltries, and maple sugar.

In 1825, it was noted that the Maumee River country was a "...novel intermixture of barbarity and refinement that contained substantial farmhouses and

rude log cabins intermixed with Indian wigwams, fields of grain, and forests of tall trees." (Schoolcraft 1825:31). Census data on northwest Ohio for the period 1820-1840 show a substantial increase in white settlement as a result of immigration from the eastern United States. In 1820, there were 733 (14 heads of family) white settlers in northwest Ohio. By 1840, this figure rose to 5,357 white settlers (United States National Archives 1967; Ohio Genealogical Society 1989; Andriot 1993:515).

The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 which connected cities of the Atlantic seaboard with the Great Lakes area fueled westward emigration of American settlers from an economically depressed eastern United States that suffered from the effects of high taxes, loss of property, and a new nationalism caused by the War of 1812. The availability of cheap, western lands for white settlement functioned as a sort of "safety valve" that mitigated depressed economic and social conditions of the nation.

By the 1830s, the Maumee Valley of Ohio bristled with land speculators and commercial entrepreneurs that sought to establish economic ties between the valley's small river towns and settlements with eastern cities like Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Baltimore. Several small towns occupied the lower Maumee River from the head of the rapids downriver to Maumee Bay during this period. Port Lawrence (now Toledo, Ohio), Maumee City, Perrysburg, and Waterville were the main towns or settlements that rivaled each other for business and commercial markets with cities along the Atlantic seaboard (*Maumee Express*, March 25, April 22, May 13, 1837; Buley 1950, 1:10, 540; Mauer 1946:22; Greer 1948:228-229; Stothers and Tucker 2002).

A prime economic factor contributing to the growth and development of the Maumee River towns was the construction of a network of canals in the state of Ohio. By January 5, 1825 the Ohio State Canal Commission had proposed an alternative western Ohio canal route that would run along the Maumee

River to where it would join the Indiana canal system at Fort Wayne, along the Wabash River to the Ohio River thus linking it with Cincinnati, Ohio. By 1832, speculation in Maumee River town sites and surrounding lands “ ... was at its peak in expectation of high profit that would emerge from canal shipping and related operations.” (Indian Claims Commission 1971, 25:15). The Ottawa Indians, particular those on Royce Areas 182 and 183 at the mouth of the Maumee River, were in the way of white speculation and entrepreneurial investment that could not be effected without their removal from these valuable commercial lands. Numerous white towns were planned and a few organized and platted at the very border of these Ottawa reservations. By March 3, 1834 the state of Ohio accepted the building of the Ohio extension of the Wabash and Erie Canal from the Indiana border to the north bank of the Maumee River where it would terminate within Royce Area 183. Under Act of June 30, 1834 Congress granted necessary lands to Ohio to finance the construction of the canal extension, exclusive of individual grants reserved under the 1833 treaty (Indian Claims Commission 1971, 25:16).

In May of 1835, James Jackson, Subagent to the Ottawa at Maumee, Ohio, reported to Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs at Washington City, that white settlers of the surrounding area had taken possession of the Ottawa corn grounds and houses on the bottomlands along the river (United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Roll 421). This action prevented the Maumee Ottawa from growing corn for the season which was an integral part of their subsistence-based economy to feed their families and children. According to Jackson, the Ottawa had always been allowed to occupy these lands until sold or the Indians removed. Jackson asked Commissioner Herring on what action he should take, and noted that the annuity money for 1834 and 1835 had not yet been paid to the Indians. Jackson also hoped that the Indians would soon consent to removing west of the Mississippi River. According to Governor Stevens T. Mason, Michigan Territory, Detroit, the white persons who took the Ottawa corn grounds and houses was a clear violation of

the tenth and eleventh sections of the act regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and the white intruders should be removed from those lands (United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 231, Roll 421). Herring replied to Porter on June 29, 1835, that if the intrusion had taken place on lands ceded by the Indians at the 1833 treaty, then the War Department was powerless to do anything (United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 21, Roll 16).

The growth of white towns and villages along the Maumee River severely hindered the Ottawa from making their seasonal round to hunt, fish, trap, gather, and tap maple trees for sap which provided food, furs, and maple sugar for subsistence and trade which caused periods of starvation and hunger among the Ottawa.

Ottawa Indebtedness to White Traders in Ohio

The War of 1812 revealed the failure of government-operated trade houses known as Indian factories. The war crippled the factories financially, and opened the trade to independent fur traders and companies like John Jacob Astor's *American Fur Company*. After the War of 1812, fur-bearing animals quickly diminished in number in the Maumee-Wabash region. Government trade houses changed from a credit to a cash system based on the poor prices received for peltries, and the Indians receipt of annuity money from the government for land cessions. The Indians could not get credit from government trade houses forcing them to rely more and more on private traders for their subsistence and way of life. Government trade houses soon lost their charm for the Indians. Private traders continued to supply credit to Indians, but also recognized surer profits by refocusing their sights on capturing a share of Indian annuity money received as a result of treaties with the U.S. government.

American-operated trade houses and private traders endeavored to make the Indians more like the white man in material culture, and dependent upon each of them through financial indebtedness (Table 2).

Indian debt made it possible for the American government to immediately push for more land cessions from the Indians through treaty negotiations which paved the way for white land speculation.

Indian allotments were often used to secure payments for personal trade debts (Table 2). The credit system locked particular Indians, and even bands, into a cycle of interdependence with particular traders. It also provided particular Indians, usually leaders, with influence and goods for redistribution among band members, and a means of maintaining Indian-white communications.

Fur-bearing animals quickly diminished in number in the Maumee-Wabash region after the War of 1812. Government-operated trade houses also changed from a credit to a cash system based on the poor prices received for peltries, and the Indians acceptance of annuity money from the government for land cessions at treaties. With strong competition from private traders and firms like John Jacob Astor's *American Fur Company*, government trade houses soon lost their charm for the Indians. Private traders continued to supply credit to the Indians, but also focused on surer profits by capturing a share of Indian annuity money. For the Indians, it was a vicious cycle of diminished hunting and trapping for subsistence and trade, continued use of credit, and selling of Indian lands to pay off financial indebtedness to the American government and white traders.

The Treaty of September 29, 1817 at the foot of the rapids of the Miami [Maumee] River set a precedent for Indian treaties of the nineteenth century. This was the first treaty to allow some Indians to claim individual allotments of land for private use making it more acceptable to Indian leaders to sell native lands. This provision in succeeding treaties encouraged Indian assimilation of white culture by allowing certain self-sufficient Indians to avoid removal west of the Mississippi River. Indian allotments were often used to secure payments of personal trade debts. The credit system locked particular Indians, and even bands, into a cycle of interdependence with particular traders.

Allotment of Indian lands, often in prime locations and intended by Congress to remain in Indian hands, could be sold only with presidential authority. However, if the local Indian agent recommended the sale, approval usually became just a formality or technicality. In this manner, Indian lands not available to white settlers could be obtained by the trader at a nominal price and resold for a handsome profit.

The American Government's Plan to Remove the Ottawa from Ohio

The Committee on Public Lands of the United States Senate resolved in 1817 that an appropriation be made by Congress to enable the President of the United States to negotiate treaties with Indian tribes that had as their object an exchange of lands owned by any tribe east of the Mississippi River for other lands west of that river (United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), v. 2 (1834): 123-124). It was believed by government officials that the Indians were still a threat to the peace of American citizens, and weakened the national defense of the country. In March of 1817, the President of the United States directed that an effort be made to extinguish all Indian lands within the state of Ohio. George Graham, Acting Secretary of War, directed Lewis Cass, Governor of the Michigan Territory, to visit the chiefs and headmen of Indian tribes in Ohio to obtain the relinquishment of the whole of Indian lands (United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, v. 2:136-137). And, on April 5, 1817, the President of the United States directed by proclamation that the lands of the United States Twelve Miles Square Reserve be offered for public sale to white settlers in July of that year (United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 8, v. 8:462). Shortly thereafter, in August and September of 1817, Governor Cass held treaty negotiations with the Ottawa to sell their remaining lands in Ohio. The Treaty of 1817 witnessed the sale of 4, 608, 819 acres by the Ottawa, Wyandot, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Shawnee, Delaware, and Seneca leaving only 107, 942 acres reserved for Ottawa use and occupancy.

In 1825, President James Monroe and James C.

Calhoun, Secretary of War, revealed their plan to remove the Indians west of the Mississippi River (Cass 1828:49-50; United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, v. 2:541-544, 646-649). Calhoun thought that the Ottawa in Ohio might be removed west of Lake Michigan and north of the state of Illinois where the climate and nature of the country was much more favorable to their lifestyle (United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, v. 2:542-543). However, the area west of the Mississippi River as the ultimate location for removal would prevail. And, on May 28, 1830, the United States Congress passed President Andrew Jackson's "Indian Removal Bill." (Foreman 1946:59).

A number of white landowners and commercial entrepreneurs on the Maumee River of Ohio sent a petition on August 2, 1830 to Governor Lewis Cass, Michigan Territory, for the removal of the Ottawa on the 34 Miles Square Reserve who stood in the way of commercial progress of white landowners (United States National Archives 1959, Roll 420 (1828-1831):0479-0481). These white residents recommended that if the Ottawa at the mouth of the Maumee River could not be removed west of the Mississippi River at the time, then they should be collected onto a tract out of the line of thoroughfare of white settlers. At the same time, a deputation of Ottawa chiefs from the Maumee River visited Lewis Cass, Governor of the Michigan Territory, at Detroit to request a tract of three miles square, promised to them at the Treaty of 1807 but not granted, be selected and reserved for their use above the U.S. Twelve Miles Square near their principal settlement and sugar camps (United States National Archives 1959, roll 420 (1828 1831):0463). This request fell on deaf ears with Colonel Thomas L. McKenney, head of the Office of Indian Affairs, as the removal program for all Indians east of the Mississippi was just getting started.

In March of 1831, a group of Ottawa leaders opposed to removing west of the Mississippi River declared they had no other choice but to remove or watch their families and children continue to "cry with hunger" because game was scarce, and " ...

wicked white men were constantly bringing spirituous liquor into our country, ..." which caused a great deal of illness and indolence among the Ottawa in providing for their families (United States National Archives 1959, roll 420 (1828-1831):0644-0645). Liquor in Indian country was a violation of the Indian Trade and Intercourse act established by Congress in 1796, and found often violated and not enforced by executive branch of government as reviewed by the United States Senate on April 5, 1820 (United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, v. 2:205-206). In that same month of March, President Andrew Jackson commissioned Colonel James B. Gardiner, Special Commissioner, to explain to the Indians of the state of Ohio the necessity of removing them from their lands to the country west of the Mississippi River (United States National Archives 1959, roll 601, frames:0050-0051).

By June of 1831, Gardiner was negotiating with the Ottawa of Ohio for their removal westward. The Ohio Ottawa had refused the offers made by Colonel Gardiner at the first session of negotiations in August 1831 for they were determined to retain their reserves, and remain in Ohio (VanTassel 1831:387-388). Another council was convened by Gardiner and continued for a number of days. The Ottawa from Roche de Boeuf and Wolf Rapids, Blanchard's Fork, Oquanoxa's village, and the Little and Great AuGlaize Rivers were assembled and induced to sign a treaty on August 30, 1831 by which they sold their remaining reserves in Ohio. Many Ottawa protested the treaty, but without effect.

No sooner was the 1831 treaty concluded when a plan to acquire the last two reservations of the Ottawa at the mouth of the Maumee River was implemented by the American government. Benjamin F. Stickney, former Indian agent to the Maumee Ottawa, and Colonel Gardiner met at Tiffin, Ohio in September of 1831 to discuss arrangements for negotiations with the Maumee Ottawa, and how to induce their leaders to cede their remaining reserves (United States National Archives 1959, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Roll 420). Gardiner sent Stickney to meet with the Maumee Ottawa. Stick-

ney gave the Ottawa a few days for their ill feelings and repugnance at the 1831 treaty to subside before approaching their leaders on the subject to ceding their reservations. Stickney reported to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, then at Detroit that he approached the Ottawa in the usual "round about way." Stickney gave a favorable report to Cass on negotiations for a second treaty with the Ottawa, but informed Cass that the Maumee Ottawa wanted some of their leaders to make a trip westward "to see the country intended for their future residence." Stickney recommended this could be done before December of 1831 at a cost of \$1000 and volunteered to escort four Ottawa leaders on the trip.

On October 26, 1831, Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War, informed Stickney at Tiffin, Ohio, that it was ill advised to approach the Maumee Ottawa to sell their remaining reserves. Herring stated:

"... unless the advance was made by them [Maumee Ottawa] - any solicitude of the Government on this subject will occasion exorbitant demand on their part. It is therefore thought to be expedient to let this subject rest as it is, indicating indifference about such an extinguishment, unless the overture comes from them. It is highly probable that they will wish to follow their Brothers to the West, and on the intimation of such a desire it will be judicious to treat with them." (United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 21, Roll 7).

The matter rested until July 4, 1832, when Lewis Cass, Secretary of War directed Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, to select a suitable person to visit the Maumee Ottawa, and ascertain that if the information he received that the Ottawa wished to sell their lands and remove west of the Mississippi River was correct (United States National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Sent, vol. 8:517). Cass gave Porter specific instructions that the agent should discourage any proposition that the tribe should send a deputation of leaders to explore the country beyond the Mississippi River. The agent must also secure the Ottawa's consent to allow the government to select a suitable

location for their removal as had been done with previous tribes. Porter replied that he though the Ottawa preferred to remove to Canada, instead of west of the Mississippi River, if forced by the government to do so (United States National Archives 1959, roll 421 (1832-1835), frames:0084-0087). He also advised Herring that it was the season of sickness in that area, and it would be better to wait until September, if possible. When September 1832 came, Porter received a letter from Herring which directed him to visit the Maumee Ottawa in person to ascertain their views on selling their reservations, and removal west, since the Ottawa would be gathered at Maumee, Ohio, to receive their annuity shortly (United States National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, vol. 9:233).

Herring replied to Porter in April of 1883 that if injustices were done to the Ottawa in former treaties, the War Department had no powers to rectify the injustices (United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy No. 21, Roll 10). Only Congress had the power to amend treaties, and as far as a new reservation granted to the Ottawa, it was not the government's policy to buy land for them within the states and territories but to purchase their lands and remove them west of the Mississippi River.

