Northwest Ohio Quarterly

Volume 11

Issue 1

The Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio

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BULLETIN No. 1—VOL. 11 **JANUARY, 1939**

HOW WYANDOT COUNTY WAS BORN

Rev. John J. Vogel, Ph. D.

Indian reservations once covered more than one half of the present area of Wyandot County. There were three reservations entirely within the present County limits. The largest one, the Wyandot reservation, was originally twelve miles square and occupied very nearly the center of the County. A smaller one, three miles square, occupied by the Delawares, adjoined the main reservation to the southeast. The "Cherokee Boy" reservation was a miniature tract of 640 acres lying to the north of the County and wholly included within the present Tymochtee township. Another strip of land in the northwestern part of the County embracing about six sections of land in what is now Ridge and Crawford Townships, formed the southern end of the Big Spring reservation, which extended north into Seneca County.

The purpose of this treatise is to unfold the story of these Indian reserves, from the events leading from their creation by the United States Government to their final relinquishment by the Red Man.

Northwest Territory

The Revolutionary War ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The treaty ceded to the United States the whole of the Northwest Territory. During the progress of the Revolution and for several years after its close there was not a single permanent White settlement in what is now the State of Ohio. It was a vast tract of land lying between Lake Erie and the Ohio River covered mostly with thick forests, broken in places by swamps, cranberry marshes, and prairies of wild grass. It was the formidable home of the Red Man. The Indians who occupied this section of the Northwest Territory were principally the Wyandots, Miamis, Senecas, Delawares, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Shawnees. Their settlements were naturally upon the water courses,—the Muskingum, Tuscawarus, Scioto, Maumee and Sandusky Rivers. During the Revolution these Indian tribes were allied to the British cause and were constantly raiding the border settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky.

Even after the Revolutionary War these Indian hostilities did not cease. For contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Paris, England still retained several strong military posts, including Detroit, within the limits of the territory she had promised to evacuate. From these centers the Indians received arms, ammunitions and encouragement to continue a sullen intermittent war-

fare against the Whites. Thus the colonists were put into the position of claiming a vast territory which they were, nevertheless, unable to occupy.

Early Treaties

It was obvious that if the Ohio territory was ever to be occupied by the Whites, the Indians would have to be brought to peace. There followed a series of treaties with the Ohio Indians beginning with 1785 down to the year 1842. In 1785 a treaty was concluded with the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa Indians at Fort McIntosh. This was the first attempt to bring the Indians of this territory to cede a part of their Ohio lands to the Whites. If the terms of this Treaty had held, more than half of the territory of the present State of Ohio, the southern and eastern part, would have been surrendered. But the treaty was largely disregarded. In 1789 another treaty, made at Fort Harmer, renewed the agreement made four years before. But the second treaty was as ineffective as the first. The tide of emigration had already set in, but the homesteading pioneers were living in constant peril. Forts and stockades were erected wherever the Whites settled in numbers, and the pioneer farmers always had their rifles near their plows. The Indians were determined to keep their land for themselves.

Military Expeditions Against The Indians

Treaties having failed, there followed several military expeditions into the Indian territory with the view of punishing them and forcing them into submission. General Harmer in 1790 went out from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) at the head of 1300 men, met the Indians near where Fort Wayne now stands and came back humiliated and defeated. The following year Major General St. Clair started out from the same point at the head of 2,900 men, across the Ohio country for the Maumee Valley where the Indians were concentrated. But the army never saw the Maumee, nor even came near it. Their ranks were weakened early in the march by desertions and somewhere along the line between Darke and Mercer Counties they met a concentrated force of Wyandots, Shawnees, Pottowatomies, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Miamis. It was an Indian victory. Over 800 of the Americans were killed in a single encounter.

This was in 1791. In the meantime the Constitution of the United States had been adopted, the first Congress had met, and Washington was at the head of the government. The president now took up the matter of pacifying the Northwest Territory. For the task he chose his ablest soldier, General Anthony Wayne. At Greenville, Darke County, he assembled his men, 3,500 in all. In the summer of 1794 he marched his army to Fort Defiance, and from there began his famous march down the Maumee Valley. It was the greatest Indian expedition in the Northwest. At the foot of the Maumee Rapids, near the present town of Maumee, the Battle of Fallen Timbers was fought. It was a decisive defeat for the Indians,—indeed their first decisive defeat in the Northwest. The Battle of Fallen Timbers is a turning point in the History of the West, and had an important influence upon the creation of Wyandot County.

Treaty of Greenville

Although Wayne had administered the most disastrous defeat which the Indians had ever received from the hand of the White Men, their spirit and determination were not entirely broken. Among the various Indian nations there was a strong sentiment prevailing to reassemble their forces and continue the conflict with the White Man for supremacy. There were

some, however, who were now convinced that the Red Man's safety was in peace and not in war with the White Man. This was a critical time.

Wayne immediately made gestures in the direction of lasting peace. He entered into private negotiations with different sachems and chiefs and invited the warriors of the various Indian tribes to come to his camp at Greenville to discuss with him the terms for permanent settlement. There was reluctance on part of the Indians to have anything to do with the dreaded general of the Whites. Some were suspicious of his good intentions. Others were openly hostile and were ready for a continuation of warfare. A few spoke for peace. Among these was the great Wyandot Chief, Tarhe or the Crane.

