Trickster Skins:
Narratives of Landscape, Representation, and the Miami Nation

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Dedication

mihkweelimakiki neehi kweehsitookiki
(I remember and honor them)

To *ninkya*,
Pamela K. Shoemaker, 1945-2010
A wonderful mother and grandmother

To *nimehšooma*,
Chief Francis M. Shoemaker (Pa-pa-quan), 1912-1996
For instilling me with the sense of who I am and where I come from

To *noohkoma*,
Phyllis (Bundy) Miley (Ma-con-a-quah), 1929-2005
For her senses of humor and Miami history

To *nimehšooma.*
Clarence Shoemaker (Soo-we-lin-je-sia), 1904-2002
For telling such wonderful stories

To *noohkoma*
Lora Marks Siders (Mon-qua), 1919-2000
For her enormous wisdom and nurturing spirit

To *noohkoma*,
Chief Frances Dunnagan (Po-zo-ze-quah), 1935-1998
For her love of the Miami people and fun road trips

Abstract

This dissertation, Trickster Skins: Narratives of Landscape, Representation, and the Miami Nation, reinterprets sites of Miami history through the lenses of narrative and landscape. It combines Miami and Western forms of knowledge to reinterpret the complex relationships of landscape and representation within the Miami struggle against colonization and the narratives that have arisen from this struggle. It tells several stories of a small tribe that remained east of the Mississippi River after the era of Indian removal who have been neglected by the Federal Government and often misunderstood by academia and the general public.

The Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana (MNI) has about 5,500 enrolled citizens. Remaining in their homeland after removal of nearly half of the Miami Nation in 1846, the Miami of Indiana struggled to retain their reserve lands and identity in the face of Federal, State, and local governmental efforts to systematically dissolve their land base and their inherent and reserved rights. These efforts hinged upon representations of the Miami people and landscape that worked to ignore and erase their continued presence in Indiana through various cultural and legal narratives ultimately denying their identity as American Indians and their recognition as a sovereign nation. Despite these efforts, this dissertation demonstrates the creative and continued resistance of the Miami in various ways.

Drawing upon a myriad of sources, this dissertation focuses upon Miami narratives, pictorial and textual representations, efforts to retain their land base, public performance, museum collections and display, and legal battles. This focus examines how the relationships of the Miami people to land takes many forms and are integral to

discussions of tribal sovereignty. The findings in this investigation provide alternative interpretations of these sites of Miami history and are informed by Miami narrative traditions.

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Wiihsakacaakwa's Grandchildren: Myaamia Narrative, Landscape, and Identity

iiniini-'hsa wiiyoonkonci wiihsakacaakwa iilinci. moošaki taani iilaapankiici iišilenici. neehi-'hsa: "eehkwi kati ašiihkiwi pinaamhkisinki, lenia eehkwi mihtohseeniwici, kati nintaayaacimekooki noohsemaki, nintaayaalhsoohkaalikooki.

It's for that reason that Wissakatchakwa got his name. He always did like he saw others do. And then (Wissakatchakwa said)"As long as the earth remains and as long as man is alive, my grandchildren will talk about me, and tell stories about me."

Elizabeth Vallier[1]

The shadows of tribal names and stories are the ventures of landscapes, even in the distance of translation. Stories that arise in silence are the sources of a tribal presence.

Gerald Vizenor[2]

"Its hard to talk about our families without talking about the land," said *Maankwa*, Lora Marks Siders.[3] Affectionately known by many Miamis as "Aunt Lora", she was a Miami elder who passed away in 2000. Aunt Lora grew up within the Miami Indian community near Peru, Indiana in the 1920s through 1930s and spent the rest of her life working on behalf of the Indiana Miami people as the tribal historian, council member, and caring relative. There was wisdom in everything Aunt Lora had to say. The words of Aunt Lora reveal four interrelated values to the history and identity of the Indiana Miami: kinship, the

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[1] David Costa, Unpublished retranscription of story obtained by Albert Gatschet, in Oklahoma on Nov. 12, 1895 from Elizabeth Vallier, Miami speaker.

[2] Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1999), 10.

[3] Lora Marks Siders (1919-2000) Interview, *Being Miami*, Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art and Museum Media, Inc., 1997.

land, the relationship between the two, and the stories told about them. Aunt Lora's quote also speaks to broader issues in regards to recent scholarship on Indigenous peoples which point to land and "a peoples relationship to land"[4] as integrally tied to debates over sovereignty[5] and self-determination.

The struggle for Indigenous people to retain and regain sovereignty and self-determination has been a struggle against colonialism and/or imperialism. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith concisely summarizes scholarship on imperialism as used in the following four ways: 1) as economic expansion, 2) as the subjugation of "Others", 3) as an idea or spirit with many forms of realization, and 4) as a discursive field of knowledge.[6] All four of these types constitute different layers of the analysis of imperialism. Colonialism is a localized manifestation of imperialism where:

> Colonialism became imperialism's outpost, the fort and the port of imperial outreach…Colonialism was, in part, an image of imperialism, a particular realization of the imperial imagination. It was also, in part, an image of the future nation it would become. In this image lies images of the Other, stark contrasts and subtle nuances, of the ways in which the indigenous communities were perceived and dealt with, which make the

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[4] Peter d'Errico, "Native Americans in America: A Theoretical and Historical Overview" in Frederick E.Hoxie, Peter C. Mansell, and James H. Merrell, eds. *American Nations: Encounters in Indian Country,1850 to Present* (2001), 497.

[5] Sovereignty has proven a quite ambiguous term, but is none-the-less, the most useful form of discussing what David Wilkins describes of "tribal sovereignty" as "The spriritual, moral, and dynamic cultural force within a given tribal community empowering the group toward political, economic, and most important, cultural integrity, and toward maturity in the group's relationships with its own members, with other peoples and their governments, and with the environment". See David E. Wilkins, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System, 349*. See also Chapter 5 of this dissertation for a more detailed discussion on Miami concepts of "sovereignty".

[6] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London; New York, Zed Books, 1999), 21.

> stories of colonialism part of a grander narrative and yet part of a very local, very specific experience.[7]

This localized process of colonization has legitimated itself through representing Indigenous people and their land in various ways, thereby dominating and manipulating the spatial rearrangement of the physical landscape and displacing Indigenous peoples. This process has covered Indigenous histories, and ultimately inhibited and denied tribal sovereignties.

This dissertation takes on a localized analysis of one American Indian community, the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana. Their story is unique, since as an "Eastern" tribe, they fall somewhere between those tribes who were removed west of the Mississippi River and other Eastern tribes who historically did not have a government-to-government relationship with the United States. This dissertation provides insights into the (hi)stories of an Indigenous group who remained behind the "frontier" after Indian removal. It takes its cue from the wisdom of elders like Lora Marks Siders and uses kinship, the land, the relationship between the two these, and the stories told about them as a means of not only interrogating the localized colonialism they continue to endure, but more importantly, it uses these interrelated values as a means of re-interpreting moments of Miami history. Each chapter elucidates the complex ways in which the Miami have responded to colonial representations of themselves and the land while working to maintain a sense of connection among themselves and the land

[7] Ibid., 23.

from which they come. This dissertation tells the stories that have arisen from the silence of colonialism as the sources of a Miami presence.

Disciplinary Contexts and Methodology

This dissertation is informed by and contributes to scholarship in the fields of American Studies, American Indian Studies, Museum Studies and landscape studies in the field of Geography. The scholarship in all of these seemingly unrelated fields provide fodder for an inter-disciplinary approach that proves useful in discerning Indigenous histories and ongoing struggles of sovereignty in the face of colonialism.

Post-national American Studies scholarship has interrogated constructions of nation, race, gender, sexuality, and class. Representation of these constructions has served to legitimate the goals of the nation-state to marginalize Indigenous knowledge and control colonial subjects with the ultimate goal of obtaining Indigenous lands and the resources upon them. This process materialized in the context of the museum, which worked to reconfigure this systemic fragmentation of Indigenous peoples into Western scientific methods of categorization. New scholarship in American Indian Studies has worked to redefine and reconsider these practices in relation to Indigenous peoples. This scholarship incorporates both Western and Indigenous forms of knowledge to inform American Studies and Museum Studies. Recent scholarship in Museum Studies has begun to address the historical imperial/colonial relationship of museums and Indigenous peoples to not only deal with this legacy, but to envision museum practices that are more inclusive of Indigenous voices and involvement. Furthermore, landscape ties together the interrogations associated with these various fields. According to

Geographer George Henderson, it is through landscape that "we can interrogate situation, epistemology, and ontology together and see interrogations themselves as coming *from* particular social/spatial/ temporal positions."[8]

Smith writes that "transforming our colonized views of our own history (as written by the West), however, requires us to revisit, site by site, our history under Western eyes."[9] Recent American Indian Studies scholarship has begun revisiting historical sites to interrogate constructions associated with the nation-state that influenced and shaped representations of American Indians in popular culture, historiography, and museums. Throughout this process of interrogation, Indigenous scholars need not reject Western knowledge, which is often associated with the colonizing nation-state, but must rather "come to understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes"[10] to disassemble constructions associated with Indigenous peoples. The privileging of empirical analytical knowledge within Western systems of knowledge has worked to marginalize Indigenous knowledge with the museum serving as a means of conveying this to the broader public. With the museum having served to preserve those artifacts that legitimated the process of progress and formation of the nation-state, the representation of American Indians through the display of culture as object within the museum context continues to privilege Western knowledge. The genealogy of the museum is integral to the

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[8] George L. Henderson, "'Landscape is Dead, Long Live Landscape': A Handbook for Skeptics." (Journal of Historic Geography, 24, 1, 1998), 95.

[9] Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies,* 34.

[10] Ibid., 39.

genealogy of Western science, technology and art as hegemonic practice.[11] It is within recent American Indian Studies scholarship that these practices have been challenged. American Indian Studies scholars privilege Indigenous knowledge systems using Western systems of knowledge to challenge and critique those constructions intimately tied to the nation-state, while also informing Western systems of knowledge.

The use of Western theories and research to disassemble colonial fabrications has not gone uncontested by American Indian scholars. Creek literary scholar Craig Womack believes there is no need for American Indian scholars to embrace and use Western theories and research to write in American Indian Studies, but should rather focus on a new Indian nationalism, one that is from the scholars own tribal perspective. Womack writes that post-modernism, the paradigm that predominates much of American Studies, American Indian Studies, and increasingly in Museum Studies, post-national, and post-colonial interrogations as largely missing out on how "Indians view Indians."[12] Regardless of whether Womack or other American Indian Studies scholars agree with the use of "the master's tools to disassemble the master's house", his call to action for indigenous scholars challenges those constructions of nation, race, class, gender and sexuality that others are explicitly interrogating.

The use of Western theory in American Indian Studies to interrogate the construction of the nation-state and its associated literature is exemplified by Gerald Vizenor's use of Jean Baudrillard's *simulation,* where the nation has created itself as

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[11] Miriam Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2002), 24.

[12] Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999), 13.

dominant over its constructed Indigenous colonial subjects, American Indians. Baudrillard wrote in *Simulacra and Simulation* that:

> A simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being, or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor does it survive it. It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory – precession of simulacra – that engenders the territory whose shreds slowly rot across the extent of the map. It is the real, and not the map, whose vestiges persist here and there in the deserts that are no longer those of the Empire, but ours. *The desert of the real itself.*[13]

It is the construction of the nation from which the map is made of a territory that never existed. The map directs how the nation proceeds and directs the representations of its constructions. The simulation of the nation and the simulation of the "Indian" in reference to the nation-state can be traced back to its mythical origins that Michel Foucault describes as "not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from fabricated forms."[14] It is in the origin of the nation-state that race, class, gender, and sexuality were "fabricated in a piecemeal fashion" to form the nation. As Baudrillard discussed, the map precedes the territory, thus these constructions are the map that directed the nation in relation to American Indians. Recent American Indian Studies scholarship has

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[13] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, translated by Sheila Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan,1994), 1.

[14] Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and interviews by Michel Foucault*, edited, by Donald F. Bouchard; translated from the French by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1977), 142.

worked to disassemble the piecemeal fabrication of the map to reveal the heterogeneity of American Indians that became incorporated into the homogenous origins and constructed identities of the nation state.

Within American Indian Studies, interrogations of race in regards to American Indians have focused upon the constructions of savageness and otherness. American literature and historiography have legitimated the origins and practices of the United States. In these creations we find the integration and appropriation of the American Indian. Philip Deloria's *Playing Indian* (1998) presents a genealogy of this construction of the American Indian and its appropriation and incorporation into the origin myth and the narrative of the United States. Deloria writes, "From the colonial period to the present, the Indian has skulked in and out of the most important stories various Americans have told about themselves."[15] These stories are those that Gerald Vizenor describes as the "literature of dominance" and are examples of the localization of colonialism. Those stories and histories are reflections of the qualities of savageness and otherness that the colonizer has desired through the noble savage and has found repulsive through the ignoble savage; not a reflection of American Indian realities. It is the appropriation of a constructed reality, as in Beaudrillard's map, that continues to direct the representations of American Indians.

American Indian histories were appropriated and incorporated into the national narrative of progress; of modernity.[16] In order for the modern to exist, there must be a pre-modern savageness in the narrative of progress. The landscape of the nation-state

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[15] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University,1998), 5.

[16] David Noble, *Death of a Nation: American Culture and the End of Exceptionalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002), 2.

was to be cleared of the pre-modern if history were to progress.[17] Post-national American Studies has interrogated the writings of celebrated American historians such as George Bancroft, Charles and Mary Beard, Richard Hofstadter, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and Frederick Jackson Turner who relied upon the constructions associated with American Indians to repress their respective histories in favor of the history of the nation-state.[18] It was the representations of the ignoble savage that precipitated the narrative, yet it was in the writings of historians, such as Frederick Jackson Turner and his frontier thesis[19], that those noble characters of the savage were appropriated and incorporated into the narrative of progress. Turner claimed that it was the close associations and constant interactions on the frontier of the nation-state that contributed to the nation's modern character. Americans' selective acquisitions of noble primitive savageness allowed them to fully conquer the pre-modern to lay the foundations for a modern nation-state to proceed across the national landscape. Deloria demonstrates that the Euro-American construction of the American Indian became a performance of an "Indian Americanness" that has shaped the national identity.

The interconnections of race, gender and sexuality have been elucidated in revisiting the lives of American Indian women in "those stories that Americans tell about themselves." The revisiting of these historical sites illustrate how the dominant narrative of the nation-state marginalized or disregarded the voices and roles that American Indian women have played in the histories of their respective tribal nations

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[17] Ibid., 3.

[18] For a more complete analysis of these historians see Noble, *Death of a Nation.*

[19] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893). This has been published in several sources for example, see Chapter 2 in Frederick Jackson Turner and John Mack Faragher. *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History, and Other Essays,* (New York, N.Y. : H. Holt, 1994).

and their relations with the United States. Recent scholarship regarding American Indian women reveals the fluidity of gender and sexuality within American Indian societies that challenge those constructions associated with the nation-state. Much of the dominant narrative has assigned those qualities onto American Indian women that were desired or undesired traits of Euro-American women. American historiography is fraught with contradictory representations of American Indian women that reflect the constructed gender hierarchy of the nation-state while "much of the recent literature on Indian women views gender as fundamental, yet non-hierarchical, social category. Women and men had contemporary roles of equal importance, power, and prestige."[20] The constructions of gender became naturalized through the privileging of Western knowledge that legitimated a gendered hierarchy as natural and thus projected upon American Indians.

Perhaps the most pervasive is that of the projection of subordinate roles of women within the nation. Through this representation of American Indian women as subordinate to men, both Indian and White, American Indian women have been portrayed as lacking agency in their lives and their involvements within their respective communities. Recent scholarship in American Indian Studies challenges the racialization of this gender role in numerous ways. The submissive and virginal savage Other is most apparent in one of the myths that form the piecemeal of the foundational origins of the United States; the myth of Pocahontas. American Indian Studies has begun to interrogate the creation of this myth as an illustration of the entanglement of race, gender and sexuality tied to the origin myth of the nation-state. As Helen Rountree

[20] Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 5.

has demonstrated, the projection of Western constructions of race, gender and sexuality upon the individual American Indian woman historically known as Pocahontas has "skulked" in one of the most important myths of the origin of the nation-state.[21] Rountree's genealogical[22] investigation of Pocahontas disassembles the created myth from its piece-meal fabrication to become one of the important stories that Americans tell about their origins. The mapping of the constructions of race, gender and sexuality literally preceded and legitimated the territorial exploitation and exploration of the nation-state.

Although recent scholarship reveals complementary gendered divisions within many American Indian societies, this did not necessarily mean the divisions were strict, or that transgressing these divisions was perceived as deviant behavior. Challenges of the gendered hierarchy associated with the nation-state have taken place through investigating the lives of individual American Indian women, where transgressing one's societal prescribed gender role was acceptable behavior that enabled American Indian women to increased agency, especially in regards to contact with Euro-Americans.[23] With the construction of the nation as gender hierarchical, this also affected the representation of American Indians and American Indian women in particular within the context of museums. The display of culture as object further divested the American

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[21] See Helen Rountree, "Pocahontas: The Hostage Who Became Famous" in Theda Perdue, ed., *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001), 14-28.

[22] I use the term "genealogy" in reference to Michel Foucault's use of the word to describe the dissassemblage of historic constructions associated with the nation-state. See Donald F. Bouchard, ed., *Language, Counter-memory, Practice,* 140-144.

[23] For example see Laure Jane Moore, "Lozen: An Apache Indian Woman" in *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001), 92-107; James Taylor Carson, "Molly Brant: From Clan Mother to Loyalist Chief" in *Sifters,* 48-59. Micheal D. Green, "Mary Musgrove: Creating a New World" in *Sifters*, 29-47. Tessa Berman. *Circle of Goods* (Abany, NY: State University of New York, 2003).

Indian women artisans of agency and the importance of their ceremonial and utilitarian creations as static representational symbols of their respective culture through a gender hierarchical lens. American Indian studies scholarship informs Museum Studies of the important roles American Indian women have played in both historic and contemporary contexts as to the very "objects" used in the representation of American Indians.

Representation also has had legal implications on American Indian nations and American Indian individuals. The United States' perpetuation of the mapping of American Indians continues to function within the realms of race, gender, and deviance especially within the prison system of the nation state.[24] The scholarship of Vine Deloria, David Wilkins, and Tsianina Lomawaima have worked to disassemble the labyrinthine quagmire that is Federal Indian policy and its associated laws. As Deloria and Wilkins note, the constructions of American Indians within the colonial framework have greatly impacted how the United States deals with American Indians as nations and as individuals.[25] This ambivalence developed over the creation of laws and policies regarding American Indian nations and individuals. The laws and policies created within this context were one of control; the control over the sovereignty of American Indian nations which would give the United States control over American Indian lands and the bodies and minds of individual American Indians. This treatment is one of ambivalence where "inconstancy, indeterminacy, and variability characterize the

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[24] Luana Ross, *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality* (Austin: University of Texas, 1998), 2-6.

[25] Vine Deloria, Jr. and David E. Wilkins, *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations* (Austin: University of Texas, 1999), 12.

uneven ground of federal Indian policy."[26] Looking at this statement in view of Philip Deloria's genealogy of the constructions and appropriations of American Indian identities into the nation state, the continuance of varied representations of American Indians are conflated with the policies imposed upon them by the United States and perceptions of tribal sovereignty in public view.[27]

The ambivalence in the development of doctrines as guiding policy and law reflects the ambivalence in representation of American Indians throughout the history of the nation state. This is tied to issues surrounding Indigenous knowledge that is often regarded as "fictional" within the legal system of the nation-state, which only recognizes its own knowledge system as legitimate. Indigenous knowledge and ways of history are integrally tied to language and oral traditions, which hold little to no sway within the American legal and judicial system. Recent scholarship in American Indian Studies privileges this knowledge and contests much of what the nation-state has used to control and delegitimate indigenous sovereignty.

Indigenous knowledge rests within those systems of knowledge that survived and developed during the onslaught of the colonial expansionist practices of the nation-state to erase the presence of American Indians either through the incorporation of American Indians within the constructions of the nation, to remove them, or to literally eradicate them. American Indians could only exist within those pre-existing constructions as a means of controlling them as colonial subjects. This is especially evident in the overt Federal Indian policy of assimilation in the late nineteenth and early

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[26] David E. Wilkins and K. Tsianina Lomawaima. *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2001), 6.

[27] Ibid., 8.

twentieth centuries to "kill the Indian and save the man." Re-visitations and rediscoveries of American Indian intellectuals of the nineteenth century within recent American Indian Studies scholarship point out that the early formation of the nation-state and its associated constructions did not go about uncontested by American Indians.

Beginning early in the nineteenth century American Indian intellectuals such as William Apess,[28] Elias Boudinot and John Ridge (Cherokee)[29] and continuing well into the early twentith century with Charles Eastman, Zitkala-Sa, D'Arcy McNickle, and John Joseph Matthews, the writings of these individuals provide critical insights into the realities of American Indians during the formation and expansion of the nation-state. All of these individuals critiqued colonial impositions upon their respective communities in addition to policies and laws regarding American Indians that challenged the foundations and constructions of the United States while commenting on the importance of Indigenous knowledge in relation to sovereignty.

The museum presents how the concepts discussed thus far materialized in relation to the representation of American Indians and Indigenous knowledge. The museum historically rose to prominence within the nation-state as an authoritative repository of knowledge associated with the nation-state to preserve American Indian cultures as objects in order to preserve the narrative of progress. It is through representation that the nation-state has legitimated its authority to render Indigenous people and their ways of knowing as primitive, savage, fictional, and illegitimate; the museum was the materialized map of the nation-state. Furthermore, culture as preserved

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28 See Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History* (Cambirdge: Cambridge University, 2002), 205-206 and Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004), 97-159.

29 See Konkle, 42-96.

object became fetishized as an object of conquest and progress. Recent scholarship in American Indian Studies and by Indigenous scholars worldwide, especially Maori scholars, have worked to disassemble the museum as an apparatus of the nation-state, while also providing alternatives for reconciliation based upon Indigenous knowledge systems to reassemble newer forms of representation of Indigenous cultures and history and their associated objects.

Issues of preservation entangled within the historic process of collecting and displaying Indigenous "art/objects" adds to difficulties of reconciliation between the apparent oppositions of Western and Indigenous knowledges. For Indigenous people, preservation is much greater than the preservation of the object, but is the preservation of culture and ultimately the preservation of the people.[30] For Indigenous people, objects are not mutable, but are associated with a pantheon of other equally culturally important 'artifacts' such as stories, songs, etc. The object in turn is only a part of a whole where the relationship of stories, songs, etc. is holistic.[31] The privileging of Western scientific thought over Indigenous perspectives as pervasive within the museum context delegitimates tribal sovereignty in favor of the nation-state. Clavir posits three ethical viewpoints of the museum, the conservator profession, and Indigenous people in regards to views on the assignment of values to the preservation of objects as distinct yet, capable of walking "parallel paths". It is also through language, both that of the colonized and of the colonizer that the redefinition and reconsideration of museum practices can occur. Maori scholar Paul Tapsell also describes an alternative to the binary/adversarial relationships of Western and Indigenous knowledge by

[30] Clavir, 71-73.
[31] See Nabokov, 150-171.

providing alternatives for terms that are perhaps most indicative of the binary. Tapsell remarks Maori elders do not use "repatriation" in their discussions of Maori Taonga (tribal treasures). "Repatriation" automatically connotes oppositional or "reactive" measures in the return of objects to their rightful place under their rightful stewards. These relationships should encourage a "proactive" dialogue and cooperation between the two entities that have stakes in the return of objects and remains.[32] Language has proven a powerful means for Indigenous people to reclaim their representations in museums through reclaiming the interpretation of their objects and histories.[33] The reclamation and revitalization of Indigenous languages have provided Indigenous people with important tools to reclaim and define Indigenous knowledge and redefine their representations to the public.

Recent American Indian Studies scholarship has turned to Indigenous knowledge as the relationships of language, history, and geography. American Indian communities are reclaiming and reasserting their respective histories and connections to place that inform and sustain Indigenous knowledge systems. American Indian oral traditions reflect Indigenous ways of history and are tied geographically through language. The importance of place is tied to historical narratives that inform Indigenous people not only of their pasts, but also of their present. Gerald Vizenor writes that "the shadows of tribal names and stories are the ventures of landscapes, even in the distance

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[32] Paul Tapsell "Partnership in museums: a tribal Maori response to repatriation" in Cressida Fforde, Jane Hubert and Paul Turnbull, eds. *The Dead and Their Possessions: Repatriation in Principle, Policy and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2002), 284-292.

[33] For example, see Janine Bowechop and Patricia Pierce Erikson. "Forging Indigenous Methodologies on Cape Flattery: The Makah Museums as a Center of Collaborative Research" *American Indian Quarterly* 29, 1/2 (Winter 2005), 267. The importance of language and museum collections in the Miami context is discussed more in depth in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

of translation."[34] Even when these places have been apparently destroyed or manipulated from their original forms "…it is the stories alone, or resurrected place names, that release memories of a once-owned landscape."[35] Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (1996) reveals that the memories contained within tribal names and stories continue to inform Apache people of their past to inform their present realities and decisions.

Ethnohistorical methodology has also addressed some of these issues regarding Indigenous relationships to land. This methodology was developed as a means for academics to assist tribes under the Indian Claims Act of 1946[36] in their claims against the United States Government. Ethnohistorical methodology "involves developing histories informed by ethnography, linguistics, archaeology, and ecology"… and "represents the interests of communities as well as academics from a variety of disciplines - cultural anthropology, history, American Indian studies, archaeology, ecology, linguistics, and other related disciplines… who are helping to create a more inclusive picture of the histories of native groups in the Americas."[37] Historian, James Taylor Carson calls for a newer method of inquiry, Ethnogeography, to discern Indigenous histories that speaks to the inter-related Miami values mentioned earlier. In Carson's essay "Ethnogeography and the Native American Past"[38], Carson argues that specific Indigenous conceptions of land and landscape are necessary if any fruitful

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[34] Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narrative on Postindian Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1999) 10

[35] Nabokov, 143.

[36] August 13 1946 [H.R. 4497], [Public Law 726] 60 Stat. 1049, "An Act To creat an Indian Claims Commission, to provide for the powers, duties, and functions, thereof, and for other purposes."

[37] American Society for Ethnohistory website.
< http://www.ethnohistory.org/sections/about_ase/index.html>. Accessed August 9, 2010.

[38] James Taylor Carson, "Ethnogeography and the Native American Past", *Ethnohistory*, 49:4 (Fall 2002,: 769-788.

investigations of Indigenous histories and relationships to land are to take place. Carson argues the importance of ethnogeography, a synthesis of ethnohistory and geography, "…as an important category of analysis…" that "…can illuminate different native societies' understanding of land and their relationship to it and to also help explain the actions they took to defend it from the encroachments of European settlers and colonial expansion."[39] It is the meaning attached to the landscape by native societies that Carson contends is the key to further understanding of Indigenous histories. As Carson describes in his essay, work done in the fields of ethnohistory and geography are just now beginning to contribute to this needed discussion, but that both fields are missing the opportunity to cooperate in this endeavor. However, what does Carson mean by "landscape"? Landscape proves an ambiguous word in terms of how it has been used in the writing of Indigenous histories. Many ethnohistorians use landscape in multiple different ways while geographers tend to use it in specific ways.[40]

The work of geographers such as Denis Cosgrove, Don Mitchell, George L. Henderson, and Kenneth Olwig provide a theoretical framework for investigating the colonial process of spatial rearrangement and display that has affected the relationship of Indigenous communities to their own histories, identities, homelands, and sovereignties.[41] Their ideas of landscape consider the relationship of the physical

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[39] Carson, 769.

[40] Carson points out several examples of the ethnohistorical use of land and landscape in his essay, but fails to look at how geographers specifically use landscape. For a more detailed analysis of this see George L. Henderson, "'Landscape is Dead, Long Live Landscape': A Handbook for Skeptics." *Journal of Historic Geography*, 24, 1, 1998.

[41] See Cosgrove, Denis E. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. (Totowa, New Jersey Barnes and Noble,1984); Don Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota,1996); Kenneth R. Olwig, "'This is not a landscape': Circulating Reference and Landshaping," in Hannes Palang, Helen Soovali, Marc Antrop and Gunnild Setten, eds., *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment*

material land and its representation in multiple forms, including visual and literary representations. Mitchell states: "Landscape is thus a unity of materiality and representation, constructed out of the contest between various social groups possessing varying amounts of social, economic and political power"[42]. In Mitchell's definition, landscape is both material and a social process where the struggle for power takes place. What Mitchell's statement fails to acknowledge in regards to American Indians is that American Indians are not merely social groups, but rather sovereign nations. As already demonstrated, the ongoing struggles of Indigenous nations are the struggles against colonialism in efforts to retain and regain tribal sovereignties. If land and the (Indigenous) peoples' relationship to it, is central to notions of Indigenous sovereignty, then landscape serves as a particularly useful method of analysis in regards to Indigenous struggles against colonialism.

The work of Basso and relatively few others has begun to seriously take into account these conceptions. In her work with the Cree, who speak an Algonquian language related to Miami, anthropologist Susan M. Preston remarks:

> The Western idea of landscape or environment does not have an equivalent concept in traditional Cree culture; instead what we might consider "landscape" for them consisted of the land, waters, topographic features, climate, animals, spirits, and humans. It is an integrative, holistic concept from both an ecological and a *social* perspective, which is to say that, as the Crees understood it, all these elements of landscape

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(Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004) 41-65; and George L. Henderson, "'Landscape is Dead, Long Live Landscape': A Handbook for Skeptics."

[42] Don Mitchell, 28.

> were *active participants* in a set of relationships with one another predicated on mutual respect and associated expectations of the behavior necessary to maintain equilibrium and continuity throughout the whole. All have the status of "persons."[43]

As Preston eloquently points out, for the Cree, landscape is not merely the physical land itself, but rather consists of multiple characters who work to maintain balance.

While Carson's investigation points to how ethnohistorians and geographers are missing one another in terms of landscape and Indigenous histories and that "the two disciplines must be brought together if we are ever going to understand what so many of us take for granted – that Native Americans' understanding of land and their relationship to it is vitally important to their cultures and histories" he fails to point out that what he is calling for is a combination of geography with what anthropologist Ray Fogelson calls "ethno-ethnohistory". Fogelson remarks over a decade after his essay on ethno-ethnohistory that:

> An understanding of non-Western histories requires not only the generation of documents and an expanded conception of what constitutes documentation but also a determined effort to try to comprehend alien forms of historical consciousness and discourse. It was in this spirit that I once, in exasperation, suggested the necessity for what I termed an ethno-ethnohistorical approach (Fogelson I974). Such an approach insists on taking seriously native theories of history as embedded in

[43] Susan M. Preston, "Exploring the Eastern Cree Landscape: Oral Tradition as Cognitive Map." In John D. Nichols, ed., *Papers of the 31st Algonquian Conference* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2000), 311.

cosmology, in narratives, in rituals and ceremonies, and more generally in native philosophies and worldviews. Implicit here is the assumption that events may be recognized, defined, evaluated, and endowed with meaning differentially in different cultural traditions."[44]

Placing Carson, Preston, and Fogelson in conversation renders an "ethno-ethnogeography". This further helps in investigating the struggles of Indigenous nations with colonialism in terms of landscape used by Mitchell. Thus, if we place landscape into Fogelson's original piece on ethno-ethnohistory, it renders an approach that "insists on taking serious native theories of history *and landscape* as embedded in cosmology, in narratives, in rituals and ceremonies, and more generally in native philosophies and worldviews" and with the "assumption that events *and landscape* may be recognized, defined, evaluated, and endowed with meaning differently in different cultures." Fogelson went further beyond this concept of "ethno-ethnohistory" to coin the concept of "ethno-ethno-ethnohistory" as "native writing of native history from a native perspective."[45]This dissertation takes its que from Fogelson and is *myaamia* writing of *myaamia* history and landscape from a *myaamia* perspective; an articulation of *myaamia* ethno-ethno-ethnogeography. This dissertation combines the idea of landscape as used by Geographers as a means of interrogating colonization of Indigenous peoples with the concept of ethno-geography. This enables discerning the stories that can be told by the myriad of ways that the land and the Miami's relationship to it have factored into their ongoing struggle against colonization.

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[44] Ray Fogelson, "The Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents" *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring, 1989),134.

[45] Ray Fogelson, " On the Varieties of Indian History: Sequoyah and Traveller Bird," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 2(1) (Spring 1974), 106-107.

Through colonization, Miami people and their knowledge has been scattered. The Miami people are currently reclaiming and reassembling their knowledge in ways that meet the needs of the present community.[46] Through the reclamation of knowledge, the Miami people are working to reinterpret the past and to preserve and perpetuate knowledge for future generations. Integrating western theory is necessary to articulate the tribal present.[47]

In reading this dissertation, the reader will be struck by the use of stories as a means of reinterpreting sites of Miami history. "Stories" are not used as a term describing fictional or mythic events of the Miami past, but rather look to the knowledge and wisdom these stories tell about not only of events of the past but as a means of *understanding* the events of the past. In her examination of Indigenous storytellers of the Yukon in *The Social Life of Stories* (2000), anthropoligist Julie Cruikshank cautions that the meanings of stories are not fixed. She uses the storytelling of Yukon elder Angela Sydney as an example that her tellings of a specific story "…remind us that when we approach oral tradition there is more involved than textual analysis. Her point, in her various retellings, is to show how oral narrative is part of a communicative process. …unless we pay attention to why a particular story is selected and told, we understand very little of its meanings…Her point in retelling stories…is precisely to show that a good story, well used, can not merely explain but also add

[46] This includes members of both the Miami Nation of Indiana and the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma.

[47] See James Clifford, "Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska." *Current Anthropology* 45(1) (2004): 5-30.

meanings to a special occasion."[48] This dissertation uses Miami stories to add meaning to the events each chapter is investigating. The interpretation and use of the stories are solely those of the author. The stories used come from multiple Miami speaking people and can also be interpreted and used by other Miami people in their own ways. This dissertation does not present a definitive Miami interpretation of Miami history, but is rather *a* Miami interpretation adding meaning to these events.