The Maumee Ottawa at this time were afflicted with rheumatism, ulcers, syphilis, hoping cough, measles, and smallpox. Syphilis, smallpox, and measles had been contracted by the Ottawa in from white people who moved to the Maumee rapids beginning in 1805.

Porter convened negotiations with the Maumee Ottawa to ascertain their intent to sell or not sell their reservations (Royce Areas 183 and 182) at the mouth of the Maumee River on September 21, 1832 (United States National Archives 1959, roll 421 (1832-1835):0104-0109). Porter opened with an address to the Ottawa chiefs and leaders that the Ottawa's' Great Father, the President of the United States, had heard they [the Ottawa] wished to sell their land, and that he [Porter] was sent to them to them to ascertain if this information was true "... as it was not the way of the government to press them

on the subject.” Porter's statement, of course, was facetious and pretentious to judge from his previous correspondence with Stickney, Herring, and Cass. Porter went on to explain his purpose and proposition that if the Ottawa sold their two reserves at the mouth of the Maumee River and moved westward beyond the Mississippi River, and that their Great Father would do them ample justice and see they would suffer no wrong. The Ottawa through Sheno, one of their chiefs, replied that they had heard and understood Porter's purpose and proposition to them, but were not prepared to say anything about until they consulted with each other in council.

The next day Porter asked the chiefs assembled if they had come to any conclusion. The reply was the chiefs had found the time too short to make a decision. They then proposed to have one of their interpreters named King (a mixed blood named John King) to come forward and speak for the Ottawa. Porter declined hearing from King stating that he had expressly brought an interpreter who spoke their language to hear from them without the interference from other persons. Porter came to talk to the chiefs and not somebody else for them. With this rebuke, the chiefs replied through Sheno they would have to wait two or three days to discuss the matter among themselves. Porter forced the issue by telling the chiefs that his business called him away, and that he only wanted an answer to his question to tell their Great Father. The actual terms and price of the sale could be determined later. Porter would give the chiefs only an hour or two to make a decision before he departed back to Detroit. When the chiefs returned after two hours of deliberations they spoke through Sheno. Sheno stated that the Ottawa had been cheated by the man (Colonel Gardiner) who had bought their land last summer. He had made them many promises and caused much contention among their people. They were promised \$10,000 for the payment of their annuity from the 1831 treaty. That time had come and past, and the Maumee Ottawa had seen nothing of the money. They had hoped their Great Father would compel that man (Gardiner) to fulfill his promises, and do them justice. The Maumee Ottawa also felt badly because their friends, the Americans, had

settled around them which prevented them from hunting to feed their children, and wanted free passage over all the roads and permission to go to Maiden to receive presents.

The Ottawa chiefs, through Sheno, stated that they wanted \$50,000 for the land out of which they would pay their debts. They also hoped they would be granted reservations for their young men and women who wanted to remain. These reservations included a piece of land for those Ottawa that lived near Peter Menard (Sawendebans or “Yellow Hair”), five acres at Wolf Rapids, the island in the river at Wolf Rapids (50 acres), and the land upon which their graveyard or cemetery rested was also to be given to Menard who would care for it. The Ottawa would set down detailed reservations at a later date. Porter told the Ottawa that they expected too much money for their land. Porter also told the Ottawa that if he found any whiskey, he was to take it away upon instructions of their Great Father because the Ottawa had always complained of being cheated in their bargains with the whites. The next day (September 23, 1832), Porter was handed a paper with detailed descriptions of the reservations by the assembled chiefs.

As the War Department, under Lewis Cass, pushed to meet Calhoun and McKenney's plan for Indian removal enacted by President Jackson and funded by Congress, the Maumee Ottawa attempted to rectify the wrongs done them at the 1831 treaty. On February 15, 1833, the Maumee Ottawa sent a memorial to their Great Father (President Jackson) through Governor Porter outlining in detail their grievances against Colonel Gardiner and the 1831 treaty with signed certificates by witnesses who were present at the treaty (United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Roll 421, Frames:0297-0298; and Microcopy 21, Roll 10). Before a new treaty could be made for their two reservations at the mouth of the Maumee River, the Maumee Ottawa would have to be satisfied that the errors in the 1831 treaty would be corrected. The 1831 treaty had long been ratified and confirmed by both the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate. The Ottawa never understood the

terms of the treaty, nor was it interpreted properly to them. Colonel Gardiner had offered 70 cents per acre for the reservations, not including improvements made to the lands. This totaled \$40,000 for the reservations and \$2000 for the improvements. The Ottawa were led to believe that their debts to traders and government agents amounting to \$22,000 would be paid out of the \$40,000 to be paid for the lands which would leave \$18,000 plus the \$2,000, or a total of \$20,000 for the Ottawa themselves. Colonel Gardiner had promised time and time again that the government would deal with the Ottawa in every way favorable as it had done for the Shawnee. The Ottawa contended that the 1831 treaty as it read, ratified and confirmed by Congress, and explained to them stipulated that the reservation lands were first to be sold by the United States. The 70 cents per acre then deducted from the profits, exclusive of the cost of surveying, and \$2000 advanced to the Ottawa. The balance from the sale would then be applied to the Ottawa debts, and the amount remaining given to the Ottawa. The amount estimated to be paid to the Ottawa was \$22,000 (\$18,000 less than what they were led to believe by the method Colonel Gardiner promised).

Attached to the Ottawa memorial were certificates of witnesses at the 1831 treaty who verified the truth and accuracy of the Ottawa memorial regarding the details of the 1831 treaty negotiations. The witnesses included Henry Connor, U.S. Subagent and interpreter, John E. Hunt, Robert A. Forsyth; and John Hollister.

Governor Porter promised the Ottawa he would do all he could to rectify the errors of the 1831 treaty with their Great Father. Three days later, on February 18, 1833, Porter concluded negotiations leading the Treaty of February 18, 1833 (United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Segregated Treaty File). The 1833 treaty was ratified by Congress on March 22, 1833 (Indian Claims Commission, vol. 25:10-19). Porter could not affect this treaty for the American government without having inserted into the writing of the proposed treaty allotments of land to individual Ottawa who intended to remain in Ohio. This acreage amounted to 2,560

acres from 32,000 acres leaving a net gain of 29,440 acres for the government.

The first group of Ohio Ottawa removed by the American government consisted of those from Sa-wa-co-sack village (Royce Area 15), Twelve Miles Square Reserve (Royce Area 18), the Upper and Lower Tawa towns at Blanchard's Fork (Royce Area 167), Oquanoxa's Village (Royce Area 168), Roche de Bout (Royce Area 169), and at Wolf Rapids (Royce Area 170) on September 19, 1832 (United States Congress 1834-1835, 1:108-109, 118-119). A total of 72 Indians (41 males and 31 females) were reported to have arrived in Kansas Territory on December 3, 1832 (United States National Archives, record group 75, microcopy 234, roll 603, frame 0240).

The second group of Ottawa from McCarty's Village (Royce Area 182) and Ushcush & Ke-tuc-kee's village (Royce Area 183) departed from the lower Maumee River by steamboat on August 31, 1837. A total of 170 Ottawa (96 males and 79 females) arrived at the Osage River Indian Subagency in Kansas Territory on October 11, 1837 (Meeker n.d.; Barlow and Dawes 1981:18; Foreman 1946:91). The *New York Times* reported of this group that "... Of all the forlorn and wretched looking set of individuals, whom we have looked upon for some time past, we willingly concede to these the stamp of degradation that appears much more visible in their bloated and disfigured countenance and evinces at once that the fierce and warlike souls of their sires, animates no more in the bosom of this degenerated race to me." (Dixon n.d.).

The last group of Ohio Ottawa escorted to Kansas Territory by the American government departed from the lower Maumee River on the steamboat *Commodore Perry* on July 25, 1839. This group, plagued by sickness on board, totaled 107 Indians (55 males and 52 females) and arrived in Kansas Territory on August 30, 1839 (United States National Archives, record group 75, microcopy 234, roll 427; Barlow and Dawes 1981:19).

Ottawas Who Remained in Ohio

Despite the American government's removal of the Ottawa from Ohio and those that fled to Canada, some Indians still refused to leave northwest Ohio.

Tee-na-beek, an Ottawa, died in the spring of 1850. He was buried by Dresden W. H. Howard and his father in a wooden coffin in the Howard family cemetery in Gilead (now Grand Rapids, Ohio). Tee-na-beek's wife placed his hunting rifle, tomahawk, knife, hunting pouch, powder horn, and pipe filled with tobacco in the coffin to protect his body from enemies, and support him on his journey to the happy hunting grounds or afterlife (Bauman 1952b:7-8).

In 1868, Arnold Maham of the U.S. Post Office in east Toledo reported to the Secretary of the Interior in Washington DC, that a few Indians of the Ottawa Tribe remained in the Maumee Valley near Lake Erie who had declined to go west. Maham stated:

These Stragglers State that they have not ground where: on to sit down and are driven from one place to another as new Settlers come in and occupy the lands. They assert that they never received any compensation form the United States for there interest in the country; and they now which to know if they have any rights or benefits under the Treaty which this tribe needs with the government before they removed from here. Some of these Indians (two or three) I am informed are very old and help less and will not survive the coming winter unless provided for. Privet charity may reach them if not otherwise provided with the necessaries of life. (United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Miscellaneous Roll 461).

Victoria Cadaret or Cadaract (ca. 1828-1915) was an Indian (Ottawa/Chippewa) who resided at Curtice, Ohio (part of Royce Area 182) (Figure 1). She was reportedly the last living Indian in northwest Ohio. She was also a cousin to the Indian family named Knaggs. According the U.S. census for 1900 for Allen Township, Ottawa County, Ohio she was born in XX/XX/1828. The 1880 census described her as a widow for most of her life and occupation as "basket maker" living with her with son Peter

(age 16) and daughter Catharine (age 14). She lived in a cabin at Curtice, Ohio, where she spent the last thirteen days of her life in the Ottawa County Infirmary at Oak Harbor, Ohio where she died on March 23, 1915 from pneumonia. She was buried in Crane Creek Cemetery in Allen Township where a historical marker was placed that states "... Buried here are two Indians: Mary Sword (1874-1879) and Victoria Cataract (circa 1828-1915)."

Another Indian of Ottawa heritage was Francis Bunno/Bono (ca. 1828-1901) born in Ottawa County, Ohio and founder of the settlement east of Toledo, Ohio known as Bono, Ohio (Figure 2). He was married to Mary Angeline Cadaret (ca. 1845-1909) born in Michigan whose parents were Peter Cadaret and Josette [Josephine] Guie [Guy]. Together they had four sons and two daughters.

Conclusions

In my opinion, the Ottawa of Ohio were forced to remove west of the Mississippi River by the American government even though their leaders signed the 1831 and 1833 treaties with their totem marks. It was a case of either move and adapt to a new territory and living conditions, or face extinction as a corporate entity or group in Ohio.

The American government's plan at the beginning of the nineteenth century was to civilize and Christianize the Ohio Ottawa (along with other Native American Groups east of the Mississippi River) so that they could be fully integrated and assimilated into American culture and society. As time passed, officials of the government realized that this would not happen for the most part and presented a problem between whites and Indians living close together with different values and lifestyles. The government operated its own trade houses partly out of humanitarian reasons to provide cheaper trade goods to the Indians under fair trade conditions as part of the assimilation and integration process, but with the clear understanding that this would make native peoples more dependent upon the government and less of a war threat to the security of American settlers.

The American government also wanted title to Indian lands that it had maintained it acquired by being victorious over Great Britain in the Revolutionary War. The only thing that changed for the American government after the wars of the Old Northwest Territory between 1790 and 1794 was the method or manner on how to acquire title. This was solved when President Jefferson observed in 1803 that the Indians were more willing to sell their lands at treaties, if they were in debt to traders. The Indian factories which operated from 1796 to 1822, private traders, and large fur companies, like John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, served Jefferson's more sinister motive by making the Indians become mired in debt in the pursuit of necessary goods to maintain their lifestyle, thus making it easier for the government to manage the Indians and acquire title to their lands through treaty cessions.

When the American government realized that its plan to assimilate and integrate the Indians was not obtainable by 1817 or 1819, it changed strategy and tactics to complete removal of the Indians from white settlements in its states and territories to lands west of the Mississippi River with the exception of those few Indian heads of families that wanted to make the transition through an individual allotment of land.

The Ottawa of Ohio underwent a steady reduction of their lands for hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering, and horticulture that caused periods of hunger and starvation for their families and children during the period 1795 to 1833. Their intercourse with white settlements resulted in them acquiring diseases like smallpox, syphilis, measles, and hosing cough. Population data on the Ohio Ottawa show they were numerically small to begin with, about 2000 in 1816, but were reduced by about 55 percent by their final treaty with the American government in 1833. Additionally, the illegal sale of alcohol (primarily whiskey) to the Ottawa, or its transport onto Indian lands went unchecked by the government. Alcohol did more to destroy the fabric of Ottawa society and families than all the deaths they suffered from the Indian wars of the 18th century. Ottawa men and women became indolent and viol-

ent resulting in intra-band and interband feuding and contributed to their failed subsistence economy as did other factors such as scarce game, disease, and loss of lands through treaty cessions.

By the time of the 1831 and 1833 treaties, the Ohio Ottawa were in no position to deal with the American government as a separate and sovereign nation, but were almost completely dependent upon the government for their existence and well being. The Ohio Ottawa were in no position to refuse commissioners and agents who sought to induce them to relinquish title to their remaining reservations, and remove westward at the government's insistence and encouragement.

