

NEVER 'QUITE' WHITE - NEVER 'QUITE' INDIAN:
THE CULTURAL DILEMMA OF THE
CITIZEN BAND POTAWATOMI

By

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PREFACE.

As a seventh grader in Shawnee, Oklahoma I took Oklahoma History. What I learned about the run of 1889 greatly excited me.. One Sunday I asked my Uncle Warren Rice if the Lamirand family made the run. He replied, "No, the Lamirands were here before the run." I had already ascertained that my grandfather Lamirand had "no Indian blood." For many years thereafter, I would periodically return to the problem of how the Lamirands were able to settle in Indian Territory before it was open to American settlement if they had no Indian blood. This study grew out of my search for that answer. In the process I discovered that the Potawatomi group which came to Oklahoma included people of French-Canadian heritage. This led me to document how the Potawatomi and the French created a new culture, both Indian and French, and the results of that creation.

The Citizen Band Potawatomi have consistently demonstrated cultural characteristics typically associated with Indian groups in North America. Like many Native American groups, kinship has remained a critical feature in establishing social solidarity. Despite their many migrations and removals, the Potawatomi have retained remarkable continuity in their family and Kinship structure. From their initial contact with French *voyageurs*, adaptation to European cultural attributes was an important aspect of Potawatomi cultural development. One of the most important cultural adaptations was the conversion to Roman Catholicism. The acceptance of religious forms that promised significant ritual and access to new powers did not imply an abandonment of older religious traditions, but rather a synthesis of religious practice. It

was not the last addition to the religious system of the Potawatomi. When they finally relocated to Oklahoma, some of the Citizen Band also accepted the teachings of Quaker missionaries. As with their prior conversion, the attraction to the Society of Friends was not exclusive but another accretion to the Potawatomi culture. Even under the pressure of change induced by federal policy, the Citizen Band struggled to maintain a cultural identity. When principles of common land ownership were denied by federal dictate, the Potawatomi sought to establish new means through which the solidarity of the tribe could be expressed. In this sense, the Citizen Band Potawatomi continued to demonstrate cultural attributes common to Native Americans..

The early interaction between the French explorers and missionaries was extremely important to the cultural direction the Potawatomi took in the post-Colombian era. The results of this early interaction led directly to individual choices resulting in the existence of the Citizen Band today. Chapter I uses the *Jesuit Relations* to trace the historical roots of the Potawatomi-French relationship. I will show what each culture hoped to gain and how each culture benefited from the relationship.

Chapter II shows how the Potawatomi responded to the French and English clash on the North American continent. The Potawatomi reexamined their dwindling options for survival in the face of growing European influence in their homeland area. The relationship forged with the French in the seventeenth century was tested and modified in the eighteenth century with the clash over empires between the French and the English.

Chapter III examines the consequences of the entrenched Potawatomi dependence upon European technology and the effect this dependence had on Potawatomi relations with the United States. The pressure the expanding United States put on the Potawatomi

homeland in the Great Lakes area exacerbated divisions within the tribe and highlighted cultural differences between those who, through intermarriage with the French, had risen to positions of influence. With the growth of the United States, these positions were threatened and the Potawatomi once again were forced to reexamine the remaining options for survival.

The Potawatomi villages split over their response to the pressure the United States placed on the Indians to move west of the Mississippi River. Chapter IV analyzes the effect these disagreements had on the tribe and concludes the disagreements resulted in a permanent cultural split after the tribe moved to Kansas. This cultural divergence determined a difference in the response to the opening of Kansas to non-Indian settlers. Father Joseph Murphy, O. S. B., explains that the origins of the Citizen Band lay in this split. Father Murphy ended his work in 1872, the year the Citizen Band moved to Indian Territory.

Chapter V traces the genealogy of the families from whom the present day Citizen Potawatomi are descended. These genealogies show that five of the seven original families that moved into Indian Territory in 1869 had family connections to the French families which settled the Great Lakes area during the sixteenth century. The remaining two families intermarried with the other five thus interlocking all the families into the French-Potawatomi culture.

Chapter VI examines the problems the Citizen Band had with maintaining their Indian identity and sovereignty in the face of hostile federal government policies. The threat that the United States government presented to the group in Indian territory strengthened the ties the Citizen Band felt with each other and resulted in a strong tribal

identification. Chapter VII analyzes how the band utilized changing government policy to strengthen itself. As the federal government moved toward a greater appreciation of distinctive Indian cultures, the Citizen Band's self-identification as Indians grew stronger. Chapter VIII examines the financial dangers and opportunities available to the Citizen Band, as a result of the changing government policies of the latter half of the twentieth century. Learning from current problems faced by all Indian tribes, the Citizen Band strengthened itself further. Chapter IX is essentially the voice of the Citizen Band members today expressing their answer to the question "Who are the Potawatomi?"

Several cultural terms are used in defining Citizen Band members. In today's society these terms sometimes carry emotional implications over and above their historical usage. It will be helpful to the reader to know specifically how they are used. For some Americans who trace their roots back to the indigenous people of the continent the term *Indian* can be offensive because they prefer to emphasize their distinctiveness apart from European misconceptions. Many have tried to solve this problem by adopting the label *native Americans*. To me native American refers to anyone who is born in the land. Many people, whose ancestors were born in Europe, are, therefore, native American. This paper, while tracing the ancestry of the Citizen Band, also focuses on the question of who they are today. Therefore, following the current Associated Press practice, I chose to use the capitalized term *Indian*.

According to Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown in their introduction to *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, the lower case term *métis*, is a French pejorative referring to any offspring of European and Indian cohabitation. While Peterson and Brown chose to use *métis* throughout their book, they

maintain when *Métis* is capitalized, it is a specific ethnological and cultural term referring to people of mixed French and Indian heritage. Dorothy L. Jones in her article “A Potawatomi Faces the Problem of Cultural Change Joseph N. Bourassa in Kansas,” described the *Métis* of Canada as having a culture distinct from both European and Indian. The historical record demonstrates that the majority of Citizen Band members have a genealogical connection to a French and Indian union. This study of the historical and cultural development of the Citizen Band argues that what is true of the Canadian *Métis* is also true of the Citizen Band Potawatomi. Citizen Band culture specifically arose from the union of French and Indian at a critical time. Adopting Peterson’s and Brown’s definition, I, therefore, capitalize *Métis* throughout the text.

The term *American* is loosely used in our culture today to mean a citizen of the United States; an inhabitant of the North American continent; or an inhabitant of any country in the western hemisphere. For most people who use the term *American* it presupposes certain shared political and cultural beliefs that emphasize individual rights and responsibilities and a commitment to representative government at all levels. An examination of Citizen Band tribal government and cultural mores today justifies the use of the word *American* as a cultural description as well as a political description of United States citizenship.

The predominant culture of the United States has a negative cultural bias regarding the people who have intermarried among differing cultures. This bias, first established in an effort to punish miscegenation, extended to include intermarriage with Indians. Some members of the minority culture on the receiving end of this negative bias have responded with their own negative bias toward intermarriage with the predominant

culture. The Citizen Band Potawatomi, having a culture resulting from such mixed marriages, have suffered from this double bias. The issue of "blood" thus becomes an important part of self-identification among them. In illustrating the results of the above-mentioned negative bias, I refer to "full blood" and "mixed-blood" as a way to distinguish those who experienced no inter-cultural mingling and those who did. I maintain that the Citizen Band culture is a direct result of cultural intermingling and is stronger because of it.

The Appendices are a comparative time line of important events of Citizen Band history. These are included in order to help the reader place the development of the Citizen Band culture within the historical context of the larger world. By placing these events in their larger context, it should become easier for the reader to understand and remember the cultural evolution of the Citizen Band.

I wish to thank Dr. Michael Smith, the Graduate Advisor for the History Department at Oklahoma State University for his unfailing encouragement and support over the last few years. Whenever I doubted I would be able to finish, he was always there encouraging me to continue. Dr. L. G. Moses has kindly and consistently guided this study. His belief in me sustained me when roadblocks appeared in the way. He always found a way around them. I wish also to thank the remaining members of my doctoral committee, Dr. Paul Bischoff, Dr. Louis Seig, and Dr. Joseph Stout for their guidance and support. This research could not have been finished without the help of Citizen Band archival officer, Mary E. Farrell. Brian Schulz did the cartographic work from my sketch maps. Carolyn O'Hair of Sartain & Fischbein Certified Public Accountants of Tulsa, Oklahoma, contributed the use of her word processor and printer.

Finally, I can never repay the Lamirand family, who embody all that is good in the Great Lakes *Métis* culture. Without their commitment to children and to education I would not be here today.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	13
The Record of the Black Robes.....	14
Caught Between Two Empires.....	25
The Price of Technological Dependency.....	32
Unwilling Pioneers.....	46
III. THE HISTORY OF THE CITIZEN BAND.....	70
Beginning Again: A Band Genealogy.....	71
Effects of Government Policies to Stamp Out Potawatomi Indian Identification.....	99
Revitalization: The Efforts of the Citizen Band to Maintain Its Integrity in Response to Government Actions of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries	126
Entrepreneurial Experiments.....	142
IV. THE CITIZEN BAND TODAY.....	158
Who Are the Potawatomi?.....	159
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	174
APPENDICES.....	187

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Potawatomi Homeland, 1700	13
2. American Invasion, 1800.....	31
3. Potawatomi Removals, 1816-1848	45
4. Kansas Sojourn.....	53
5. Family Allotment Areas in Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma, 1891.....	70
6. Citizen Band Population Distribution (March 1994).....	158

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.I.A.	Bureau of Indian Affairs
C.B.A.	Citizen Band Archives
E.M.C.I.	Enterprise Management Consultants, Inc.
O.I.A.	Oklahoma Indian Archives
O.T.C.	Oklahoma Tax Commission
R.C.I.A.	Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

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INTRODUCTION

Robert Jarvenpa, writing in an essay within the work *Ethnicity and Race in the USA toward the Twenty-first Century*, singled out the Potawatomi Indians as an example of the problems of Indian identification. He has written that "The Potawatomi case is important in showing the relationship between cultural ambiguity as expressed in uncertain criteria."¹ The Citizen Band of the Potawatomi tribe embody the difficulties that all tribes grapple with in their search for the basis of Indian identity through "blood," descent, cultural symbolism, spiritual traditions, political aspirations, and shared history. The purpose of this work is to show that, while all of the above are components of self-identity, shared history forms the strongest basis for identification for North American Indians, particularly the shared historic tragedies. The tribal history of the Citizen Band Potawatomi shows that Indian identity persists in spite of political, cultural, and religious pluralities within that identification. This tribal history is written as social history using Samuel P. Hays definition. Social history is not a subject but a way of looking at history which encompasses intratribal relationships, intertribal relationships, and cultural adaptation as a result of cultural tensions. This work, written in a traditional, narrative

style emphasizes the above areas and will show that, while the Citizen Band has definite historic and legal status as an Indian tribe, their culture is neither white nor Indian, but a true melding of European and Indian cultures -- historically and culturally known as *Métis*.

While Jarvenpa sees ambiguity in Potawatomi identification, the Citizen Band members do not acknowledge this ambiguity. Hilton Melot, one of the business committee members of the tribe, responded to the query "What makes an Indian an Indian?" by saying "One drop of Indian blood makes them Indian!"² This reflects the American cultural experience of historically defining minorities, both Black and Indian, by "one drop of minority blood." Does one have to have a certain amount of blood degree to legitimize their Indian identity within the larger culture as well as within one's self? The Citizen Band grappled with this issue through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The debate continues within the band today.

If a member disagrees with the blood degree assigned to him by the tribal rolls office, he or she may appeal to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to change the designation of blood degree. Several Citizen Band members have done this in the last few years. However, current Tribal Chairman John "Rocky" Barrett represents those who oppose blood degree being used to define "who is a Potawatomi?" In an editorial supporting descent fulfilling a requirement for tribal membership, Barrett wrote "What makes us a TRIBE is not blood degree. It is history."³ Historical investigation of the development of blood degree as a definition of ethnicity sheds light on its current use.

Alexandra Harman has written that "like all racial or ethnic classifications, the identification of some people as Indians is the product of historical developments."⁴ Jarvenpa has written that the "externally imposed category of 'Indian' itself has often been a tenuous and distant concern for many Native Americans."⁵ Susan Greenbaum has written that ethnic identification in the United States relies heavily on folk categories. One of the most capricious of these is the folk concept of blood to define ethnicity. According to Greenbaum, in the United States the interpretation of blood derives from the historic relationship between black and white, rather than Indian and white. Southern white Americans believed it necessary to categorize legally the offspring of slave and master as belonging to the inferior group, i.e. Negro, thus reinforcing the superiority of those who had no Negro ancestors.⁶ The problem of this folk definition of Indian as being anyone who had even one remote Indian ancestor became critical as the government attempted to determine the recipients of federal resources. Centuries of intermarriage with those Euroamericans who were the most comfortable with Indian culture compounded the dilemma of blood in defining Indianness.

Jacqueline Louise Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown in their introduction to *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, differentiate between the lower case pejorative *métis* used generally to refer to any offspring of an Indian and European union and the capitalized term *Métis* to refer to the specific progeny from the intermingling of Indian and French. For editorial reasons they use the lower case throughout their book.⁷ However, I have chosen to capitalize *Métis* in this work to emphasize the French connection to the Citizen Band. Peterson has also written that the

term *Métis* became culturally acceptable among minority groups of Canada under Louis Riel's leadership when he proclaimed them a separate Canadian ethnic group and received official recognition. She further commented that the *Métis* referred to a cultural group on the western Canadian plains with vague eastern antecedents and little or no representation in the United States.⁸ However, as one investigates the roots of the Citizen Band of Oklahoma, it becomes clear that the Citizen Band Potawatomi are one of the most representative *Métis* cultures within the United States.

In the late nineteenth century the federal government, in its attempt to fulfill the financial responsibilities of negotiated treaties, struggled with how much financial remuneration did "mixed bloods" deserve. Indian Commissioner T. J. Morgan in 1892 ruled that "an Indian is one who is by right of blood, inheritance, or adoption, entitled to receive the pro rata share of the common property of the tribe."⁹ Investigation of the history of the relationship between the federal government and the various Indian tribes reveals the fluidity of such a definition.

Felix Cohen wrote in 1942 in *The Handbook of Federal Indian Law* that "legally speaking, an Indian is what the law, legislatively defines, or judiciously determines him to be. Whether the problem involves enrollment, tribal membership or something else, the answer must be sought primarily in applicable statutes and decisions and tribal law."¹⁰ While congressional statutes are fairly clear about who constitutes an Indian, court cases are contradictory.

Congress began the practice of using blood quantum to determine resource allocation in the Indian Appropriation Act of May 25, 1918.¹¹ People who were less than

one-fourth Indian by blood were not to be educated by this act. A congressional act of June 30, 1919¹² gave power to the Secretary of the Interior to record membership rolls of any Indian tribe and directs that "such rolls shall contain the ages and the quantum of Indian blood."¹³ The courts have upheld the act, specifically in the case involving the Yakima Tribe of Washington State, *Simmons v. Eagle Seelatsee* (244 F. Sup. 808 E. D., Washington, 1965). The Federal District Court ruled that "Congress, on numerous occasions, has deemed it expedient to classify Indians according to their percentages of Indian blood."¹⁴ Acceptance of the folk image of blood combined with competition for finite government economic resources impels a continuous search for what constitutes Indianness.

Complicating the historical identification of Indianness is the strong emphasis in American culture on individual choice. Self-identification as an Indian is only one component in an identity fashioned by occupation, religious, and political residence.¹⁵ This emphasis on individual choice is limited by the willingness of the group to accept self-identification. William T. Hagan has written that "by the end of the nineteenth century, the principle had been established that -- barring action by Congress -- the tribes were the final authority in determining their membership."¹⁶ However, even when a non-Indian spouse was accepted fully by the tribe, the courts were slow to recognize this.

In the court case of *U. S. v. Rogers* Circuit Court Judge Roger B. Taney of Arkansas refused to accept that a white spouse of an Indian was a tribal member, even though the Cherokee Nation had adopted the man. Taney wrote in his decision that intermarried whites were "the most mischievous and dangerous inhabitants of the

country."¹⁷ The department of the census, citing *U. S. v. Rogers*, instructed its 1940 workers that Indians must not only have some degree of Indian blood, but must also be recognized by the community as an Indian.¹⁸ On August 9, 1888, Congress passed legislation attempting to prevent a white man married to an Indian woman from acquiring any land or special privileges as a result of the marriage.¹⁹

The law did not define the status of the children of such a union and the courts filled with cases involving Indian-Euroamerican progeny. These cases reflect various interpretations of whether common law or which tribal law should prevail. Generally, the courts ruled an Indian mother dictated acceptance of the child as Indian, but not always. While many North American tribes based children's identification on the status of the mother, the Potawatomi and other Great Lakes tribes used patrimony to do so. However, the Potawatomi system did not exclude women in determining a child's status in the tribe. James Clifton, in his ethnohistory of the Potawatomi, classified the Potawatomi system as the Omaha system. This system is one of patrilineal obligation to clan, but uses both mother and father to determine placement.²⁰ Various American court declarations dictated some adaptation of historic tribal practice.

Expediency or individual bias weighed as heavily as common law or tribal law in cases involving voting rights, taxation, and black-Indian parentage.²¹ Contradictory court rulings made it even more imperative for American Indians to determine tribal affiliation. For the members of the Citizen Band, the question "Who are the Potawatomi?" becomes more specifically "Who are members of the Citizen Band

Potawatomi?" The historical roots of the various Potawatomi lead to a firmer sense of band identity within the tribe.

Ethnohistoric reconstructions of American Indians' personalities and cultural characteristics must take into account the relation of each observer to the Indians described. Similarities and differences among observers may reflect observer biases. The psychology and social situation of the observer must be noted as well as the kinds and characteristics of the evidence presented.

The earliest European observers of the Indians were missionaries and explorers. They had different agendas and different responses to Indian cultures, but both shared the assumption of the superiority of the European culture. The Indians with whom they were favorably impressed were those whose cultural characteristics most closely approximated their own. The nineteenth century observers were often affected by Jean Jacques Rousseau's concept of the noble savage. These writers were impressed with the cultural differences that they believed were better than degenerative Euroamerican culture. Taking these biases into account and using the above features as a guide, historical examination of the Potawatomi supports the following cultural characteristics.

They have been described as brave, treacherous, warlike, domineering and brutal with their enemies. However, the Potawatomi historically have shown a high tolerance for government abuse, being very realistic at assessing the power arrayed against them. They have also shown remarkable diplomacy when negotiating with European and American governments. They showed a keen interest in Euroamerican education for their children, possibly recognizing the value education would give them in dealing with the

government. They also came from a rich religious tradition. Ever interested in acquiring spiritual power, they accepted the French Christian missionaries easily. James Clifton attributes this acceptance to the belief that Christianity would be a source of power in dealing with intruders.²²

Tribal government was by consensus, which is somewhat different than the American practice of democracy. Government by consensus calls for a great deal of compromise in order to reach unanimity, but it also presupposes that if a tribal member cannot agree with the consensus of the group, he leaves the group or his dissent is the equivalent of a veto. So long as the Potawatomi were free to form into new villages or bands, government by consensus worked. During the removal era of the 1830s and 1840s, when the land available to the Potawatomi shrank, government by consensus degenerated into anarchy. The tribe had to create new methods of governing involving representative democracy under the business committee.

The study of early Potawatomi history indicates that the Potawatomi were eager warriors so long as there was any chance of military dominance. They led the Great Lakes area tribes in their defense of territory against the Iroquois and Fox. They provided a majority of Indian mercenaries for the various European conflicts in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys. During the removal era they even challenged the powerful Osage and the numerically superior Sioux.

Cultural honors that encouraged the Potawatomi warrior to fight to defend tribal areas and to advance tribal influence caused identity confusion when such characteristics were no longer culturally rewarding. An unwillingness to search for compromise

solutions to problems turned inward to feed upon the tribe itself, almost destroying the tribe when it was finally forced into a militarily impotent role with the United States government.

The Citizen Band used the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 (in which the federal government acknowledged the right of the tribes to establish the criteria for tribal membership) to reorganize. Upon completion of this reorganization, the government then accepted the responsibility of trusteeship toward all people recognized as members of the tribe according to tribal criteria.²³ Tribal recognition brought with it federal recognition which implied "political" ethnicity. This identification transformed diverse tribal societies into an ethnic group, i.e. Indian, by mobilizing a shared history of Indian-white relationships and triggering desired political responses which enhanced economic resources for the tribe.²⁴

Development of pan-Indianism in the twentieth century allowed for ethnic identification as an American Indian to complement and occasionally transcend tribal identity. The pan-Indian movement recognized the political truth that there is strength in numbers and that there is sometimes value in an ethnic Indian identification over a tribal one. Indeed, the process of ethnic identification has been used and misused throughout the history of the North American continent in order to guard or enhance access to economic resources. Jarvenpa highlights one of the ironies of pan-Indianism. Many Euroamericans today regard certain institutions from the Plains Indian culture as definitive symbols of a general American Indian identity. This external pressure from the dominant culture combined with the decline of local indigenous traits, presented

difficulties for many American Indians who wished to be true to their own cultures. Most of the U. S. Indians in the latter half of the twentieth century have found it necessary to adopt certain Plains Indian cultural markers in order to emphasize their Indianness to the dominant Euroamerican culture.²⁵

For the last twenty-one years, the Citizen Band Potawatomi refer to “Potawatomi Days,” their annual business committee meeting and election during the third week in June, as a powwow. Plains type stomp dances and other rituals are included in the festivities.²⁶

Congress again added to the Indians' cultural ambiguity when it passed the Snyder Act on June 2, 1924,²⁷ granting citizenship to all Indians born in the United States. The Citizen Band discovered that the Snyder Act did not automatically guarantee the benefits of citizenship in exchange for the repudiation of Indian culture. The Citizen Band members had been considered citizens of the United States since 1872. Realizing the benefits of that citizenship was delayed until the 1970s.

In the latter half of the twentieth century the Citizen Band Potawatomi have been able to apply survival techniques perfected during earlier centuries. The Potawatomi tribe's ability to adapt to the prevailing European culture first during the colonial era and later during the nineteenth century has prepared them for survival in the pluralistic culture of the United States.

INTRODUCTION

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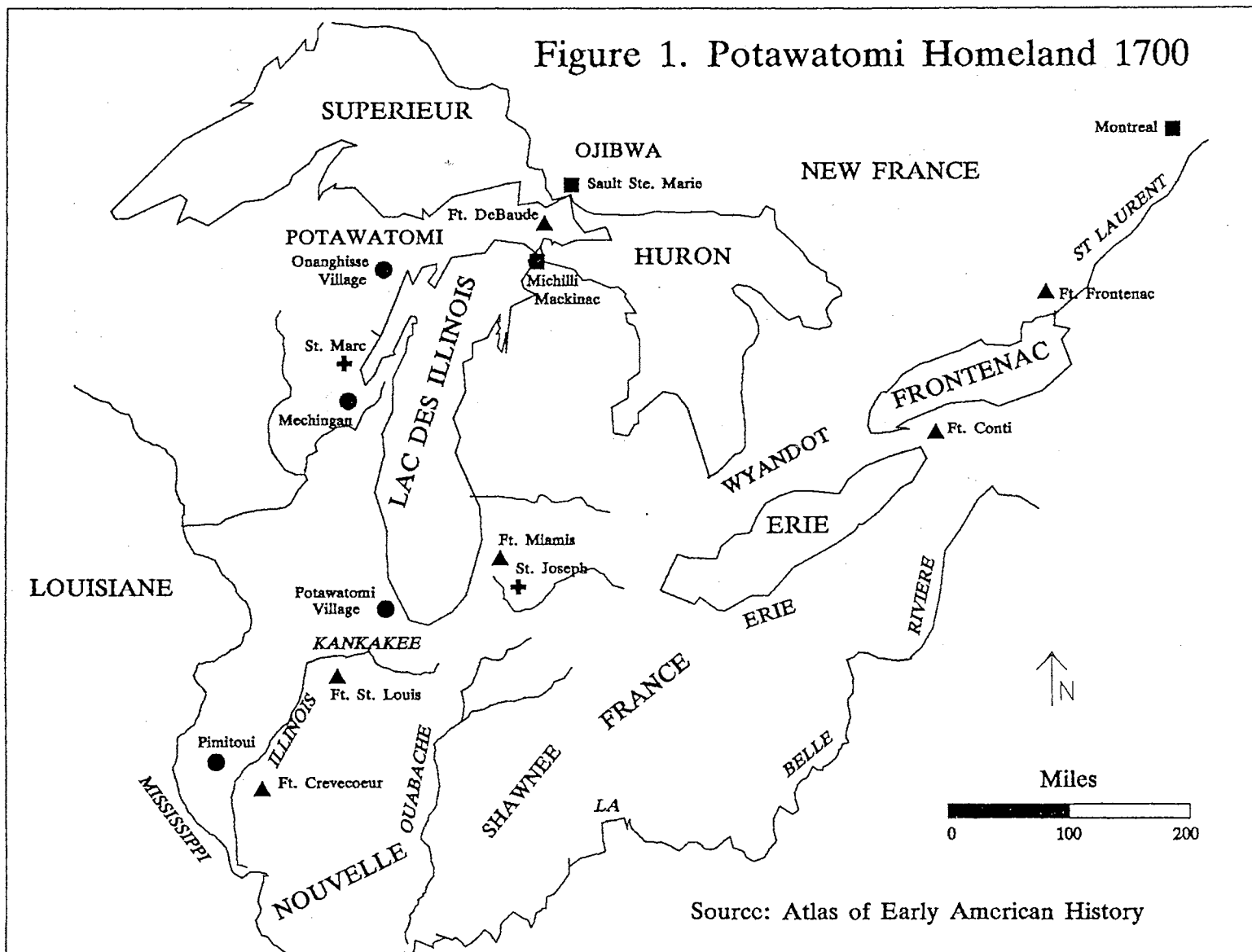
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Figure 1. Potawatomi Homeland 1700



Source: Atlas of Early American History

CHAPTER I

THE RECORD OF THE BLACK ROBES

The Citizen Band Potawatomi trace their Indian heritage through the Potawatomi tribe living in the Great Lakes area of the North American continent when Europeans heir exploration. An examination of the records left by the first Jesuit missionaries and the explorers in the sixteenth century reveals information that helps us to explain the bonding that occurred between certain Frenchmen and Potawatomi Indians. Traditionally the Indians referred to the Jesuits as the "black robes" and thus, from their point of view, the missionary records are the record of the black robes.

The original inhabitants of the Great Lakes region seem to have been of Siouan linguistic stock, but at the time of the coming of the Europeans, or shortly thereafter, the Siouan speakers moved west onto the Great Plains. Most of the Great Lakes region destined to be the area controlled by the French was occupied by Algonquin speaking peoples when Samuel de Champlain first sailed the St. Lawrence.

The French always identified and called the Potawatomi by a single name as did the other tribes in the area, although there is archaeological and linguistic evidence that sometime prior to the historical period three tribes composed one unit in the area. These three were the Potawatomi, Chippewa, (Ojibwa) and Ottawa (Figure 1). R. David Edmunds, using Father Claude Allouez's testimony in the *Jesuit Relations*, argued that the Potawatomi were so called because they were the "Keepers of the Fire."¹ However, James Clifton believed that the word Potawatomi does not translate into that meaning. The Prairie Band Potawatomi of Kansas call themselves *Neshnabek* or "The People".² Valentine B. Deale in an article tracing the history of the Potawatomi before 1722, noted

that the *gens de feu* that Samuel de Champlain referred to in his account of the third expedition to North America in 1615 and 1616 was the first historical record of the Potawatomi. However, in an endnote to his work, he stated "the identification of the Potawatomi with the *gens de feu* is an ethnological conclusion rather than an historical one, and is made by Frederick Webb Hodge. . . . Reuban B. [sic] Thwaites, the twentieth century historian and editor of the *Jesuit Relations*, maintained that Champlain's *gens de feu* referred to the Mascoutens.³ Father Joseph Murphy, writing his University of Oklahoma doctoral dissertation in 1961 on the origins of the Citizen Band, believed that the disagreement over the meaning of the name stemmed from Father Allouez confusing the Potawatomi with the Mascouten, whose name did mean "People of Fire." This confusion persisted into the British and American records even though it was corrected by the Jesuit missionary Claude Dablon.⁴ Murphy noted that the group of Potawatomi who would become the Prairie Band in opposition to the Citizen Band, contained Mascouten cultural elements introduced by the Mascouten who found refuge with certain Potawatomi villages during the eighteenth century Indian- European conflicts in the Great Lakes area.⁵ Today all the Potawatomi Bands refer to themselves as "Keepers of the Fire."

The Potawatomi occupied the far western edge of Michigan stretching from the St. Joseph River north to the Big Sable Point and Traverse Bay. They were isolated from direct contact with the Huron and their allies by the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascoutens to the east. The Potawatomi are first mentioned by Father LeJue in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1640 in his description of Jean Nicolet's exploration trip of 1634.⁶

The Potawatomi occupied the far western edge of Michigan stretching from the St. Joseph River north to the Big Sable Point and Traverse Bay. They were isolated from direct contact with the Huron and their allies by the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo and Mascoutens to the east. Though the Potawatomi were a single tribal entity at the time of the French

penetration of the Great Lakes area, they are related to the Chippewa and Ottawa and have many cultural characteristics in common.

While in the Great Lakes region, the Potawatomi (as the Chippewa and Ojibwa) practiced an economy based on small agricultural clan villages in the summer and smaller units of forest hunting villages in the winter. Women were responsible for agricultural labor and men hunted and fished from birch-bark canoes. Sometime in the 1600s the Potawatomi acquired horses and abandoned riverine transportation in favor of the horse. Potawatomi villages were constantly forming during the seventeenth century in response to soil exhaustion, pressure from other tribes, population expansion and intratribal disagreements.⁷

The Potawatomi migrated to Wisconsin and the western shore of Lake Michigan in an attempt to escape the Iroquois westward expansion. In 1653, the year the Iroquois cut the trade route from Quebec to the Great Lakes, the Potawatomi joined with several other area tribes to do battle with the Iroquois at Mechungen (Figure 1), a small Potawatomi village on the western side of Lake Michigan. Four hundred Potawatomi warriors comprised forty percent of the Algonquin fighting force that repelled the Iroquois invasion.⁸ This catapulted them into the position of dominance they were to reinforce with French help during the next century.⁹

As a result of this victory the Potawatomi felt strong enough to challenge the Ottawa for the role of broker between the French traders and the western Great Lakes tribes. They sent a delegation of Indians led by Onanghisse (Shimmering Light of the Sun) to Montreal to encourage the French to come to Wisconsin. Profit and ascendancy over neighboring tribes became their chief goals. One of the ways of achieving these goals was to cement themselves strongly to the French who had the trappings and technology of power. Therefore, after this battle, they sent a delegation of warriors to Montreal to discover why the French were no longer coming to the Green Bay area, and personally to invite the French to return.¹⁰ In 1668 Nicholas Perrot and Touissant Baudry

began trading directly with the Potawatomi as a result of this request.¹¹ The French alliance enabled the Potawatomi to become the arbiters for all the tribes of the Green Bay area in their relationship with each other and with the French. Rising intertribal influence meant that political leadership within the tribe guaranteed influence beyond tribal boundaries.

The French left no description of the political organization of the tribe and ethnologists assume it was similar to the Ottawa. Clifton, basing his observations on current Prairie Band practices and traditions, has written that the responsibility of social control was dispersed through the entire tribe by means of secret societies, ritual congregations, ceremonial organizations, and military groups. Using the word *clan* to refer to a group of persons forming a community and claiming descent from a common ancestor, Clifton describes the Potawatomi as being patrilineal linked clan villages, with the village being an economically self-sufficient local community.¹² Claude Allouez described such a village in 1667 as practicing polygamy and sun worship. He also commented on their deference and hospitality to strangers.¹³

The French word *chef* in the plural in the *Jesuit Relations* referred to a general council of elders. The Potawatomi had several different people who functioned in leadership roles reflecting a totally different viewpoint toward headmen or leaders from the French. Clifton lists various titles which could all be translated as "chief." They include the following:

okama	noun stem - leader
wokama	village leader
kiktowenene	one who speaks for another
okamawokitchita	leader of warriors

pu'akneyonene	pipelighter man (for the calumet)
skabewis	herald
wigwameyonene	houseman (head of house)
shkenweyowokama	leader of youth
okamakwe	leader of women
patopit	stand in for one of above ¹⁴

None of these positions held the power to coerce anyone to do anything, nor did they have major decision-making powers. Rather the decisions affecting the tribe as a whole were reached through full tribal consensus after days of deliberation. But tribal history shows a pattern of intense rivalry among certain men seeking influence beyond the norms of their culture.¹⁵ Onanghisse was not a traditional tribal leader, but used his friendship with the French to increase his influence within the tribe. Father Murphy believed that the historical de-emphasis of the authority of tribal chiefs played a large role in the conditions that led to tribal fragmentation in Kansas. This split resulted in the legal formation of the Citizen Band and the Prairie Band.¹⁶

Some of the *voyageurs* became troublesome to the Potawatomi and a delegation requested the services of a missionary in their area to exert religious control over the behavior of some of the young men.¹⁷ Father Claude Allouez established the St. Francis Xavier mission in 1668 beginning a long relationship between the Potawatomi and the Jesuits. The French considered the Potawatomi to be the dominant tribe in the Green Bay area and the Potawatomi Onanghisse used the French alliance to ascend to a position of leadership within the tribe. Onanghisse is the first Potawatomi individual about whom we have much written. He was the first of many Potawatomi men who used the French to further their own ambitions. And the French used him to further their goals. This symbiotic relationship between the French *voyageur* and the Potawatomi "chief"

remained fairly equal during the seventeenth century. Clifton explains Potawatomi dominance in the Green Bay area as a result of numerical and technological (birch-bark canoes) superiority.¹⁸ In order to maintain that dominance the Potawatomi needed the new technology, especially firearms, and power that the French possessed and were willing to trade. The French needed the active cooperation of Indians they could trust. Both groups received what they needed. However, by 1700 the Potawatomi were technologically dependent upon needs that only Europeans could supply and this would inevitably place the tribe in a subordinate position.

Robert Cavalier de LaSalle depended upon Onanghisse and the Potawatomi to help implement his dream of a great fur trading French empire. In 1680 the Jesuits and LaSalle clashed over this vision. Onanghisse led the Potawatomi in support of LaSalle against the Jesuits.¹⁹ The relationship of the Potawatomi with the French at this time showed a willingness to consider the French king "father" or *Onontio*. According to Clifton, the Iroquois first referred to the governors of New France by the name *Onontio*. All of the Indians within the French influence area used this name, which became translated "father."²⁰ However, in all dealings with the French the Potawatomi insisted on being recognized as the "elder brother" reflecting their dominance over the other area tribes. The Potawatomi often cemented agreements with the French and with other tribes by marrying women to outsiders.