In the Miami language, there are at least two main types of story telling: *aacimoona* and *aalhsoohkana.*[49] *Aalhsoohkana*[50]*,* are those stories only told during the winter and often involve the Miami culture hero / trickster, *wiihsakacaakwa,* in addition to several stories about *manetoowaki*[51] and animals.[52] These are associated with Miami history in the much more distant past and are often "placeless", since they do not refer to specific places, but rather to specific features of the landscape. The structure of this type of story is very fluid. Each story contains numerous smaller episodes that focus upon a specific moment or character. The order of these episodes is completely at the discretion of the storyteller. The storyteller can pull form their repertoire of episodes to craft a story composed of various episodes. Generally, a story begins with *wiihsakacaakwa* living at a certain place or traveling in a certain place. The story

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[48] Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska,1998), 41.

[49] One could also make the argument that songs, *nakamoona*, are a third type of storytelling, but these are not employed in this dissertation.

[50] *aalhsoohkana* is the plural form of *aalhsoohkani*. It has cognates in several other related Algonquian languages such as *aadizookaan* in Ojibwe.

[51] *manetoowaki* is the plural form of *manetoowa*. This is an animate noun that is often translated as "spirit" or an "other-than-human being".

[52] There is a large corpus of *aalhsoohkana* centering upon *paapankamwa* (Fox) and *mahweewa* (wolf).

usually ends with *wiihsakacaakwa* heading off to some unknown destination. This structure enables flexibility in story telling.

Aacimoona are those stories that can be told any time of the year and involve specific places and specific people, such as personal life stories. These stories generally have a specific order to them and are not as fluid as *aalhsoohkana*. Both professional and amateur anthropologists and linguists gathered the stories used from Miami speaking people during the later part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.[53]

A comparison of the various versions of similar stories from different storytellers attest to the individuality of the storyteller who chose to include and exclude certain episodes from each story for their own reasons.[54] This illustrates that though there were basic aspects to each story, the storyteller had the ultimate authority in determining what they wanted the listener to learn from telling. Thus, the act of storytelling was an interpretive approach, it was up to the teller to decide what they wanted the listener to learn and up the listener to interpret the story for their own learning. Stories did not follow a strict chronological order, but it was the teller's discretion to choose various episodes to juxtapose with one another for the desired affect. This dissertation is a continuation of that tradition of juxtaposing excerpts of episodes at the beginning and end of each chapter to convey what the author wishes the

[53] Those professionally trained were Truman Michelson and Albert Gatschet, amateur linguist and historian Jacob P. Dunn also gathered a significant amount.

[54] For an example of the comparative differences between storytellers, see David Costa, "Miami-Illinois and Shawnee Culture-Hero and Trickster Stories," in Brian Swann, ed. *Algonquian Spirit: Contemporary Translations of the Algonquian Literatures of North America*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2005) 292-319

reader to learn. It is up the reader to interpret in their own way, what they have learned from the story in relation to the chapter.

This dissertation privileges and integrates *myaamiaataweenki* – the Miami language. The Miami language is a member of the Algonquin language family and shares lexical similarities with Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, while sharing "many significant morphological and phonological features with Ojibwe-Potawatomi."[55] Miami has been grouped with its closest relative, Illinois, and historically, there were several dialects of the Miami-Illinois language spoken throughout what are now present-day Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. *Peewaaliaki* – Peoria and *kaahkaahkiaki* – Kaskaskia, along with Tamaroa and possibly Michigamea and other bands comprised the Illinois speaking people while the *myaamiaki* – Miami, *peeyankihšiaki* – Piankashaw, and *waayaahtanwaki* – Wea, comprised the Miami speaking people.[56] The differences in these dialects is very miniscule and, according to Miami oral tradition, are all descended from the Miami proper and regarded as younger siblings.[57]

Despite the impacts of colonialism upon the Miami, the Miami language continued to be a viable language until at least the 1940s. In the 1960s, the last fluent speakers of the language passed away. Since then, linguists and historian alike have described the Miami language as a "dead language". Miami linguist Wesley Y. Leonard, however has challenged this nomenclature and calls for languages in such a

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[55] David Costa, *The Miami-Illinois Language*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2003),1.

[56] For a more detailed description of the various dialects see Costa, *The Miami-Illinois Language.*

[57] See Charles Christopher Trowbridge, Vernon Kinietez, ed., *Meearmeear Traditions* (Ann Arbor: Univeristy of Michigan Press, 1938).

state as the Miami language at the time of the death of the last fluent speakers, to rather be called "sleeping languages".[58]

As Leonard argues, the Miami language remained dormant or sleeping in the extensive records of the Miami language ranging from Jesuit records from the late seventeenth century to word lists and examples from the last fluent speakers, in addition to the memories of elders who grew up hearing the language, and their remembered prayers, and songs. In the 1990s, linguist David Costa began extensive use of all of these sources, which provided the first detailed description and analysis of the Miami-Illinois language in his dissertation work.[59] With Costa working in conjunction with Daryl Baldwin, a citizen of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and director of the Myaamia Project at Miami University in Ohio, the Miami communities in Indiana and Oklahoma were ready to reclaim and reawaken their language of heritage. Through workshops, camps, and materials, the Miami communities have successfully reawakened their language and can now be referred to as what Leonard calls a "formerly sleeping language." I began as a student in this early revitalization movement and have since learned the importance of language as a means of informing and reflecting a Miami worldview.[60]

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[58] Wesley Y. Leonard, "When is an 'Extinct Language' Not Extinct? Miami, a Formerly Sleeping Language," in Kenall A. King, Natalie Schilling-Estes, Lyn Fogle, Jia Jacki Lou, and Barbara Soukup, eds., *Sustaining Linguistic Diversity: Endangered and Minority Languages and Language Varieties*. (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2008)

[59] David J. Costa, *The Miami-Illinois Language*. Dissertation (Universty of California, Berkeley: 1994).

[60] For a more thorough analysis of Miami language revitalization see Wesley Y. Leonard. *Miami Language Reclamation in the Home: A Case Study*. Dissertation (University of California, Berkeley: 2007) and Melissa A. Rinehart, *Miami Indian Language Shift and Recovery*. Dissertation (Michigan State University: 2006).

Through all of the various sources of the Miami-Illinois language, each source recorded the language in its own way, resulting in numerous spellings of the same words.[61] In order to alleviate confusion of these various spelling systems, those involved in this initial revitalization developed a modern orthography. This is the orthography employed in this dissertation. Italicization is used to differentiate Miami words spelled in the modern orthography from Miami words used in quoted sources and some Miami personal names. Bold type is used when quoting excerpts directly from Miami stories. No capitalization of Miami words in the modern orthography is employed other than the initial words of sentences and personal names, since capitalization implies a hierarchy, one which is not necessarily a part of the Miami language. A pronunciation guide has been added to the appendix to aid the reader in pronouncing the *myaamia* – Miami, words used in this dissertation.

Historical Background

This dissertation is not an exhaustive or definitive history of the Miami, but is rather an investigation of specific moments or sites of Miami history.[62] The following brief history of the Miami, and the Indiana Miami, specifically provides the necessary context for the reader.

According to Miami oral tradition, the Miami people emerged at a place called *saakiiweeyonki* at the confluence of the St. Joseph's River and Lake Michigan in what

[61] For more on these various sources see Costa, *The Miami-Language*, Chapter 1 "On the sources".

[62] Only two historians have tackled this effort. See Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Indiana Historical Society, 1996) and Bert Anson, *The Miami Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970).

is now southwestern Michigan; this is where Miami history began. The Miami call themselves *mihtohseeniaki,* which literally means 'those who walk bare', and can be translated as meaning 'human beings' or 'the people.' This is a quite common practice among Indigenous people, especially in those related languages, such as the Ojibwe calling themselves *anishinaabeg,* which can also be translated as 'the people'.[63] At some time in the past, the *mihtohseeniaki* came to live downstream from the Odawa people, who speak a dialect of Ojibwe-Potawatomi, along the Maumee River. The Odawa referred to the *mihtohseeniaki* as *maamiig,* simply meaning 'downstream people'[64]. This is pronounced as *myaamiaki* in the Miami language and was appropriated by the Miami as a name they call themselves in addition to *mihtohseeniaki*. This eventually became corrupted in the English language as 'Miami', with only coincidental similarity to the name of the city in Florida. These two terms, *mihtohseeniaki* and *myaamiaki,* along with 'Miami' are used interchangeably throughout this dissertation.

The *myaamiaki* first discovered Europeans in 1654 while living in what is now the state of Wisconsin as refugees during the "Beaver Wars" with the Iroquois. They returned to their homeland south of *kihcikami* – Lake Michigan at the beginning eighteenth century, with the valley of the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* – the Wabash River, as the heart of *myaamionki* – the place of the Miami or Miami land. The *myaamiaki* were intricately involved in the history of the Great Lakes region and interacted with several

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[63] John D. Nichols and Earl Nyholm, *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1995), 10.

[64] For more detailed description of this see David Costa, *Miami-Illinois Tribe Names,* in John Nichols, ed., Papers of the Thirty-first Algonquian Conference (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2000), 50.

other Indigenous and European nations prior to the formation of the United States. The *myaamiaki* led a long and successful series of battles with the United States in the late eighteenth century to halt American colonial expansionism into the southern Great Lakes area. This warfare finally ended with the signing of the Treaty of Greenville, in Greenville, Ohio in 1795. This began the nation-to-nation relationship of the *myaamiaki* with the United States and another less violent struggle of the *myaamiaki* vis-à-vis colonialism. Through a series of treaties spanning fifty nine years from the signing of the Treaty of Greenville, the *myaamiaki* entered into agreements of protection, annuities, and good and services from the United States in exchange for their increasingly smaller tribal land base. Boundaries were drawn upon the Miami homeland that increasingly marginalized the relationship of the *myaamiaki* to the land and to one another.

Indiana became a state in 1816 and removal of all Indigenous peoples who had sought refuge in the Miami homeland was increasingly seen as necessary to eliminate all obstacles to American "progress". Successfully staving off removal during the height of its implementation as a Federal Indian policy[65] throughout much of the 1830s, the Miami finally agreed to removal in 1838. Despite this treaty stipulation, the Miami continued to resist removal until 1846. It was at this time that the Miami were split into two political and geographic entities. While the entire Miami Nation was to be removed in 1846, several tribal leaders gained exemptions from removal for themselves and their families, living on several reserves they had managed to retain through previous treaties. Some Miami successfully petitioned Congress for removal exemptions. Those

[65] The Indian Removal Act (4 Stat., 411) was passed in 1830.

who were not able to obtain exemptions were first forced onto canal boats near Peru and Fort Wayne en route to Cincinatti, Ohio, transferred to the steamboat *Colorado*, then transferred again to the *Clermont II* to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi, then to St. Louis where they went over land to the newly created Miami Reservation in Kansas Territory, just south of Kansas City. Three hundred twenty three Miamis arrived at the new reservation while about the same amount remained in Indiana. Despite this tremendous geographic separation, the *myaamiaki* in both places continued to maintain ties with one another. Some eventually moved back to Indiana and sought refuge on the remaining Miami reserves, while others who were exempted from removal chose to move to Kansas afterward. The Miami in Kansas were moved once again in 1867 to a new reservation in northeastern Oklahoma, some Miami chose to remain in Kansas.

These three geographic areas represent the core populations of Miami people that exist today. The Miami who remained in Indiana retained a measured recognition of their tribal status from the United States until 1897 when an administrator in the Bureau of Indian Affairs declared the tribal status of the Indiana Miami as non-existent, thus officially extinguishing the United States nation-to-nation relationship with the Miami who remained in Indiana. Following this decision, Miami lands rapidly fell out of Miami hands, resulting in another forced removal of the Miami, this time within their own homeland, to nearby towns and cities of Marion, Peru, Wabash, Huntington, Fort Wayne, and South Bend in search of jobs. These towns form the core of the contemporary Indiana Miami population. Throughout this period, the Indiana Miami continued to maintain a tribal government and sense of community. The modern

political entity, the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana (MNI), founded in 1937, is the successor of several efforts of the Indiana Miami to maintain a sense of tribal sovereignty. The current enrollment of MNI is around 5,000 citizens and maintains offices in the town of Peru, where numerous social and cultural programs are run for the benefit of tribal citizens and the nearby non-Miami population.

The Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (MTO) is the political successor to the Miami who were removed from Indiana. The MTO reservation in Oklahoma fell prey to allotment policies at the turn of the twentieth century, and like their Indiana relatives were nearly completely landless by the mid-twentieth century. Despite these and other detrimental Federal assimilationist policies that went hand in hand with allotment, the Miami in Oklahoma also maintained a tribal government and sense of community. MTO maintains offices in Miami, Oklahoma and also has an enrollment of around 5,000 members. A large portion of the enrollment still lives in northeastern Oklahoma, with others in nearby southwestern Missouri, near the former reservation in Kansas, and even some in Indiana and elsewhere. In recent years, MTO has managed to regain former reservation allotment lands and build an impressive infrastructure for its citizens and non-Miami neighbors. Due to these long standing political and geographic distances, the history of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma is not a focus of this dissertation, though the history of MTO does intersect with the Miami Nation of Indiana in several instances throughout and Miami people among both communities continue to interact with one another in numerous ways.

Dissertation Structure and Sources Consulted

The interdisciplinary nature of this dissertation requires diverse sources in order to elucidate the investigations and interpretations of sites of Miami history within each chapter. This dissertation utilizes a variety of resources from tribal, national, state, local, personal archives and museum collections. These sources range from Miami stories, oral histories, language, and tribal records to United States government documents in the National Archives, legal cases, and various newspaper articles, photographs, paintings and sketches in personal, local, and state archives, to museum collections in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Chapter one, "*Wiihsakacaakwa*'s Travels: Narratives of Landscape" makes use of Miami language, narratives, and concepts of mapping that work to discern a Miami concept of landscape. There is no term in the Miami language that means "landscape," and so this chapter looks specifically at what stories tell us about how we might interpret an idea of landscape. The landscape is comprised of various "persons", humans, animals, *manetoowaki*, stones and cliffs, who humans must constantly strive for balance in their relationship in order to be *nahi-mihtohseeniaki* - good human beings. This chapter argues that in a Miami sense, landscape is a river, is a story, is the people; all change their course and interpretation over time, yet remain.

Chapter two, "The Hole in *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s Cape: George Winter's Visual and Textual Narratives of the Miami and their Landscape," examines some of the early representations of landscape and the Miami in the 1830s through the paintings, sketches, and journals of George Winter. This chapter challenges how Winter's images have been traditionally interpreted and represented in history and museum display. The

chapter focuses upon the concept of agency as it relates to the subjects of Winter's art: the Miami and the landscape. It argues that we must seriously consider the refusal and approval of his Miami subjects not simply as "superstitions", but that we must examine the contexts in which these images were taken and their implications in interpreting Miami history and representations of the landscape of the Miami homeland. Winter's Miami subjects intentionally sought to control his representations of themselves and the Miami homeland for various personal and communal reasons.

Chapter three "*Nihsweehikolo* (Divide it Up): Allotting the Meshingomesia Reservation" focuses upon the allotment of the Meshingomesia Reservation in 1872. This chapter delves into the extensive archives surrounding the allotment, especially the nearly seven hundred pages of associated testimonials from the Miami themselves. This chapter works to understand the motives of the Meshingomesia Band for purposefully pursuing allotment of the reservation. Faced with colonial expansionism that would eventually divest the Meshingomesia Band of all of their reservation land, the Band looked to kinship as a means of utilizing Euro-American privileging of individual property rights to maintain their own sense of self-determination to thwart land dispossession.

Chapter four, "*Wiihsakacaakwa*'s Bloody Nose: Narrating Identity in Landscape," investigates the *Mahkoonsahkwa* Pageant Company as a representation of the Miami by themselves within their homelands during the 1920s and 1930s. The *Mahkoonsahkwa* Pageant provided a powerful alternative to outsiders' representations of Miami lands and history. The Frances Slocum captivity narrative has become an origin myth for the State of Indiana, and the Frances Slocum Trail Association created

the Frances Slocum Automobile Trail in ways that appropriated the physical lands and history of the Miami into the narrative and landscape of the State of Indiana. In performances of the *Mahkoonsahkwa* Pageant, Miami continued to claim lands and a continued presence upon those lands recently lost to them through taxation and foreclosure that became integral to the Euro-American appropriation of the Frances Slocum captivity narrative.

Chapter five, "*Kiilaahkwaliaminciki* (They Speak to Us): Cultural Sovereignty and Museum Collections", reinterprets Miami objects housed in museums throughout North America. The use of photographs from the Miami Nation of Indiana tribal archives and personal archives of Miami tribal members was of a tremendous help in this endeavor, especially when a museum's archive held little as to the provenance of an object. This chapter considers the relationships of landscape, kinship, cultural sovereignty, and museum collections of Miami material culture. As the chapter demonstrates, land and the Indiana Miami relationship to it is central to this investigation. Relationships to land help frame how and why these objects were created as well as how and why the Miami's relationship with the objects was severed. This chapter delves into the multiple layers of meanings these objects hold, the context of museum display and representation, as well as what the stories the objects have to tell us.

Chapter six, "The Struggle for Daylight: The Indiana Miami and the American Judicial System", investigates over one hundred years of legal cases brought before the federal, state, and local courts by the Miami themselves. The cases demonstrate the complicated ways in which colonial constructions of "Indian authenticity" are

intertwined with landscape as means of inquiry into the continued legal implications associated with Miami rights, sovereignty, and relationships to land within the American judicial system.

Finally, the title "Trickster Skins: Narratives of Landscape, Representation, and the Miami Nation" describes both the methodology and focus of this dissertation. Skin provides a poignant and provocative means of conceptualizing the transformative actions of *Wiihsakacaakwa*, constructions of race, and landscape. In a recent exhibition at the National Museum of the American Indian, George Gustav Heye Center, in New York City entitled "HIDE: Skin as Material and Metaphor", curator Kathleen Ash-Milby explains the preface behind the title:

> For Native people, skin encompasses an entire universe of meaning. Our own skin functions as a canvas that we can inscribe with messages about our identity or use as a shield to protect and hide our secrets. As a material, animal skin or hide has had a long history within Native culture. It is a symbolic reminder of historical misrepresentation, exploitation, and racial politics. The artists selected for HIDE draw upon this subject in multi-faceted ways, using both the material and concept of skin as a metaphor for widespread issues surrounding identity and personal, historical, and environmental trauma and perseverance. In their work, they interrupt our understanding of race, distort our perception of "skin," and breach the artificial boundaries created by this potent subject

matter. Rather than hiding difficult issues, they expose what is beneath the surface.[66]

The curator's remarks touch upon important aspects of Miami history this dissertation works to bring to the surface. The Miami culture hero *Wiihsakacaakwa* is also a trickster. In the stories told about him, he transforms himself by assuming the skin or identity of other humans and animals to fool and trick humans, animals, and *manetoowaki* into performing for his desires. *Wiihsakacaakwa* not only has the ability to tranform his own skin and identity, but he is often attributed to the reasons why many animals have certain physical characteristics; he has transformed them as well. Furthermore, for American Indians, skin is intricately tied to Western racial constructions of the "Indian". As this dissertation makes clear, constructions of the "Indian" are an integral part of the ongoing struggles of the Miami Nation of Indiana, their relationship to *myaamionki,* and tribal sovereignty. Just as *Wiisakacaakwa*, humans, and animals also have skins that can transform, so too does the landscape. Like skin, it consists of many layers that have been constructed both physically and metaphorically over time by the Miami and Euro-Americans. Narratives, of both Miami traditional genres and the narratives discerned throughout this dissertation bring to the surface the complicated and intertwined stories of landscape and representation for the Miami Nation of Indiana.

eehkwi ašiihkiwi pinaamhkisinki. neehi-hsa wiihsakacaakwa nimehšooma. nintayaakwamisi aacimaki neehi nintaayaalhsoohkaa.

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[66] "HIDE: Skin as Material and Metaphor" National Museum of the American Indian, George Gustav Heye Center, in New York, New York, Online exhibit. <http://www.nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/hide/>. Accessed December 20, 2010.

Yet the earth remains. And as Wiihsakacaakwa's grandchild, I continue to talk about him and tell his stories.

Chapter One
Wiihsakacaakwa's Travels: Narrating Landscape

> There was never in the whole world a stranger man then [sic] Wesokochauqua. He was everywhere, in season and out of season, running about, and putting his hand into whatever went forward.
>
> -*Taawahkwakinoonka,* George Washington Finley[67]

> Every story is a travel story – a spatial practice.
> -Michel de Certeau *The Practice of Everyday Life*[68]

Wiihsakacaakwa-ihsa peempaalici ciikaahkwe siipionki.
Wissakatchakwa was walking along near a river.

The river is the narrative is the people. According to *Taawahkwakinoonka*[69], *Wiihsakacaakwa* is always "on-the-go"and literally everywhere in the landscape "getting himself into all sorts of troubles"[70] through his travels. Several Indigenous narratives of North America speak of a great flood ascending upon the earth at some time in the distant past. Following the flood *Wiihsakacaakwa* and the animals he saved created the earth currently inhabited by humans.[71] The travels of *Wiihsakacaakwa* are

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[67] Jessie E. Baker, "Piankishaw Tales" *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 44, No. 172 (Apr. - Jun., 1931), 182-190: 185.

[68] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Translated by Steven Rendall. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 115.

[69] *Taawahkwakinoonka* (1858-1832) was also known as George Washington Finley, and was born in Kansas. His father was *Ciinkwaahkia* (Peoria/Piankishaw) and his mother was *Maankoohkwa* (Piankishaw). *Taawahkwakinoonka* spoke the Peoria dialect of the Miami-Illinois language and was the teller of several stories that will be focused upon throughout this chapter. For a more detailed biography see "George Finley" in Dorris Valley and Mary M. Lembke, eds. *The Peorias: A History of the Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma* (Miami, OK: Peoria Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, 1991), 197-199.

[70] Baker, 185

[71] According to a note from Albert Gatschet when eliciting Wiihsakacaakwa stories from Sarah Wadsworth and Elizabeth Vallier, "wiisakadjak8a is ascribed the fact of saving some animals though the general flood, without a vessel or raft. He saved the beaver, otter, turtle, which when laying on its back and kicking, made the mountains…" Costa, "Wiihsakacaakwa Aalhsoohkaakana (The Story of Wissakatchakwa)", 22. For several related central-Algonkians, Wiihsakacaakwa's cultural counterpart directed animals to search for earth after the flood to begin creating the current earth. See William Jones, Ojibwe Texts, Vol. I (American Ethnological Society: New York, 1917) , Series VII, Numbers 46 and 47. Upon sending animals to procure earth and twigs, Nanabushu (Wiihsakacaakwa's Ojibwe counterpart)

the travels within a landscape of his creation, a landscape that simultaneously shapes how his grandchildren, the *mihtohseeniaki*[72] have interacted, perceived, and represented it. Within this landscape, *Wiihsakacaakwa*, animals, and humans are constantly traveling from place to place where they encounter and interact with one another and *manetoowaki*.[73] It is in the landscape representative of *myaamionki*[74] - the Miami homeland - along its many rivers at stone and cliff outcroppings that he is "driven to his wits ends to save his life"[75] and encounters valuable lessons on reciprocity. Narratives of travel inform this chapter's focus upon re-centering "landscape" from a *myaamia perspective.* This involves examining selected *myaamia* narratives , or *aalhsoohkana*[76] and *aacimoona*[77]. An interpretation of these narratives elucidates a fuller conception and representation of what constitutes "landscape" as *siipiiwa* (Rivers), *waala, aašipehkwaki, neehi ahseniiki* (Caves, Cliffs and Stones), *aweehsaki neehi manetoowaki* (Animals and Manitous), and finally *mihtohseeniaki* (human beings). The narratives and the rivers within them are also a mapping of *myaamionki* – the Miami

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created a ball of earth and stuck a twig in it saying "I will that an island come into existence here." And "…Nanabushu breathed all over the island; and all the while larger grew the earth." 407. This is also present in Cree narratives of *Wisahkicahk*. See Robert A. Brightman, *Acaoohkiwina and Acimowina: Traditional Narratives of the Rock Cree Indians* (Candian Museum of Civilization: 1989) 74-79.

[72] *mihtohseeniaki* literally translated means "those who walk bare" and refers to human beings, but it has come to be used specifically for Indigenous peoples and more specifically, the Miami people, which is how it is used here.

[73] This term has commonly been translated as "spirits", "other-than-human beings", or "being with spiritual powers", with *manetoowa* as the singular form.

[74] *Myaamionki* means literally "place of the Miami" or "Miami land", /*myaamii* (Miami)+*enki* (locative)/

[75] Baker, 185

[76] *aalhsoohkana* are those stories that are told only during the winter that often involve the culture hero / trickster *Wiihsakacaakwa*. See introduction for a more detailed description of their use.

[77] *aacimooni* are those stories that can be told at any time of the year that describe specific people and places.

homeland – that continue to shape the lives of the Miami people. The narrative is the river is the map is the people.

Re-centering: Landscape as River as Narrative as Map

This chapter is *myaamia* writing of *myaamia* history and landscape from a *myaamia* perspective and re-centers landscape, narrative, time, and mapping for the *myaamiaki*. This chapter re-centers rivers *as* landscape. In Western cartographic traditions, rivers are natural boundaries that delineate and separate one nation from another. Within this tradition, rivers are on the periphery, at the edge of the territory and the edge of the map. In the *myaamia* sense, rivers are not the edge; they are the center. They are the path and the story in which *Wiihsakacaakwa* travels. The rivers and the narratives are the map that delineates who *Wiihsakacaakwa* encounters and how he behaves. The river is the map is the narrative.

Aalhsoohkana and *aacimoona* do not center upon time, but rather center upon place - the river. Time is inconsequential and thus the narratives are not static representations of the *myaamia* past, but are rather fluid representations of the *myaamia* landscape. For the *myaamia*, these relationships have become severely strained over time, yet the Indiana Miami have continued to hold on to a strong sense of their identity that is rooted in place, and that place is the rivers of *myaamionki*, namely the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* - the Wabash River - and its many tributaries.

The Indiana Miami struggled to retain the reserve lands along these rivers following removal, and while these lands would fall out of Miami ownership and stewardship by the mid-twentieth century, the rivers remained. The Indiana Miami continue to live in the homeland of their ancestors along the many rivers of the Wabash

River Valley. The Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana tribal headquarters are a few short blocks from *iihkipisionki* on the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi*. In the Miami language *iihkipisinonki* means "straight place" and is a reference to where the Wabash River straightens its course through the south side of the town of Peru, the county seat of Miami County in north-central Indiana. In 1990, the Miami Nation re-acquired and reclaimed an approximately thirty six acre parcel of land opposite *aašipehkwa waawaalici*, also known as "The Seven Pillars", a limestone outcropping along the *nimacihsinwi siipiiwi* – the Mississinewa River – straddling the former Wapapincha and Tahkanong Reserves. Over the past several years, members of the Miami Nation have floated down this river during annual summer language camps, speaking the Miami language along the way. Miami people continue to fish and hunt along these rivers. The rivers continue to play an important role in the lives and Indigenous identity of the contemporary Indiana Miami people. The river is the people.

Landscape

For Indigenous peoples, and the *myaamia* specifically, landscape is not simply the layer of physical land upon which one stands, but is rather multiple layers above and below one's feet and all of the inhabitants in between. Landscape, in a *myaamia* sense is rather a network of interrelated beings that centers upon not the land itself, but upon rivers. After *Wiihsakacaakwa* found himself surviving the deluge, it was he and the animals he saved who created the land upon the waters of the earth. These animals, *manetoowaki,* and *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s grandchildren (*mihtohseeniaki*) comprise part of the landscape.

In her work with the Cree, who speak an Algonquian language related to Miami, anthropologist Susan M. Preston remarks:

> The Western idea of landscape or environment does not have an equivalent concept in traditional Cree culture; instead what we might consider "landscape" for them consisted of the land, waters, topographic features, climate, animals, spirits, and humans. It is an integrative, holistic concept from both an ecological and a *social* perspective, which is to say that, as the Crees understood it, all these elements of landscape were *active participants* in a set of relationships with one another predicated on mutual respect and associated expectations of the behavior necessary to maintain equilibrium and continuity throughout the whole. All have the status of "persons."[78]

As Preston eloquently points out, for the Cree, landscape is not merely the physical land itself, but rather consists of multiple characters who work to maintain balance. The *aalhsoohkana* and *aacimoona* examined in this chapter illustrate similar notions of all aspects of "landscape" working to maintain balance through expected reciprocal relationships. In this sense, "landscape" is also *myaamia* cosmology.

***myaamia* Cosmology**

In the early nineteenth century, Charles Christopher Trowbridge consulted Miami leaders *Meecikalita*, also known as LeGros, and *Pinšiwa*, also known as Jean

[78] Susan M. Preston, "Exploring the Eastern Cree Landscape: Oral Tradition as Cognitive Map." In John D. Nichols, ed., *Papers of the 31st Algonquian Conference* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2000), 311.

Baptiste Richardville, for descriptions of Miami history and culture that would later be published as *Meearmeear Traditions*. Per the instigation of Michigan Territorial Governor Lewis Cass, Trowbridge's forays among the Miami, Wyandot, Shawnee, and other tribes were "…to aid in settling a dispute between these tribes as to precedence of settlement in the region they then occupied in Ohio and Indiana."[79] Trowbridge apparently followed a script from a pamphlet distributed to those employed by Governor Cass. Trowbridge made extensive notes on such aspects of the Miami as "Government", "Death and Its Incidents", "Medecine" [sic] , and "Games, Dances and Amusements". Trowbridge remarked on Miami "Religion" that "they do not universally believe in the existence of a Supreme and ordinary deities, as do the other Indians. At least Le Gros appears to be somewhat skeptical on this subject. He says 'There may be such things as a great spirit and a Bad spirit, and there may not be. You are not certain of either, nor am I'"[80]. Despite Trowbridge's assumptions based upon his interpretation of *Meecikalita*'s remarks, which probably reflected *Meecikalita*'s thoughts on Christianity, he went on to record several narratives from *meecikalita* and *pinšiwa* that illustrated "ordinary deities", such as "Monaatoowakee Tshingwuzaukee"[81] - "The Young Thunder Spirits". These *manetoowaki* occupy a significant space within *myaamia* cosmology.

A reconstructed, though simplified, version of *myaamia* cosmology illustrates a more nuanced interpretation of the relationships inherent in the landscape. These relationships are further elaborated through the concepts imbedded in the terms *aweem-*

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[79] Charles Christopher Trowbridge, Vernon Kinietez, ed. *Meearmeear Traditions* (Univeristy of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1938), v.

[80] Ibid., 53.

[81] This would be spelled *Manetoowaki Ciinkweensaki* in the modern Miami orthography.

and *nahi-mihtohseenia*. Miami cosmology delineates the inherent relationships of all creation and the place of the *mihtohseenaki* within it. This can be divided into two opposing mutual "forces or spaces": *kiišikwi* – sky – and *ašiikiwi* - earth. *kiišikwi* is all that is above the physical earth and is a space controlled by the *manetoowa ciinkwia* – Thunder, while *ašiikiwi* includes not only land itself, but also the water upon which the island created by *Wiihsakacaakwa* floats and is a space controlled by the *manetoowa lenipinšia* – the Underwater Panther. These two *manetoowaki* are constantly battling one another and it is through their opposition to one another that balance between their controlled spaces are maintained. The place of *mihtohseeniaki* – human beings – is between these two "forces or spaces" on the land created by *Wiihsakacaakwa*. Within the Miami clan system, *mihtohseeniaki* are descended from both of these forces and the names of clans represented that descent such as *kintiwa* (Golden Eagle), *ciinkwia* (Thunder), *kiilhswa* (Sun), and *apeehkoohsia* (Buzzard).[82] These clans reflect kinship relationships with *kiišikwi*. Other clans such as *nipi* (Water), *mihšikinaahkwa* (Turtle), *maankwa* (Loon), *kinoosaawia* (panther), and *eehsipana* (Raccoon) reflect kinship relationships to *ašiikiwi*. Many of these not only include animals that live upon land, but those who live upon and within water in addition to water itself. As humans who inhabit the space between these two, but with relationships to both, *mihtohseeniaki* seek a balance through mutual respect.

[82] Several sources have different yet overlapping clans listed. Some of these are perhaps sub-clans of major clan, but each of these clans has a relationship to either the earth or sky moieties. The clan system among the Miami seems to have disappeared sometime around the removal era, but vestiges remain. Daryl Baldwin, "Clan Outline", unpublished table listing Miami clans from Charles Christopher Trowbridge (1824), Henry Lewis Morgan (circa 1850), and Elizabeth Vallier (circa 1890).

Relationships to these two spaces or forces are not centered upon control since humans cannot control these forces, *mihtohseeniaki* can only control their own actions. Embedded in the concept of *aweem-* is that of kinship and can be translated as being either related to someone or allied with someone. Responsibility lies within the individual – the *mihtohseenia*. The *mihtohseenia* who acts properly strives to maintain this balance in all that they do, to be *nahi mihtohseenia* - a good human, or one who acts properly and who is a good relative. This literally directs one's relationships and proper actions to all of creation. It is within this web of relationships that mutual respect and balance is maintained through reciprocity. This does not necessarily explain or account for all of the actions of every *myaamia* person throughout history, since every person is an individual and can only control their own actions, however it does provide a framework in which one *should* act. If one is to be a good person and a good relative, one must conduct one's self respectfully in relation to all of these aspects of landscape.