Table 1. Ottawa Treaties with the U.S. Government, 1785-1833

(Source: Stothers and Tucker 2006:53, Table 2)

TABLE

Notes: Royce Area (RA) 170 (3 miles square) was substituted at the treaty of Aug 30, 1831 for a 3 miles square requested south of RA 182 (34 square miles) at the treaty of Nov 17, 1807, but not granted due to its intercession or conflict with RA 18 (12 miles square) granted at the treaty of Aug 3, 1795. 9,480 acres granted in 14 tracts to certain individuals at the special request of the Ottawa Indians at the treaty of September 29, 1817. 6,080 acres retained in grants, tracts or lots deducted from Royce Areas, and given to specific individuals negotiated at the 1817, 1831, and 1833 treaties. 1818 treaty supplementary to 1817 treaty. Changed grants of 1817 treaty to "reserved for the use and held in same manner as Indian reservations." RA 15 (23,040 acres), RA 18 (92,160 acres), RA 19 (23,040 acres), RA 53 (1,363,406 acres) claimed by the Connecticut Land Company and the "proprietors of the half million acres of land lying south of Lake Erie called Sufferers' Land," RA 54 (2,726,812 acres) lying south of that claimed by the Connecticut Land Company and the Sufferers' Land and the Greenville Treaty line of 1795, RA 66 (345,600 acres), RA 87 (512,000 acres), RA 88 (4,004,659.18 acres), RA 167 (19,200 acres), RA

168 (5,760 acres), RA 169 (23,040), RA 170 (5,760 acres), RA 182 (21,760 acres), RA 183 (7,794.83).

Table 2. Claims Against the Ohio Ottawa, 1831-1837

TABLE

Note: Total amount of claims was \$47,632.25.

Figure 1. Victoria Cadaret/Cadaract at her Cabin on Williston Rd, Curtice, Ohio (ca. 1915)

TABLE

Figure 2. Francis Bunno/Bono (ca. 1901)

TABLE

Selected Documents

1. President Thomas Jefferson, Washinton City to William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, dated February 27, 1803.

Text: "... To promote this disposition to exchange lands, which they have to spare and we want, for necessaries, which we have to spare and they want, we shall push our trading houses, and be glad to see the good and influential individuals among them run them in debt because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands."

Source: Carter, Clarence E., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. 28 vols, vol. 7:90-92. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1934-1944.

2. U.S. Senate Committee on Public Lands, dated January 9, 1817.

Text: Exchange of lands with the Indians. Communicated to the Senate, January 9, 1817." The committee on public lands was instructed on 25 June 1817 to inquire into the expediency of authorizing, by law, an exchange of teritory with any of the Indian tribes. The committee reported that it was policy early adopted by the former government [Great Britain] that relative to extinguishment of Indian title and settlement of vacant lands that any

new settlements which became necessary from the increase of population should be formed on the adjoining vacant territory, and proceed by a regular advance, so as to preserve always a compact population on the frontier... Previous to the Revolution, that policy seems to have been pursued.

... The proclamation of the King of Great Britain of the 7th of October, 1763, prohibited settlements being made on Indian territory, and the purchase of their lands by unauthorized persons. It also restricted the grant for new lands to certain defined limits. The first ordinances of the Congress under the confederation for disposing of public lands were formed on the same principles of policy. But circumstances not originating in the measures of our Government imposed the necessity of a departure from the (p. 123) system first adopted. Several settlements, distant from the mass of population, and detached from each other, were embraced by the boundaries of the United States as established by the treaty of 1783. These settlements had been early formed under the Government of France, and the inhabitants had from thence derived titles to lands which were recognised as valid, and as citizens they had a just claim to defence and protection. The most easy and certain measure for their security, and to afford them defence, was the increase of their population. The Indian title to the adjoining lands was extinguished; and these separate settlements extended, while extensive intervening territory lay vacant, still subject to the claim of Indian title. The acquisition of Louisiana by the tretay of 1803 has still more increased the irregularity of the frontier boundary, and added to the number of distant and detached settlements.

The evils and inconvenience resulting from the irregular form of the frontier are manifest. While separate settlements, or such as project with a narrow front far into the Indian country, are formed, the causes of provocation to hostility with the Indian tribes are multiplied, and at the same time the means of protection and defence proportionally diminished. Where so many assailable points are presented, the expense would be incalculable (and, indeed, no force within the means of Government

can be adequate) to afford complete protection.

The present irregular form of the frontier, deeply indented by tracts of Indian territory, presents an extended boundary on which intercourse is maintained between the citizen and the savage, the effect of which on the moral habits of both is not unworthy of regard. It is an intercourse by which the civilized man cannot be improved, and by which there is ground to believe the savage is depraved; not being sufficiently enlightened to receive a favorable impression from the virtues of civilization, while he is exposed to the contagion of its vices.

The committee are of the opinion that the proposition contained in the resolution on which they are instructed to report is better calculated to remedy the inconvenience and remove the evils arising out of the present state of the frontier settlements than any other within the power of the Government. The removal of the Indian tribes from their lands surrounded by and contiguous to our settlements will give peace to a compact population, and give strength to the means of national defence. This, however, can only take place with the voluntary consent of those tribes, and must be effected by negotiation and treaty in the usual manner. Those tribes having been recognized so far, as independent communities, as to become parties to treaties with us, and to have a right to govern themselves without being subject to the laws of the United States; and their right to remain in possession of the lands they occupy, and to sell them when they please, has been always acknowledged.... The question as to the power of alienating any portion of the public domain, by treaty or otherwise, is not involved in the present case. The contemplated exchange is no other than a transfer of the Indian *right of possession* from one portion of the public domain to another. This transfer cannot be made without the agreement of a community independent of our laws; hence it can only be effected by a treaty with them. The incompetency of the treaty-making power to act in the proposed case, without a legislative authorization, is inferred from the power granted to Congress "as to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territ-

ory or other property belonging to the United States." It is probable that, viewing this provision as fixing a limit to the power of making treaties for an exchange of territory with Indian tribes, a former Congress did by law authorize the President to stipulate with the Indian tribes residing east of the Mississippi for an exchange of lands the property of the United States on the west side of that river; that law remains yet in force, except the appropriation provided by it, which must have passed to the surplus fund. No other legislative provision appears necessary on the subject of the resolution, but an appropriation of such sum of money as will enable the President to carry into effect the provisions of the former law, and from treaties with the other tribes for that purpose....

Resolved, That an appropriation be made, by law, to enable the President of the United States to negotiate treaties with the Indian tribes, which treaties shall have for their object an exchange of territory owned by any tribe residing east of the Mississippi for other land west of that river." (p. 124)

Source: United States Congress, 1832-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), vol. 2 (1834): 123-124.

2. George Graham, Acting Secretary of War, Washington City to Governor Lewis Cass, Michigan Territory, dated March 23, 1817.

Text: Sir: It having been deemed advisable by the President to make an effort to extinguish the Indian title to all the lands now claimed by them within the limits of the State of Ohio, I am therefore instructed by him to request that, in your route to Detroit, you would endeavor to see some of the chiefs and headmen of the several tribes who claim these lands, with a view of ascertaining how far it may be practicable to obtain a relinquishment of the whole, or any portion of them, and on what terms.

The negotiation should be founded on the basis that each head of family who wishes to remain within the limits ceded should have a life estate in a reservation of a certain number of acres, which should descend to his children in fee, reserving to the widow (if any) her thirds; and that those who do not

wish to remain on those terms should have a body of land allotted to them on the west of the Mississippi. Should you find, on an interview with some of the leading men, that it will be impossible or impolitic to make an attempt to procure all the country claimed, you will then direct your efforts to induce them to enter into a negotiation for the relinquishment of their title to a portion of the land; and, as it is an object of very great importance that there should be a strong settlement commencing the State of Ohio within the Michigan Territory, you will therefore direct your efforts to obtain a cession of the lands lying north and east of the road leading from Fort Meigs to the reservation on Sandusky, and from thence to Norton, in Ohio; or, what would be preferable, a relinquishment of the land north and east of a line to be run directly from Fort Meigs to the point where the road from Sandusky to Norton crosses the Indian boundary line. The amount which may be stipulated to be given for the relinquishment must materially depend on the number of families who would wish to remain within the ceded territory on the terms above mentioned; it cannot, however, in any event, be expected that a relinquishment can be obtained of these lands on such terms as the lands in that quarter have heretofore been ceded; and it is only by paying liberally that we can expect to obtain them.

On your arrival at Detroit, you will advise this Department whether the Indians are disposed or not to enter into a negotiation for the whole or any part of their lands. For the time which you may be detained on your route in ascertaining the temper of the Indians on this subject, you will be allowed eight dollars per day. I have the honor to be, &c. GEORGE GRAHAM, Acting Secretary of War.

Source: United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), vol. 2 (1834):136.

3. Elijah Hayward, General Land Office to R.B. Taney, Secretary of the Treasury, dated May 31, 1834.

Text: 24th Congress, 1st Session, "On the selection and Location of Lands Granted for the Construction

of the Wabash and Erie Canal, in Indiana, Communicated to the House of Representatives, June 6, 1834.", Elijah Hayward, General Land Office to Hon. R.B. Taney, Secretary of the Treasury, May 31, 1834.

"... By the President's proclamation, of the 15th of April, 1817, the lands in the reserve of the twelve miles square, were to be offered [for sale] in July, 1817...."

Source: United States Congress 1832-1861, Cl. 8 (Public Lands), vol. 8 (1861): 462.

4. Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, Sandusky, Ohio to Hon. George Graham, Acting Secretary of War, Washington City, dated April 17, 1817.

Text: Sir: Agreeably to your instructions, I yesterday passed through Upper Sandusky, in order to ascertain the probable views of the Indians with respect to a sale of part of the whole of this country. From information there obtained, I entertain no doubt but that they will consent to cede a considerable portion of this most valuable tract. The terms upon which their assent to the measure may be expected depend not only so much upon the quantity and situation, but also so much upon their whims at the moment of executing the contract, that it would be impossible for me to state (or, I presume, for you to prescribe) any definite terms. Under any circumstances, they will fall infinitely short of the pecuniary and political value of the country obtained.

From the state of the appropriation for the Indian department, and from the difficulty of making previous arrangements, I do not think it necessary that there should be more than one person appointed to manage the business. Should the President be pleased to intrust the negotiation to me, it will be expedient that instructions should be issued as speedily as practicable. The terms mentioned in your letter are dictated equally by moral and political motives nor is any thing more necessary than the pecuniary means to be appropriated to the object. The sum to be, given will depend so much upon the quantity to be ceded, and this latter so

much upon circumstances which cannot now be foreseen and calculated, that I rather think no specific sum can be fixed.

The person appointed to conduct the negotiation ought to be empowered to require of the contractor the necessary provisions to be deposited and issued at a place where it may be deemed expedient to hold the treaty; and, in the event of his failure, by other means to have them issued. Very respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be your most obedient servant, LEWIS CASS.

Source: United States Congress 1834-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), vol. 2 (1834):136.

5. George Graham, Department of War, Washington City to Governor Lewis Cass, Detroit, May 19, 1817.

Text: Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th ultimo, and I now enclose you a commission and instructions authorizing you and General McArthur to hold a treaty with the several tribes of Indians claiming lands within the boundaries of the State of Ohio for the relinquishment of the same. The act which passed the Senate at the last session, to authorize the President to negotiate with the Indian tribes for an exchange of territory, and appropriating \$50,000 for that object, was not acted upon by the House of Representatives. The fifteenth section of the act passed the 25th of March, 1804, for the erection of Louisiana into two Territories, is considered as now in force; but, as our appropriations are deficient, you will make the execution of all the stipulations of the treaty to depend upon the ratification by the Senate, and consequent appropriation.

You will give the contractor for that district due notice of the time and place which yourself and General McArthur may fix upon for holding the treaty, and of the number of rations that may be required. I have the honor to be, &c. GEORGE GRAHAM.

Source: United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), vol. 2 (1834):136.

6. George Graham, Department of War, Washington City to Gov. Lewis Cass, and Gen. Duncan McArthur, Commissioners, &c., May 19, 1817.

Text: "Sir: The representations which the President has received from the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Ohio have rendered it expedient, in his judgment, to enter into a negotiation with those tribes of Indians who claim lands within the boundaries of the State of Ohio, with the view of extinguishing their claim to the whole or any part of those lands; and, confiding in your fidelity, discretion, and patriotism, he has been pleased to appoint you to be the commissioners on the part of the United States for holding a treaty with all or any part of those tribes for that purpose. You will, therefore, give the chiefs notice of your appointment, and fix upon the time and place of holding the treaty; of which the contractor for that district must have due notice, in order that he may be prepared to supply the rations which may be required.

Should the information which Governor Cass has been enabled to obtain in relation to this subject, in consequence of the instructions from this Department of the 23d of March last, render it expedient to make an attempt to obtain a relinquishment from the Indians of all the land which they hold within the limits of the State of Ohio, you will then direct your efforts to obtain the relinquishment of their claim to a part, or the whole, of that tract of country which lies north and east of a line to be run directly from Fort Meigs, or some point higher up the Miami, to the present Indian boundary line, at the point where the road from Norton to Upper Sandusky crosses it, or to the point where the present boundary line crosses the Scioto river.

It is not deemed necessary to give any more definite instructions relative to the terms of the treaty than those contained in the letter to Governor Cass of the 23d of March, and to which you are referred. The removal of the Indians, generally, from the vicinity of Lake Erie, and the advantages that would be derived from connecting the population of the State of Ohio with that of the Michigan Territory,

give to the acquisition of this country a political importance that would justify a more liberal compensation for its relinquishment than has hitherto been given for the relinquishment of Indian claims.

I have the honor to be, &c. George Graham.

Source: United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), vol. 2 (1834):137.

7. "Civilization of The Indians," communicated to the House of Representatives, March 23, 1824.

Text: Mr. McLean, of Ohio, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the resolution of the 6th of January, instructing them to inquire into the expediency of repealing an act entitled "An act making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements," passed on the 3d of March, 1819, reported:

That they have examined the subject embraced by the resolution, and beg leave to submit the following statement:

The committee have carefully examined the measures which have been adopted for the disbursement of the annual allowance made by this law, and find them very judicious, and such as are best calculated to effectuate the benevolent designs of the Government. Although the reports heretofore made by the Secretary of War contained the rules by which the sum granted was to be apportioned and paid, the committee annex them to this report, and wish them to be referred to as part of it. The committee also submit a statement showing the different sums paid to the Indian schools which have been organized, and the number of scholars taught at each school.

From this statement, it will appear that twenty-one schools have been established; all, except three, since the passage of the above law, and principally by the means which it affords. At these schools there are taught more than eight hundred scholars, whose progress in the acquisition of an English education exceeds the most sanguine expectations that had been formed.