Assimilation of culturally and linguistically different groups was a recognized tribal policy. It was used as an effective means for recruiting new members. The Potawatomi had traditional and oft-employed rituals for the purpose of making kinsmen of strangers.²¹ Without citing numbers, Jacqueline Peterson avers that a very high proportion of Potawatomi women married Europeans.²² The cultural practice of considering members of the same village as brothers and sisters dictated that the young men and women find mates outside the clan-village. While young men could capture mates from tribes they were at war with, young women were handicapped in their efforts

to secure unrelated mates. A European mate also strengthened the father's wealth and position within the village, particularly if the mate became a tribal member. The Potawatomi patrilineal system dictated that the financial security of the wife's family was enhanced by the husband. The French *voyageur* husband seemed likely to increase the financial standing of the father-in-law within the tribe. The French also gained from marrying Indian women.

According to Peterson , “the *voyageur* class traveled much the same circuit as the Indian hunter, and, as a consequence were as dependent upon the native women's skills as the Indian males.”²³ Peterson described the likely consort of a French *voyageur* as possessing qualities which gave them strong self-esteem, strong enough to venture into marriage with the French. Potawatomi girls often went on puberty vision quests. Sometimes, a girl's vision indicated marriage outside the tribe as a necessary prerequisite to a nontraditional role of leadership within the tribe.²⁴

According to Clifton, Potawatomi leaders often beggared their clans through gift giving in order to influence other tribes. This led to the necessity of clan division and migration. With the removal of the Iroquois threat the Potawatomi began returning to their ancestral homeland in the St. Joseph River area on the Eastern shore of Lake Michigan. In 1681 a group of Eastern Algonquin refugees from New England traveled with LaSalle to Lake Michigan. One man, Ouilamette (Ouillimek, Winamek, Catfish) became the liaison between LaSalle and the Lake Michigan tribes. It seems that Ouilamette led a migration of two hundred warriors to the St. Joseph river area in 1694. Clifton speculates that Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, the builder of Ft. Detroit, triggered this move in order to counter incipient Iroquoian moves into the area. Cadillac claimed that he made Ouilamette chief of the St. Joseph River Potawatomi. The Fish clan headed by Ouilamette retained its viability into the twentieth century Citizen Band Potawatomi in Oklahoma under the family name Wilmet.²⁵

In 1696, Louis XIV revoked the fur trade licenses granted during the seventeenth century. *Voyageurs*, who had been legally operating within French authority, became *couriers de bois* or illegal fur traders. The economic and emotional association with a particular Indian village became more important than their ties to France. This development, coupled with a change of policy toward Indian relations under a new colonial administration, brought changes to the Great Lakes area that would greatly affect the Potawatomi.

In 1698 Louis Hector Count de Callieres replaced Frontenac as governor of New France. He received orders to make peace with the Iroquois Confederacy. The Great Lakes area tribes erupted into quarreling and war with each other once the Iroquois threat lessened. The Fox attacked both French and other tribes in the area. In an effort to bring the area under control Cadillac, the French commander at Michilimackinac, built Fort Detroit in 1701 and began a new phase of French-Indian relations. Cadillac adopted the Spanish *presidio* model for Fort Detroit. Instead of traveling among the Indians Cadillac tried to persuade all the tribes, including the Fox, into settling near the fort so that both missionaries and soldiers could exert a greater influence on tribal behavior. This was a short-lived experiment and was never successful although some Potawatomi along with other tribes did settle in the Fort Detroit area. Some Fox also moved into the Detroit area and competed with Potawatomi for land and the position as broker between the French and the other area tribes.²⁶

By the eighteenth century the Potawatomi had successfully accommodated themselves to the French role in the Great Lakes region. A symbiotic relationship had evolved which benefited both parties. The advantages of intermarriage led to the formation of a new *Métis* culture in the area, neither entirely European nor entirely Indian. But in the mid-eighteenth century a new group appeared in the region challenging the French and presenting a new set of cultural adaptation challenges to the Potawatomi. The Potawatomi response to the new competition between the French and the British for

control of the interior of North America, and how that conflict strengthened the Potawatomi commitment to the French Roman Catholicism are the subjects of the next chapter.

CHAPTER I

ENDNOTES

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12. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 22.

13. *Father Allouez's Journey to Lake Superior 1665-1667* in *Narratives of the Old Northwest*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Charles Scribner, 1917; assigned to Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1946; Reprinted, 1953), 106.

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15. Ibid. 169.

16. Murphy, *Origins of the Citizen Band*, 66.

17. *Father Allouez's Journey*, 106.

18. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 41.

19. Ibid., 78.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Peterson, *The People In Between*, 47.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., 60-61.

25. *Father Allouez's Journey*, 106.

26. Edmunds, *Keepers of the Fire*, 28.

CHAPTER II

CAUGHT BETWEEN TWO EMPIRES

During the eighteenth century the British would increasingly challenge the French domination of the Ohio Valley culminating in the 1754-1763 war for empire. This European conflict within their ancestral grounds coupled with inter-tribal conflict with displaced Indians from the east forced individual Potawatomi villages to choose which army would better protect them from war depredations. The choices made exacerbated cultural differences within the tribe.

With the migration back to the southern and eastern shore of Lake Michigan the Potawatomi and the Fox again clashed. In 1712, the Fox and Mascoutens invaded Potawatomi hunting grounds. In retaliation the Potawatomi and Ottawa attacked and wiped out a combined Fox and Mascouten village. Unable to revenge themselves on the Potawatomi, the Fox besieged Detroit. A force led by the Potawatomi *Mackisabe* (Eagle) relieved Detroit. The Potawatomi believed that French leniency toward the Fox after the siege of Detroit led to prolonged warfare in the Great Lakes area.¹ In 1718, the French built a fort on the St. Joseph River (Niles, Michigan) strengthening ties between the St. Joseph villages and the French. In 1729 one of the Potawatomi leaders fighting against the Fox had a French name, *Madouche*. Clifton speculates that this may have actually been the French Madulce or "My sweet" reflecting French approval.² Regardless of the meaning, the name shows a continuation of the French practice of appointing Potawatomi leaders for French purposes.

Finally, on September 9, 1730, the combined Indian-French alliance decisively defeated the Fox by a general massacre at Fort Chartres (on the Mississippi River in the

Illinois country). In an about face, the St. Joseph Potawatomi negotiated with the French to insure leniency toward the surviving Fox. Some Fox took refuge in Canada and others were absorbed into the Sauk villages in the area.³

When the conflict between the French and the British erupted into open warfare in 1755, the western Great Lakes tribes hastened to the side of the French in their war. These tribes were led by Charles de Langlade, an Ottawa-Potawatomi-*Métis* leader of the Green Bay Potawatomi.⁴ The forces led by Langlade were instrumental in British General Edward Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne. However, the siege of Fort William Henry had a devastating effect on the western tribesmen as there were smallpox victims inside the fort when the Indians overran it. The subsequent smallpox epidemic among the Indians marked a turning point in the allegiance of the Great Lakes tribes. Many of the Indians eventually turned against the French. During all of this time, the Potawatomi did not seek out the English; they did not abandon the French for the Spanish in Louisiana; and they did not attempt to play off the English against the French. Therefore, the French chroniclers of the period gave the Potawatomi high praise for fidelity and warm recognition for services rendered.⁵

After the fall of Quebec, most of the Canadian-born French and the Indian *Métis*, including the Potawatomi, chose to stay and renounce allegiance to a king they had never seen rather than abandon the only home they had ever known. In turn, the British saw in the opening of the western fur trade (which had long been closed to them by the French) an opportunity to enrich themselves. The English attempted to persuade the Indians to come to them but they had to abandon the idea. Because they were unfamiliar with the Indians in the area, they solicited the cooperation of the more experienced French *voyageur*. According to Louise Phelps Kellogg, only seven of the many fur traders into the interior had British names.⁶

The British had a trade alliance with the Chickasaw and encouraged them to attack the French and their Indian allies on the Mississippi River. The Potawatomi

supported the French efforts to retaliate, but the Chickasaw were better armed and more difficult to subdue than the Fox. British diplomatic efforts convinced the Hurons and other Great Lakes tribes to make peace with the Chickasaws leaving the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa as the only tribes supporting the French.⁷

During this time the St. Joseph Potawatomi expanded into the area once claimed by the Illinois Confederacy. Chicago was among the new villages (Figure 2) they established. The Potawatomi joined with the Sioux, the Winnebagos, and other Wisconsin tribes to drive the Illinois and their allies, the Peorias, out of northern Illinois.⁸ The western Ohio valley into which the Potawatomi were migrating became a major area of conflict between the British and the French. In 1754, Marquis Duquesne became governor of New France and ordered a fort built at the forks of the Ohio and the Allegheny (Figure 2). Braddock's defeat denied the British access to the Great Lakes area along the Ohio. The Great Lakes Indians, including many St. Joseph Potawatomi engineered Braddock's fall. They returned to their villages as conquering heroes, who then continued to harass the British American settlers along the Pennsylvania frontier. In 1756, the French called many Potawatomi and Ottawa warriors to Montreal to attack the British in New York. The Potawatomi brought their families to winter at Montreal. Functioning as mercenaries for the French, they required that the French guarantee support for their families. In return the Potawatomi willingly put themselves under Louis Montcalm's French command at Quebec. He was impressed enough by them to describe them as the "wisest and most obedient of Indians."⁹

The attack on Fort William Henry, July 23, 1757, resulted in a massacre. Many of the British prisoners killed by the Indians were infected with smallpox and the victorious warriors brought the disease back to their homes. The Great Lakes tribes were ravaged by a major epidemic in 1758 with the St. Joseph River Potawatomi villages hit particularly hard.¹⁰

Even this did not shake their alliance with the French and, after spending a year in recovery, Potawatomi warriors again traveled to the east to help the French in their fight to retain a North American empire. It was only the British victory at Quebec that caused the Potawatomi to reassess their loyalty. In 1760, plagued by the smallpox epidemic and a severe shortage of trade goods, they sought to negotiate a trade agreement with the British. George Croghan was the main British trader in the area and in August Wabanum (White Dog) and four other Potawatomi representatives attended a multitribal council in Pittsburgh where they asked that Croghan send traders to their villages.¹¹

General Jeffrey Amherst, British commander in America, ordered that presents to the Indians be limited. Both William Johnson and George Croghan, active traders in the area for several years, warned that this was a dangerous policy. Amherst ignored the warning. In the middle of what today would be called an economic depression the Indians were becoming more desperate. Indian resentment came to a head in the spring of 1763 with the widespread revolt known as Pontiac's Uprising.¹²

The St. Joseph Potawatomi accepted the British traders with ill-disguised bad grace. Louis Chevalier, a French trader married to a Potawatomi woman, secretly encouraged passive defiance of the British with a promise that the French *Onontio* would soon send his soldiers back to the Great Lakes.¹³ Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, began uniting the Indians using their smoldering resentment of British stinginess. Pontiac moved in the spring of 1763. The Detroit Potawatomi, led by Ninivois, helped Pontiac in his unsuccessful siege of Fort Detroit. The St. Joseph Potawatomi managed to overrun Fort St. Joseph and transported their prisoners to Detroit. They attempted to exchange these prisoners for two of their own being held at Detroit by the British. They were unable to secure the release of Big Ears and Pontiac's siege failed with the arrival of British reinforcements. Big Ears was not released until after the end of Pontiac's Rebellion.¹⁴

The St. Joseph Potawatomi continued sporadic attacks on the British in their area. They were not in attendance at the various conferences set up to negotiate an end to the

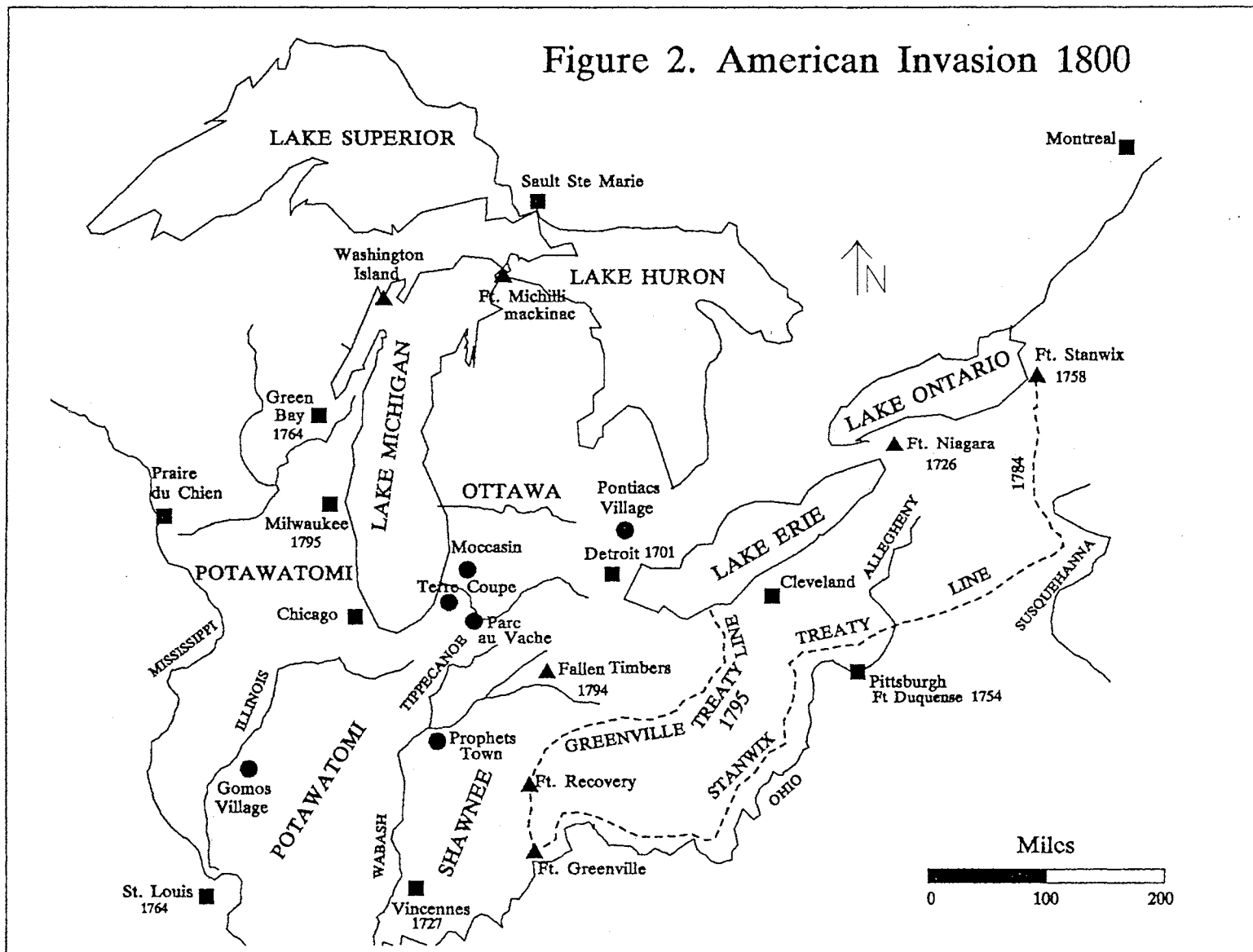
rebellion. The British were a factor at Detroit, but they were neither a military presence nor a threat in the St. Joseph area. The fort remained abandoned and the St. Joseph Potawatomi continued their allegiance to French traders, now operating from St. Louis in French-Spanish Louisiana. However, a much greater challenge to Potawatomi sovereignty and culture had already begun crossing the Appalachian Mountains, the American Long Knives. These Virginia settlers of Kentucky would eventually force the tribe to leave their ancestral homeland.

CHAPTER II

ENDNOTES

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3. Edmunds, *Keepers of the Fire*, 38.
4. Louise Phelps Kellogg, *The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1925), 429-432.
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8. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 91.
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10. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 92.
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12. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 133.
13. Edmunds, *Keepers of the Fire*, 83.
14. *Ibid.*, 88.

Figure 2. American Invasion 1800



CHAPTER III

THE PRICE OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEPENDENCE

When the American Revolution began, the Potawatomi were divided about whom they supported. Washee (Yellow Cat) was the leader of the St. Joseph Potawatomi who wished to remain neutral, as their allegiance belonged to *Onontio*. The Detroit Potawatomi, led by Ninivois and Machiouquisse were pro-British. Due to the proximity of Fort Detroit and the British soldiers, these chiefs had developed personal relations in order to protect their villages from the British military wrath. Henry Hamilton, British Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, presented Ninivois and Machiouquisse, along with several other Indian tribal representatives, a war belt from the Iroquois and instructed them to attack American settlers in the Ohio valley. The Virginia settlers in Kentucky were some of the hardest hit and they appealed to Governor Patrick Henry for relief.¹

Henry sent George Rogers Clark with a group of volunteers west, where they occupied Cahokia and Vincennes. Clark's conquest of Illinois triggered various tribes in the area to give their allegiance to the Americans. Siggenauk (Blackbird), the leader of the Milwaukee Potawatomi, and Clark developed a mutual respect for one another and Clark was able to insure the loyalty of the Wisconsin Potawatomi to the Americans.²

Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton from Detroit and Colonel Arent De Peyster were able to persuade Louis Chevalier and Nanaquiba of the St. Joseph Potawatomi to support the British in their efforts to retake Vincennes. Only fifteen of the St. Joseph warriors traveled with Hamilton's expedition. Initially successful, Hamilton surrendered to Clark February 23, 1779, insuring American control of the Wabash valley. The St. Joseph Potawatomi accepted the hand of the Americans, although the British actively

campaigned for the Indians' support. De Peyster was afraid that the southern Lake Michigan Potawatomi villages were all that stood between Fort Detroit and the Americans. But De Peyster was unable to convince the villages to support the British. However, the villages needed trade goods and they were willing to support whoever had the greatest chance of supplying those trade goods. The Potawatomi were on shifting sand, dependent upon European technology and trying to guess whether the Americans or the British were stronger militarily. Due to the autonomous nature of tribal government, various leaders judged the military and trade situation differently. Siggenauk remained firmly pro-American while the Detroit Potawatomi under Langlade's influence remained firmly pro-British. Others such as La Petit Bled (Little Corn) supported first one then the other. When the Americans failed to reward him for not supporting the British, he then turned to the British. However, he carefully refrained from risking his warriors in British lost causes.³

The deep divisions among the Potawatomi villages were evident at the end of the American Revolution. The Revolution, with its competing political and military demands, had further politically divided the various Potawatomi villages. The Detroit and St. Joseph Potawatomi continued their alliance with British traders. This gave the British another economic reason (the fur trade) for their refusal to surrender the Northwest to the Americans. The Wisconsin and Illinois Potawatomi continued their trading relations with Louisiana, owned by the Spanish but managed by French *Métis* such as the Auguste Chouteau family. In spite of these divisions, the Potawatomi did not see any concrete evidence that their ownership of the villages and hunting grounds were threatened. This shortly changed.

After successfully getting the Iroquois to relinquish their lands with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, the Americans pressured the Potawatomis and other Great Lakes tribes to renounce their claims to lands in Ohio, a harbinger of things to come. This the Potawatomi refused to do. One hundred and fifty years had taught the Potawatomi to

negotiate on the basis of goods or services they could sell to Europeans in exchange for technology to increase their security. The Americans wanted neither furs nor mercenaries. The Potawatomi quickly learned that land was the only commodity for which the Americans would negotiate. It took another fifty years for the Potawatomi to discover that if these negotiations failed, the Americans were powerful enough and determined enough to take their land without compensation.

But at the end of the Revolution, the Americans were dealing from an unknown hand. They did not know the extent of Indian strength in the Old Northwest nor the extent of British Indian support. Congress was searching for a politically acceptable, peaceful solution to the settlers' demand for land in the Ohio valley. General Arthur St. Clair, the American governor of the Northwest, called for a multitribal conference. The Potawatomi villages were unable to agree among themselves about the advisability of selling land to the Americans. Disagreement was magnified when the coalition of the Ohio valley tribes attempted to come to a decision during the 1788 conference at Fort Harmer. The Treaty of Fort Harmer was meaningless to both the Indians and the United States.⁴

By 1789, the Shawnees, Kickapoos and Miamis had persuaded Potawatomi warriors to help them in their attacks on Ohio valley settlements. In 1790, St. Clair moved against the Shawnee, Miamis and Kickapoos, but he assured the Potawatomis, Ottawas and Chippewas that he had no quarrel with them and that their villages were safe. He did not get reciprocal assurances from the Potawatomi. On October 19, 1790, a combined force of approximately one hundred Potawatomi and Shawnee warriors annihilated an equal American force led by Colonel John Hardin. With this military success armed opposition to American settlers spread through all the Wabash and St. Joseph villages. St. Clair attempted a second military campaign in 1791 even more poorly executed than the 1790 campaign. The Indian coalition had been amply supplied by British traders with arms and ammunition. The war party numbered over one

thousand. The greatest Indian victory against Euroamericans occurred at Arthur St. Clair's camp on the East Fork of the upper Wabash near Fort Recovery, Ohio. The Americans lost 647 men compared to 150 or fewer Indians killed. Incredibly, St. Clair had allowed almost 200 women and children to follow the army and their number, killed or captured, is unknown.⁵

Siggenauk's Wisconsin Potawatomi felt no threat from the Americans' push into the Ohio valley. They maintained their ties with Louisiana traders and had expanded under La Gesse (Siggenauk's son), down the Illinois River. In 1792, the Americans concluded a peace treaty with the Wisconsin and Illinois Potawatomi and gave Gomo recognition as a tribal "chief" of the Illinois Potawatomi. The 1792 Treaty of Vincennes was as useless as the earlier Fort Harmar treaty. The Senate refused to ratify it because it did not give Americans control over Indian lands in the Illinois region. The St. Joseph and Wabash Potawatomi repudiated it because it was signed by Potawatomi who had never engaged in hostilities toward the United States.⁶

Major General Anthony Wayne headed military preparations for a renewed confrontation while Commissioners Benjamin Lincoln, Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph continued to try to gain land peacefully through diplomacy. The "red confederacy" of Great Lakes and Ohio Valley tribes was not unaware of Wayne's preparations and with the help of the British made their own. During August, 1794, 1,300 Indian warriors, including seventy-five St. Joseph Potawatomi, gathered at Roche de Bout on the Maumee River ready to battle Wayne's militia. Expecting Wayne to show on August 18, all but four hundred warriors had returned to British sanctuary at Fort Miami. Wayne's army attacked on August 20. As the Indians fled to Fort Miami, the British commander William Campbell refused to risk an armed confrontation with the United States by opening the fort's gates to the fleeing Indians. The Indians never forgave the British refusal to open the fort.⁷

The land cessions in the Treaty of Greenville did not involve Potawatomi villages or hunting grounds. However, the Potawatomi were well represented at treaty negotiations. Twenty-three Potawatomi signed the treaty including La Petit Bled of the St. Joseph and Siggenauk of the Wisconsin. The Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi tribes were each given one thousand dollars for their claims to land in the Ohio valley (Figure 1).⁸ The Potawatomi quarreled among themselves as to the division of the annuities. The quarrel over annuity distribution exacerbated the divisions already existing among the villages. Clifton has written that because the Illinois and Wisconsin villages did not have as many representatives at the treaty negotiations they did not receive their fair share of the annuities.⁹

As the Potawatomi expanded westward they came into conflict with the predominant middle western Plains tribe, the Osage. The Osage, beset by tribal conflicts themselves, were pushing further south during the last half of the eighteenth century. The southern Osage raided Spanish traders along the Arkansas River. The Spanish military presence in the area was very weak and they depended on other Native American tribes to fight the Osage for them.¹⁰ The Potawatomi had a long history of providing mercenaries for European wars on the North American continent. The Illinois and Wisconsin Potawatomi had even stronger marriage and adoption ties with French and Spanish traders in Louisiana and they were brought into the conflict. The Spanish were unsuccessful in stopping Osage raids and the war against them ended in the spring of 1794. However, the Potawatomi continued to hunt in Osage territory west of the Mississippi and to raid Osage villages for horses. Main Poc (Withered Hand) became the leader of the western warriors. The Osage appealed to the United States to stop Main Poc's attacks and to ransom the captives. The Americans were unsuccessful in stopping Main Poc's depredations and the St. Joseph Potawatomi found themselves having to disown Main Poc's activities in order to maintain friendly relations with the United States.

In an effort to avoid a full-scale war between the Potawatomi and the Osage, the United States sponsored a peace conference at St. Louis October, 1805. Only two minor Potawatomi chiefs, La Barbue (The Bearded One) and Manamol, signed the treaty. Notably absent were Main Poc and Turkey Foot. Shortly after the treaty was signed, Main Poc's warriors attacked a band of Little Osage camped near the junction of the Osage and Missouri rivers. They killed thirty-four women and children and took captive sixty more.¹¹

On October 4, 1796, Five Medals, representing the Elkhart River villages, traveled to Washington, D. C. along with representatives from several other Great Lakes area tribes. At this meeting President George Washington exhorted the Indians to turn from hunting to agriculture to feed their people. From 1796 to 1801 the Potawatomis in northern Indiana and southern Michigan found it difficult to ensure survival from the poor winter hunts. In 1801 Five Medals persuaded Topinbe (He Who Sits Quietly), of the St. Joseph River Potawatomi, to return with him and Little Turtle of the Ottawa to the east in order to seek agricultural assistance for their villages.

On their way to Washington, D. C. the Indians met with a convention of Quakers in Baltimore who were dedicated to frontier missions. While in Baltimore, the Potawatomi asked for agricultural assistance and training from the Quakers. Again in 1803 they wrote asking the Quakers for assistance in controlling the illegal liquor trade around Fort Wayne. George Ellicott and Phillip Dennis were Quakers who set up a model farm for the Potawatomi. This first Quaker attempt to assimilate the Potawatomi failed.¹² The Potawatomi still perceived that the hunter-trader-warrior received more social standing and financial security than the farmer. While they certainly ate from the women's summer gardens, horticulture did not increase standing in the village for Potawatomi men.

It was quickly becoming clear to the Potawatomi that the Americans would do whatever necessary to accumulate land. Efforts to turn them into farmers in the first

decades of the nineteenth century were viewed by many Potawatomi as another scheme of the Americans to infiltrate their land. There were only a few who believed that by becoming farmers they could retain their land.¹³

In 1806, many Potawatomi were receptive to the religious message delivered by Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet. Tenskwatawa enjoined the Indians to abjure liquor, witchcraft and the ways of Euroamericans. Tecumseh, his brother, began traveling with his message to unite and drive the whites out of their country. The British and Tecumseh made use of each other as Britain and the United States drifted perilously close to war in 1807. Tenskwatawa's most important Potawatomi convert was Main Poc (although he did not renounce liquor). Other Potawatomi leaders resented Main Poc's rising influence within the tribe and remained committed to peace. Main Poc also accepted American hospitality and liquor when it was offered but he had no intention of keeping the peace. Clifton strongly described Main Poc as a "rogue male" who temporarily followed Tecumseh and the Prophet. But he was "infatuated with killing" and unwilling to accept any external discipline or leadership from another.¹⁴ Edmunds has written that Main Poc functioned as a powerful shaman, claiming his withered hand, a birth deformity, was a special gift from the spirits. William Wells, the Indian agent at Fort Wayne, described Main Poc as arrogant and overbearing with the other Indians. His continual intoxicated state made him "insufferable."¹⁵

Other Potawatomi leaders such as Winamec, Kessass, Topinbe and Five Medals turned to the Americans even more strongly in their attempt to counter the growing influence of Tecumseh among the villages. They even went so far as to pressure the Miamis to sign a land cession treaty in 1809. As a reward they received payment along with the Miamis, even though no land ceded belonged to the Potawatomi.¹⁶ A pattern was established by Americans greedy for land and Potawatomi greedy for annuities which would be repeated not only in land cession treaties but in the removal treaties of the 1830s.¹⁷

Tecumseh presented a challenge to the traditional religious leaders of the Potawatomi. His activities forced the Potawatomi to reexamine the effectiveness of their traditional religious practices in fostering individual, village, and tribal welfare. Clifton has described traditional Potawatomi religion in detail. They recognized spiritual power in someone or something as *manito*. Some American observers insisted that *manito* was the equivalent of a creator, but Clifton maintains that this referred only to spiritual power, not a particular being. Many different people could have *manito* including the Jesuit "black robes." All personal power, spiritual or otherwise, came from visions. The visions of the young Potawatomi were socially discussed and verified, providing a group control of tribal direction which was absent in other Algonquin tribes. For the Potawatomi religion was intertwined with economic, political and social activities. There were different religious experts for different purposes. The *chaskyd* divined the future. The *wabino* advised in practical matters. Certain people were well versed in medical lore. During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, in response to the growing influence of the Jesuits among the Algonquin tribes, a multitribal religious cult developed called the *Medewiwin*. The shamans associated with this cult used fear and awe to reinforce traditional tribal values and to increase personal power. Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, represented a formidable challenge to the *Medewiwin*.¹⁸ There is an oral tradition among the Detroit Potawatomi that in order to cement stronger relations with the Potawatomi and to attract more Potawatomi support, Tecumseh married a Detroit Potawatomi woman.¹⁹

In 1803, the Americans built Fort Dearborn on the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan near the Potawatomi village of Chicago. In June, 1810, Main Poc and his Potawatomi warriors visited Prophetstown and consulted with Tecumseh. They planned to attack Fort Dearborn. Indiana Governor William Henry Harrison received word of the planned attack from traders in the Prophetstown area. Harrison cultivated Potawatomi known to be friendly to the United States. However, Main Poc's appeal and Tecumseh's

growing influence put leaders such as Gomo, Winamec and Black Partridge in an increasingly precarious political position within their own villages. The younger, more militant Potawatomi were angry over the Treaty of Fort Wayne and willing to listen to Tecumseh's plea for an intertribal alliance against the Americans. In an attempt to bolster the American cause, Harrison even made overtures to Tecumseh, offering to sponsor a trip to Washington, D. C. which Tecumseh refused. Harrison did sponsor a multitribal conference where Tecumseh angrily denounced Winamec and other pro-American Potawatomi for "selling land which was not theirs."²⁰

Finally, Harrison gathered a militia together and prepared for an attack on Prophetstown. His progress was noted by Tecumseh's warriors, but they could not dislodge Harrison's militia. They melted away to their home villages, leaving a deserted Prophetstown for Harrison to burn. Harrison hastened to assure the Americans that his "victory" at the Tippecanoe River (Figure 2) removed the threat of an Indian war. This victory did not muzzle Tecumseh, nor did it stop the militant warriors from raiding throughout the western frontier. The threat of war continued. Edmunds claimed it actually ushered in the War of 1812 in the West.²¹

Main Poc did not abandon his plans for attacking Fort Dearborn. Most of the Potawatomi of Chicago were mixed bloods and had established warm personal relationships with the trader John Kinzie and other Americans at the fort. Led by Black Partridge and Chechepinquay (Squinter - Alexander Robinson) these Potawatomi argued against such an attack. The Americans at Fort Dearborn were aware of the impending danger. William Hull's orders to Captain Nathan Heald to evacuate the fort arrived on August 9, 1812; but Heald was determined to conduct an "orderly" retreat. He threw all the whiskey on the premises down the fort's well, and destroyed all the ammunition they could not carry. He then distributed the remaining superfluous supplies to the friendly Chicago Potawatomi.

Meanwhile, Nuscotomeg (Mad Sturgeon) and Siggenauk (Blackbird, son of the pro-American Wisconsin Siggenauk) received word of Tecumseh's victory over the Americans at Brownstown, Illinois. Combined with the resentment over the loss of the whiskey this news was enough to convince the Chicago Indians to attack Fort Dearborn. On the evening of August 14, Black Partridge returned his American medal to Nathan Heald and said he could no longer guarantee protection to any Americans from his warriors. The Potawatomi waited until all the soldiers and civilians had left the safety of the fort before attacking on the morning of August 15, 1812. Fifty-three soldiers were killed and the rest along with the civilians were taken captive. Many were killed in torture ceremonies on the first night of captivity. Alexander Robinson saved the lives of the Healds and Black Partridge and Waubensee protected the Kinzies. Jean Baptiste Chandonnai, a mixed blood, conducted the families to Detroit.²² The city of Chicago later honored these Potawatomi villagers while at the same time working diligently to remove them from the area.²³

The fall of Mackinac and Fort Dearborn pressured General Hull to surrender Detroit to the British August 16, 1812. Winamec, furious over the destruction of Prophetstown, provided fertile soil for "Perish" Moran, the Stutterer, a mixed blood Kickapoo married to a Potawatomi woman, in persuading the Potawatomi to fight the Americans. He and Moran led the Potawatomi unsuccessfully against Fort Wayne where the British proved unreliable allies for the Indians, not getting their forces to Fort Wayne in time to counteract Harrison's relieving force for the Americans. In retaliation, Harrison destroyed Five Medals' Potawatomi village, once again alienating friendly Indian support.²⁴

On October 14, 1812, Main Poc, Five Medals and Topinbe signed a truce with Harrison. Main Poc signed in order to collect food annuities for his warriors to see them through the winter. He resumed military action against the Americans in the spring of 1813 with the help of Robert Dickson, the Wisconsin British trader. By this time most of

the St. Joseph Potawatomi were actively fighting the Americans. The Peoria and Illinois Potawatomi continued to support the Americans under Black Partridge. The winter of 1813-1814 was one of famine for the Potawatomi. When news of the Treaty of Ghent reached the West in March of 1814, most Potawatomi took the opportunity to assure the Americans that they had always supported them. Topinbe, Chebass, Five Medals, Metea and Mad Sturgeon signed the treaty but Main Poc did not. However, his military influence deteriorated as his drinking increasingly affected his health.²⁵

Clifton has written that the war of 1812 brought defeat, impoverishment and increased dependency on American technology to the Potawatomi. Tecumseh's teaching against selling land to the Americans led to the tribal insistence that all Potawatomi affected by treaties with the United States must sign, rather than just an *okama* representing a village. The Prairie du Chien Treaty of 1829, for example, was even signed by five Potawatomi women.²⁶ The Potawatomi began as equals in a relationship with European countries. Their growing technological dependence forced them to accede to European demands for furs and subsequently to serve mercenaries. The Americans needed neither of those. Their demand for land forced individual Potawatomi to choose to accede to this demand or not. The results of this choice determined the direction various factions of the tribe took in the nineteenth century.