While this cosmology may define the boundaries within which humans are supposed to act, in *wiihsakacaakwa*'s travels, he is constantly testing and transgressing these boundaries of space, balance, and reciprocity. The creations of *Wiihsakacaakwa* upon the land serve as moments where these boundaries are simultaneously tested and reaffirmed in *aalshoohkana* and *aacimoona*. *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s creations of rivers and caves, cliffs, and stones serve as spaces where the proper relationships of humans to one another, animals, and *manetoowaki* take place through reciprocity to achieve balance. As Preston demonstrates in her work with Cree conceptions of landscape, whether they are stones, water, animals, spirits, or humans, these all serve as characters who are integrally tied together. It is this idea of landscape that is very much present in Miami

aalhsoohkana and *aacimoona*. As *Wiihsakacaakwa* traveled about creating the landscape, he also created its meaning for the *mihtohseeniaki.*

siipiiwa **(Rivers)**

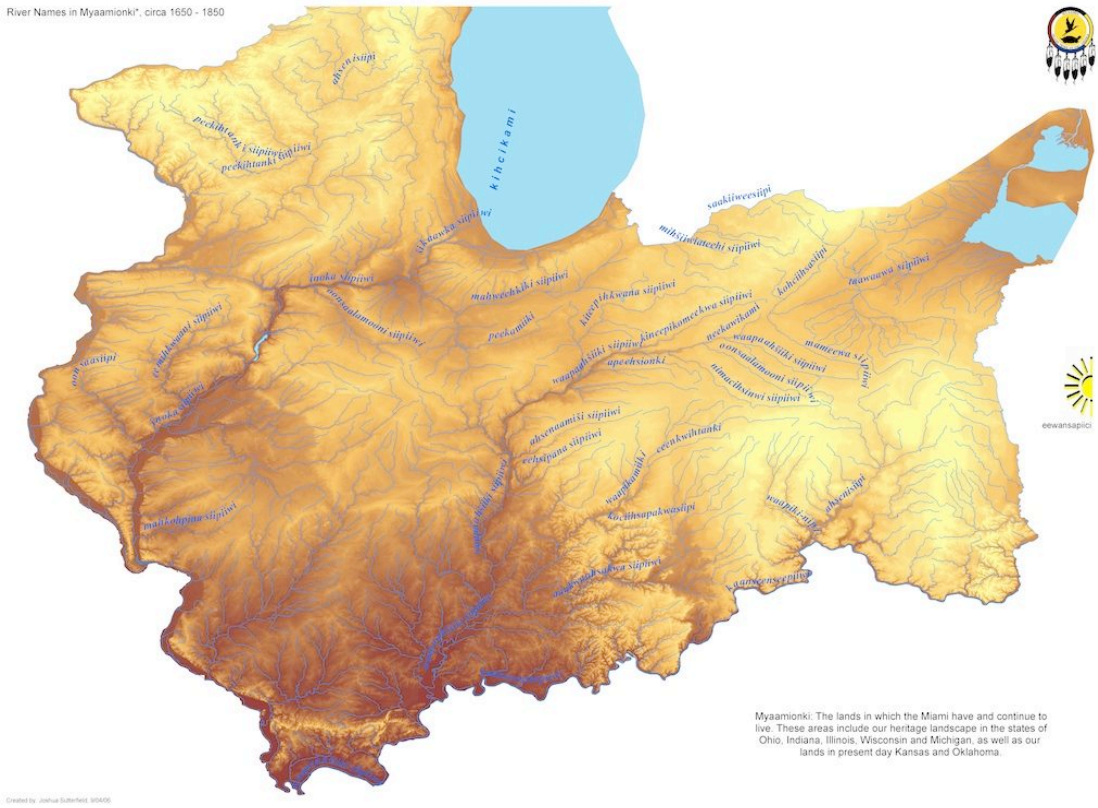

Figure 1. Map of *myaamionki* and related Miami hydronyms. This map is the result of extensive work of the Myaamia Project at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. It illustrates the known river names of Miami-Illinois speaking peoples and included the present states of western Ohio, Indiana, Southern Michigan, Illinois, and southern Wisconsin. Myaamia Project at Miami University.

Wiihsakacaakwa's travels begin along the river as do the narratives and travels of his grandchildren, the *myaamiaki.* Throughout the *aalhsoohkana* and *aacimoona* examined for this chapter, rivers bind the relationships of all the actors not only in these narratives, but in landscape as well. Rivers have been central to *myaamia* identity since their origin and continue among the contemporary Miami in various ways. The

ethnonym *myaamia* attests to the perception of other Indigenous groups, notably the Ottawa and Ojibwe, regarding the people referred to as the Miami as "the down stream people".[83] *Myaamionki* – Miami land or place of the Miami - is characterized by a significant number of rivers and many of these rivers still exhibit names of Miami origin. As seen in figure 1, the heart of *myaamionki* are those rivers within the upper *waapaahšiki siiipiiwi* (Wabash River) – "it shines white" river - and its several tributaries that the Miami have continuously inhabited since returning from what is now Wisconsin as refugees during the Beaver Wars with the *naatowiaki* (Iroquois) in the later half of the seventeenth century.

Linguist Michael McCafferty remarks in his extensive research on Indigenous place-names in what is now Indiana: "Hydronyms, the names of bodies of water, are the most commonly occurring Native American place-names in Indiana. They have survived in impressive numbers because Indiana's many lakes and streams were vital to the aboriginal inhabitants as a source of food, delineators of the natural world, and containers of spiritual presence. In addition, these streams and lakes served as highways – travel ways, trade routes, and warpaths."[84] As McCafferty's work illuminates the extensive Miami place-names and the importance of rivers in the Miami homelands, rivers have continuously shaped the lives of the *mihtohseeniaki* since their beginnings. Much of the daily lives of the Miami has centered upon the *waapaahšiki siiipiiwi* and its several tributaries.

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[83] This term is derived from the Ottawa term – *oomaamiig* – "Downstream People". See David J. Costa, "Miami-Illinois Tribe Names" in John Nichols, ed., *Papers of the Thirty-first Algonquian Conference* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba,2000) 30-53.

[84] Michael McCafferty, Native American Place-Names of Indiana (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 2008): xxvii-xxviii.

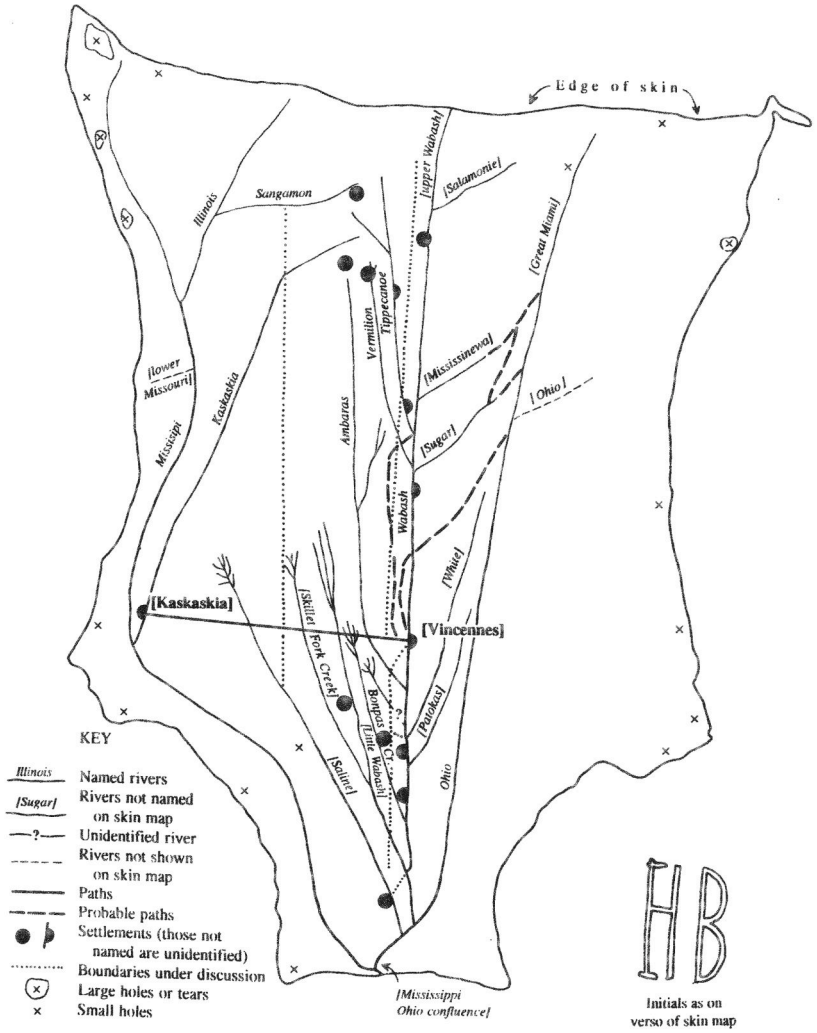

Figure 2 Rendering by G. Malcolm Lewis of the Wea Man's map. The map is in the Mullaphany collection of the British Museum, Registration number: Am2003, 19.3, and was supposedly created during the negotiations between the Wea and the Wabash Land Comapany , circa 1774-1775. Bryan Mullaphany brought the map with him to Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, England in 1821 and gifted it to the college. Byran's father was John Mullaphany, an Irish-American trader who established himself in New Orleans and St. Louis in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. See *Native American Art: Irish American Trade, The Stonyhurst Mullaphany collection* (The British Museum: 2004)

The drawing in figure 2, commonly referred to as "The Wea Man's Map"[85] is perhaps the earliest example of a *myaamia* speaking person representing their perception of their tribal landscape to a non-*myaamia* audience. The *moohswaya* – deer skin - on which it is drawn is an animate object and is attributed to having been created by a Wea man in 1774. What is remarkable about this *moohswaya* is that it does not delineate boundaries, nor is it necessarily the map, but rather, as we shall see, the *moohswaya* is a representation of the map that is the rivers. The rivers are the map. According to Miami historian, George Ironstrack:

> The map is centered on the Wea man's homeland, the *waapaahšiki siiipiiwi*. In fact, the Wea man's village almost occupies the center of the hide at that confluence of Sugar Creek and the *waapaahšiki siiipiiwi* …the Wea man's rerpresentation of his home river valley was not an attempt to represent geographical place in the European sense…the Wea man clearly depicted an interconnected landscape."[86]

Indigenously created maps of this era are rare and Geographer G. Malcolm Lewis describes maps such as these as "Indigenous post-encounter maps" that attempt to

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[85] For more on the context of the creation of the map and its relationship to the *myaamiaki* who lived at the village of *pinkwi mihtohseeniaki* (Pickawillany, near what is now Piqua, Ohio), see George Ironstrack, *From the Ashes: One Story of the Village of Pinkwi Mihtohseeniaki*, Masters Thesis, Department of History, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 2006. The *waayaatonwaki* (Wea) were a "sub-tribe" or band of the Miami Nation at the time this map was created whose village of *waayaatanonki*, near present day Lafayette, Indiana served as their central village. The Wea language is a nearly indistinguishable dialect from Miami proper. Oral history from LeGros recounts how the *waayaatonwaki* split away from the Miami proper probably during the 1600s. In the early 19th century, the Wea removed to Kansas where they confederated with the Peoria, Kaskaskia and Piankishaw and later moved to Oklahoma and whose descendents form a significant part of the contemporary Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma.

[86] Ironstrack, "From the Ashes", 23-24

communicate spatially with Europeans and Euro-Americans.[87] The few early maps from Indigenous peoples of North America from the early contact period demonstrate that Indigenous mapmakers were not interested in delineating a precise facsimile of the land, its topographic features, water bodies, and boundaries, but rather were interested in delineating relationships.[88] As Ironstrack contends, the Wea man's map is not about mapping exactitude upon the land, nor is it about delineating boundaries. It is, rather, a mapping of relationships of people to one another and to the rivers of *myaamionki*. The predominant features on the map are not landmarks per se, but rather rivers and their relationships and connections to one another and to the people who called them home. There are no literal boundaries delineated and while these relationships are contained within the boundaries of the skin on which they are rendered, the skin is not necessarily the map, but rather the map is the rivers and the rivers are the map. It is a representation of the oral transmission of knowledge about rivers, their connections to one another and to the people who inhabitited them.

As Renée Fossett demonstrates the form of Indigenous Inuit "post-contact" mapping, is rather a continuation of existing acts of doing, that "In Inupiaq-Inuit languages, to describe an activity as *inuktut* is to say that the activity is being done 'the way our people do it' or 'in our fashion.' One can speak *inuktut*, cook *inuktut*, dance,

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[87] For a discussion on what G. Malcom Lewis refers to as "Indigenous Post-encounter Mapmaking" see Lewis, "Frontier Encounters in the Field: 1511-1925" in G. Malcolm Lewis, ed., *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1998) 11-14.

[88] This map could be considered a type of "Sociogram" that Patricia Galloway describes as a "…diagram (of) social networks, where persons or groups are represented by nodes and the social connections between them make up the network connections" and are "clearly ethnocentric, in that each maker places his own polity at the center of the map…"224-225. See Patricia Galloway, "Debriefing Explorers: Amerindian Information in the Delisles' Mapping of the Southeast" and Gregory A. Waselkov, "Indian Maps of the Colonial Southeast: Archeaological Implications and Prospects" in G. Malcolm Lewis, ed. *Cartographic Encounters.*

sing, raise children, or practice mapping *inuktut*."[89] In this sense, the Wea man's map is a continuation of the act of narrating. It functions as a visual representation of the oral and is a narrative. Here the map represents how he saw his relationships to his homeland and his relatives along its many rivers. In his conversations with the British land company agents, he was conveying to them these relationships. It is *his* story that continues to be conveyed to us. He is thus re-centering the map and the narrative upon himself, his people, and the river. The Wea man's map places his village of *waayaahtanonki,* near the confluence of the Wabash River and Sugar Creek directly at the center of the map. The *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* is also re-centered and forms the literal and figurative spine of the map and his story. The Wea man is conveying a subjective story to us that did not necessarily adhere to the interests of the British land agents he initially told his story to and their traditions of maps representing objective observations of the land. As Fossett goes on to talk about the post-contact Inuit practice of mapping *inuktut*:

> The distinct approaches of Inuit and European visitors to the problems of scale and distance in mapping sprang from their different understandings of the purposes of maps and reflected their different views of the world. While European scientific cartography sought to describe practical reality objectively, Inuit mapping attempted to describe practical reality subjectively. The goal of the European scientific cartography was to portray terrain and topography as absolute fact existing outside of human experience. On the other hand, the mapping and the maps of Iligliuk and

[89] Renée Fossett, "Mapping Inuktut", in Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History, 2nd ed.* (Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press, 2003), 111.

> other Inuit cartographers, with their apparent physical distortions of scale and distance, reflected a view of the physical environment as a complex of relative conditions important insofar as they affected human activity. Within the context of Arctic physical, social, and cultural environments, mapping *inuktut* was a rational, practical, and appropriate solution to the problems of storing and transmitting geographical information.[90]

While the Wea Man's map may appear to be a distortion of scale, topography and natural features from a Western cartographic tradition, it is a continuation of Indigenous oral tradition and is an accurate representation of relationships.

Furthermore, the two major rivers on both sides of the Wabash River are the *kaanseensiipi* –the Ohio River and the *mihšisiipi* – the Mississippii River. Within a Western cartographic tradition, these can be interpreted as delineating boundaries for the Wea man and the *myaamiaki,* but these could rather represent connections to other non-Myaamia people at both the present of the Wea man and the distant past. The Mississippi provided important trade connections and war paths for the *myaamia*, since their traditional enemies, the *šaahaki* (Dakota) were at its northern reaches, and the *wašaašiaki* (Osage) were at its southern reaches. Furthermore, in the *myaamia* sense, the Wabash River does not end at its confluence with the Ohio River, but rather continues beyond this and ends at its confluence with the Mississippi River. The *kaanseensiipiiwi* ends at its confluence with the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi*. Furthermore, the *kaanseensiipiiwi* refers to those people who lived on that river at some time in the past, speakers of the Dhegiha Siouan dialects. This term was recorded by the French as early

[90] Renée Fossett, "Mapping Inuktut", 119.

as 1700[91] and is supported by the oral traditions of the Quapaw, Osage, Kaw, Omaha, and Ponca that they migrated from the east and probably from the Ohio River Valley prior to the southern Great Plains.[92] Attesting to the ancient inhabitation of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers respectively by the *myaamiaki* and the Dhegiha speaking peoples. Furthermore, *kansa* ("Wind"in Dhegiha dialects) appears not to have been in reference to a specific tribe, but rather is the name of a clan that was within all of these tribes.[93] This also coincides with the practice of naming of these rivers on the periphery of one's homeland after the people they connected the *myaamiaki* to, rather than being presumptuous and naming a river after one's own people. In the case of *kaanseensiipi,* it connected the *myaamiaki* to the *kaansaki.* This practice is further supported by the naming of the Maumee River in the northeastern periphery of *myaamionki* as *tawaawa siipiiwi* – the Odawa River. Even though the *myaamiaki* lived along this river's confluence with the *kociihsaasiipi* and *mameewe siipiiwi,* the *myaamaki* named the river after those people whom it connected them to, the Odawa who lived near its confluence with Lake Erie, consequently, this is also the same practice that bestowed the *myaamiaki* their ethnonym. It was in this relationship with the Odawa that they were called *maameeg* – the downstream people. This name became "Miami-ized" into the modern *myaamia*.[94] Rivers may act as boundaries only insofar as being boundaries of

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[91] For a more detailed description of sources and linguistic aspects of this see McCafferty, 50-52.

[92] See Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1970) 34-41. David Costa comes to a similar conclusion based upon linguistic and historical material analysis. See David J Costa, "Miami-Illinois Tribe Names", in John Nichols, ed., *Papers of the Thirty-first Algonquian Conference* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2000), 31-32.

[93] Ibid., 38.

[94] See Costa, "Miami-Illinois Tribal Names", 50-51.

knowledge of the land connected to them. Rivers are not boundaries between people, but serve as the necessary connection to other people.

Rivers and the Miami's relationships to them continued to play a central role in early dealings with the United States. A look at all of the treaty provisions reserving Miami lands throughout the early nineteenth century reflect the significance of rivers to the livelihoods of the Miami, namely the Wabash and its tributaries, as well as the three rivers near the Fort Wayne area.[95] For the Miami along the Wabash and Mississinewa Rivers, the river would continue to provide a major means of subsistence well into the twentieth century.

Following removal, the Miami who remained on reserve lands were literarily living upon islands of *myaamionki;* small spaces inhabited by Miami people. *Myaamionki* was rapidly transformed with much of the forests cleared, wetlands drained, and prairies plowed for agriculture in surrounding non-Miami occupied lands. As agricultural historians Mary R. McCorvie and Christopher L. Lant demonstrate, *myaamionki* underwent this rapid transformation from approximately 1850 to 1930 and was the most extensive wetland drainage initiative in the entire United States where "legislation, technology, and institutions, particularly drainage districts" enabled this to take place and *myaamionki* would become part of "the most important agricultural region in North America, the Cornbelt…built from the wet prairies, marshes and

[95] Beginning with the Treaty with the Miami, 1818, Sta. L VII 189, the Miami Nation and individual Miami reserved lands along the Wabash, Mississinewa, Salamonie, and Eel Rivers as well as several smaller tributaries to these rivers. Following removal, those Miami who remained in Indiana lived mostly on reserve lands along the Mississinewa and Wabash Rivers with others living on reserve lands near Huntington on the Wabash River, such as the Lafontain family, and Fort Wayne on the St. Joseph, St. Marys and Maumee Rivers, such as the Richardville family.

bottomland forests of the midwestern plains."[96]During this period, almost the entire northern half the state of Indiana was engaged in these "drainage enterprises" with an estimate of up to nearly 7,000 acres of original wetlands, about 31 percent of the total land area within the boundaries of the State of Indiana, succumbing to these enterprises, while only approximately 3 percent of the original remain today.[97] These drained areas would comprise 35 percent of the total land farmed in Indiana by 1930.[98]

Despite these rapid changes, the river and its environs provided continuity while the Miami adapted[99]. While the land itself could have artificial boundaries delineated that simultaneously separated and contained *myaamia* people, the fluidity of rivers provided a space that could not be easily controlled through these human interruptions. As seen in figure 3, while not all of these reserve lands were contiguous, the Wabash and Mississinewa Rivers continued to connect the small settlements of Miami people within these reserves. Well into the twentieth century, Miami people made use of the abundance of fish, mussels, and other aquatic species as well as the several mammal and bird species available in its bottomlands. Swan Hunter, a granddaughter of *Waapinaakikaapwa* remarked that as a child, they had eaten so many fish that "they almost turned into one."[100]

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[96] Mary R. McCorvie and Christopher L. Lant, "Drainage District Formation and the Loss of Midwestern Wetlands, 1850-1930." *Agricultural History*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Autumn, 1993) 13-39.

[97] Figure 2b and Table 1, Ibid., 16 and 22.

[98] Table 3Ibid., 30.

[99] There is no doubt that this reliance upon rivers was also heightened from other habitat destruction and land loss among the Indiana Miami which greatly decreased the amount of available foods for gathering and hunting.

[100] Stewart Rafert. "Being Indian in the Land of the Indians: Miami Life in Indiana, 1890-1990" in Native American Cultures in Indiana: Proceedings of the First Minnetrista Council for Great Lakes Native American Studies (Minnetrista Cultural Center and Ball State University, Muncie, IN: 1992) 88.

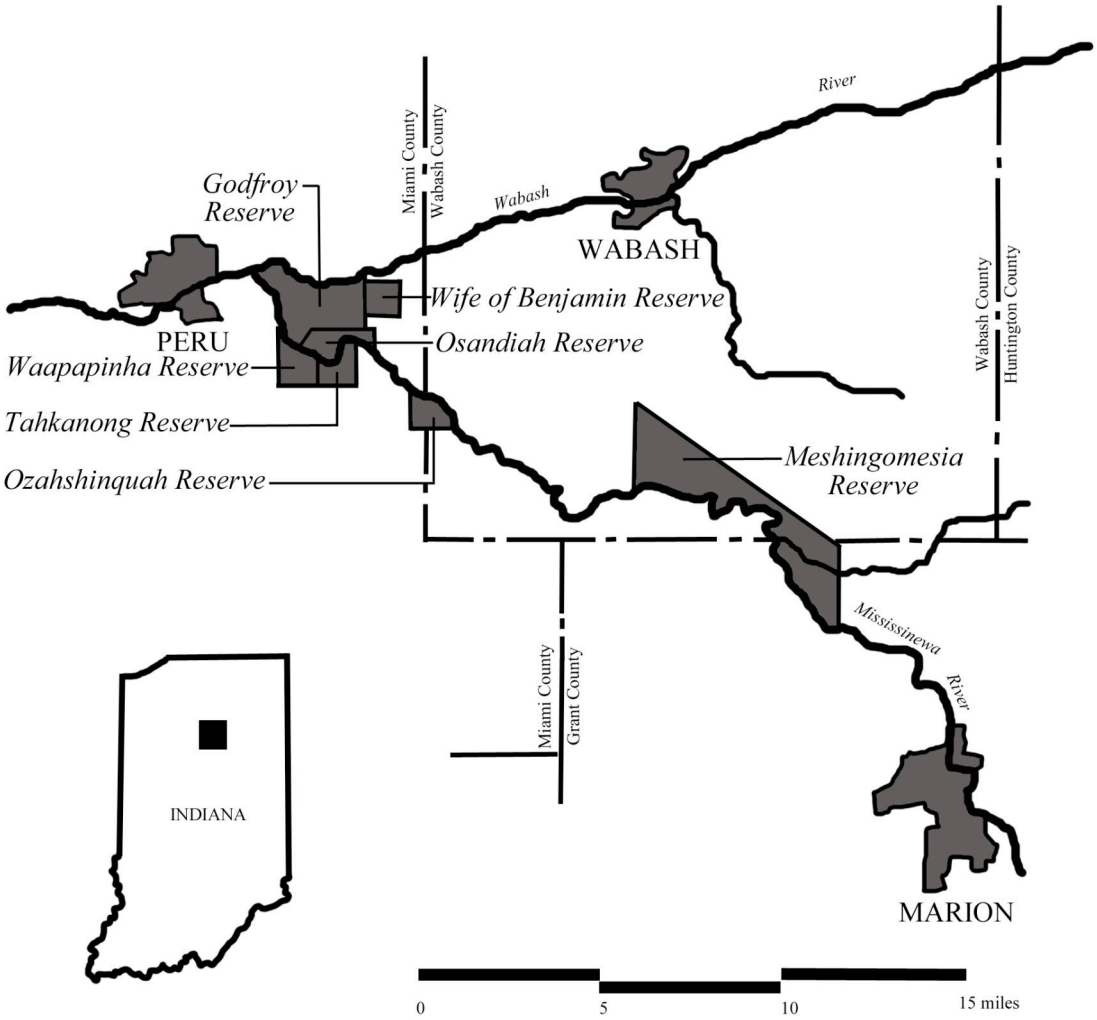

Figure 3 Major concentration of Miami reserve lands in Indiana following removal in 1846. Most of this land was lost due to the allotments of the Meshingomesia Reserve becoming taxable in 1881 and the remainder of reserve lands becoming taxable following the termination of the Indiana Miami status as a federally recognized tribe in 1897. The Miami struggled to hold onto these reserve lands until around the 1940s. A few acres of the original Godfroy Reserve near Peru continue to be held in trust by a descendent of Francis Godfroy.

The fertile bottomlands of these rivers also provided for the cultivation of *myaamia miincipi,* a flint corn unique to the Miami, that continued to be grown among the Indiana Miami community until after World War II and has enjoyed a revitalization of its propagation since the 1990s within Indiana and Oklahoma. Ethnobotanist Michael

Gonella's dissertation on Miami ethnobotany has provided important insights into several outsiders' recordings of the Miami corn traditions and related language:

> *Minooteena*, Miami summer villages, were situated near prairies and corn was often planted on floodplains nearby rivers, including the Wabash, Eel and Mississinewa Rivers in northern Indiana, the White River of central Indiana (Stickney 1809-1815), the Maumee and Auglaize Rivers of northern Indiana and Ohio (Denny 1859, Dillon 1859), and the mouth of the Ohio in southern Illinois (Dunn ca. 1900). Father Pinet, lists the Miami term *maaciihasiinooke* whose translation means "if it [the corn] is not swept away by the water" (Pinet 1696-ca.1700), suggesting the riparian location of some corn fields, also noted by Denny (1859). The Miami presumably placed these fields along rivers to capitalize on the higher soil moisture content, as well as the relatively high fertility of floodplain soils.[101]

While this scholarship has provided important information regarding rivers to the Miami for trade, transportation, and foodways, an investigation of *aalhsoohkana* and *aacimoona* provides the necessary window into the meanings of rivers and landscape to the Miami. In the early twentieth century, *Waapinaakikaapwa*[102], a knowledgeable tribal elder relayed an *aacimooni* to Jacob P. Dunn about *eehonci*

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[101] Michael P. Gonella. *Myaamia* Ethnobotany. Doctoral Dissertation (Miami University: Oxford, OH, 2007) 86.

[102] *Waapinaakikaapwa* (1834-1910) was also known as Gabriel Godfroy and was a politically active leader among the Indiana Miami during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See chapters four, five, and six for more details as to his involvement in Miami history.

kiintoohki pyaawaaci myaamiaki, "where the Miamis first came from"[103].

Waapinakikaapwa learned from *Keetanka*, also known as "Charley", "who used to take the boys fishing at night, and tell them stories while waiting for a bite"[104]:

> **Mihtami Myaamiaki nipinkonci saakaciweeciki.**
> *At first the Miamis came out of the water.*
>
> **Eehonci saakaciweewaaci 'Saakiiweeyonki' iitaminki.**
> *The place they emerged is called 'Coming Out Place'.*
>
> **Nipinkonci neeweeyohsaaciki moohkiiciki.**
> *The first ones came to the top of the water.*
>
> **"Peemiihtanaahka sakaahkweelo", iilitiiciki.**
> *"Grab ahold of tree-limbs", they told each other.*
>
> **Neehi saakaciweeciki. Noonki niiyaahi eeminooteeciki.**
> *And they came out; then they formed a town there.*
>
> **Niiyaanci maaciihkaaciki. Minooteeni neekatankiki.**
> *From there they went away. They left the town.*
>
> **Kapootwe nkóti aapweeyaata.**
> *After a while one returned.*
>
> **Aapwe pyaata kwitakaki mihtohseeniaki neewaaciki Saakiiweeyonki.**
> *When he came back he saw the other Indians at Coming Out Place.*
>
> **Naahpa-'hsa naapi iilaataweeciki iilataaweeyaanki.**
> *To our surprise, their language was just like our language*
>
> **Neehi-'hsa weentaawaaci 'Mahtahkisenaakana', iilaaciki iina mihtohseeniaki.**
> *He named them 'Old Moccasins'; that's what he called those Indians.*
>
> **Moohci ninkihkeelimaahsoo weencinaakosiwaaci.**
> *I don't know which tribe they belonged to.*
>
> **Moohci aweeyaki kihkeelimaawaata eehi-'yaawaaci.**
> *Nobody knew where they went.*

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[103] Elicited to Jacob P. Dunn by *Waapinkaakikaapwa* sometime between 1906 and 1910. David Costa, *Miami and Peoria Traditional Narratives*, Unpublished Manuscript, 2008.

[104] Jacob P. Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans: A History of Aboriginal and Territorial Indiana and the Century of Statehood, Vol. 1* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1919) 44.

Ooniini ninkiiki iišimiwaaci, ninkya 'Seekaahkweeta' amihsali 'Waapankihkwe'.
This is how my mothers told me, my mother 'Takes Hold', and her older sister 'Swan Woman'.

Ceeki mihtohseeniaki kíyošiaki eelaamhtankiki.
All the old Indian men believed it.

Siipiiwi 'Saakiiweesiipiiwi' weentankiki, eehonci saakaciweewaaci.
They call the river 'Coming Out River' at the place where they came out from.

Iiniini wiiyoonkonci niiši weentinciki 'Seekaahkweeta', 'Seekaahkonanka', 'Seekaahkohkwe'.
Because of this they often give the names 'Takes Hold', 'He Takes Hold of it', and 'Taking Hold Woman'.

According to this *aacimooni* handed down from *Waapinaakikaapwa*, the emergence from the river at *saakiiweeyonki* is where the Miami people realized their uniqueness and difference from the people called "Old Moccasins"[105], even though they spoke the same language. Their emergence from the river created them as a people. The importance of this event in the historical memory of the Miami is attested in the persistence of naming to commemorate this pivotal moment. The naming of people links them to the efforts of their ancestors to pull themselves into existence from *saakiiweesiipi.* This river gives meaning to the very existence of the Miami people.

[105] As *Waapinaakikaapwa* mentioned toward the end, he was unsure as to who the "Old Moccasins" were. Perhaps these were other Miami-Illinois speaking people, but *Meecikilita* remarked that these groups all split off from one another within the recent past of 1820. All of these bands had specific names, such as the *piiyankišiaki* (Piankeshaw), *waayaahtanwaki* (Wea), *kaahkaahkiaki* (Kaskaskia), *Peewaaliaki* (Peoria), etc. Perhaps this refers to another closely related linguist group such as the Kickapoo, Meskwaki, or perhaps even the Mascouten. For the latter, there is very little linguistic evidence to make such a claim as to their linguistic relationship with any of these groups, but were historically linked. See Ives Goddard, "Historical and Philological Evidence regarding the Identification of the Mascouten." *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring, 1972) 123-134.

In nearly all extant *aalshoohkana*, be they about *Wiihsakcakaakwa* or other characters, water initially serves as means of setting for episodes and eventually proves an area of transformation. In George Finley's version relating the episode of *Wiihsakacaakwa'*s encounter with the Seven-Headed Manitou, the episode begins: *Wiihsakacaakwa-ihsa peempaalici ciikaahkwe siipionki* - Wissakatchakwa was walking along near a river. It is here that he meets up with the *mihtehkoohsia* – the Frenchman - and as they travel down river together in the Frenchman's canoe, they encounter the Seven-Headed Manito and are then taken to his home inside a cave within a cliff. After defeating the Manitou, Wiihsakacaakwa encounters the *payiihsaki*,[106] who come from around the river bend. Within all of these episodes, water serves as a space or conduit for interaction among and between humans, animals and manitous. It is the river that carries *Wiisakacaakwa* to these interactions.

Water also has transformative potentials. In an episode from Elizabeth Vallier, *Wiihsakacaakwa* visits *amehkwa* - beaver. *Amehkwa* returns to the river the bones of his child he had fed to *Wiihsakacaakwa*. It is through returning the bones in their entirety back to the river, with exception of the one bone in *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s mouth, that *amehkwa*'s child returns. Beaver is able to reproduce this with *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s child as well when *Wiihsakacaakwa* is unable to do so. The following and final episode involves *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s encounter with Kingfisher where *Wiihsakacaakwa* ends up

[106] According to Robert A. Brightman and his work with Rock Cree narratives, the *mimikwisiwak* the Cree counter-part to the *payiihsaki,* are "…a small race of furtive hominid beings associated with water and/or riparian rocky cliffs…" Brightman, *Acaoohkiwina and Acimowina: Traditional Narratives of the Rock Cree Indians* (Candian Museum of Civilization: 1989), 151. Their counterpart among the Ojbwe *memegwesiwg*, "a hairy-faced, bank-dwelling, dwarf spirit," John D. Nichols and Early Nyholm, *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1995), 83.

being swallowed by a pike. Kingfisher then calls up the pike from the river and cuts it open to reveal *Wiihsakacaakwa* sitting inside with his hair rotted away; which explains this as the reason white men are bald. Here, water serves as a place of rebirth or transformation for animals and humans. Animals acknowledge *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s failed attempts of reciprocation and by helping *Wiihsakacaakwa* to do so. While he has transgressed the boundaries of proper behavior, *Wiihsakacaakwa* recognizes his mistakes and attempts to make amends, with the animals taking pity upon him and reciprocating their own actions.

A whole corpus of *aalhsoohkana* exists revolving around the antagonistic relationship of *paapankamwa* (fox) to *mahweewa* (wolf). The setting for these *aalhsoohkana* is also the river. It is along the river that *mahweewa* meets his brother *paapankamwa* who is usually eating or have just eaten some type of food. *Mahweewa* craves to know how *paapankamwa* has procured these various foods, and it is through following *paapankamwa*'s instructions for procuring food that *mahweewa* meets his death. As these episodes proceed, *mahweewa* is lured into either drowning or being killed, usually by various French and Americans. In one particular episode[107] *mahweewa* desires to know how *paapankamwa* procured the frozen fish rattling from his tail. *Paapankamwa* instructs *mahweewa* how to place his tail in a hole in the ice of the river. After waiting all evening, *mahweewa* is told that he can remove his tail from the ice to find his tail full of attached fish. Of little knowledge to *mahweewa*, after waiting all evening for the fish to bite onto his tail, his tail has completely frozen in the ice. In the version elicited from Vallier, *mahweewa* then falls victim to a white man who finds him

[107] Elizabeth Vallier (Western Miami) version, "paapankamwa aalhsoohkaakani," David J. Costa, Unpublished Manuscript.

and clubs him to death. In another version elicited from …, an Indian finds *mahweewa* and breaks the ice around his tail to release him. Within these *paapankamwa* and *mahweewa aalhsoohkana* the river serves as conduit that brings *paapankamwa* to *mahweewa* and is the scene of *paapankamwa*'s constant pranks upon his brother *mahweewa* that often lead to his demise.