At this time the principal Wyandot settlement in the Sandusky Valley was Crane Town, named after their celebrated chief. As the roads run today, the location of Old Crane Town was about five and a half miles north of the court house at Upper Sandusky. Its exact position was along the immediate western bank of the Sandusky River at the point where the road to Sycamore crosses the stream. (Just across the River from Smithville as shown on the old map of Wyandot County.) From this Indian village Tarhe and several other Wyandot Indians left to participate in the peace deliberations at Greenville. There were about 1,130 representatives of various Indian nations present. The deliberations consumed fifty-five days. At first there was no unanimity of opinion among the Indians either upon the general matter of peace or the terms of its settlement. The influence of Tarhe was on the side of peace. After the Battle of Fallen Timbers Tarhe saw the hand writing on the wall and was convinced that the Indians had nothing to gain by renewed hostilities with the Whites. For him the Indians had reached a crisis and upon their decisions at Greenville depended either the preservation or the extinction of the race. He often addressed the peace conference and to his influence more than to any other single individual was due the final treaty of peace which was signed August 31.

The Treaty of Greenville was momentous in its consequences. By the terms of this treaty, all further hostilities between the Red Man and the White were to cease, all prisoners of war were to be returned, and the Indian boundaries were fixed. The boundary line agreed upon was roughly as follows: a line drawn south from Cleveland at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River following the stream to its southern limit and then onward to a point just a little east of the present village of Strasburg, Tuscarawas County; from this point the line dipped slightly in a southwesterly direction straight to Fort Loramie, Darke County. Thence, the line bent slightly in a northwesterly direction to Fort Recovery, Mercer County, which is nearly on the Indiana State line; from here the line dipped almost at a right angle and went southwest to the Ohio River thus taking in a thin slice of the present State of Indiana. All lands south and east of this line belonged to the Whites; the territory to the north and west belonged to the Indians. The accompanying map (page 4) shows at a glance that the Indians thus surrendered about two-thirds of Ohio.

The only land in Ohio which the Indians might now claim as their own was a single block of land which formed the Northwestern part of the State. But even this limited Indian territory was not entirely their own. For by the terms of the same Treaty they also ceded to the government eight different parcels of land which lay wholly within the limits of their own domain:

twelve miles square at Fort Miami (No. 2 on the map);
six miles square at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers (Defiance);

MAP OF OHIO

Showing the various land settlements made with the Indians from the Treaty of Greenville 1795 to the Treaty of Upper Sandusky 1842

six miles square at the mouth of the Maumee (Toledo, No. 3 on the map);

six miles square near Fort Loramie;

six miles square at the head of navigable water on the Auglaize (No. 1 on the map);

two miles square on St. Mary's River near Gerty's Town (St. Mary's);

two miles square at the lower rapids of the Sandusky at Fort Stephenson (Fremont);

two miles square on the Sandusky Bay, which was never surveyed because it was found to lie wholly within the Firelands.

These tracts, within the Indian domain itself, occupied strategic military positions, and were places where forts had either been already erected in previous Indian campaigns or were later utilized for military purposes. Thus the Northwestern Ohio became a recognized Indian domain but pierced at strategic intervals with military posts belonging to the Whites. The arrangement clearly shows the great caution exercised in making terms with the Indians and the determination of the Whites to put the Red Man in a position where he could not easily strike back. It was a great victory for the Whites and marks the first great step in the progressive retirement of the Indians from the Northwest Territory.

In 1795, then, Wyandot County was wholly within the Indian territory created by the Treaty of Greenville, and not a single inch of it had been ceded to the Whites. At this time the Wyandot nation, scattered along the Sandusky Valley, with its principle town at Crane Town, was perhaps the most numerous and influential of all the Indian tribes of the Northwest.

Treaty of Ft. Industry

Thus the matter stood in 1795. But ten years had not passed since the Greenville settlement, before pressure was again brought to bear upon the Indians to yield more of their territory. The effort culminated in another treaty made at Fort Industry (Toledo) July 4, 1805. Here and at this time Wyandots, Ottawas, Munsees, Delawares, Shawnees and Pottawatomies sat in council with representatives of the American government and agreed to surrender to the Whites another slice of their territory. According to the terms of this treaty the eastern boundary line of the Indian reserve would now be a "meridian line drawn north and south, 120 miles due west of the Pennsylvania line and extended from Lake Erie to the Greenville Treaty line."* This meant that the eastern boundary of the Indian territory was moved about seventy miles further west of its original position. In other words the Indian frontier shifted from the site of Massillon to the site of Crestline, the town of Crestline standing a few miles outside the Indian domain. This shift of boundary line meant the relinquishment of 42,000 square miles,—about two-fifths of the Indian holdings in Ohio but the present Wyandot County still lay well behind the frontier line and entirely in the possession of the Indians.