The Treaty of 1817 was the first to give specific grants to individuals related to the Potawatomi "by blood or adoption." This signaled an opportunity for traders who had intermarried or ingratiated themselves to enrich themselves by becoming Potawatomi for treaty purposes.²⁷ However, these Potawatomi by adoption soon discovered that their wealth did not protect them from the American desire for their land.

CHAPTER III

ENDNOTES

1. Edmunds, *Keepers of the Fire*, 101.
2. Ibid., 102.
3. Ibid., 104.
4. Ibid., 118.
5. Ibid., 124.
6. Ibid., 125-27.
7. Kellogg, *British Regime in Wisconsin*, 215.
8. Edmunds, *Keepers of the Fire*, 155.
9. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 173.
10. Willard H. Rollings, *The Osage An EthnoHistorical Study of Hegemony on the Great Plains* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1992) 169.
11. Edmunds, *Keepers of the Fire*, 157.
12. Ibid., 162.
13. *Address of the Miamis, Potawatomis and Eel Rivers to the President of the United States, August 23, 1807*, Potawatomi File, Great Lakes Indian Archives, memorial by John Johnston for the Committee of Friends from Baltimore, May 26, 1808.
14. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 192.
15. Edmunds, *People of the Fire*, 166-167.
16. Ibid., 170.
17. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 227.
18. Ibid., 122-128.

19. Thomas Wildcat Alford as told to Florence Drake, *Civilization and the Story of the Absentee Shawnee* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936. Reprint, 1979), 191.

20. Edmunds, *Keepers of the Fire*, 172.

21. Ibid., 177.

22. Ibid., 188.

23. Hulst, Cornelia Steketee, *Indian Sketches: Pere Marquette and the Last of the Pottawatomie Chiefs* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912) 40-113; Lloyd Lamirand family papers. private collection.

24. Edmunds, *Keepers of the Fire*, 177-178.

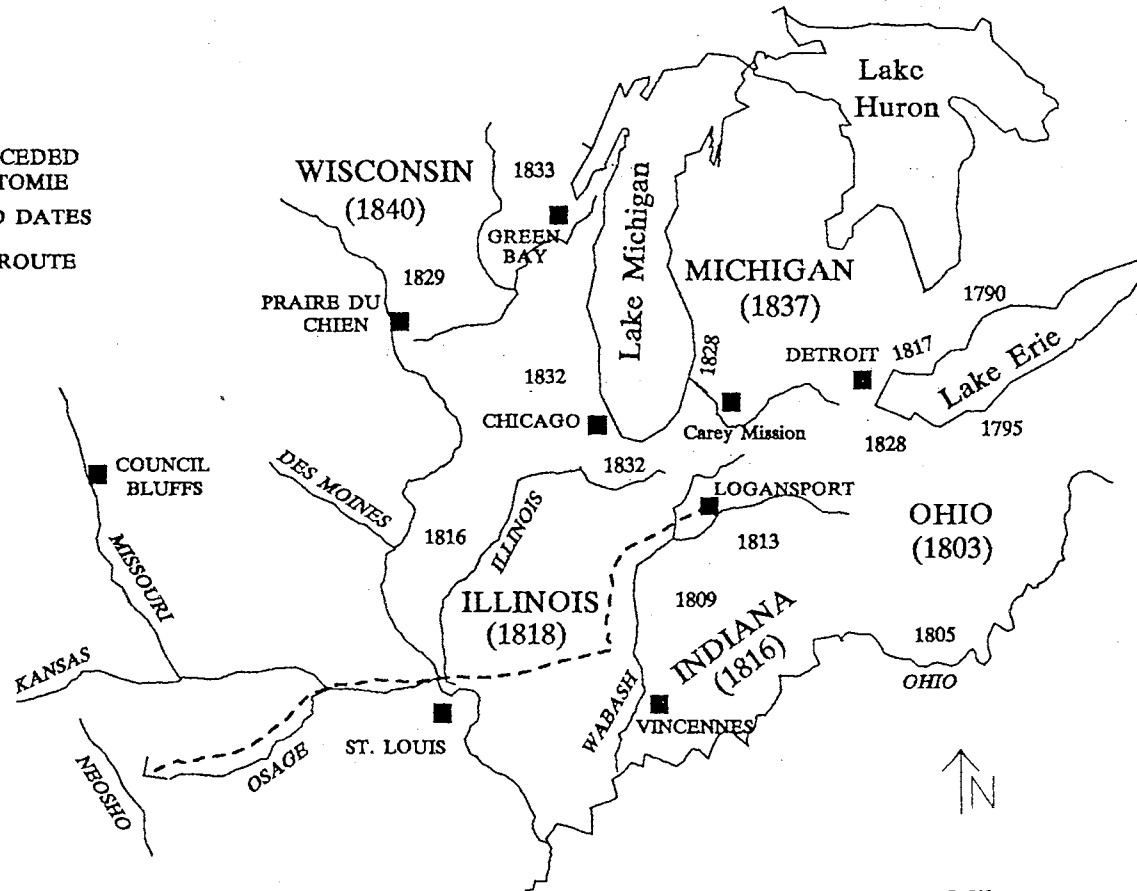
25. Ibid., 204-205.

26. Clifton, *The Prairie People*, 216; 232.

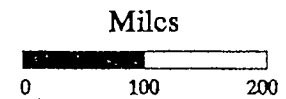
27. Ibid., 224.

Figure 3. Potawatomi Removal 1816-1848

1796 = DATE AREA CEDED
BY POTAWATOMIE
(1803) = STATEHOOD DATES
- - - - = REMOVAL ROUTE



Sources: James Clifton, The Prairie People, and Polke, "Journal of an Emigrating Party of Potawatomie"



CHAPTER IV

UNWILLING PIONEERS

R. David Edmunds in an article published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* described the Citizen Band Potawatomi as bringing agricultural innovations into Kansas and Indian Territory when they were pressured even to the point of physical force into leaving the Great Lakes area for Council Bluffs, Iowa; Platte Purchase, Missouri; St. Mary's, Kansas; and Sacred Heart, Indian Territory.¹ The story of how they became these unwilling pioneers is recounted in the following chapter.

The Potawatomi absorbed the French *voyageur* culture in such a way that the tribe was strengthened. They were able to do this because friendly relations with those who had the expertise to trap for the beaver fur was vital to the economic success of the French *voyageur*. The guns and iron implements that he brought for trade increased the economic viability of the Indian. The Indian who was able to forge a familial relationship with the *voyageur* increased the group's financial security and thus insured a leadership role for himself or herself. The *voyageur* needed the security that the familial relationship represented in a hostile environment. Each became mutually supportive of the other.

Clifton noted another characteristic of Potawatomi culture which resulted in the very strong influence that the French had on the tribe and led directly to the formation of the *Métis* culture. Potawatomi socialization practices as Clifton discovered from his visits with Kansas Prairie Band members, "*did not and do not* (italics mine) involve excessive amounts of nurture given to the very young."² Children everywhere are most

susceptible to assimilation and acculturation and Potawatomi children grew up with a “net deficit need for recognition.”³ Roman Catholic cultures of all countries place a great emphasis on the care and training of the very young. Therefore, the Jesuit “Black Robe” filled a need in the Potawatomi child’s life and, in turn, reaped generations of commitment to the Catholic religion and loyalty to the French language and culture. This loyalty did not mean that cultural adjustments were not made, nor did it mean that Indian cultural components were abandoned. Rather, the Potawatomi took that which was perceived as being the most beneficial from each culture.

They were unwilling to make the same commitment regarding the American frontier culture in spite of the fact that the Potawatomi-*Métis* culture and the American frontier culture shared many similarities. Each shared a common technology. The primary communities were based on kinship ties. Both were heavy users of hard liquor. Both communities, while given to violence and brawling, imposed order through kinship ties. They both were dependent on distant markets for their economic well-being and protected themselves with militia fighting forces. However, the American frontier culture did not place a great emphasis on the nurturing and education of small children. The Americans on the frontier placed a much greater emphasis on agriculture as a measure of community standing rather than hunting expertise. Originally the Potawatomi met the French as equals and thus, did not feel culturally defensive. Cultural adaptation under the perception of equality engenders more loyalty to the new adaptations than does forced adaptation.

Two basic differences between the Potawatomi and the Americans gave the balance of power--culturally, economically and militarily--to the Americans. The Potawatomi did not have the skills to produce metal tools and the Americans were only representatives of a far larger society with population and resources that outstripped those available to any one tribe or even all of them together.⁴

The mission school, either Protestant or Catholic, was the main vehicle for the forced acculturation of the Indian. Both the 150-year history of accommodation and the way of life of the *voyageur* determined that the Potawatomi would favor the Catholic mission school preferably staffed by French priests. To the Potawatomi the French trader and not the English farmer represented the most desirable model of cultural adaptation.⁵ However, after the Revolutionary War, Protestant mission activity among the Indians on the frontier increased. Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary from Kentucky, was in the forefront of those Protestants attempting to convert the Potawatomi in the early 1800s.

McCoy educated Abram Burnett, the son of Topinbe's sister and William Burnett, a Scots-Irish trader in the St. Joseph River valley. In June of 1821, McCoy visited the Burnett trading post and persuaded the St. Joseph River chiefs to request a mission school as part of the land cession treaty they were negotiating.⁶

On August 17, 1821, the Potawatomi signed a treaty with the United States government ceding all of their lands in southwestern Michigan from the St. Joseph River in the south to the Grand River in the north. Pokagon's village in the South Bend area on the St. Joseph River was exempt from the cession.⁷

This treaty included a provision whereby the Potawatomi were to receive a teacher and a blacksmith. One square mile of land on the St. Joseph River was reserved for a school. The majority of Potawatomi desired that the teacher be Roman Catholic but Chebass and Meteor invited Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary, to establish a Baptist mission school in the area. Using this invitation as justification, McCoy sought and received the appointment as teacher to the Potawatomi. On July 16, 1822, he established the Carey Mission School on the St. Joseph River.⁸

Isaac McCoy believed that the solution to the Indian "problem" lay in the establishment of an all-Indian nation somewhere west of the Missouri River. On June 4, 1823, he presented his plan for an Indian colony to the United States Congress. From 1823 to 1838 John Tipton, a white trader, worked in Washington, D. C., and Isaac

McCoy worked among the Indian tribes for the adoption of such a plan. Upon hearing that a delegation of Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek Indians traveled west to investigate possible removal sites, McCoy petitioned the government to be allowed to take a group of Potawatomi with the delegation. In 1828, McCoy, two full blood Potawatomi and Jean Baptiste Chandonnais, serving as interpreter, traveled to the eastern and central parts of Kansas and the northern part of Oklahoma looking for a suitable place to plant an Indian colony.⁹

The majority of Potawatomi were against removal and McCoy's influence within the tribe was minor. He was thoroughly detested by the *Métis* Potawatomi because of his Protestant convictions, but he continually represented to congress that he could persuade the Indians to move. Congress chose to believe him.¹⁰

After the war of 1812, several Anglo-Irish entrepreneurs established themselves in the Old Northwest Territory. They adopted the culture pattern of the *Métis* in that they fathered children by Indian women and raised the children themselves. Clifton states that this was done deliberately so as to give these men influence economically and politically with the tribes of the area.¹¹ Regardless of the reasons behind this phenomenon, the mixed Anglo-Irish-Indian families began a rise to power in the area. This rise was accompanied by a decline in the prestige, power and influence of the long resident French *Métis*. The *Métis* then had three choices. (1) They could stay and compete with the Anglo-Irish in the Great Lakes area. Some did so very successfully and became listed among the leading families of Wisconsin, Detroit, Chicago and South Bend.¹² (2) They could move to the Far West as traders and trappers. Some did this and carried *Métis* culture through the Canadian Northwest and even into Alaska.¹³ (3) They could become Indian on the basis of "Indian by descent or blood" and receive money and allotments that the government was giving the Indians in exchange for land cessions. The majority of the *Métis* chose this third route.¹⁴

The *Métis* perceived social advantages in claiming Indian relationships as some Americans felt that these people were the prestigious members of the tribe. By ceding land, preferably land occupied by other tribes and by supporting American officials in treaty negotiations, leaders such as Topinbe (Sits Quietly), of the St. Joseph Potawatomi and Winamek (Catfish), of the Illinois River Potawatomi extended the range of their influence and secured access to annuities.¹⁵

The *Métis* who became Potawatomi during the removal period thought of themselves as citizens of a Potawatomi Nation rather than Indian either by blood or culture. Just as their forefathers had changed citizenship in order to better their families' chances so these people were doing the same. However, many of these "Indians by blood or adoption" who received individual land allotments in the early land cession treaties had their lands "repossessed" by local officials and died on charity, despised by the Potawatomi for deserting the tribe and by the Americans for shiftlessness -- even though these personal grants were often given as a reward for services rendered to Americans earlier on the frontier.¹⁶

On June 30, 1834,¹⁷ the United States government formally created the Office of Indian Affairs. Its local agents and subagents were all products of the patronage system. Few of them had any substantial or lasting interests in Indian affairs. For more than a century the Potawatomi had been dealing with Euroamerican-American governments through their own leaders. With the establishment of the Office of Indian Affairs, suddenly the Indian agent was the middleman between the government and the tribe. The *Métis*, true to the tradition of seeking out the power brokers and aligning with them, endeavored to receive appointments as Indian agents or Indian "interpreters" for the Potawatomi, thus protecting the tribe and their power within it.

The 1833 Chicago treaties began the removal of the Potawatomi from the Great Lakes area. The treaties exempted several individual Potawatomi from removal, but between December 4, 1834, and September 28, 1836, thirteen agreements removed the

Indiana Potawatomi from individual reservations granted in earlier treaties.¹⁸ The United Band of Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa who moved between 1833 and 1837 settled in the area which became known as Platte's Purchase (Figure 4). Regardless of the tribal affiliation in the Great Lakes area, at Platte's Purchase these Indians were known as Potawatomi. Murphy wrote that this United Band of Potawatomi was the nucleus of what later became the Prairie Band of Kansas.¹⁹ The reason for settlement on Platte's Purchase is unclear. Billy Caldwell, Alexander Robinson and Chief Wah-bon-seh all clearly understood they were to go to Iowa lands, but Platte's Purchase is where they went.²⁰ Murphy wrote that the chance existed to reunite the Potawatomi on the Osage River land given to the Indiana Potawatomi by the Treaty of 1837. Squabbling among the various Indian agents and missionaries, combined with the need to clear Platte's Purchase prevented this. Thus began the split between the Prairie Band and the Citizen Band

Isaac McCoy opposed the removal of the Indians to the Iowa lands. Instead he wanted all of the Potawatomi reunited and settled on the upper Osage or Marais des Cygnes River. Missouri settlers were pressing for access to Platte's Purchase. In 1837, Edwin James, an opponent of Isaac McCoy's vision of an Indian colony, became the Indian agent for the Illinois and Wisconsin Potawatomi. He shepherded these villages to the Council Bluffs, Iowa Reservation, thus frustrating the desire of McCoy to see the entire Potawatomi united in one place. The Potawatomi themselves did not like the Iowa lands and preferred, instead, an area on the Marais des Cygnes River. Most did not want to be totally isolated from whites as they depended upon them technologically. Robert Simerwell, a co-worker with Isaac McCoy, lobbied congress for the Marais des Cygnes River location (Figure 4). He even traveled with an unnamed Potawatomi chief to Washington to plead in person for the site.²¹

According to Bessie Ellen Moore's unpublished thesis concerning Robert Simerwell's career, Topinbe led over a thousand St. Joseph Potawatomi to the Marais des

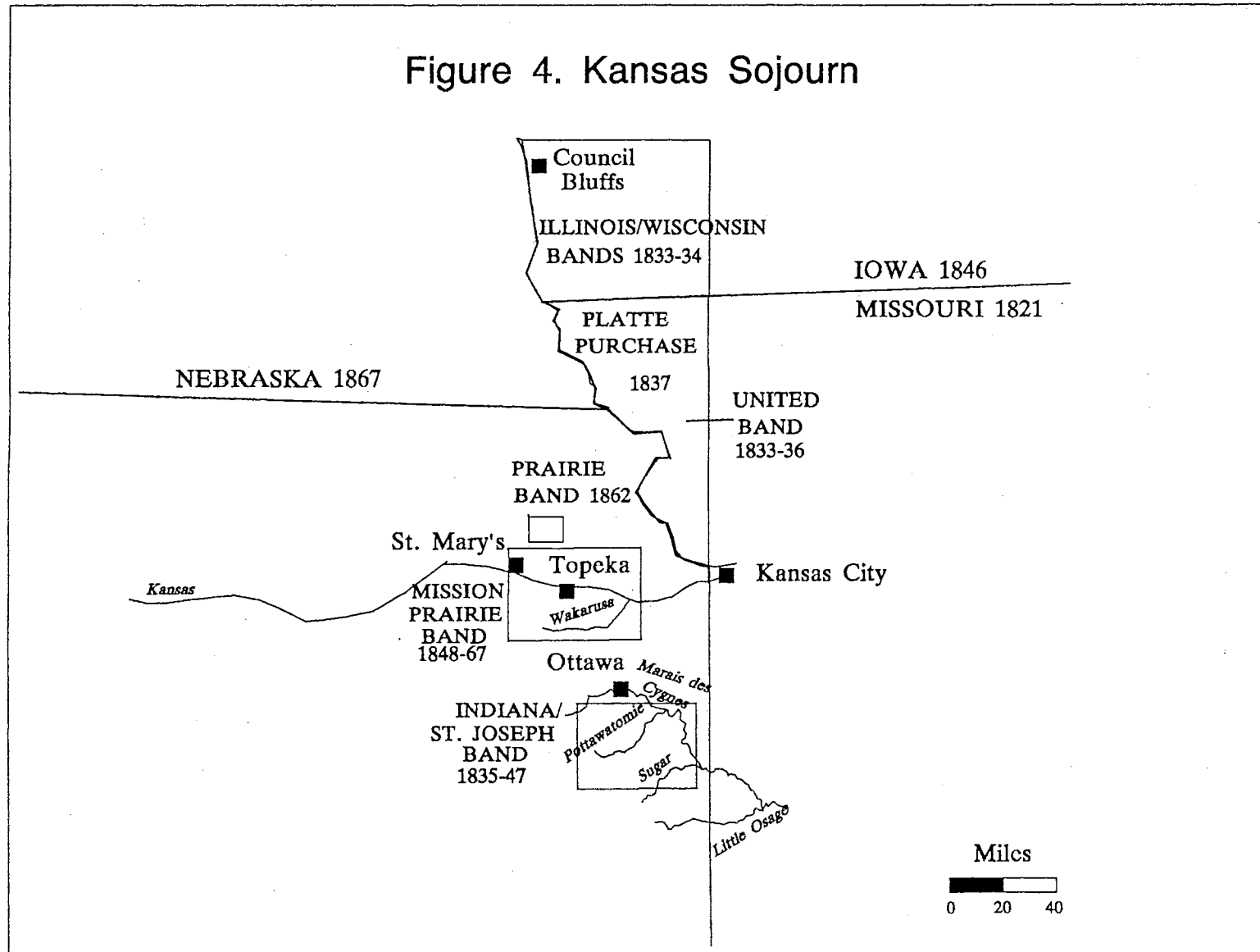
Cygnés River location in 1835.²² During the next three years groups from Indiana and Michigan continued to arrive there. In 1838, the most widely publicized forced removal of Indiana Potawatomi occurred (Figure 3).

In 1836, congress instructed Colonel A. C. Pepper, Indian agent for the Indiana Potawatomi, to negotiate final removal treaties with the various villages. Colonel Pepper negotiated eight such treaties between 1836 and 1838. However, he was vehemently opposed in his attempt to move the St. Joseph River villages by Father Louis Deseille, the Dominican priest ministering to the Indians at this time. Colonel Pepper attributed the inability to move Menominee's village directly to Father Deseille's opposition. He initiated proceedings to have him evicted from the country. Father Deseille's death on September 26, 1837, occurred before the U.S. government could do so. Father Benjamin Petit succeeded Father Deseille and also encouraged the group to remain adamant in its opposition to removal.²³

Menominee, Black Wolf and Pepinowah led the 756 Indians from the Twin Lakes area of Indiana that were forcibly gathered and moved to the Marais des Cygnés River location in the summer and fall of 1838 (Figure 3). John Tipton credited Father Benjamin Petit with "giving good advice" during the forced removal. Judge William Polke succeeded John Tipton in moving the Potawatomi west of the Mississippi River. Father Petit estimated that about 650 Indians survived the trip; about thirty died en route and the rest deserted.²⁴

Father Murphy delineated several characteristics of this group which became the nucleus of the Citizen Band. They were an agricultural rather than a predominantly hunting-warrior culture; they had to be forced from Indiana and would undergo two more major removals in fifty years; and the influence of the Catholic missionaries in ameliorating some of removals' degradation left a deep imprint on the group and its descendants.²⁵

Figure 4. Kansas Sojourn



In 1840, Alexis Coquillard, a St. Joseph trader, collected and moved 526 St. Joseph Potawatomi to the Marais des Cygnes River. Later that same year, contractors Godfroy and G. Kercheval with Major John Forsyth moved 439 Potawatomi to the Marais des Cygnes River. Murphy calculated that by the end of the year 1840 approximately 2,500 Potawatomi lived on the river.²⁶

In 1838, the Catholic Potawatomi of the area under the leadership of Father Christian Hoecken established a separate settlement about fifteen miles south of the original site on Sugar Creek in present-day Linn County, Kansas (Figure 4).²⁷ The annual report of the Indian agent indicated that three different groups comprised the Osage River Potawatomi. The St. Joseph Band, located on Pottawatomie Creek (a tributary of the Marais des Cygnes River); the Wabash Band located on Sugar Creek (another tributary of the Marais des Cygnes); and a few scattered members of the Prairie Band at both locations instead of Council Bluffs, Iowa (Figure 4).²⁸

Murphy reported on a major controversy that erupted over the appointment of a physician to the band. Essentially this controversy was between Catholic and Protestant missionaries and their respective Potawatomi followers. The result was the appointment of Dr. Johnston Lykins, a long-time associate of Isaac McCoy, the Baptist missionary, in 1844. Murphy used this case to illustrate how mission politics played on the Potawatomi tendency to split into factions. Traders as well as missionaries had their particular followings. These splits complicated the already existing cultural tension between the agricultural, acculturated *Mission* Band (as they were now classified) and the less acculturated hunter-warrior Prairie Band. One must also be careful not to presume that all *Mission* Potawatomi were Roman Catholic.

Because the Marais des Cygnes River Potawatomi fiercely resisted recruitment for the Choctaw Academy boarding school in Kentucky, many American officials believed that the Roman Catholics were behind this resistance. This ingrained belief hindered the efforts of the Potawatomi to establish local schools from treaty funds even into the

twentieth century. The Potawatomi felt so strongly about this issue that they insisted that the 1846 treaty moving them farther west into Kansas include a provision for local schools.²⁹

In 1843, the Potawatomi sent representatives Wah-bon-seh and Half-Day to a conference of emigrant tribes held at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation. The aim of the conference was to develop a confederation of eighteen emigrant tribes. This particular conference ended unsuccessfully. However, the movement in congress to establish Nebraska Territory during the 1840s out of land including and surrounding the land given to emigrant Great Lakes tribes led to the formation of the Northwestern Federation in October, 1848, to counteract the effects the establishment of a new American territory would have on tribal affairs.³⁰

The United States government attempted to unite the Council Bluff group and the Marais des Cygnes River groups unsuccessfully for several years during the 1840s. Murphy felt that white influence affected Potawatomi resistance to this reunion. While Isaac McCoy envisioned a United Band far from American settlement, he did not agree with the plans to again move the various tribes that had already been moved out of the Great Lakes area. He believed that moving the Indians again harbingered the break-up of his conceived "Indian Territory" and that the Americans were pushing the reunion scheme and removal farther west in order to open up more land to settlement. McCoy believed strongly that to allow whites into land that had been given to the Indians a scant ten to fifteen years earlier meant that Indian survival was doomed.³¹

The government was determined to move the Potawatomi into Kansas and they were also determined that all factions of the tribe agree to the move. Dr. Lykins lost his post of tribal physician to the Marais des Cygnes River Potawatomi when the government became convinced that he was encouraging the Potawatomi to resist removal to Kansas. In a reversal the government became very friendly toward the Jesuit missionaries in the area because they persuaded the recalcitrant Potawatomi to sign the 1846 removal

treaty.³² Father Maurice Gaillard listed the reasons for the Jesuits' support of removal. They believed that the Sugar Creek settlement was unhealthy and was not good agricultural land. They also thought that the Potawatomi were too near the whites and their destructive liquor. Father Gaillard did not persuade all that removal was in their best interest. Many wanted nothing to do with the Council Bluffs Prairie Band, fearing their hunter-warrior culture and its effect on their children and farms.³³

However, in spite of objections from both the Council Bluffs and the Marais des Cygnes River groups, they signed a removal treaty to Kansas on June 5 and June 17, 1846. The land in Kansas came from a hastily negotiated treaty with the Kansas tribe on January 14, 1846.³⁴ By Article IV of the Treaty of 1846, the Potawatomi paid the sum of \$87,000, deductible from \$450,000, the purchase price of all their former lands in Iowa and Kansas.³⁵ The Marais des Cygnes Potawatomi, led by Father Christian Hoecken settled two different places, on Mission Creek and Wakarusa Creek, several miles from the Kansas River (Figure 4).³⁶ In 1841, five Sisters of the Sacred Heart joined Father Hoecken and his assistants in establishing St. Mary's Mission on the Kansas River. J. D. Duerinck, the successor of Father Hoecken, wrote:

The Catholic Mission is said to be the most lovely spot in Indian country. . . . The mission buildings with the adjacent trading houses, and groups of Indian improvements and extensive cornfields all give it the appearance of a town. Some people believe that if Nebraska be organized as a territory, St. Mary's ought to be the capital.³⁷

Murphy believed that the Jesuit records illustrated a marked reluctance of the Mission Band to move into their new Kansas lands and effect a reunion with the Council Bluffs group.³⁸ Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, reported that the two groups met on May 19, 1848, where Miamis, leader of the Council

Bluffs group, castigated the Osage River Potawatomi. Superintendent Harvey took credit for having smoothed over the differences and reunited the Potawatomi.³⁹

In 1851, 639 Wisconsin Potawatomi moved to Kansas and in 1852 Pokagon's village, previously exempt from removal, arrived in Kansas. It is possible that Anthony Navarre, the son of Pierre Navarre of St. Joseph Parish, Indiana, came with this group. Navarre played a central role in the fight against allotment in severalty in Kansas.⁴⁰

The hunting Indians from Council Bluffs came into conflict with the Pawnee and Osage. There were several clashes between the Potawatomi and these Plains tribes during the next thirteen years. The Potawatomi, the Sac and Fox and the Kickapoo were usually victorious in these confrontations due to their access to superior guns and ammunition.⁴¹ The Council Bluffs Potawatomi, now referred to as the Prairie Band, tired of the constant clashes with the Plains tribes and the depredations of the 1850s and 1860s due to the Civil war. They trickled back to Wisconsin resulting in a population shrinkage which threatened the distribution of annuities. The 1846 treaty stipulated that the interest rate paid on the tribal funds remaining with the U.S. government and paid out in annuities would be adjusted on a pro-rata scale downward from five percent per annum if the total tribal population fell below 1,000.⁴² The formally educated Mission Band had seen or heard stories of it all happening before. They were amenable, therefore, to alternatives to a reservation being suggested by the United States Government.

Pressure mounted on the office of Indian affairs to solve the "Indian Problem" in Kansas. Of course, the problem was the same as it had always been. The Indians had land that the settlers wanted. D. D. Mitchell, agent at the Osage River Agency, in 1854 recommended that "upon the formation of Nebraska Territory one section of land be given to each head of family and *secured to his descendants for fifty years* [italics mine] without right of transfer . . . and that citizenship was to be offered to Indians who so desired it."⁴³

The records indicate that not only were marauding raiders such as John Brown's Potawatomie Rifles (which had nothing to do with the Potawatomi tribe) making Kansas a dangerous place for the Mission Band in the 1850s, but also marauding Potawatomi were making it difficult for them. By this time contemporary observers commented on the different lifestyles of the Potawatomi. These differences triggered the tribal split into the Citizen and Prairie Band. George W. Clark, the Osage River agent in 1855, reported the following.

A portion of these people have adopted the civilized mode of life and they manifest a desire for the improvement of themselves and their people. This class composes portions of the Wabash and St. Joseph bands The "Prairie Band" adhere to the hunter life . . . arrogantly claim ownership of all the land and declares that the other bands have no rights here . . . and on this tenure these unfortunate people are thus subjected subjected to the intrusion and depredations of the Prairie Band who frequently kill their stock, burn their fences, turn their hunting ponies into the field and threaten their lives.⁴⁴

It is obvious from the reports of the agents during the 1850s that the reunification of the bands "with much goodwill" had disintegrated (if such goodwill had ever existed). William Connelley in his paper of 1895, presented before the Kansas State Historical Society, suggested that the agents were politically motivated to present the Prairie Band in the worst possible light and to push for allotment in severalty in order to hasten the disintegration of the Potawatomi Tribe.⁴⁵ Certainly the record of the Indian agents through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is one of political manipulation and callous disregard for the Indians' culture and the survival of their way of life. However, one must also realize that the main thrust of the late nineteenth century was *assimilation*. Those Americans who believed that they had the Indians' best interests at heart insisted

on assimilation as the *only* way Indians could survive. The Mission Band Potawatomi had two hundred years of judicious acculturation and accommodation to draw upon. It is natural that they would impress observers with the success of the assimilation policy. They were interested in seeing that their families and their culture survived, just as the Prairie Band was fighting for the survival of their interpretation of Potawatomi culture. The two groups had grown so far apart they presented a threat to each other's survival.

Having had a generation to observe the problems inherent in assigning subjugated Indian tribes to reservations "for as long as the grass should grow," many people came to believe in the individual allotment of land. An act of congress, March 3, 1853, directed Indian policy to concentrate on removing Indians west of the Mississippi who lived in areas adaptable to white civilization. Although many government agents, including George Manypenny, the commissioner of Indian affairs in 1853 and 1854, actively resisted instituting the new policy, their efforts were doomed. Officials could be and were replaced who did not enforce the act. Manypenny decided that the way the Potawatomi and other tribes could avoid a tragedy of another removal was by signing an allotment treaty. He concluded a series of treaties with midwestern emigrant tribes during his tenure that foreshadowed the Dawes or General Allotment Act.

J. D. Duerinck, the director of the Manual Labor School at St. Mary's Mission, also pushed very hard for allotment before his death in 1858. It was his influence with the Mission band which persuaded them that allotment was the best solution to their problems. Clifton said bluntly that Duerinck was "anti-Indian" because of his efforts toward dissolution of tribal holdings and support for private holdings.⁴⁶ Connelley's judgment is kinder while at the same time reflecting his "anti-Indian" bias. He called Superintendent Duerinck a "vigorous competent man. He was only mistaken as how to get the Indian to help himself. . . . His allotment plan resulted in homelessness for all Potawatomi except the Prairie Band. . . because he did not see clearly that the Indian was incapable of competition with the white man."⁴⁷

A careful, detailed study of the dissolution of the Potawatomi land claims reveals that it was neither the greed of the settlers, nor the inability of the Indians, nor, indeed, the insensitivity of the government which led to the failure of the Potawatomi allotment plan in Kansas. The settlers at this time were too busy trying to put out the brush fires of civil conflict over slavery to concern themselves with systematically defrauding the Indian. The Potawatomi-*Métis* had proven their capability of living successfully as fur traders and business entrepreneurs for many years. The United States government was not insensitive to the problems involved. D. S. Otis's analysis of the motives behind the later General Allotment Act of 1887 also applies to the reasons why the Potawatomi were pressured to participate in the allotment "solution."

One who reads the records must conclude that the government generally acted in good faith in their allotment policies. They were sincerely convinced that allotment was to work all by itself. Through allotment the magical principle of private property was to teach, develop and refine the Indians as it supposedly had done for everyone else.⁴⁸

The railroad bears the lion's share of the blame for the tragedy of the Potawatomi sojourn in Kansas. The Potawatomi Treaty of 1861 had as its main purpose the furtherance of railway interests. The residue of land left after allotments were made was offered to the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad Company. No sale was successfully made, but the land that was originally intended for private allotment was actually sold to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad after a second treaty was negotiated with the Citizen Band in 1867.⁴⁹

From 1853 to 1861 the Mission Band debated allotment. Murphy wrote that the long controversy over the allotment issue definitely contributed to the nature and character of the Citizen Band. The ever-present Potawatomi tendency toward

factionalism was enhanced. This factionalism would influence the constitutional development of Citizen Band tribal government in Oklahoma.

The Kansas "unification" of the Potawatomi resulted in aggressive tribal leadership by certain Prairie Band members. Chiefs from Council Bluffs claimed a higher position in the tribe than chiefs from the St. Joseph and Wabash Bands. Council Bluffs Potawatomi claimed prior "ownership" of Kansas lands. Indian Agent William E. Murphy struggled to bring the tribe together in a "Charter of Unity". The Prairie Band chiefs walked out of the council convened in 1855 to effect such a charter. Agent Murphy blamed this tribal schism on Anthony Navarre.⁵⁰ He worked ceaselessly during the 1850s against allotment, but he became an allottee quickly enough under the 1861 treaty. He also traveled to Oklahoma with the Citizen Band where he continued to be active politically. Both factions sent several delegations to Washington, D. C. to present the anti-sectionalizing or the pro-sectionalizing arguments. Both sides always claimed to represent the whole nation. Murphy indicated that while the politics engendered by this question were bitter and left a lasting enmity between the two factions, most ordinary Indians knew or understood very little of what was going on.⁵¹

Another characteristic of this political feud, was the willingness of the *Métis* members of the various factions to cooperate with each other when both had a common goal. Father Murphy used as an illustration of this, the *Métis* attempt to oust Agent Murphy over the disputed appointment of a tribal blacksmith. The *Métis* movement between the two bands and between the Protestant and Catholic mission schools helps to explain the movement between the Citizen Potawatomi and the Prairie Potawatomi after the Treaty of 1861 officially split the two factions. Personal and family advancement took precedence over tribal loyalty.

Finally persuaded that personal appeals to Washington were failing, in June, 1860, Anthony Navarre tried a new tactic. He brought a Washington, D. C. attorney, Lewis F. Thomas to help the Potawatomi to create a constitution and by-laws. Thomas

called a national council of the Potawatomi in Kansas for the purpose of constitutional ratification. Agent Murphy jailed Thomas for interfering in Indian affairs without proper federal authorization. Thomas's efforts failed.⁵² However, this failure highlighted the complete ineffectiveness of *any* tribal government functioning under conditions in Kansas. Without an effective tribal government, the Indians could not successfully negotiate with the American government. Attempting to implement negotiation goals in council failed due to the bitter enmity that now existed between the two factions. Individuals, seeking political and economic gains for themselves were the only negotiators for the Potawatomi. Something clearly had to be changed.