Rivers serve as important places of connection between humans and *manetoowaki.* Waapinaakikaapwa relayed an *aalhsoohkani*[108] by regarding *lenipinšia* – the Underwater Panther – that illustrates the potential for reciprocal relationships between humans and this powerful *manetoowa*. *šiipaakana* – Awl - also known historically as Deaf Man was a powerful war leader among the Miami in the early 19th century. The historical figure of "Deaf Man" has eluded ethnohistorians since they have projected Euro-American conceptions of power upon him. In these interpretations, he is assigned as having physical power and political powers that enabled him to amass tremendous material wealth.[109] This *aalhsoohkani* re-centers the position of *šiipaakana* in relation to his connections with this *manetoowa* and the subsequent spiritual power and knowledge he gained through this relationship was his "wealth" and status within

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[108] While this involves a specific person and place and approximate time can be inferred, it is still one involving *lenipinšia*. Any story involving this particular *manetoowa* must be told during the winter.

[109] See Susan Sleeper Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001) In Jim Buss's article " 'They Found and Left Her an Indian:' Gender, Race, and the Whitening of Young Bear" (Frontiers 2008, vol. 29, nos. 2 & 3: 1-35), Buss comments that Deaf Man's success as a War Chief "gave him great wealth" and is absent in the historical record. Which may be the case for the Euro-American historical record, however within these *myaamia aalhsoohkana* and *aacimooni* he is very much present. According to Buss, "Godfroy indicated that Deaf Man was a powerful and wealthy Miami chief (the affluence of Deaf Man's village should have indicated as much to men like George Winter who witnessed it firsthand). But, perhaps stories of the gender-bending, bucking-bronco riding Young Bear and her wealthy Indian husband were told but suppressed, as they threatened to disappoint gendered and racialized expectations of white visitors. We will never know. The focus of nineteenth-century authors on Frances Slocum, the captive, certainly has distorted our view of Deaf Man."

the Miami community.

For the *mihtohseeniaki,* bodies of water, and more specifically rivers, not only provided a means for supplementing their diets and connecting them to trade goods, but serve as a conduit for connecting humans, animals, and manitous. Rivers serve as transformative spaces where animals and humans are transformed and reborn and in the case of *mahweewa*, die. The river is not a dangerous space, it is only dangerous to humans when *manetoowaki* and animals are not respected; when reciprocal relations with these beings are not acknowledged or maintained. The river *is* the narrative, both "meander" and "flow" to and fro. It is *Wiihsakacaakwa* who simultaneously travels along within the narrative and creates it along the way.

Waala, aašipehkwaki, neehi ahseniiki **(Caves, Cliffs and Stones)**

Within these selected *aalhsoohkana* and *aacimoona,* there is also a focus upon specific topographic features that predominate the rivers of *myaamionki,* these being: *waala* (caves), *aašipehkwaki* (cliffs), and *ahseniiki* (stones). The majority of northern Indiana is covered by extensive amounts of glacial material covering layers of sedimentary bedrock. In the upper Wabash River valley, this is composed of Sulurian rocks: limestone and dolomite.[110] Along the rivers within the Wabash River valley, this underlying geology breaks through the surface; the rivers contain extensive limestone bottoms, outcroppings, and bluffs. The *myaamia* name for this river reflects the connections of limestone and water. According to McCafferty, "the term *waapaahši(i)ki* is a conjunct II verb meaning "it shines white" (*siipiiwi* signifies "river"). It is clear that

[110] Indiana Geological Survey "Bedrock Geology of Indiana" < http://igs.indiana.edu/geology/structure/bedrockgeology/index.cfm>. Accessed 10/07/2010.

these Miami-Illinois expressions…refer to the transparent and/or reflective quality, indeed the luminescence, of concrete objects in general. And in the case of our place-name…that the referent…is the dolomitic limestone that forms the bed of the upper river between Huntington and Carroll Counties."[111]Along the Wabash River, perhaps the most well known of these features is commonly referred to as "Hanging Rock". There is no knowledge or recording of the Miami name for this specific feature, but a folk-story that is probably of Euro-American origin exists involving a Miami "maiden" who threw herself off of it after her lover was killed by a jealous man.[112] Other of these features along the Mississinewa River include places such as *aašipehkwa waawaalici* – "caves in the cliff", and *aašipehkwa weeweenšhkwaapici* – "stone cliffs facing each other." In the Miami language, *aašipehkwa* means "cliff" and is an animate noun. In the Miami language, stones can either be animate or inanimate, but within *aalhsoohkana,* stones are always referred to as animate nouns – *ahsena*, in the singular form and *ahseniiki*, in the plural form. The animacy assigned to cliffs and stones illustrate that these features also serve as "persons" within narratives and in the daily lives of the *myaamiaki* who have lived near them.

Finley's *aalhsoohkana* contains numerous episodes involving caves, cliffs and stones. In the episode focusing upon the home of the Seven-headed Manitou, although it is not specifically called a cave, the description of it as such is implied. The manitou's

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[111] McCafferty, 34. McCafferty also states: "*waapaahši(i)ki siipiiwi* could be a relatively ancient place-name whose usage stretches back into late prehistoric times…and may have an extraordinary spiritual undercurrent." McCafferty attempts to connect the "shining white stone" with that of *lenipinšia,*the Underwater Panther. While this connection is tenuous at best, he also contends that there are no other stories of *lenipinšia* existing in any other area the Miami have historically inhabited other than the Wabash River and its tributaries which may have some merit. Stories of *lenipinšia* have purposefully been omitted from this chapter.

[112] Chief Clarence Godfroy's *Miami Indian Stories*, contains a rendition of this story.

home is also located near a bend in the river. It is after claiming the manitou's home that *Wiihsakacaakwa* meets some *payiihsaki* while sunning himself on a stone. Attempting to scare *Wiihsakacaakwa* and claim the manitou's home as their own, the *payiihsaki* appeared from behind another stone in the river. Upon confronting the *payiihsaki*, *Wiihsacaakwa* decides to give the newly cleaned abode to the *payiihsaki*. In this episode, Finely remarks that "the footprints of the *payiihsaki* are still plainly visible." This alludes to an explanation for a specific topographic feature that is not present in any other *aalsoohkana*.[113]

In another episode within Finley's *aalhsoohkana,* cliffs serve as another climactic character where *Wiihsakacaakwa* encounters two old blind men who live together. *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s intial encounter with the two old men comprises of his playing a trick on them to fool each to think the other has hit him. Upon realizing it is their grandchild *Wiihsakacaakwa*, he offers to stop his trickery upon them in exchange for cooking their meals. *Wiihsakacaakwa* fails to hold up to his end of the bargain when he tricks the old men into falling off a cliff near the river while fetching water, resulting in *Wiihsakacaakwa* being sent on the mission to catch waterfowl at a nearby lake. Following these instructions, *Wiihsakacaakwa* finds himself lifted from the lake upon tying himself to these waterfowl. He later wills himself free and lands in the river upon a catfish containing a bear. This incident of the old men falling off of the cliff marks the moment where *Wiihsakacaakwa* has once again failed to perform a respectful reciprocal behavior, whose own trickery has been reciprocated.

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[113] According to Robert A. Brightman and his work with Rock Cree narratives, the *mimikwisiwak*, the Cree counter-part to the *payiihsaki,* are "…a small race of furtive hominid beings associated with water and/or riparian rocky cliffs…" Brightman, *Acaoohkiwina and Acimowina: Traditional Narratives of the Rock Cree Indians* (Candian Museum of Civilization: 1989) 151.

Reciprocity is also an integral theme within an *aacimooni* gathered from *pimweeyoteema*, Camillus Bundy. In the 1920s, the collector and amateur anthropologist Milford G. Chandler struck up a relationship with Bundy. Bundy was the son of *oonsaahšinihkwa* (also know as Jane Bundy and daughter of the Miami War Chief *šiipaakana* and the "white captive" Frances Slocum) and *waapapita*, also known as Peter Bundy. Both of Bundy's parents and his grandparents were important and powerful figures within the Miami community. Bundy had inherited several items through these kinship relations, one of these being a *pwaahkana* – pipe. The pipe had come into his care after a fire in his mother's cabin had nearly burned everything. Digging among the ashes, Bundy found the pipe bowl made of red catlinite with a human-like face carved facing the smoker. The *pwaahkana* had been part of a bundle his mother hung from the cabin rafters. Bundy would eventually sell this pipe to Chandler and relay a story to Chandler about how it came to be in his family.

Bundy's *aacimooni* [114]of how the pipe came to be passed down through his family alludes to the *aašipehkwa waawaalici,* otherwise known as the Seven Pillars along the *namacihsinwi siipiiwi* (Mississinewa River). The story relates to Bundy's ancestor *lamihkikamwa*, or Hard Strike, while after shooting a deer encounters an elder

[114] Milford G. Chandler, "The Miami War Pipe", Cranbrook Institute of Science Archives, date unknown. For a published account see Milford G. Chandler, "The Miami War Pipe", in David W. Penney, Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1997), 295-298. It is unclear were the term "war pipe" is derived from since there is no mention of this pipe being related to war in anyway. Perhaps Chandler inferred this conclusion since it was once part of a bundle and that *oonsaašinihkwa*'s father *šiipaakana* was the War Chief for the Miami in the early 19th century prior to *Palaanswa*, Frances Godfroy. A similar story was also relayed to local Miami county amateur historian Hal C. Phelps by Bundy on September 6, 1930. There is no mention of the pipe in this story, but the interaction between the two young men and the elder man who is described as an "Old Witch" is nearly identical. In this version of the *aacimooni*, the young hunter is distraught by an abusive wife and leaves home to wander the woods and kills a deer on two different occasions and offers them to the "Old Witch" who bestows upon him the knowledge and power to fly. Hal C. Phelps Papers, Miami County Museum, 470.

who *lamihkikamwa* then offers half of the deer to. The elder then asks *lamihkikamwa* to return the next day to be given a gift in return. This gift is the pipe and *lamihkikamwa* is asked to perform a task in order to receive this pipe. The fulfillment of this task takes place "at the top of a cliff with the river going around a bend at the bottom of it." There are few places along the Mississinewa River that have perpendicular bends such as this and only one that has stone cliffs at this bend. This place is almost certainly that of *aašipehkwa waawaalici.* It is here that *lamihkikamwa* performs his task and flies off the cliff landing upon a stone in the river. In this *aacimooni*, cliffs and stones located along the river serve as a space for transformation and reciprocity between humans.

With the river as the narrative, caves, cliffs and stones are the exclamation points or moments of climax along the way. They act simultaneously as persons and places of interaction among humans, animals, and *manetoowaki*. The features also serve as the home of *manetoowaki* that require proper respect to be paid to these places.

***Aweehsaki neehi manetoowaki* (Animals and Manitous)**

Another less obvious aspect of landscape within these stories is that of interspecies relationships; the relationships between humans and animals. These stories imply the proper forms of respect to be paid to animals and spirits through reciprocity. The main focus of Vallier's *Wiihsakacaakwa aalhsoohkana* is the concept of reciprocity. Numerous episodes are composed of *Wiihsakacaakwa* visiting his friends *oonsaanihkwa* (fox squirrel), *mahkwa* (bear), *kwaahkwa* (woodpecker), *amehkwa* (beaver,) and *kiihkamaanhsia* (kingfisher). It is *Wiihsakacaakwa* who first visits these animals, who then offer *Wiihsakacaakwa* something to eat as he enters their homes.

Wiihsakacaakwa then offers each animal to visit his home for the very same food to eat. As each animal is invited into his home, *Wiihsakacaakwa* subjects his family to his failed attempts of replicating the food previously offered by each animal. The final episode concludes with *Wiihsakacaakwa* feeling ashamed of his failed attempts and flies away, leaving his family behind. The episodes involving bear and beaver are of particular interest. Within the episode involving bear's visit, *Wiihsakacaakwa* attempts to reproduce a tenderloin from his wife by cutting her, just as bear had done previously to his own wife. As she cries out in pain, bear heals her. Furthermore, beaver is able to bring *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s child back to life after the child is fed to beaver by *Wiihsakacaakwa* and he fails to bring his son back to life as beaver did his own child. Although *Wiihsakacaakwa* fails in each attempt to reciprocate the actions of the animals he encounters, these animals acknowledge his attempts as being respectful and reciprocal and furthermore help *Wiihsakacaakwa* to alleviate the circumstances he has put his family through.

An episode within Finley's *Wiihsakacaakwa aalhsoohkana* further alludes to respectful relationships to be maintained with animals. In the first episode involving the Frenchman and their intended trip to the trading post, *Wiihsakacaakwa* equates the amount of trade goods he will be able to receive with the amount of rings on a raccoon's tail and the number of spots on a deerskin. He exclaims after first killing and drying the raccoon that:

> **Eekami kiikaapiikhsenki ansooyinki, nkóti kiikoo miilinki", iišiteeheeci ihsa.**
> *For each ring going around the tail, I'll be given one item", he thought.*
>
> **Ahkolayi, neehi waapimotayi, neehi papikwani, neehi mahkateewi,**

neehi aloonhsa.
A cape, a blanket, a gun, gunpowder, and some bullets.

Teepiihsiinoowi! Noohki kati nintankihaa moohswa.
But it's not enough! Next I'll kill a deer.

Neehi-'hsa eenkihaata ayaapeenhsali. Wiihsa keetakisilici.
And so he killed a young buck. It had spots all over it.

Hwi, hwi! Wiihsa kati kiikoo nimame aašawišiwiaani, paakweeci wiihsa keetakisita nimoohswayema.
Ha ha! I'll get a lot for my deerskin when I trade it off, what with these spots all over it![115]

It is after this that *Wiihsakacaakwa* and the Frenchman encounter the Seven-headed Manitou. *Wiihsakacaakwa* has disregarded the necessary reciprocal relationship that exists between humans and animals. It is through this disrespectful behavior of equating the amount of an animal's rings or spots with an equal amount of trade goods that *Wiihsakacaakwa* encounters the *manetoowa* and loses all of his skins for trade. Furthermore, the home of the Seven–headed Manitou is filled with other humans who have suffered the same fate as *Wiihsakacaakwa* and who are starving and being eaten by the Manitou. At first Wiihsakacaakwa does not realize that he has been imprisoned by a *manetoowa*, but rather believes that he is at the trading post and that the Seven-Headed Manitou is the shopkeeper who apparently spoke English or perhaps he pretends to not notice that the Seven-Headed Manitou is a *manetoowa*. He remarks to the *manetoowa*:

"**How much? How much?" iilaaci ihsa-'hkwa.**
"How much? How much?", he said, again and again.

Neehi-'hsa keelolekohsiikwi swaahteethswintepikanka manetoowali.
The seven-headed manitou would not answer him.

[115] Goerge Finley in David Costa, *Dunn Texts* "Wiihsakacaa aalhsoohkaakana." Unpublished manuscript, 2.

Tikawi kweehsikoci manetoowali.
The manitou was a little afraid of him.

Kapootwe-'hsa eeyiihkwici wiihsakacaakwa.
After a while, Wissakatchakwa got hungry.

"Hungry, hungry!"
"Hungry! Hungry!

"Nisimina, kiinaka, niihka, oolawi-'hkwa ataaweeliniaki ahšaliwaki".
"*We say, damn it, my friend, the shop-keepers ought to feed people*".

While imprisoned by the Seven-Headed Manitou, the *manetoowa* calls for all of the people in his cave to cover their heads, but Wiihsakacaakwa decides to cut a hole in his blanket and sees the *manetoowa* devour several of the people who were severely starved. At this point Wiihsakacaakwa realizes that his own greed and the greediness of others have led to their own imprisonment and starvation. *Wiihsakacaakwa* waits until the *manetoowa* has fallen asleep to make his escape and to help the others who have not been eaten. Pouring gunpowder over each head of the *manetoowa* while he is asleep after feasting on human bodies, *Wiihsakacaakwa* instructs everyone to leave as he lights the fuse that blows up the Seven-Headed Manitou. Here *Wiihsakacaakwa* has realized his and the other humans' transgressions of proper relationships with animals and restores balance by destroying that which has caused them suffering.

Through attempting to maintain a balance of reciprocal relations with animals, humans are rewarded by those animals or *manetoowaki*. Disregarding the necessity for a reciprocal balance results in detrimental circumstances at the hands of *manetoowaki*. Reciprocity among humans is also present within Bundy's *aacimooni* relating to *lamihkikamwa* giving half of his deer to the elder who gives him a pipe in return. Within all of these stories, humans are not outside observers of the landscape but

necessary participants within it. It is only through maintaining balance of relations with animals and manitous through reciprocity that humans manage to survive. Being a *nahi-mihtohseenia* is conducting oneself in a manner that respects the reciprocal relations among these interactions and is essential to maintaining balance among these.

Conclusion

The landscape of *myaamionki* is the result of *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s travels. His travels along its rivers have created its meanings to the *mihtohseeniaki*. While the land of *myaamionki* has been radically transformed from its pre-settler condition, the rivers of *myaamionki* remain, and so do the Miami people. The rivers of *myaamionki* have provided continuity for the Miami people in a rapidly and radically changing natural, social, and cultural environment. Following termination of federal status and subsequent rapid loss of reserve lands, the rivers of *myaamionki*, namely the *waapaahšiki siiipiiwi* and *nimacihsinwi siipiiwi* remain yet have also changed. During the 1960s, the Army Corps of Engineers began to look at developing a flood control system for the Wabash River, which consistently flooded the towns of Wabash, Peru, and others. The solution was to build a series dams along its many tributaries. Despite Miami protest, the dam would be built at the northern end of the former *oonsaahšinihkwa* Reserve and would flood the area upstream to the northern area of the former Meshingomesia Reserve, literally deluging a majority of the important places and former reserves along the river. The Bundy Cemetery, located near the old village of Deaf Man on the former *oonsaahšinihkwa* Reserve and the Wacoon Cemetery on the Meshingomesia Reserve were to be moved to higher ground, with Miami people overseeing the Army Corps

poking and prodding the graves of their ancestors in order to remove them to their new resting places. The places inhabited by the *mihtohseeniaki*, *manetoowaki*, and animals along the river became a recreational lake for north-central hoosiers' boating and fishing pleasures. Following increasingly dangerous leaking of the dam on the Mississewa River, the Army Corp of Engineers decided to drain the reservoir behind for repairs in 2002 and remained so until 2005. Remarkably, this flooded landscape of *myaamionki* began to reemerge. The river returned to its former course, plants began to rapidly repopulate its banks and most importantly, those caves, cliffs, and stones along its path remained, and so do their inhabitants. With the memory of these places in stories, Miami people were able to visit *aašipehkwa weeweenšhkwaapici,* who look just as their name describes. Despite being flooded once more in 2005, through stories and their names, the memories of these places along with the river remain.

Since the beginning of Miami history, the *mihtohseeniaki* have struggled to help pull one another to the surface of several deluges. The story of *eehonci kiintoohki pyaawaaci myaamiaki*, "where the Miamis first came from" is the story of a literal flood, but it is also an important metaphor for Miami history. Settler colonialism is another form of deluge that has engulfed *myaamionki* and one in which the *mihtohseeniaki* have struggled to keep hold of themselves as a people. The more recent example of the Mississinewa Reservoir Dam is a combination of both of these forms of deluge. Yet, it is the continuity of the rivers of *myaamionki* that the *mihtohseeniaki* have grasped on to in order to continue as a people. The river is the narrative is the people. The Miami people, just as rivers and the narratives they tell, change over time. The rivers may change course and shape, but they remain rivers, and so do the Miami people

remain and the stories they tell. In the words of *wiihsakacaakwa*:

> **eehkwi kati ašiihkiwi peemaamhkihsinki, alenia eehkwi mihtohseeniwici,**
> *As long as the earth endures and as long as man is alive,*
>
> **kati nintaayaatotamaakooki noohsemaki, nintaayaalhsoohkaalikooki.**
> *my grandchildren will talk about me, and tell stories about me.*

neehi-hsa wiihsakacaakwa maacaaci**.**
And then Wiihsakacaakwa headed off.

Chapter Two
The Hole in Wiihsakacaakwa's Cape: George Winter's Visual and Textual Narratives of the Miami and Their Landscape

> *The primitive notion of the efficacy of images presumes that images possess the qualities of a real thing, but our inclination is to attribute to real things the qualities of an image.*
>
> Susan Sontag, *On Photography*

Neehi-'hsa Manetoowali: "Akwaniinkweehamooko kiiyoowe!"
And then the manitou said "*Cover your faces!*"

Neehi-'hsa ceeki eekwanahamoowaata awiiyoowe waapimotaya.
And they all covered themselves with blankets.

Wiihsakacaakwa ahkolayi poohkahki. Niiyaanci keemaapamaaci.
And so Wissakatchakwa's cape had a hole in it. He secretly watched them through it.

Wiihsakacaakwa continually places himself in predicaments such as these. Here, *Wiihsakacaakwa*'s greed has placed him in the cave of the Seven-headed Manitou. Being told to cover his face with the blanket, he also has what may appear at first as luck, but also the power to create a hole in his cape, so as to secretly watch all that occurs directly in front of him. This *Wiihsakacaakwa* episode informs the focus of this chapter in opening the hole, or making apparent the hole that always existed, in the visual and textual narratives covering the Miami by the artist George Winter.

Introduction

George Winter, the most famous portrait artist of the Miami and their landscape, was not a welcomed visitor to *myaamionki*. In the spring of 1837, Winter, an artist of British origin who had lived in the United States since 1830, decided to close his art studio in Middletown, Ohio and travel to the town of Logansport in northern Indiana

"for the purpose (before I should return East) of seeing and learning something of the Indians and exercising the pencil in this direction."[116] Winter quickly became enthralled by the impending removal of the Potawatomi from their northern Indiana reservations and was present at much of the negotiations regarding this and the "semi-successful" removal of some Potawatomi from northern Indiana in 1838. A significant number of Potawatomi remained behind with another attempted removal of this group occurring in 1839.[117]

The Potawatomi removal may have been the end of Winter's Indigenous encounters in the fledging state of Indiana had it not been for the invitation he received from Joseph Slocum in 1839. Slocum was the biological brother of *Mahkoonsahkwa*, also known as Frances Slocum, who had been living among the Miami for the past sixty or so years. Upon learning of their sister's whereabouts via the Indian trader George Ewing, the Slocum family immediately traveled to Indiana, and upon arriving confirmed that she was indeed the "Lost Sister of Wyoming".[118] Pressing *Mahkoonsahkwa* to return to her "rightful" family in Pennsylvania, she adamantly refused. Unable to return with his sister, Slocum commissioned Winter to paint her portrait, seen in figure 4, which was sent back to Pennsylvania. Winter was a reluctantly

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[116] George Winter Manuscripts 1-15 [15], Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana as quoted in Christian F. Feest, "G.Winter: Artist" in Sarah E. Cooke and Rachel B. Ramadhyani, eds. *Indians and a Changing Frontier: The Art of George Winter*. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1993), 2. For more on the failures of Potawatomi removal see Dwight L. Smith, ed., "The Attempted Potawatomi Emigration of 1839," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (March 1949): 51-80.

[117] The majority of Winter's American Indian sketches, paintings, and journals focus upon this intense time among the Pottawatomi, for a more detailed investigation of this see Sarah E. Cooke and Rachel B. Ramadhyani, ed., *Indians and a Changing Frontier: The Art of George Winter.* (Indiana Historical Society: Indianapolis, 1993).

[118] This pseudonym became assigned to the "captive Frances Slocum" in the various reproductions of her captivity narrative. This pseudonym serves a means of claiming the "captive" as belonging to a specific place, the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania.

welcomed visitor to the home of *Mahkoonsahkwa*, only staying for two days and one night, and spending only a few more traveling to and from her home to Peru.

Figure 4. Portrait of *Mahkoonsahkwa* (Frances Slocum). Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball.

Despite this very brief encounter, Winter's work became representative of the Miami and their landscape during the late 1830s to 1840s. It has since been appropriated as Indiana history. This appropriation enabled the State of Indiana to possess an Indigenous past that was "lost" when the Miami were supposedly removed in entirety in 1846. This appropriation simultaneously erased the continued Miami presence in Indiana afterward. Winter's numerous drawings, paintings, journal entries

and the subsequent rediscoveries of his work all function as narratives about the Miami and their homeland landscape. Yet, throughout Winter's brief encounters with a handful of Miami, the continued refusal and reluctance of most of them and the choice of some of them to have their images drawn and painted by Winter has been attributed to mere "superstition", thereby simultaneously negating and erasing the actions of his subjects while also exoticising them. Exotising the Miami people whose portraits he did "capture" furthers both the monetary and historical values of Winters work. Furthermore, this also created a useful excuse for Winter in his lack of Miami portraits comparable to his Potawatomi subjects.

This chapter critically examines the process by which Winter created his representations of the Miami and their homeland landscape. This chapter does not brush aside the refusal of his Miami subjects, but rather re-centers the actions of his Miami subjects in light of this and is the hole through which we will view his work. This chapter argues that a critical examination of the refusal of his Miami subjects must be taken seriously to determine how these representations can be interpreted. This examination reveals that mere "superstition" alone cannot be contributed to these refusals and calls into questions every aspect of Winter's visual and textual representations of the Miami and their landscape.

The Artist

George Winter was born in 1809 in Portsea, England. He was largely a self-taught artist, with limited formal training. Winter spent his early years in England visiting local homes and galleries to copy their art collections. He finally left England

for the United States in 1830, arriving in New York City where he became an enrolled student in National Academy of Design from 1831 to 1833 and possibly to 1835.[119] After having studios in both Cincinnati and Middletown, Ohio, Winter finally decided to move to Logansport, Indiana, where he made his home for the next fourteen years.

The development of Winter's aboriginal works roughly coincides with those of the more famous George Catlin and Karl Bodmer. However, according to art historian Christian Feest, these works that contributed to the Euro-American construction of Indian authenticity as that of the Plains Indian, were largely unknown to the general public at the time Winter began his forays among the Potawatomi and Miami.[120] Viewing Winter's images of the Miami and Potawatomi, there is little to no resemblance to the imagery created by Catlin and Bodmer that evokes this construction of the Plains Indian. Catlin did however paint portraits of a few Wea and Peoria, close relatives of the Miami, then living west of the Mississippi. Winter was at least aware of the work of Catlin as he noted, "I was a student at the National Academy of Design N.Y. in 1831, when I first heard of Catlin's entering the field as an Indian painter."[121] It is worth examining and comparing the few examples of European and Euro-American visual representations of the Miami and their landscape prior to Winter.

The earliest European representation of the Miami was by Henry Hamilton. Hamilton sketched the Miami leader *Pakaana,* seen in figure 5, probably during his

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[119] Christian F. Feest, "G.Winter: Artist" in Sarah E. Cooke and Rachel B. Ramadhyani, eds. *Indians and a Changing Frontier: The Art of George Winter*. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1993), 1. Feest implies that he was enrolled in 1835 since in that year he had "entered portrait paintings in the annual exhibition of his school."

[120] Ibid., 2.

[121] The George Winter Collection. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball. Courtesy of Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Letter from George Winter addressed to W. Blackmore, Denver, Colorado, August 9, 1871. GWMSS 1-23[4].

tenure as British Lieutenant-Governor at Detroit from 1775-1778. Responsible for implementing British Indian policy in the Old Northwest during the American Revolution, Indigenous leaders throughout the Great Lakes frequently visited him.[122] Hamilton's sketch of the Wabash River seen in figure 6, probably near present day Vincennes, is perhaps the earliest European representation of the landscape of the Miami homeland. Examining other portraits within Hamilton's collection of drawings, it is difficult to ascertain whether his subjects agreed to sit for Hamilton to sketch their likenesses. However, the faces of each individual have a significant amount of detail, much more so than we see in his sketch of *Pakaana*. Perhaps Hamilton was able to procure a short sitting from each one, with enough time to devote a detailed study to the face while having to sketch the remainder of their body and clothing from memory or from afar, given the disproportioning of the faces to their bodies. The scene along the Wabash is devoid of humans, making it difficult to ascertain the scale, yet is also reflective of the limestone outcroppings typical along the vast stretch of the Wabash River.

[122] See Henry Hamilton drawings of North American scenes and Native Americans: Guide (MS Eng 509.2). Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Figure 5. Portrait of *Pakaana.* Drawing by Henry Hamilton probably during his expedition from Detroit to Vincennes in 1778. Henry Hamilton drawings of North American scenes and Native Americans: Guide (MS Eng 509.2). Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Figure 6. Wabash River scene. Drawing by Henry Hamilton probably during his expedition from Detroit to Vincennes in 1778. Henry Hamilton drawings of North American scenes and Native Americans: Guide (MS Eng 509.2). Houghton Library, Harvard University.

It was not until forty-five years after Hamilton's expedition that James Otto Lewis painted the portraits of several Miami leaders present at the signing of the Treaty of Mississinewa in 1826. Scale and anatomical proportions are also an issue when viewing Lewis's "Aboriginal Portfolio" originally published in 1835-1836. Lewis's portraits appear to exaggerate body proportions with the head and upper torso seemingly larger than that of the feet and legs. Perhaps the artist purposefully exaggerated anatomical proportions. Of particular interest within this portfolio are the portraits of *Palaanswa* (Francis Godfroy) and *Teekwaakia* (Jean Baptiste Brouillette), who were the subjects of Winter in several sketches and watercolor paintings, the significance of which will be examined later. It is unknown whether the landscape in the background of figure 7 was actually where Godfroy posed for the portrait or added later as a backdrop. In comparison to the Hamilton sketch, the detail of dress and facial features in both of these images as well as the remainder of the Lewis images associated with the Miami suggest that the Miami sat for Lewis to render their likenesses.

It is necessary to discuss whom these portraits were of and to ponder the possible reasons they would agree to be the subjects of Hamilton and Lewis. First, all of the Miami in these early representations were of male Miami leaders. All of them were *akimaki* –chiefs. The role of the *akima* within Miami society was to represent the interests of their respective band in negotiations with outside entities. Generally this role was assumed or inherited by a male. Secondly the contexts in which both Hamilton's and Lewis's portraits were those of political engagement: in the case of Hamilton's portrait of *Pakaana*, a visit from *Pakaana* as a representative of the Miami nation to the British nation, in the case of Lewis's portraits of Miami *akimaki,* this was

also a nation-to-nation negotiation in terms of the Treaty of Mississinewa in 1826. Perhaps agreeing to sit for their portrait was seen as akin to the actual signing of the treaty, which for most involved marking an "X" next to their name. Their portrait is a visual testimony to their individual presence at the treaty.

Figures 7 and 8. "Francis Godfroy, A Miami Chief" and "Brewett, A Celebrated Miami Chief". James Otto Lewis, Aboriginal Portfolio.

With the exception noted in Hamilton's sketch of the Wabash River and Lewis's "chief" paintings, Winter was the first European/Euro-American to represent the landscape of the Miami homeland and the Miami within it. Winter was not a representative of the United States, and so had no cause to document Miami political engagement, but it was rather for his own personal purposes. Historians have focused

upon Winter's representations of the Miami and Potawatomi people as "ethnographic documents" providing important insights into Indigenous dress and lifeways while also acknowledging his shortcomings in representing the landscape. Scale and proportion were also a problem for Winter's representations in regards to landscape. Feest remarks:

> Whatever training as an artist Winter had received, it certainly had not included landscape painting. In fact there is no evidence that he had taken a serious interest in this field before his arrival in Longansport, when in addition to his Indian drawings he began to fill his portfolio sketches of picturesque Wabash river scenes. Some of these were used later as backdrops for his Indian paintings, and perhaps that is what they were intended for in the first place…The numerous sketches of the Wabash River valley and other landscapes made in the course of more than thirty years exhibit a fairly simple compositional pattern that did not change much over time. Trees provide the structure of the pictorial space, usually by framing it on both sides, sometimes also dividing it into two unequal parts. The shapes of their trunks and limbs, often gnarled, and the contrast between their dark forms ("foregound broken and varied") and the light ("warm glow") on the body of water opening in the background ("gentle receding distance") define their quiet and picturesque ("placid and pleasing quality").[123]

Thus Winter's landscape cannot be taken as a "realistic" depiction, since he used a generic landscape as a back drop and to frame his portraits and vignettes of

[123] Feest, 9-10.

people and places. As Feest points out, Winter's landscapes followed a consistent formula in which he conflated his own romantic notions of wilderness and Indigeneity. Feest relates this to the contemporary "American" painting style of the time:

> …the artist's landscapes where guided at least as much by idealist conceptions as by his concern for facts…they represent a local variant of the compromise between realism and idealism that was characteristic of the Hudson River valley painters. What critic Jame Jackson Jarves wrote in 1864 of Albert Bierstadt and Frederick Erwin Church also applies to Winter: 'Each composes his pictures form actual sketches, with the desire to render the general truths and spirit of the localities of their landscapes, though often departing form the literal features of the view…Though the details of scenery are substantially correct, the scene as a whole is often false.'[124]

It is this binary concept of "real" and false or "authentic" and "inauthentic" that the conversations among art historians have fallen into. This chapter is not necessarily a discussion regarding this binary as applied to the "authenticity" of Winter's work, but rather how "authenticity", has been bound to his work as the "real" and the stories the *subjects* of the artist tell us about this. Winter's representations are both clear and unclear, heard and silenced. This requires a careful sifting through his work. Winter's work affectively placed a cloak upon the Miami people he represented; yet the actions of his Miami subjects willed a

[124] Feest, 10.

hole in this cloak from within. This hole has always been present, but has not always been readily seen from the outside. We will now begin to view the outside from this hole within the cloak.