Very comfortable school-houses have been erected for the accomodation of the different schools, and, in most cases, convenient dwellings for the teachers. (p. 457) ...

The time of the children is not wholly devoted to their books while at school; the girls are instructed in such arts as are suited to female industry in civilized life, and the boys are required to devote a part of their time in acquiring a knowledge of husbandry. The advances of males and females in these branches are most satisfactory, and have already had no small influence in inducing their parents to become less fond of an erratic life, and more inclined to have fixed residences, and rely for their support on the cultivation of the ground. Such has been the effect of the above circumstances, combined with some others not more influential, that, at many of the places where schools have been established, the Indians have already constructed comfortable dwellings, and now cultivate farms of considerable extent. They have become the owners of property necessary to agricultural pursuits, and for the conveniences of life....

The Indians are not now what they once were. They have partaken of our vices more than our virtues. Such is their condition, at present, that they must be civilized or exterminated; no other alternative exists. He must be worse than savage who can view, with cold indifference, an exterminating policy. All desire their prosperity, and wish to see them brought within the pale of civilization. The means which have been adopted, and of which the law in question is the foundation, seem most likely to obtain the desired result. They should not, therefore, be abandoned.... (p. 458) ...

From the various lights in which the committee have viewed the policy of this law, they are convinced that it is founded in justice, and should not be repealed. They therefore submit to the House the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to repeal the law making an annual appropriation of ten thousand dollars for the civilization of the Indians." (p. 459)

Source: United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), v. 2 (1834): 457-459.

8. President Monroe and Secretary Calhoun's Plan to Remove the Indians East of the Mississippi River, dated 1825.

Text: In 1825, Mr. Monroe, then President of the United States, submitted to Congress his own views and those of Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, on the condition and prospects of the Indians, with a plan for their transmigration and for their permanent settlement in a new region..." (p. 49) "Briefly then, it was proposed, that negotiations should be opened with the various tribes east of the Mississippi, for the purpose of explaining to them the views of the government, and procuring their assent to a removal west of that river; that ample means should be provided for their support, both on the journey and during a reasonable period after their arrival in their new country; that a sufficient extent of suitable territory should be assigned and guaranteed to them; that a government should be provided for them, to the administration of which they should be admitted, as soon as they were fitted, from time to time, for that duty, by education and habits; and that a system of education, looking to their eventual emancipation from the thralldom of their ignorance and prejudices, and their participation in the advantages of civilization and religion, should be adopted and vigorously supported ..." (p. 50)

Source: Lewis Cass, *Consideration on the Present State of the Indians and Their Removal to the West of the Mississippi*. Mid-American Frontier Series, pp. 49-50. Originally printed 1828 (reprinted 1975), Arno Press, New York, NY.

9. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, Washington City to President James Monroe, dated January 24, 1825.

Text: "Sir: In obedience to your instructions, directing a statement of the names of the Indian tribes now remaining within the limits of the different States and Territories, the number of each tribe, and the quantity of land claimed by each; also, an estimate of the amount of appropriation necessary to

commence the work of moving the Indians beyond the Mississippi, to be laid before you, I herewith enclose a report from Colonel McKenney, to whom is assigned the charge of the Office of Indian Affairs, which contains all of the information required, except the estimate of the sum that will be necessary to be appropriated to commence the removal.

In forming the estimate required, it will be necessary to take a summary view of the number and position of the several tribes to be removed, and to form a plan in detail for their removal.

It appears, by the report enclosed, that there are in the several States and Territories (not including the portion of Michigan Territory west of Lake Michigan and north of the State of Illinois (about 97,000 Indians, and that they occupy about 77,000,000 acres of land.

The arrangement for the removal; it is presumed, is not intended to comprehend the small remnants of tribes in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, and South Carolina, amounting to 3,023. To these also may be added the remnants of tribes remaining in Louisiana, amounting to 1,313, as they are each of them so few in number that it is believed very little expense or difficulty will be found in their removal; making, together, 4,336: which subtracted from the 97,000, the entire number in the States and Territories, will leave 92,664 to be removed. Of these, there are residing in the northern parts of the States of Indiana, Illinois, (p. 542) in the peninsula of Michigan, and New York, including the Ottawas in Ohio, about 13,150, which, I would respectfully suggest, might be removed, with advantage to the country, west of Lake Michigan and north of the State of Illinois. The climate and the nature of the country are much more favorable to their habits than that west of the Mississippi; to which may be added, that the Indians in New York have already commenced a settlement at Green Bay, and exhibit some disposition to make it a permanent one; and that the Indians referred to in Indiana, Illinois, in the peninsula of Michigan, and Ohio, will find in the country designated kindred

tribes, with whom they may be readily associated.... Deducting, then, the Indians residing in the north-western parts of Indiana, Illinois, in Michigan, and New York, with the Ottawas in Ohio, amounting to 13,150, from 92,664, will leave but 79,514...

Of these, there are estimated to reside in the States of North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, 53,625, consisting of Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, and claiming about 33,573,176 acres, including the claim of the Cherokees, in North Carolina; 3,082 in Ohio, and in the southern and middle parts of Indiana and Illinois, consisting of Wyandots, Shawanees, Senecas, Delawares, Kaskaskia, Miami, and Eel Rivers; 5,000 in Florida, consisting of Seminoles and remnants of other tribes; and the remainder in Missouri and Arkansas, consisting of Delawares, Kickapoos, Shawanees, Weas, Ioways, Piankeshaws, Cherokees, Quapaws, and Osages.... (p. 543)

Should such principles be established by Congress, and the President be vested with suitable authority to convene the individuals as proposed, and suitable provision be made to meet the expense, great confidence is felt that a basis of a system might be laid, which, in a few years, would entirely effect the object in view, to the mutual benefit of the Government and the Indians; and which, in its operations, would effectually arrest the calamitous course of events to which they must be subject, without a radical change in the present system. Should it be advisable to call such a convention, as one of the means effecting the object in view, an additional appropriation of \$30,000 will be required; making, in the whole, \$125,000 to be appropriated. All of which is respectfully submitted. J. C. CALHOUN. (p. 544)

Source: United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2, v. 2(1834):542-544.

10. "Plan for Removing the Several Indian Tribes West of the Mississippi River," by President James Monroe, Communicated to the United States Senate, dated January 27, 1825.

Text: To the Senate of the United States: Washing-

ton, January 27, 1825

Being deeply impressed with the opinion that the removal of the Indian tribes from the lands which they now occupy, within the limits of the several states and Territories, to the country lying westward and northward thereof, within our acknowledged boundaries, is of very high importance to our Union, and may be accomplished on conditions and in a manner to promote the interest and happiness of those tribes, the attention of the Government has been long drawn with great solicitude to that object.... (p. 541)

The great object to be accomplished is, the removal of these tribes to the territory designated, on conditions which shall be satisfactory to themselves and honorable to the United States. This can be done only by conveying to each tribe a good title to an adequate portion of land to which it may consent to remove; and by providing for it there a system of internal government, which shall protect their property from invasion, and, by the regular progress of improvement and civilization, prevent that degeneracy which has marked the transition from the one to the other state.

I transmit, herewith, a report from the Secretary of War, which presents the best estimate which can be formed, from the documents in that Department, of the number of Indians within our States and Territories, and of the amount of lands held by the several tribes within each; of the state of the country lying northward and westward thereof, within our acknowledged boundaries; of the parts to which the Indian title has already been extinguished; and of the conditions on which other parts, in an amount which may be adequate to the object contemplated, may be obtained. By this report, it appears that the Indian title has already been extinguished to extensive tracts in that quarter, and that other portions may be acquired, to the extent desired, on very moderate conditions. Satisfied I also am that the removal proposed is not only practicable, but that the advantages attending it to the Indians may be made so apparent to them, that all the tribes, even those most opposed, may be induced to accede to it at no

very distant day....

With a view to this important object, I recommend it to Congress to adopt, by solemn declarations, certain fundamental principles, in accord with those above suggested, as the basis of such arrangements as may be entered into with the several tribes; to the stricy observance of which, the faith of the nation shall be pledged. I recommend it also to Congress to provide, by law, for the appointment of a suitable number of commissioners, who shall, under the direction of the President, be authorized to visit and explain to the several tribes the objects of the Government, and to make with them, according to their instructions, such arrangements as shall be best calculated to carry those objects into effect.... JAMES MONROE." (p. 542)

Source: United States Congress, 1832-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), v. 2 (1834):541-542.

11. James Barbour, Department of War, Washington City to John Cocke, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, dated February 3, 1826.

Text: Preservation and Civilization of the Indians. Communicated to the House of Representatives, February 21, 1826.

Sir: The duty assigned me by your letter of ----, enclosing "a bill for the preservation and civilization of the Indian tribes within the United States," is both delicate and important. I have discharged it to the best of my judgment, by preparing, and herewith sending you, the projet of a bill for your consideration, and a report in elucidation of its purposes. I seek shelter from what otherwise would be a painful responsibility, under the superior wisdom of those to whose judgment it is committed.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

JAMES BARBOUR. (p. 646)

Department of War, February 3, 1826.

The condition of the aborigines of this country, and their future destiny, have long engaged the attention

of the philosopher and statesman, inspiring an interest correspondent to the high importance of the subject. The history of the past presents but little on which the recollection lingers with satisfaction. The future is not more cherring, unless resort be speedily had to other counsels than those by which we have heretofore been governed. From the first discovery of America to the present time, one master passion, common to all mankind - that of acquiring land - has driven, in ceaseless succession, the white man on the Indian. The latter, reluctantly yielding to a force he could not resist, has retired from the ocean to the mountains, and from the mountains to more inhospitable recesses, wasting away by sufferings and by wars, foreign and intestine, till a wretched fragment only survivies of the numerous hordes once inhabiting this country, whose portion is to brood in grief over their past misfortunes, or to look in despair on the approaching catastrophe of their impending doom.*

It were now an unprofitable task to inquire on what principle the nations of Europe were justified in dispossessing the original proprietor of his birthright. They brought with them their own maxims, which recognised power as the only standard of right,, and fraud and force as perfectly legitimate in the acquisition of territory. It has been done, and time has confirmed the act.

...

Having pointed out the incongruities of this system, so unhappily organized that it contains within itself the causes of its own abortion, I proceed to review the more modern plans of removing the different tribes from the east to the west of the Mississippi. That this plan originated in that benevolence for which its author is so distinguished, is cherrfully admitted; but that it, too, is obnoxious to many objections, I fear is no less true. The first objection is the impracticability of its execution, if that is to depend on treaties alone. Some of the tribes in whose removal we are most deeply concerned have peremptorily refused to abandon their native land. Those who may be persuaded to emigrate will carry with them the same internal feuds which are so de-

structive to their kind, and for which no remedy is proposed. Different tribes are to be placed in juxtaposition, without a controlling power, between which hereditary and implacable hostilities have raged, and which are not likely to be appeased till the one or the * The whole number of Indians within the United States is estimated, in round numbers, at 300,000; of which 120,000 reside in the States and Territories. (p. 647)

other is exterminated. But, these difficulties surmounted, in what relation are they to stand to the United States? The history of every age teaches us how difficult it has been to maintain tranquility between conterminous and independent States, though civilized. How must that difficulty be increased, when one of the parties is savage? Thefts, and murders, and numberless causes of discord, must inevitable precipitate collisions, which cannot but prove fatal to the weaker party; and the same propensity which has conducted the white population to the remote regions they now occupy, will continue to propel the tide, till it is arrested only by the distant shores of the Pacific. Before this restless current the Indians must retire, till his name will be no more. It would be, however, worse than useless to waste your time in multiplying objections to existing plans; I have, therefore, supposing it to be within the duty assigned me by the committee, submitted the project of a bill, with such provisions as I think, under all the circumstances, are best calculated to effect the desired object.

...

I submit the outlines of the bill, the principles of which are the following:

1st. The country west of the Mississippi, and beyond the States and Territories, and so much on the east of the Mississippi as lies west of Lakes Huron and Michigan, is to be set apart for their exclusive abode.

2dly. Their removal by individuals, in contradistinction to tribes.

3dly. A Territorial Government to be maintained by

the United States.

4thly. If circumstances shall eventually justify it, the extinction of tribes, and their amalgamation into one mass, and a distribution of property among the individuals.

5thly. It leaves the condition of those that remain unaltered.

In offering a few remarks upon these different heads, I beg to call the attention of the committee to the leading principle of the bill, namely: that nothing is proposed to be done, in reference to the Indians, without their own consent....

The first provision looks to be the procurement of a country for their future residence beyond the settlements of the whites. Fortunately, that object can be easily effected. In adopting the limits described in the bill, I have pursued the plan heretofore proposed. In including the lands as a part lying between Lakes Michigan and Huron, and the river Mississippi, I have been governed as well by the above consideration, as the fact that it is now in the occupancy of the Indians, and from its natural features, is not desirable at present for the habitation of our citizens.

The principal recommendation of this plan, next to the advantages to be gained by ourselves, is, that the future residence of these people will be forever undisturbed; that there, at least, they will find a home and a resting place; and being exclusively under the control of the United States, and, consequently, free from the rival claims of any of the States, the former may plight its most solemn faith that it shall be theirs forever; and this guaranty is therefore given.

The second provision referred to is that of effecting their removal by portions less than whole tribes, when the latter is impracticable. Some of these tribes, in whose immediate removal we are particularly interested, have expressed a fixed determination against an exchange of their lands. This difficulty is said to arise from the influence of their chiefs, who have appropriated the most fertile lands

to themselves, and have become wealthy. Their consent to remove cannot be obtained; but the majority, or large portions of the tribe who have no such inducement to remain, it is asserted by those who know, or pretend to know their wishes, may be persuaded to emigrate. By the proposed plan, the fact can be ascertained; and whatever portion may be willing to go, under this provision, be removed.

The third object of the bill is the establishment of a Territorial Government by the United States for their protection and their civilization. The bill proposes a governor, three judges, and a secretary, to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and such modifications in detail as the President shall ordain, subject to the approbation of Congress.

I have already intimated, in a former part of this report, the consequences of sending the Indians to the country destined for their final abode, without some controlling authority. Without this, they will be exposed to endless mischiefs....