In 1860, six persons were elected to a "business committee" by the Kansas tribal members in order to conduct tribal affairs and negotiations with the government. The members of this committee included Anthony F. Navarre and Joseph N. Bourassa from the Prairie Band and B. R. Bertrand, John Tipton and Louis Vieux of the Mission Band. All were *Métis* and all had considerable experience in dealing with the American government. Father Murphy commented that the personal alignment of the committee members was "a little odd." Navarre and Bourassa, while representing the anti-allotment Prairie Band, were originally from the St. Joseph River Potawatomi while Louis Vieux, representing the pro-allotment Mission Band did not live in either of the Marais des Cygnes River settlements.⁵³ While changes did not come quickly enough to affect the 1861 treaty, the resulting Citizen Band learned from its mistakes and carried the business committee form of government with it to Oklahoma.

Navarre shortly resigned his position on the initial committee formed by both bands. George L. Young, a white married to a Potawatomi woman, took his place. Navarre then organized a second business committee to represent the Prairie Band's interests. His attempts to reopen negotiations with Washington over the 1861 treaty failed. Indian Agent William H. Ross traveled to Washington with Miyengo, Ma-Zhee,

Benjamin Bertrand, John Tipton, George Young, We-we-say, Medard Beaubien, Louis Ogee and Joseph Bourassa to seek senate approval of the 1861 treaty.⁵⁴

Before the Potawatomi could receive their allotments, they were required to take an oath of citizenship to the United States government. This, in effect, negated their citizenship in the Potawatomi nation. Therefore, they were not afforded the dependent protection that the government attempted to extend to reservation Indians. As land owning citizens the Citizen Band members were suddenly faced with the necessity of paying taxes, which few understood or were provident enough to pay. In addition, Kansas and U.S. courts ruled that the head of a family might receive the patents to *all the lands* allotted to that family. This concentrated the allotment in the hands of fewer people making it easier to plunder the estates. Also, the Potawatomi lands held in reserve for living Potawatomi who had returned to the Great Lakes area or taken refuge in Mexico for the duration of the Civil War were declared abandoned and, therefore, subject to sale. The Potawatomi filed a grievance with congress concerning the practice of declaring absentee Potawatomi dead in order to gain control of their land. President Grant intervened in individual cases in order to prevent this practice but many still lost their allotment due to this fraudulent practice. Later, Oliver H. P. Polk, a member of the notorious "Indian Ring" of the late 1860s, traveled to Mexico, found the missing Indians, purportedly bought their Kansas lands, and sold them to Kansas settlers.⁵⁵

The Indian Department allowed any Indian who wished to take an allotment. Murphy wrote that the designation "Prairie Band," which referred to the Council Bluffs Potawatomi before the treaty of 1861, had a different reference after the treaty. Some members of the Prairie Band chose to take allotments, and some members of the Citizen *nee* Mission Band chose not to take an allotment. Shawgee, a Prairie Band chief, is one who became an allottee while still maintaining his status as a Prairie Band member. The reasons for his action are not evident.⁵⁶ The *Allotment Roll of 1863* for the Potawatomi shows a notation that the Eli Nadeau family had returned to the Prairie Band. Band

membership was based on the arbitrary decision of the Indians themselves and some even changed their minds after the initial decision. However, a portion of mixed-blood and Indian farmers were able to reestablish themselves as a homogeneous group in Indian Territory within ten years.

The agents supervising the allotments in Kansas liberally granted allotments to white men married to Potawatomi women. This insured that a high proportion of Citizen Band Potawatomi who moved to Indian Territory would be mixed blood or white. While white intermarriage had long been a characteristic of the Potawatomi Nation, agents in Indian Territory often resisted dealing with such white business committee members as George Young. Agent Edward Wolcott, who proposed proving blood as a prerequisite to assigning land drew the ire of old Joseph Napoleon Bourassa, a French-Ottawa-Potawatomi *Métis*. When Wolcott refused allotments to Weld family members, Bourassa wrote the Indian commissioner as follows: "He asks if Weld's family are Pottawatomes. This question we deem very unmeaning indeed, when we well know that our nation is made up of about twenty different tribes. And I challenge Mr. Wolcott to find a half-dozen pure blooded Pottawatomes."⁵⁷

Even though in 1866, the Potawatomi were considered the most prosperous tribe in Kansas, the government still had not given the allottees the cash settlement promised them by the treaty of 1861 to help capitalize individual farming expenses.⁵⁸ Coalitions of local government officials and businessmen in Kansas conspired to divert Indian allotted lands to whites, who then profited by selling the land to the railroad interests.

These coalitions, identified informally as "the Indian Ring", demanded a percentage of each individual payout as a payment for getting it from the government. William Nicholson, a medical doctor on a mission trip to the Indian tribes of Kansas wrote that George Young, a Mr. Bertrand and Agent Luther Palmer took ten percent of the head money while the traders Colonel Murphy and Wilmarth and former Potawatomi agent Major William W. Ross charged twelve percent. The money was used to pay

members of congress and clerks in the department of the interior for expediting individual claims.⁵⁹

In 1862, some members of the Citizen Band submitted a proposal to Superintendent H. B. Branch that they be allowed to settle somewhere else, taking advantage of Article VIII of the 1861 treaty. It allowed any band or bands of the Pottawatomie Nation to obtain a new home from the government. In the summer of 1864, a group investigated the availability of suitable land in Indian Territory. In order to meet the Citizen Band request, the U.S. government bought a tract from the Seminole and Creek Nation for \$119, 791.08, the purchase price deducted from the sale of "surplus" Potawatomi land in Kansas.⁶⁰ On February 27, 1867, the Citizen Band began negotiations with the U.S. government for land in Indian Territory, leading to a new treaty on July 25, 1868. The Shipley Commission took a group of Sac and Fox to Indian Territory during the winter of 1869 in order to select a new tract of land. A Potawatomi delegation was scheduled to travel with them but refused to travel in inclement weather.⁶¹ So the commission chose a tract of land for them. Finally in December, 1869, a Citizen Band delegation examined the land chosen for them on the western side of the Seminole Nation and between the North Fork of the Canadian and the Canadian Rivers.⁶² The Potawatomi who moved to this new tract of land in Indian Territory were the founders of today's Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe. Their story is recounted in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

ENDNOTES

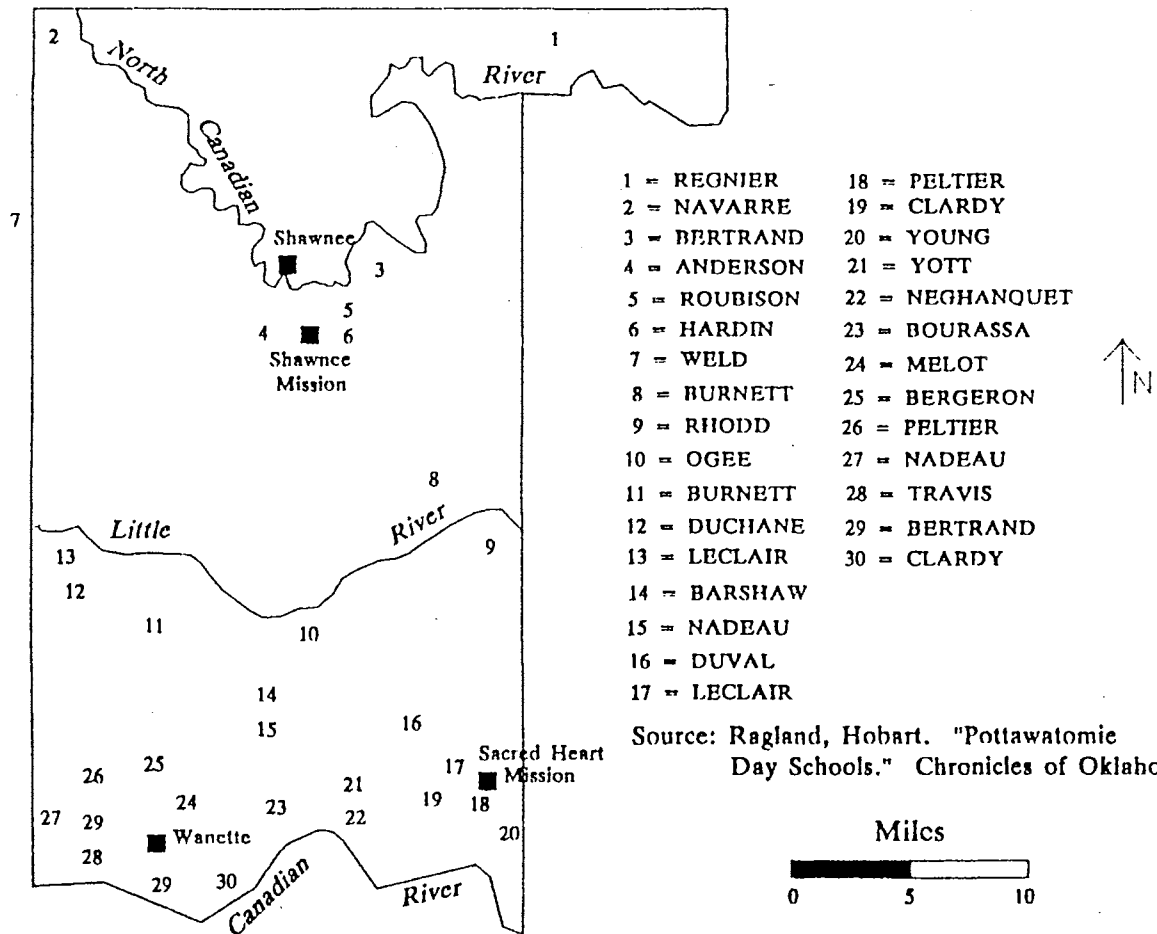
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Figure 5. Family Allotment Areas In Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma (1891)



CHAPTER V

BEGINNING AGAIN: A BAND GENEALOGY

One of the most significant cultural attributes of the Citizen Band Potawatomi was the continuity of kinship structures over the centuries. The Citizen Band families who settled in the 1870s in Indian Territory are genealogically connected to the French Canadian families of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Great Lakes area. Through the years various Citizen Band members have researched their personal genealogies. The majority of finds, published and unpublished, are in the Citizen Band Archives. When all of these records are examined together, a strong case can be made for the assertion that the Citizen Band Potawatomi are true *Métis*. This chapter represents the first effort to document the French connection to all the Citizen Band founders.

Fort Michimlimackinac records show that Bertrands, Bourassas and Chevaliers were living there as early as 1749. All of these families are progenitors of today's Citizen Band Potawatomi families. One of the most strongly connected is Joseph Bertrand. Bertrand was born October 8, 1778. His parents were Joseph Bertrand and Marie Joseph Lemaire. He married Madeline Bourassa on August 13, 1818.¹ Madeline is referred to as a "potawatomi woman" in some documents. However, Gladys Moeller, a descendant of Joseph and Madeline, could find no documentary proof Madeline was Potawatomi. Moeller believed that she probably was adopted by Topinbe.² Stepmothers, both French and Potawatomi were common. French wives raised children of Potawatomi mothers and Potawatomi wives raised children of French mothers. This cultural intermingling resulted in children exposed to both cultures equally and thus predisposed to form a separate *Métis* identification.³ Joseph and Madeline had seven children. The Behans, Bertrands,

Bourassas, Clardys, Higbees, Louraines, Melots, and Vieauxs have the best documented connections to Joseph Bertrand in the Citizen Band Potawatomi Archives to date.⁴

Daniel Bourassa was born on October 8, 1752. He married a Potawatomi woman and settled in Bertrand, Michigan in the early 1800s. His daughter Madeline married Joseph Bertrand. Joseph's sister, Marguerite, married Daniel Bourassa, Jr. The practice of using family names through several generations and the paucity of written records sometimes causes confusion in determining just which person belonged to which generation in the family genealogies.

Louis Chevalier established a trading post on the St. Joseph River in 1755. He married Mary Magdeline Reaume and they lived with the St. Joseph Potawatomi until 1780. They had a son, François, and possibly a daughter, Josette.⁵ Chevalier's name eventually evolved through Chovonnier to Shobonnier. As Shobonnier, he established a Potawatomi village of Shobonnier located at the mouth of the Calumet River in Indiana (Figure 2). His signature is on the 1832 and 1833 land cession treaties. He married a Potawatomi woman, Mary Ann, the daughter of Neebosh. Their children included daughters Archange, Josette, and Angelique and a son, Jean B. Chevalier.⁶

Several other French Canadians married into the above *Métis* families. Antoine Ouilmette, born 1760 near Montreal, settled at the mouth of the Chicago River in 1790 and in 1796 married Archange, the daughter of Shobonnier (Louis Chevalier). Antoine and Archange had eight children all of whom would figure prominently in Citizen Band genealogies. These children were Archange, Elizabeth, Sophie, Joseph, Lewis, Michell, Francis and Josette.⁷ Touissant Trembley, a French Canadian born in Montreal, married Archange Ouilmette (evolved into Wilmette and Wilmet in later records). Touissant and Archange had a daughter Mary. She married John Anderson in the 1830s. They had three children before divorcing; John Charles, Mary Ann, and Peter. The Andersons lived in Peoria County, Illinois before traveling to Council Bluffs, Iowa with the Potawatomi

removals. The family has an oral tradition that John Anderson, originally from Sweden, became a member of a Potawatomi Band by “crossing wrists.”⁸

Another important French Canadian family in Citizen Band genealogies is LaFromboise. Francois LaFromboise married a Potawatomi woman in the late 1700s. Their son, Claude, also married a Potawatomi woman, perhaps Shawwenoquah.⁹ Claude and his wife had a daughter Margaret, who married John Hardin. Margaret and John Hardin had seven children, including Davis Hardin. Davis was an early leader of the Citizen Band in Indian Territory. Joseph LaFromboise, Claude’s brother, and his wife, Therese, joined the Potawatomi in Silver Lake, Kansas (Figure 4) in 1847.¹⁰ Their daughter, Therese married Allen Hardin.¹¹

Brisque Hyotte was the French Canadian ancestor of several Citizen Band families. In Canadian and American records the family name is spelled Yott. A son, Jacques Brisque Yott was born in Green Bay, Wisconsin in 1795. His name is associated with the Potawatomi tribe as early as 1814. He married Madeline Vieaux. Madeline’s father was Jacques Vieaux. Jacques was born in Montreal, Canada in 1757. Johnnie Holeman, compiler of the Yott genealogy, shows that Jacques’s daughter, Madeline was three-eighths Indian.¹² James (Jacques) Yott had a sister named Madeline. Madeline married Narcisse Juneau on October 26, 1842.¹³ Narcisse Juneau was the son of Solomon Juneau, the first mayor of Milwaukee. Kellogg called Solomon the founder of Milwaukee.¹⁴ Narcisse and Madeline Yott Juneau had six children. The three oldest died in Wisconsin, but Josette Juneau married John Mitchell and they settled with the Citizen Band in Indian Territory. Catherine Juneau married Bernard Bertrand.¹⁵ Madeline’s brother, James Yott married twice. The Yotts of the Citizen Band trace their genealogy through the children of his second wife, Angeline F. Phelps. The Brumbaughs, Finchers, Haas, Jolley, and Stephens families are Yott descendants.¹⁶

The Jacob Johnson Citizen Band family is connected to Vieaux line through Jacob’s wife, Sophia Vieaux. Jacob Vieaux married Elizabeth Goslin, a daughter of a

Potawatomi woman named Miq-sah-keoduk. Their son, Louis Vieaux was born November 30, 1809.¹⁷ Sophia's parents were Louis Vieaux and Shanotte, a Potawatomi woman connected to Po-mom-ke-tuk (Peter the Great on the 1887 Citizen Band rolls). Po-mom-ke-tuk was also known as Peter Ship-she-wano. The Wano Citizen Band family traces their descent through him back to an hereditary Potawatomi chief, Ship-She-Wano.¹⁸ Louis had another daughter Sarah, who married Joseph Melot.¹⁹

Jean Baptiste Beaubien came to Chicago after the massacre of 1812. His first wife was an Ottawa woman, Mahnawbunnoquah, the mother of Charles Henry and Madore. His second wife was Josette LaFromboise, mentioned earlier as the daughter or sister of Francis LaFromboise. The family moved to Council Bluffs, Iowa with the Potawatomi. While in Council Bluffs, Madore Beaubien married Therese LaFromboise. The Bostick and Ogee families are descended from them. David Bostick married Mary Beaubien and Lewis Ogee married Sophia Beaubien.²⁰ The Wickens and Kennedys are also genealogically connected to John Baptiste through his granddaughter, Julia Beaubien, a member of the Citizen Band.²¹

Amabel Toupin was born on October 12, 1840, in Quebec, Canada. He emigrated to the Great Lakes area and traveled west with the Potawatomi during the removals. He married Mary Margaret Mack Winnery, listed as one-half Potawatomi, on September 12, 1859, at St. Mary's Mission, Kansas.²² Amabel and Mary Margaret had six children. The Bowles, Chilsons, Neddeaus, Tierneys and Trousdale's married Toupin girls and maintained the French connection.²³

Another French Canadian family connected to both the Citizen and Prairie Band were the Navarres. In 1745, Robert Navarre was a French soldier assigned to Fort Detroit.²⁴ His son, Joseph Navarre lived in the Detroit area. His son, Pierre F. Navarre, married a Potawatomi woman, Kes-he-wa-quay. In 1820, they moved to St. Joseph. They had six children, among them Anthony and Isadore Peter. Pierre signed the 1829 cession treaty.²⁵ Anthony Navarre was very active in tribal affairs during the removal era.

His son maintained a leadership role after the move to Kansas and the subsequent split of the Prairie and Citizen Band.

Bozelle Neddeau was born on May 7, 1823. He married Aurelle Tatreau, a Potawatomi-Frenchwoman from Montreal, Canada. They had fifteen children. Fred, Alice, and Gilbert are genealogically connected to the Citizen Band. Alice Neddeau married Charles, a son of Francis X Bergeron (later modified to Barshaw and Bashaw). Gilbert's second wife was Amanda Toupin, daughter of Amabel and Mary Mack Winnery. The Bergerons, Barshaws, Bashaws, Chilsons, and Neddeaus are descendants.²⁶ Several of these families with strong French connections made the decision in the late 1860s to move from their allotments in Kansas to Indian Territory. These people and their descendants became the Citizen Band Potawatomi of Oklahoma. The Neddeaus reflect the fact that the division between the Citizen Band and the Prairie Band was fluid. The Neddeaus and the Navarres particularly moved from one band to the other. Eli G. Nadeau, a prominent trader and interpreter stayed with the Prairie Band for some years as did Anthony Navarre.²⁷ However, this fluidity did not last. Alice Neddeau came with the Citizen Band but Gilbert Neddeau and other children of Bozelle did not. Later when some of the Neddeaus wished to receive allotments with the Citizen Band in 1887 they were not allowed to do so.²⁸

There was great hesitancy among the Citizen Band Potawatomi to transfer from Kansas to Indian Territory, but the Indian Ring working hand-in-glove with the railroad interests, made it extremely difficult for them to stay and make a living in Kansas. An investigation of land transactions concerning the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe deeds shows evidence of intense speculative activities often within hours of when the original Citizen Band allottee sold his or her allotment. Shawgee, a Prairie Band chief who received an allotment, sold his allotment to Louis Ogee, another allottee in 1864. Ogee then sold the same allotment to Oliver H. Polk. The majority of purchases from the Citizen Band allottees were made by Polk and John D. Lasley. Often the Potawatomi

would sell at 9:00 a.m. for \$2.50 an acre to \$5.00 an acre and by 11:00 a.m. Polk and Lasley sold it for \$6.00 to \$10.00 an acre.²⁹ Some of the Citizen Band, such as Louis Ogee and Francis Bergeron, attempted to take advantage of this land speculation but working as middle men between their fellow allottees and the Indian Ring did not net them much more than \$1.00 an acre profit. Most of the allottees had sold their land by 1870. In November, 1873, the federal government paid the last remittance to the Potawatomi by the federal government under the removal treaties.³⁰

Initially, five families and two single men made the move from Kansas to Indian Territory. Because these families are the original founders of the Citizen Band of Oklahoma, their identity and experiences are vital to understanding the development and growth of the Citizen Band. Before the close of 1870 a portion of the Citizen Band, represented by George Young requested that the new "reservation" in Indian Territory be subdivided and individual allotments be given.³¹ On November 9, 1870, Secretary of Interior Charles Delano approved that the Potawatomi be allowed to settle on land purchased from the Seminole and Creek for them for \$119,791.08.³²

The annual report to the commissioner of Indian affairs for 1872 states that by the treaties of 1861, 1866, and 1867 several Potawatomi had been removed to and were residing upon what is known as the thirty-mile square tract west of the Seminole Reserve without any authority of law for such residence or any title to the land. Upon the recommendation of Agent Enoch Hoag, legislation was introduced in congress whereby the Absentee Shawnee and the Citizen Potawatomi would be allowed to secure permanent homesteads within the tract held by them in common. On May 23, 1872, an act was passed giving "each head of family and to each other member twenty-one years of age not less than one quarter section, and to each member of the tribe not less than eighty acres to be set apart for the exclusive and perpetual use and benefit of such assignees and their heirs."³³

A line of fourteen covered wagons entered Indian Territory in the spring of 1871. The wagons did not contain boomers agitating to have Indian Territory opened to non-Indians, but Citizen Band Potawatomi on their way from Kansas to a new life in an area free from railroad speculators and American settlers. A thirty mile tract had been purchased by the federal government for the Citizen Band Potawatomi according to article one of the 1867 treaty with the band.³⁴

Leading the expedition was Joseph Melot, who, with Peter Anderson and James W. Baldwin, had reconnoitered the new land in 1868. Five families accompanied Joe Melot and Peter Anderson. All of these first families have a genealogical connection to both the Potawatomi and the French of the Great Lakes area. These families intermarried with the non-*Métis* who settled in the 1870s between the North and South Canadian Rivers.

Thirty-year-old Amabel Toupin (Toupan) drove one of the wagons. Beside him was his wife, Mary Margaret Mack Winnery known as Mary Mack. Amabel and Mary brought five children with them. Paul was nine; Mary was six; Adele was five; Alexander was four and Therese was two.³⁵ John Anderson, whose mother Mary Trombla was descended from Antoine Wilmett and Archange Chevalier, brought his wife, Elizabeth Hardin, whose mother was Margaret LaFromboise. They had their son, John Charles with them. Leon and Delila Bourassa Bergeron were also among the first to arrive. They had no children when they came but three would be born later of whom only a daughter, Helena Louise Bergeron, survived. George and Elizabeth LeTendre Pettifer were in the group with their five children. Susan was ten; Mary Linda was eight; Rosella was six; Isabella was three and George Sherman was the baby.³⁶ Elizabeth's grandfather was Thomas LeTendre, a French and Potawatomi *voyageur* who married Marguerite, a "potawatomi" woman. Their son Joseph married Sarah Ann Morrow Ogee. Elizabeth Pettifer was their daughter.³⁷

Gladys Moeller in her history of the Bertrand family states that Joshua Clardy with his wife, Isabel Bertrand Clardy, brought their five children to the little settlement.⁹ In addition to Joe Melot, two other men, Peter Anderson and James W. Baldwin, brought the total number of the first group to twenty-eight.³⁸

In 1872, Joe Melot returned to St. Mary's for his wife, Sarah Vieaux, and led a second group of families to Pleasant Prairie, located five miles north of present day Wanette. These families included Antoine and Mary Nadeau Bourbonnais; Jacob and Sophia Vieaux Johnson; George "Colonel" and Josette Marandot Young; James O. Baldwin and his wife Mary with their children, James W., John, Samuel, Mary and Nora; and L. R. Darling. Darling was a non-Indian tribal member who was married to two Potawatomi *Métis* women. The first wife was Theresa Hardin and the second wife was Elizabeth Ouilmette. Lucius married Esther Smith, a non-Indian after Elizabeth died.³⁹ James O. Baldwin was a member of the tribe in Kansas as he signed the 1867 treaty,⁴⁰ but no genealogical records connecting him to the tribe have been located. James, Sr., James, Jr. and John died within one week of each other in January, 1892. The two sons left no heirs. Samuel disappeared. Nora married a man named Moore, who was never accepted by either her mother or the tribe. Mary, known as "Maggie" in the family, married Frank Bourbonnais. All Citizen Band members of the Baldwin family are descended from this marriage.⁴¹

No genealogical record has been discovered for either Josette or George Young. George L. Young was signed as a Potawatomi "headman" on the 1863 treaty while he still lived in Kansas.⁴² Josette was allotted land in Kansas for the Potawatomi and sold it before moving to Indian Territory.⁴³

It was also at this time that Allen Trousdale and his wife, Mary Reed came from Texas to join the group just north of the South Canadian.⁴⁴ Neither he nor his wife have a genealogical connection to the Citizen Band. His son, William A Trousdale married Amabel Toupin's daughter, Mary Margaret, and was adopted into the tribe. The Citizen

Band Trousdale family members are descended from them. Mary Reed is described as a teacher in the Trousdale family genealogy.⁴⁵ It seems possible that George Young, concerned with the lack of educational facilities for his children (see the documented attempts to establish day schools narrated later in this chapter), may have invited the Trousdales to settle near him with the idea that Mary would teach his children. Allen died in 1876 and this is the first documented year that George began pressing John Pickering for educational facilities to be established.⁴⁶

Antoine Bourbonnais was probably the child of Antoine Bourbonnais and Ozetta Trombla. The first Antoine Bourbonnais was either a son or nephew of Francis Bourbonnais, Sr. who signed the 1833 Chicago treaty.⁴⁷ Antoine's wife, Mary Anderson was a granddaughter of Archange Ouilmette Trembley.⁴⁸

Jacob Johnson was English, but his wife, Sophia Vieaux, was Potawatomi. According to the Vieaux family genealogy as recounted to Priscilla Sherard by more than one family member, the first Louis Vieaux changed the spelling of his name from Jarveau to Vieaux. No other source could be found verifying this assertion. Jacob Johnson owned the general store at Pleasant Prairie for the first few years. Later he and his family settled at Sacred Heart.⁴⁹

From the short family histories recounted above it is possible to see the prevalence of the *Métis* culture in those first early settlers on Potawatomi land in Indian Territory. These particular families had exhibited a remarkable cohesiveness, intermarrying within the small group of Potawatomi who were French-speaking, Catholic, committed to Catholic education, not afraid to try the allotment experiment again but determined, if possible, that such should be conducted outside the influence of the English. Jacqueline Peterson in writing about the strength of the *Métis* culture gave credit to the Potawatomi Indian woman who chose to marry a Frenchman. Such women were highly individualistic and courageous. Peterson noted that “A core denominator of persistent *Métis* identity has been a strong attachment to Christianity. . . .Catholic belief and practice did, and often still

does, act as the demarcator between themselves and their Indian relatives.”⁵⁰ This leap of faith which involved a strong commitment to Christianity in opposition to traditional tribal spiritualism was “fueled by more than materialism. . . . The importance of dreams and visions as the triggering mechanism for individualistic action cannot be over emphasized.”⁵¹ Such women would impart this commitment to Christianity (through French Roman Catholicism) to their children. However, Peterson also noted that this commitment to Christianity was “interpreted within a tribally sanctioned context” . . . ultimately to be *Métis* was to claim descent from, and the rights of, a native mother, rather than a white father.”⁵² Shared hardships in the new settlement and presenting a positive rather than threatening presence to the Indians already living in the area helped to bond the families together.

E. B. Johnson, a Chickasaw youth living near the banks of the Canadian River left an eye-witness account of the arrival of the first Citizen Band families. “We had a lot of newcomers to our country then. The Potawatomi tribe had moved down from Kansas in 1871 and they brought lots of civilization with them and some good stock.”⁵³

The Potawatomi families encountered both natural and human enemies in their new land. The first winter was extremely difficult. Toupin family members ate roots to survive. Amabel was not with them much in the early years as he was a carpenter and he traveled eastward to the Five Tribes settlements looking for work to garner cash. Mary Mack was in extremely ill health. Fortunately for the children, the Trousdale family came to their rescue and sent a black freedwoman to help them, whom they knew as Aunt Laura. Aunt Laura is the only black noted in the earliest records of the Citizen Band in Oklahoma. It is significant that she was associated with the non-Potawatomi Allen and Mary Reed Trousdale family. Once when they had run out of food, Aunt Laura killed a terrapin and told the children, "This is all we got to eat but if you're afraid to eat it then I'll take the first bite."⁵⁴

By 1874, there were some two hundred Potawatomi settlers around the South Canadian.⁵⁵ They faced a plague of grasshoppers that summer. While the plague was more severe in states north of Indian Territory, its effects were never to be forgotten by those who experienced it. All the fruits, pecans and crops were destroyed that year although a second alfalfa crop managed to grow after the infestation.⁵⁶

In 1875, the families felt financially secure enough to turn their thoughts to providing an education for their children. Father Gailland had asked for permission to establish a mission in Indian Territory for the Citizen Band in 1871 but Enoch Hoag, the superintendent of Indian affairs, refused to let the Jesuits follow the Citizen Band.⁵⁷ The Potawatomi with relatives still living in Kansas sent their children back to St. Mary's for religious and secular education. However, St. Mary's was a long way from Pleasant Prairie, Wagoza and Clardyville and a series of subscription day schools were established. Joshua Clardy began writing John H. Pickering, Quaker Agent for the Sac and Fox Agency (about fifty miles north of Clardyville), asking for a teacher. Pickering had notified him that they would have to charge \$40 a month and board for the two Potawatomi children enrolled at the Sac and Fox Agency School.⁵⁸

After a series of letters and advertisements in the *Friend's Review* and *The Christian Worker*, Pickering was able to hire William Brown, his wife, and William Brinton to teach the Citizen Band children at Clardyville on the site of the present Wanette cemetery.⁵⁹ John Clinton, a non-Indian stone mason from New York married Margaret LaFromboise Hardin, John Hardin's widow, and traveled with the group to Indian Territory. He functioned as a teacher for a short period of time in the Clardyville day school.⁶⁰ George Young also ran a school for a portion of the winter at Oakland or Young's Crossing. Perhaps Mary Reed Trousdale was the teacher, though no documentation has been found. The schools themselves had a very short life, but help in educating their children was on the horizon coming from two different sources: The Quaker Mission and the Benedictine Mission.

With the end of the Civil War, retired Army officers were offered posts as Indian agents under the authority of the congressional act of June 30, 1834.⁶¹ This offended many members of congress who castigated President Grant. He then told congress that he would appoint agents from various churches in order to thwart congressional desire to hold agency positions for the spoils system. Grant then divided the appointments among the various denominations according to their supposed strength among the Indian tribes. Due to the fact that Quakers were extremely active in the Indian mission field (Grant conveniently overlooked the Roman Catholic contribution) and the lobbying they were doing in congress to reform the office of Indian affairs, Quaker appointments predominated. Grant supposedly said that if one could make Quakers out of the Indians, it would solve the problem of Indian wars.⁶² Enoch Hoag, of the Society of Friends, was selected as the superintendent of Indian affairs for the Central Superintendency, with headquarters at Lawrence, Kansas. All of the agencies concerned with the people of Indian Territory were provided with Quakers as agents during the 1870s.

During the winter of 1871-1872, the Society of Friends, with the blessing of Agent Joseph Newsom of the Sac and Fox Agency, established the Shawnee Mission under Thomas H. Stanley. He was soon succeeded by Franklin Elliott and his wife. This mission sent Mary Grinnell to teach in the day school at Clardyville. She later married Thomas "Wildcat" Alford, an assimilated Shawnee who served in a chief's capacity at the turn of the century. Alford also taught one year in a Potawatomi day school.⁶³

Elliott must have been a formidable missionary for many of the Citizen Band joined the Friends during his tenure in the area. In 1880, for example, Antoine Bourbonnais and Mary Bourbonnais joined the Society of Friends and Mary Bourbonnais became the Sunday School teacher at Shawneetown, a position she retained until 1900.⁶⁴ The acceptance of the Society of Friends did not indicate an abandonment of Roman Catholicism or of traditional Indian ritual. It marked another stage in the cultural adaptation of the Citizen Band. Members could "join" the Society of Friends, but

continue to observe Roman Catholic ritual and belief. While the Potawatomi could accept the traditional Quaker teaching of communication in the spirit, so, too, they continued to respect the more overt forms of religious ceremony among the Roman Catholics. Some Potawatomi Quakers were buried according to the rites of Roman Catholicism. In short, religious practice among the Potawatomi was eclectic, as it was among many Indian tribes of North America.