The Unwelcome Traveler

As mentioned earlier, Winter only came to the Miami National Reservation (also known as the Big Miami Reserve) per the request of Joseph Slocum, the "newly discovered" brother of *mahkoonsahkwa*. His travels brought him to three locations within the reservation, all locations along the *nimacihsinwi siipiiwi* – Mississinewa River: Deaf Man's Village, Osage Village, and the Godfroy trading post. Winter lamented upon his arrival at Peru that the Slocum family and their interpreter, James Miller, had recently departed. Winter remarked:

> …I concluded to venture up to the Deaf Man's Village and endeavour [sic] to accomplish my mission, though I was not sanguine of success in securing the likeness, being unattended by the relatives, or Miller, as I was aware that the Miamis were exceedingly superstitious in regard to having their likenesses transferred to the canvas. The idea of seeing the home of the Captive and seeing, too, the object who was surrounded by so many romantic circumstances, and who was exciting so much interest in the public mind – I soon determined upon the trip.[125]

While Winter's interlude in these three places provide glimpses into these specific locations and the people who lived there. They cannot stand in for representations of all

[125] George Winter, "Journal of a Visit to Deaf Man's Village, 1839." In *The Journals and Indian Paintings of George Winter, 1837-1839*. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1948), 159. This will be referred to as GW DMV Journal from here after.

Miami people and the entire landscape of the Big Miami Reserve. Winter never traveled to the Old village farther down river in what would be the future Meshingomesia Reservation, nor did he travel to the Forks of the Wabash, Fort Wayne, or any other places of higher Miami concentrations such as Wild Cat Creek, Pipe Creek, and Deer Creek. In his journal, he mentions two interactions with people along the way to and from Deaf Man's Village. The first was the white woman who lived in a cabin by herself, the other of a man filling his pipe. He also mentions seeing several cabins along the way where the people stood at the doorway and stared at him. This is hardly representative of the entire Miami population. Furthermore, a close examination of his interactions and representations of those Miami he encountered provide a more localized perspective upon the diversity of actions of individual Miami.

Winter's first encounter with Miami people at a Miami place would set the mood for his entire visit. "We crossed the Wabash…to the Miami National Reservation, and on landing we were immediately within the shadow of the forest home of the aborigines."[126] While Winter acknowledged he was now in a Miami space, he failed to realize his position as merely a visitor within this space. In his initial encounter at Osage Village, Winter seems to have been taken aback. Winter wrote, " The Osage Village was a point of very considerable importance…but the village had degenerated into insignificance in the year 1839. It then consisted of one log cabin and a bark wigwam. These rude structures were inclosed [sic] within an area of a few rods by a pole fence of

[126] GW DMV Journal, 160.

a very slight and temporary character. No one was visible when we entered the village."[127]

Figure 9. *wašaaši minooteeni* (Osage Village). Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball.

The village derived its name from an adopted Osage man, who was called *Wašaaši*[128], thus the village would be called *wašaaši minooteeni.* At this village site, once stood a Miami council house and was reported to be the place in which the Shawnee Tecumseh, visited the Miami Nation council as he worked to create a pan-Indian resistance movement against American colonialism, whose call to action the council declined.

Upon first approaching the village, it appeared deserted to Winter, yet he remarked hearing and seeing "…some old crone indulging in solemn wailings and lamentations", which Winter attributed as "…doubtless for the dead. Here we paused and listened to these strange and wild expressions of a disturbed heart. This was

[127] Ibid.

[128] Jacob P. Dunn, *True Indian Stories with Glossary of Indiana Indian Names* (Indianapolis: Sentinel Printing Co., 1908) 289-290.

unbounded grief, wildly expressed."[129] Upon opening the door of the main log building he found it completely filled with people. Winter had clearly interrupted a gathering of Miami people. While Winter ascribes to the village, its "degenerated" state, the presence of so many people within the structure itself attests to its continued importance as a place of gathering. While the village may have no longer served as a place of residence for Miami people, the structure, whose image Winter rendered, continued to be an important place for the Miami to gather for either political, social, or spiritual reasons, or all of the above. Despite his interruption of this gathering, Winter chose to represent the village as devoid of a continued Miami occupation. With exoticising Miami people as both superstitious and inevitably vanishing he further represented his landscapes as the last vestiges of Miami presence that he alone had the ability to record and thus possess. This was the cloak in which he covered the Miami people and the landscape and would set the mood for Winter's intrusion upon Miami people's homes and everyday life. Leaving Osage Village, Winter encountered several Miami people en route to Deaf Man's Village.

[129] GW DMV Journal, 161.

Figure 10. *šiipaakana minooteeni* (Deaf Man's Village). Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball.

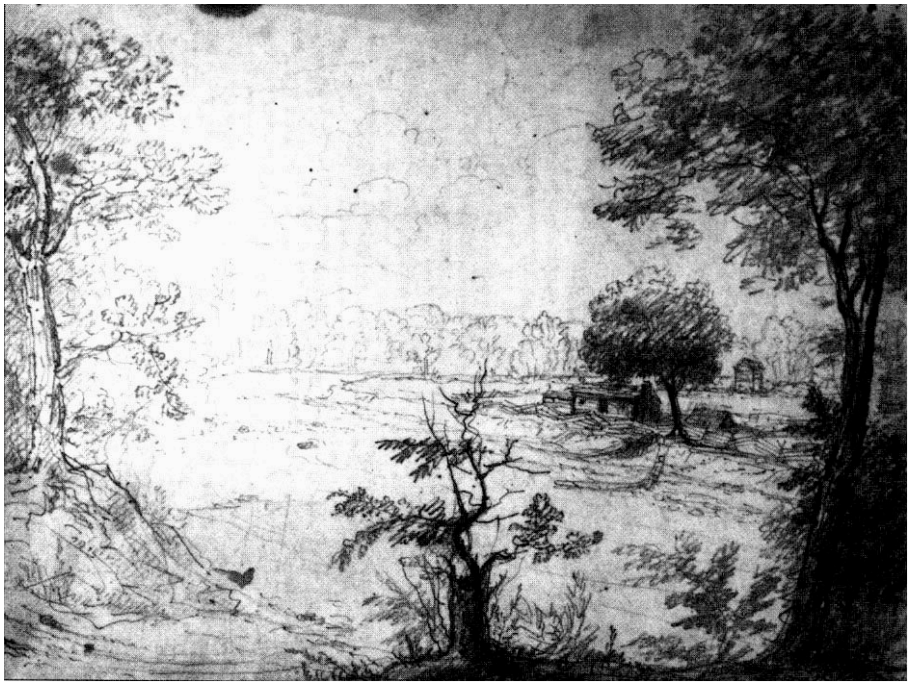

Figure 11. Sketch used to render painting in Figure 10 above. This was the image Winter was sketching as he was approached by *Mahkoonsahkwa* to cease. Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball.

Figure 12. *šiipaakana minooteeni* (Deaf Man's Village). Close up of the home of *Mahkoonsahkwa*. Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball.

Deaf Man's Village was so named after the Miami War Chief, *šiipaakana* (Awl), who had made it his home along with his wife, *Mahkoonsahkwa*, sometime in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. He was given the nick-name *Kiikiphšia*, meaning something like "Deaf One", since he had lost his hearing.[130] In the Miami language it would be described as *šiipaakana minooteeni*, or Awl's Village, or *kiikiphšia minooteeni*. The village location was chosen due to its proximity to a fresh water spring along the banks of the Mississinewa.[131] A spring house used by *Mahkoonsahkwa* and her family was later built upon its location. The village was nearly equidistant from the "Old Village" of the band of *Mithohseenia* further up river and the

[130] As told by Waapinaakikaapwa. David Costa, "šiipaakana Aalhsoohkaalinta (The Story of Awl)" in *Dunn Texts,* unpublished manuscript. Nick-names are well attested to among the Miami, such as *kiilhsoohkwa* being called *wiihsawiihsakaakanihkwa*, literally meaning "lots of pepper woman", describing her affinity for excessive amounts of pepper on her food.

[131] As relayed to Hal C. Phelps by Camillus Bundy, the grandson of *šiipaakana* and *Mahkoonsahkwa*. Hal C. Phelps papers, Miami County Museum.

home of the *šiipaakana*'s successor as War Chief, *Palaanswa*, Francis Godfroy, down river near its confluence with the Wabash River. *šiipaakana* had died some years prior to *Mahkoonsahkwa*'s "coming out", yet the village contained several cabins, that Winter recorded in his journal, as well as agricultural fields and livestock and was the residence of several family members. While Winter initially was welcomed to the home of *Mahkoonsahkwa*, he quickly overstayed his welcome and acted in a manner that resulted in much consternation on the part of *Mahkoonsahkwa* and her daughters. We will look at this in greater detail later in the chapter.

Winter's initial visit to the home of *Palaanswa* was met with much unwelcome. While en route to Deaf Man's Village, Winter and his companion, Indian Agent Nicholas Grover, stopped at the home of *Palaanswa* to procure a much needed meal before proceeding on. This was not Winter's first encounter with *Palaanswa*, for *Palaanswa* had visited his studio in Logansport where Winter also met his son Jim Godfroy. However, Winter was not welcomed into the home of *Palaanswa* nor was he offered any sustenance. Despite being fluent in not only Miami, *Palaanswa* also spoke English and French, but chose to speak to Winter through an interpreter, "The Chief spoke in Indian to the white Godfroy[132] in response to our wishes, who translated the unwelcome information that the Chief was fearful that his wigwam could afford us nothing that we could 'relish'".[133] Clearly, *Palaanswa* did not want to interact with Winter nor serve as his host.

[132] Winter is referring here to James Rariden, who was a non-Miami relative of Godfroy's and interpreted for Godfroy while Winter was present.

[133] GW DMV Journal, 163.

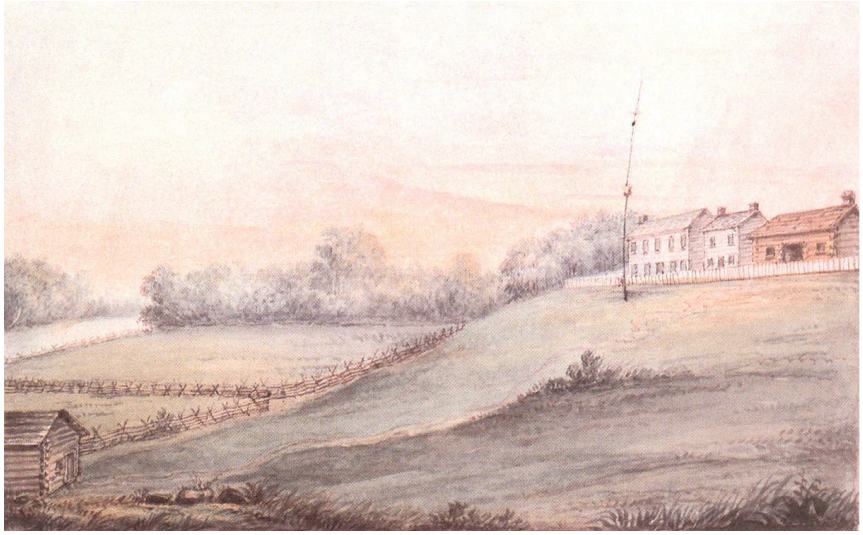

Figure 13. *Palaanswa awiiki* (Frances Godfroy Home). Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball.

On his way back from Deaf Man's Village to Peru, Winter decided to make another unannounced visit to the home of *Palaanswa*. Here we have mention for the first time of Winter calling the home of Godfroy as "Na-matches-sin-wa, the house of the Chief."[134] Winter never mentioned how he came upon this name, yet it is remarkably similar to the Miami name for the Mississinewa River, *nimacihsinwi*. This raises suspicion as to whether Winter had heard "the home of the chief" named as such or whether he had taken it upon himself to ascribe the name for the river, in which the home overlooked, upon it. *Nimacihsinwi*, is an inanimate intrasitive verb meaning something like 'it slants', followed by *siipiiwi*, meaning something like "the slanting river". This has had some folk entymologies ascribed to it over the years from Miami people, as referring to either the gentle rise of the river or the slanting of the limestone outcroppings along its route. Either way, ascribing this specifically to the home of the chief is not a typical Miami way of naming places, nor does this name reflect in anyway

[134] GW DMV Journal,188.

the hilltop upon which the home was built, overlooking the confluence of the Wabash and Mississinewa Rivers. Furthermore, it would also need to include a locative on the ending making it *nimacihsinonki*, or 'slanting place', an ending that Winter would more than likely have heard. There are no other recordings of a Miami name referring to the home of Godfroy.

During Winter's second visit, he was received with a little more welcome and offered both lunch and dinner that evening as well as a bed to sleep in for the night. Winter continued to press Godfroy for him to sit for a portrait, but Godfroy likewise continued to refuse, especially upon conferring with his two wives. Despite this refusal, Winter went on to sketch two likenesses of Godfroy. Winter recalled:

> The Chief having declined 'to sit to me,' I concluded to resort to strategy in securing his likeness. He was a man of remarkable physical appearance – remarkably portly, weighing some 350 pounds. His head was large, eyes looked bright and intelligent, but much larger than the small piercing aboriginal eye. He resembled a mulatto in some degree. His general appearance was of a superior cast, characterized by much dignity. I made a successful sketch of Godfroy after careful observation of him.[135]

[135] GW DMV Journal, 185.

Figure 14. Portrait of *Palaanswa*. Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball.

Palaanswa nor the Miami were averse to visitors. The Methodist Episcopal missionary Jonas Belotte traveled to the some of the same places as Winter a few years prior. Belotte had first written to the Indian agent General Milroy who then had approached the issue with the Miami council and had sent a letter of support an introduction with Belotte as he would meet with Miami chiefs to plead his case for establishing missionary work among them. Belotte wrote from Osage Village in 1840 the following account of his encounter with *Palaanswa*:

> On the first of December, I reached Francis Godfroy's, a chief of the Indians (a noble looking man), and told him my business…I then delivered a letter to him from the agent. The letter being read and explained, he addressed me very politely, thanking me for my visit. He said he would do all he could to have my mission established; observing at the same time, there would have to be a council held by the ruling men, concerning my object – it was their mode of doing business; and if they consented, which he hoped they would, there would be no impediments in my course; and until the council could be held, I was welcome to make his house my home – I should have a room and a bed, and should not be interrupted, for he would be a father to me. [136]

Belotte's visit reveals two things: Palaanswa interacted with Belotte in English and that Belotte had gone through the proper channels and protocol for his potential presence among the Miami. The decision of the council would sanction his presence among the Miami, a protocol in which Winter never followed and for permission he had never asked. The governing tribal body never sanctioned his travels. His only permission was from *Mahkoonsahkwa* to paint her portrait, which precipitated his interactions with the Miami. His associated sketches, paintings, and narrative of his visit there are what he is most known for and that which he realized he could capitalize upon later in his career. Winter was an unwelcome traveler in *myaamionki* in search for an authentic Indigenous past that he could capture, possess, and sell as touristic encounters to a Euro-American audience.

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[136] Jonas L. Belotte, "Missionary Intelligence for the Western Christian Advocate" (1834-1883); Feb 28, 1840; 6, 45; APS Online.178

Tourism is a response to modernity. It is the search for authentic experiences. This quest arose in the late nineteenth century and continues as a phenomenon to the present. Photography and tourism enabled one another through this process. Winter's brief encounters with the Miami occurred at a much earlier date than the concept of modernity and photography, however his sketches, paintings, and writings are indeed manifestations of his search for an authentic experience that through the process of creating a representation of the Miami past, he alone possessed and could package for consumption by the Euro-American public. Through these representations, Winter became the "expert observer" of the Miami of this time period and assumed the role as their spokesman in the Euro-American historical record through ignoring their silence and refusal.

Winter's use of paintings and sketches are not unlike the use of photography that would develop later in the nineteenth century. Within the scholarship on tourism, photography had perhaps the most substantial impact upon it as a modernist pursuit. Photography served as the visual recording and advertisement of potential touristic encounters of Euro-Americans. Susan Sontag, whose work *On Photography* is perhaps the most penetrating critique of the art and use of photography, wrote: "As photographs give people an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal, they also help people to take possession of space in which they are insecure. Thus photography develops in tandem with one of the most characteristic of modern activities: tourism."[137] Sontag poignantly discusses the relationship of tourism and photography serving as a means of enabling a possession of sorts for the tourist and the consumer of their visual

[137] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 1977), 9.

representations of their touristic encounters. While modernity is often equated with the rise of industrialism, it drew upon such pre-existing European and Euro-American binary tropes of the savage and the civilized, the self and the Other. The construction of the savage "Other" was the antithesis to civilized self. As Phillip Deloria describes the process by which this developed into a specific "Indian Otherness" that:

> …have been constructed at the intersection of real and imagined Indians. Colonists (mis)perceived real Indian people through a variety of European cultural lenses. Religion, gender relations, subsistence, technology – these and many other perspectives defined and distorted the ways Europeans saw Indians. These perceptions and misperceptions inevitably included imaginary and symbolic qualities as well, the visible products of the sea of ideology in which humans swim. Dignified nobility and inhuman savagery have, of course, been the most familiar principles for organizing these complicated constellations of perception, imagination, and ideology.[138]

Throughout the age of European and later Euro-American expansionism, the writings of travelers conveyed civilized encounters with the imagined savage Other that simultaneously confirmed the identity of the self. However, instead of a tourist, we will call George Winter a traveler.

In Paul Fussell's study of modern British travel writing, he points out that there are three distinct categories: explorers, travelers, and tourists.

All three make journeys, but the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the

[138] Philip J. Deloria, Playing Indian (New Haven: Yale University, 1998), 20.

> traveler that which has been discovered by the mind working in history,
> the tourist that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship
> and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity.[139]

The Miami had been well "discovered" by Europeans and Euro-Americans long before Winter's encounter and Indiana had been a state for over twenty years prior. Yet the Miami were still a relatively "unknown" people to Euro-Americans despite being neighbors to many. Retaining a significantly sized reservation, known as the Miami National Reservation or Big Miami Reserve[140], and several reserves owned by individuals in Indiana at the time of Winter's travels, the Miami had managed to maintain a measured separatism from their Euro-American neighbors despite enormous pressures to relocate west of the Mississippi in the era of Indian removal. The large land base provided a buffer to maintain this separatism where the Miami could accommodate change at their own pace in their own way. The land within this reservation contained a wide array of habitats allowing the Miami to practice a range of lifestyles. Some Miami had managed to procure private reserves through previous treaty provisions and several Miami testified to the wide variety of lifestyles practiced by the Miami at the time of the Treaty of 1840, just after Winter's sojourn. Some Miami lived in fixed villages utilizing a vast array of home types ranging from bark houses, to log cabins, to wood framed and brick houses. Some Miami, such as *Palaanswa* (Francis Godfroy), had become a successful trader, providing a means of local products for not only the Miami, but

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[139] As quoted in David Baldwin Espey, "American Travel Revisited," *American Literary History*, Volume 17, Number 4, Winter 2005, 808-817, a review of Paul Fussell's *Abroad: British Literary*
Traveling between the Wars (New York: Oxford UP, 1980), 39.

[140] This reservation was approximately forty miles by forty miles square and encompassed the present Indiana counties of Howard, Miami, Grant and Wabash. It was ceded to the United States under the Treaty of 1840.

nearby Euro-Americans to sell their goods. Miami women raised extensive crops and Miami men engaged in subsistence hunting and trade such as Godfroy. Some adapted to a decrease of available food sources by supplementing their diets with cattle and hogs.[141] Other Miami lived in small groups that frequented hunting areas along the Wild Cat and Pipe Creeks, while others "wandered around without a home".[142] The Miami who lived within the boundaries of the Big Miami Reserve represent a diverse tribal population engaged in multiple local and regional economies for their livelihood. The majority of those Euro-Americans who saw and interacted with the Miami at this time were traders and governmental representatives whose interactions were also limited to moments of trade and government dispersions of annuity payments, while some, such as Alexander Hamilton, served as advisors for various Miami leaders.

Winter sought that which had been discovered, but also that which Euro-Americans could not readily see. George Winter's visual and textual representations of the Miami are his travel narratives. Much of the literature regarding the relationship between tourism and photography is applicable in this case, since Winter's representations are a precursor to photography as analogous to travel. Winter created and represented the Miami and their landscape through his own European lens, which has then been "prepared...by the arts of mass publicity"; an endeavor in which he fully

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[141] Interestingly, George Winter recorded evidence of this in his images of Deaf Man's Village, with several out buildings indicating there were more domesticated animals present than those few depicted in Figure 9.

[142] See "Testimony, Record of Testimony taken before the Commission appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to make partition of the reserve granted to Me-shin-go-me-sia in trust for his band by the 7th Article of the treaty of November 28th 1840 between the United States nad the Miami Tribe of Indians in accordance with the act of congress approved June 1st, 1872. Entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make partition of the reservation to Me-shin-go-me-sia, a Miami Indian," approved June 1st 1872. National Archives. Record Group 75, Irregularly Shaped Papers, 1849-1907, Entry 310, Item 95, Box 53. These contain the testimonies of Miami people of their place of residence at the time of the Treaty of 1840. This will be referred to as "Testimonials" here after.

took part later in his career. The work of Winter provides a touristic encounter of sorts into an "authentic" Miami homeland and Miami past for the viewer, while also being re-shaped and re-presented back to the Miami.

Where is Winter's place in relation to "American" artists / travelers of the early nineteenth century? As noted, Winter was born in England and had only landed in New York seven years before traveling to Indiana. Winter would live the rest of his life in Indiana and his works and writings have been fully embraced as integral to Indiana history. What Winter's travels and artistic creations share with other Americans is that he fully engaged within what Mary Louise Pratt refers to as the "imperialistic gaze".[143] Bruce Harvey remarks that early American travel writing was a means through which United States nationalism was conceived by representing encounters with the non-European world.[144] While being an Englishman, relatively "fresh off the boat", we can connect Winter's travels to US nationalism. Many immigrants would head to the fringes ("frontiers") of the United States to create their version of the American dream, a cornerstone of U.S. National identity. Winter sought to find something to define himself artistically and benefit himself financially by traveling to the fringe space of the Miami National Reserve to build his own version of the American dream. Other immigrants sought to enrich themselves by stealing the resources of *myaamionki* and Winter sought to enrich himself by stealing the cultural resources of the *myaamiaki*.[145]

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[143] See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[144] See "Introduction", Bruce A. Harvey, American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830-1865 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[145] George Ironstrack. Personal Communication. February 20, 2010.

Winter's representations can also be interpreted as actually contesting colonial narratives of U.S. nationalism. His representations of the Miami as a "semi-civilized" people contested the constructions of the savages lurking in the wilderness of popular imagination. Indeed, initially Euro-American audiences did not latch on to Winters' aboriginal representations as they would the likes of Catlin and Bodmer. His works did not portray a significantly authentic Indian otherness to this audience. Winter's representations of the Miami looked too familiar to be considered as worthy artistic representations of otherness. The Miami did not wear skin clothing, were not bedecked in feathers and paint, but rather wore clothing of their own manufacture, whose materials were mostly of European and American origin. The Miami log homes represented by Winter resembled too closely their Euro-American neighbors to be deemed authentically Indian. In historian Susan Sleeper-Smith's examination of the persistence of Indigenous communities of the Western Great Lakes during the nineteenth century, she describes this perceived "inauthenticity" as a "construction of whiteness" which:

> …consigned successive generations to hiding in plain view and thus reinforced the concept of the antebellum frontier as a relatively empty stage on which the nation's emerging middle class set about building communities, unhindered by Indian neighbors. The remaining visible Indians were depicted as stragglers, enshrouded in a world of alcohol dependency and reduced to starvation and poverty…The facile

> stereotype of the uniformity of Indian demise continues to shape Midwestern frontier history.[146]

While Sleeper-Smith problematically ascribes this as a survival tactic of the "mixed-blood" Miami and Pottawatomie who intentionally portrayed a guise of "whiteness", it also helps to describe how Winter's representations of the Miami and their landscape were initially rejected by Hoosiers as inauthentic representations of the Indigenous present while later embraced as authentic representations of an appropriated past. Later in Winter's career, he began to rely upon his initially rejected representations as they become entangled in aspects of creating a regional American identity. Winter realized the newfound value placed upon his works, especially in regards to Frances Sloucm, and attempted to capitalize upon these. In 1871, he began to revise his journal to Deaf Man's Village for publication, advertising it to a potential patron, W. Blackmore of Denver, Colorado, that he alone possessed "original matter that has never been made public – perhaps never will – during my life" regarding the history of Frances Slocum.[147] His works have come to simultaneously define the particular identities of the State of Indiana and the Miami, namely through his paintings and encounter with *mahkoonsahkwa*, whose captivity narrative is further examined in Chapter Four, was quickly appropriated by Hoosiers to define themselves by using her "whiteness" to root themselves in the Miami landscape that is now called Indiana.

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[146] Sleeper-Smith, 116-117.

[147] This is based largely on correspondence regarding Winter's portraits of Frances Slocum and the related Deaf Man's Village. See letter to W. Blackmore Esq., August 9, 1871. GWMSS 1-23[4].

The Silence of Refusal

In his essay "Ishi Obscura", the Anishinaabe intellectual, Gerald Vizenor, writes about the Yahi man from north central California who came to be known as "Ishi" as "… a simulation, the absence of his tribal names."[148] Ishi, whose people, the Yahi, had been exterminated by Californians, reluctantly sought sustenance and protection from those very same people. While it has come to be a cliché often evoked by Euro-American romanticism regarding American Indians as a "vanishing race", Ishi literally was the "last Yahi". He came into the acquaintance of the Anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, who with the help of an interpreter who spoke Yana, a dialect related to Yahi, asked this man his name. Ishi refused to tell him his name and Kroeber was told to refer to him as "Ishi" meaning "man" In regards to his name, Vizenor writes "…the silence of that tribal man is not the dead voice of racial photographs and the vanishing pose."[149] Ishi refused to divulge his tribal name. "Ishi became one of the most discoverable tribal names in the world; even so, he has seldom been heard as a real person."[150]

Vizenor draws upon the idea of "simulation" in the writings of the French theorist Jean Baudrillard. In his *Simulacra and Simulation* (1981), Baudrillard uses the fictional mapping of a territory of the Borges fable to illustrate his use of simulation:

> Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being, or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor does it survive it. It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory –

[148] Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1999), 126.
[149] Ibid., 126.
[150] Ibid., 137.

> *precession of simulacra* - that engenders territory, and if one must return to the fable, today it is the territory whose shreds slowly rot across the extent of the map. The real, and not the map, whose vestiges persist here and there in the deserts that are no longer those of the Empire, but ours. *The desert of the real itself*…To dissimulate is to pretend not to have what one has. To simulate is to feign to have what one doesn't' have. One implies a presence, the other an absence.[151]

When Vizernor uses this to talk about Ishi as a "…simulation, the absence of his tribal names", Ishi was the creation of the Yahi man who refused to tell his name, which then became the "hyperral" by the Euro-Americans who sought to preserve him as a specimen of a vanished people. It is important to note that simulations are not necessarily created by those in power to maintain their own sense of superiority, but that the Other can also create simulations of themselves. In the end, the Yahi man never told his name. At the heart of Vizenor's essay is the idea of survivance, a term coined by Vizenor, which I interpret as a combination of survival and resistance and a verb describing this combination as an ongoing act to do so. Ishi was enacting survivance through his refusal to divulge his tribal name. Vizenor's "survivance" is useful when placed in conversation regarding "subaltern" acts of resistance.

Anthropologist Sherry Ortner describes the opportunities and constraints regarding these notions in the scholarship on various subaltern groups. Ortner points out that formally in this scholarship, there existed a neat and orderly binary of dominance/resistance, but with newer scholarship, those forms have taken on much

[151] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulation and Simulacra* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1994), 1,3.

greater nuances. In terms of resistance, Ortner states, "…I think resistance, even at its most ambiguous, is a reasonable category, if only because it highlights the presence and play of power in most forms of relationship and activity. Moreover, we are not required to decide once and for all whether any given act fits into a fixed box called resistance."[152]

Much like Ishi, many of those Miami whom Winter came into contact with adamantly refused to have their likenesses sketched and painted by him.
And like Ishi many refused to divulge their tribal names to him. In the limited scholarship on Winter and his foray among the Miami, this has been treated as merely an aside. Winter remarked: "…I was aware that the Miamis were exceedingly superstitious in regard to having their likenesses transferred to the canvas…"[153]
Following Winter, subsequent historians have perpetuated Winter's observations attributing their refusal to superstition where, "Subscribing to a widely held Native Amerian belief that if an artist created an accurate likeness of an individual, the artist would gain supernatural power over that individual, or capture his or her soul, several Potawatomis and many Miamis refused to allow Winter to paint their portraits."[154] This assumption of Miami superstition creates a structure in which Miami people can only act, since their actions lies only within this structure. How do we account for those Miami who did not seem to have such "superstitions"? How do we look at agency as both resistence/silence and participation in the act of representation?

While visiting Deaf Man's Village, Winter pontificated as to what his hosts

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[152] Sherry Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan., 1995). 175
[153] GW DMV Journal, GWMSS 1-23 [18], 2-23 [11]
[154] R. David Edmunds, "George Winter: Mirror of Acculturation", in Cooke. 30.

thought of him:

> Some consideration towards me was shown, owing perhaps to my peculiar purpose which no doubt was to the aboriginal mind, tinged with mysterious character of the medicine man. To the cultivated mind the power of the pencil in the hands of genius is not its mysterious aspect. It is no wonder that the aboriginal mind, unused to the observation of artistic pursuits and results, might naturally attach mysterious merits to the power of transferring the mimic face upon a smooth surface. I was aware that the Miami people had a superstitious feeling in regard to being portrayed. The Pottawattamie nation were less clouded by this superstitious fear.[155]

But not everyone refused Winter. Of Winter's works, only two other Miami accepted his offer to sketch and paint their likeness, *Teekwaakia*, Jean Baptiste Brouillette, and Jim Godfroy, the son of Chief Francis Godfroy. Since these were the only people to have sat for Winter, we can accord these as being well within the power the individual to have their likeness created. Yet Winter ascribed their openness to having their likenesses sketched by him as due to their education within white religion and law. Winter attributed *Teekwaakia*'s recent conversion to Christianity, the Baptist faith, as to the reason he was without "…the tribal superstition affecting his mind"[156] and consenting to having Winter sketch and paint his likeness. Winter had sketched him two years prior to this while attending a Potawatomi annuity payment, "He consented to let me sketch him without any hesitancy, and regarded my wishes to possess this likeness

[155] DMV Journal, 169-170.
[156] Ibid., 172.

as a mark of honor."[157] However, accompanying his sketch of *Teekwaakia*, Winter noted that he was "…a peaceful man, and a great friend of the white man…he was also a 'medicine man' (though not a juggler), possessing knowledge of the art of healing."[158] *Teekwaakia*, was also an important tribal leader who interacted regularly with Euro-Americans and the United States government. He was also one of the subjects of Lewis's paintings a decade previous. Winter's remark fails to recognize the incorporation of Christianity into Miami practices; contradicting his assumption of Miami superstition.

Winter's interaction with Jim Godfroy is also quite interesting. Upon his father's refusal, Godfroy volunteered to have Winter sketch his likeness. "If it is a cause of death, I am ready to die, so sketch away," replied Godfroy.[159] Winter fully placed Godfroy's reaction as being "above the superstition of his tribe, he had no idea of giving up the ghost by submitting to a pictorial representative."[160] Furthermore, Godfroy fetched a "handsome buckskin hunting coat that had been bought from some of the tribes in the 'far west', beyond the Mississippi."[161] Perhaps Godfroy was playing to Winter's expectations in different ways. Godfroy realized that Winter saw his family as superstitious remarking that he had no such fears, while also playing for Euro-American expectations of Indian authenticity by donning the hunting coat. While ultimately, the power remains with those Miami individuals who interacted with Winter, the journal of

[157] Ibid.
[158] Text accompanying sketch of Brouillette. GWMSS 1-23 [18], 2-9 [1].
[159] GW DMV 184-185.
[160] Ibid., 185
[161] Ibid

his interactions with the Miami and the historical context suggest alternative motives for the refusal of the rest of Winter's subjects.

Winter's encounters with several Miami en route to and at Deaf Man's village further elucidate the hole through which we see. Winter's journal of his visit is frought with contradictions in the behavior shown toward him by Miami people, which Winter failed to perceive. When Winter approached the cabin of *Mahkoonsahkwa*, he met a "Negro" who "…had married a squaw and spoke fluently the tongue of that people," who then told *Mahkoonsahkwa* of his reasons for coming.[162] Winter failed to realize that this "Negro" was also just as incorporated within the Miami at Deaf Man's Village as *Mahkoonsahkwa*. To Winter, a man of African-American ancestry living among, married to, and speaking the language of the Miami was not remotely equivalent in romanticism as a woman of European ancestry who had done the same.

When Winter initially met *Mahkoonsahkwa,* she acknowledged she had agreed to the portrait as an obligation to her brother. Winter's portrait of *Mahkoonsahkwa* serves as a visual continuation of her captivity narrative. Captivity narratives are those stories told by Euro-Americans during much of the nineteenth century that often focus upon the savagery of the moment of "capture" and the subsequent morning of the captives family. These tell us little about the Indigenous people they centered upon, but rather more about the Euro-Americans who told them and latched on to them. Captivity narratives served as a means of Euro-Americans forming their identity based upon the possession of a created interaction with the Other. *Mahkoonsahkwa*'s portrait provides an important tangible reminder for Euro-Americans of a created national identity

[162] GW DMV Journal, 167.

providing an attachment to Indigenous people and the lands they inhabit. His series of portraits of *Mahkoonsahkwa* are simulations of the Euro-American fascination with what they conjured her to be.

As seen in figure 15, Winter's initial sketch of *Mahkoonsahkwa* and the interior of her house reveals how the artist chose to represent her. The interior shows a home that may have seemed too inauthentic to potential Euro-American patrons.