A fourth object of this bill, is the division of their lands in such a manner, and at such times, as the President may think proper. The object of this provision is to give the power to the President (when, in his judgment, circumstances will justify it) to distribute the land among the individuals by metes and bounds, in contradistinction to its being held in common by a tribe. Nothing, it is believed, has had a more injurious influence on our efforts to improve the condition of the Indians, than holding their land in common....

To those advantages may be added the consideration, that, after an individual distribution, the effort of the whites to dispossess them of their lands thus held must cease. The individual appropriation of land gives a sanctity to the title which inspires respect in nations the most barbarous....

I will add, that the end proposed is the happiness of the Indians; the instrument of its accomplishment, their progressive, and, finally, their complete civilization.... Respectfully submitted. JAMES BARBOUR.

Source: United States Congress 1832-1861, cl. 2 (Indian Affairs), v. 2 (1834): 646-649.

12. The United States Congress passed President Andrew Jackson's "Indian Removal Bill" on May 28, 1830.

Text: "... Jackson was elected in 1829, and one of the first measures he urged following his inauguration was what became known as the "Indian Removal Bill." After one of the bitterest debates in the history of Congress, this bill was enacted into law on May 28, 1830.^[FN1] It did not itself authorize the enforced removal of the Indians, but it announced federal policy favorable to removal and placed in the hands of President Jackson the means to initiate steps to secure the removal of any tribe "residing within the limits of the states or otherwise."

[Note: Text of footnote 1 missing in original document]

Source: Foreman 1946:59.

13. Inhabitants of Port Lawrence, Ohio, to to Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, Detroit, dated August 2, 1830.

Text: Detroit, Aug 16, 1830. Sir, I enclose an application from the inhabitants living in the vicinity of the Ottawas of the Maumee, & beg leave to add that should the Department think proper to authorize the attempt requested, it could be done without any expense, and I think it be advantageous to that part of the country. Very Respectfully, I am your obedient servant, Lewis Cass.

To Lewis Cass, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Territory of Michigan.

We the undersigned residing in the southern section of the Territory being materially effected in our interests and a convenience by the possession of the Ottoway Tribe of Indians on both sides of the Mouth of the Maumee River. The peculiarity of this situation of those lands is such that this being held by the Indians keeps other large tracts and import-

ant situations from being improved. In short, in relation to the population of this country it is the key to this river.

A law having been passed for the purchasing or exchanging of lands with the Indians & their removal. We have conceived that you are or probably will be vested with power for the negotiation with Indians for this purpose.

Entertaining no doubts that an exchange might now be effected advantageous to the Indians and the white inhabitants in their neighborhood. We pray you to adopt such measures as you may concur to be necessary or in case you are not empowered that you with advise us what course to pursue to effect this object.

We are not alone anxious for the removal of these Indians. The state of Ohio as a state on any solicitous and the inhabitants on the northern line of this state are particularly anxious for the removal of these Indians from the reservations they now hold.

If they cannot at this time be removed west of the Mississippi we firmly believe they may be collected onto our tract somewhere out of the line of the thoroughfare of the white inhabitants. Be assured of our highest estimation and regret, Port Lawrence on 2 August, 1830.

Signed: Cyrus Fisher, William Wilson, Henry Phillips, Noah Whitney, Milton D. Whitney, Tibbals. Baldwin, John T. Baldwin, J. L. Phillips, Sapor Phillips, Eli Hubbard, W. R. Merritt, Boswell Riley, Isaac B. Warden, Hiram Bartlett.

Source: United States National Archives 1959, Roll 420 (1828-1831):0479-0481.

14. Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, Detroit to Col. Thomas L. McKenney, Washington City, dated August 10, 1830.

Text: Sir, A deputation of the Ottawa chiefs of the Maumee has recently been here & have renewed a subject which they have heretofore brought forward & which I now by leave submit to you.

By the 6th article of the Treaty of Detroit concluded with the Ottawa, Chippewa, Wyandot & Potawatomie tribes of Indians, Nov. 17, 1807, it was provided, among other reservations, that one tract of "three miles square should be reserved for the use of the Indians on the Miami above the Twelve Miles square, ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Greenville, including what is called Presque Isle". The Ottawas state & such I believe to be the fact, that by some inadequacy, this reservation here alluded to was not secured to them & that some or all of it has been sold by the United States. They now ask, that a quantity, equal to nine sections, may be selected and reserved for their use in some other place. They wish it may be south of the Maumee, near their principal settlement & where there are sugar camps, they have long occupied. I beg leave to request that this arrangement may be made & that the sub-agent at the Maumee, Lemuel Lloyd, may be authorized to make the location & may be instruct & consult their wishes in the execution of this duty. Very Respectfully, I am sir your obedient servant, Lewis Cass.

Source: United States National Archives 1959, roll 420 (1828-1831):0463.

15. Rev. Isaac McCoy, Washington City, to Samuel Lykins, dated March 4, 1831.

Text: Michigan, March 4, 1831. From Rev. Isaac McCoy. Encloses a petition from sundry Ottoway chiefs to remove west of the Mississippi.

Copy of Ottawa request for permission to emigrate to the west, Feb. 5, 1829

Mr. Lykins, Sir, We are sorry that we did not see you while you was at Grand River. We send one of our number to see you and hope you will try to help us. When we look around us and see our children cry with hunger, and can find no game where with to satisfy their wants and where we see, on the other land, that wicked white men are constantly bringing spiritous liquor into our country, we are led to enquire where we can find a better country? Two of the undersigned have been through a section of country west of the Mississippi and with pleasure

we anticipate the time when we, with our families shall inhabit that country. Will you have the goodness to intercede for us with the President for a donation of land for ourselves and nation, and also for necessary travelling expenses to that place whenever we, or our nation shall concede to go.

(Ottawas) gosa x - his mark, Wesaugone x - his mark, Mikoubas x - his mark, Ming kukik x - his mark, I obe quum x - his mark, Nawash x - his mark, Kosh kone quet x - his mark. (PS) "There are many more of our nation who intend going, provided they can obtain a home, but are now at their winter hunting grounds."

The above petition I subsequently submitted to the Hon. Sec. War. Also I submitted a request from the Potawatomes, dated, ? St. Josephs, Mich. Ter. Feb. 3, 1829 signed by Magaukwesk - Shaunukwuk - Mufsequaza - Tuekkna - Kaesun - Lewis McNeff - & Neawke saying them names would have been added, but their people generally were at that time on their huntings. I also submitted the petition to the Hon. Sec. War, of Lewis Baron, and Thomas Baldwin, Potawatomie youths studying medicine at Carlton, VT saying the same, dated Feb. 14, 1829. Washington March 4, 1831, Isaac McCoy.

Source: United States National Archives 1959, roll 420 (1828-1831):0644-0645.

16. Col. James B. Gardiner, Tiffin, Ohio to Col. Samuel S. Hamilton, Washington City, dated June 19, 1831.

Text: Tiffin, O. June 19, 1831. Dear Sir, I returned late last evening from a long and extremely fatiguing tour among the Shawnees at Waupaghkonetta; and I am compelled to start early tomorrow morning, to meet an appointment with the Ottawas at Maumee. I have now only time to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 4th inst. which was highly satisfactory.

On my return from Maumee, I design to forward to the Department a detailed account of my opinion up to that time. I have the pleasure to assure you that my success, so far, has been equal to my anticipa-

tion. With sentiments of very sincere respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, Yr. mo. obdt. Servt., J. B. Gardiner.

Source: United States National Archives 1959, roll 601 (1831-1838):0050-0051.

17. Rev. Isaac VanTassel, Ebenezer Mission, Maumee, Ohio to the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1831.

Text: ... But after the negotiation with the Shawnees had been completed, overtures of similar character were made by the same agent to the Ottawas. At the first council of the Indians held for this purpose, they appeared determined to retain their land and remain where they were, and decidedly refused the offers made them. Another council was, however, called, and after having been continued a number of days, a portion of the Indians were induced to assemble in general council on the Sabbath, and sign a treaty, by which they sold all their land in Ohio. Many protested the treaty, but without effect.

At the time of the treaty, they prevailed on about half of those at Blanchard's Fork and a small party on the Oglaze to go west of the Mississippi; in all about fifty men. The others refused to go, and will probably remain here for the present. I have been among them some since the treaty; and since they have had time to reflect upon what they have done, they appear to be very much cast down. What is in reserve for the poor Indians, we cannot now foresee. But when I reflect that God is just, I tremble in view of those awful judgments that must await our beloved country. Since the treaty, some of the Indians have said they will never leave this country; if they can find no place to stay, they will spend the rest of their days in walking up and down the Maumee, mourning over the wretched state of their people. Some have said they would place themselves under our protection, and stay by us as long as we remain.

We have received one new scholar since the treaty. He is a chiefs son, about four years old. The school now numbers 13 Indian children and five whites;

the last pay for their board and tuition. Three of mixed blood and one full Indian have been absent some time. We do not expect they will return. / Since the commotion, we have been hesitating what course to take as to the future operations of this mission. To disband and say to these children, some of whom are very promising, return back to the forest, would be truly painful. But to continue a small school, when the door in future and more extensive usefulness is closed, we could not conceive to be the path that duty required. Since, however, the greater part of the Indians are disposed to remain, we have concluded to wait till we can ascertain more clearly what course Providence will direct.

Since the treaty, we have been making renewed and more vigorous efforts, in conjunction with some influential men in the country to induce the traders, if possible, to discontinue the traffic in ardent spirits entirely. But we have not succeeded. They have all, however, gone so far as to say, that they would not sell directly or indirectly to the Indians.

Source: VanTassel 1831:387-388.

18. Benjamin F. Stickney, Tiffin, Ohio to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Detroit, dated September 26, 1831.

Text: Sir, I came here to make arrangements with Col. Gardner for entering into a second negotiation with the Ottaways for the extinguishment of their title to their two remaining reservations at the mouth of the Miami River. On my arrival here, I have learnt from Col. G. that the Secretary of War was probably at Detroit. I therefore address you direct upon the subject.

After the close of the late negotiation with the Ottaways for the three reservations in Ohio Col. G. desired me to try the feelings of the Ottaways at the mouth of the river, in relation to extinguishment of their remaining claims. Giving a few days for the feelings of repugnance to subside, I approached them "*in the round about*" I am now satisfied that it is practicable to manage them. They say they must go and see the country intended for their fu-

ture residence before they can consent to move there. I now propose to the department to take four or five of the leaders, and repair with them in person to the "promised land." And on this tour to prepare their minds for the closing of the bargain. If the proposition is approved of, to start immediately; believing it to be practicable to return early in December. You can better judge what I am capable of doing in the management of Indians than we can. But, I think myself, they are manageable. And upon such terms as may be dictated by the Department.

Col. Gardner states to me that his powers as commissioner, does not extend beyond the State of Ohio. That he cannot enter upon the negotiation without new powers. That any other individual may be as conveniently invested, as himself and has proposed that I should be the individual. And has said to me that he shall immediately propose it to the head of the Department.

I learn from Col. Gardner, that to fix upon a specific sum that should cover all expenses attending the exploring tour would be most desirable. I have made a calculation as near as practicable. Allowing for expenses of four Indians on the road, some allowance for the support of their families during their absence, and a small compensation as conductor, that one thousand dollars, may, with close economy, cover the expenses.

If you should approve of this proposition; and see fit to authorize Col. Gardner to make a draft to cover the expenses I could come on here, with the Indians on the way to Cincinnati with a view to descend the Ohio River as the most expeditious rout: an perhaps (all things [illegible] the best.

Will you do me the honor to answer directed to Port Lawrence. I have the honor to be Sir your very Obt.
B.F. Stickney.

Hon. Lewis Cass

Secretary of War

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Michigan Superintendency, Roll 420.

19. Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War, Washington City to Benjamin F. Stickney, Tiffin, Ohio, dated October 26, 1831.

Text: Sir, It is deemed unadvisable to enter at present into a negotiation with the Ottawas for the extinguishment of their Title to their two remaining reservations of land at the mouth of the Miami river, unless the advance be made by them - any solicitude of the Government on this subject will occasion exorbitant demand on their part - It is therefore thought to be expedient to let this subject rest as it is, indicating an indifference about such an extinguishment, unless the overture comes from them. It is highly probable that they will wish to follow their Brothers to the West, and on the intimation of such a desire it will be judicious to treat with them. - With much respect &c., &c. Elbert Herring.

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 21, Roll 7.

20. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Washington City to Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, Detroit, dated July 4, 1832.

Text: His Excellency George B. Porter. Sir, Information has reached this Department, that the Ottawas of the Maumee are desirous to sell their lands to the United States, & remove west of the Mississippi. You are therefore authorized to select some suitable person to visit that tribe, with instructions to ascertain whether this information be correct, & if so, the terms upon which they will sell. The person, thus employed by you, will discourage any proposition the tribe may make, to send a deputation to explore the country beyond that river. Experience has shown, that no goods result from such a course; & the tribe therefore, if they agree to relinquish, must also consent that the Government shall select a location for them, as it has been done for other tribes.

The compensation of the person you may send upon this duty, will be five dollars a day, to include his services & expenses. He will make a full report to you of his proceedings, which, when received, you will communicate to the Department. I have the

honor to be &c. Lewis Cass.

Source: United States National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, vol. 8, p. 517.

21. George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan Territory, Detroit to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Washington City, dated July 13, 1832.

Text: Sir, Your letter of the 4th July inst. had come to hand this day: - authorizing me to select some suitable person to visit the Ottawas of the Maumee, and ascertain whether the information which has reached your department, be correct, viz that this tribe are desirous to sell their lands to the United States and remove west of the Mississippi: and if so the terms upon which they will sell.

I shall in due season have this attended to. But cannot promise it, before the latter end of September. The situation of our country in point of health, some of her circumstances having weight on my mind, induce me to name September as the proper time for attending to this: - as well as having the annuity paid to them. Should you think it better to have it accomplished sooner, on being informed of it, I shall make arrangements to meet your views.

I have no hesitation saying that this tribe are desirous of selling their land: but, from all I can learn, they do not wish to remove west of the Mississippi. They are rather inclined to go to Canada; or some where in our vicinity. A gentleman from Maumee, in whom both you & I have great confidence, who has intercourse with them told me this day that it would be very difficult, if not entirely out of the question, to persuade them to go west of the Mississippi.