However, the most important educational institution in the area was the Sacred Heart Mission established by the Benedictines. In 1872, Father Bernard Moreau of the monastery at Pierre Qui Vire in France received a request for missionaries from Monsignor Perche, Archbishop of New Orleans. Father Dom Isidore Robot and Brother Dominic came to New Orleans and began their mission work in the southern Mississippi Delta.⁶⁵

In October 1875, Father Robot received his bishop's permission to enter Indian Territory at Atoka, Chickasaw Nation. He had no definite plans for the establishment of a mission among a particular tribe, but when he heard that the Citizen Band immigrants from Kansas desired that a priest visit them, he headed northwest of Atoka searching for them. There were no roads, so Father Robot and Brother Dominic set out toward the northwest to see what they could discover. Upon crossing the South Canadian they met with the Anderson, Bourbonnais, and Melot families of Pleasant Prairie. Twenty-five miles to the east they met George Young's family and others that had come into the area including the Negahnquet (full blood) family.⁶⁶

In the fall of 1876, the families offered the Benedictines a section of land of their choice, if they would build a church and establish a school for the Citizen Band's use. The site chosen for the Sacred Heart Mission was about four miles north of the South Canadian River. The contract between the Citizen Band and Father Robot was signed by Peter the Great (Chief Peter Pamomketok), Tom Lazelle (his wife was Catherine Juneau, widow of Bernard Bertrand⁶⁷), and W. Anderson, Jr.⁶⁸ All of Father Robot's building and

living supplies had to come from Atoka across the South Canadian and the *Annals* of the mission devoted a great deal of space to the difficulties often encountered in crossing this river.⁶⁹

By 1877 the principal families of this area included Tom Lazelle's, Tom Nona's, Stephen Negahnquet's, Peter Pamomketok's, Josette Sinoche's, Nick Trombla's, L. Gourien's, S. Whitehead's, Anthony Fuller's, and V. Gomien's.⁷⁰ In addition to Stephen and his wife, Tom Nona and his wife were full bloods. The other families were mixed bloods.⁷¹

On February 15, 1877, shortly after being replaced by Father Ignatius Jean, Father Robot died in Dallas, Texas. James McMaster, the editor of the *New York Freeman's Journal* became interested in the Sacred Heart Mission and through his efforts adequate financing was finally assured. Also through his articles concerning Sacred Heart, a young man, John Laracy was attracted to the area. He was to become one of the most respected and greatly loved monks at the mission. From the viewpoint of the historian trying to determine what life was like in those early days in Pottawatomie County, John Laracy is invaluable. He left a vivid, realistic, and extremely readable record of his arrival and early years at the mission.⁷²

In the fall of 1880, St. Mary's Academy for girls opened with seven Benedictine sisters as teachers. They, too, had to come through Atoka and cross the unpredictable South Canadian River. Coulter wrote that the nuns reached the banks of the South Canadian on August 25 but were unable to cross until September 5.⁷³ May Fairchild remembered that it was her grandfather, Amabel Toupin, who was in charge of transporting the Benedictine sisters from Atoka to Sacred Heart.⁷⁴

In the spring of 1884, Joseph Lanchet, a young French immigrant, visited Sacred Heart Mission and left an excellent description of the mission, the surrounding countryside, the monks, and the Potawatomi family homes. The old military road from Fort Smith to Fort Reno, which went to the west of Bald Hill (the site chosen for Sacred

Heart Mission), was the only road serving the area. Lanchet was accompanied by some monks and an Indian guide that he called "Nack-nins-cook." Possibly this was a member of the Negahnquet family. The guide could speak French fluently as well as Potawatomi and he knew a great deal about horses. He and Lanchet were in charge of the horses during the trip.⁷⁵

Lanchet left a description of George Young's home and surrounding fields. The house of several rooms was made out of logs and was surrounded by orchards and a corn field. The blonde, blue-eyed girl that Lanchet met riding unaccompanied through the field was Young's daughter who was fluent in French, English, and Potawatomi. The travelers encountered three more homes comparable to the Young's before reaching Bald Hill.⁷⁶

One should not be misled by the above descriptions into thinking that the Citizen Band encountered few problems in their life in Indian Territory. It is worth remembering that, due to a lack of government, Indian Territory became a haven for outlaws. By 1878, Agent John Pickering claimed there were at least 100 outlaws in the Territory.⁷⁷ In the early 1870s, Cole Younger and Jesse James, along with a woman later believed to be Belle Starr, were credited with killing a man in the area. Two of the Anderson brothers were shot, and one was killed during a gun battle with cattle thieves during this decade. The Johnsons lost their entire herd to cattle thieves.⁷⁸

In the spring of 1876, a drunken "Indian outlaw" attacked Joshua Clardy at his store. Clardy managed to kill the assailant, but not before suffering severe wounds himself. Joshua Clardy and his family moved back to Kansas and its relative safety.⁷⁹ However, his sons, Benjamin and William returned to Pottawatomie County in the late 1880s and received allotments through their mother, Isabel Bertrand. Benjamin Clardy was the only Potawatomi representative to the second territorial legislature of Oklahoma.⁸⁰

The Citizen Band not only had to battle natural opponents and outlaws, but another tribe, the Absentee Shawnee, claimed land on which they settled. In spite of the

fact that on November 9, 1870, Secretary of the Interior Charles Delano gave permission for the Citizen Band to move to Indian Territory, he sided with the Absentee Shawnee in their dispute with the Potawatomi.⁸¹

In 1870, the land office within the department of the interior engaged Ehud Noble Darling to survey Indian Territory. Because the western half of Indian Territory was so remote from the Greenwich Meridian, Darling's contract with the General Land Office provided that he establish an Initial Point in the area and a meridian and base line from the initial point to be known as the Indian Base Line and the Indian Meridian for the purpose of surveying the land into sections, townships and ranges.⁸² The Initial Point picked by Darling was a point on a "prominent hill" near Fort Arbuckle. From there he established the Indian Base Line thirty-six miles north of the thirty-fourth longitude line across Chickasaw land. The Indian Meridian was drawn north and south twelve miles, two townships west of the ninety-seventh Meridian through the Initial Point at $54^{\circ}18'18''$.⁸³ The thirty-mile tract set aside for the Citizen Band Potawatomi was bounded on the west by the Indian Meridian, six miles west of the present Pottawatomie County boundary (Figure 5).⁸⁴

Because of the May 23, 1872, congressional act,⁸⁵ the families and those following them believed they held safe title to homesteaded land during the 1870s and early 1880s, before actual allotment of land was undertaken. However, Secretary of the Interior Charles Delano disputed this assertion. After Secretary Delano gave permission for the Potawatomi to occupy this land, he changed his mind, apparently under the influence of a new commissioner of Indian affairs, Francis A. Walker. Walker's position was that when the Potawatomi became citizens they lost their rights under the 1867 Treaty. Delano argued that the Citizen Band *as a tribe* ceased to exist and they never paid for their tract in Indian Territory. The Citizen Band spent over a century fighting to maintain their tribal status in spite of Commissioner Walker's ruling. According to Commissioner Walker:

The “expectations” of the contracting parties, at the date of the treaty have not been realized. The Pottawatomies are now all citizens. The nation is extinct, and no patent can be issued to the nation, as such, according to the text and unequivocal meaning of the treaty of 1867. A tract of land thirty miles square in the Indian country has been surveyed, and and many of the Pottawatomies, now citizens, have removed to it and are now residing thereon. It has not been paid for because it has never been conveyed by patent, as contemplated by the treaty, and I am of the opinion that, under existing circumstances, the Secretary of the Interior has no power to cause the has no power to cause the tract to be conveyed to the Pottawatomies. It certainly cannot be conveyed *to the nation*, because there is no nation. It cannot be conveyed to individual members of what was once the nation, nor to a trustee for benefit of the nation, for want of authority of law.⁸⁶

Commissioner Walker then directed that the Absentee Shawnee be permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of their lands and improvements.⁸⁷

The first result of this ruling meant that the Citizen Band families who moved to Indian Territory had to reimburse the government the thirty cents an acre for Creek land or the fifteen cents an acre for Seminole land. Under the congressional act of May 23, 1872, 131 allotments had been made to Potawatomi by 1875.⁸⁸ However, certificates were not issued to those to whom allotments had been given. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, as a result of Secretary Delano's ruling, many Potawatomi, believing that certificates would not be issued, abandoned their improved lands in the southern part of the tract near the Canadian River and moved to the North Fork of the Canadian. This move brought them into direct conflict with Absentee Shawnee.⁸⁹

Berlin B. Chapman, working on a unpublished history of Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma, during his tenure at Oklahoma State University, requested legal opinion on Secretary Delano's position from Louis L. Rochmes, a member of a law firm in Washington, D C Rochmes indicated that from a legal point of view, Secretary Delano

was entirely mistaken. If the issue ever came before the courts, a judge would doubtlessly negate Delano's ruling.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the issue did not come before the courts in the 1870s.

Finally, in 1883, Eddy B. Townsend was instructed by the Office of Indian Affairs to correct and classify the list of 1875 as a prerequisite to the issuing of certificates. On the basis of Townsend's work, on January 19, 1884, the first nine certificates of allotment were issued to the Clardy family upon payment of \$131.60. On April 17, 1885, two more certificates were issued to the same family upon a payment of \$72.00.⁹¹

On February 8, 1887, congress passed the General Allotment Act (popularly known as the Dawes Act) supposedly without changing the special legislation of 1872.⁹² Under this act Potawatomi were entitled to *free* allotments and substantial improvements were not required of the Absentee Shawnee; neither could be bound by the three-year residential requirement. However, the basis of the division of land provided by the General Allotment Act modified the 1872 act which placed the Absentee Shawnee north and the Potawatomi south of the Little River (Figure 5). This modification allowed the Indians who had made improvements on opposing tribal lands to keep their land even though they were not members of the tribe assigned to the area.⁹³

Secretary Lamar agreed with Acting Commissioner Hawkins that the attempt to follow both acts would result in endless confusion.⁹⁴ Hawkins further maintained that the earlier act under which lands might be sold to the Potawatomi could in no way govern the quantity of land to be allotted to them under the General Allotment Act. Married women over twenty-one years of age among the Potawatomi were entitled to not more than eighty acres according to a letter Hawkins wrote May 17, 1887. However, this figure is corrected to one hundred sixty acres in the reprint of the letter in *Senate. Ex. Doc.*, 1891.⁹⁵

Special Agent Nathan S. Porter in conjunction with Agent Moses Neal proceeded with Absentee Shawnee and Potawatomi allotments. While the Little River remained the

basic dividing line between the two tribes, Porter was told that if someone had already made improvements on land that belonged to the other tribe, the person who made the improvements was to get the allotment.⁹⁶

Several reports impugned the integrity of Porter during the time he issued allotments. Mary Bourbonnais wrote to Commissioner Morgan charging Porter with “allotting land to Cherokees, Creeks, Mexicans and even state Negroes that have not a drop of Indian blood here on the North Fork of the Canadian and refusing to allot to old Pottawatomie settlers.”⁹⁷ Porter answered that Anthony Navarre spread rumors that the dividing line between the two tribes was to be removed, that work on allotments would be stopped, and that allotments made were to be set aside.⁹⁸

On February 28, 1890, Benjamin H. Miller investigated the problem between the Shawnee and the Potawatomi in the North Fork valley (Figure 5). Chapman says, “It appears that the Secretary of the Interior would not reject a plan for disposition of the lands north of the Little River when suggested by Agent Porter, endorsed by Shawnee Chief White Turkey, and recommended by Commissioner Morgan. But it seems to have disappeared into thin air.” Subsequent searching has not turned up the purported plan.⁹⁹

One hundred forty-four Potawatomi took allotments under the 1872 act compared with 1,364 given allotments under the 1887 act. Out of the families who were allotted land under the 1872 act only *three* were designated as full bloods. These were the Tom Nona family, the Stephen Negahnquet family, and an Indian named Po-to-go-qua. This figure is a result of the comparison of the 1872 Allotment Rolls and the 1900 Census by the United States where families were asked to state “the degree of Indian blood.”¹⁰⁰ The roll shows that mixed bloods made up a majority of the founders of the Citizen Band Potawatomi and that later political objections to mixed blood leadership as not representing the true Potawatomi were based on faulty perceptions by some concerning the make up of the band.

The Indian to whom the land was given had lived all his or her life on government annuities and did not readily comprehend the new role of the land in his or her survival. Allotments under the Dawes Act were protected from land speculators by a twenty-five year trust period. However, the 1872 allotments were not protected by trust status and land speculators were interested in the original Citizen Band allotments. The speculator could not so easily fool a family that had not received government annuities since taking citizenship in 1867. The Citizen Band members learned their lesson well from the Kansas experience. The families who had made a good living by ranching and farming for several years in Indian Territory understood very clearly the value of the land they held. Angered at the bureaucratic dispossession of their land through the rulings of the bureau of Indian affairs they sent representatives to Washington to lobby congress for compensation for their lost land. Anthony Navarre, who had previously lobbied for compensation for certain Prairie Band individuals, John Anderson and Stephen Negahnquet traveled to Washington to seek congressional help.

On April 25, 1890, Acting Commissioner R. V. Belt wrote to Agent Patrick to investigate whether the Nicholas Trombla [*sic*] that signed the agreement granting Navarre, John Anderson, and Stephen Negahnquet power-of-attorney in proceeding with depredation claims as the descendent of Mah-J-Was was the same Nicholas Trombley [*sic*] who signed the protest *against* Navarre, *et al.* Belt further wrote that there was no record of the band ever repudiating Anthony Navarre's power-of-attorney.¹⁰¹ Navarre received payment as the attorney of record for the tribe of over \$10,000.¹⁰² On March 19, 1890, congress passed the Potawatomi Indians Act.¹⁰³ Congress subsequently appropriated \$128,897.25 to settle Potawatomi claims in 1890 and 1891.¹⁰⁴ Belt took personal credit for blocking federal payments to any members of the Citizen Band Tribe.¹⁰⁵ Evidently Belt was successful since Grady Lewis, attorney for the Citizen Band in 1940, could find no record of any payments to the band in the 1890s.¹⁰⁶ On October 8, 1893, Anthony Navarre died of a cerebral hemorrhage. He was sixty-six years old. Navarre had indicated

earlier that he was afraid a new wife he had just married four months previously wanted to (in his own words) “send him to the happy hunting grounds.” Because of this statement, some of his friends entertained the possibility that he had been poisoned.¹⁰⁷

On March 3, 1891, congress passed the Indian Depredations Act¹⁰⁸ allowing suits in federal court for depredations committed by warring Indian tribes against whites and peaceful Indians and for depredations committed by white intruders on reservation lands. Even though Anthony Navarre was dead, Anderson and Negahnquet presented both Citizen and Prairie Band individual claims under this act. On March 21, 1898, *Navarre v. United States*.¹⁰⁹ was decided in favor of the Potawatomi claimants and upheld on appeal. The court allowed \$29,329.10 in compensation.¹¹⁰ In 1917, a later case before the Court of Claims was dismissed due to lack of representation as the band had not replaced Navarre and Anderson. Anderson died in Oklahoma in 1910. Stephen Negahnquet also died in Oklahoma in 1932. It seems clear from documentary evidence that Anthony Navarre was the driving force behind the lawsuits. Evidently after the 1898 settlement, Anderson and Negahnquet returned home, leaving the band without representation before the Court of Claims.¹¹¹

CHAPTER FIVE

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER VI

EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO STAMP OUT POTAWATOMI INDIAN IDENTIFICATION

By the congressional act of March 7, 1889,¹ President Benjamin Harrison appointed a commission to negotiate with the Cherokee and other tribes of Indian Territory for land cessions for homesteaders. The members included Lucius Fairchild of Wisconsin, John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania, and Alfred M. Wilson of Arkansas. Warren G. Sayre replaced Hartranft of Pennsylvania and David Howell Jerome replaced Fairchild, who resigned January 1, 1890. The commission continued its activities until November 7, 1893. In Indian Territory it was popularly known as the Cherokee Commission and in Washington, D.C. the Jerome Commission. The commission negotiated eleven agreements for dissolution of reservations resulting in 15,000,000 acres of land released for homesteaders.²

The Citizen Band Potawatomi was one of the tribes with which the Cherokee Commission negotiated. On June 25, 1890, the Cherokee Commission met with the Citizen Band Business Committee. The business committee was authorized to negotiate with the government in regard to opening Potawatomi lands to non-Indian settlement. It included Stephen Negahnquet, Joseph Moose, Alexander Rood (Rhodd), John B. Pambego, Davis Hardin and Alexander Peltier. However, they were unable to come to an

agreement. The business committee was unwilling to accept the contract the commission presented and the commission was unwilling to accept the business committee's propositions.³ Nevertheless, the commission informed Washington that they had successfully negotiated with the Citizen Band for the Potawatomi land in Indian Territory.

Knowing this, on June 24, 1890, eighty-six Citizen Band members signed a petition, carried by Anthony Navarre to Washington, asking for \$160,000 that the commission had agreed to pay the tribe for land sold to the United States. Acting Indian Commissioner R. V. Belt reported to the court that the tribe had revoked the power of attorney of Attorney George S. Chase and Navarre. However, he had written to Indian Agent S. J. Patrick that there was no record of the band repudiating Navarre's power-of-attorney.⁴ He cited Secretary Delano's 1872 ruling that the Citizen Band members were no longer Indians, and they had no claim to any money the United States chose to pay for Indian land.⁵

Chase had prepared a brief arguing that the Potawatomi owned their land by fee simple title. Chase charged the U.S. government \$30,000 for his representation of the Potawatomi. David H. Jerome, chief government negotiator, stated that the government "refused to allow the Indians any proposition . . . but we made them the proposition which was finally incorporated into a contract. . . .Every suggested modification by the Indians was refused by the Commission."⁶ The business committee was so disgusted by Chase's lack of influence that they wired Secretary of the Interior Noble to refuse payment out of tribal funds to Chase. Chase nevertheless collected his money.⁷

The land opening agreement was signed by the five business committee members and seventy-four or seventy-five heads of individual Citizen Band families. The

discrepancy in the number of signatures occurred when Commissioner Morgan wrote that William Griffenstein, Abram Burnett's son-in-law, signed. However, Griffenstein's signature is not on the senate copy of the agreement.⁸ Griffenstein spent his life in Kansas, but his widow, Catherine, received an allotment as a Citizen Band member in 1891. On May 2, 1890, an act passed congress opening lands within the territory acquired by the Creek and Seminole cessions of 1866.⁹ Governor Steele of Oklahoma Territory expressed concern over the opening, not wishing to see a repeat of the problems encountered in the "run" of April 22, 1889. In a letter to President Harrison on July 1, 1890, Steele said "I do hope some other mode of settlement than that for Oklahoma will be adopted."¹⁰

An act of March 3, 1891,¹¹ ratified the land opening agreements made in 1890 and appropriated \$13,981.58 to pay the tribal members for their land ceded to the government. On April 2, 1891, Acting Commissioner Belt advised George L. Young that the leasing of lands by members of the Citizen Band Potawatomis was illegal and void, and that parties within the reservation under such "pretended" leases had no rights whatever. The army would exclude such people by whatever degree of force necessary. Therefore, people who had been farming and improving the lands during the 1880s were disinherited and many of the Citizen Band families who supplemented their income by leasing a part of their land were subjected to considerable financial hardship.¹²

There were land ownership cases to be resolved regarding Citizen Band allottees before the land could be opened for settlement. On March 23, Acting Commissioner Belt stated that no applications for allotments under the General Allotment Act submitted after March 3, 1891, would be honored. However, Assistant Attorney General Shields held that the Potawatomis had the legal right to receive allotments for thirty days after the agreement of March 3.¹³ Nine allotments received under the 1872 act were certified and these members did not receive an additional allotment under the Dawes Act. On April 14, 1891, the Allotment Rolls for the Citizen Band Potawatomis and the Absentee

Shawnee were certified.¹⁴ The act of March 3, 1891,¹⁵ created Counties A and B and the southern half of Payne County. County A became Lincoln County; County B became Potawatomi County. Governor Steele's objections notwithstanding, at noon on September 22, 1891, the counties were opened in the same way the unassigned lands were opened on April 22, 1889. The scenes and events were similar to those that occurred at the first opening.

Tecumseh was designated the county seat of Pottawatomie County. It was the headquarters for the government land office during the opening. However, when the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad (to become the Rock Island) tracks were laid they decided to go through Shawneetown, setting the stage for the struggle over the county seat location. Eventually Shawnee won the struggle.¹⁶

In the summer of 1891, Agent Scott of the Potawatomie and Greater Nemaha Agency in Kansas requested the U.S. Army forcibly remove any Citizen Band Potawatomi still making their home on the Prairie Band Reservation in Kansas.¹⁷ These included the majority of families that received allotments under the 1887 Act. Several had already sold their Indian Territory allotments choosing to remain in Kansas. A few chose to settle in Indian Territory under the aegis of the Five Tribes rather than pay the inflated personal property taxes that the newly organized Oklahoma Territory persisted in collecting from them. Oklahoma Territory authorities could not tax land but did tax personal property and improvements on the land. The courts declared this illegal, but the authorities ignored the court rulings and persisted in collecting the taxes anyway. In the report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of 1892, Agent Samuel Patrick estimated that over half of the Absentee Shawnee and some Citizen Potawatomi had fled to the Indian Nations.¹⁸

Congress approved issuing land patents to the Potawatomi under the Dawes Act by the act of March 3, 1891¹⁹ (Figure 5). However, the allotments were not considered by most of the band to be a fair exchange for the guaranteed annuities that the Prairie

Band received. In 1893, in a letter written to the *Indian Advocate* and signed "J. Pott.," the Republican administration was blamed for "forcing" the Potawatomi to become citizens and thus impoverishing them.²⁰ However, the impoverishment was only just beginning.

On August 15, 1894, congress passed an act permitting Citizen Band members to sell their patented lands.²¹ By 1898, Sac and Fox Agent Lee Patrick reported to the commissioner that ninety-five Citizen Potawatomi had sold land in the county at an average price of \$4.71 an acre. Patrick's description of the experience of many of the Indians follows.

During the first year or two after the 1894 law many frauds were perpetrated upon the Indians by trading them stock, at an exorbitant price, for the lands, paying them in cash in the presence of the Indian agent and afterwards making them refund the greater portion of it. During the past year many changes have been made in the rules to be followed in conveyance of Indian lands, which has reduced the chances for fraud to a minimum, and the Indians are now receiving full value for their lands.²²

The congressional act of 1894²³ lifted several restrictions concerning land sales of Citizen Band and Absentee Shawnee allotments whose owners were over twenty-one years old. Only eighty acres were legally required to remain with the Indian allottee as a homestead. The 1894 act was passed in spite of strong opposition by the Indian commissioners and the Indians themselves.²⁴ Even before the rules and regulations controlling the sale of lands could be printed and distributed, one hundred deeds had come in. Loan sharks and speculators were buying the land for even a lower price than congress had set for the sale of unassigned lands.²⁵ However, the Citizen Band members

continued to fulfill the responsibilities of earning a living, governing their own local affairs and educating their children during the difficult 1890s. The efforts of Oklahoma Territory and, subsequently, the state of Oklahoma aggravated these difficulties.

Oklahoma Territory during the 1890s insisted on its right to tax tribal members even though they were exempt against such taxation under federal trust status. Tribal members constantly fought the territorial government's efforts to tax their allotments. A favorite ploy of the territorial assessor was to tax the "improvements" on the Indians' allotments as personal property and thus circumvent the law preventing allotment taxation. Catherine Griffenstein, Abram Burnett's granddaughter, had received through allotment the land on which the territorial town of Burnett had many of its buildings. Treasurer G. A. Newsom of Pottawatomie County attempted to tax the buildings as "improvements." The federal government sued Oklahoma Territory in order to stop the efforts at taxation. Treasurer Newsom informed Agent Thomas that eighteen Potawatomi, including Catherine, were tax delinquent and their land would be auctioned.²⁶ Commissioner D. M. Browning responded to Newsom's actions with a lawsuit to stop the taxation.

On February 22, 1895, C. R. Brook, acting for Indian Commissioner D. M. Browning, advised the Sac and Fox agent, Edward L. Thomas, "It is my opinion that the territorial authorities have no authority to tax the property of the Indian acquired direct from the government."²⁷ Reinforcing his wishes, Commissioner Browning wrote another letter June 27, 1895, stating that "the improvements on the allotments of the Pottawatomie Indians, described by Mr. L. Kennedy are not subject to taxation because the lands themselves cannot be taxed by the local authorities."²⁸

In January, 1898, Judge Keaton, of the United States District Court in Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma Territory, ruled that the assessors of the various townships had the right to assess for taxation all improvements found on Indian allotments. Lee Patrick urged Indian Commissioner W. A. Jones to take legal action as

quickly as possible to block this improvement taxation. Patrick wrote "The rate of taxation in this country is so high that in many cases the taxes on improvements will be more than the cash rental paid on the land. . . . Action should be taken at once by the Department of Justice to prevent the collection of these taxes."²⁹

Following Judge Keaton's ruling, on April 15, 1898, W. J. Lackey, the Pottawatomie County attorney, ordered Indian property improvements assessed. Several Potawatomi, through the offices of Ben Clardy, queried the new agent, Lee Patrick, if this was legal. Commissioner W. A. Jones, upon submission of proof of the efforts to tax Laura B. Vieux's allotments, notified the U.S. Attorney General. On June 16, 1899, the Attorney General enjoined county officials to cease from taxing allotments either as property tax or as "improvements" justifying a personal property tax.³⁰ Band members turned to one of their own in seeking help over taxation

Benjamin Clardy was the son of Joshua Clardy and Isabel Bertrand. While Joshua did not receive an allotment, his and Isabel's surviving four children did. The Clardys were among the first settlers at Pleasant Prairie. While they returned to Kansas to raise their family in safer surroundings after Joshua was severely wounded in a robbery, the children and "Judge" Joshua returned in 1890. They became active in Citizen Band affairs and remained politically active after the 1891 opening. Ben was probably the most successful financially, becoming the agent through which most of the Potawatomi sold their allotments when allowed to do so under the law. He also remained active in tribal politics, functioning as a business committee member for several years, although not without controversy.

The Citizen Band continued to reflect the factious ways of Potawatomi culture after moving to Oklahoma. In 1896. Commissioner D. M. Browning advised the new agent, Edward Thomas, that the Citizen Band had two different factions, the Tecumseh faction and the Sacred Heart faction. Browning wrote further that it was the custom for business committee elections to be held every two years on the last Tuesday in October.

Browning recognized the Sacred Heart faction committee as the "National Business Committee" even though a very considerable number of Potawatomi did not recognize the election. In February 1896, Commissioner D. M. Browning recognized seven Citizen Band Business Committee members. They included John Anderson, Alex B. Peltier, Joseph Moose, J.B. Pambego, Davis Hardin, Charles Rhodd and Stephen Negahnquet.³¹ As a result of the filed protests, Browning revised the committee by removing Joseph Moose for chronic alcoholism. The Sacred Heart faction recognized as committee members John Anderson, Stephen Negahnquet, Charles Griffenstein, Davis Hardin, and Thomas Lazzell.³²

Even though Nicholas Trombla, in his letter of objection to the commissioner of Indian affairs concerning the 1915 election (recounted below), indicated that the full bloods were in conflict with the mixed bloods for political representation, the facts do not support this view. There were very few full bloods living in Oklahoma. Both factions had the support of those that were there. Rather, the underlying division was religious. Roman Catholics who preferred to remain loyal to their French Canadian-Catholic heritage composed the Sacred Heart faction, whereas Protestants, mostly Quakers, Baptists and Methodists, who tended to identify more strongly with the prevailing American culture, composed the Tecumseh faction. The division between Protestant and Catholic was often blurred in the Potawatomi mind. While Potawatomi around Shawneetown and Elliott's Quaker mission identified themselves as Baptist, Methodist or Quaker, they were generally married and buried by the Catholic priest. Joint membership in two or more religious groupings was characteristic of Potawatomi life.³³ The division was also political and actually represented a power struggle between the northern part of the county and the southern group. After each election, the commissioner of Indian affairs had the responsibility of determining which business committee actually represented the majority of the Citizen Band. The years following the opening of the

territory saw various protests filed with the commissioner over the composition of the business committee.

In 1898, the arrival of a new agent, Lee Patrick under new Commissioner W. A. Jones revealed a more serious problem plaguing the Citizen Band Business Committee. A group of "Mexican Potawatomi," led by a "Chief Necessity" had returned to Oklahoma and applied at the Sac and Fox Agency for rations on October 30, 1894. John H. Pickering was the agent in charge at the time and refused to give these people rations earmarked for Potawatomi heads of families. Cole Pickett, upon being queried if it were permissible to give these rations, wrote that "supplies were to be given out to heads of families not band leaders and not more than one week of supplies given out at a time with two or more 'disinterested' witnesses to attest to the membership of said recipients in the tribe."³⁴ Robert Gardner, Superintendent of the Shawnee Mission in 1890, prepared a roll of Citizen Potawatomi and Absentee Shawnee in preparation for the per capita distribution of land payments. This roll lists 385 Mexicans among the 1,702 Citizen Band allottees.³⁵ These self-styled "Mexican Potawatomi" then turned to the tribal business committee. Davis Hardin, John Anderson, and Thomas Lazzell maneuvered rations from the Sac and Fox Agency for these people.

The government considered this action to be fraudulent.³⁶ A grand jury in Pottawatomie County refused to indict the business committee members.³⁷ Sam Forrester, appointed U.S. District Attorney for Oklahoma Territory November 9, 1897, was able to get an indictment for conspiracy to commit fraud from a Lincoln County grand jury in Chandler.³⁸ The records of the actual court case show that the U.S. District Court ordered the case resubmitted to the grand jury April 23, 1898, and on September 8 the Court dismissed all charges against the defendants, Wah-Ka-Zo, John Anderson, David [*sic*] Hardin and Thomas Lazelle.³⁹ However, Commissioner Jones used the accusation of fraud as a reason for refusing to recognize Davis Hardin, John Anderson, A. Jones and T. J. Lazzell as bona fide members of the 1898 Business

Committee. Assistant Commissioner A. C. Tonner wrote Patrick about the replacement for Hardin in the following words: "Let it be someone who is not only familiar with the family history of the Potawatomi tribe of Indians generally, but one whose judgment and integrity can be relied upon."⁴⁰ On May 11, 1901, the general council elected John Whitehead to replace Davis Hardin. This incident was only one of a series of political feuds within the Citizen Band.

The sporadic feuding resulted in two elections in 1915. The General Council of the Citizen Band Potawatomi was held in Shawnee on August 18, 1915. Mrs. Emma Johnson Goulette, daughter of Andrew Johnson, read a letter from the assistant commissioner of Indian affairs dated August 5, 1915. The letter stated that "the Indian office desires that only blood members of the band be chosen as committeemen."⁴¹ The people elected at this time included Ben J. Claridy [*sic*], Joseph P. Melot, Frank Bergeron (Bashaw), Mrs. Emma Goulette, Edward J. Lewis, Israel Rhodd and Stephen Negahnquet. During the meeting Nicholas Trombla objected to the nomination of Ben Clardy, but was voted down.⁴² The election of Emma Johnson Goulette to serve on the business committee reflected the willingness of the tribe to accept women as well as men in leadership roles.

Nick Trombla, along with C.F. Martell and Louis Soux [*sic*], lodged a protest with the commissioner objecting to the "electioneering" that the committee members engaged in; all members are closely related by blood; all members were almost entirely white with only tenuous blood connections to the Citizen Band; and that some members were alcoholic. Trombla then reminded the commissioner that he also had objected to the committee members elected in 1875 on the same grounds, and he was able to get those members "expeld" [*sic*].⁴³ As mentioned above, genealogical investigation reveals that the Trombla family were French Canadian as well as Potawatomi.⁴⁴ Potawatomi tribal genealogical records indicate that Nick Trombla's father, William Trombla, was a "half-blood" and his mother, Rosette, was also "half blood." It may be that Nick believed that

half-blood parents totaled full blood children. C.F. Martell's mother was descended from Antoine Wilmet (or *Ouilamette*) and his father was an adopted white tribal member. Louis Soux's father was William Lucien, a French Canadian.⁴⁵

The evidence of the minutes of the August meeting indicate that it was held in a democratic manner, with every effort to include the non-English speaking Indians (i.e. the "full bloods") but that they rejected the need for Stephen Negahnquet to act as an interpreter.⁴⁶ Trombla's protest appeared to be motivated by personal animosity against Ben Clardy and his family rather than a true interest for the tribe. Superintendent Green wrote the commissioner that the "electioneering" of the committee members was what offended Mr. Trombla the most.⁴⁷ While this electioneering seems to be simply a function of a working democracy, perhaps it went against some cultural grain of the complainants. However, within historical times the Potawatomi have exhibited pronounced political behavior within the tribe. Regardless of the legitimacy of Trombla's complaint, he succeeded in persuading the commissioner to withhold approval of the business committee in August and another general council meeting was called in December.⁴⁸

Stephen Negahnquet was elected chairman of the council. After listening to an address by Thomas Topash, a visitor from the Michigan Band, asking for cooperation in pressing the U.S. government for tribal claims, the council elected a new business committee. After nominating eighteen members including Nicholas Trombla, seven were elected with Ben Claridy [*sic, referring to Benjamin Clardy*] receiving the most votes. The seven were Stephen Negahnquet, Peter Bourassa, Ben J. Claridy, George Haas, John Whitehead, Thurman Ogee, and Asa Wall. Asa Wall then promptly moved to Briarcliff Manor, New York. Emma Goulette cast his vote in all proceedings. Asa Wall had petitioned the federal government to be allowed to represent individual Citizen Band members in their claims against the government. The commissioner of Indian affairs

advised that he was not a legal representative for the tribe and should not be allowed to represent tribal members.⁴⁹

In a letter to the commissioner presenting the required biographical information prior to B. I. A. approval of business committee members, Ben Clardy described himself as “an abstainer of the use of intoxicants and tobacco; owns a good home; had a high school education; has been fifteen years in the insurance business, . . . and fifteen or sixteen years speculating in real estate, with an average income of \$100 per month.”⁵⁰

Clardy was not only active in tribal politics, but assumed a leadership position in the fledgling Democratic Party of the Territory. In 1891 he was a representative to the second Oklahoma territorial legislature. He ran for territorial council district representative from District One in 1894, but suffered defeat in the Populist landslide of that year. However, a cousin, Richard Bertrand won the county surveyor position and held it for many years.⁵¹ Clardy later served as secretary to the state Democratic convention in June, 1900. As late as 1916 he was the doorkeeper for the Democratic national convention held in St. Louis.⁵²

In the opening years of the twentieth century, the Citizen Band Potawatomi families played an integral part in the communities in the newly formed townships of Pottawatomie County. Walter Olds began publishing *The Asher Altruist* on Friday, November 15, 1901.⁵³ The first issue included a notice that John Laracy had come to Asher to purchase building materials with which to rebuild Sacred Heart after the June 1901 fire.⁵⁴ A perusal of its contents finds Citizen Band families treated the same as the incoming white settlers. Olds stated in his newspaper that he believed that Joe Moose must be the best educated Potawatomi in the tribe because he knew the etymology of the word *Altruist*. Joe Moose was one of the five business committee members at that time. Richard Bertrand, tribal member, Sacred Heart real estate dealer, and civil engineer, platted the newly developing settlement of Asher in his role as Pottawatomie

County surveyor. And when George Haas's home was lost by fire December 20, 1901, the *Altruist* spearheaded a subscription drive to help his family build a new home.⁵⁵

With statehood in 1907, Potawatomi allotments became liable to taxation. However, there were no tax sales of Potawatomi lands in 1907. Pottawatomie County tried then to tax lands that were still held in trust for minors and certain Indians deemed not fully competent. D. Lewis informed the Sac and Fox Agency, which handled Citizen Band Potawatomi matters, that neither the state nor the county could tax lands held in trust for Indians.⁵⁶

The Oklahoma State Legislature of 1909 passed a law allowing improvements to land to be taxed as personal property (1909, Sec. 4, 574: 3-4). John Francis, Jr., the acting chief of the land division of the department of the interior advised Agent Thackery that the Oklahoma law was inapplicable to allotted Indian lands according to the Supreme Court Case *U.S. vs. Rickert*. This ruling declared that no allotted lands or improvements can be taxed by the states.⁵⁷

After notification of this ruling, county assessors of both Cleveland County (where some Potawatomi allotments were held) and Pottawatomie County filed numerous requests with the Sac and Fox Agency for updated lists of Indian allotments, or non-taxable land. R. W. Valentine advised Superintendent Kohlenberg that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was not financially responsible for providing updated lists of allotted Indian land to county assessors.⁵⁸ The issue was finally resolved in favor of all Indian allottees in the new state when the United States government received a final decree against the county commissioners of Pottawatomie County on January 8, 1912, (W.D. Oklahoma). As an extension of the *U.S. vs. Rickert*, Assistant Commissioner E. B. Merrit notified Superintendent Orville J. Green on April 16, 1916, that mineral royalties on allotted land were not subject to state taxation.⁵⁹

The *Métis* culture of the Citizen Band Potawatomi placed great emphasis on education and, as described in the preceding chapter, during the 1870s and 1880s the

Roman Catholic and Quaker missions educated the band's children. However, politics and the activities of the powerful Protestant Indian mission lobby changed the educational opportunities for the Citizen Potawatomi. During the 1870s the federal government began the practice of contracting with mission schools to pay a fixed annual amount for each Indian student enrolled in the mission school. These annuities comprised a major portion of the mission school budget. However, the Protestant board of commissioners looked askance at this. Herbert Welsh through his Indian Rights Association established in 1882, and the Lake Mohonk Conferences of Friends of the Indian established in 1883, worked to educate the Indian children in such a way as to facilitate their "absorption into the body politic as individuals no different than any other citizen."⁶⁰

The drive to acculturate the Indians gave great impetus to Indians being removed from tribal influence and immersed in boarding schools. The boarding school era actually had its roots in President Grant's creation of the board of Indian commissioners in 1874. Prominent Protestant laymen serving on the board acted as watchdogs over the appropriation of Indian funds as well as liaisons for Protestant missionaries with the bureau of Indian affairs. Protestants were concerned that Catholic mission schools to the various Indian tribes would not acculturate the Indians to *Protestant* American values. They were particularly concerned that teachers and missionaries manning the schools were often European immigrants who had no exposure to the "American way of life."⁶¹

The Friends of the Indian at Lake Mohonk wanted to augment allotment efforts through "a universal compulsory school system for Indians run entirely by the federal government thus eliminating the quasi-partnership the government had forged with the mission schools, both Catholic and Protestant."⁶² As a part of revamping the Indian educational system under Lake Mohonk Conference principles the government established Chilocco Boarding School, north of Newkirk in Indian Territory in 1884.