Treaty of Detroit

The process of dispossessing the Indian was now well under way. Only two years had elapsed before there was another clamor for more Indian territory. Indian chiefs representing the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomy nations went to Detroit to negotiate with the agents of the American government. The result was a treaty signed November 17, 1807. But they returned to their wigwams much poorer than when they went. For by the terms of this treaty they had ceded another rich tract of land lying to the north of the Maumee River. Think of a line drawn from the mouth of the Maumee and running up that River to the mouth of the Auglaize (Defiance); then extending due north to the Michigan State line. The Indians gave up all their Ohio lands lying to the north and east of this line. This deep swathe cut into their territory included nearly all of Fulton and Lucas Counties and part of Defiance and Henry Counties. The Maumee Valley, at least the northern side of it, was now quite within the possession and control of the Whites. But the Indians must have surrendered this province with great reluctance, for there were stipulations in the Treaty by which they

*Other territorial cessions were involved in this treaty, viz., in the present State of Michigan, which are not considered in this treatise.

reserved for themselves three small patches of land within the ceded territory, all of them lying along the Maumee: six miles square above "Roche de Boef" (No. 4 on the map); three miles square located at Wolf Rapids, (No. 5 on the map); and four miles square on the Maumee Bay, (No. 6 on the map).

The Red Man was thus crowded back into his diminishing territory with the White Man in command of nearly all points of strategic importance, and White settlers setting up their cabins throughout their newly acquired land. The only important river valleys now left in the hands of the Indians were the Auglaize, the Sandusky, the Blanchard, and the St. Marys. Wyandot County, still untouched by these encroachments, became very nearly the heart of the Indian country.

Treaty of Brownstown

But there was no hope of future security for the Indians in any of these many treaties. The process of "peaceful penetration" went on. The Whites were now in need of roads to connect the various settlements. It soon became apparent that the recently acquired tract, lying north of the Maumee, was in a peculiarly isolated position. The settlers in this region had, of course, access to the Lake Erie. But there was no overland connection between them and the other growing White settlements which lay to the east and south of the Indian country. A solid Indian territory lay between. Roads were, therefore, needed to break the isolation. But there may have been another reason, the need of communication for military purposes between southern Ohio and Lake Erie. This was a time when relations with Great Britain and the United States were becoming very strained over British restrictions of American commerce, and there was already talk of war between the two countries. In case of war, which actually did break out in 1812, there would naturally be an armed invasion of Canada. Such an invasion would be greatly facilitated by a direct road way through the center of Ohio to Lake Erie. But this route was directly through lands now held by the Indians.

So the Indians were approached again for another concession. This time, however, the demand was more modest than previous ones and was supported by arguments more or less reasonable. So the Indian chiefs, representing the Wyandot, Chippewa, Pottawatomy and Ottawa tribes, were invited to Brownstown, Michigan, near Detroit, to hear the latest American proposals. The American agents asked for a road 120 feet wide, together with a strip of land one mile wide on either side of it, extending from the foot of the Maumee Rapids (Perrysburg) to the western line of the Western Reserve (Fremont). The road side strip would be open for White settlemnt. This was later known as the "Maumee Road Lands" grant. Another request was made for a strip 120 feet wide from Lower Sandusky (Fremont) to the Greenville Treaty line (half way between Marion and Delaware). This latter strip was to be used only for a road, there were no grants of land adjoining it, and no White settlements were to be set up along its course. This latter road led south from Lower Sandusky (Fremont) and following the general course of the Sandusky River passed just west of Tiffin through Upper Sandusky and Marion and met the Greenville Treaty line at a point about midway between Marion and Delaware. The Treaty of Brownstown ceding the road tracts as described above was signed November 25, 1808.

The Fremont-Upper Sandusky road remained little more than an Indian trail until the outbreak of the war of 1812 when it was improved as a road and used by General Harrison for the movement of troops in the attempted invasion of Canada. This was the first road through Wyandot County.

While the Treaty of 1808 did not surrender any considerable territory, it did weaken the hold of the Indians upon the lands still in their possession. Before the treaty their domain was a small irregular tract but still more or less compact. The road way grant broke this compactness and sundered their land from east to west and from north to south. It marked the first surrender of Indian territory within the present confines of Wyandot County.

Treaty of Maumee Rapids

After the Treaty of Brownstown there was a brief respite from further territorial demands. But within less than nine years, the process of eviction was renewed. So in September 1817, Indian sachems and American Government agents were again in conference at the foot of the Maumee Rapids arranging for a redistribution of Indian land. On the 29th day of the month the treaty reached its final form and was duly signed. By its terms the Indians bound themselves to a heroic surrender. They ceded all their lands in Northwestern Ohio in return for ten reserved tracts and for other considerations and promises.

These reserved tracts of land, now called reservations, which the Indians accepted in exchange for their remaining lands, were distributed among the various Indian nations, Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares and Shawnees. The accompanying map of Ohio shows the geographical distribution and the relative sizes of these reservations.

The Ottawas accepted three reservations. The first was an area of 34 square miles on the south side of the Maumee, near its mouth, which included all of the present East Toledo and Presque Isle, (No. 11 on the map). Their second reservation was six miles square on the Blanchard River. The present town of Ottawa marks the center of this reservation. The third was a diminutive reserve of three square miles and included "Oquanoxa's Village." Its position was about ten miles directly west of the one described above, (No. 10 on the map).

The Shawnees agreed to settle for three reservations, all of them in the vicinity of Wapakoneta. Their main reservation was a solid block ten miles square, the center of which was the present town of Wapakoneta. The second was twenty-five square miles on Hog Creek directly north of and adjacent to the main reservations, (No. 9 on the map). The third was forty-eight square miles at Lewistown, southeast of Wapakoneta.

The Seneca Tribe received 30,000 acres located on the east bank of the Sandusky River opposite Fort Seneca in Seneca County, (No. 8 on the map).