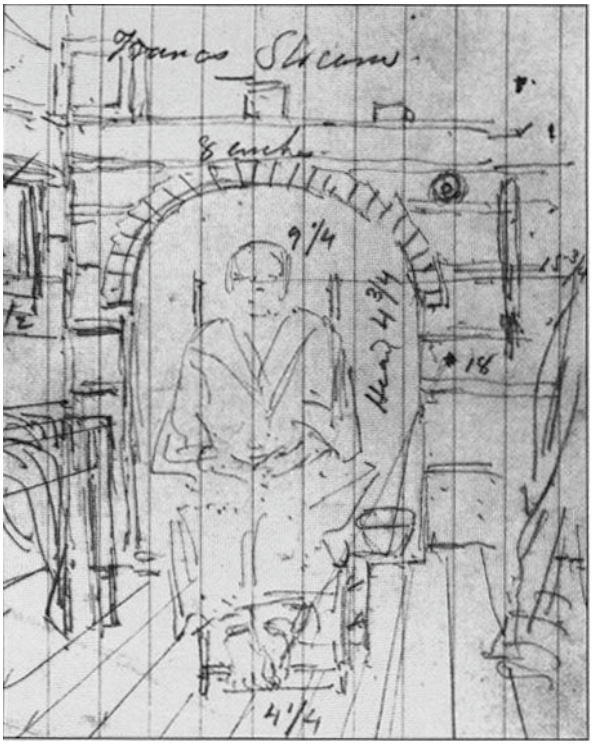

Figure 15. Sketch of *Mahkoonsahkwa* and the interior of her cabin.

As Susan Sleeper Smith points out, Winter's portrait worked to "whiten" her to make her more recognizable and palpable to Euro-Americans. Winter chose to "tone down" the intricate ribbonwork she no doubt had lining the edges and cuffs of her leggings and wrap-skirt. A significant amount of clothing with intricate ribbonwork patterns reside in numerous museums is attributed to having either been worn or made by

Mahkoonsahkwa herself.[163] Winter only saw *Mahkoonsahkwa* as a white woman. As seen in figure 4, Winter's further "whitened" his simulation of *Mahkoonsahkwa* by emphasizing the whiteness of her skin against a dark background. His portrait of her has come to stand in for the real person that was *Mahkoonsahkwa*, yet the real *Mahkoonsahkwa* remains in the stories and the genes of her descendents. She does not rest in the Wyoming Valley, but in the home she chose to stay and in the stories her descendents continue to tell of her.

At *kiikiphšia minooteeni,* Winter initially met a far different welcoming than he had at the home of *Palaanswa*. "Being fatigued and needing some appliances to the inner wants, a good supper was immediately prepared for me…Hearty eating in an Indian wigwam is a medium of popularity with these people; if your appetite is not up to the full, and you are a delicate in devourment [sic], it creates the impression that you are not pleased with their entertainment; hence you are not looked upon with favour."[164] While it should have become apparent to Winter that he was an unwelcome intruder at the home of *Palaanswa*, he was only welcomed as a guest at the home of *Mahkoonsahkwa* as an obligation to her brother, not to mention that he had been expected.

Winter's initial interaction with *Mahkoonsahkwa*'s daughther, *Kiihkinehkišiwa,* provides an interesting glimpse into his projections upon the actions of her daughters. *Kiihkinehkišiwa* had prepared the meal. Winter remarked: "She was very gracious towards me, and I could not but feel that they regarded me as a friend of Joseph

[163] These include the Miami County Museum and the Wabash Historical Society, both in Indiana, and the Lucerne County Historical Society in Pennsylvania.

[164] GW DMV Journal, 169

Slocum."[165] However, Winter was later met with much consternation. On his return to Peru from Deaf Man's Village, Winter saw from a distance "…an Indian woman mounted upon her pony, in full 'regalia' – gay with all the aboriginal appointments – pacing along at an easy gate."[166] Upon approaching closer, both recognized the other and "…she gave…very intensely serious looks…she soon disappeared without giving…the compliment of backward gaze."[167] *Kiihkinehkišiwa* nor *Oonsaahšinihkwa* never agreed to pose for Winter and their interactions with him reveal their despise of him, yet he produced representations of the two "by stealth" and from memory. In figure 16, Winter juxtaposed the agreed upon sketch of *Mahkoonsahkwa* with two sketches "by stealth" of her daughters that heightened Winter's cloaking of them as superstitious. Upon completing "…a successful likeness of the one whose history is full of painful yet romantic incidents…" and was "…among the most valued of my aboriginal sketches of the aboriginal peoples of the Wabash Valley",[168] Winter remarked upon its reception among those present. Winter sought to commemorate her daughters' reception which further exoticised his rendering: "Kick-ke-se-qua eyed it approvingly yet suspiciously – it was a mystery. The widowed daughter, O-san-wa-pak-sin-qua, would not look at it but turned away from it abruptly when I presented it to her for her inspection as though some evil surrounded it."[169] Furthermore, while Winter refers to her daughters by name, there is little evidence that either daughter divulged their names to him.

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[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid., 192
[167] GW DMV Journal, 192
[168] Ibid., 178
[169] Ibid.

Figure 16. Portrait of Mahkoonsahkwa with juxtaposed portraits of her daughters "captured by stealth". Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Indiana. Gift of Mrs. Cable G. Ball.

Like Ishi, most Miami's refused to divulge their likenesses and often their tribal names. Winter's recording of the Miami names of people have become simulations of the real people. These names have become perpetuated as a means of silencing those people. Did they ever really tell Winter their names or were these merely from local traders, such as Washington Ewing, who told them what their names were and what they meant?[170] In this sense, through their silence, the people still maintained agency in their dealings with Winter, whether he was seen as threatening or non-threatening. Through his imperialistic gaze and creation, Winter became the possessor of a simulation – "Being deeply interested in Indian people, it was not common gratification

[170] From a notebook Winter amassed to write his recollections of the events in 1871, a list of Miami names can be found, which were those names provided him by the trader Washington Ewing. These names are much more closely reflective of their proper Miami pronunciation suggesting further that they had never revealed their names to him. GW MSS 1-16 [19].

that I felt in securing so romantic an object, to place among my many sketches of the aboriginal people in my possession."[171] George Winter created and possessed a simulation – not the real.

While the people silenced themselves through refusal, they also silenced the landscape of their homeland in Winter's' representations. Winter assumed he could freely sketch and paint the homes of the Miami people he encountered, since these places could not refuse him as his potential human subjects clearly had. However, Winter's landscapes are remarkably devoid of humans. Portraying a landscape devoid of Indigenous people is demonstrative of the colonial enterprise of denying Indigenous presence upon the land; spatially relegating them to lurk in the darkness of the uncleared and untamed wilderness beyond. Winter's representations are devoid of Miami because he either did not have permission to render the landscape of the various villages or those present purposely chose to avoid being within his view.

In several of Winter''s scenes that depict Miami within the landscape, Winter had to create these on his own after the fact. Sketching with "stealth" to capture a scene of women washing clothes on the Wabash River, Winter's later finished painting entitled "Scene on the Wabash" is clearly a conglomeration of several stealthily sketched scenes that he juxtaposed together to create the montage. Furthermore, as Feest has pointed out, the landscapes by Winter were done as matters of composition and so many of these must be seen as generic backdrops for his juxtaposed scenes. Winter appears to have had a handful of vegetation types that he consistently used throughout his paintings, giving little indication as to the species of trees and other

[171] GW DMV Journal, GWMSS 2-23 [26]

vegetation, but was more interested in how vegetation could be used as a means of creating a "romantic" scene in which to pose his conglomeration of sketched poses. In this sense, the landscape of Winter are also a simulation. They are simulations of Winter's creation, but are also a means by which the Miami and the land silenced themselves to cover themselves up while plainly viewing Winter as he stumbled around looking for the romantic in everything and everyone around him.

Furthermore, we must seriously take into account his final interaction while at Deaf Man's Village. This interaction demonstrates that there was much more going on in regards to refusal than mere superstitious beliefs about one's portrait being possessed. Through refusal, not only can we consider Winters' representations of the Miami as simulations, but we must also consider his representations of the landscape of their homeland as such as well. Winter never received permission to represent Deaf Man's Village, his only sanctioned action while there was to paint the portrait of *Mahkoonsahkwa*.

After accomplishing this, Winter took it upon himself to begin sketching the scene around him, Deaf Man's Village. Winter decided he would "…obtain all the points of interest in the surroundings of the Captive, for I felt I was on classic ground, I had selected in my rambles some several points of view of the village and vicinity. The field was open for enriching my portfolio."[172] While wandering around, he realized he had been watched the whole time by *Mahkoonsahkwa* and her daughters, "…I quickly anticipated that their superstitious fears were aroused. To them I doubtless appeared as a 'man-i-tou' of evil, and my deviltry was about to bring upon them some fearful

[172] GW DMV Journal,179.

calamity."[173] Winter tried to rapidly finish his sketch of the village as *Mahkoonsahkwa* approached him and addressed him first in Miami which he did not understand, but reportedly "…knew by intuition that there were objections to my proceeding to sketch." Winter's "intuition" was confirmed when he finally heard her say "no good, no good". Upon returning with her to her cabin, he met more protest by *Kiihkinahkišiwia* exclaiming, "No good! No good house!"[174] Realizing he was no longer welcome, Winter attributed their actions to "their superstitious minds."[175] He immediately gathered his belongings and made his way away from the village, not without sketching the village from a distance, "I could not but linger and drink in to a fullness the scene so deeply impressed upon my mind. I felt enriched with 'treasures' of the highest value in historic interest, and happily retraced my way through the 'dim lit' aboriginal forest of grandly crescented trees rustling with the gentle breezes as they swept by from the Mississinewa"[176] While Winter attributes this instance of refusal to "superstition" once again, it clearly provides evidence that the refusal of *Mahkoonsahkwa* and her daughters towards Winter was not strictly limited to their own portraits, but to their home as well.

How do we explain the uneven resistance/refusal? We cannot ascribe it to either gender, class, education, assimilation, etc., since the act of refusal by *Palaanswa* attests that despite his being well acclimated to Euro-American society, his command of English, not to mention French and perhaps several other Indigenous languages he refused to have his likeness completed by Winter. Godfroy also consented for his portrait over a decade prior by Lewis. Furthermore, Winter's other Miami subjects, the

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[173] Ibid.
[174] GW DMV Journal, 179.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid., 180.

daughters of Frances Slocum, whom adamantly refused to have their portraits and the sketches of their home done by Winter, fully embraced the advent of photography thirty or more years later. A significant number of studio photographed portraits exist of both individuals, especially *Oonsaahšinihkwa*, whom Winter described as especially "superstitious".[177]

The contradictions thus made apparent within Winter's narratives reveal the complexity of the Miami in regards to authenticity that Ortner describes as:

> Closely related to questions of the psychological and socio-political complexity of resistance and non-resistance (and to the need for thick ethnography) is the question of authenticity. Authenticity is another highly problematized term, insofar as it seems to presume a naive belief in cultural purity, in untouched cultures whose histories are uncontaminated by those of their neighbors or of the west.[178]

This notion of authenticity discussed by Ortner often presents a romanticized notion of the politics of resistance as a resistance to domination and disregards the internal politics of individuals within and toward the community in which they inhabit.[179] Ortner goes on to talk about how new scholarship in regards to resistance:

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[177] These exist within several Miami families and local historical societies, such as the Wabash County Historical Society.

[178] Sherry B. Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal". Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan., 1995), pp. 173-193. 176

[179] Ornter elaborates upon her review of the literature surrounding resistance: "Yet the discussion is usually limited to the politics of resistance, that is, to the relationship between the dominant and the subordinate (see also Cooper 1992:4). If we are to recognize that resistors are doing more than simply opposing domination, more than simply producing a virtually mechanical re-action, then we must go the whole way. They have their own politics-not just between chiefs and commoners or landlords and peasants but within all the local categories of friction and tension: men and women, parents and children, seniors and juniors; inheritance conflicts among brothers; struggles of succession and wars of conquest between chiefs; struggles for primacy between religious sects; and on and on. It is the absence of analysis of these forms of internal conflict in many resistance studies that gives them an air of romanticism…"

> …would, or should, reveal the ambivalences and ambiguities of resistance itself. These ambivalences and ambiguities, in turn, emerge from the intricate webs of articulations and disarticulations that always exist between dominant and dominated. For the politics of external domination and the politics within a subordinated group may link up with, as well as repel, one another; the cultures of dominant groups and of subalterns may speak to, even while speaking against, one another…subordinated selves may retain oppositional authenticity and agency by drawing on aspects of the dominant culture to criticize their own world as well as the situation of domination.[180]

Ortner cautions that looking at resistance too narrowly can lead to a romanticism of the actions of groups and individuals since "… there is never a single, unitary, subordinate, if only in the simple sense that subaltern groups are internally divided by age, gender, status, and other forms of difference and that occupants of differing subject positions will have different, even opposed, but still legitimate, perspectives on the situation."[181] This proves particularly useful in explaining the seemingly contradictory actions of those Miami who refused and consented to Winter's renderings.

For instance, we must also take into account the historical moment; the Potawatomi had just been forcibly removed and it is doubtless that the Miami also were aware of their possible eventual removal. The actions of the daughters of *Mahkoonsahkwa* point to much more than a "superstitious" preoccupation with their soul being captured by Winter. Perhaps they were fearful of their own mother being

[180] Ortner, 190.
[181] Ibid., 175.

forcibly removed from their home and taken back to live among her relatives in Pennsylvania. Furthermore, *Mahkoonsahkwa* may not have only consented due to honoring her brother's request, but also as a means of avoiding removal to garner sympathy from Euro-Americans and ultimately Congress to exempt her and her large extended family from the inevitable Miami removal. Perhaps this was the same reason that *Palaanswa* refused, since he was deeply involved in the treaty negotiation process and was savvy of the political climate. Perhaps some Miami did believe that having one's likeness rendered would have unforeseen spiritual affects, but we cannot ascribe this to all Miami. What we can learn from Winter's narratives, is not that the Miami were a homogenous group, but rather the obverse, that the Miami, like any Indigenous nation, or any other community of people for that matter, act in ways of their own choosing, that sometime functions within a cultural structure, but that is also informed by politics of both internal and external natures; the power ultimately rested within each individual Miami as to how they wanted to interact and participate in Winter's quest for the romantic.

Conclusion

Winter's representations of the Miami are simulations of the real. The actions of his Miami subjects are the hole in the cape through which we must see them. It enables us to see that which had seemingly been hidden from us, but which had actually always been present. Winter's works have become entangled with the colonial expansionism of the United States and identity formation of the state of Indiana. His representations have become possessed by the State as a means of forming this identity. Vizenor uses the quote from Sontag that began this chapter as demonstration of how "The simulation

supercedes the real and remembrance."[182] When we view through the hole of refusal, we see that the real is the remembrance of these people and places among the Miami by their descendants. Sontag reminds us, we cannot ascribe the real onto these images, but must rather remember the real through the stories of those people and places and view the works in relation to these stories that remain among the Miami. As we will see in chapter four, the stories of these people and places remained among their descendents a century later and provided a powerful means of the Miami community asserting their continued identity, history, and sovereignty through a pageant performance that kept open the hole in the cape that Winter, subsequent historians, and the State and Federal authorities had draped over the Miami by the 1930s.Vizenor reiterates this relationship, "Tribal power is more communal than personal, and the power of the spoken word goes with the stories of the survivors, and becomes the literature of survivance."[183]

We must also not ignore the historical context that may have influenced the actions of the Miami people with whom Winter interacted. A decade prior to Winter's arrival, the Miami were visited by another outsider, Charles Christopher Trowbridge, whose visits among the Miami is mentioned in chapter one. Trowbridge's visit was on behalf of Indiana Governor, Lewis Cass. This foray preceded Cass's involvement in the Mississinewa Treaty of 1826. Winter's visit comes during heightened pressure to sign away the Miami National Reservation and remove west of the Mississippi. Just prior to Winter's brief encounters, the Miami Nation had signed a treaty with the United States that called upon their eventual removal from the lands they so loved. Furthermore, Winter had witnessed the botched Potawatomi removal first hand and there is little

[182] Vizenor, 130.
[183] Vizenor, 135.

doubt that removal would be on the mind of several Miami. With this botched removal, several Potawatomi remained behind and with former traders used as instruments to look for "skulkers" to corral them for another removal. Winter had entered into Miami space at a turbulent time among them and internal conflicts surrounding removal were bubbling. Perhaps the fear that Winter sensed from some of his potential "sitters" was not of him, but of his recording of them that could jeopardize their potential residence in the Miami homeland and perhaps those Potawatomi who may have sought refuge among them. The daughters of *Mahkoonsahkwa* and even *Mahkoonsahkwa* herself may have been fearful that *Mahkoonsahkwa*'s portrait would lead not to her removal west of the Mississippi, but to another alien land to the east, among her relatives in Pennsylvania.

Since these are the only representations existent by Euro-Americans of Miami during the 1830s, Winter's work has come to stand in as representative of all Miami people at a particular point in history. Winter sought to further exoticise and add value to his work later in the nineteenth century which capitalized upon the imperialistic nostalgia that began to take hold in Euro-American society lamenting the "inevitable demise" of American Indians. In 1871, Winter wrote to the Honorable H.P. Biddle of Logansport in regards to his journal of his visit to Deaf Man's Village as demonstrative of his "…desire to preserve from obliteration the likenesses, habits and customs of some at least, of the unfortunate race of red men whom I have seen and known personally, and who alas! are fast fading away from earthly existence without the natural sympathy for their sad and inevitable extinction."[184] Much like the Seven-Headed Manitou in the

[184] GW DMV Journal, 152.

following excerpt, Winter too sought to consume the Miami he painted by covering over their actions. Vizenor reminds us that Ishi, like Winter's Miami subjects and the stories about them among their many descendants who comprise a significant portion of the Miami Nation of Indiana, was never really the "last". "Nothing of course was ever last that can be seen in a picture. Nothing is last that are stories of remembrance; nothing is last because the last is the absence of stories…the last and the lost was not in tribal poses but in the remembrance of the witnesses who died at the borders of their possessions behind the camera."[185]

> **Naahpa-'hsa ntaahswi pahkihteepineelici. Eemwaalici.**
> *But a number of them were starving. (The manitou) ate them up.*
>
> **Neehi-'hsa weehsineelici, aapwe: "Paahkiinkweehšinooko".**
> *And then, when he had eaten, he continued: "Uncover your faces!"*
>
> **Kapootwe keetankwaanki Manetoowa.**
> *After a while the manitou became sleepy.*
>
> **Neehi-'hsa ceenkwankeepici. Ašiihkiwi naanaamaamihkiiki.**
> *Then, when he sat down, he made a great rumbling noise. The earth shook.*
>
> **Weešihšinki. Noonkaaha-'hka "nipeewa" iišiteeheeci Wiihsakacaakwa.**
> *He laid down. At that point, Wissakatchakwa thought "he's asleep".*
>
> **Peesikwiihsaaci-'hsa. Naanaamaahkiici-'hsa ceeki swaahteethswi antepikana.**
> *He sprang up. He shook all seven of (the Manitou's) heads.*
>
> **Aalweelici-'hsa kati amatinaaci.**
> *He couldn't wake (the Manitou) up.*
>
> **Neehi-'hsa paahkinanki mahkateewi teepantaakanhsenki.**
> *And so then he opened a keg of gunpowder.*
>
> **Seehsiikinanki antepikaninki Manetoowali.**

[185] Vizenor, 129.

He poured it out onto the Manitou's heads.

Neehi-'hsa ceeki: "Noontiohsaako!"
And to all (the captives), he said "get out!"

Aalinta naawi peehkihteepineewaaci.
Some were almost starved.

Aalweeliwaaci ihsa kati noontiohsaawaaci.
They couldn't get out.

Ceeki kiikoo ntaahswi meehsawinanki ihsa meenki awiila.
He took as much as he wanted of everything.

Neehi-'hsa naanameekinki meehkatiaapiikinanki.
And he rubbed gunpowder into a rag.

Neehi-'hsa antepikanionkonci kwaanteeminkiši iilaapiikatooki.
And he strung it out away from their heads, towards the door.

Neehi-'hsa noontiohsaaci. Šaakosanki mahkatiaapiikwi.
Then he got out. He lit the fuse.

Chapter Three
Nihsweehikolo (divide it Up): Narrating Allotment

This chapter begins with a short excerpt from an *aacimooni,* a historical narrative about the namesake of early twentieth century Indiana Miami leader, *Waapinaakikaapwa*, Gabriel Godfroy:

Mihtohseeniaki neetoonamahowaaci, kiikoo eenkihtoowaaci, nkóti lénia meemaaciki.
When the Indians went hunting, whenever they killed anything, *they chose one man:*

"Nihsweehikolo" iilaaciki, "(ah)kaapeewilo"
"*Divide it up*", *they tell him,* "*divide equally, act as kaapia*".

Oonaana lénia 'Kaapia' iilinta.[186]
This man is called a 'Kaapia'.

While this *aacimooni* from *Waapanakikaapwa* is about hunting and the role of the *kaapia,* a position of leadership within this context, it can also help us to think about how the Meshingomesia Reservation came to be allotted among the Indiana Miami over a decade before allotment as a Federal policy would be imposed upon American Indian lands throughout the United States. The existing scholarship[187] regarding allotment, the division of communally held tribal lands into parcels owned by individual tribal members, focuses upon the devastating impacts of this Federal policy imposed upon American Indian tribal communities with or without their begrudging consent that began with the passage of the General Allottment Act of 1887,[188] also known as the

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[186] *Kaapia aacimoona,* Costa

[187] See Francis Paul Prucha, ed. *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1973), Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Assuault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Law (Dawes Act) of 1887.

[188] Stat. 24, 388

Dawes Act, and subsequent acts such as the Curtis Act of 1898, which extended the Dawes Act provisions to tribes in Indian Territory, and the Burke Act of 1906[189] which accelerated loss of allotments. The general narrative of allotment has focused upon these series of acts as forced impositions on reluctant and resistant American Indian tribes, while neglecting prior legislation dealing with allotment.[190] On June 1, 1872, fifteen years prior to the General Allotment Act, the Forty-Second Congress of the United States passed "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make partition of the reservation to Me-shin-go-me-sia, a Miami Indian".[191] Although the allotment of the Meshingomesia Reservation fell well within Federal Policy era of assimilation, it was not imposed upon the Meshingomesia Band of Indiana Miami, but was rather the result of the Band's efforts to secure the status of their lands since removal. The allotment of the Meshingomesia Reservation does not fit quite so neatly within the general narrative of allotment. It begs the question: Why would the Band petition to have their reservation allotted?

This chapter adds a sorely needed analysis of a pre-General Allotment Act legislation. The story of the Band's pursuit reveals the immense pressures and incredibly complex issues endured by the Miami at the height of tribal removal in 1846 and subsequent efforts to persist as a people in their homeland. This chapter examines the circumstances leading up to the allotment of the Meshingomesia Reservation and determines why the Band intentionally sought allotment. It agrues that despite some

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[189] Stat. 34, 182-83

[190] For example see Melissa L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889-1920*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1994).

[191] Stat. XVII., 213

scholars' descriptions of allotment as an "assault on tribalism" the Meshingomesia Band of Indiana Miami sought allotment as a means of preserving their kin-based community and future land tenure within their Indiana homelands. The testimonials associated with the allotment process reveal how kinship, as defined by the Band, was the sole factor determining the eligibility for those Miami who would finally receive an allotment.

Introduction

The Miami were well aware of the various Indian removals that had taken place throughout the southern Great Lakes during the early nineteenth century, with the most recent removal of their elder brothers, the Potawatomi, in 1838. The Miami faced eventual removal that same year through the treaty of 1838[192]. Article 10 of the treaty called for the Miami to remove to "a country west of the Mississippi River, …to settle on, when the said tribe may be disposed to emigrate from their present country." While this treaty called for the removal of the entire Miami Nation from the State of Indiana, it also reserved ten square miles to the band of *Mihtohseenia*, the father of *Mihšiinkoomiša*[193]. Prior to this treaty and in following treaties, the Miami continued to reserve lands for individuals within their homeland of Indiana in an effort to thwart removal, however, this tactic proved only half successful. Although the tribe was never "disposed to emigrate", this was finally forced upon them in1846. The Miami would be geographically and politically split in half, with those who had retained lands in Indiana and their families eventually obtaining congressional exemptions from removal. Most

[192] 7 Stat., 569.

[193] From here on, *Mihšiinkoomiša* will be used to refer to the person, while Meshingomesia will be used to refer to both the Band and reservation.

of those Miami who could not secure exemptions were forced to emigrate to Kansas, but the specter of removal would continue to haunt the Indiana Miami well after 1846.

As an *akima*, or band chief, *Mihšiinkoomiša*, acted in a similar manner as a *kaapia* in dividing the land equally among band members so that all band members would have an equal stake and security in their communal land holdings. A look at the various letters, petitions, and court cases pursued by the band demonstrate the constant affronts upon their communal land ownership since the land had been reserved through the Treaty of 1840. According to Section Two of the Act of 1872, the Secretary of the Interior was to ascertain who was eligible to receive an allotment through a process of taking testimony from individuals who were Band members at the time the land was reserved in 1840, and would include their descendents. These testimonies demonstrate the Band's efforts to retain their ancestral land by any means necessary and their connections to it. They also reveal some of the Miami anxieties stemming from removal and their strong connections of kinship and place despite removal that extended well beyond the Meshingomesia Reservation boundaries to other Miami people and lands in Indiana, Kansas, and Indian Territory. However, the testimony and petitions of *Mihšiinkoomiša* and other Band headmen shed light upon their efforts to control allotment elegibility and some of the tensions among the broader Indiana Miami community regarding land tenure.

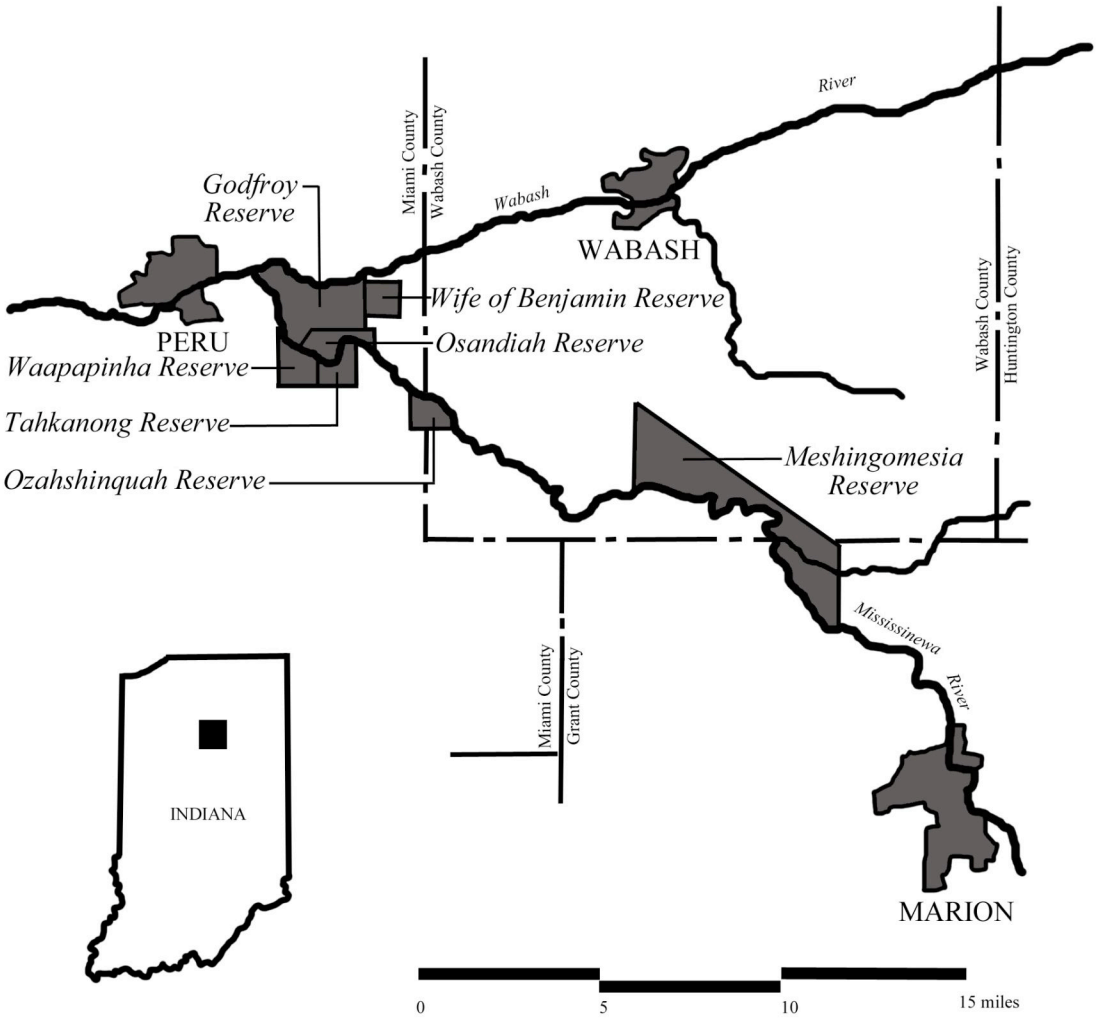

Figure 17. Meshingomesia Reservation location in relation to other nearby Miami individual reserves.

A brief comparison to individual land patents and other allotment legislation

The individual ownership of land is perhaps one of the foundational tenants of the United States. Indeed, property was seen as an inalienable right since proto-American times. Early on, representatives of the fledgling United States pressed the

virtues of private land ownership to tribes.[194] Prior to the Indian Removal Policy implemented by President Andrew Jackson beginning in the 1830s, treaties with eastern tribes contained provisions for parcels of land to be reserved for individual tribal members. For example, among the Creek in the southeastern United States, treaties and subsequent Congressional acts created several reserves for individuals which came to be the land base for the Creek community who eventually became the Poarch Band of Creek Indians in Alabama.[195] By 1885, nearly 11,000 land patents had been issued to individual American Indians.[196]

Meanwhile, the Band was not the first tribal entity to request individual allotment of communally held land. The Brothertown Nation of Wisconsin was perhaps the first tribe to request allotment of their communally held reservation. They requested several times in the mid 1830s with Congress passing an act to allot the reservation in

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[194] See Prucha, ix-x. As Francis Paul Prucha points out, Henry Knox was perhaps the first propend of this to the Miami his April 1792 speech, followed by an appeal from Thomas Jefferson in 1808 to a delegation of Chiefs, Secretary of War, Lewis Cass in 1831 as "one of the elements in fixing the 'future destiny of the Indians, and followed by they opinion of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. Hartley Crawford in 1838 that "Common property and civilization cannot co-exist."

[195] Several individual Creeks received lands as per an 1817 law under provisions of the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson in which "Friendly Creeks" could "acquire individual title to land". Additional lands were chosen by individual Creeks throughout the 1830s by several Congressional acts. These lands would form the core communities among the present Poarch Band of Creek, located near Atmore, Alabama. See "Recommendation and summary of evidence for proposed finding for Federal acknowledgment of the Poarch Band of Creeks of Alabama pursuant to 25 C F R 83." Memorandum from Deputy Assistant Secretary to Assistant Secretary, December 29, 1983. 4-5.

[196] Prucha, 3

1839.[197] Some allotments occurred as treaty provisions and it is important to note here that the Miami reservation in Kansas Territory, consisting of 324,796 acres was allotted per the 1854 Treaty with the Miami. This allotment reduced the original acreage to 70, 640 acres. Two hundred acre allotments were assigned to heads of families while the remaining 254,156 acres were to be sold. This will be dealt with in more detail later.

Allotment began to build steam within American politics and as a Federal Indian policy in conjunction with a push to assimilate American Indians into American society. Noted early American Indian legal scholar, Francis Paul Prucha, remarked: "piecemeal legislation that authorized allotment for one tribe at a time was not enough, they argued."[198] Communal land ownership was seen as antithetical to being "American" and several bills were proposed to allot Indian lands throughout the 1870s and early 1880s[199]. During this period, a few allotment bills were passed that applied to specific tribes only; the Crow and Omahas in 1882, and the Umitillas in 1885. Only Congress had the power to dissolve American Indian land holdings and so rather than passing legislation for one tribe at-a-time as had been the case, Congress saw a need for a bill that encompassed all American Indian reservation land holdings.

The push for a blanket bill came from the Massachusetts Senator, Henry Dawes who sponsored The General Allotment Act of 1887. This convoluted legislation has

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[197] See Brad D. E. Jarvis, The Brothertown Nation of Indians: Land Ownership and Nationalism in Early America, 1740-1840 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).

[198] Prucha, x.

[199] Prucha, 5-6.

created frustration in regards to individual heirs and fractionation[200] of original allotments; tribal, state, and federal jurisdiction conflict and confusion; and several other unfortunate circumstances that are too complicated to delve into any great detail for the purposes of this chapter. However, a brief overview of the basic tenants of this legislation is necessary. The legislation called for all communally, tribally held lands[201] to be divided into individual parcels with the following quantities:

> "To each head of family, one-quarter of a section (160 acres);
>
> to each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section (80 acres);
>
> To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and
>
> To each other single person under eighteen years now living…one-sixteenth of a section (40 acres)…"[202]

For the next twenty-five years following the Act of 1887, the United States held these lands in trust[203] for the individual who was then issued a patent and the

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[200] This phenomenon occurred due to allotments being divided among the descendents of original allottees over several generations, which each subusequent generation receiving half the amount of land of the previous generation, with some current descendents receiving as little as 1/1,000 or less of the original allotment. For more on fractionation and the legacy of allotment, see Indian Land Tenure Foundation < http://www.indianlandtenure.org/ILTFallotment/allotindex/index.htm> Accessed, July 23, 2010.

[201] Several tribes, namely those in Oklahoma were explicitly exempted from this: Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, Osage, Miami and Peoria, Sac and Fox, as well as the Seneca of New York and "the inhabitants of the strip south o the Sioux in Nebraska".

[202] General Allotment Act, Section 1.