In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison appointed T. J. Morgan Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Morgan's appointment facilitated the drive for compulsory public education for Indian children. The appointment of a professional public educator combined with the strong anti-Catholic feelings of the country in the 1890s and the rise of support for the advantages of an American public education system doomed the contract schools. In 1892, Morgan directed Agent Patrick of the Sac and Fox Agency to call the Potawatomi together to decide on a location of a school for their children under new B.I.A. policy. They were given a choice between the Quaker-founded Shawnee Mission School and a day labor school in Shawneetown or some other part of the county. The reason for this vote being called lay in the opposition of certain elements in the government to giving aid to religious schools. The Catholics had invested most eagerly in the building of Indian schools and so they received the lion's share of contract funds. By the end of the nineteenth century this was becoming a source of tremendous irritation among the major Protestant denominations and it was this irritation which was behind the push for a national system of Indian schools.⁶³ James M. King in his address of 1892 to the Friends of the Indian Conference stated, "much Roman Catholic teaching among the Indians does not prepare them for intelligent and loyal citizenship."⁶⁴ In 1894, all contract money was withheld from the Benedictine Fathers although the families sending children there still received some room and board aid.⁶⁵

Commissioner Daniel M. Browning, delivering another blow to the mission schools, ruled in September of 1896 that "Indian parents have no right to designate which school their children shall attend."⁶⁶ Commissioner W. A. Jones stood firmly behind the Browning ruling. However, upon the accession to office of President Theodore Roosevelt, the ruling was suspended and finally abrogated January 17, 1902.⁶⁷

All government aid, including room-and-board rations, were withdrawn from the Citizen Band families sending their children to Sacred Heart on the grounds that it was a non-government institution. Sacred Heart was the only school in the territory that was

affected. An amendment was proposed in the U.S. Congress to make an exception for Sacred Heart, but Senator Henry Cabot Lodge made a point of order against it thus securing its defeat.⁶⁸

While boarding schools were established in a deliberate attempt to destroy Indian culture and to acculturate Indian children to the predominant Protestant values that underpinned white American culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the actual results of the boarding school experience included positive as well as negative effects on Indian cultural development. Perhaps the Citizen Band's mixed tribal composition had already prepared the students to take positive advantage of the exposure to other tribal cultures. While some recalled their boarding school experience negatively in the Potawatomi oral history *Grandfather, Tell Me a Story*, others recalled positive experiences. William Wamego states boldly, "I thought Chilocco was great," and William Nona remembered, "The reason I went to Chilocco was my dad wanted me to take violin and the Concho Day School would not give them [lessons] to me because I was so young."⁶⁹ Certainly Sacred Heart had a long history of supporting the tribe in its endeavors to preserve its culture, but that approach did not automatically guarantee that all students would react positively to their educational experience. Grace Melot, of Citizen Band descent, attended Sacred Heart in the first decade of the century and she recalled her experiences there with bitterness.⁷⁰ In contrast, Thomas Wildcat Alford in his biography, *Civilization*, was effusive in his desire to get as much "white" ⁷¹ education as possible in order to help his tribe.⁷² McBeth's research into the west-central Plains Indians boarding school experiences also revealed positive responses. The greatest positive result of Indian boarding school experiences was a fostering of a sense of intertribal Indianism. The demand that all pupils use English exclusively gave the many tribes represented a *lingua franca* fostering intertribal communication. The shared boarding school experiences contributed to the development and growth of twentieth century pan-Indianism.⁷³

Hazel Hertsberg wrote that the most influential Indian boarding schools were Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Hampton, Virginia. These eastern boarding school graduates, sharing a common language and a common experience in the Indian and white world, formed a nucleus of Indian Service employees who would begin the twentieth century pan-Indian movement. While these Indians of all tribal affiliations were usually devout Christians, they did not share the missionary idea that their Indian culture should "vanish." Rather they were the product of two existing cultures; Indian and Euroamerican and thus embraced the idea of American individual responsibility for themselves and political activism.⁷⁴

These people assumed that Indians had something important in common with each other beyond their peculiar relationship to the government. The term "Indian race" had both biological and cultural connotations for them.⁷⁵ These politically progressive Indians formed the Society of American Indians. A temporary executive committee formed in April, 1911, had nineteen members including one Citizen Band representative, Emma D. Johnson. Johnson also attended the founding conference of the society, October 12, 1911, (Columbus Day) in Columbus, Ohio. The date and place were deliberately chosen to draw the attention of Americans to native responses to Columbus. Johnson gave a paper passionately defending the Indian's ability to compete intellectually, economically and professionally with whites. The conference then passed a resolution that the federal government provide educational facilities for all Indian children.⁷⁶ Several Potawatomi attended the Denver conference October 14 through 20, where Emma Johnson Goulette was elected the fourth vice president of education. She remained active through the decade in the Society of American Indians.⁷⁷

Research into letters from Chilocco to Citizen Band families reveals the most tragic result of the Indian boarding school. When people share common dormitories, infectious diseases find multiple breeding grounds. Chilocco school records from 1885 forward reveal that Potawatomi student Frank Bashaw died October 13, 1888; Robert

Baldan died in 1891. In 1898, C. W.. Goodman, Superintendent of Chilocco, paid \$26.84 for the remains of dead students to be shipped home.⁷⁸

Several Potawatomi received scholarships to the Hampton Institute in Virginia. Andrew Johnson attended Hampton on scholarship from 1886 to 1891 as did Daniel Chilson from 1885 to 1889. Chilson wrote a letter to Miss A. E. Cleaveland at Hampton describing the changes since the September 22, 1891, opening to white settlement. He wrote "Indians will have to go to work in order to live along side white brothers. . . . most have forty to one hundred acres under cultivation."⁷⁹ Both Andrew Johnson and Daniel Chilson remained active in tribal and extra-tribal politics. Chilson married Madeline Toupin in 1891 and became the county surveyor of Pottawatomie County February 24, 1893; deputy sheriff on January 7, 1899; and a member of the business committee in 1905 and 1906. Andrew Johnson was the official tribal representative to Washington D.C. in 1925. Johnson did not graduate from Hampton, but graduated from the Haskell Institute in Kansas, June 23, 1897.⁸⁰

On January 15, 1901, at 11:00 p.m. a fire originated in the dining room of the Indian boys' school at Sacred Heart. It took less than two hours for the abbey, the college and the academy to be reduced to ashes. In a meeting in Shawnee on January 25 the Benedictines resolved to rebuild Sacred Heart and to build a college near a railroad town, preferably Shawnee. The businessmen of Shawnee offered a site which was not accepted at that time. The order chose to rebuild Sacred Heart at Bald Hill. They waited until 1915 to move to Shawnee, where they established St. Gregory's College.⁸¹ It took a number of years to rebuild the mission, but the priests were assured of being able to continue work at Sacred Heart when Delegate Dennis Flynn of Oklahoma Territory introduced a bill in congress that issued a patent for the lands occupied by the Sacred Heart Mission to the Benedictines.⁸²

The authorization of 1894 allowing the sale of Indian allotments resulted in such an infiltration of American settlers that the Citizen Band once again felt their culture was

threatened with annihilation. When Sacred Heart burned, it seemed to many of them that they had lost the institution which provided the cultural glue for their society. In the summer of 1901 a proposal was put forward for the Citizen Band to move again. The *Indian Advocate* of August, 1901, described that meeting.

On Monday June 24 . . . the Pottawatomie Indians convened in Council on the Mission grounds for the purpose of divining ways and means whereby they can secure another home for themselves and their descendants. . . a considerable number of our red brethren and their intermarried white relatives assembled under the cooling shade of the mission. . . . It seemed to be the general wish of the speakers that a new home be acquired in Mexico or some other part of the United States and in furtherance of that object a committee was appointed consisting of Messrs. Paul Toupin, Baptiste Pambego, and J. S. Higbee to open correspondence with the Mexican Representative at Washington, D.C. and the Secretary of the Interior.⁸³

However, in the summer of 1901, Catherine Drexell, heir to Francis Drexell's estate and a Mother Superior in Philadelphia, replaced the lost government aid to the Citizen Band children who were attending Sacred Heart through scholarship help. Agent Lee Patrick indicated that in 1902 he had finally persuaded the band against moving to Mexico.⁸⁴ Whether it was the agent's persuasive powers, Catherine Drexell's financial help, or something as yet unknown, no more was heard from the Citizen Band about moving to another place.⁸⁵

In 1905, the last report from the Sac and Fox Agency to the commissioner of Indian affairs concerning the Citizen Band was issued.⁸⁶ On November 16, 1907, Oklahoma and Indian Territories joined to form the state of Oklahoma. The Citizen Band were now citizens of a state and they made various important contributions to that state.

Albert Negahnquet, educated at Sacred Heart, became the first Citizen Band Potawatomi to be ordained in the Catholic Church.⁸⁷ In 1915, the Sacred Heart Mission

built St. Gregory's College in Shawnee bringing to three the number of institutions of higher education that the *Métis*-Mission-Citizen Band culture helped to found in the United States.⁸⁸

The generation of Potawatomi educated at Chilocco and Hampton became the first Citizen Band warriors in a century. *The Indian Scout*, the Shawnee Mission School newspaper published by Superintendent O. J. Green, honored Citizen Band members who enlisted for service in World War I. The list is continued on the following page.

Emmett Bowles	Charles Lybarger
Clarency Bradley	George Lybarger
Joseph Bruno	Thomas Lybarger
Lee Burnett	Benjamin Megah
John Cryer	Edward S. Muller
Alex Curley	Stephen W. Negahnquet, Jr.
Preston Goulette	James O'Marra
George Haas, Jr.	John B. Pambego
Louis Hale	Patrick A. Tierney
John A. Hardin	Elijah Tyner
Joe Kime	Nicholas Vieux
Edward LeMotte	Asa Wall

William Wano⁸⁵

In spite of hostile government policies on the federal, territorial, state, and local levels, the Citizen Band Potawatomi still functioned as a tribal entity during the first two decades of the twentieth century. They were well situated to take advantage of a change in direction that federal Indian policy would take beginning with the Progressive reforms

under President Theodore Roosevelt and continuing through the first half of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER VI

ENDNOTES

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- 4 . R. V. Belt to Samuel J. Patrick, 25 April, 1890. Navarre folder, *C.B.A.*
- 5 . Attorney Grady Lewis to L. J. Brant, "Summary of Potawatomi Claims against the United States to 1940," L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
- 6 . Chapman, "Pottawatomie and Absentee Shawnee Lands," 35 pt. 1.
- 7 . *S. Ex. Doc.*, 52d Cong., 2d. sess., 3055, ch. 18, 305-306, 1892.
- 8 . *S. Ex. Doc.*, 51st. Cong., 1st. sess., 2688, ch. 186, 1891.
- 9 . 51st. Cong., 3d sess., ch. 543, 1891.
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- 11 . 51st Cong., 3d sess., ch. 543, 1891.
- 12 . Chapman, "Pottawatomie and Absentee Shawnee Lands," 8.
- 13 . Secretary Noble to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" *Decisions of the Department of the Interior* 13 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892): 318-322.
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21 . 53d Cong., 2d sess., ch. 290, 1894.

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23 . 53d Cong., 2d sess., ch. 290, 1894.

24 . Coulter, "Catholic Missions," 18.

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26 . A. Newsom to Edward L. Thomas, 19 April, 1894, *Sac and Fox and Shawnee Agencies* microfilm reel 25, Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society. (hereafter referred to as *SFSA* #.)

27 . C. R. Brook to Edward L. Thomas, 22 February, 1895, *SFSA* 25.

28 . D. M. Browning to Edward L. Thomas, 27 June, 1895, *SFSA* 25.

29 . Lee Patrick to Commissioner W. A. Jones, *R.C.I.A.* 1898, 252.

30 . Ben J. Clardy to Lee Patrick, 2 February, 1899; W. A. Jones to Lee Patrick, 12 July, 1899, *SFSA* 25.

31 . D. M. Browning to Edward Thomas, 12 February, 1896 *SFSA* 41.

32 . D. M. Browning to Edward Thomas, 17 June, 1896
SFSA 41.

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59. E. B. Merritt to Mr. Orville J. Green, 26 April, 1916, *SFSA* 25.
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64. James M. King, "Sectarian Contract Schools," *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian (1892)*, reprinted in *Americanizing the American Indians*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 292. *Maxine Fightmaster in her article concerning Sacred Heart indicated that among the notables of Indian Territory were the Murrays of Erin Spring, Chickasaw Nation, parents of William H. Murray, 9th Governor of Oklahoma.*
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89. *The other two are St. Mary's College in St. Mary's, Kansas and Notre Dame University, South Bend, Indiana.*

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CHAPTER VII

REVITALIZATION: THE EFFORTS OF THE CITIZEN BAND TO MAINTAIN ITS INTEGRITY IN RESPONSE TO GOVERNMENT ACTIONS OF THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

It became more difficult to retain an Indian identity faced with the loss of a homeland, whether a small reservation or half of a state. In the absence of land, other cultural attributes from religious ceremonialism to group economic development to laws of kinship took on added significance. In the long run, these characteristics replaced the land as the focus of the culture. This can be observed elsewhere in Oklahoma in the “underground reservation” of the Osage, where, in the absence of land, resources became the bond that held the society together. Even bingo parlors became expressions of tribal sovereignty and solidarity.

Members of the Citizen Band spent the first half of the twentieth century attempting to collect the money due them for agreements made from 1872 to 1917. Congress had appropriated money for the band according to treaty agreements and court rulings. However, none of this money ever reached the Potawatomi in Oklahoma. In its report to the Courts of Justice, December 26, 1933, the General Accounting Office listed payments authorized by congress in 1872 \$119,790.15; 1875 \$101,630.75; 1889 \$201,085.71; 1891 \$128,897.25; 1894 \$13,981.58; and 1895¹ that the Citizen Potawatomi never received. In 1893, 160 Citizen Band members were dead or never found, but their share of tribal funds at \$106.36 per share totaling \$17,005.60 was never paid to the tribe. On March 2, 1917, congress appropriated \$3,791.17 to the Citizen Band to correct the appropriation of 1889. There is no evidence that the 1917 appropriation was distributed to the Citizen Band.²

Information had reached band members concerning the 1917 appropriation and several wrote to the Shawnee agency wanting to know when the money would be distributed.³ Orville J. Green, the superintendent of the Shawnee Agency from 1915 to 1918, published statements in *The Indian Scout* cautioning the Citizen Potawatomi not to expect any money from the government.⁴ R. V. Belt, the assistant commissioner of Indian affairs, claimed, "I have had no large share in urging against the justice of their [Citizen Band] claims."⁵ One cannot help but agree with assistant secretary of the interior George Chandler when he wrote to the business committee, "The subject under consideration is full of complication and has been a source of great embarrassment to this office."⁶

From 1913 to 1916 Daniel J. and Peter Bourassa, attorneys for the Potawatomi in Washington, D.C., worked tirelessly pressing both individual and tribal claims on congress. The Citizen Band updated its membership rolls to facilitate distribution of the 1917 appropriation. It listed 1,800 members. Stephen Negahnquet, Ben Clardy, John Whitehead and Peter Bourassa traveled to Washington, D.C., after collecting donations from tribal members, in order to arrange for legal representation.⁷ On July 4, 1916, the Citizen Band contracted with the law firm of Lydick and Eggerman, of Shawnee, to press their claims. The department of the interior approved the contract with Lydick November 9, 1917.⁸ In 1917, the Court of Claims dismissed case 15848 originally filed by Anthony Navarre. *The Indian Scout* reported that the Court of Claims threw the Citizen Band case out due to "lack of representation." When the business committee asked about this lack of representation, Attorney Lydick stated that all this occurred before Lydick and Eggerman entered the case, and he knew nothing about it.⁹ After receiving legal recognition from the United States as a tribe in 1938, the band hired Attorney Grady Lewis and instructed him to investigate why the 1917 case was thrown out of court. In 1940, he notified Congressman Will Rogers (of Moore) that the tribe never saw the appropriation that

former Congressman Tom D. McKowen sponsored in the 1917 claims appropriation act.¹⁰

Not only did the Citizen Band have to litigate for congressionally appropriated money, but they had to battle constantly to get the federal government to recognize them as Indian. Commissioner Charles Delano in 1872 maintained that since the Citizen Band chose to become citizens of the United States they were no longer members of a legitimate Indian tribe. However, in 1916, in the case of the *U.S. v. Nice*, the Supreme Court ruled that "Neither land allotment nor political citizenship is incompatible with the continuance of their tribal relations or with continued guardianship over them by the United States."¹¹ Francis Paul Prucha wrote that "citizenship had little effect on paternalistic attitude of the federal government and thus we have the paradox of citizenship coupled with wardship."¹² Prucha commented on this change in direction. He wrote most white Americans felt that assimilation was still the desired goal of any government Indian policy. They supported the progressive era emphasis on Indian self-support and self-reliance.¹³ Due to Delano's 1872 ruling and R. V. Belt's interpretation of that ruling, Citizen Band members had been self supporting and self reliant since moving to Indian Territory. They were fighting to receive just compensation for earlier land cessions to the federal government and just recognition as Indian.

John Collier, commissioner of Indian affairs under Franklin Roosevelt, epitomized the change in the way the federal government viewed its responsibilities toward the Indian. The Pueblo Indian culture made a deep impression on Collier, who had successfully defended their land rights in the 1920s. He believed that Indian cultures were valuable in their own right and the federal government should concern itself with helping Indians to preserve their cultures. The allotment policies had resulted in perpetuating the poverty of the Indians and their dependent status. Before Indian cultures could be revitalized, Indians had to regain their tribal ownership of land. According to Prucha, a principle goal of Collier and his reform movement was to redress the loss of millions of acres of Indian land

that the allotment era engendered.¹⁴ This governmental policy change opened a new avenue for the Citizen Band to press its claims against the government.

Collier considered Indian claims to be a high priority and numerous bills for creating an Indian Claims Commission were introduced between 1935 and 1945. The Citizen Band Business Committee, led by Chairman L. J. Brant and Secretary Alice Wardchow (Brant's daughter) bombarded Oklahoma's congressional representatives, Elmer Thomas, Will Rogers, and Lyle H. Boren with pleas to support such legislation. On October 23, 1940, Attorney Grady Lewis wrote to Mrs. L. J. Brant that "all Indian legislation has to be done by *unanimous* [italics mine] consent of congress and there are always two or three against any such legislation."¹⁵ One can only speculate why Lewis would write thus; perhaps Oklahoma's congressional representation, including Rogers who chaired the Indian Affairs Committee during those years, was negotiating for the federal government to reimburse the state for nontaxable Indian land before supporting such legislation.¹⁶ Certainly the delegation had not forgotten the fierce opposition it encountered within the state to the Indian Reorganization Act.¹⁷

Collier also worked to restore tribal property rights (as opposed to individual property rights under allotment). The Wheeler-Howard Act passed June 18, 1934. The Senators from Oklahoma, Elmer Thomas and Thomas Gore, both opponents of Collier, felt that Oklahoma Indians were settled on allotted land, had made the transition to individual land ownership successfully and would regress forty years under the act.¹⁸ As a result of their opposition section thirteen excluded Oklahoma Indians by tribal name (including the Potawatomi) from five sections. These sections dealt with lands held in trust, Indian land sales, Indian reservations, charters of tribal incorporation, and regulations for tribal constitutions.¹⁹ Collier believed that a small group of white lawyers and others who benefited from the continuation of allotment policies led the Oklahoma opposition to the act.²⁰ Collier wrote a series of articles in 1934 to persuade Oklahoma Indians to accept the Reorganization Act and to assure them that they would gain from

participation. Thomas and Will Rogers, a Moore school teacher who became a congressman, responded to the changing attitude of the Oklahoma Indians by introducing a bill extending coverage to Oklahoma Indians. In 1935, Thomas became chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee of the Senate and Congressman-at-large Will Rogers became chairman of the House Indian Affairs Committee. Their collaboration produced the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act passed June 26, 1936.²¹

By April 28, 1938, through individual contributions the Citizen Band collected \$250 with which to hire an attorney to fight for the still unpaid claims the federal government owed the tribe. Secretary Sadie Hardin selected Oklahoma City attorney Grady Lewis, and the council approved his employment April 28, 1940.²²

On July 1, 1938, the council elected L. J. Brant as chairman; Julia Mallow as vice chairman; Alice Wardchow as secretary; and Davis Hardin, William Trousdale, and Frank Wano as business committee members. They immediately sent Joe Nona with a delegation to Washington to press for claims settlement. However, they needed to have a ratified constitution on file with the department of interior to be recognized by congress as valid Indians. So on December 12, 1938, the Citizen Band ratified its constitution under the authority of the Thomas-Rogers Act. The Citizen Band refused to charter their economic affairs, as specified under the act, due to their deep distrust of the federal government's motives. L. J. Brant commented in business committee minutes that the band believed that the act was "written purposely to confiscate our legal claims against the United States of America."²³

Under the new constitution a council of all members of the band over twenty-one years of age comprised the supreme governing body of the Citizen Band. The officers of the council, chairman, and vice-chairman serve for two years. The Citizen Band Constitution also provided for a business committee to negotiate with the United States, subject to the full council approval. A grievance committee, not including members of the business committee, was created to hear complaints against the actions of the business

committee. The official census roll of January 1, 1931, became the constitutional membership roll. Any child born of a marriage of Indian to non-Indian is a member if they choose to so affiliate themselves with the band.²⁴

Section nineteen of the Indian Reorganization Act provided that people recognized by the tribe as Indians, and people who could prove that they were one-half Indian by blood and descended from someone residing on a reservation as of June 1, 1934, were considered Indian by the federal government. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act divided the Indians of Oklahoma into two degrees. Indians of one-half blood or more were the first degree and would have their property held in trust, while Indians of the second degree, less than one-half blood would be granted a fee simple patent to their land as quickly as possible.²⁵

William Zimmerman, assistant commissioner of Indian affairs, wrote to Mr. F. E. Perkins, the superintendent of the Shawnee Agency, that there were 510 acres of unallotted land held by either the Citizen Band or the Absentee Shawnee.²⁶ The Citizen Band determined to press forward their claims to this land as well as the band's share from the sale of Kansas lands in 1867 which came to \$282,321.84. The Citizen Band also maintained claim to a portion of the 1910 settlement that congress made with the Kansas Prairie Band and the Wisconsin Forest Band.²⁷ L. J. Brant resigned his council chairmanship in 1940 and on September 11, 1940, William Trousdale became chairman.

The Citizen Band participated in the Intertribal Council, held in Oklahoma City April 17, 1941. The participating tribes were the ones served by the defunct Sac and Fox Agency, i.e. the Citizen Potawatomi, the Kickapoo, the Iowa, the Absentee Shawnee, and the Sac and Fox. The council explored ways of utilizing the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act and discussed combining federal and state resources for the betterment of their people.²⁸ Through the depths of the great depression, local officials claimed that the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act took care of the health problems of Indians and the old and indigent. Therefore, state administrators of federal welfare programs, including W.P.A. jobs,

generally turned down Indian applicants. Neither was the Shawnee jurisdiction included in Alice Marriott's administration of the federal Indian Craft Program in Oklahoma. A. C. Monahan, Regional Coordinator of the Shawnee jurisdiction, felt compelled to appeal directly to John Collier for help for central Oklahoma Indians.²⁹

The business committee of 1941, including Ollie Bourbonnais, Frank Wano, Andrew Johnson, and Vina Pennesoneous, also attempted to collect mineral royalties for mineral leases on Shawnee Indian Agency land. The committee believed that as of April 16, 1941, one well on agency land produced 235 barrels an hour. They informed the Senator Elmer Thomas that the land had been leased without their permission.³⁰ They were unsuccessful in this as the federal government did not recognize their claim to Shawnee Agency land and April 29, 1941, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Armstrong, Jr., notified Senator Thomas that there were no Potawatomi land mineral leases on record.³¹

The Citizen Band continued its letter writing campaign, under Mrs. A. W. Wardchow's signature to the Oklahoma congressional delegation pressing for the establishment of an Indian Claims Commission,³² but it was not until after World War II that congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act on August 13, 1946. Three people served on the commission. They were to consult the Constitution, federal law, treaties, and executive orders in determining the legality of claims and there was *no statute of limitations*.³³

On April 14, 1948, the tribe hired the New York law firm of Blake, Voorhees, and Stewart and the Chicago firm of Adams, Moses, and Culver to present their claims before the commission. At this time these firms maintained that there were more than six hundred million dollars in outstanding claims of all Potawatomi Bands, the Chippewa, and the Ottawa.³⁴ The Citizen Band council maintained they were entitled to a share of any claims awarded to any Potawatomi Bands. Louis Allen Youpe wrote to Howard D. Moses

delineating the dangers of joining forces with the Prairie Band and the Wisconsin Band in presenting their claims before the Indian Claims Commission.³⁵

However, the business committee instructed the attorneys to join in litigation by other Potawatomi Bands. This decision would postpone settlement of Citizen Band claims until 1968 before the U.S. Supreme Court. The court instructed the Indian Claims Commission to reapportion the ordered claims. The claims commission, in a split decision, denied a portion of the Citizen Band claim to a share in the awards granted to the various bands.³⁶

Congress, aghast at the rising cost of claims commission awards, reversed its policies beginning in 1953. During the Eisenhower years, the goal of the federal government was to terminate its obligations to the Indians once and for all. President Eisenhower was even unaware, as late as May 18, 1955, that all Indians were citizens of the United States and had been so since 1924.³⁷

Dillon S. Myer, appointed Indian commissioner May 5, 1950, wanted to progress from wardship to trusteeship. Termination of wardship status as defined by tribal affiliation began with a concurrent resolution of congress on August 1, 1953, (67 Stat B122) which terminated the trust status of the Prairie and Nebraska Bands of Potawatomi among other tribes.

Prucha stated that the psychological effect of termination policies upon the Indians of the United States was profound. Essentially, it forced the Indian to reject his tribal identification and psychological group identity in order to be a citizen of the United States and to enjoy his rights as an American. This policy unified all the Indians of the country in opposition.³⁸ But before the termination policy was reversed due to major Indian opposition augmented by white support, the department of the interior and congress removed three percent of the total national Indian population from tribal affiliation and three percent of Indian land from federal trust status.³⁹ Congress passed a resolution on

July 24, 1956, providing for termination of the Indian Claims Commission on April 10, 1957. This deadline was extended several times over the next twenty-five years.⁴⁰

On April 23, 1954, the commission awarded the various Potawatomi Bands \$344,991.87 covering the claims stemming from the removal treaties.⁴¹ On September 19, 1956, the commission awarded the Prairie and Citizen Band \$3,288,974.90.⁴² fulfilling the terms of the 1846 treaty. Because previous claim awards and appropriations had never reached the Citizen Band, the council was concerned that this award do so. Business committee Secretary Bernard Heer wrote to the Indian commissioner in order to find out exactly what the band was required to do in order to collect the pending claims commission award. Indian Commissioner Homer Jenkins replied on August 20, 1956, that "Judgment funds [of the claims commission] are not usually paid on the basis of a membership role but on one prepared showing the living descendants of the members of the tribe as it was constituted at the time the right of action occurred . . . money cannot be paid until congress, by special act, authorizes its distribution."⁴³

Congress attempted to legislate an equitable distribution of the award in its act of September 6, 1961, providing that the Citizen Band would receive 1,400/2180 parts and the Prairie Band would receive 780/2180 parts reflecting membership of the respective bands in 1867. The Citizen Band and the Prairie Band then began litigation involving the division of this award. This litigation delayed distribution of the funds. \$7,600 was on deposit in the U.S. Treasury as the unclaimed portion of the award from Indian Claims Commission Docket 111 according to the minutes of the business committee on November 20, 1965.⁴⁴

On September 13, 1960, congress, reflecting a desire to divest itself of Indian lands held in trust, granted 57.99 acres of land to the Citizen Band. This land, located in section 31, R4E T10N of Pottawatomie County, was a portion of the site of the Shawnee Indian agency. The Citizen Band built a community house on the site. On August 11, 1964, congress granted another seven tracts in section 31 totaling 120 acres back to the

tribe.⁴⁴ The Citizen Band used this tribal land to generate agricultural rental income. These rentals were the major tribal income source in the 1960s.⁴⁵

On September 27, 1956, under the chairmanship of Dan Nadeau, the Citizen Band amended its constitution giving the council power to prescribe rules and regulations of membership, adoptions and loss of membership subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior.⁴⁶ On June 29, 1961, the council extended membership to all enrollees as of January 1, 1937; children of said enrollees; children of one enrollee; and all who could prove one-eighth Potawatomi blood born after April 24, 1961. The Indian parent must be a member at the time of the child's birth, or in the case of a child born after the death of a member parent, the Indian parent must have been enrolled at the time of death.⁴⁷ In 1963, the Citizen Band requested that congress not deny tribal membership to people living outside of Pottawatomie County, the original land base of the Citizen Band. The secretary of the interior said that the tribe must provide absentee ballots for the tribal membership scattered across the United States if they wished them to be considered tribal members. The business committee stated that no funds were available to provide such.⁴⁸ It was not until the establishment of the tribal newsletter *HowλNiλKan*, that absentee ballots were distributed to out of state band members. Thus, Citizen Band members outside the state of Oklahoma had to wait until the 1970s for federal government recognition as Indian.

On August 27, 1968, the claims commission ruled that the Citizen Band was entitled to recover \$930,000 from the sale of its Oklahoma lands in 1890.⁴⁹ Congressional appropriation acts on July 22, 1969, and on September 16, 1970, held that the tribe may use the funds in any way it saw fit, subject to the approval of the department of the interior.⁵⁰

The Citizen Band, under Chairman Gerald Peltier, submitted such a plan to the department of the interior on January 16, 1976. Under this plan the band would receive forty-nine percent of the total awards given to the combined bands in 1973 by the Indian Claims Commission. The 1895 roll numbering 1,718 Citizen Band allottees determined

this percentage. The band would distribute seventy percent of the funds on a per capita basis and retain thirty percent for tribal business expenses and investments. John E. Taylor conveyed the department's approval to the business committee.⁵¹

Chairman Billy Jim Burch and the business committee submitted a modified distribution plan on September 23, 1981. This plan called for the division of the total \$14,922,847.81 in Potawatomi awards to be distributed as follows. 1,718/3,523 of the amount was the Citizen Band share; 809/3,523 the Prairie Band share; 457/3,523 the Hannahville, Indiana share; 457/3,523 the Forest Band share and 267/3,523 to Potawatomi unaffiliated with any band. These divisions were based on band membership at the time of the various treaties or agreements with the United States. The amount of money for the Citizen Band under this formula came to \$7,277,164.50. Seventy percent of this amount (\$5,094,0115.20) would be distributed on a per capita basis to individual members and thirty percent (\$2,183,149.30) would become a tribal acquisition development and maintenance program for a ten year period following the department of interior approval.⁵² Stanley Speaks, of the Anadarko Indian office called a public hearing for December 12, 1981. On January 16, 1982, the department of the interior approved the modified plan as presented after the public hearing.⁵³

President Kennedy's administration shelved termination without formally rejecting it. Indian economic self-sufficiency was stressed and Stewart Udall's task force proposed that Indians be given the same economic help as third world countries and in the same manner. Lyndon Johnson continued Kennedy's policies and the Economic Opportunity Act on August 20, 1964, gave tribal councils the right to designate themselves "Community Action Agencies."⁵⁴ However, the Indians were still very wary of any moves toward Indian self-sufficiency, fearing that the government would use such moves to implement termination policies.⁵⁵

Richard Nixon formulated a policy of self-determination without termination and began the restoration of those tribal organizations which had been terminated in the 1950s

and 1960s. On January 2, 1975, congress passed the American Indian Policy Review Commission and on January 4, 1975, the Indian Self-Determination Act.⁵⁶ Prucha commented that the tribes which were wealthy enough and organized cohesively enough to function as any other arm of the government in providing citizen services were in the best position to take advantage of the Indian Self-Determination Act.⁵⁷ The Citizen Band, with its long history of educated tribal leadership, a functioning tribal business committee, and negotiation experience with the federal government, took immediate advantage of the opportunities provided by this legislation.

Raymond Peltier, 1974 tribal chairman, wrote Senator Dewey Bartlett that returning tribal land to trust status "would make it difficult for the tribal council to dispose of this land base which gives identity to the tribe."⁵⁸ Earlier bills in 1971 and 1972 had failed, but on January 2, 1975, congress reinstated trust status to the 120 acres previously deeded to the tribe (see above).