The Wyandots received a block twelve miles square with its center at Fort Feree (Upper Sandusky.)* This was the largest single reservation granted by the Treaty and lay entirely within the present limits of Wyandot County. By the wording of the Treaty of 1817 it was given to nine Wyandot chiefs: Doanquod, Howoner, Rontondee, Tauyau, Rontauyau, Dawatont, Mancoue, Tauyaudautauson, and Haudauwaugh,—to be used, of course, by all Indians represented by these chiefs. Besides this the Wyandots were allotted a tiny fragment of land in what is now Crawford County, a cranberry swamp one mile square located somewhere on Brokensword Creek, (No. 7 on the map).

A small group of Dalaware Indians took a miniature reservation of nine square miles in the southeastern part of Wyandot County. It was laid

*The Indians had abandoned their old settlement at Crane Town after the death of Tarhe in 1818 and moved three miles up the River to the present site of Upper Sandusky.

out in the form of a square along the Sandusky River immediately adjacent to the Wyandot reservation to the north, (No. 13 on the map).

While the treaty negotiations were in progress at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, the Indians made a special request for separate land grants for certain of their friends who happened to be living among them at the time but who were not regular members of their tribe.

One of these smaller grants was made to a Wyandot Chief, Horonu, or the "Cherokee Boy." It was a parcel of 640 acres laid out in the form of a square situated on both sides of the Sandusky River. The old town of Tymochtee occupied about the center of the western boundary land of this grant. The whole of Chief Horonu's grant was included within the limits of the present Tymochtee Township, Wyandot County. Why this chief withdrew from the rest of his tribe and accepted a private settlement from the hands of the government, I have not been able to learn. In some of the old maps of Wyandot County his private domain is marked "Cherokee Boy Reservation."

There were several other private grants of this kind included within the limits of Tymochtee Township, the exact locations of which are now very difficult to determine.

Thus by the Treaty of 1817 the larger part of what is now Wyandot County was given over to Indian reservations.

There were other stipulations and promises made to the Indians by this Treaty. They would never be asked again for a surrender of territory; and their lands would be immune from taxation. Certain cash indemnities were promised to the various Indian tribes for losses sustained in the War of 1812. On this score the Wyandots were to receive the largest indemnity, viz., $4,319.39. Other cash payments were stipulated which in every case, with the exception of the Delawares, were to take the form of annuities. Most of these annuities were to run for fifteen years. But the Wyandots were guaranteed a perpetual annuity of $4,000. No annuity was promised to the Delawares who were to receive instead a flat sum of $500.00. Other items in the Treaty were designed to ease their living conditions on the reservations. For the Wyandots the United States Government promised to erect a saw and grist mill. This mill was actually erected along the Sandusky River about three miles north of Upper Sandusky. It is the "Indian Mill" of the present day and is still in operation as a grist mill. The Government also promised to "provide and maintain two blacksmiths," one for the Wyandots and Senecas and the other for the Indians living at Hog Creek.

Treaty of St. Mary's

Thus the government concluded with the Indian tribes of Ohio what purported to be a permanent settlement. Accepting these terms they relinquishd all other claims. But the Wyandots were aggrieved over the settlement. They had signed the Treaty reluctantly and under pressure because it was the best arrangement that was then possible under the circumstancs. When the representatives of the Indian nations met in conference with the American agents at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, the Wyandots expressed themselves as opposed to any further disturbance of the "status quo" and refused to sell any more land. But other Indian tribes, the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, immediately took a crafty advantage of this refusal. Through their own agents present at the council, Gabriel Godfroy and Whitmore Knaggs, these tribes laid claim to a great part of the lands of the Wyandots and offered to sell to the United States Government. Their claim was entirely fictitious but it offered an opportunity to the American commissioners to drive a hard bargain with the Wyandots. The commissioners

then proposed that since the Wyandots were unwilling to sell their lands they would buy the same lands from the rival claimants. This would leave the Wyandots with little or nothing to dispose of. Faced with this dilemma they were forced to accept the terms proposed by the Government. Thus the Wyandots were defeated in their resolve to retain their possessions by the craftiness of their own Indian comrades and the alertness of the Government to take advantage of any internal disputes among the Indians. The cause of the Wyandots at this council was eloquently defended by their great Chief, Between-the-logs.*

The Wyandots, after signing the Treaty, returned to the Sandusky Valley determined to redress the injustice by presenting their case to the Government before the Treaty was actually ratified. So, without further consultation with the Indian agents within the territory, Between-the-logs immediately set out for Washington at the head of a delegation of Wyandots, Delawares and Senecas. Their arrival in Washington was a complete surprise. Before the Secretary of War, President Monroe, and the Congress, Between-the-logs pleaded the justice of their cause.

The success of the delegation was not complete. It did not succeed in forstalling the ratification of the Treaty. But it did succeed in preparing the way for a supplementary Treaty signed at St. Mary's, Ohio, September 17, 1818, which liberalized the terms of the treaty of the year before.

The Wyandot reservation at Upper Sandusky was enlarged by 87 square miles. This territorial addition was made in two directions, to the north and to the east. A small strip of land about one and a quarter miles in width was added to the north and extended in a northerly direction till it touched the southern boundary line of the "Cherokee Boy" reservation. The other addition carried the eastern boundary line about seven miles further eastward so that the reservation on this side overlapped the present County of Crawford by nearly five miles. Both these additions are clearly indicated on the accompanying map of Wyandot County. The Wyandot reservation had now reached its maximum dimension.