[203] These lands are held by the United States for the "benefit" of the tribe and the individual. Lands with trust status are subject to Federal and Tribal jurisdiction only,

land then came under the jurisdiction of the state and county in which the individual resided. Furthermore, with the stated amounts of land conveyed to each category of individual mentioned above, there was inevitably "surplus" land; land that remained unallotted within the original boundaries of the reservation, which, depending upon the tribe's population, led to the potential further alienation of extensive tracts of tribal land. This land was then sold with the proceeds going to the tribe. Several tribes were exempted from this legislation, but subsequent acts, such the Curtis Act of 1898 ensured that nearly all of the remaining exempted tribes would undergo allotment.[204]

The 1872 act contained some provisions similar to this act, such as a period of trust to be extended upon the allotment to avoid initial alienation. However, in the 1872 Act, this trust period was extended until 1881, but, as in the General Allottment Act, the allottee would become a citizen of the United States and subject to state jurisdiction at this time. One of the major differences between the 1872 Act and the General Allotment Act regarded the size of allotments and surplus lands. The allotments of the Meshingomesia reservation ranged from 76.7 to 125.36 acres, the majority of which were around 80 acres. There was no differentiation in ages and sizes for each allotment under the 1872 Act. The allotments of some minor children were larger than their parents'. For example, Me-cot-a-mung-wah's allotment was just over 110 acres, while his

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with the exception of those tribes who continue to fall under Public Law 280 (cite law), which extended state jurisdiction over tribal lands in those states in which the law was passed.

[204] Exceptions to this include the Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota and the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin.

mother's, Len-on-zo-quah, was just over 81 acres as shown in table 1. Furthermore, all of the reservation was allotted, meaning there were no surplus lands that were sold to non-Indians as per the General Allotment Act.

Table 1. Meshingomesia Reservation Allottees[205]

Allotment Number	Name	Acres
1	Me-shin-go-me-sia (Chief)	80
2	Me-tah-ke-quah (wife of Chief Meshingomesia)	80
3	Po-con-ge-ah (son of Chief Meshingomesia)	77
4	Sock-a-chock-quah (wife of Po-con-ge-ah)	91
5	Ching-gwa-saw alias William Wilson (son of Po-con-ge-ah)	80
6	Wah-pe-nock-she-ne-quah alias Frances (wife of William Wilson)	88.21
7	Wah-pe-mung-gwah alias Robert (son of Po-con-ge-ah)	79.93
8	Mon-gon-zah alias Jacob (son of Po-con-ge-ah)	79.93
9	Pe-me-si-ah alias Thomas (son of Po-con-ge-ah)	89
10	Ke-tah-ke-mung-e-quah alias Mary (daughter of Po-con-ge-ah)	86
11	Me-ta-qua-ke-ah alias Peter (son of Po-con-ge-ah)	82.49
12	Aw-taw-waw-taw (son of chief Meshingomesia)	77
13	Me-tah-ke-ke-quah (wife of Aw-taw-waw-taw)	93
14	Sha-pe-ne-maw alias Nelson (son of Aw-taw-waw-taw)	79.12
15	Chang-shing-gah (wife of Nelson)	79.55
16	Me-tah-con-sac-quah (daughter of Nelson)	77.79
17	Tah-con-sac-quah alias Frances (daughter of Nelson)	77
18	Me-tah-ke-quah alias Ellen (daughter of Nelson)	76.78
19	Me-tah-con-sah alias Camillus (son of Nelson)	78
20	Wah-pah-ke-ke-quah alias Anna (daughter of Aw-taw-waw-taw and wife of Jamess Millard Prickett)	90.49
21	Chin-go-quah alias Ellen (daughter of Aw-taw-waw-taw)	85
22	Ko-pan-o-quah alias Lucy (daughter of Aw-taw-waw-taw)	89.60
23	Oc-waw-le-men-dah alias John (son of Aw-taw-waw-taw)	84.40
24	No-on-ge-quah (widow of Chap-en-do-ceah)	77
25	Me-to-cin-e-quah (grand daughter of Chap-en-do-ceah)	95.50
26	Wah-pe-quah (grand daughter of Chap-en-do-ceah)	104.25
27	George D. Chapendoceah (son of Chapendoceah)	82.24

[205] The numbers of each individual correspond to the number of allotment on Figure 2. Exhibit K containing names of parties entitled to land and description s of the land partitioned to them by the Commission appointed to execute the act entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make partition of the reservation to Me-shin-go-me-sia, a Miami Indian," approved June 1st 1872. National Archives. Record Group 75, Irregularly Shaped Papers, 1849-1907, Entry 310, Item 95, Box 53, PI-163.

28	Ke-pe-coc-ze-quah (daughter of George D. Chapendoceah)	93
29	Len-on-zo-quah (daughter of Chapendoceah)	81.02
30	Me-cot-a-mung-wah alias Elijah (son of Len-on-zo-quah)	110.18
31	Pe-to-tum-quah (daughter of Chapendoceah)	76.75
32	Pe-to-tun-gah alias George W. Chapendoceah (son of Chapendoceah)	41
33	Ke-ge-ton-o-quah (widow of Wah-pe-si-taw)	98.17
34	Mon-gon-zah alias Charley Dixon (son of Me-tah-ke-keah)	81.66
35	Soc-o-choc-quah alias Mary (daughter of Charley Dixon)	88.72
36	Soc-oc-co-quah alias Lavinia (daughter of Charley Dixon)	86
37	Wah-pe-pin-gah alias George Washington (son of Charley Dixon)	81.02
38	Was-sa-kung alias Mary Belle (daughter of Charley Dixon)	92.11
39	Pe-me-si-ah alias Cornelius alias Cornelius Cotesipin sometimes called Cornelius Dixon (son of Wah-pe-pe-ge-quah alias Hannah Dixon, who was the daughter of Me-tah-ke-ke-ah the brother of Meshingomesia)	90.83
40	As-son-song-gah alias Charlie Marks (son of Hannah Dixon)	88.48
41	Ke-taw-ke-mung-wah alias Marshall (son of Po-con-ge-quah, the sister of Meshingomesia, chief)	85
42	Soc-co-quat-ah (wife of Marshall)	91
43	Wah-pe-se-pin alias William (son of Marshall)	76.70
44	Kil-i-so-quah alias Jane Newman	77
45	Sha-pe-ne-maw alias George Bondy (son of Kil-i-so-quah)	83.57
46	Soc-co-tum-quah alias Mary Bondy (daughter of Kil-i-so-quah)	77
47	Wah-cah-pe-ceah alias Willis Bondy (son of Kil-i-so-quah)	110.10
48	Ko-chin-wah alias Benjamin Newman (son of Kil-i-so-quah)	81
49	Lan-on-nk-kiz-um-quah (daughter of Kil-i-so-quah)	84.40
50	Wah-ca-coon-ah	83.30
51	A-tup-tin alias Nancy Jane (daughter of Wah-ca-coon-ah)	77.77
52	Tac-con-sac-quah alias Sally Ann (daughter of Wah-ca-coon-ah)	87.05
53	Me-tah-con-sah alias Susie (daughter of Wah-ca-coon-ah)	97.62
54	Mah-zon-ge-quah alias Julia (daughter of Wah-ca-coon-ah)	88.16
55	Mah-so-con-gah alias Mahala (daughter of Wah-ca-coon-ah)	81
56	Pe-me-sac-quah alias Mary Magdeline (daughter of Wah-ca-coon-ah)	79.34
57	Ah-se-pon-ah alias Conrad (son of Wah-ca-coon-ah)	97.23
58	Pe-my-o-to-mah alias Eli Goodboy	125.36
59	Tah-com-wah alias Mary (wife of Eli Goodboy)	122.16
60	Mollie	92.90
61	Me-shin-go-me-sia (Skiah's wife)	80.99
62	We-cup-pa-me-sia (daughter of Meshingomesia, Skiah's wife)	89.67
63	Pah-coc-co-se-quah (daughter of Meshingomesia, Skiah's wife)	91

Figure 18. Allotment map of Meshingomesia Reservation containing the locations and corresponding allotment numbers. National Archives, Record Group 75, Map 164, Plat No. 2.

Mihšiinkoomiša

Miami political and social life had functioned within family groups living together in villages at small, localized levels, or bands for much of the Miami history recorded by Europeans and Euro-Americans. The band of *Mihtohseenia* was intertwined with the upheavals in Great Lakes American Indian history throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The grandfather of *Mihtohseenia*, *Oonseentia*, had moved his band to the village of *Pinkwileniaki,* also known as Pickawillany, near present day Piqua, Ohio, when the Piankishaw leader *Meemeešihkia*, also known as Le Demoiselle, encouraged other Miami to join him in his attempt to establish stronger ties with the British.[206] After the attack that ended the Miami tenure at Pickawillany in 1751, *Oonseentia,* along with his son *Ataaweeta,* led the Band far away from European influence to the upper Mississinewa area in what are now present day Grant and Wabash Counties in Indiana. *Mihtohseenia* became the Band leader and it was the village of the band that was among those attacked by Colonel Joseph Campbell's raids along the Mississinewa River during the War of 1812.

Band leadership was often hereditary and when *Mihtohseenia* died in 1839, his son *Mihšiinkoomiša* became *akima*, chief, of the Band. *Mihšiinkoomiša* developed into a well-respected leader not only among his band relations, but among the entire Miami Nation. As the *akima* of his kin-based group, *Mihšiinkoomiša* was also a member of the Miami Nation council and signed several treaties as such. He was also among those

[206] For more detailed investigation of the village of Pickawillany see George Ironstrack, *From the Ashes: One Story of the Village of Pinkwi Mihtohseeniaki*, Masters Thesis, Department of History, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 2006. For a historical analysis of Le Demoiselle see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Miami leaders considered to be appointed principal chief of the Nation following the death of *Pinšiwa*, Jean Baptiste Richardville, however, the council decided to choose *Pinšiwa*'s nephew, *Toopia*, Francis LaFontaine for the position.

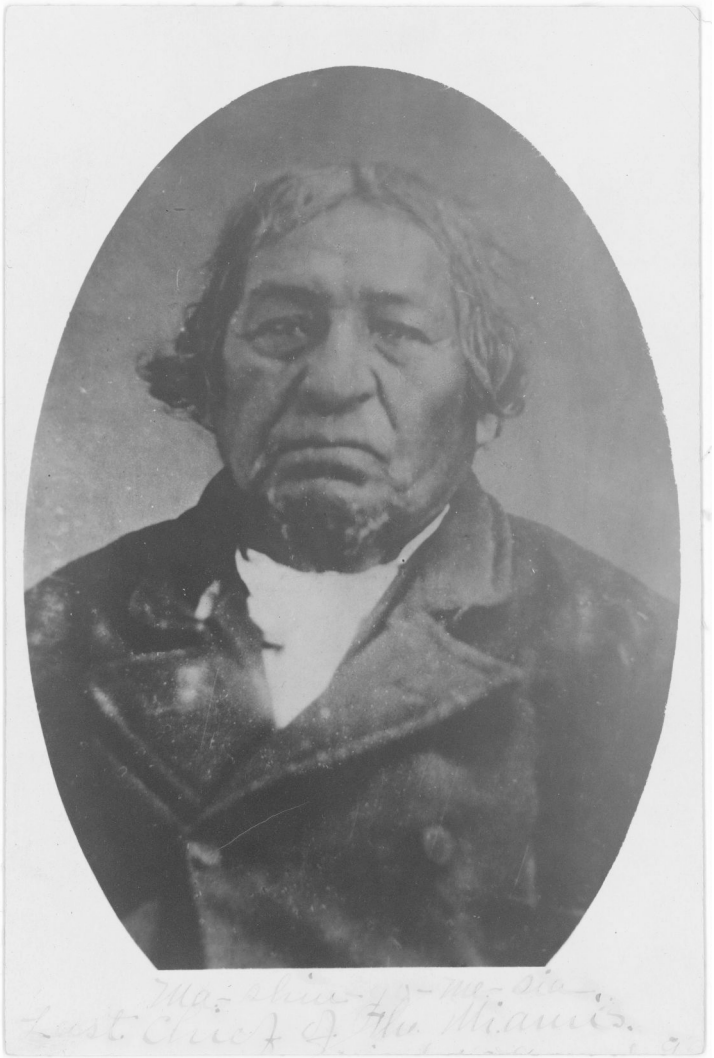

Figure 19. *Mihšiinkoomiša* (Meshingomesia) 1787 – 1879. This portrait probably dates to the early 1870s. Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian.

Mihšiinkoomiša's role as *akima* included not only representing his band in the Nation's council, but also helping to take care of the needs and wishes of the band members and seeing toward their general welfare. *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s responsibilities

took him to numerous places far beyond the reservation boundaries. He made several trips to Washington D.C. as a tribal representative. Among his travels from the reservation were the annual payments the Miami received from numerous treaties. *Mihšiinkoomiša* traveled frequently to *wiipicahkionki* - the Forks of the Wabash, to Marion up river, and to *iihkipisinonki* – Peru, down river to collect annuity payments for Band members. Annuities were sent to a paymaster at either of these places in wooden boxes containing one thousand dollars. The Miami would incorporate this into their language by describing one of these boxes as *mihtekowalaakani*, literally wooden container, which came to mean "one thousand dollars."

Several band members described the process of the distribution of payments upon *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s return. *Mihšiinkoomiša* would call all band members together, usually in the spring, to collect their annuities. He would first collect sticks, with each one representing a band member for whom he collected. Using his sticks to count the number or those receiving money, a tent canvas was spread out onto the ground. *Mihšiinkoomiša* divided up the annuities into piles upon the tent canvas and called each band member up to receive their annuity payment.[207]

Mihšiinkoomiša was also responsible for taking care of several orphaned or neglected children. He provided a haven for children such as *Waapimaankwa*, Thomas F. Richardville. Richardville's father had been killed while the family was living near the town of Kokomo along Wild Cat Creek while the Big Miami Reserve was still intact. Richardville was a small child then and he and his mother were invited to stay with *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s brother *šaapontosia* who was also living on the Wild Cat at that

[207] Testimonial, 146.

time. Richardville's mother, who was distantly related to *šaapontosia* died shortly afterward and *šaapontosia* assumed guardianship over Thomas. Following the dissolution of the Big Miami Reserve lands that encompassed the hunting grounds along the Wild Cat and the creation of the Meshingomesia reservation in the Treaty of 1838, *šaapontosia*, his two wives *Noonkiihkwa* and *Masaansiihkwa*, their children, and Richardville moved to the Meshingomesia reservation. Richardville would later live with *Mihšiinkoomiša* and other band members before moving to the Forks of the Wabash to live with his relative and Principal Chief Frances LaFontaine.

Mihšiinkoomiša also served as the head of the council of Band headmen, whose frequent meetings were called to discuss issues regarding internal and external governmental matters. The council house was located near *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s own home. The band council consisted only of all the male descendents of *Mihtohseenia*.[208] Ultimately, any decision that was made was that of the entire band council, with *Mihšiinkoomiša* acting on their behalf.

***ašiihkiwi iihkonanka* (He sets land aside): The Formation of the Meshingomesia Reservation**

The Meshingomesia Reservation was originally reserved for Meshingomesia's father, *Mihtohseenia* in the treaty of 1838, but was conferred to Meshingomsesia under Article 7 of the Treaty of 1840 after his father's death. Under this article, however, it was stipulated that the "United States convey by patent, to Me-shin-go-me-sia, son of Ma-to-sin-ia, the tract of land reserved by the 2nd article of the treaty of the 6th November 1838, to the band of Ma-to-sin-ia to be held by the said Me-shin-go-me-zia,

[208] Testimonials, 401

for his band; and the proceeds thereof, when the same shall be alienated, shall by equitably distributed to said band, under the direction of the President. And the same provision made in favour [sic] of John B. Richardville and family, in the 14th article of the treaty of the 6th November 1838, is hereby granted and extended to the above Me-shin-go-me-sia, and to his brothers." The following article of the treaty called for the removal of the Miami tribe within five years. An Amendment to the 1840 treaty was made so that the land was "to be held in trust by the said Me-shin-go-me-sia for his band; and the proceeds thereof, when the same shall be alienated, shall be equitably distributed to said Band, under direction of the President".[209]

Forced with possible removal and Euro-American conceptions of land ownership, *Mihšiinkoomiša* and other headmen of the Band sought to secure their land through individual land patents. While this may seem to conform to and be interpreted as choosing assimilation into American Society, this decision was reinforced by the apparent safety in the individual land patents enjoyed by the remainder of the Indiana Miami throughout much of the nineteenth century. At the time of removal in 1846, those Miami exempted from removal, namely the Richarville, Godfroy, and LaFontaine families were all living on land patents reserved to heads of families through previous treaty stipulations. Other individual Miamis such as *Oonsaahšinihkwa* and her sister *Keehkinehkišiwa*, the daughters of *Mahkoonsahkwa*, Frances Slocum, and her husband, the Miami War Chief, *šiipaakana*, were able to obtain a land patent of one section of

[209] T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to William Wilkins, Secretary of War, January 31, 1845. Letter relating to the Meshingomesia Reservation of the Indiana Miami, National Archives, Record Group 75, Irregularly Shaped Papers 1849-1907, Item 95, Box 53, Entry 310, page 9.

land along the Mississinewa River downstream from the Meshingomesia Reservation for themselves as "tenants in common" as a stipulation of the Treaty of 1838. Following congressional exemptions for themselves and about 20 of their extended family members, the patent was finally issued in 1849 and signed by President Zachory Taylor "to have and to hold the said tract …unto the said O-sah-shin-quah and the wife of Brouilette, daughter of the Deaf Man, as tenants in common and to their heirs and assigned forever".[210]

Following removal, the Indiana Miami were relatively free from local and state interference and jurisdiction. Some of these lands were held in fee simple title, where the owner was free to sell the lands as they pleased, while others had Indian title, in that they were held in trust for the individual and could only be sold by permission of the President of the United States. While title to these lands were held by individuals, they were used as communal lands, providing shelter for those other Miami who had avoided removal or had returned from Kansas. With patents such as those that guaranteed lands to the holder and their heirs forever, those Miami who held land patents in Indiana could feel secure in their abilities to remain on their lands without fear of removal or interference by local and state authorities.

The Meshingomesia Reservation did not enjoy as much freedom from outside interference as those lands held by individual Miami. Prior to removal and leading up to the very moment of allotment, the lands and members of the Band were under constant threat of complete alienation, removal, trespassers extracting tribal resources, and local

[210] Patent of O-zah-shin-quah. National Archives, Record Group 75, Irregularly Shaped Papers (ISP), Entry 310, Item 4, Box 3

municipalities attempting to extend jurisdiction. Letters leading up to removal between Fort Wayne Miami Agent Alexander Hamilton and the Department of War reveal the Department's desire to purchase the reservation from *Mihšiinkoomiša* so that all band members would be removed to Kansas. On July 6, 1845, Allen Hamilton wrote to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that the ten sections of "valuable land" should be purchased but that the land being held in trust posed an obstacle to removing the band:

> …Lafontaine, the principal chief fears that the Indians of that band will not like to emigrate without realizing their share of that reserve and fears that they may cause some difficulty with Me-shin-go-me-sia and his brothers who remain under treaty provisions. This tract of land is beautifully situated and excellent soil well worth three dollars per acre. It appears to me, the United States ought to purchase it permitting Me-shin-go-me-sia to reserve one or two sections – I therefore take the liberty of requesting that some person be empowered to purchase it of that band, so as to remove all obstacles we can to an early emigration."[211]

Hamilton continued to press *Mihšiinkoomiša* to sell the entire reservation and his several letters from 1848 express that *Mihšiinkoomiša* was desirous of having the land allotted, but not sold entirely with the exception of one or two sections as Hamilton originally intended. The Band headmen increasingly realized though the reservation

[211] Allen Hamilton, Miami Sub-Agency, Fort Wayne, Indiana to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 6, 1845. Letter relating to the Meshingomesia Reservation of the Indiana Miami, National Archives, Record Group 75, Irregularly Shaped Papers 1849-1907, Item 95, Box 53, Entry 310, page 8.

was held in trust and supposedly under the protection of the federal government, this federal protection of their collective resources from intruders was never enforced. Trespassers on the reservation land had escalated and valuable timber was often taken without the consent of the Band.

The Band was also well aware of the state of flux of the lands of their Western Miami relatives in Kansas throughout this period. Band leaders *Mihšiinkoomiša* and *Pakaankia* were members of the Indiana Miami delegation who signed the 1854 Treaty[212] along with the Miami then residing in Kansas. This treaty called for the Miami reservation in Kansas of 324, 796 acres to be reduced to 70, 640 acres and allotted to individuals. The two hundred acre allotments were assigned to heads of families and were all contiguous. Following the 1854 Treaty, the Miami in Kansas enjoyed living on these contiguous land patents "not liable to levy, sale, execution, or forfeiture" so long as the future state in which they would reside decided to remove such title by the assent of Congress. In 1859, more Miami had moved from Indiana to live with their Kansas relatives and at this time, the newly formed Miami council in Kansas assigned surplus lands to these Miami and those newly born to existing allotees.[213]

However, the 1867 Treaty with the Seneca, Mixed Seneca and Shawnee, Quapaw, etc., including the Miami in Kansas called for their removal once again to Indian Territory. Those Miami choosing to remain in Kansas voluntarily severed their tribal relations with those in Indian Territory; their lands became taxable and under the

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[212] Treaty with the Miami (1854), Stat. L VII 1093

[213] See Bert Anson, *The Miami Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1970), 242.

jurisdiction of Kansas. Being well aware of the situation of their Western relatives, the Band sought to have the status of their lands secured.

A letter addressed November 1, 1867, by Band headmen, *Mihšiinkoomiša*, *Pakaankia*, *Aataweeta*, *Maankaansa*, *Keetaakamaankwa*, and William Wilson Peconga reveals the dire need of the Band to have the status of their lands legally secure; a status they felt had been continually threatened since the Treaty of 1838. These Band representatives stress the desire for a land patent to be issued to *Mihšiinkoomiša* in accordance with the original treaty language and equal to those land patents enjoyed by other Miami who remained in Indiana at the time. They called upon a redefinition of the term "Band" where:

> There has been some debate as to the proper definition of the word "Band" as used in connection with the Western Indians and particularly with the Miamis. At least to the extent to which the meaning of the term should be carried. When speaking of such as have been excepted out of the tribe which should within a stipulated time remove west of the Mississippi River. We have called the attention of the Hon. Secretary to the articles above cited to fortify us in our position that the word Band in the several treaties referred to has been and by the Indians themselves particularly understood to have reference to the family of the chief whose name is used above and to his relations by blood as the "band of "Me-to-sin-ia"/ Meshin-go-me-sia and his band.[214]

[214] Letter from Oliver H. Ray and John M. Ray acting through power of attorney on behalf of the Band to the Secretary of the Interior, November 19, 1867. National

These band headmen saw the relative security enjoyed by their land patent holding Miami relatives in Indiana and sought the same protection for the reservation lands before the death of *Mihšiinkoomiša* could potentially hold the title of their land in a state of legal limbo, possibly resulting in complete alienation and perhaps even removal. This 1867 letter states further that the Meshingomesia Band was the same in this regard; that it comprised of the family of the chief. By redefining the term "Band" as used in these treaties, this served as a tactic to equate the land of the band with those of other Indiana Miami. It also sought to control who would be entitled to their own patent of reserve land. The Band head-men stated their frustration with the legal limbo of their lands:

> We ask not only as a matter of right but as a means of safety to ourselves and protection to our land that the Patent shall be issued in accordance with the said treaty stipulations. It is highly essential that some person or persons be invested with the title to these lands and which strangers and trespassers will be compelled to respect. As it is at present, white men come upon our lands without shadow of right, cut and remove our most valuable timber with impunity, while our resort to the courts for redress only involves us in endless litigation, trouble and expense, because we are met with the plea that no one of us can claim title to the land, with

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Archives, Record Group 75, Irregularly Shaped Papers, 1849-1907, Item 95, Box 53, PI – 163, Entry 310. Joseph Mackey, Notary Public Band witnessed Meshingomesia allowing the temporary power of attorney to the Ray's in order to send the letter to the Secretary. While the letter is dated to November 19, the band council did not make their marks upon the document until November 21, 1867. This document will be referred to as "1867 Letter".

> the exclusive right to sue for redress of such grievances, not only grievances but flagrant outrages, upon what we consider our sacred rights. And again persons, who claim to be the owners of certain parts of the lands, will execute leases to white men upon the condition that they will clear certain parts of the land Such lessees enter upon the land, strip it of valuable timber, and then abandon it. And unless some person or persons be constituted the appropriate and necessary party or parties to execute leases and to see that proper sureties are given for the performance of the contracts we are at the mercy of adventurers devoid of responsibility, honesty or conscience. Meshingomesia the father of the Band by whom the land has been held in trust for himself and band and who is one of the subscribers hereunto, is now old and infirm, and life with him is very uncertain, and it is his desire as well as that of all the subscribers hereto (all of whom are members of the Band and of age) that the Patent for said land shall be issued to all the members of the Band, jointly, Meshingomesia included, so that all the members may be entitled to shares alike…[215]

The band had continued to press for the security of their lands within the state and local courts to no avail until 1871.

As discussed in more detail in Chapter Six, the Band successfully argued they and their lands were not under the jurisdiction of the State of Indiana in the 1871 case of

[215] 1867 letter

Me-shin-go-me-sia and Another v. The state and Another. Ind.. With the success of the *Me-shin-go-me-sia* solidifying the legal status of the reservation within the State of Indiana, it seems perplexing that the Band would petition to have the reservation allotted within the next year. Similar strategies were undertaken by other tribes in regards to allotment such as the Five Civilized Tribes who were able to avoid the application of the General Allotment Act of 1887 to their tribally held lands and were initially vociferous opponents of the legislation, citing the need to maintain communal ownership in order to maintain tribal sovereignty. Following the General Allotment Act, the Five Civilized Tribes were subject to tremendously increased pressure from squatters overrunning their lands to harvest timber and graze their cattle. With the abolishment of so many other tribal governments, it is doubtless that some tribal leaders also saw the future of their own governments as rocky at best. Individual ownership would allow American Indians to retain legal ownership of lands that would allow them to retain their rights to land within an American legal system. Various tribal leaders had begun to see the allotment of lands as the only way to save any portions of the tribal landscape due to the tremendous pressures of the both the United States and individual land speculators.[216] As demonstrated by the examination of other court cases among individual Miami in Chapter Six, the Band headmen saw the security that other land patents held for their individual Miami owners and no doubt saw the privilege and sacredness of fee simple land title within the American legal system.

[216] Claudio Saunt, Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 153

***Nihsweehikominki* (It is divided up): The Allotment Process**

The allotment process began with a commission appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to survey the reservation to determine and locate allotments on the landscape, and to take testimonials of individual Miami to determine if they had been a member of the band at the time it was reserved and affirmed per the 1840 treaty. Byron Jones, a Notary Public from Grant County was hired to take testimonials from May 14, 1873 to June 17, 1873. While *Mihšiinkoomiša* had already provided, several times, lists of those whom he considered to be band members and who were the only Miami entitled to partake in the partition, the Secretary of the Interior and Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarded this list of 43 people only as supplemental to those who would be deemed eligible by the Commission.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs instructed the Allotment Commission to advertise in public places around the reservation, in the local Marion, Peru, and Wabash newspapers, and among Miamis living in Kansas and Indian Territory "that on the 14th day of May 1873, the undersigned as such Commissioners for partition would meet at the Miami Union Missionary Baptist Church on the aforesaid Reservation in Grant County, Indiana, for the purpose of hearing and determining the claims of all persons deeming themselves entitled under the aforesaid Act of Congress, to have a part of said Reservation set off to them."[217] Over 130 Miami would meet at the Miami Union Baptist Church over the month and less than half were deemed eligible. While the list

[217] Report of Commission appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to make partition of the Reserve to Me-shin-go-me-sia and his band under provisions of the Act of Congress, approved, June 1st 1872. National Archives. Record Group 75, Irregularly Shaped Papers, 1849-1907, Entry 310, Items 94 and 95, Box 52, Folder 1. Page 2

provided by *Mihšiinkoomiša* was treated as only supplemental, he was present at the testimonies of those whom he deemed to *not* be Band members and was a part of the decision process; the final number of those receiving allotments would be sixty-three. Through this process, the Commission was determined to ascertain who was an eligible head of a family and who were their immediate blood relatives. The final count of 64 reflects the 14 original band members still living, their 43 descendents, and 6 Miami individuals who had married into the band.

***Peemaahkonaminki* (It is drawn as a boundary): Mapping the Reservation**

When the surveyors arrived at the reservation to begin their survey, they found a landscape that bore little resemblance to the remainder of the surrounding Miami homeland lands within the system of grid boundaries imposed by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the systematic deforestation that came with it. The boundaries of the reservation enumerated in the 1838 Treaty consisted of the Mississinewa River comprising its southern boundaries. The Mississinewa River flows in a northwest direction and at the terminus of its Mississinewa boundaries, two lines going directly north for approximately one mile connected to one another at their terminus, creating a parallelogram that ran at a forty five degree angle contrary to the surrounding grid in the landscape inhabited by the band's Euro-American neighbors.

Figure 20. Survey of Meshingomesia Reservation. National Archives, Map 164, Plat No. 1

As seen in figure 20, within the parallelogram that formed the boundaries of the reserve was an organically shaped landscape. The terrain varied from level upland areas with rolling hills in the south, to the river and its many tributary creeks that formed deep ravines harboring a wide variety of deciduous hardwood trees. In the upper areas, ponds

and wetlands dotted the surface while large swaths of prairie were contained by groves of walnut, elm, beech, oak, buckeye, hackberry, and sugar maple. While this may conjure images of an "untouched" pre-settlement landscape, this was a landscape very much shaped by the presence of the band for well over one hundred years. At the confluence of Metocinyah (now referred to as Jocinah) Creek was the "Old Village". This was a collection of log houses and perhaps examples of older Miami architectural practices such as *apahkwaakana* – cattail reed covered wigwams. A cemetery was also near the village site. This was the village attacked by Campbell's campaign to destroy Miami and Delaware villages along the Mississinewa during the War of 1812.

The Miami had been an agricultural people long before initial European contact and continued well into the twentieth century. Some land had been cleared for larger plots of land and leasing to non-Miami while the Miami planted smaller fields of corn, and probably beans and squash as well, that were grown for subsistence, instead of larger crops sold for profit. A gendered labor sphere existed around corn among the Miami. Since Miami women planted, tended, harvested, processed, stored, and finally prepared the corn for daily and ceremonial consumption, they were in control of this entire process.[218] With a decreasing land base for hunting, *miincipi* – corn – and the labor or Miami women would have been relied upon much more heavily as a principle staple and was supplemented by keeping a few cattle and hogs[219] in addition to the variety of plants and animals available within reservation boundaries.

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[218] For a more detailed ethnobotanical analysis of the Miami and corn see Micheal P. Gonella, *Myaamia Ethnobotany*, (PhD diss., Miami University (Ohio), 2007)

[219] Based upon archeaological survey in Mark Rose, *A Nineteenth Century Miami House on the Mississinewa* (Honors Thesis, Ball State University, 1979)

The *nimacihsinwi siipiiwi* provided several types of fish, crawfish, and fresh water mussels in addition to deer, opossum, raccoon, skunk, squirrel, rabbit, and beaver available along its banks and in the surrounding forests.[220] The diversity of hardwood species provided for medicinal and everyday needs. In the river bottomlands were located *ašaašikopa* – Slippery Elm (Ulmus rubra) whose bark provided important medicines, covering for housing, containers, and several other uses. *Ahsenaamišahka*[221] – Sugarbush areas – were located mainly within the southern area of the reservation along Metocinia Creek. *Iihkisaminki* [222]– maple sugar - would be an important resource the Miami annually extracted during the spring thaw.[223] *Pakaana* – nuts from the walnut, beech, hickory, and acorns from oak throughout the reservation provided supplemental protein. The prairies provided important tubers, such as *oonsaapeehkateeki* – Jerusalem artichoke, the young leaves and flower pods of *leninši* –Common Wilkweed (Asclepias syriaca), as well as plants such as *ahsapa* – dogbane (Apocynum cannabinum)– for making cordage. The wetlands provided a wide variety of other plant sources such as the tuberous roots of *mahkohpiniiki* – water lilies (Nymphaea spp.). Numerous *tahkinkamina* –springs - along the river's limestone outcroppings provided important readily available sources for fresh water. *Waapisita*, a brother of *Mihšiinkoomiša* had settled near one of these springs in the northwestern portion of the reserve; which later bore his name, Wapesit Springs. In addition, the river provided access to other Miami living father down river on the reserve lands en route to

[220] Ibid.

[221] From *ahsenaamiši,* Sugar Maple (Acer saccharum), literally 'stone tree'. The final –*ahki,* plural –*ahka,* connotes a field, patch, or grove that can be added to any plant name, thus *ahsenaamišahki* would be a 'sugarbush'.

[222] Literally, 'it is boiled down'.

[223] Several of the allotment testimonials mention the making of maple sugar as an important seasonal subsistence activity among Band members.

Peru and numerous places of cultural and spiritual significance in between. This was a landscape that had been managed and used by the Miami that kept them easily connected to their Miami relatives further downriver.

Figure 21. House and barn of *Mihšiinkoomiša*. Located southeast of the church and school house located on the original survey at the southern end of the reservation. Wabash County Historical Society.

In addition to the "Old Village", were two other concentrations of Miami to the south and north. *Mihšiinkoomiša* had commissioned several buildings to be constructed in the southern area of the reservation. In figure 21 we see his modest log house on the left and barn and attached outbuilding on the right. What is not discernible in this photo is the horse-racing track that encircled the house and barn.[224] Within the decade prior to allotment, *Mihšiinkoomiša* commissioned a schoolhouse and the Miami Union Baptist Church to be built adjacent to his small farmstead. A new cemetery would begin just

[224]Testimonial, 204

behind these two buildings that would be among the only wood framed building structures on the reservation, nearly all other buildings would be constructed of logs and of modest size. It was in this area, that *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s immediate family lived, including his several sons and some of the children of his brother *šaapantosia.* To the north was another concentration on the "Hog's Back" near Grant Creek.