In August of 1975, Tribal Administrator Paul E. Schmidlkofer applied to the economic development administration for economic assistance to create an industrial park. The band applied for and received \$200,576.00.⁵⁹ This, combined with the development and maintenance fund from the claims settlement, provided the means for placing the Citizen Band on a self-supporting basis. However, that did not occur without encountering major administrative and auditing problems in various financial enterprises. These difficulties are recounted in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

ENDNOTES

1. 42d Cong., 2d Sess., Ch. 206 (23 March, 1872); 51st Cong., 3d Sess. Ch. 543 (3 March, 1891); 52d Cong., 2d Sess., Ch. 329 (6 April, 1892); 53d Cong., 2d Sess., Ch. 290 (15 August, 1894); 53d Cong., 3d Sess. (2 March, 1895)
2. General Accounting Office to Courts of Justice, 26 December, 1933, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
4. *The Indian Scout* 1916, 1917, 1918.
5. Summary of Citizen Band Claims, 1940. L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
6. Report of Comptroller General to the Department of the Interior 29 November, 1935; to the office of Indian Affairs 28 March, 1936; to the Business Committee 1 June, 1936, the Shawnee Indian Agencies 6 June, 1936, "L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
7. *The Indian Scout*, April-May, 1918.
8. O. J. Green to Commissioner E. B. Merritt, *SFSA* 25
9. *The Indian Scout*, February-March, 1918.
10. To Rogers from Lewis, 9 May, 1940, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
11. *U.S. v. Nice*, 242 U.S. 591 (1916)
12. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father The United States Government and the American Indian* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 306.
13. *Ibid.*, 269.
14. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 305.
15. Lewis to Brant, 23 October 1940, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*

16. L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
17. Peter J. Wright, "John Collier and the Indian Reorganization Act" *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (autumn, 1972) 355-56.
18. Wright, "The Indian Reorganization Act", 357.
19. *Ibid.*, 358.
20. *Ibid.*, 366.
21. *Ibid.*, 370.
22. "Business Committee Minutes, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
23. Brant to Senator Thomas, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
24. "Charters, Constitutions and By-Laws of the Indian Tribes of North America: Part IV The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma," compl George E. Fay, *Occasional Publications in Anthropology Ethnology Series Seven* (Greeley, Colorado: Museum of Anthropology, Colorado State College, May, 1968) (hereafter referred to as *Citizen Band Constitution, 1961*).
25. Wright, "The Indian Reorganization Act," 362-363.
26. W. M. Zimmerman to F. E. Perkins, 1941. L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
27. Business Committee resolutions for 1940, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
28. L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
29. A. C. Monahan to John Collier, 1 July, 1940, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
30. Wardchow to Thomas 16 April, 1941, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
31. Armstrong to Thomas, 29 April, 1941, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
32. L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
33. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 341-343.
34. L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*
35. Youpe to Moses, 18 June, 1948, L. J. Brant folder, *C.B.A.*

36. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*, Docket 71-A, vol. 29, p. 409., microfiche.
37. Indian Commissioner Homer Jenkins to Bernard Heer, 20 August, 1956, Bernard Heer folder, *C.B.A.*
38. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 351.
39. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 340-346.
40. 79th Cong., 2d sess., 1957; 84th Cong., 2d sess., Ch. 679, 1962; 87th Cong., 2d sess., 1967; 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1968; 92d Cong., 2d sess., 1972; 93d Cong., 1st sess., 1973; 94th Cong., 2d sess., 1976; 95th Cong., 1st sess.; 1977.
41. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*, Docket 111, vol. 3, p. 76-77. microfiche
42. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*, Docket 71A, vol. 4, p. 407. microfiche
43. Jenkins to Heer, 20 August, 1956, Bernard Heer folder, *C.B.A.*
44. Bernard Heer, Business Committee minutes, 20 November, 1965, Bernard Heer folder, *C.B.A.*
44. 86th Cong., 2d sess., 88th Cong., 2d sess., P.L. 86-761
45. Bernard Heer, Business Committee minutes, 20 November, 1965, Bernard Heer folder, *C.B.A.*
46. *Citizen Band Constitution, 1956*. Constitution folder, *C.B.A.*
47. *Citizen Band Constitution, 1961*. Constitution folder, *C.B.A.*
48. Secretary to Bernard Heer, 1963 Bernard Heer folder, *C.B.A.*
49. Indian Claims Commission, Docket 96, vol. 19, pp. 368-384. microfiche
50. 91st Cong., 2d sess., 1970.
51. John E. Taylor to Gerald Peltier, 16 January, 1976, *C.B.A.*
52. Judgment files, *C.B.A.*

53. Ibid.
54. 85th Cong., 2d sess., P.L. 88-452.
55. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 359-360.
56. 93d Cong., 2d sess., P.L. 93-580 and P.L. 93-638.
57. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 400.
58. Raymond Peltier to Dewey Bartlett, 1 Feb. 1974, Business Committee minutes, 1974, *C.B.A.*
59. Business Committee Minutes, August, 1975, *C.B.A.*

CHAPTER VIII

ENTREPRENEURIAL EXPERIMENTS

The settlement of the legal claims against the United States and the access to loan money through the Indian Self-Determination Act gave the Citizen Band Potawatomi seed money to establish a financial basis for the tribe. The Citizen Band experienced both successes and failures in their early efforts to become self-supporting. Long-term financial stability is necessary for the continued well-being of the band and its members. This financial stability has not been achieved without cost, both financial and personal, to tribal members.

One of the first financial learning experiences involved John Schoemann. Schoemann, emphasizing his descent from Potawatomi Chief Topinbe, became a member of the business committee in June of 1978. He resigned shortly thereafter to become tribal administrator. Paul Schmidlkofer was the chairman, C. James Tacker was vice-chairman and other committee members were Billy Jim Burch, Priscilla Sherard, Audie Pecore, and Sheila Hall. During the next few years Schoemann abused his position for personal gain and negotiated a disastrous bingo management contract with Enterprise Management Consultants, Inc., resulting in tribal financial losses exceeding \$200,000, not counting the litigation costs.¹

The Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 resulted in making available to the Indians of the United States funding for loans not only to establish tribal businesses but to care for the elderly, indigent and children and to increase educational opportunities for tribal citizens. With the cooperation of three business committee members, Schoemann took advantage of several of these programs to enrich himself. The tribe received Title VI Older Americans Act Grants to Indian Tribes² funds from the department of health and

human services for feeding the elderly. Schoemann testified that unused money from these funds and excess money from various other tribal funds made up the slush fund. Michael Minnis, tribal attorney, reported that Schoemann admitted using this slush fund for varied personal uses including golf clubs.³ Schoemann did not limit his embezzlement to his secret slush fund. He used commercial bingo as a way to enrich himself at the band's expense. When forced to turn the bingo operations over to a third party, his choice of administrators embroiled the band in a decade of litigation.

In 1977, in the case of the *U.S. v. Marcyes* (557 F. 2d 1361-1365), the Ninth Circuit Court ruled that state laws against bingo are civil rather than criminal because they never ban bingo *outright*. Most state laws allow exceptions for non-profit fund raising and other uses. This ruling opened the door for Indian tribes to establish bingo games on Indian land held in federal trust.

The Citizen Band began bingo operations in Shawnee on October 5, 1979. Schoemann had management responsibility for the operation and had verbally agreed to run the games. He drew \$100 per session for his attendance at the game and \$40 per session when he was not in attendance. Schoemann paid \$290,000 in wages without paying payroll taxes. Concern for liability prompted the business committee to instruct Schoemann to file 1099 Internal Revenue Service forms for himself and others and to implement auditing and record keeping procedures. During this initial investigation of bingo profits the tribe found neither receipts nor vouchers for the period from October 5, 1979 to 1983.⁴

On October 6, 1982, Bill Burch presented to the business committee the lease agreement that John Schoemann had negotiated with Enterprise Management Consultants, Inc. (E.M.C.I.). John Clark Caldwell, III, representing E.M.C.I., agreed to provide the tribe with records showing the gross monthly profits of the bingo operations. E.M.C.I.'s neglect of this agreement was one reason the business committee

and the tribal council, on the advice of the bureau of Indian affairs, closed down the bingo operations in the spring of 1984.⁵

On June 25, 1983, the tribal council elected a new business committee. Leon Bruno was elected chairman, while Mel Maritt retained the position of vice chairman. Thelma Wano Bateman, descendant of Peter Ship She Wano (Peter Po-mom-ke-tuk), the last hereditary chief with the Citizen Band, became the secretary-treasurer.⁶ The new business committee discovered that a secret meeting had been held on February 1, 1983. Three commissioners, Mel Maritt, Bill Burch, and Mary Lynn Hillemeier, authorized Burch's signature on a lease agreement with the USDA for a storage building for USDA commodities. Tribal Administrator John Schoemann negotiated this agreement, then used its appraised worth of \$170,000, to secure a bank loan. With the bank loan he personally purchased sixteen acres of the Hardin allotment adjacent to tribal trust lands for \$38,000. Finally, he used the USDA agreement for a second loan to construct the storage building. A portion of the land would revert to the tribe after five years, but Schoemann kept fifteen acres and pocketed the USDA rent for those five years.⁷

On July 7, 1983, the new business committee relieved John Schoemann from his duties as tribal administrator. John "Rocky" Barrett, owner of Barrett Drilling Company, descendant of the Peltier and Bourassa families, and a graduate of Oklahoma City University, replaced Schoemann.⁸ Barrett subsequently hired Patricia Sulcer, a journalist recently arrived from Florida as a "media relations specialist and editor" of the newspaper *Howλ Niλ Kan*. (The symbol between the words represents the eternal flame of which the Potawatomi are keepers.) In 1971, the band began erratically issuing a mimeographed newsletter to members. In 1979, the newsletter became a true newspaper with regular monthly issues.

According to Sulcer, "How Ne Con" was an aberration of the traditional *Aho Nikane* or "Hello, My Friend".⁹ Though the title stemmed from the Potawatomi language, the newspaper has always been printed in English. Sulcer broke the story of

the FBI investigation of Schoemann's activities while tribal administrator in her first volume issued September, 1983. Schoemann, Burch, Maritt, and Mary Lynn Hillemeier immediately filed a libel suit in Pottawatomie County District Court against John Barrett, Jr., Thelma Bateman, Leon Bruno, and C. B. Hit. Schoemann also sued *HowλNiλ Kan*, *The Shawnee News Star* and the *Tecumseh Countywide News*. Burch dropped his name from the action January 4, 1984, then the remaining plaintiffs dismissed Thelma Bateman from the action. On September 10, 1985, Hillemeier dismissed her action. The tribe countersued the plaintiffs for taking a civil libel action in a state court. The federal district court agreed with them and on June 25, 1986, enjoined Schoemann and Maritt from continuing with the action.¹⁰

The tribal council also pursued impeachment proceedings against those council members who collaborated in Schoemann's manipulations. At a Special General Tribal Council, October 8, 1983, after four hours of testimony, the Citizen Band removed Maritt and Burch from the business committee and replaced them with Doyle Owens and Max Wano.¹¹

Tribal problems did not end with the removal of John Schoemann and the impeachment of Burch and Maritt. In 1985, Schoemann ran for chairmanship of the Citizen Band Business Committee. His campaign ad read "Can you use a young Indian leader with a degree in business administration from the College of Idaho, who has accomplished outstanding economic projects for the Potawatomi tribe?"¹²

Subsequent testimony in the libel suit under oath revealed that while he attended the College of Idaho, he had no degree and could not even remember any major course of study.¹³ John "Rocky" Barrett defeated John Schoemann and became tribal chairman in 1985. This was the first election in which all tribal members had the opportunity to vote by absentee ballot.

The 1961 constitution limited election participation to those who attended the annual tribal council meetings. From the time of the opening of tribal lands to American

settlers, Citizen Band members often chose to settle elsewhere rather than stay in the area and risk being defrauded once again. This choice meant that tribal members were scattered across the United States. As mentioned above, the business committee told the secretary of the interior in 1963 that they had no funds with which to provide absentee ballots for tribal members outside the Pottawatomie County area of Oklahoma. However, the financial growth of the tribe through the 1970s and early 1980s presented a new opportunity for expanding tribal voting opportunities. In May, 1985, the tribe amended its constitution once again to allow all tribal members to vote in tribal elections, regardless of residence. Each member receives the *HowλNiλKan* regularly and request forms for absentee ballots for the various elections are published in the newspaper. *HowλNiλKan* thus links the Citizen Potawatomi with his or her past and provides an opportunity to exert present influence.¹⁴

According to Sulcer, Schoemann's and the others' suit was not based on the falsehood of the allegations, but on the "ill-will" with which these allegations were made public. District Judge Milton C. Craig of the Twenty-third Judicial District, Pottawatomie County stated, in court, "It looks here to me like the libel was committed by the tribe against these here individuals and I have jurisdiction."¹⁵ However, in September, 1986, Schoemann signed a settlement agreement, entered in federal court, admitting he had "breached his fiduciary duty" while administrator. He also agreed to drop the libel suit and never to seek office or employment with the band. In return the Citizen Band agreed not to execute the judgment of \$54,545.20 against Schoemann for losses incurred over the USDA lease agreement.¹⁶

Leon Bruno, chairman of the business committee, and Barrett negotiated a new bingo lease agreement with Enterprise Management Consultants, Inc., in 1983. However, this new agreement proved to be just as unsatisfactory as the original one. On February 16, 1984, the band offered Caldwell \$250,000 for the assets in an attempt to buy him out. Caldwell refused the offer and sued the band to force its acceptance of the 1983

agreement. Finally the business committee and Caldwell signed another agreement April 8, 1985, allowing E.M.C.I. to continue to manage the game for the Citizen Band.¹⁷

While federal courts have ruled that Indian gambling does not violate the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 (18 U.S.C., 1955), the federal government felt the need to exert legal controls over gambling on Indian land, which is not subject to state control, due to gambling's historical relationship with criminal activities. In April of 1986 the B.I.A. prompted by the Indian Gaming Control Act of 1985 (H.R. 1920), published guidelines for reviewing Indian bingo management contracts and told the tribes to get their management contracts in line with these guidelines and submit them for B.I.A. approval. This gave the business committee another opportunity to try to regain control over its bingo operations.

The 1985 contract with E.M.C.I. did not meet B.I.A. guidelines. First Caldwell tried to assure the band that it had enough political pull in Washington, D.C. that the 1984 contract would be automatically approved by the B.I.A. The band refused to accept this assurance and after several meetings, E.M.C.I. broke off negotiations, saying they had no intention of *ever* submitting a contract for B.I.A. approval. During the course of these negotiations, the business committee discovered that Enterprise Property Management, a subsidiary of E.M.C.I., had not been paying any rent thus violating the original lease. Barrett reported to the tribal council that, in addition to employing convicted drug dealers to run a portion of the bingo operation, refusing to provide an accounting of the funds generated by the bingo games, "Caldwell adamantly and consistently refused to negotiate a bingo management contract which complied with the guidelines established by the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs."¹⁸

The tribe then filed suit in U.S. District Court, Western District, Oklahoma, on May 27, 1986, asking that the bingo management agreements with E.M.C.I. be declared null and void since the agreements were not approved by the B.I.A. Further, the tribe

asked that E.M.C.I. be forced to account for the profits from its management; and the back rent paid to the tribe plus interest.¹⁹ E.M.C.I. filed an "Answer, Counterclaim, and First Amended Third-Party Complaints" against the Oklahoma tax commission for trying to collect sales tax on bingo profits; the department of the interior for refusing to approve their contract with the tribe; and Donald Hodel personally, as secretary of the department of the interior.²⁰

E.M.C.I. successfully asked for a transfer of the case to federal Judge Luther Bohanon. It quickly became apparent that Judge Bohanon was biased either toward E.M.C.I. or against the band or both. Minnis quoted Judge Bohanon's statement during the first suit that "he had decided in favor of Enterprise even though he had heard only part of E.M.C.I.'s evidence and none of the tribe's."²¹ On April 10, 1987, the case was closed administratively to allow E.M.C.I. to appeal the B.I.A.'s refusal to approve the 1984 contract. On October 13, 1987, Assistant Secretary Hodel denied the appeal. E.M.C.I. then sued the department of the interior on December 14, 1987. This suit was dismissed May 23, 1988, without E.M.C.I. getting approval for the contract.²²

On August 30, 1988, Judge Bohanon ordered the tribe to allow E.M.C.I. to conduct the tribe's bingo game and ordered federal marshals for protection in so doing. The band asked for an emergency writ with the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals (10th Cir.Ct. App. Aug. 31, 1988) which was granted.²³ In an effort to get Judge Bohanon removed from the case, the band appealed to the Tenth Circuit Court to intervene. On September 16, 1988, Judge Bohanon removed himself from the case citing "his impartiality might reasonably be questioned."²⁴ Judge Wayne Alley took over the case when Judge Bohanon dismissed himself. Judge Bohanon's injunction granting E.M.C.I. control of the bingo game was stayed September 21, 1988. When the band then renewed the motion for a summary judgment against E.M.C.I. October 18, 1988, the court discovered that E.M.C.I. was a shell corporation covering John Caldwell III and Leroy

Wheeler, the only two members of E.M.C.I. On June 9, 1989, the band added Caldwell and Wheeler as parties to the suit.

On June 4, 1990, the court awarded the tribe \$3,575,286.88 for money wrongfully received under the unapproved contracts. Furthermore, the court awarded the Citizen Band a second judgment against E.M.C.I. Property Management for unpaid rentals of \$2,899,941.25. The band attempted collection from Caldwell and Wheeler as individuals by showing that E.M.C.I. was a shell corporation set up purposely to evade contractual obligations. Both Wheeler and Caldwell took bankruptcy under Chapter 7 to avoid payment.²⁵

Litigation arising from John Schoemann's initial agreement with Enterprise Management Consultants, Inc., in 1984, finally ended eight years later in 1992. The Citizen Band successfully regained control over the bingo game and gained judgments against Enterprise Management Consultants, Inc., E.M.C.I. Property Management, Inc., Leroy Wheeler, and John Clark Caldwell III.²⁶

Bingo was not the only revenue producing activity that the band explored during the decade of the 1980s. On January 24, 1980, the band received a grant of \$50,000 from the Oklahoma Land and Water Conservation Fund to create a public golf course on tribal trust land. Fire Lake Golf Course was the only public course in Pottawatomie County. Each succeeding year the band has improved the course.

The Tribal Government Tax Status Act of 1982 (96 Stat. 2607) gave Indian tribes the same authority as local governments to issue tax exempt revenue bonds. Chairman Rocky Barrett immediately encouraged the Citizen Band to take advantage of this new fiscal opportunity. Barrett addressed the tribal council in 1983 saying "Our tribe has less than 4,000 acres, our numerous federal programs are phasing out; we don't have lumber or coal to sell. What we do have is sovereignty. We must use this sovereignty to work with private enterprise."²⁷ The Citizen Band established an enterprise zone, using these revenue bonds to improve Fire Lake and establish a convenience store.

In 1984, the convenience store, selling gasoline, tobacco, and other items, opened with Janice E. Gale as director. In October, 1987, the office of inspector general for the department of the interior began an extensive audit of tribal enterprises, focusing on the convenience store apparently in response to information given to the FBI by Toby Kinslow, vice-chairman of the business committee. On September 30, 1987, the business committee held a hearing to consider eight allegations against Kinslow. They found Kinslow guilty of five instances of criminal defamation and one instance of obstruction of government function. On October 19, 1987, Kinslow appealed to the tribe's Supreme Court (established August 6th, 1986) which found that according to Article Nine of the Citizen Band Constitution, the business committee did have the right to remove any elected body of the tribe for misconduct in office.²⁸ Upon learning that Gale was under investigation for embezzlement, the council suspended her from her duties November 4, 1987. However, the business committee ran into a roadblock in its efforts to cooperate with the government's investigation. Barrett wrote in a memorandum to the committee, "On the day of the only meeting between the inspector general's office and tribal officials, and because of the allegations raised at that meeting, Jan Gale was suspended without pay. For six months after the suspension we were given no information. . . . Legally, we were, as tribal government officials entitled to be informed of the details of the investigation. We were denied that right in conflict with our right to self-government."²⁹

The business committee then began an independent investigation of the convenience store. The documentation with a September, 1986, cigarette shipment seemed to indicate that more than \$26,000 in cigarettes had been wrongfully diverted. Jan Gale resigned after being suspended six months. The assistant manager admitted to falsifying records of the September, 1985, shipment. The original indictment was dismissed, but the investigation was not officially terminated.³⁰

In addition to problems with outside contractors and employees, the Citizen Band and the state of Oklahoma had an ongoing feud concerning state taxation of tribal enterprises. On February 1, 1987, the Oklahoma Tax Commission (O.T.C.) assessed the cigarettes sold at the convenience store \$2.6 million in unpaid cigarette and sales tax from 1981 to 1985. The tribe filed suit against the O.T.C. in U.S. District Court, (U.S. Dist. Ct. W.D. Okl. 18 Feb., 1987) which then immediately served the \$2.6 million dollar tax bill on the tribe itself. On May 6, 1988, Judge Lee West entered a permanent injunction barring the tax commission from assessing the tribe with a tax. However, Judge West ordered the tribe to cooperating with the O.T.C. in collecting and remitting cigarette tax on cigarette sales by the tribe to non-tribal members. Both parties appealed to the Tenth Circuit Court (888 F.2d 1303 10th Cr. 1989).

The Tenth Circuit Court on January 4, 1990, prohibited O.T.C. from any taxing or regulatory control of "Indian Country." Oklahoma appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. On February 26, 1991, the Supreme Court affirmed all the material aspects of the Tenth Circuit Court's ruling, but reversed some language which implied that Oklahoma was not a Public Law 280 state. On May 26, 1991, the Tenth Circuit Court reissued the order prohibiting Oklahoma from taxing tribal enterprises. On July 14, 1992, the Tenth Circuit Court upheld the dismissal of the appeal by the O.T.C.¹¹

The latest conflict between state regulatory law and the Citizen Band involves Class III gaming devices, specifically pull-tab devices to be used in the bingo operations of the tribe. The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) of 1988 affirmed that an Indian tribe does not need the state's permission to conduct class I or class II gaming on Indian land. Class I includes social games played solely for prizes of minimum value and games associated with tribal ceremonies or celebrations. Class II includes bingo and its variations including pull-tabs, lotto, punch boards, and tip jars, if played in the same location as a tribal bingo operation. Class III involves casino games, pari-mutual horse racing and most electronic or mechanical games of chance. Before a tribe can operate

such a venture on Indian land, it must reach an agreement with the state wherein its land is located.³²

In June, 1991, Oklahoma Governor David Walters appointed Linda Epperly to represent the state in negotiations with Indian tribes over gaming regulations. Epperly agreed to serve without pay since she was already an employee of the state tourism commission and state law prohibits employees from receiving more than one state salary. On September 9, 1991, the Citizen Band requested that Oklahoma enter in to negotiations for a gaming compact. Epperly did not find the time to do so and January 15, 1992, Governor David Walters informed Michael Minnis, tribal attorney of Epperly's resignation. On February 14, 1992, Governor Walters named Robert A. Nance as the paid negotiator for Oklahoma. On March 2, 1992, Nance and the Citizen Band began negotiations in earnest.³³

Oklahoma law strictly prohibited most gambling as a matter of state policy and the only gambling considered for the compact was video lottery terminals. However, the U.S. attorneys for all state districts verbally expressed concern that bringing video terminals into the state violated the Johnson Act of January 2, 1951³⁴ forbidding shipment of gambling devices into a state which outlaws them and forbidding the manufacture of such items in Indian Country. Indian Country is legally defined in the revision of the U.S. Criminal Code of 1948 as reservations assigned by the U.S. government to specific tribes and land held in trust by the U.S. government for specific tribes.³⁵ However, the attorneys refused to issue a written opinion. Therefore, Oklahoma and the tribe did agree to a compact, which the secretary of the interior approved October 23, 1992.³⁶

The compact stated that the tribe would seek a declaratory judgment that importation of the video lottery terminals did not violate the Johnson Act. The federal courts ruled in February, 1993, that video lottery machines are illegal in Oklahoma and importation of them into Indian Country violated the Johnson Act. The tribe appealed the ruling to the 10th Circuit Court in Denver but on June 7, 1993, the court upheld the

prohibition and on August 9, 1993, refused a rehearing. The court effectively voided the gaming compact.³⁷

Once the Citizen Band gained control over thirty percent of the claims settlement and also received grants and loans from the B.I.A. through the 1975 Indian Self-Determination Act and Title VI Elderly Indian Welfare Act, several major mistakes occurred due to tribal inexperience in oversight. After they rectified the early accounting procedures which led to Schoemann's abuses, the Citizen Band has successfully administered the federal programs designed to help the welfare of tribal members. Their exemplary administration of these programs insured that the band continued to receive B.I.A. grants for such programs as the Women, Infants and Children Program (WIC); the Job Training Partnership Act (JPTA); the Title VI Elderly Feeding Program; the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program; the Community Health Representative Program (CHR); the Indian Child Welfare Program; and the Indian Child Welfare Program.³⁸

The Citizen Band also took advantage of low interest loans offered by the B. I.A. after the Indian Self-Determination Act to create business profits for tribal coffers. While the convenience store presented problems, the Fire Lake golf course and restaurant has steadily enhanced both tribal coffers and tribal community ties with Pottawatomie County. In 1986 the tribal council passed an Economic Development Act creating a board of commissioners composed of five members, three of whom must be Citizen Band Potawatomi, with staggered five year terms. The commission has the responsibility of acquiring businesses for the profit of the band without using trust funds or endangering the long range financial stability of the Citizen Band. Enterprise Accounting provides financial oversight of the commission and the businesses it acquires.³⁹

By the end of the 1980s the Citizen Band was in such a strong financial and community position that in February, 1989, they were able to purchase controlling interest in the First Oklahoma Bank of Shawnee. They used a direct loan from the B.I.A.

of \$1,107,732.45 which the tribe paid in full January 3, 1992, giving them 12,750 shares of bank stock and ninety-three percent controlling interest. Additionally, the tribe owns stock in PC Care, a computer store in Ardmore, Oklahoma, bringing to six the business concerns owned by the Citizen Band.⁴⁰

Because the Citizen Band has established a strong economic base enabling it to function as a local government resource for its members, the question of band membership has become economically as well as psychologically critical. The next chapter addresses the question that persists to the present. Who are the Citizen Band Potawatomi?

CHAPTER VIII

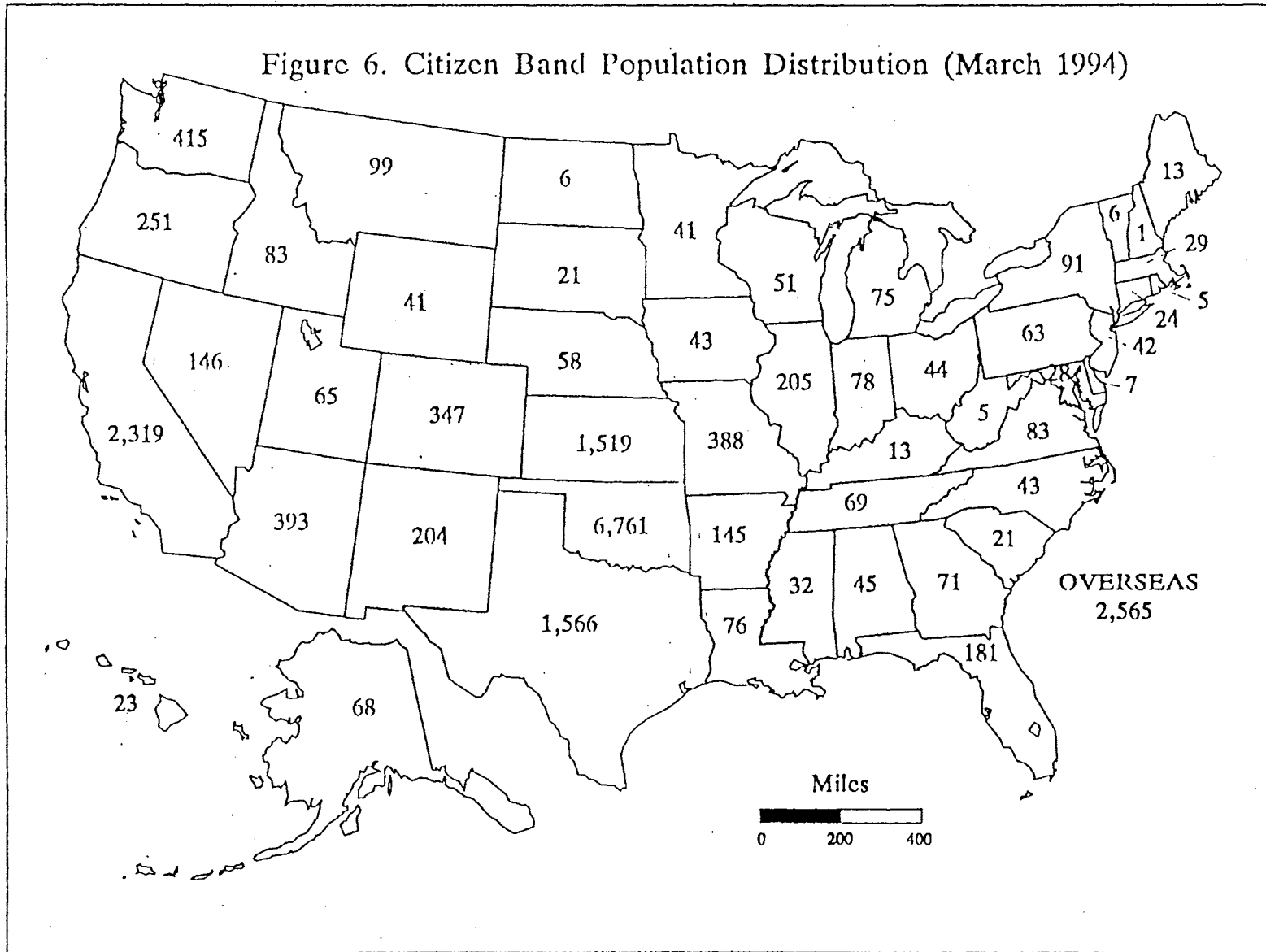
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Figure 6. Citizen Band Population Distribution (March 1994)



CHAPTER IX

WHO ARE THE POTAWATOMI?

When congress appropriates money for the exclusive use of a particular group of people, such appropriation acts include a definition of those who are to receive the benefits. As the relationship between the federal government and the Indians has changed over the years so has the legislative definition of Indian. The latest definition appears in the Indian Education Act of 1988.¹ For legislative purposes an Indian is (1) any person who is a recognized member of a tribe, band, or other organized group; (2) a descendant, in the first or second degree of such a person described in the first description; (3) considered by the secretary of the interior to be an Indian for any purpose; (4) an Eskimo, Aleut or Alaska Native; and (5) is determined to be an Indian by the national advisory council on Indian education. This study has shown that, for legislative purposes, any member of the Citizen Band of the Potawatomi is Indian. However, being Indian means much more than just legislative recognition. Self-identity as an Indian depends upon many different cultural subtleties. Many different Indian cultures exist in the United States. All share common legislative and judicial recognition; all share certain aspects of the tragic results of being a conquered people. Additionally, for Indian individuals tribal identification and cultural identification are critical in maintaining their identity.

The members of the Citizen Band in the last fifteen years have demonstrated an ever-increasing awareness of need for information concerning their heritage. In 1976, the Citizen Band opened a museum and gift shop on tribal trust lands, located between Shawnee and Tecumseh, Oklahoma. In addition to providing income for the tribe, the museum became a depository for tribal archives, including the 1872 and 1887 allotment

rolls collected and microfilmed by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints in 1979.²

In September, 1983, Leon Bruno, Mel Maritt, Thelma Wano Bateman, C. B. Hitt, and Bill Burch, (the Citizen Tribe Business Committee) traveled to South Bend, Indiana, for a reunion with the remaining bands of the Potawatomi: The Forest Band of Wisconsin; the Hannahville Band in the upper Michigan Peninsula; the Pokagon Band of Michigan; the Prairie Band of Kansas; and the Citizen Band of Oklahoma.³ In January, 1994, the Citizen Band officially joined the Minnetrista Council for Great Lakes Studies as a sponsoring tribe along with the Prairie Band and the Pokagon Bands of Michigan and Wisconsin. Susan Campbell, Director of the Northwest Region for the Citizen Band, will represent them at the Minnetrista Council.⁴

In 1983, David Edmunds, author of *Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire*, the definitive Potawatomi history to 1840, donated his documents and sources to the Citizen Band for deposit in the museum.⁶ The Borge-Warner Corporation donated a computer system to enable the tribe to begin computerizing the genealogical records. Also in 1983, the tribe hired Patricia Sulcer, not only to edit the *HowλNiλKan* but to establish a public information office. A National Endowment for the Humanities grant enabled completion of the oral history project, *Grandfather Tell Me A Story*, whereby Citizen Band high school students interviewed various older members of the tribe. By 1987, the functions of the public information office required two full-time employees, Sulcer and Mary Farrell.⁶

Father Joseph Murphy, O. S. B., of St. Gregory's College and Abbey, Shawnee, did his doctoral thesis on "The Potawatomi of the West: Origins of the Citizen Band" for the University of Oklahoma in 1961. The tribe's public information office reaffirmed the historical connection between the tribe and Sacred Heart Mission with the publication of Father Murphy's "The Benedictine Foundations of Sacred Heart Mission and St. Gregory's Abbey and College" in 1988 and the publication of Father Murphy's dissertation in 1989. In 1988, the tribe held a reception and dedication for Father Joe, as he was affectionately

known, naming the main drive through the tribe's elderly retirement compound for him. Also in 1988, the tribe successfully negotiated with Shawnee, Tecumseh and Pottawatomie County to designate June 24, 25, and 26 (or the third week in June) as Citizen Band Potawatomi Days. The tribe conducts a powwow each year at this time.⁷

President Ronald Reagan stated in January, 1983, that "This administration intends to restore tribal governments to their rightful place among the governments of this nation and to enable tribal governments along with state and local governments, to resume control over their own affairs."⁸ The Citizen Band immediately took six steps resuming control "over their own affairs." These included creating a basic law and order code; procedures and ordinances for a tribal police force; creation of a Potawatomi land acquisition commission; passing a Potawatomi Tax Act and creating a tax commission; passing the Potawatomi Economic Development Act; and incorporating the tribe. In 1938, the band refused incorporation under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (49 Stat. 1967-68) due to deep distrust of the federal government and how it would treat unsettled claims. By 1983, Citizen Band claims against the federal government had been settled. Therefore, the tribal council incorporated under the Citizen Band Economic Development Act. This act created a board of commissioners empowered to borrow or lend money for the betterment of the tribe. On March 11, 1986, the council approved the Potawatomi Tribal Corporate Act for advancing the standard of living of the tribe through development of tribal resources, the acquisition of new tribal land, the preservation of existing land holdings and the development of a credit program for the tribe.⁹

The Citizen Band Police Department, established December 5, 1983, began with three police officers (now expanded to five), who are also deputies of the Pottawatomie County sheriff's department, enabling them to function in other county areas than just tribal land.¹⁰ On April 20, 1983, the tribe established a tribal court system consisting of three district judges and seven Supreme Court justices.¹¹ In 1992, the tribe elected Philip Lujan as chief judge of District Court, and Gregory H. Bigler and Steve Lamirand as

presiding Judges. William Rice became chief justice of the Supreme Court with Truman Carter, Linda Epperly, Almon Henson, and F. Browning Pipestem as presiding justices. Thompson and Lawrence Wahpepah were also elected as judges.¹² The tribe added a public defender and magistrate to its court system as well as upgrading the tribal law library in 1993.¹³

Until January, 1984, the Citizen Band Potawatomi, Absentee Shawnee, Sac and Fox, Iowa, and Kickapoo Indian tribes contracted through the Shawnee agency for B.I.A. services. However, the B.I.A., under Walter Mills, reduced the Shawnee agency from twenty-eight employees to two employees. This agency served 5,000 Indians, 2,500 of whom were Citizen Band Potawatomi in Pottawatomie County. On June 30, 1988, the Citizen Band petitioned the B.I.A. to move its contract to the Anadarko agency. Barrett gave six reasons for so doing. (1) The Shawnee Agency was "sadly inept"; (2) it had occasionally, deliberately gone against Citizen Band wishes; (3) most staffing and services had already been diverted to the Anadarko Agency; (4) the agency refused representation in federal courts concerning tribal matters; (5) these problems have been exacerbated in the last five years (1983-1988); and (6) Ross Swimmer, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had a policy of encouraging tribes to conduct their own business without interference from the B.I.A. and its sub-agencies.¹⁴ However, the Citizen Band relations with the Anadarko Agency were not without their problems.