Besides these extensions, a separate reservation containing 25 square miles was created for the Wyandot Indians who had been living at Solomon's Town and on Blanchard's Fork. It was called the "Big Spring Reservation." (No. 12 on the map). The Treaty provided that it should "be laid out in the form of a square on the head of Blanchard's Fork, the center of which shall be at the Big Spring on the trace leading from Upper Sandusky to Fort Findlay." This tract occupied the larger part of the present Big Spring Township, Seneca County, but the southern extremity of it dipped into Wyandot County north of Carey as indicated on the accompanying map (page 10).

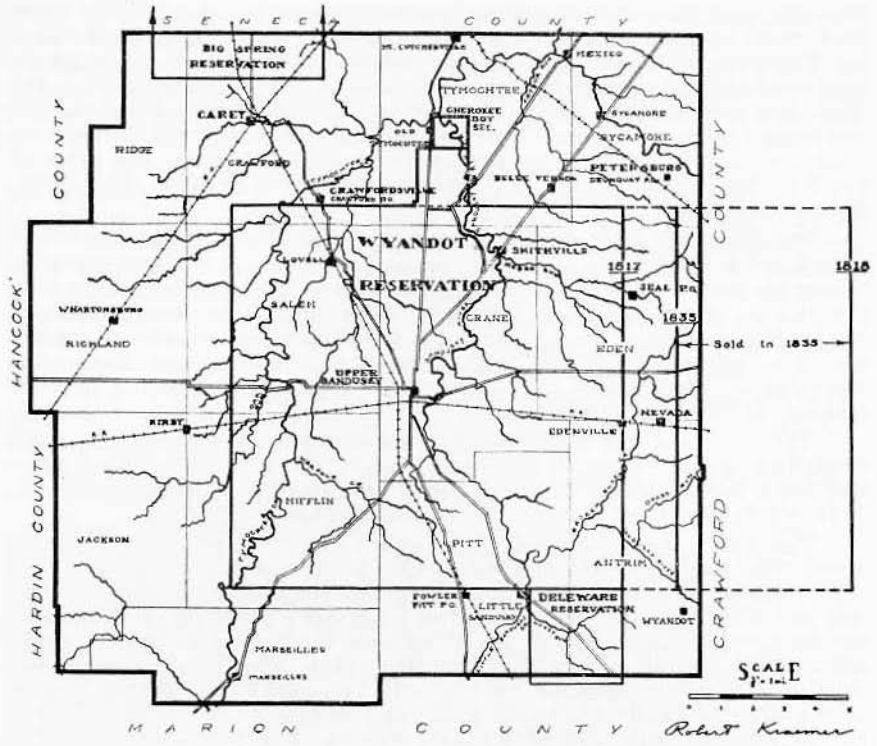
The annuity which the Wyandots were to receive was also increased by $500.00.

The same treaty provided for extensions of the Shawnee reservations at Lewiston and Wapakoneta; and of the Seneca reservation on the Sandusky River opposite Fort Seneca. On our map of Ohio all of these additions are indicated by broken lines.

In this manner the harsh conditions of the Treaty of 1817, which had so aroused the resentment of the Wyandot Indians, were, at least partially, corrected.

Thus the matter stood in 1818. The "New Purchase," as the land surrendered by the Indians was called, was eventually carved into seventeen new counties and sold to pioneers and speculators. Towns and settlements sprang up throughout the old Indian domains and the Indians, now confined

*Between-the-logs died Jan. 1, 1827, and is buried near the Old Mission Church at Upper Sandusky.



OLD MAP OF WYANDOT CO., OHIO

to their narrow reservations, soon found themselves hemmed in by a fringe of White population.

Last Days of the Indians

After the grand shuffle of 1817 and 1818, the Indians were assured that their holdings would now be permanent. But these land settlements turned out to be only a brief chapter in the story of their final eviction. One by one the various tribes, now weak and isolated units, were soon approached by the government for another deal. The handful of Delawares who occupied the miniature reservation in the southeastern part of Wyandot County sold out their holdings for $3,000 in a treaty signed at Little Sandusky, Aug. 3, 1829. The Big Spring reservation was yielded in 1932. In treaty after treaty the various Indian tribes ceded their lands one by one, till the Wyandots were finally left alone with their single reservation at Upper Sandusky.

At no time was this reservation a solid block of land, for it was divided from north to south by the 120 ft. roadway which had been ceded in the Treaty of Brownstown. This brought a stream of White influence flowing through the center of their country. White settlements crept to the border of their domain on all four sides. Thus their isolation, while living on their reservation, was far from complete.

The last days of the Wyandots is largely a history of the Methodist Mission now established among them. Methodism was introduced among the

Wyandots by John Steward, a mulatto itinerant preacher, who first visited them in November, 1816. He found many of the Wyandots professing the Catholic Religion. Little is known about the activities of the early Catholic missionaries among the Ohio Indians. But it is evident that this first Christian influence emanated from Detroit. The War of 1812 probably interrupted the work of the Catholic missionaries from the North, and left the Wyandots deep in the wilderness of Ohio without much direct communication with their first religious teachers. John Steward was followed by Rev. James B. Finley who arrived in Upper Sandusky in October 1821 and continued the work of the Methodist Mission. He built a church and an industrial school for the Indian children both of which seem to have functioned until the final departure of the Wyandots in 1843.