I mention this, that you may consider whether anything further would be said by way of instructions, before the person, I may select, shall visit them. With considerations of the highest respect & esteem, your obedient servant, G. B. Porter.

Private. Superintendency Detroit, July 13th 1832. Will Governor Cass excuse for saying that in your hurry of business, the letter of the 4th inst. directing

me to select a suitable person to visit the Ottawas of the Maumee, & co - which reaches here by this mornings mail is not signed: Being an important matter, I have thought it best to say this to you that you may forward an official paper to file in this office. Truly your friend, obedient servant, G. B. Porter. P.S. Would it be right: or in other words it was your approbation to send Major Roland?

Source: United States National Archives 1959, roll 421 (1832-1835), frames:0084-0087.

22. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Washington City to Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, Detroit, dated September 11, 1832.

Text: To His Excellency Geoge B. Porter, Govr. Of Michigan. Sir, Instead of dispatching a person to seek an interview with the Ottawas of the Maumee, as authorized by my letter to you of the 4th July last, you are requested to execute that duty in person. It is understood that those Indians will shortly be assembled for the purpose of receiving their annuities, and their views respecting the cession of their lands can then be obtained without the expense of collecting and subsisting them.

You will be allowed for executing this duty eight dollars a day and eight dollars for every twenty miles of travel. But no expense whatever will be incurred in effecting the object except for your own compensation. Very respectfully &c. Lewis Cass.

Source: United States National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, vol. 9, p. 233.

23. George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan Territory, Detroit to James Jackson, Subagent Indian Affairs, Maumee, Ohio, September 27, 1832.

Text:

Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Detroit Sep 27th 1832, James Jackson, Esq., Subagent Indian Affairs.

Sir, When in your place, I exhibited to you the letter from the Department of War relative to the claim presented by Dr. White for vaccinating Indi-

ans: and also a general letter from the same source on the subject of vaccination: But as Dr. White was not at home we came to no conclusion on the subject - I understood you to say you had a letter, authorizing this vaccination from Col. Mason, during my absence and that you would forward it to me by next march - I have not heard from you since we left Maumee - I now enclose your copies of the two letters from the War Dept which I mentioned above, and will thank you to see Dr. White's ?? to me by the first mail - The reason I would urge for this haste, is this, The daily express that the vessel will be ready to leave here, to take us to Green Bay & am anxious to report this matter before I leave Detroit - You will perceive that by the letter of 21st July I am instructed to examine the matter & report the authority, if any, under which you acted, & what in my judgment would be a reasonable compensation. I wish therefore to be furnished by Dr. White and yourself with whatever you can, to enable me to comply with this order. And after reading both letters to know what Dr. White would state his bill as, to accord with the views contained in these letters. I am very respectfully your friend & obedient servant, G. B. Porter.

So much of the answer of Mr. Jackson as applied to this subject is in the following words:

Maumee Saturday 12 O'clock. Sir, On Friday I received yours with the inclosures. Dr. White, was from home and did not return until late last night, which is the preventative ?? your not receiving his and my answer by today's mail together with Col. Mason's instructions relative to vaccination. With every sentiment of esteem and respect, I remain your obedient servant, James Jackson.

Source: "George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan Territory, Detroit to James Jackson, Subagent Indian Affairs, Maumee, Ohio, September 27, 1832," in Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881 (Microcopy 234). Michigan Superintendency, 1824-1851 (Roll 421, 1832-1835), Frames: 0270-0271. National Archives Microfilm and Records Service, Washington, DC, 1959.

24. George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan Territory, Detroit to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Washington City, dated September 29, 1832.

Text: Sir, In compliance with the instructions contained in your letter of the 11th inst. requesting me to give effect personally to the objects of this government as expressed in the letter of the Department of the 23rd July, relative to the purchase of the Ottawa reservation of the Maumee. I convened the chiefs & principal men of that band, at Maumee, on the 21st inst., and have the honor now, to report the result of this conference.

I represented to the Indians, upon beginning the council, that their Great Father, the President, had heard they wished to sell their land. I had been sent to them; to ascertain whether this information was true - it was not the intention of the government to press them on the subject - it was an important matter, upon which they should deliberate well, before they decided - There was no necessity, on their part, nor wish, on the part of their Great Father, that they should be precipitate in coming to a determination - He meant to do them ample justice, and to see that they suffered no wrong. Should they conclude to make a bargain with him; but whether they did or not, they would be equally sure of his protection against all injury. That having explained the purpose of my visit, I wished them to retire and consider the proposition, and would meet them again in the morning to receive their answer. I should communicate their decision, when made, to their Great Father, who would then instruct me further what to do, if their determination should be to sell.

The Indians, through one of their chiefs, called Sheno, said, that they had heard and understood my proposition, but were not prepared immediately to say anything about it. They would consult with each other tonight, and meet me in the morning.

The next day in the afternoon the chiefs assembled, and being asked by me whether they had come to any conclusion, replied they had found the time too short. They then proposed to have their wishes

stated by a half-breed, whom they brought forward, called King.

I declined hearing him, stating that I had brought an interpreter who spoke their language, expressly for the purpose of hearing them, and of dealing with them, in the matter without the interference of other persons. They understood their own business very well and could manage it better than another of them. I came to talk to them and not to somebody else for them.

They proposed that I should then wait two or three days when they would be able to come to some decision.

I replied that my business called me away. I only asked an answer to my question, and certainly they could find no difficulty in saying yes or no. I did not propose to ?? upon any terms, or to settle upon the price of their lands. All that would be arranged, if we came to treat. But I wanted an answer, that I might know whether it would be necessary for me to come back this fall - if they wanted an hour or two, to have a further consultation in, I would wait for them.

They then asked me when I would return from the upper country, and being told in about two moons, said they would give me an answer then.

I replied that as my question was a general one, they could as well tell me now as then. If they did not want to sell, they had only to say so, and it would be unnecessary for me to return.

They said that they would retire an hour or two, and at the expiration of this time give me an answer.

In about two hours they returned, and being asked if they had determined, the chiefs who had spoken for them before, stated, that they were now ready to give me an answer. They did not misunderstand me, when I said that we did not wish to urge them to any terms, but only wanted learn whether they were desirous of selling or not.

That they had been cheated by the man who bought

the land last summer. He had made them many promises, but did not perform them, and had caused much trouble and contention among their people. The time for the payment promised by him had passed and they saw nothing of it yet. He agreed to give them \$10,000. They hoped their Great Father would compel him to fulfill his promises to them, and do them justice.

They hoped their friends, the Americans would continue friends to them. They began to feel bad, because they found the inhabitants surrounding them, and they could not hunt.[frame 0107]

They wanted also a free passage over all the roads, and the privilege of going to Malden, to receive their presents, as they received them from their Great Father.

“As to the land, we are willing to sell; we want \$4,000 a year, for it, as long as our tribe shall exist.”

The speaker was here interrupted by some of the chiefs, and after some discussion among them, he stated that they had not perfectly understood each other. They asked \$40,000 for the land. He was again checked, and perceiving that there was still some misunderstanding he conferred a moment with some of the chiefs behind him, when another chief, Was-e-o-no-quet rose and said “About the price of our land: we want \$50,000 for it, out of which our debts are to be paid.”

The interpreter was directed to ask them if this was the conclusion to which they had come, and if they now all understood it.

They answered - yes.

The chief Sheno, then said, that they would state the reservations they desired to make, and hoped they would be granted, as their young men and women wanted to live there.

There was another thing that they wished to speak about. Their people who lived near Peter Menard's, called Yellow Hair, were anxious that a piece of

land granted by them last year in the Treaty should be conveyed to Menard, and the land reserved for him, should be transferred to the U.S. The land they wanted to have in possession of Menard, as their grave yard, and they were desirous of leaving it in his care, that he might preserve for them the home of their fathers.

They should want also about 5 acres at Wolf rapids, and the island, containing about 50 more. But these reservations they would describe more particularly, and state their wants and wishes more fully when I returned.

I said to them, that if they had been wronged by the person who was here last summer, I could not promise to relieve them, but could give them all this aid in my power - that in regard to the complaint against Lloyd. I would investigate the matter, and endeavor to have justice done to them.

That I had been instructed by their Great Father to speak to them about another matter. He had told me, if I found any whiskey here, to take it away. They always complained of being cheated in their bargains with the whites. It was because they had drunk too much whiskey and became foolish. If we wanted to get their land for nothing, we had only to give them plenty of whiskey, and then make a bargain for it. They had behaved very well, since I came, and I trusted [frame 0108] they would continue to do so. But their Great Father was determined, at any rate to keep the poison from his children.

That in reference to the land, they asked too much for it. They had but 32,000 acres. I should tell that their Great Father what they said, but they must not expect to get what they asked. If they thought they would take a fair price, I would come back in two moons and treat with them for it: if I did, they should have timely notice, so that they could get together.

In answer to the question, of where they would prefer to hold a treaty, they replied, on the ground where they then were --- (Maumee). On the morning of the 23rd, the Indians assembled, just before my

departure, and presented me a paper, containing a description, generally, of the reservations they should ask, and to which Sheno had alluded in his speech - a copy of which is herewith transmitted.

From information derived from other and authentic sources, while at Maumee, I am now perfectly satisfied, that the opinion expressed by me in my letter of the 13th July, in reference to the disposition of the Indians on this subject, is correct. They are desirous to sell, and have made up their minds on the subject of more than a year past. Indeed it is a fact of common notariety at Maumee, that they have agreed to anticipate the means they expect to receive from the sale of their lands, and in that view, have incurred heavy debts there, which, without resorting to such a mode of liquidation, they know themselves utterly unable, ever to discharge. And I have no doubt, that, but for the caution of Indian character, and the timidity and slowness which generally mark their negotiations on these subjects, my propositions would have immediately been met, by an affirmative answer. There can be no question; therefore, that the purchase may be effected in the course of the fall. It is proper to suggest, however, that notwithstanding the favorable temper manifested by them on this subject, yet their sense of having been wronged by Mr. Gardiner in the late treaty considered by him, appears so fresh, and their complaints of deception (in the justice of which the citizens of Maumee generally concur) are so many and reiterated, that it is probable the Government may find it necessary to give a larger equivalent for this land, than other other circumstances, would have required. In stating this, you must not understand that I have formed any opinion unfavorable to Mr. Gardiner. [frame 0109]

The trifling expense of this jaunt, will be included in my other accounts.

All which is respectfully submitted, with highest consideration of respect and esteem. Your obedient servant, G. B. Porter.

(Copy of the paper referred to within).

Memorandum of reserves. The Ottawas which

made out of their lands at the Mouth of the Maumee river - viz.

Antoine wishes to reserve at the Mouth of the river to include Presque Isle one mile and a half square, out of which Jacques Navarre is to have one section on the river, on the upper side, and the rest of the Navarre family viz: Robert, Peter, Antoine, Francis, and Alexis are to have one section out of the same, and Albert Ranger is to get 80 acres, on the back end of the reserves, and Antoine wishes to retain two miles out of the Three Mile reserve, they claim on or near Portage river, also 1/4 section for Petau to be reserved out of the whole reserve or where she may want it.

Wa-si-on-e-quette reserves on the north side of the river for himself and heirs 160 acres where he may choose it. Also Ushcush, and Ke-tuck-kee and their sons together 640 acres, John B. King is to have 70 acres and Lewis King 75 acres, and Wau-bees daughter 35 acres; and R. A. Forsyth of Maumee is to have a half section at Halfway Creek on the turnpike, and another half section wherever he may choose it.

Source: United States National Archives 1959, roll 421 (1832-1835):0104-0109.

25. Dr. Oscar White, Maumee, Ohio to George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan Territory, Detroit, September 30, 1832.

Text: Sir, Your letter of the 27th inst. to the Sub-agent of Indian Affairs residing at this place has been handed to me - in compliance with your request I have to state that in vaccinating the Indians I acted under the direction of the Agent, here, I had then seen no specific directions from the War Department upon the subject. I kept no journal of my proceedings except a list of names. I am sorry to find that the account which I have rendered is thought unreasonable though I might have expected it, for those only who have been personally engaged in this business know the difficulties which attend it's introduction. The following are some of them. Upon visiting an encampment for the purpose of vaccinating its inhabitants I often had to wait until a

council was called and such delays as Indian deliberations on occasion you have lately had a specimen of. I need not repeat them. But the worst is if they assemble to council they are sure to disperse before the operation can be performed. I then had to seek them through the forest over a country at least 40 miles square and this not once only but twice and thrice in some instances for I made it a point to know that all who were vaccinated received the virus. At almost every step my progress was arrested by calls for medical advice and assistance for I found them very much diseased with Rheumatism, Ulcers, and Syphilis and during the spring, the Hooping Cough and Measles were among them. About two weeks after I began to vaccinate them the Small Pox made its appearance, two cases only have occurred and these individuals who had not been vaccinated. In performing this service my object was to save the Indians from disease and death knowing that the Small Pox was already near them and that they would inevitably spread it among the white population. In making out my account I followed such rules as I do, for like business in the ordinary round of my professional calling: and if now I had it in my power to [frame 0126] inform you the precise number of days, and the amount of expenses consumed in this business I would readily do so and cheerfully allow you to say what I ought to receive. But adding I know of no rule by which I could state my case ?? than its face. I must however submit it to your judgement. I have the honor to be your very humble and most obedient servant, Oscar White.

Source: United States National Archives 1959, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Michigan Superintendency, 1824-1851, Roll 421 (1832-1835), Frames: 0270-0271.

26. George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan Territory, Detroit to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Washington City, dated October 5, 1832.