On October 30, 1992, the Citizen Band sued L. W. Collier, Jr., the Anadarko Area B.I.A. director, for claiming that the Absentee Shawnee had the same reservation boundaries as the Citizen Band. The Absentee Shawnee petitioned Congress through the B.I.A. to put several tracts of land into trust including the Tecumseh Square Shopping Center. Collier denied the initial protest of the Citizen Band thus triggering the lawsuit.¹⁵ Chairman Rocky Barrett summarized the history of the land dispute according to Citizen Band records (detailed in Chapter V above).

The 1867 treaty the Citizen Band signed with the United States gave a "tract of land, not exceeding thirty miles square in Indian Territory to be set apart as a reservation for the exclusive use and occupancy of the Potawatomi."¹⁶ When the Potawatomi moved to the area given to them by the 1867 treaty, they found a group of Absentee Shawnee living there. These Absentee Shawnee were so-called because they had absented themselves from the Shawnee-U.S. Treaty negotiations and thus forfeited the rights given to the Shawnee Tribe in Indian Territory. This was the argument that Michael Minnis, tribal attorney, used before the Supreme Court.¹⁷

Charles Delano, secretary of the interior, directed that the Absentee Shawnee be allowed to stay on the land, violating the 1867 treaty with the Potawatomi.¹⁸ Special Agent Nathan S. Porter allotted land to both individual Absentee Shawnee and Citizen Potawatomi under the 1887 Dawes Allotment Act.¹⁹ The Citizen Band also claimed that the land on Interstate Highway 40 was not deeded to the Absentee Shawnee by an anonymous donor from Kentucky. Rather, the funds for the land came from California with professional gambling connections.²⁰

The district court dismissed the action, without deciding the merits, on the basis that the Potawatomi had failed to join an indispensable party, the Absentee Shawnee. The Absentee Shawnee had been invited by the Citizen Band to participate but had declined. On February 28, 1994, the Tenth Circuit Court reversed the district court's dismissal of the Potawatomi action. (10th Cir.Ct. Okla. 1994). At the same time the Tenth Circuit Court reinstated a temporary injunction preventing any land being placed in trust for the Absentee Shawnee until this case has been decided. The court noted that the "1872 act does not create any individual trust or restricted interest of the Absentee Shawnee Tribe in the Potawatomi Tribe's land. . . ."²¹

In 1988, the tribe voted to have the secretary of the interior call a constitutional election to change the constitutional requirements for tribal membership from blood degree to descent. The secretary refused to do so, claiming that the proposed change was

prohibited by federal law. Michael Minnis, tribal attorney, challenged the ruling and the secretary disavowed the claim.²² A constitutional amendment passed April 3, 1989, opening the tribal rolls to lineal descendants of members listed on existing tribal rolls.

In 1978, 10,500 people were on Citizen Band rolls, with 1,360 listed as living in Pottawatomie County and adjacent "old Pottawatomie" reservation lands of Cleveland and Seminole Counties of Oklahoma. In February, 1994, the Citizen Band had 18,977 enrolled members scattered over the United States and foreign countries (Figure 6). Only 6,761 members live in Oklahoma so the tribe maintains nine regional offices to serve its members. These offices are located in Denver; Houston; Northern California; Portland, Oregon; Seattle; Southern California; Northern Texas; Southwestern located in Glendale, Arizona; and Midwest, located in Belton, Missouri.²³

The explosion in new membership has brought with it several identity problems. The office of tribal rolls now has two full-time employees, Mary Farrell and Shannon Wood, and one part-time employee. When the tribal roll office determines that an applicant qualifies for membership, the office introduces a resolution to the business committee. Upon approval by the committee all new enrollees by descent are issued a tribal membership card and a blood degree letter.²⁴

The issue of blood degree is an emotional one for many members. The B.I.A. health services require that Indians show proof of blood degree before using the services. (However, the B.I.A. does not have a minimum blood degree requirement.) If a member disagrees with the blood degree assigned to him or her by the tribal rolls office, he or she may appeal to the B.I.A. to change the designation of blood degree. Several Citizen Band members have done this in the last few years. The Bruno family records led to several appeals as Mose Bruno was listed with a higher blood degree than his brothers and sisters on the 1937 Potawatomi Roll (which indicated blood degree of those listed). Through the intervening years, the B.I.A. corrected the descendants' blood degree. However, these corrections included lowering the blood degree of Mose's descendants, one of whom is

former Chairman Leon Bruno. Farrell notified the fifty heads of families involved.²⁵ Leon then began a campaign to discredit the current business committee and its employees writing, "I contend that it was not the B.I.A. who lowered by blood degree as Chairman Barrett says. . . . Tribal officials and tribal employees lowered my blood degree."²⁶

Chairman Barrett represents those who oppose blood degree being used to define "who is a Potawatomi?" In an editorial for descent being the requirement for tribal membership Barrett wrote:

What makes us a TRIBE is not blood degree. It is history. We come from a people who had their own continuous government centuries before the United States government was formed. We are a people with with our own language, art, customs and beliefs. You and I are no more or no less "Potawatomi" as a result of blood degree. The use of scholarship and health aids funds will have the restrictions established by those who set the money aside until it is no longer needed by that generation or generations.²⁷

When the business committee ratifies membership of a descendant, the person is sent a membership certificate, a blood degree card, and a subscription to *HowλNiλKan*. Various members felt the need for newspaper articles concerning tribal history and "old beliefs."²⁸ Under the editorship of Gloria Trotter in the last four years, each issue of the *HowλNiλKan* has an article of historical interest. Several issues contain reprints of articles by "Lone Eagle" (written in the 1950s) describing proto-Columbian Algonquin spiritual traditions. Additionally, the tribal chaplain, Norman Kiker reconciles these beliefs with contemporary Christian traditions in his monthly column in the newspaper *HowλNi λKan*.²⁸

Robert Jarvenpa noted that self-identification of Indian is only one component in an identity fashioned by occupation, religious affiliation, and political residence.³⁰ Recent letters and comments in the tribal newspaper reflect this plurality. For many, religious

identification is the most important component of their self-identification. Many members of the Citizen Band reflect this. Chairman Barrett wrote about a young Potawatomi who was interested in "Shaman Studies" being conducted by an Indian group in Connecticut. The man wished for the tribe to pay for his vision quest since, for him, a vision quest was an integral part of being Indian. Barrett took strong exception to the belief that Christian missionaries had forced Christian culture on the Potawatomi in the nineteenth century and he reiterated that the Citizen Band members were Christian long before they left the Great Lakes area and that Christianity was an integral part of their spiritual traditions.³¹

In the oral tribal history, *Grandfather, Tell Me a Story*, the young interviewers specifically asked for the elder interviewees to tell about Indian spiritual traditions they remembered. All of them remembered their families and friends being Catholic.³² Autwin B. Pecore, a descendant of the pro-American Illinois Potawatomi Chief Gomo said the following in response to spiritual traditions question. "The Citizen Band never did follow religious traditions like the other bands. . . . They do have a powwow which was started for a get together for the families when they had the general council. . . . There's not very much Potawatomi dancing. Everyone's [the dancers] from other tribes."³³ This reflects a characteristic of the *Métis* culture. However, with the expansion of membership to descendants, some of this religious cohesiveness has been lost.

A Citizen Band member immediately responded to Chairman Barrett's editorial by averring that his children, listed on the rolls as Potawatomi, had a Jewish mother and were, therefore, Jewish. He felt Barrett was out of line saying that the Citizen Band were Christian.³³ Certainly one can be Potawatomi or any other Indian without being Christian. However, it is true that Citizen Band spirituality was generally expressed through Christian traditions.

Another source of identity confusion involves loyalty to the United States and its political values. Chairman Barrett answered a young Potawatomi who wondered "why we should obey any of the laws of the United States since we were separate from it."³⁵

Barrett replied, "Sovereign does not mean separate. It means the U. S. Constitution and the laws of the U. S. Congress have given us a special status equal into most cases to the sovereign states".³⁶ He further indicated that the heritage of the Citizen Band emphasized their desire to function as citizens of the United States and it is for that reason that they are the Citizen Band.

The Citizen Band has paid a high price economically and culturally for its commitment to the United States. In her introduction to *Grandfather, Tell Me A Story*, Patricia Sulcer wrote:

The Citizen Band, never quite "white" enough by the white man's standards and never quite considered Indian by their native brothers after their acceptance of citizenship, have paid perhaps the highest price for Americanization. . . . The adaptation and eventual mastery of the white man's system denied them the comfort and security of their traditional ways.³⁷

In 1977, for the *Kansas Quarterly*, Dorothy V. Jones described Joseph Napoleon Bourassa, a member of the St. Joseph-Mission Band Potawatomi in Kansas as accepting change rather than resisting it. For this he was despised by the Euroamerican community and condemned by the more traditional Potawatomi community. She has recorded that as far back as 1831 in Chicago, Bourassa was refused his annuity because he dressed as a white man.³⁸ She has written of the Potawatomi who would become the Citizen Band.

Refugees from the cultural wars of both centuries [nineteenth and twentieth]; caught in the crossfire of competing cultures, they secure what favorable terms they can from societies that have no place for them and proceed to make lives for themselves in the no man's land between tribes and nations.³⁹

History has been defined many different ways but one of the best definitions is a study of change over time. Jones has written that one must know a historian's attitude toward change in order to detect the bias of a work.⁴⁰ For some the ability to adjust to change is admirable; for others the rush to abandon old traditions is reprehensible. One of the lessons that history teaches is individuals and cultures must be willing to change or they die. Yet people also have a strong desire to retreat to a past that is glorified as a simpler, golden age. This is the cultural tension in which the Citizen Potawatomi have lived for the past three hundred years. How they view themselves depends upon their individual attitudes toward the changes that survival has dictated.

During the last two decades there has been a resurgence of interest and pride in being Indian, as well as pride in their ancestors' flexibility and adaptivity which enabled them to survive as a distinct people, taking strength from both their Indian and Euroamerican traditions. Tom T. Hamilton, a Citizen Band member, expresses this pride when he answered the question "Who are the Potawatomi?"

Today they are almost like any other people you may see. They are found in all walks of life and in all parts of America, and the world They all, however, have one thing in common: they are proud of their Potawatomi and Indian heritage. So the government's policy of "assimilation" did not rid the world of Citizen Band Potawatomi Perhaps we have truly reached the fourth stage. . . after trying to kill them, assimilate them, terminate them as tribes, and all these failing, maybe we're now . . . restoring dignity to the Native American Community."⁴¹

The history of the Citizen Band of the Potawatomi Indian tribe demonstrates the persistence of cultural identity when the group is willing to make adaptations to current

realities. Initially, individual Potawatomi accepted facets of the French culture as seemed most beneficial to them. These traits became embedded within a subgroup of the Potawatomi who perceived that the Roman Catholic religion and the agricultural knowledge of Euroamericans contained positive coping mechanisms for survival. This change dictated tension with other groups of Potawatomi who rejected such coping mechanisms. The descriptive word for those who chose to combine their Indian culture with French culture by intermarriage or religious conversion are known in American history as *Métis*. The *Métis*, even though they had familial and historical bonds with both French and Potawatomi were often rejected by both groups. This rejection increased the importance of social support within the *Métis* and thus strengthened the culture. During the westward expansion of the United States, this group valued its culture enough to choose to migrate where they would not be threatened. This migration was only partially successful. The *Métis*, a product of adaptable Potawatomi culture, were forced to adapt to another dominant culture, present-day American. Their historical experiences insured that they could make such an adaptation successfully while still retaining their commitment to the most important aspects of both their Potawatomi and French heritage. That they successfully function as a tribal group today shows a willingness to adapt to new realities while maintaining traditional values. The Citizen Band Potawatomi strongly identify with all three groups; American, *Métis*, and Indian.

CHAPTER IX

ENDNOTES

1. 102d Cong. 2d. sess., P. L. 100-297; 102d Cong. 3d. sess., P.L. 100-427.
2. How Ne Con, September, 1976, mimeographed.
3. *HowλNiλKan*, September, 1983.
4. *HowλNiλKan*, April, 1994, 3.
5. *HowλNiλKan*, September, 1983.
6. Annual Report, 25 June, 1988, *C.B.A.*
7. *Ibid.*, 3.
8. *HowλNiλKan*, December, 1983.
9. *Citizen Band Constitution including the Charter*, *C.B.A.*
10. Annual Report, 1985, p. 8, *C.B.A.*
11. Annual Report, 1993, p. 19, *C.B.A.*
12. General Council Meeting Minutes, 27 June, 1992, *C.B.A.*
13. Annual Report, 1994, *C.B.A.*
14. Barrett to Walter Mills, Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 16 June, 1988, Five Tribes Contract folder, *C.B.A.*
15. *HowλNiλKan*, January, 1993, 1.
16. *Treaties Between the Potawatomi Tribe and the United States.*
17. *HowλNiλKan*, January, 1993, 1.

18. Delano to Parker, *R.C.I.A.*, 1870; Walker to Hoag, 30 March, 1872, "Letter Book 106", *O.I.A.*, 313-314. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society..
19. Berlin B, Chapman, "Pottawatomie and Absentee Shawnee Lands," folder 15, 24, pt. 2, *O.I.A.*
20. *HowλNiλKan*, January, 1993, 16.
21. *HowλNiλKan*, March, 1994, 16.
22. Annual Report, 1989, p. 7-8, *C.B.A.*
23. *HowλNiλKan*, April, 1994, 8; February, 1994, 12.
24. Annual Report, 1990, p. 3, *C.B.A.*
25. *HowλNiλKan*, June, 1993, 14.
26. Ibid.
27. *HowλNiλKan*, June, 1987, 8.
28. *HowλNiλKan*, April, 1994, 4.
29. *HowλNiλKan*, 1993.
30. Robert Jarvenpa, "The Political Economy and Political Ethnicity of American Indian Adaptations and Identities," *Ethnicity and Race in the USA Toward the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Richard D. Alba (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 31.
31. *HowλNiλKan*, September, 1993, 12.
32. *Grandfather, Tell Me A Story*, Mary Neddeau Fairchild, 11; Willie Langston, 20; Lorene L. Young Marsh, 26; Nell Rhodd McCalip, 33; Louise Young Patterson, 44; Ozetta Peltier, 55; Grace Bruno Veitenheimer, 65; William O. Wamego, 67.
33. Autwin B. Pecore, *Grandfather, Tell Me A Story*, 50.
34. *HowλNiλKan*, October, 1993.
35. John A. Barrett, Jr., "We Are Proud to Be Americans," *HowλNiλKan*, September, 1993, 12.
36. Ibid.

37. Patricia Sulcer, *Grandfather, Tell Me A Story*, viii.
38. Dorothy V. Jones, "A Potawatomi Faces the Problem of Cultural Change Joseph N. Bourassa in Kansas", *Kansas Quarterly* 3 (fall, 1971) 4:52.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., 53.
41. Tom T. Hamilton, "Growing up Potawatomi," *HowλNiλKan*, December, 1993, 10.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

The Record of the Black Robes

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1603	Dumaw Creek area "Prairie Culture "People of the Three Fires	Algonquin speaking tribes around Straits of Mackinac composed the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi tribes.		Quebec founded. Samuel de Champlain supported the Algonquin speakers.
1609	Poutouwoutouminc "People of the Place of the Fire" lived in the Sault Ste. Marie area.	Iroquois – Huron war fought. Huron refugees fled to Petuns and formed Wyandots.		Jean Nicolet discovered Green Bay, "Lac de Puan"
1642			Jesuits began Ottawa mission and arrived at Sault Ste. Marie.	
1652	Potawatomi's migrated south down the shore of Lake Michigan.	Iroquois cut French trade routes to the Great Lakes.		Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medart Grosiellers traded in the Great Lakes area.

APPENDIX 1

The Record of the Black Robes

<u>Date</u>	<u>Potawatomi</u>	<u>Other Tribes</u>	<u>Missionaries</u>	<u>Euroamericans</u>
1659	Potawatomis visited Montreal seeking trade with New France.	Iroquois – Algonquin war forced Algonquin to seek alliance with New France.		Louis XIV gave the Great Lakes area to the Jesuits.
1668			Father Claude Allouez established St. Xavier mission.	
1671				Francois Daument, Sieur de St. Lussou, claimed Potawatomi lands for New France.
1679	Onanghisse sided with LaSalle in the Jesuit conflict with the Jesuit missionaries.			LaSalle worked to create a trade empire for New France. The Jesuits opposed him.
1680	Henri de Tonty fled to Green Bay Potawatomi for refuge from the Iroquois.			
1681	Potawatomi established a village on the southwestern edge of Lake Michigan.			

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The Record of the Black Robes

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1689			Father Allouez established the St. Joseph mission east of Lake Michigan.	Jesuit – Jansenist conflict at the court of Louis XIV led to a decline in New France missions.
1696				Louis XIV revoked the fur trading licenses in New France.
1698				Frontenac, "Father of New France" died.
1700	Onanghisse and Winamec represented the Potawatomi at peace negotiations with the Iroquois.			
1701				Antoine de Mothe Cadillac built Fort Detroit.
1711	Potawatomi traveled to Montreal to help defend it against the English invasion threat.		French required Indians to travel to central trade areas such as Detroit and New Orleans.	

APPENDIX 1

The Record of the Black Robes

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1712	Fox Indians invaded Potawatomi and besieged Detroit. Potawatomi relieved Detroit.			
1718	Potawatomi moved closer to Detroit.		Fort St. Joseph built on site of old St. Joseph mission.	

APPENDIX 2

Caught Between Two Empires

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1730	Potawatomi urged leniency for Fox refugees.	Foxes massacred at Fort Chartres on the Illinois River.		
1755	Charles Langlade led Green Bay Potawatomi in fighting for the French.	Great Lakes tribes ravaged by smallpox.		French and British fought over control of North American interior.
1763	Potawatomi feuded with British on behalf of French voyageurs.			Treaty of Paris; French voyageurs crossed the Mississippi River into Spanish Louisiana.
1765	Ninivols led the Potawatomi in Pontiac's Uprising.	Ottawa Chief Pontiac led "People of the Three Fires" against the British		British concentrated the fur trade in central areas such as Detroit and Michilimackinac. St. Louis founded by the Chouteaus.

APPENDIX 2

Caught Between Two Empires

<u>Date</u>	<u>Potawatomi</u>	<u>Other Tribes</u>	<u>Missionaries</u>	<u>Euroamericans</u>
1766		Pontiac's Uprising ended in defeat for the Indians.		
1770			St. Joseph mission closed.	
1774				Quebec Act restored ancient boundaries of New France.

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1776	<p>Charles Langlade led Green Bay Potawatomi to Quebec to help the British; fought with Burgoyne. Ninivois led warriors to Kentucky against Americans. St. Joseph Potawatomi remained neutral.</p>			<p>The Declaration of Independence is signed.</p>
1778			<p>Father Gibault absolved French and Indian traders from their oath to George III.</p>	
1779				<p>George Rogers Clark captured Vincennes. Clark persuaded Wabash Band to support Americans.</p>

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1780	<p>Siggenauk led Milwaukee Band to support Americans. St. Joseph Band, led by Louis Chavelier, broke up Langlade's pro-British efforts.</p>			
1783		<p>Moravian Massacre turned all Mississippi Valley Indians against Americans.</p>		
1784	<p>Potawatomi villages split over advisability of selling land to Americans.</p>	<p>Iroquois ceded ancestral home to Americans with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.</p>		
1787				<p>Confederation Congress created the Indian Department and passed the Northwest Ordinance.</p>

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1788		<p>Conference of Northwest Indians proposed the Ohio River as the permanent boundary between the Indians and the Americans.</p>		<p>The Ohio Land Company formed. Arthur St. Clair named as governor of the Northwest Territory. Kentucky sent an expedition to the Northwest.</p>
1789				<p>Fort Harmer Treaty confirmed Indians to be compensated for lost land.</p>
1791	<p>Potawatomi led Indians against St. Clair.</p>	<p>Fort Recovery worst American defeat ever at Indian hands.</p>		<p>British gave Michilimackinac to Americans. St. Clair lost</p>

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1792	Americans recognized Gomo of the Illinois Potawatomi as chief. St. Joseph and Wabash Potawatomi refused to honor Treaty of Vincennes.			Senate refused to ratify Treaty of Vincennes.
1794	Seventy-five St. Joseph Potawatomi fought at Fallen Timbers			Anthony Wayne fought Northwest Indians at Fallen Timbers.
1795	Saggenauk of the Wisconsin Potawatomi and La Petit Bled of the St. Joseph Potawatomi signed the Treaty of Greenville. Twenty-three Potawatomi signed and received payment for land that had never belonged to the Potawatomi.	The Treaty of Greenville gave the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi \$1,000 each for their Ohio Valley lands.		

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1801	Topinbe, Chief of the St. Joseph Band, Five Medals, Chief of the Elkhart River Band visit Washington, D.C.	Little Turtle of the Ottawa led delegation of Northwest Indians to Washington, D.C.		
1803	Potawatomi requested Quaker help in controlling the illegal liquor trade.			Americans built Fort Dearborn near the site of the Potawatomi village of Chicago. Thomas Jefferson purchased Louisiana and proposed moving Indians west of the Mississippi River.
1804				Pierre Chouteau appointed Indian agent for Upper Louisiana.

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1805		Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet and his brother, Tecumseh declared land cessions illegal.		Fort Industry Treaty legalized Indian land cessions west and north of the Greenville
1809	Winamec, Kessass, Five Medals looked to Americans to counter religious influence of Tecumseh in their villages.			Treaty of Fort Wayne gave remainder of Indiana Territory to the United States.

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1811	<p>Famine in the Northwest caused Potawatomi to abandon several villages.</p> <p>Nuscotomeg attacked Fort Dearborn, Siggenuk, leader of the Chicago village, relinquished responsibility for anti-American activities of Potawatomi in the area. However, he along with Potawatomi rescued the Kinzies and other Americans from death by taking them "captive."</p> <p>14 October, Main Poc, Five Medals and Topinbe signed a truce with Harrison.</p>			<p>William Henry Harrison attacked and burned Prophetstown on the Tippecanoe River.</p>

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1814	Famine struck the Potawatomi villages again and they sued for peace.			
1816	Main Poc, last "war chief" died.			Congress prohibited foreigners from the fur trade. Astor began the American Fur Company.
1818	Noshaken led Illinois Potawatomi to Texas, later to Mexico. They became known as the Mexican Noshakums.			
1821	Pokagon's village exempted from land cession along the St. Joseph River valley.			Land cession treaty signed at Fort Meigs covering southwestern Michigan.

APPENDIX 3

The Price of Technological Dependency

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1827	First Potawatomi from Detroit and Chicago areas moved to Nottawaseppe Reservation in southwestern Michigan.			
1828	Shawanetek, Naganwatek and Jean Baptiste Chandonnai traveled with Isaac McCoy to investigate western lands.		Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy traveled the Missouri valley for a suitable location for his "all Indian state."	
1830				Congress passed Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act.
1832	Wabenseh led Chicago to support Americans.	Black Hawk's War began in the Northwest Territory.		

APPENDIX 4

Unwilling Pioneers

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1833	St. Joseph Potawatomi massacred Americans at Indian Creek, Illinois.			Chicago established as an American town on the site of ceded Potawatomi land.
1834	Kenekuk's Band moved to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. St. Joseph Potawatomi moved to Kickapoo Reservation.			United States created the Office of Indian Affairs initiating a system of direct rule by Indian agents appointed by patronage.
1834	Wabenseh's Band moved to Canada.		Father Desellie and Benjamin Petit ministered to Menomini's Band. They encouraged them to fight removal.	

APPENDIX 4

Unwilling Pioneers

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1836	Thirteen removal agreements signed with the Indiana Potawatomi.			
1837	Mishikaba's Band moved to Canada.		Edwin James, Indian agent of Council Bluffs, Iowa reservation	Michigan became a state.
1838	Menomini's village began "Death March" to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.		Christian Hoecken moved Catholic Potawatomi to Centerville, Kansas	John Tipton put in charge of forced Potawatomi removal.
1840	Neswaki's Band led Topinbe's village to the Marais des Cygne River.			Wisconsin admitted to the Union.
1843	Wabansah and Half-Day attended a conference of emigrants held at Tahlequah, Oklahoma sponsored by the Cherokee.			

APPENDIX 4

Unwilling Pioneers

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1847	<p>Council Bluffs, Iowa Potawatomi moved to Kansas. Alexis Coquillard led the rest of the Indiana Potawatomi to Sugar Creek. The Marais des Cygne group moved to the Kansas River Reservation. Became the Citizen Band.</p>			
1851	Wisconsin Band moved to Kansas.			
1852	Pokagon's Band moved to Kansas.			
1853				<p>George Manypenny advocated individual Indian land allotments</p>

APPENDIX 4

Unwilling Pioneers

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1857	Anthony Navarre and other Metis joined the Potawatomi in Kansas.			
1860	Six Potawatomi elected to a business committee to conduct tribal affairs with the United States.			
1861	Certain Potawatomi in Kansas agreed to individual land allotments and citizenship. Tribe split into Prairie Band and Citizen Band over allotment policy.			Civil War began in the United States.

APPENDIX 4

Unwilling Pioneers

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1867	Citizen Band sold allotments in Kansas in exchange for land in Indian Territory.			Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad bought Kansas allotments for below price.
1868	Joe Melot and Narcisse Juneau settled in the Canadian River Valley in Indian Territory.			U.S. Grant elected president. Began investigation and reorganization of the Indian agency.
1869	Potawatomi investigated land between the Canadian and Little Rivers in Indian Territory.			"Quaker Policy" begun by giving Indian agency appoint- ments to members of Protestant denominations.

APPENDIX 5

Beginning -- -- Again

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1870	George Young requested that Potawatomi in Indian Territory be given individual allotments.			Ehud Noble Darling surveyed land in central Indian Territory. 9 November, Interior Secretary Charles Delano approved Indian Territory settlement.
1871	Twenty-eight Citizen Band members settle north of the South Canadian River at Pleasant Prairie.			
1872	Joe Melot led a second group to Pleasant Prairie.		Society of Friends established the Shawnee Mission.	23 May Congress passed the Potawatomi Allotment Act.

APPENDIX 5

Beginning -- Again

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1874	Wagoza absorbed Pleasant Prairie; Wanette established; grasshoppers covered the Canadian valley.			
1875	Joshua Clardy, George Pettifer and George Young established day schools. Ninety-one Potawatomi received allotments but no patents for land ownership.		Father Robot, O.S.B. began Catholic mission among the Potawatomi of Indian Territory.	
1876	Potawatomi deeded land for Sacred Heart mission to the Benedictines.			

APPENDIX 5

Beginning -- Again

<u>Date</u>	<u>Potawatomi</u>	<u>Other Tribes</u>	<u>Missionaries</u>	<u>Euroamericans</u>
1877			John Laracy arrived at Sacred Heart. St. Mary's Academy for girls opened at Sacred Heart.	
1883		Chillico Indian Boarding School established.		Eddy B. Townsend updated Citizen Potawatomi rolls.
1884	Joshua Clardy and family received first land patents after paying for the land allotted			

APPENDIX 5

Beginning -- Again

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1887				Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act. The Dawes Commission compiled a new Citizen Band roll.
1889				Legality of allotments under the 1872 act upheld. Unassigned lands opened to American settlement.
1890	Commissioner R.V. Belt challenged Anthony Navarre's right to represent the Citizen Band in Washington, D.C.			The Cherokee or Jerome Commission negotiated treaty for the Citizen Band to sell unallotted land back to the United States.

APPENDIX 5

Beginning -- Again

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1891	Benjamin Clardy became the Territorial representative from District 3, Pottawatomie County to the Oklahoma Territorial legislature.			3 March Act of Congress opened Potawatomi lands to American settlers. Gardner roll prepared

APPENDIX 6

Citizenship Responsibilities and Continuing Conflict

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1917	Twenty-five Citizen Band members enlist in the Armed Services.			The United States entered World War I. The Court of Claims dismissed the Citizen Band case due to lack of representation.

APPENDIX 7

Revitalization

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1913	Daniel J. and Peter Bourassa lobbied congress for money due the Citizen Band.			
1917	Citizen Band members did not receive appropriated money.			Congress appropriated \$3,719.17 to Citizen Band.
1933				President Roosevelt appointed John Collier Indian Commissioner.
1934				Congress passed the Wheeler-Howard Act; Oklahoma Indians excluded.
1936				Congress passed the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

APPENDIX 7

Revitalization

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1938	Under L.J. Brant, Business Committee Chairman, the Band approved a constitution 12 December.			
1941		Citizen Band attended the Intertribal Council of Shawnee Agency tribes.		
1946				Congress established the Indian Claims Commission.
1948	Citizen Band hired the New York and Chicago law firms to present claims to the Indian Claims Commission.			
1953				The Eisenhower Administration implemented termination of Indian tribes.

APPENDIX 7

Revitalization

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1954	Various Potawatomi Bands appealed the claims funds division.			Indian Claims Commission awarded the first judgment to the Potawatomi Bands.
1960				Citizen Band lands removed from trust status.
1961	Citizen Band changed membership qualifications to include all who were one-eighth blood after 24 April, 1961.			
1973				Indian Claims Commission and Supreme Court resolved claims appeals.
1975	Citizen Band applied for economic assistance to create an industrial park.			Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination Act. Tribal land returned to trust status.

APPENDIX 8

Entrepreneurial Experiences

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1976	<p>Citizen Band submitted plan to Interior Department for distribution of claims funds.</p> <p>Band opened Museum and Gift Shop and hired archivist.</p>			
1977				<p>Court case U.S. vs. Maryces opened Indian Country to bingo.</p>
1979	<p>John Schoemann became tribal administrator. 5 October, Citizen Band began bingo operations. Band began official publication of How NI Kan.</p>			

APPENDIX 8

Entrepreneurial Experiences

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1980	Band opened Fire Lake Golf Course.			
1981	Citizen Band modified distribution plan 12 December.			
1982	6 October, business committee approved bingo lease with EMCI Band created a tax commission to take advantage of Tax Status Act.			16 January, Interior Department approved modified distribution plan. Congress passed the Tribal Government Tax Status Act.
1983	Band replaced Schoemann with John Barrett as tribal administrator.			

APPENDIX 8

Entrepreneurial Experiences

Date	Potawatomi	Other Tribes	Missionaries	Euroamericans
1984	Tribal convenience store opened.			
1985	Citizen Band cancelled bingo agreement with EMCI; began lawsuit to recover funds.			Congress passed the Indian Gaming Control Act.
1987	Tribe sued Oklahoma to prevent state taxing items sold in Indian Country.			1 February, Oklahoma billed the tribe for back cigarette taxes.
1989	Tribe opened membership enrollment to descendants of tribal members on legal rolls.			

APPENDIX 8

Entrepreneurial Experiences

<u>Date</u>	<u>Potawatomi</u>	<u>Other Tribes</u>	<u>Missionaries</u>	<u>Euroamericans</u>
1991	Tribe purchased controlling shares in First Oklahoma Bank of Shawnee.			U.S. Supreme Court ruled Oklahoma could not tax tribal enterprises.
1992	Tribe signed a Gaming Compact with the state of Oklahoma.			
1993				Tenth Circuit Court ruled the Gaming Compact violated the Johnson Act.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ENDNOTE

The *Jesuit Relations* provided the information for time line one. R. David Edmunds work, *The Potawatomis, Keepers of the Fire* is a detailed and definitive book on the Great Lakes history of the Potawatomis to 1840, and thus provided the information for time lines two and three. Louise Phelps Kellogg's *The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* and *The British Regime in Wisconsin* also help to correlate Indian history with European actions in the Great Lakes area. Erminie-Wheeler Vogelin in *Indians of Ohio and Indiana Prior to 1795* was invaluable in placing the Potawatomi geographically before the American Revolution.

Father Joseph Murphy, O.S.B., in his book *Potawatomi Indians of the West: Origins of the Citizen Band* traced the various factions and their movements and activities in Kansas. His information provided the basis for time line four.

The early history of the Citizen Band since moving to Oklahoma is extremely fragmented. The work of the first Citizen Band archivist and the subsequent work of Patricia Sulcer and Mary Farrell in collecting the Band archives over the last twenty years provided an invaluable serve for any interested in the Band's history. The Berlin B. Chapman collection housed in the Oklahoma Historical Society helped to correlate congressional actions and tribal actions with the opening of tribal lands. These collections enabled formation of time line five. Mary Farrell deserves special recognition for her work in computerizing the tribal genealogical records over the last eight years, simplifying family histories tremendously.

VITA ²

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