Finley soon became a man of commanding influence among the Indians. As long as he remained at the head of the Mission, he often complained of the debasing influence exerted by the Whites who had established themselves about the fringe of the reservation. Among them were many squatters, gamblers, traders, and merchants who enriched themselves and victimized the Indians by their unscrupulous methods of trade and barter. Whiskey was peddled over the borders and there was much drinking, fighting, and occasional scenes of riotous intemperance.

But in spite of these evils, the Indian in his latter days of reservation life began to make real progress in the ways of civilization. In the mission school the children were taught to sew and cook; the boys were trained in agriculture; and many of the adult Indian population were regular attendants at religious services. Many of the log cabins which the Indians were taught to erect were equal to any of the Whites and their fields of corn and grain and other improvements in general living conditions proved that the Indian could absorb the better things that the White Man had to offer. It was Finley's hope to settle them permanently upon the land and to fit them into the pattern of civilization which was growing up around them. In 1827 parcels of the reservation land were surveyed and alloted to individual families, thus bringing to them the advantages of private ownership.

As time went on there was much White blood mingled with the Indian population. For many years there had been a sprinkling of White people living among them, captives of former Indian wars, or adventurers who for one reason or another had settled among them and taken up their mode of life. Intermarriages between the White and Red population were more or less common and towards the close of their reservation days the homogeneity of the Indian race had been weakened and the fusion of the two races had already begun. The Wyandot population had gradually diminished from 2,200 in 1800 to about 800 at the time of their final abandonment of Upper Sandusky in 1843. This was indeed a small number to be absorbed by the growing population of Whites and I do not believe that the further fusion of the two races through intermarriage would have wrought any disaster upon either. This would have been one solution to the Indian problem.

The Last Treaty

But this promising interlude of progress and civilization was soon interrupted by the further demands on the part of the Whites for more land. The Wyandot reservation was now the last parcel of land owned by the Indians anywhere in Ohio. Their efforts to retain it, their final relinquishment of it and their final removal to the Wset form a pathetic chapter of their history. When they signed their treaty with the government at the foot of the Maumee Rapids in 1817, they had received the solemn

assurance that they would be left in peaceful possession of their lands forever and would never again be annoyed by further requests to sell or cede their land. But this assurance turned out to be nothing more than a temporary pacification and a momentary phase in the general movement toward complete eviction. Seven years had not elapsed before the Indians learned of a plan to move them West. They were opposed to the plan. Remonstrances were sent to Washington to protest. The War Department replied in a letter dated March 24, 1825, filled with protestations of good will and friendship, renewing the promises made at Fort Meigs, but ingeniously suggesting that nothing would prevent them from moving out if they found it to their advantage.

The following paragraph illustrates the tone of the letter: "Brothers, your Great Father will never use force to drive you from your lands. What Governor Cass told you, your great Father will see shall be made good. The strong fence which he promised you at the Treaty of Fort Meigs, should be put around your lands, and never be broken down, never shall be, by force or violence. But your great Father will not compell you to remain where you are, if you think it better at any time, to settle elsewhere."*

While there was no employment of force or violence, the agitation for removing the Indians continued. Mr. Finley championed the cause of the Indians. In a long letter to Governor Cass, dated December 15, 1825, he enumerated the reasons why the Indians should be left to work out their destiny on the reservation. One of the reasons which he urged against the removal of the Indians was their mixture with White blood. "They are much mixed with White blood; and some of the best families in our country are allied to them; namely the Browns, an old Virginia family; the Zanes, another well-known family; Walker, of Tennessee; Williams, Armstrong, M'Cullough, and Magee, of Pittsburgh. This handful of Indians are mostly the descendants of our own people."**

As long as Finley remained with the Indians he was a potent influence towards confirming and solidifying them in their attitude of resistance to the overtures of the government. When ill health caused him to sever his connections with the Wyandot Mission in 1827, the Indians lost a valuable friend and a valiant champion of their rights.

The first break in their heroic determination to keep their land came in 1835, when they sold a strip five miles wide on the eastern side of the reserve. This piece was immediately annexed to Crawford County. This was the last shift on the boundary line before the reservation was finally surrendered in 1842.

Agitation and government pressure for removal were renewed. Finally after eighteen years of propaganda and diplomatic maneuvering, the Indians were brought to terms. The major diplomat in the final negotiations was Col. John Johnson, commissioner for the United States Government and a man of long experience in Indian affairs. In the treaty signed at Upper Sandusky, March 17, 1842, the Wyandots agreed to surrender their last reservation in Ohio in return for the following considerations:

148,000 acres in Wyandot County, Kansas, opposite Kansas City;
$23,860 to liquidate the debts of the tribe;
$17,500 annuity;
$500.00 as a perpetual fund for educational purposes;
$10,000 to defray the cost of their removal to the West.

*Rev. James B. Finley—Life Among the Indians P. 444-445.
**Ibidem—P. 448-449.