Text: [frame 0123] Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Detroit, Oct 5th 1832. Sir, In answer to the letter from the War Dept of the 21st July on the subject of Vaccination of Indians in the vicinity of

Maumee, for which I had forwarded the Bill of Dr. White's amounting to \$345.75 I have to state: that when at that placelately on official business I made the necessary enquiry to enable me to form an opinion of what would be a reasonable compensation for the services of Dr. White who is a respectable man & I have no doubt that he fully performed the services stated. Not having the opportunity of conversing with him, as he was absent on the day I came away, I wrote on my return, to James Jackson, the Sub-agent: I have enclosed a copy of--- dated Sep. 27th and his answer: also a copy of Dr. White's explanatory letter dated Sept 30th 1832: and a copy of the original letters ?? to me by Mr. Johnston of Col. ?? to him dated on the 12th April last shewing the authority on which the Sub-agent acted. / It seems to me that .33 1/3 cents for each person vacinnated would be reasonable proper compensation for Dr. White's services & I recommend the Sub-agent of his ?? at this rate. / I also enclose the bill of Dr. Winslow for vaccinating Indians at the St. Joseph Sub-agency as certified by Col. Stewart the Sub-agent - a copy of the same of his letter enclosing it to me, are sent herewith, this is all I know about the matter. / [frame 0124] / You will please what shall be done with each of these claims. / Very respectfully, Your obedient servant, G. B. Porter.

Source: United States National Archives 1959, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Michigan Superintendency, 1824-1851, Roll 421 (1832-1835), Frames: 0122-0124.

27. Memorial of the Ottawa Indians of the Maumee River, Maumee, Ohio to Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, Detroit, dated February 15, 1833.

Text: Father, We the Chiefs and Head men of the Ottawa Nation of Indians at Maumee, being assembled to hold a council with you, for the purpose, if possible of making a Treaty for the sale to the United States of our two Reservations, at and near the mouth of the river, and having heard what you had to say to us beg leave to state, that before we can make any new Treaty we must be satisfied

about the Treaty made with Mr. Gardiner in August 1831 - That Treaty as it has been ratified and confirmed and printed in your Book is not as we understood it; nor as it was interpreted to us - The way it was represented to us was this: Mr. Gardiner in speaking about the land, offered to give us 70 cents pr acre, besides paying for the improvements; and as we could not count and therefore did not know how much this would amount Mr. Gardiner made the estimate and said the money coming to us would be \$40,000 - besides the valuation of the improvements, which would amount to \$2000. - Under the full belief that this sum of \$40,000 exclusive of \$2000 for improvements would be paid, consent was given to the Treaty - Out of this sum we agreed that you will observe in the Treaty to pay our Debts, amounting to about \$22,000, which would leave \$18,000, coming to us besides - besides \$2000. for improvements which money we calculated upon, and expected, for we had every reason so to do, & that before this time it would be paid to us - Besides this Mr. Gardiner again and again promised us that the Government would deal with us, in every way as favorably as with the Shawnees for whose lands a Treaty had been made - As the Treaty now reads, it appears that instead of the 70 cents pr acre or \$40,000, being applied first to pay our debts and then the balance to ourselves, the lands are to be sold by the United States, and after deducting from the avails thereof seventy cents pr acre exclusive of the cost of surveying and \$2000 proposed to be advanced, as the valuation of our improvements the balance is to be applied to pay the debts mentioned in the Treaty and the overplus, if any to be applied to our benefit - We protest as well as on our own account as on behalf of our brethren who have gone West of the Mississippi that this was not the Treaty, and that we never did agree to any such thing - In this way we have got little or nothing for our land, as the result has shown - That the representation we make of the Treaty is correct we refer you to all our Traders and every one who was present at the Treaty - Of this we wish you to inform yourself - Ask Messrs. John E. Hunt, John Hollister, Robert A. Forsyth and all others who were present - Enquire particularly of

Mr. Henry Connor your Interpreter - He was the Interpreter at the Treaty ; and although we have never since spoken to him on the subject, relying on his known integrity of character and convinced that he will tell the truth - We are willing to abide by what he will say.

We desire therefore that you will represent this matter to our Great Father, and obtain this money for us - We signed a paper and had it sent on to him long since by the Sub Agent at this place, but have received no answer. There are small debts which we justly owe that must be paid out of this money, as soon as you can get it. After that it is to be divided between us and our brethren who went West of the Mississippi. - Before they parted from us a writing was made between us stating the manner in which it is to be divided: - One half to be for those who had gone or might emigrate, and the other for us who remain - We trust and hope that our Great Father the President and the Government will treat us as well as they did the Shawnees - They sent a Deputation to Washington and represented the misunderstanding which existed in their Treaty as reported, and Congress gave them \$30,000. We cannot suppose that this money will be withheld from us - But hope you will have pity on us - Pay our debts stated in the Treaty - give us the balance of \$18,000. in such way as you think right; and we relinquish all the pretended excess or overplus which might arise by the sale of the lands as provided for in the Treaty - We ask this as our just due and hope it will be granted.

Maumee Feby 15. 1833. In presence of James Jackson Sub Agent, Louis Beufort, Chs. A.P. Hunt, G.B. Knaggs, James H. Forsyth, J.D. Beaugrand. [Signed by their marks] Wau-see-on-o-quet, Auto-kee, She-no, Waubeegaikek, Shaw-wa-no, Kettuck-kee, Aush-cash, No-ten-o, Way-say-on, Sassin, Wau-qus-gai-shik, O-sage, Wee-sau-kee, Kaije-way-no, An-ne-qua-to, Meesh-quet, Sasse-go-wan, Pe-ton-o-quet.

I hereby certify that I have faithfully interpreted the above paper to the Chiefs of the Ottawa Band of Indians, whose names appear subscribed hereto &

that they acknowledge to have signed it for the purpose therein expressed. Henry Connor, U.S. Sub Agt & Interpr.

The undersigned have no hesitation in saying that the representation made in the foregoing paper is correct and there is no doubt that the understanding of the Indians, at the time as expressed in their intercourse with us was as they have herein stated. - John E. Hunt, R A Forsyth, John Hollister.

I acted in the capacity of Interpreter at the Treaty alluded to in the within memorial. I understood the arrangement to be as the Indians have therein expressed it, and accordingly so interpreted to them. - Henry Connor, U.S. Sub Agt & Interpreter.

Maumee

February 18 1833 -

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Roll 421.

28. George B. Porter, Maumee, Ohio to Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War, Washington City, dated February 18, 1833.

Text: Maumee, Ohio, Feb. 18, 1833. Sir, I enclose a memorial from the Ottawa Indians of Maumee, with whom I have been holding a Treaty, complaining of the misunderstanding under which they labored, when they concluded the Treaty with Mr. Gardiner, in 1831. In my report to the Department in September last, I state the difficulty I anticipated in making a Treaty, on this amount. This paper being presented to me now, I had a long conversation with Mr. Connor, & his certificate is annexed to their memorial. I cannot from the representations made to me, doubt, the Indians could not have understood Mr. Gardiner properly. To end the matter, the Government should pay them the money, so as to comply with the Treaty as they supposed it was made. They are now without a foothold in this region, & will soon be scattered before the winds. They cannot wait until the sales contemplated will take place. Should the Government comply with

their request, the money had perhaps better be forwarded to me at Detroit. I shall be pleased to learn what disposition shall be made of the matter. I am very respectfully, your obedient servant, G. B. Porter

Source: United States National Archives 1959, roll 421 (1832-1835), frames: 0297-0298.

29. Governor George B. Porter, Maumee, Ohio to Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War, Washington City, dated February 18, 1833.

Text: Sir, I lose not time enclosing to you the Treaty which I have this morning concluded with the Ottawas of the Maumee for the cession of their lands, on each side of the Miami river of Lake Erie and on the Miami Bay. Not having received an answer to my letter of the 1st Instant, asking for some further Instructions, I have proceeded according to my own best judgment, and hope that what I have done will meet with the approbation of the Department, and be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States. I found it impossible to effect a Treaty without inserting the small reservations contained in this amounting to a whole to but 2,560 acres. On much reflection I am convinced that it was right to allow them.

The tracts ceded contain 32,000 acres, agreeably to the description given of them in the treaties by which they were originally set apart. Deducting therefrom the amount of these reservations, the balance would be 29,440 acres for which I have agreed to pay one dollar per acre amounting to \$29,440. As these Indians had anticipated this sale by getting goods in advance to the full amount of what the land was worth. They would listen to no proposition but that which yielded the most money to them. I endeavoured, but without any the least effect, to persuade them to accept the very advantageous proposals contained in your letter of the 16th October last, in case they would wisely determine to go West of the Mississippi.

My account of the expenses incurred shall be transmitted as soon after my return home as possible. I

have the honor to be with great respect Yr. friend & Obt. Servt. G. B. Porter.

To the Honorable Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Segregated Treaty File.

30. Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War, Washington City to Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, Detroit, dated February 28, 1833.

Text: To His Excellency George B. Porter, Detroit. Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th Inst. Together with the Memorial of the Ottawas of Maumeerelative to the alleged misunderstanding with Col. Gardiner as to the terms of the late Treaty he concluded with them.

The present Session of Congress had so far advanced before the receipt of that Memorial, and so much momentous business had pre-occupied that Body and is still pending, that it will be impracticable to act upon it before the adjournment. I think it reasonable to predict that the prayer of that Memorial will be granted, fortified as it is by the accompanying Certificates and your own recommendation -- It cannot however be acted upon until the next Session of Congress. I have &c. Elbert Herring.

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 21, Roll 10.

31. Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, Detroit to Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, War Department, Washington City, dated March 18, 1833.

Text: Sir, I am pleased to see that in the General appropriation Bill to carry into effect certain Indian Treaties and for other purposes, passed on the 21st inst There is a sum inserted to pay the Ottawas the \$18,000 claimed in their memorial forwarded by me from Maumee on the 18th February last - On an

examination of that memorial you will find it stated that after payment of some debts of the *whole* nation out of this sum, it has been agreed that the balance shall be equally dividied; one half to be paid to those who West of the Mississippi and the residue to those who remained - The amount of the debts to be paid out of the sum in case it was granted was inserted in the Treaty, being so far as I now recollect short of \$3000. - The moiety of the balance would therefore be about \$7,500, which in their Memorial they say shall be given to them in such way as I might think right - During the council these Indians frequently stated that they were, by one of the Treaties made long since, entitled to a Sugar Camp three miles square and described it as situated between Maumee and Lower Sandusky, perhaps on Portage River. Being told by me that no such reservation could be found in any treaty they complained of injustice having been done them and desired that a Sugar Camp and piece of ground might be purchased for them, stating that they now had no home, or place for their young men to go to: - and wished to know whether I would not loan them a sum of money, (naming \$3000. I believe) in anticipation of that petitioned for, to purchase such a piece of land, when they would select it --

Of course I could only say that I would represent their wishes to their Great Father. I have gone into this detail, preparatory to asking the question, whether a part of this money coming to them as aforesaid say \$5000. may not be applied to a purchase of a tract of land, for them - A tract of 4000 acres, well selected in my opinion be of great use to them, and the application of so much of their money will be saving it to them - In anticipation of the Treaty the Merchants had advanced them goods clothing &c. amply sufficient for at least a year to come, and if they now get this money of which I have been speaking they will only squander it - I really feel for these poor creatures.

In my letter enclosing the Treaty, I gave you to understand why it was that they would not accept the very favorable proposals of the Government, in case they should wisely determine to go West of the Mississippi - I feel disposed to do anything in my

power which may be for their advantage - They are a smart shrewd band, and have already adopted much of our dress, and habits -- & it seems to me that many of them might be induced to become agriculturalists - I have at least done my duty in presenting the subject for the consideration of the proper Department.

In the letter from your office of the 11th February, the money due to these Indians by Mr. Lloyd, late Sub Agent, is adverted to - In answer let me say that the balance of \$260.91/100 found due in the settlement of Mr. Lloyd's accounts, was paid to Mr. Trowbridge his Admor [Administrator?], and distributed among his numerous creditors *pro-rata*, before I had any knowledge of this sum of \$582 - (A part of their annuity money having been so improperly withheld from these Indians - This deficit and imposition occurred before I assumed the duties of this Superintendency - I heard of it last fall when holding a council with them, and reported it - At the late Council they repeated all they had previously said about it; and I gave them a promise that I would do what I could to obtain it for them - The circumstances are well known to the Hon. The Secretary of War-The amount is trifling, and the character of the Government will suffer in their estimation; if they do not make good this bad conduct of one of it's agents - I must therefore urge the payment of it. But why need I do this? On adverting to the letter of the 11th February already referred to, I find it stated "In any event the Department is willing to allow them the sum they allege to be due if a Treaty can be concluded."

I shall be pleased to receive this last sum, with the other money due to these Indians and your instructions, as soon as the other important duties of your office will allow you the time to attend to it - I see in prospect the many matters which I will have to do this season, and wish to have this which is near me, disposed of, so as not to interfere with other more important concerns. With great respect, your Ob. Servt. G.B. Porter.

Elbert Herring, Esq.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Michigan Superintendency, Roll 421.

32. Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War, Washington City to Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, Detroit, dated March 29, 1833.

Text: Sir, Eighteen thousand dollars were appropriated at the last session of Congress, in conformity with the 3rd clause of the 3rd Article of the treaty with the Ottawas of Feby 18, 1833. Of this sum, ten thousand four hundred and seventy five dollars will be deposited to your credit in the United States Branch Bank in New York. Are to be applied in payment of the claims of the several persons named in that clause, and those of John Anderson and Francis Laroy, which were acknowledged by the Indians to be due, in the 19th Article, of the treaty of Aug 30th, 1831. And seven thousand five hundred and twenty five dollars are to be paid over to the tribe, in such manner as you may think most for their advantage.

You will also receive, included in the same requisition, and in addition to the above amount, four hundred dollars, to meet the additional expenses incurred under the treaty of Butte des Morts.

The balance of the 18,000\$. Will be sent to Genl. Clark, to be paid to the Ottawas, who have emigrated. -Vert respectfully, &c., Elbert Herring.

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 21, Roll 10.

33. Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War, Washington City to Governor George B. Porter, Michigan Territory, Detroit, dated April 9, 1833.

Text: Sir, In reply to much of your letter of the 18th ulto. As remains unanswered, I would observe that if injustice has been done to the Ottawas by former treaties, the Department is altogether without authority to redress it. Congress alone has that power,

and application for relief must be made to that Body.

As to the expediency of buying a tract of land for them, I would observe, that the government cannot interfere to buy land for the Indians within our States and Territories. Its policy is to purchase their lands and remove them from our Settlements, from a well grounded belief that such a removal would subserve their best interests. If they have the means and are determined to purchase, it would be proper to aid them by advice and prevent imposition; but to buy land for them in any of our States or Territories would prolong their continuance among us, and frustrate or retard that system of policy, which has been adopted by the government and partly carried into effect at vast expense and with great difficulty.