Their Departure

The Indians, however, remained on their reservation till the following year. The spring and early summer of 1843 were active with preparations for the great emigration. In July of that year, after elaborate and pathetic farewell ceremonies, the remnant of the Wyandot Nation, now reduced to about 800, began their historic journey westward. They travelled in wagons, on horse back and on foot. The line of march was southwest from Upper Sandusky, through Marseilles, Bellefontaine, Urbana, and Springfield. On the seventh day they reached Cincinnati where boats were waiting to carry them down the Ohio, to the Mississippi, up the latter river to the Missouri and thence to Kansas. Taking everything with them, they left only a name for a new county.

The same year the Indians departed, 1843, the town of Upper Sandusky was surveyed and laid out. February 3, 1843, the new County of Wyandot was created by an act of the Ohio Legislature comprising the old Indian lands together with parts of surrounding counties. At ten o'clock on the morning of August 20, 1845, a public sale of the old Indian domain was held at Upper Sandusky and lasted for three days,—the last episode in the final eviction of the Indian from Ohio territory.

—Rev. John J. Vogle, Ph. D.

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(Note by the Editor.) The upper walls of the Court Room of Wyandot County are beautifully adorned with painted panels representing scenes in the early frontier life of Wyandot County. Among them a picture of the rescue of a white girl who had been captured by the Indians; Another represents the burning of Col. Crawford at the stake; Another the sorrowful departure of the Indians from their old reservation, referred to in Dr. Vogel's preceding article.—Editor.

In the December (1938) number of "Minnesota History" is found an interesting article by LeRoy G. Davis on "Frontier Home Remedies and Sanitation," describing the remedies for frontier diseases prevalent in early days in Minnesota, remedies which have been commonly used by the early pioneers in all of our Western and Midwestern states in the days before the "Horse and Buggy Doctors" became available—and, by the way, the new book entitled "A Horse and Buggy Doctor" by one of them is well worth reading, for its description of early medical practice.

These family remedies were probably in part derived from the Indians who had some worth-while knowledge of herbs and their qualities. Other remedies grew out of experiments made by frontiersmen far removed from any possible aid from medical men and forced to rely on their own instincts for relief. Some of them doubtless, had been handed down from generation to generation as "home remedies" and sometimes some of these different forms of relief actually proved of real merit and are still in use.

But it seems strange to us to find among the first remedies to be named by the author, "skunk oil" which was rubbed on the chest as a cure for severe colds that settled on the bronchial tubes. It would seem to most of us that the remedy was worse than the disease.

Pennyroyal gathered wild on the prairie was the sovereign remedy for fevers.

Dandelion root tea and sulphur and molasses were common household standbys. Boneset and tansy and other garden plants or weeds had high repute for their medicinal value.

"Sometimes," the author says, "wormwood was used as a tonic in bitters,

a much prized remedy with some, probably because, whatever else was put into the bottle, it was sure to contain a generous proportion of whiskey."

"It was easy to have the 'run down' feeling when one wanted a bottle of bitters."

Blackberry brandy was popular—and still is—for diarrhea. For measles, children were kept in bed for a week or more and doped with cayenne pepper or ginger tea to "bring out the measles."

In the absence of dentists, teeth were badly neglected and, if pulling was necessary, that was done with the crudest of forceps or even "yanked out" in any possible way. Filling of teeth was practically unknown.

Suffering from decayed teeth was often almost unbearable and a wad of cotton saturated with a strong liniment, or camphor or more often tobacco juice was often packed into the cavity for temporary relief.

And so down the whole list of diseases and ailments common to life in such communities, each had its own peculiar remedy, known to every housewife and many of them are still used when doctors are unobtainable.

LITTLE JOURNEYS TO OHIO'S HISTORIC SHRINES

No. 1—Pontiac's Village

Out into the shallows of Maumee bay poked a muddy nose of land, grown high with marsh grass. Fleets of canoes and batteaux, high laden with furs for the Montreal market, passed it on their way to Detroit. Ship's officers on the little British frigates that patroled the Lake Erie region scanned it thru their spy glasses. From it at night rose the flames of Indian campfires. At times these red and yellow tongues of fire licked at the feet of paleface prisoners, being burned at the stake.

Nowadays the place is known as Bay View. In 1763, when the great Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, had his tribal village there, Grassy Point, as the white men called it, was the scene of the most extensive war preparations ever set on foot by the red men on this continent.

To its lee shore came the crafts of Mohawks and Senecas from the east; Wyandots, Delawares and Missassaugas from Ohio; Tightwees from the Maumee Valley and Indiana; Piankeshaws from the Wabash country; Cherokees from Kentucky and Tennessee; Seminoles and Chickashaws from the far south; Dakotas, Sioux, Illini and Kansaws from west of the Mississippi; Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Miamis from the great lakes region.

The red leader, dressed in the pale blue uniform of a French cavalry commander, rallied to his side not only the Indians, but the three or four thousand French fur traders and trappers who were in surly mood over the British victory which lowered the white flag of France with its gold lilies from every fort in the wilderness.

There was a string of these forts from Niagara to Kahokia on the Mississippi. West of the great river the Spaniards held a desultory rule, and the Indians of those tribes were as eager as Pontiac himself to throw off the white man's dominion.

For Pontiac's plan, designed and executed with admirable military strategy, aimed at nothing less than to drive the palefaces into the sea.

Exhorting the chiefs of other tribes who came to his village to bring their people back to the simple life they had known before the coming of the whites, Pontiac forbade the use of rum and whiskey, wearing of woven blankets, use of steel tomahawks, or rifles, powder and bullets. It was to be a war of savage against civilized man.

First blow came in the destruction of the fort at Sandusky. Then Fort Miami, at the juncture of the Maumee and the Wabash portage, now Fort Wayne, was demolished and its garrison killed. At forgotten places such as Quiatenon and Pickaway, the few redcoats in charge were slaughtered.

Detroit was the main objective. For long months Pontiac, working from his headquarters at Grassy Point, held it in siege. But the Indian temperament was not fitted for such tactics. One by one his allies began to slip away until at last he had to admit the impossibility of capturing the fortress. Pontiac, still dressed in the fine uniform which he had received from the hands of the Sieur de Montcalm, French commander at the battle of the Plains of Abraham at Quebec, wandered westward and finally was assissinated by an Indian who, it was claimed, was instigated by a bribe from a British officer.

No stone or tablet marks the once busy village of Pontiac. History has forgotten it. Now within the corporate limits of Toledo, as a part of Bay View park, it is readily accessible to tourists and a fitting memorial there would undoubtedly be a great attraction. The birthplace of Pontiac, on the west side of the Maumee river near Defiance, had been marked by the Ohio revolutionary memorial commission.

—Toledo News-Bee, Aug. 3, 1931.

Peter Navarre's Cabin

The log cabin, where Peter Navarre used to sit cross-legged around the fire with the great leaders of white and red races of the Maumee valley, now graces a knoll in Navarre park in Toledo. It was taken thither half a dozen years ago and formal dedication ceremonies held under auspices of Navarre chapter, Daughters of 1812, the city administration and The News-Bee.

Thus the memory of one of the most useful characters in the American conquest of the northwest has been preserved.

The family of Navarre, records in the Burton manuscript collection in Detroit reveal, had a wide and constant influence in French Canada thru the century and a half preceding the revolution. Like most Frenchmen, the Navarres chose the easy mode of life of the Indian. They had no wish either to exterminate or to rob them. They lived side by side as neighbors.

And that is one good reason why Peter Navarre, even when the last of the Miamis were torn from their homes in this valley and sent to their deaths west of the Mississippi by a callous government, retained their respect and affection. He forms the link between classic days of northwest history and the rise of urban life at the mouth of the Maumee.

The historian Draper, whose collection of manuscripts at Madison, Wis., is the largest and most complete concerning the early period in this region, came to Toledo and interviewed old Peter. The substance of what Peter told him regarding the romance of Sweet Breeze, the Indian maiden, has not appeared in print, and will be recorded in one of this series of sketches.

But it was the younger Peter Navarre of the thrilling days of 1812 that excites admiration.

British gunboats were sweeping Lake Erie, keeping fishermen, traders and peacable voyagers at their mercy. Young Oliver Hazard Perry was secretly building a fleet at Presque Isle, off Erie, Pa. William Henry Harrison, commandant at Fort Meigs on the Maumee, was making his preparations, and was ready to transport supplies of bullets and corn to Perry's command.

In the early September of 1813 fell one of the deadliest hurricanes this

section of the country has ever known. It was comparable to the Lorain disaster of eight years ago.

Thru the storm, slipping from tree trunk to tree trunk, went the slim figure of Peter Navarre. Dispatches, orders for Perry to attack the British, were sewed into his belt. Peter Navarre could not read English, but he did know the terrain.

Surrounded by Indians ready to scalp any white man on sight, leaping time and again out of the path of a falling oak or elm, wading to his chest thru boggy marshlands, Peter Navarre kept on thru the forest. At dawn of Sept. 6 he arrived at Perry's headquarters, unstrapped his belt, threw it on the floor and collapsed.

The next day Perry attacked. The Battle of Lake Erie was the most decisive triumph for American arms in the entire war.

Again at the battle of the Thames, in Canada, Peter Navarre was a witness to the slaying of Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, if indeed it was not his own rifle that spoke the fatal shot. There are seven claimants to that honor and Navarre's is as likely as any of the others. The late John Gunckel published the only version of the battle from Navarre's own lips.

The war over, Peter Navarre continued as a runner for the military commanders between Fort Meigs and Fort Wayne at the head of the Maumee. He lived well past four score years and his descendants still living in Toledo are numerous. The last of his six sons witnessed the dedication of his old log cabin, surviving that event by three or four years.

—Toledo News-Bee, Aug. 5, 1931.

A characteristic example of the high moral standards of early Ohio pioneers is gleaned from "The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine."

Morgan Neville, called the first literary man born west of the Alleghenies, a son and grandson of distinguished Revolutionary officers and an editor of repute in Pittsburgh where he was a leading citizen for many years, removed in 1824 to Cincinnati where he founded and edited the first daily newspaper west of Philadelphia. His father had been an aide-de-camp of Lafayette, who in 1825 visited Cincinnati.

Lafayette's first inquiry in Cincinnati concerned the son of his old aide-de-camp. Learning that Morgan Neville was ill with the ague, the Marquis immediately went to his bedside. After a little talk with the invalid, he asked:

"Well, Neville, what are your circumstances?"

"Not good, General," was the reply. "I spent everything I had to pay my father's debts."

Lafayette then called for a pen, wrote an order on the United States Bank for stock worth four thousand dollars and gave it to Neville.

Neville himself never used the Marquis' gift but when he died almost penniless on March 1, 1840, his family inherited the stock that the Frenchman had so magnanimously presented to him."