The sum of \$582 (being a portion of their annuity heretofore remitted to their late Sub-agent, Mr. Lloyd, but never paid over to them by him) will be remitted to you from the Treasury, and the Secretary of War particularly requests that you will lay it out to the best advantage in such articles as are most needed by them, and distribute the amount as presents to them - It is presumed that this mode of payment would be more serviceable to them than any other. - I have &c., Elbert Herring.

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy No. 21, Roll 10.

34. Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of War, Washington City to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Missouri Territory, St. Louis, dated May 6, 1833.

Text: Sir, A requisition has issued for the sum of Three thousand, seven hundred and sixty two dollars and fifty cents, to be deposited in the United States Branch Bank at St. Louis.

This amount is the proportion, due to the Ottawas who have emigrated, of the balance of Eighteen thousand dollars, stipulated in the treaty of Feby. 18th 1833, to be paid to the tribe for the cession of

a part of their lands, after deducting the aggregate of several debts to individuals. This amount has been divided upon the same principle as the annuity, remitted to you a few days ago since, and the residue will be sent to Governor Porter for those of the Ottawas, who yet remain in Ohio. - Very respectfully &c., Elbert Herring.

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy No. 21, Roll 10.

35. James Jackson, Sub-agent to the Ottawas, Maumee, Ohio to Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian Affairs, War Department, Washington City, dated May 31, 1835.

Text: Sir, I beg leave to lay before you, that several Americans have taken possession of the Indian corn grounds: and prevented them of planting this year on the lands bot of them. It is always Understood Indians have been allowed to occupy those lands until the[y] were sold or the Indians removed as I wish to do my Duty promptly I request information as to how I am to proceed.

In reply to your letter relating to the going of the Indians West, I have used my best exertions to encourage them to go. And as you inform me the Annuity for 34 and 35 will be paid in July first I hope they may be prevaild to fix on going: at all events nothing shall be wanting on my part.

In your last letter you mention my salary for the 2nd half year shall be forwarded as has been the 1st or present. Please inform me am I to understand my appointment is contin'd. The Contrary will give me an opportunity of applying to his Excellency the President before my situation drops. I indorse also An Amount to you of traveling Expenses for yr ending Decemr 31st 1834 Which the Honorable Stevens T. Mason wished refer'd to you, in Govr. Porters time as the Indian Law directs I was always paid when on Busyness my traveling Expenses and pray this my money Laid out on the Way may be refunded me. With respect your most Obt &c. Servant James Jackson.

Honble Elbert Herring

Comr In'n Affairs

PS

Please inform me is the president at Washington or
When he is Expected -

Source: United States National Archives, Record
Group 75, Microcopy 234, Roll 421.

36. Superintendent Stevens T. Mason, Michigan
Territory, Detroit to Commissioner Elbert Herring,
Office of Indian Affairs, War Department, Wash-
ington City, dated June 2, 1835.

Text: Sir, The sub agent at Maumee, has reported to
his Superintendency, that several white persons
have taken forcible possession of the corn ground
and houses, belonging to the Ottawa Indians under
his sub agency. The 10th and 11th sections of the
act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian
tribes, seem to point out the mode of which in-
truders should be removed from Indian lands; but in
no indefinite a manner, that I am induced to report
the facts to your department for decision. Very re-
spectfully your obt. Servt, Stevens T. Mason. Elbert
Herring, Esq.

Comr Ind. Affrs.

Source: United States National Archives, Record
Group 75, Microcopy 231, Roll 421.

37. Commissioner Elbert Herring, Office of Indian
Affairs, War Department to Honorable Stevens T.
Mason, Michigan Territory, Detroit, dated June 29,
1835.

Text: Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the re-
ceipt of your letter od 2nd instant, relative to the in-
trusion of some white persons on lands in the Sub-
agency of Mr. James Jackson.

You speak of the lands as belonging to the Ottawas,
and Mr. Jackson in his letter to the Department rep-
resents them to be ceded lands. I must request more
definite information on this point. If the intrusion
has been on lands ceded to the United States by
treaty of 18th February 1833, the Department can

take no steps for the expulsion of the intruders. You
will perceive by the 3rd Article of that treaty, that
the Ottawas agreed to remove from the ceded lands
within six months after payment of the considera-
tion money. That has been paid, and they are not
entitled to the protection of the Government,
against intruders, while they remain there in viola-
tion of their stipulation to remove.

If there has been intrusion on any of the Reserva-
tion, mentioned in the treaty, the government is
bound to extend its protection and expel the in-
truders.

After being put in possession of the facts, the De-
partment will know what course to take in the mat-
ter. Very, &c., Elbert Herring.

Source: United States National Archives, Record
Group 75, Microcopy 21, Roll 16.

38. Arnold Maham, Post Office, East Toledo, Lucas
County, Ohio to Secretary of the Interior, Washing-
ton, DC, dated November 5, 1868.

Text: Sir: At the solicitation of a few Indians of the
Ottawa Tribe who have remained in the Maumee
Valley near Lake Erie declining to remove with the
tribe to which they belonged, but remained on this
native ground, when the government assigned that
people to their new land farther west. I write you
for information.

These Stragglers State that they have not ground
where: on to sit down and are driven from one
place to another as new Settlers come in and oc-
cupy the lands. They assert that they never received
any compensation form the United States for there
interest in the country; and they now which to know
if they have any rights or benefits under the Treaty
which this tribe needs with the government before
they removed from here. Some of these Indians
(two or three) I am informed are very old and help
less and will not survive the coming winter unless
provided for. Privet charity may reach them if not
otherwise provided with the necessaries of life.

I will be glad to impart to these Indians any inform-

ation the government may have for them. They are not aware of any agent of the government for this tribe here or else ware, and I have volunteered this letter for them. I have the honor to be Your Ob't Servant Arnold Maham.

Source: United States National Archives, Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Miscellaneous Roll 461.

References Cited

Andriot, Donna, ed.

1993 *Population Abstracts of the United States*. Documents Index, Inc., MacLean, Virginia.

Barlow, Chief Lewis H. and Second Chief Charles Dawes

1981 *The Ottawa Indian Tribe of Oklahoma: Past - Present - Future, a Comprehensive Planning Document*, pp. 18-19. Ottawa Tribal Office, Miami, Oklahoma.

Bauman, Robert F.

1952a Kansas, Canada, or Starvation. *Michigan History*, 36:287-299.

1952b The Last Ottawa. *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, 24(1):4-9.

1949 The Migration of the Ottawa Indians from the Maumee Valley to Walpole Island.

Northwest Ohio Quarterly, 21(3):86-112.

Buley, R. Carlyle

1950 *The Old Northwest Pioneer Period 1815-1840*. 2 vols. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.

Carter, Clarence E.

1934-1944 *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. 28 vols. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

Cass, Lewis

1828 *Consideration on the Present State of the Indians and Their Removal to the West of the Mississippi*. Mid-American Frontier Series. Reprinted 1975, Arno Press, New York, NY.

Cleland, Charles E.

1992 *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Darby, William

1819 *A Tour from the City of New York, to Detroit, in the Michigan Territory*. Kirk and Mercein, New York, NY.

Downs, Randolph C.

1975 How a Historical Society Helped Bring About the Award to the Ottawa Tribe. *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, 47(1):4-14.

Feest, Johana E. and Christian F. Feest

1978 Ottawa. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 15 (Northeast), pp. 772-786. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Foreman, Grant

1946 *The Last Trek of the Indians*. The University of Chicago Press, Illinois.

Greer, Thomas

1948 Economic and Social Effects of the Depression of 1819 in the Old Northwest. *Indiana Magazine of History*, 44(3):227-243.

Historical Society of Northwest Ohio

1933 *Biographical Field Notes of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, Toledo and Vicinity, 1863-1866*. Bulletin no. 4, vol. 5 (October):41-183.

Hunt, John E.

[1979] *The John Hunt Memoirs: Early Years of the*

Maumee Basin, 1812-1835, ed. by Richard J. Wright. Maumee Valley Historical Society, Maumee, Ohio.

Johnston, John

1820 Account of the Present State of the Indian Tribes Inhabiting Ohio. *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1:269-270.

King, Joseph B.

1915 The Ottawa Indians of Kansas and Oklahoma, ed. by William E. Connelly. *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1913-1914*, 13:373-378.

Marsh, Cutting

n.d.a Rev. Cutting Marsh, Maumee Mission Station, Wood County, Ohio to Mrs. Larch Abbott, Andover, Massachusetts, February 25, 1830. Cutting Marsh Correspondence (1800-1873), Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Michigan.

n.d.b The Diary of Rev. Cutting Marsh [November 1, 1829-April 14, 1830]. Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

Mauer, Mauer

1946 Some Aspects of Development of Wood County, Ohio, 1820-1860. M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Maumee Express [Maumee, Ohio]

1837 March 25, April 22, and May 13.

Moorehead, Warren K.

1899 *The Indian Tribes of Ohio - Historically Considered*. Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, vol. 7, clarified and copyrighted 1992 by Arthur W. McGraw, The Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

Morse, Rev. Jedediah

1822 *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*. Reprinted 1872, Scholarly Press, Inc., St. Clair Shores, MI.

Royce, Charles C.

1899 *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*. 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1896-97, in two parts - Part 2, by J.W. Powell, director. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

Schoolcraft, Henry R.

1851-1857 *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs per Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1847*. 6 vols. Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1825 *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising Observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population*. J. & J. Harper, Printers, reprinted 1975 by Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, New York.

Stothers, David M. and Patrick M. Tucker

2006 The Fry Site: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspectives on the Maumee River Ottawa of Northwest Ohio. *The University of Toledo, Laboratory of Archaeology, Occasional Monographs No. 2*. Lulu Press, Inc., Morrisville, North Carolina.

2002 The Dunlap Farmstead: A Market-dependent Farm in the Early History of the Maumee Valley of Ohio. *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, 30:155-188.

Thomas

1985 Cultural Change on the Southern New England Frontier, 1630-1665. In *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cultural Institutions A.D. 1000-1800*, ed. by William W. Fitzhugh, pp. 131-162. Smithsonian In-

stitution Press, Washington, DC.

Trennert, Robert A. Jr.

1981 *Indian Traders on the Middle Border: The House of Ewing, 1827-54*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

United States Congress

1848a Treaty of July 4, 1805. In *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, from the organization of the government in 1789 to March 3, 1845, vol. 7 (Sept 17, 1778-Oct 11, 1842):87-89. Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston, Massachusetts.

1848b Treaty of November 17, 1807. In *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, from the organization of the government in 1789 to March 3, 1845, vol. 7 (Sept 17, 1778-Oct 11, 1842): 105-107. Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston, Massachusetts.

1846 Treaty of September 29, 1817. In *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, from the organization of the government in 1789 to March 3, 1845, vol. 7 (Sept 17, 1778-Oct 11, 1842): 160-168. Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston, Massachusetts.

1834-1835 *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*, Senate Document 512, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 5 vols. Printed by Duff Green, Washington City.

1832-1861 *American State Papers: Documents, legislative and executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the first session of the first to the third session of the thirteenth Congress, inclusive: commencing March 2, 1789, and ending March 3, selected and edited by Walter Lowrie and Mat-*

thew St. Clair Clarke. 38 vols. Class 2 (Indian Affairs), v. 2 (1834) and Class 8 (Public Lands), v. 8 (1861). Gales and Seaton, Washington City.

United States Indian Claims Commission

1971 Docket No. 304 (The Ottawa Tribe and Guy Jennison, Bronson Edwards, and Gene Jennison, as representatives of the Ottawa Tribe, plaintiffs v. The United States of America, defendant, Findings of Fact, decided March 17, 1971.

United States National Archives

1967 Sixth Census of the United States (1840), Population Schedules (Ohio), microcopy 704, vol. 26, roll 434. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Washington, DC.

1959 Letters Received from the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881 (Record Group 75, Microcopy 234, Michigan Superintendency 1824-1851). National Archives Microfilm Publications, Washington, DC.

Roll 419 (1824-1827), Frames: 0336-0344, 0641-0649.

Roll 420 (1828-1831), Frames: 0463, 0479-0481, 0644-0645.

Roll 421 (1832-1835), Frames: 0084-0087, 0104-0109, 0122-0124, 0270-0271, 0297-0298.

Michigan Superintendency Emigration, 1830-1848, and Michigan Superintendency Reserves, 1837-1848, Roll 427.

Miscellaneous Roll 461.

Ohio Agency, 1831-1843, Roll 601 (1831-1838), Frames: 0050-0051.

Ohio Agency Emigration, 1831-1839, and Ohio Agency Reserves, 1834-1843, Roll 603,

Frames: 0240.

1949 Fifth Census of the United States (1830), Population Schedules (Ohio), microcopy 19, roll 142,

vol. 17. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Washington, DC.

University of Toledo (Ohio), Laboratory of Archaeology, Department of Sociology and Anthropology n.d. Marvin C. Harrison, Cleveland, Ohio to Robert F. Bauman, Dearborn, Michigan, June 30, 1953.

Unrau, William E. and H. Craig Miner

1985 *Tribal Dispossession of and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

VanTassel, Isaac

1833 Mission at Maumee. *Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad*, vol. 429:469

1831 Maumee: Extracts from Letters of Mr. Van Tassel. *Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad*, vol. 27:387-388.

Way, Royal B.

1919 The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1795-1822. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 6(2):220-235.

Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie

1974a An Ethnohistorical Report on the Wyandot, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa of Northwest Ohio. In *Indians of Northwest Ohio*, ed. and comp. by David A. Horr. Garland Publishing, Inc., New York, NY.

Wisconsin Historical Society

1854-1931 Draper Collection 21S:80. *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*. 31 vols. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

Wolfe, Lizzie Lavore

[1916] History of the Ottawa Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma. Manuscript Collection PA 20 40, the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

Wood County Chapter, Ohio Genealogical Society

1989 Recoup of the 4th Decennial Census (1820). In *1830 & 1840 Census of Wood County, Ohio*. Bowling Green, Ohio.

OTTAWA TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA, v. OHIO DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES.
2007 WL 2212855 (N.D. Ohio)

END OF DOCUMENT