As Euro-American mapping was imposed upon the landscape within the boundaries of the reservation, so too were Euro-American perceptions of the value of the land within. The surveyor's notebook submitted by the commission provides this perspective of the reservation for its large-scale agricultural potentiality and the profitability of its lumber resources. While some of the comments relating to each subsection are of a quantitative nature, such as "Rolling Beech land", the surveyors assigned their own qualitative descriptions to these areas as well, such as "Very rich and level", "very good farm land", and "Has a bad Pond". Those areas such as the wetlands and ponds that provided significant supplements to the Band's diet were deemed "bad" and suggested areas for "improvements" to be made for large scale agriculture. All of these descriptions were in terms of the potential that lay in the land for Euro-American style farming and profitability, rather than the important resources the reservation currently provided its residents; through the surveying process, these resources were rendered invisible.

***aacimaaciki myaamiaki* (The Miami tell their story): Testimonies of kinship**

The majority of those Miami who testified before the commission spoke only the Miami language and had only Miami names. A few had English nicknames, such as Mary Belle, or Marshall as well as a few with Miami as well as English surnames.

Ciinkweensa, William Wilson Peconga, served as the interpreter for most of these testimonials as well as *Waapimaankwa*, Thomas F. Richardville, and *Saapinema*, Nelson Tawataw. A handful of Miami would travel from Kansas where they had been living since removal or moved back and forth between the two areas. Another group of with kinship ties to the band were also living among the Miami who had moved to Indian Territory.

The testimonials reveal the mobility of the Miami within the Big Miami Reserve prior to its dissolution in 1838 and their mobility within Indiana, Kansas, and Indian Territory afterward. Above all, the testimonials demonstrate how kinship, not residency at the time of the 1840 Treaty, was the sole determining factor for the eligibility of the applicant according to *Mihšiinkoomiša* and other band members. To illustrate this, the following individuals and their relationships to and residency upon the Meshingomesia Reservation will be examined: *Waapimaankwa* (Thomas F. Richardville), *Piitootamehkwa*, *Waakakoona*, *Mihšikamiihkwa,* and *Lenepinziihkwa.*

The testimony of *Waapimaankwa*, Thomas F. Richardville comprises a large portion of the overall testimonials. It reveals how some Miami knew how to navigate the systems of allotment and annuity payments for their own personal benefit. As mentioned earlier, following the murder of his father and death of his mother along Wild Cat Creek near Kokomo, Richardville had been under the care of *Mihšiinkoomiša* and his brother *šaapantosia*, and was distantly related to their mother. He remained with them for the majority of his childhood and moved with *šaapantosia* onto the reserve probably around 1842. *Mihšiinkoomiša*, along with others admitted, that Richardville had accompanied *Mihšiinkoomiša* to collect annunity payments at the Forks of the

Wabash and that *Mihšiinkoomiša* had drawn annunities for him from time to time. However, while under the care of *Mihšiinkoomiša*, *Mihšiinkoomiša* considered young Thomas to be of the Richardville family and not of his own family. He was concerned that Thomas would not receive a portion of the lands from his great grandfather before Chief Richardville's death. *Mihšiinkoomiša*, along with his son *Pakaankia* and grandson *Ataaweeta* took Thomas to see his great grandfather just prior to his death in 1841. *Pakaankia* remembered that "He, Chief R(ichardville), said he had already made the division of his land, but would give him a little. He would divide with some he had already give to."[225] Richardville attended school at the house of David Conner, the purveyor of the local mill, just across the river from the southern section of the reservation. He later went to live with his relative *Toopia*, Francis Lafontaine sometime around removal and later attended Notre Dame for two years.

Figure 22. *Waapimaankwa*, Thomas F. Richardville. Photo taken in 1867 while Richardville was a part of the Kansas Miami delegation in Washington. Smithsonian Institution.

[225] Testimonials, 239-240.

After his first marriage failed and trying his hand at farming on one of the Richardville reserves around Fort Wayne, Richardville moved to the Miami reservation in Kansas. While this was after the initial period that assigned lands to the Miami per the 1854 Treaty, Richardville would receive those excess lands the Miami in Kansas had managed to retain. He married again to a Miami woman living there and had several children by her, all receiving allotments as well. Richardville would quickly become involved in the decision making of the newly formed council in Kansas although at the time of his testimony, he denied that he was a member of the council, contending only that: "They ask me for advice from time to time". He continued to identify as an Eastern Miami and continued to draw his annuities as such. He was among the Miami delegation from Kansas that visited Washington, D.C. in 1867. Richardville later moved with the Miami to Indian Territory, received an allotment there, and continued to be active in their tribal government and community until his death in 1913.

Richardville attempted to use the system to obtain title to additional lands. Through his kinship ties with Jean Baptiste Richardville, he managed to receive a small parcel of land from his great grandfather's estate. Richardville was not be nearly as successful in his attempt to secure an allotment on the Meshingomesia Reservation. Despite his apparent connection to being a member of the Band at the time the treaty was signed in 1840, Band members deemed him as someone "outside" and belonging to the Richardville family. *Ataaweeta*, the son of *Pakaankia* remembered accompanying his father and Thomas to visit his Thomas's great grandfather:

I know “Wa-pe-mung-wah” alias Thomas F. Richardville. Can’t tell just how long I have known him…“Shap” brought Thom here for Thom’s great grand fathter to see him also for the purpose of getting any interest in his gr grand father’s land. John B. Richardville, Thom’s great grand father was very old at that time…We went with him to Chief Richardville’s. We did not stay there long. We stayed all night & returned the next day. I was in the room at the time Thom saw his gr grandfather. My father told Chief R that he had brought Thom there for him to see him. The Chief said to “M”…I had not know(n) my grand son and I have already made a division of my land. Richardville sayed [sic] he had divided his land amongst his children & grandchildren. He said he was glad they had fetched Tom up there so that he knowed him. …He went to La Fontains from school I think. Don’t know very well but think LaFontain was chief at the time Tom wnet there. La Fontaines wife was a daughter of old Chief Richardville. Tom had never lived on this reserve when he went to see Chief “R” to my recollection. I never saw Thom on this reserve before the time he came here to see Chief “R_____” I never regarded Tom as a member of “M” family or band. Never counted Thom R. as one of the party. Always considered him outside of the “M” party. He was understood to belong ot the R (Richardville) family when Shap brought Tom to the Reserve to have “M” take him to see Chief “R” they went on to see Chief R. the next day of his arrival here. Never hear Thom claim any land of this Reserve. He

> first told him about a paper that they signed here. He did not kow what it was. Thom said that he was some relation to "M" but he could not get any of this land. This was in 67 or 68. Tom said he know exactly how it, the treaty, was that he could not get any land according to the big book.[226]

The testimony of Samuel McClellen corroborated *Pakaankia*'s earlier assertion that Richardville received a small portion of the Richardville estate near Huntington: "This Pe-me-to-cin-yah (We-metcha) alias Crescent is the father of Thoma F. Richardville is the same individual that reced a Section of land by the treaty of 1818. The land that Thomas R. recd in Huntington Co. Ind. I should think would now be worth from 50 to 65 dollars per acre."[227]

Pakaankia's testimony echoes that of *Ataaweeta*'s: "While Tom was here we never considered him a member of the band. Tho we considered him some relation to "M" on his mother side, we knew he was a closer relative to Chief "R" Thom was counted as one of the Russiaville family as he was a close relative to them."[228] According to *Keetaakamaankwa*, Richardville was aware that he would be unable to claim land on the Meshingomesia Reservation due to the Band considering him an outsider:

> When Tom came form Washington he stopped here on a visit. He went home with Me and stayed all night with me. We were talking about this land – Bondy and Bruett had been here preaching. After meeting my

[226] Testimonials, 217-222.
[227] Ibid., 231.
[228] Ibid., 242.

wife asked him how so many outsiders claimed this land. He said Pete Bondy was talking and saying the Indian to get land. He said he was a relative of "M(eshingomesia)" but he said he could not get any of the land this was 4 or 5 years ago.[229]

Perhaps it was Richardville's inability to acquire significant land through his kinship relations among the Richardville family that he went to Kansas. Furthermore Richardville had received a land patent in Kansas when the tribal council assigned lands to Indiana Miami in 1859, yet Richardville continued to identify with the Miami in Indiana. The following statement from Richarville reveals his movement and involvement between the now two Miami political entities, "My name is on the corrected lists of 302[230] – Treaty of "1854" drew personally while here but sometimes by proxy – Drew some land with the Western Miamis but don't consider that I am a member of the tribe – got 200 acres under treaty patent in my Indian name "Wa-pe-mung-wah" my wife got 200 acres under treaty."[231]

Piitootamehkwa[232] was living in Indian Territory with her husband, the Peoria Indian *Noontahkihšinka*, also known as Lovely Valley at the time of the allotment. She was born sometime just before removal to *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s brother *Saapantosia* and his wife *Masaankiihkwa*, and had moved to Kansas by 1860. Like Richardville, *Piitootamehkwa* received an allotment of unassigned Kansas lands and was listed on both the LaCygne Journal and Kansas Head Rights lists for the Miami reservation in

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[229] *Keetaakamaankwa* (Marshall), Testimonials 237-238.

[230] Richardville is referring to the list of 302 made of Miami Indians residents of the State of Indiana in order to disburse payments.

[231] Testimonials, 53.

[232] This was spelled Pe-to-tum-quah in the allotment testimonials and Pe-to-tom-e-quah on the La Cynge Journal and Kansas Head Rights List.

Kansas. Sometime following the signing of the 1867 Treaty and 1873, she and her husband moved to Indian Territory to live on the reservation for the newly Confederated Miami and Peoria Tribe in the extreme northeast corner of the territory. It is unclear how often *Piitootamehkwa* visited her relatives in Indiana, but her strong kinship connections to *Mihšiinkoomiša* through her father enabled her to receive allotment number 31 near those of her siblings.

The relationship of *Waakakoona* to the Meshingomesia Band is perhaps one of the more complicated of those who received allotments. *Waakakoona* had a troubled history in regards to the authority of the band council. *Waakakoona*'s father was *Aankwahsakwa* and his sisters, *Noonkiihkwa* and *Masaankiihkwa,* were married to *šaapantosia*. After living with his father on the Godfroy reserve around Peru and numerous other places, he moved to the reservation with *šaapantosia* as well around 1842. After *Aankwahsakwa*'s death, *Mihšiinkoomiša* was adopted as *Waakakoona*'s father, "I know Walk's father. They adopted me in his stead when he died. When one dies it is the custom for someone to be adopted so that the spirit of the one that is dead can depart to the happy hunting grounds. They then sing and dance. The one that is adopted generally gets presents. I got some cloth & some calicos."[233] Yet, according to *Pakaankia*, this did not necessarily mean the adopted person took the place of the deceased: "The one that is adopted does not take the place of the one that died. It is in order to get the spirit of the one that is dead to heaven."[234] *Waakakoona* lived in several houses around the reserve until he was asked to move the Hog's Back area of the

[233] Testimonials, 403
[234] Ibid., 412

reservation along Grant's Creek. Despite being adopted as his father, *Mihšiinkoomiša* continued to claim *Waakakoona* was not a member of the band:

> Walk (Waakakoona) was never admitted into the counsels of the band. If he had been regarded as a member he would have been admitted and he would have had a right to speak. One reason we kept him out was that he would begin to make a fuss. The reason is that it was just my bros that we considered member of the band. It was the custom as far back as the treaty of 40 not to allow only the descendents of Me-to-cin-yah to set in council with us.[235]

Perhaps, *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s and other band members repudiation of *Waakakoona*'s membership was due to his continued belligerence towards *Mihšiinkoomiša* and the authority of the band council. *Waakakoona* had threatened *Mihšiinkoomiša* several times, and Samuel McClure first posed the idea *Mihšiinkoomiša* to ask *Waakakoona* to move to the Hog's Back area, an uncleared and uninhabited area of the reservation. *Mihšiinkoomiša* then asked McClure to ask *Waakakoona* to do so, that he would not. *Mihšiinkoomiša'*s son *Pakaankia* then bought *Waakakoona*'s house from him in an effort to alleviate the threats to his father.[236]

Upon moving to the Hog's Back, *Waakakoona* continually violated the wishes and authority of the Band council by freely giving leases to local whites to clear large expanses of land. He further infuriated the council by building his own church. *Keetakamaankwa* recalled: "I heard Po cong yah tell him that he

[235] Ibid., 401-402
[236] Testimonials, 402.

did not want to have that church house there. Told him that one was enough. This church I think was built 1st. They objected to him building his church. It was at a meeting we had here at the old school house that I heard Po cong yah tell him. Heard that Walk got up a subscription and got the money and used the money himself. "[237] Despite the controversies stirred by *Waakakoona* and several band members testifying against his claim, *Waakakoona,* and his six daughters and one son all received allotments.

Waakakoona seems to have had the sympathy of many local whites, since he freely gave leases to them and perhaps their involvement on his behalf had an affect upon his successful claim. Perhaps, this was also influential upon the band council's decision to allot parcels to individuals, since *Waakakoona*'s ability to extend leases in the future would be legally limited to his allotment only. The opening of the 1867 letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting allotment alludes to this threat to communal resources: "And again persons, who claim to be the owners of certain parts of the lands, will execute leases to white men upon the condition that they will clear certain parts of the land Such lessees enter upon the land, strip it of valuable timber, and then abandon it."[238] It is also worth mentioning that his sister *Noonkiihkwa*, the widow of *šaapantosia*, was still alive and also received an allotment.

A similar situation seems to have arisen among the Menominee in the late nineteenth century. While the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin was never allotted, it was pondered as a possibility by two different "factions" of

[237] Ibid., 414.
[238] 1867 Letter

chiefs and loggers within the tribe for their own reasons. In Brian Hosmer's study of Menominee logging and gaming ventures, the rise of logging as an individualized entrepreneurial endeavor among the Menominee created an ethical tension with contributing to the community. Neo'pit, a chief, had devised a way of charging these individual Menominee entrepreneurs a "stumpage fee" for each tree cut down that would then go to a fund for the benefit of the entire Menominee Nation. Hosmer states, "Though both Neo'pit and the loggers discussed the possibility of accepting allotment, they did so for different and instructive reasons: the loggers because they wanted to free themselves of the influence of the old chiefs, Neo'pit out of a determination to mitigate the fractious tendencies of individual enterprise."[239]

Among the Band, marriage was also a factor that determined Band membership. The testimonials attest to the fluidity of marriage and marriage customs that continued to be practiced among the Miami. Marriage was simply an act of cohabitation, with occasional gifts exchanged among the families. It was common for Band members, both male and female to have been married numerous times throughout their lives. Thomas Richardville's testimony remarks on the fluidity of both marriage and divorce, "The Indian custom it to go together and live as man & wife and when they separated it is what is considered a divorce and are at liberty to marry any other party they please."[240]

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[239] Brian Hosmer, "Blackjack and Lumberjack: Economic Development and Cultural Identity in Menominee Country", Chapter 11 in R. David Edmunds, ed. *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest*. (University of Illinois, 2008). 221.

[240] Testimonials, 332

Often it was male Band members who were divorced by their wives when their wives left them. Divorce in this manner rendered a former spouse's claims to the Band as moot. In the claim of *Lenipinsia*, Nancy LaFountaine, *Lenipinsia* claimed to be entitled to an allotment through her mother's marriage to *Soowilincišia*, the brother of *Mihšiinkoomiša,* who died relatively soon after she left him. Band members claimed that *Soowilincišia* was not *Lenipinsia*'s father, since her mother remarried quickly afterward to a Potawatomi by the name of *Waapisia*, who lived in Michigan. The widows of several of *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s brothers were considered entitled to an allotment and as members of the Band since they were still married at the time of the brother's death.

Finally, those who caused a "fuss" were frequently asked to leave the reservation. In the testimonials of *Mihšikamiihkwa* and *Lenepinsiihkwa,* both claim to have been residents upon the reservation at the time of the 1840 treaty and that their mother, *Mihtohseeniihkwa* was a Band member. Their brothers were implicated in the murders of *Mihtekwaahsia,* otherwise known as Captian Dixon*,* and *Mihtekoonsa*, the brothers of *Mihšiinkoomiša.* According to *Pakaankia*, the womens' brother *šaawaneehsia* and the husband of *Mišakatoohkwa,* killed his uncles and immediately left the reserve. "To cin e quah and family went to Peru in spring and were taken west by Emigration in the fall.[241]

Other less violent events also called for some "outsiders" to leave. When *Lenipinsiihkwa*, the wife of *Saasakwaahsia* got into an argument with the mother of

[241] Testimonials, 266-270

Mihšiinkoomiša, Mihšiinkoomiša asked them to leave. The offenses of *Waakakoona* towards *Mihšiinkoomiša* and the authority of the Band council lie between these two extreme examples. His threats toward *Mihšiinkoomiša* would have been grounds for expulsion, but *Waakakoona* was never kicked off of the reservation, since he also had strong kinship ties with *šaapantosia*'s wives, one of whom was still living on the reservation and accorded equal band status through marriage. Despite the testimony of several Band members and *Mihšiinkoomiša* himself, kinship ties suggest that expulsion did not necessarily apply to those who were strongly related to the band.

The testimonials reveal that band membership was based upon strong kinship connections and not upon the parameters designated by the Commissioner; that residency upon the reserve in 1840 did not constitute band membership, band membership was constituted by kinship. The people gave testimony to this, while it is also clear that other Miami people were trying to use the parameters set forth by the Commission to get land. Following removal many Miami were landless since their families had not been successful in procuring reserve lands, had avoided removal, or had been removed and returned to live upon the kindness of fellow land holding Miami, such as the Meshingomesia Band. In the case of Thomas Richardville, *Mihšiinkoomiša* never considered him a band member, but rather as a Richardville family member and entitled to lands under that family. *Mihšiinkoomiša* helped Richardville to assert his right through kinship, had *Mihšiinkoomiša* never involved himself in the matter, Richardville would probably have never received any land in Indiana.

While some Miami who entered claims for allotments had lived on the reservation for a significant part of their lives, their lack of significant kinship ties to the

Band rendered their claim invalid. Other Band members (kin) were not actually living on the reserve at the time the treaty was signed, but rather many came afterward, like *šaapantosia* and *Mitehkikia*, while some, such as *Piitootamehkwa* had already received an allotment on the Miami Reservation in Kansas. The recently artificial political boundaries created by the United States of Eastern and Western Miami was not a factor that determined land tenure. The Miami in Kansas did not see these political divisions as prerequisites for determining eligibility for allotments, nor do strict kinship relations seem to be the case, but rather simply if the individual were Miami. The testimonials demonstrate that following removal, kinship continued to be a strong determining factor among the Miami in Indiana regarding land tenure. Regardless of whether the individual had moved to Kansas, Indian Territory, or anywhere else, it was kinship that entitled them to full status as a Band member and thus their validity as an allottee.

Though no records exist as to the process of determining who were assigned what allotment, it appears that allotments were assigned regarding proximity of kinship relation to *Mihšiinkoomiša*, with *Mihšiinkoomiša* receiving allotment number 1, his wife number 2 and so forth on to his sons and their children; followed by the sons and daughters of *šaapantosia* and their children; the son of *Mitehkikia*, Charley Dixon and his children; the son and wife of *Pakaankiihkwa*, the sister of *Mihšiinkoomiša*; *Kiilsoohkwa*, Jane Newman and her children; *Wakaakoona*, his wife and children; Eli Goodboy; Mollie; and *Mihšiinkoomiša* (Skiah's wife) and her children; totaling 63 individuals.

Allotments reflect residence locations at the time of the testimonials, with parents (those Band members of *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s generation) and their children

receiving land relatively contiguous to one another. Those of closer immediate family, such as *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s chidren and grandchildren all received allotments in the south eastern area clustered around the Miami Missionary Union Baptist Church and Miami Village Schoolhouse and *Mihšiinkoomiša*'s home. The children of *šaapantosia* all received allotments on the southern portion of the Mississinewa River. While *šaapantosia* had died around 1855, he had several houses built near the rapids in the river, across the river from Conner's Mill, when he set up permanent residency upon the Reservation around 1842.[242] Yet, offspring of the third generation tended to receive allotments at the less populated and less cleared area to the northern end of the reservation. *Meehkatamaankwa* (Elijah) and *Aahsansanka* (Charles Marks), the youngest allottees, both received triangular shaped allotments in this area, far from their immediate relatives.

After Allotment

While this chapter has focused upon examining the circumstances regarding why the Meshingomesia Band intentionally sought allotment as a means of retaining their lands, it is also necessary to provide a brief description of land tenure on the reservation following the implementation of the 1872 Act and the years following 1881, the year in which the trust status upon each allotment ended.[243] In 1895, *Ciinkweensa*, William Wilson Peconga, who had served as the main interpreter for the

[242] Testimonials, 51. Thomas Richardville was unsure as to whether it was 1842 or 1843.

[243] For a more detailed examination, see Stewart Rafert, *The Hidden Community: The Miami Indians of Indiana, 1846-1940*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Delaware. History. 1982 and *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994*. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996, and Bert Anson, *The Miami Indians*.

allotment testimonials, relayed his life story[244] to linguist Albert Gatschet. Much of this provides a glimpse into the variety of ways Peconga engaged in American agriculture during the allotment era of the Meshingomesia Reservation.

Of the 63 allotees, 35 were women, most were either the wives, daughters, or granddaughters of the sons of *Mihtohseenia*. This presents an interesting view into the shifting of gender roles and its relationship to agriculture among the Meshingomesia Band. Engaging with large-scale agriculture meant a shift from a female dominated agricultural sphere focusing upon small scale production of corn, beans, squash, and other heirloom vegetables that required little space, to a male dominated agricultural sphere focusing mainly upon large scale production of European grains such as wheat which required a large cleared space for propagation. This clearing and production required much more physical labor and cash that Miami men then had to borrow in order to ensure their crops could be sold in the fall. As Peconga's experience illustrates, Miami men would then be in charge of farming their female relatives allotments in addition to their own. Peconga's life story illustrates this:

Iši piici mihtoseeniwiaani aatotamoolaani kati.
This seems to be the way I've lived, and I'll tell it to you.

Eehpiši meehtohseeniwiaani meeloohkamiki mataathswi-palaanaasi ntaahswaahkwe niiyomatene-niiwaasi pipoonwe.
I was born in the spring of the year 1844.

Pahsaahkaha *Indiana* nimehšooma ašiihkiwi iihkonanka.
In the middle of Indiana my grandfather set aside a reservation.

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[244] "Ciinkweensa Iiši-Mihtoseeniwici (Young Thunder Thus He Lived)"*Pikanga's life, as told by himself. Indiana Miami*. David Costa, Unpublished Manuscript.

Kiihkeelintaminki 'Mihšiinkweemiša' noonki *Grant County* iitaminki.
It is known as 'Burr Oak', in what is now Grant County.

Niiyaahi neepwaaminki eekami kaahkiihkwe niiši iiyaayaani.
I went to school there every day.

Niila nkóti neepwaankia.
I had one teacher.

Nihswi kiilhsooki neepwaaminki niiši iiyaayaani eekami nkóti pipoonwe.
I went to school there three months out of every year.

Mitemhsa neepwaankia neepwaamita eekincikonki, eewikiinki, mahsenaakani kiilahkwatamenki, neehineenki, kiihkaapiikahikonki.
A woman teacher taught me arithmetic, writing, reading, singing, and drawing.

Pooni-neepoominki niišomatene peepoonwiaani. Maawi meehciweele neepoominki.
I quit school when I was twenty years old. That was the very end of my schooling.

Pilwišiši iiyaayaani neepwaaminkonci.
I went far away from the school.

Noonki ašiihkiwi meemaani, niiyaanci moonahamaani.
Then I bought (or took) some land, and from then on out I farmed it.

Ooneela atahkima nkótwaahkwe kaakaathsomateni kweetaahkonaminki.
The farm was 160 acres.

Aalinta mihtehki. Aasitawan[245] ahtwaana meeneehwiki moonahamaani.
Part of it was wooded. I farmed the rest of it, where the trees were gone.

Ašiihkiwi neekawahkiki. Niiyaanci ceeki kiikoo peehkiniikinki.
The land was sandy there. Everything grew well.

Niiyaaha eensiwatwaani miincipi, noohkimina, péniiki, léciiminiiki, ahseemaaki,
There I planted corn, wheat, potatoes, peas, tobacco,

kóciihsaki, mihšiimišaahkwaki, eemihkwaana, iihkihtaminkia, kaayociikia, wiinhsiihsiaki,
beans, apple trees, pumpkins, watermelons, cucumbers, onions,

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[245] (*Gatschet has ‹ndástawan› for this.) Costa is unsure of the exact translation of *aasitawan*, this could also be translated as *eensitwaani ahtwaana meeneehkwiki moonahmaani*, I planted trees where there were none.

mihtahkatwa, šeekwaahkwahaminki, akaayomina, napaleeteeminiiki, makiinkweeminiiki,
hay, straw, gooseberries, raspberries, blackberries,

eehsipanimina, waawiyiihpiniiki, neehpikiciikia, ahsiimina, katoohwakimina, ateehimina,
currants, turnips, tomatoes, papaws, cherries, strawberries,

atehseeminiiki, papakimina, peeweeyociaki, myaalweehki, ahkaansa-pakaana,
plums, blackhaws, peaches, walnut trees, pecans,

waapipakaana, *barley* neehi *rye*.
hickory nuts, barley, and rye.

Nihswi pipoonwe noonki eehkwi caaciiliteeki.
It's been three years now since there's been a drought.

Nitašiihkiomi ceeki neemhkikanteeki, niimhkikantaakana eeyoonki.
My land is all fenced off with fence rails.

Niišwi wiikiaama nintašiihkiominki.
There are two houses on my land.

Niišwi neekatikaašikaana niila eehtwaani, miincipikaani, noohkiminikaani,
I have two stables, a corn crib, a building for the wheat,

eewihakiki eehi wiikiwaaci, moonahikonki eeyoonkia teehsikaani, noonaakanaapowi wiikiaami.
a place where the tenants live, a shed for the farm tools, and a milk house.

Iišiteehiaani niiyomateni-yaalanwaasi nkoti *acre* iilakinteeki.
I think it totals 45 acres.

Nkóti kiihkišaakani noohkimini napale šooli iilakinteeki noonki niipinwe.
One bushel of wheat sells for half a dollar this summer.

While Peconga's life story reveals his initial success at American style farming and the fertility of the reservation soil for crops, only two years following the telling of this story, Peconga lost all of his land holdings. Peconga was the son of *Pakaankia* and *Sakacaahkwa,* and the grandson of *Mihšiinkoomiša* and *Mitehkiihkwa.* In 1879, only seven years after the passing of the 1872 Act, several of the original allottees and their heirs died reportedly due to tuberculosis, reducing the number of Band members who could successfully hold on to their allotments. The young Peconga became the *akima* of

the Band upon the death of both his father and grandfather to tuberculosis. With the trust period securing the protection by the United States for all 63 allotments of the Meshingomesia Reservation expiring in 1881, allotments could be used as collateral for the debts they had incurred to partake in Euro-American intensive farming practices. Since American society and its legal system privileged men over women, Miami men could assume more control over their female relatives land holdings that they might not have had otherwise. The debt that male Band members incurred in order to farm would also have traumatic affects upon Band land tenure.

After 1881, Peconga worked hard to consolidate his immediate family's land, but ultimately became overwhelmed in debt and all of his land and his immediate family's land was sold at a sheriff's sale in 1898.[246] Peconga later found refuge on the Godfroy reserve near Peru where he worked as a landless tenant farmer until his death in 1916. Peconga's story is one among many allottees and their heirs. After 1881, the allotments held among the surviving Band members rapidly dissolved due to the lands now being taxable and under local and state jurisdiction. By 1900 the original 5, 469 acres of the reservation had slipped to only 117 acres still held by Band members, which had decreased again to 58 acres by 1903.[247] In 1916, William Bundy and John Walter Newman, the sons of Jane Newman, allotment number 44, expressed a perspective among some descendents regarding the band's decision to allot the reservation:

> There are several members of this band who had never asked for the petition or the Act of 1872…That Act was made by force through the aid

[246] Rafert, The Miami Indians of Indiana. 155-158
[247] Ibid., 158,166

> of a great many lawyers who had congressmen to get it through by causing a partition to be made of this reserve, of which same taken away their rights and their liberty without their consent. We would like to have this Act of 1872 set aside.[248]

The efforts of the Band head-men to allot the reservation in order to maintain control over their land base did not materialize as they intended and thus created numerous unforeseen effects upon their descendents within the American legal system.

Conclusion

To return to the brief excerpt at the beginning of this chapter, acting as a Miami leader, such as the role of a *kaapia*, *Mihšiinkoomiša* sought to have the status of the land reserved for him solidified prior to his death so that the land could be divided equally among his father's heirs, to be held by his children and grandchildren and heirs forever. The end of the trust status of allotments was the beginning of rapid land loss. Although the 1872 Act would extend U.S. citizenship upon the Band in 1881 and unlike their Kansas relatives who voluntarily severed their tribal relations in 1867, the Act did not state that the Band had severed these relations. And while the Meshingomesia Band would perhaps be one of the most land-poor groups of the Indiana Miami in the beginning of the twentieth century, they continued to be among the most politically

[248] Letter of William Bundy and John Walter Newman to Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Merett. December 21, 1916. Letters Received, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Records Group 75, National Archives.

active groups. In 1937, Elijiah Chapendoceah[249], who was the youngest allottee of the Meshingomesia Reservation, number 30, worked with other Band members to form the predecessor of the modern Indiana Miami governmental organization, the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc. (MNI) to work on behalf of all Indiana Miami. The small one -acre parcel of the Meshingomesia Cemtery containing the graves of their ancestors and the Miami Indian Village Schoolhouse remained in tribal hands and provided the fledgling tribal government with a sense of hope.[250]

The efforts of *Mihšiinkoomiša* and the Band demonstrate the incredibly complex issues that Indigenous peoples who remained east of the Mississippi River dealt with following Indian Removal in order to maintain a measured separatism in the face of American expansionism surrounding and engulfing their communities. Among the Meshingomesia Band, dividing the lands equally was not seen as a means to ending their tribalism, but, as this chapter demonstrates, was thought to provide for and protect the future of the entire Band and it was the role of a tribal leader, acting as *kaapia,* to divide things equally among the community to ensure their continuity.

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[249] His Miami name was *Meehkatamaankwa*, and also referred to by the name of Elijah. He would take the surname of Chapendoceah, the Miami name of his grandfather, on later Federal annuity payrolls. He would also later take the surname of Marks.

[250] Original drafts of the 1937 Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc. Constitution. Francis M. Shoemaker Papers. In possession of author.

Chapter Four
Wiihsakacaakwa's Bloody Nose:
Narrating Identity in Landscape

Neehi-'hsa Wiihsakacaakwa maacaaci.
And so Wiihsakacaakwa headed off.

Neehi-'hsa tawaani keehkišanki. Aapwayaaci.
Wiihsakacaakwa a cut a stick. He came back.

Eehkwa peempaalici weelišanki tawaani.
As he walked along, he whittled the stick.

Kwaahkwaki ahkiwana naapilišanki tawaani.
He carved woodpecker bills out of the stick.

Neehi-'hsa šayiipawe niiyaaha aawiki pyaalici awiihkaanali Kwaahkwali.
Then, in the morning, his friend Woodpecker arrived.

Neehi-'hsa naaphšikoleewaaci aniicaanhsahi, neehi awiiwali, neehi awiila.
He fastened (the fake bills) onto the noses of his children, and his wife, and himself.

Naaphšikoleehowaaci.
He fastened them to their noses.

Neehi-'hsa "Niihkaana piiwa Kwaahkwa!", iilaaci awiiwali.
"*My friend Woodpecker is coming!*" *he said to his wife,*

"Wilenaahkawi kati ciinkweepiwa!
Spread something out where he can sit down!

"Piintikiilo, niihka! Ciinkweepilo! Aaleemiihtoohsiiwani?" iilaaci awiiwali.
Come in, my friend! Sit down! Why aren't you cooking something?" *he said to his wife.*

"Keetwi-hka niihi peehkahamaani?"
"*What will I put on to cook, then?*"

"Alikonci tawaani ciika wilenaahkiilo."
"*Over yonder near the tree, spread something out*".

Neehi-'hsa weelantaweeci tawaani. "Alaakani piitoolo!" iilaaci awiiwali.
And so (Wiihsakacaakwa) climbed up the tree. "*Bring a dish!*", *he said to his wife.*

Neehi peepakantanki tawaani, kiicintasitooki ahkiwanenki.

Then he pecked at the tree, shoving the fake bill onto his nose.

Neehi paapincinki, niihpikani noonteehtanki ahkiwanenkonci.
Then he fell down, and blood ran out from his nose.

The trickster transforms himself for his own motives and frequently fails in these endeavors. Here *Wiihsakacaakwa* has transformed himself and his family into *Kwaahkwaki*, Pileated Woodpeckers, by carving beaks. In his attempt to emulate *Kwaahkwa*, *Wiihsakacaakwa* meets with failure and ultimately bloodies his nose. *Wiihsakacaakwa* has hidden his true self through the guise of another; *Kwaahkwa*. This *Wiihsakacaakwa* episode informs the focus of this chapter in emulating others, the assuming of guises, and revealing of one's self. We find the Miami, Euro-Americans, and the landscape shrouded in multiple guises through narratives reflecting the motives of the characters. Euro-Americans assumed the guise of the Indian; emulating the Miami, and shrouding the landscape in a narrative of progress. Through assuming the guise of the Indian, the Miami revealed themselves and the landscape as specifically Miami.

From approximately 1924 through 1937, the Indiana Miami created and performed in the Muk-Koons-Kwa Company of Miami Indians.[251] This company comprised of Indiana Miami from the Godfroy, Bundy, Mongosa, and Meshingomesia families who traveled throughout the Miami homeland of north-central Indiana performing their interpretation of the captivity narrative of Frances Slocum, known among the Miami as *Mahkoonsahkwa* – little bear woman. State and regional historiography appropriated the Frances Slocum captivity narrative, enabling Euro-

[251] The Muk-Koons-Kwa Company of Miami Indians is referred to as the Muk-Koons-Kwa Company here on.

Americans to "play Indian" as a means of defining their own identities as Americans. This regional, state, and national identity formation depended upon Euro-Americans linking themselves to a specific landscape which happened to be a landscape still inhabited by the Indiana Miami, who continued to claim this landscape as their own. The Muk-Koons-Kwa Company demonstrates the complicated "cultural politics involved when Native people have played Indian"[252] while providing a counter-narrative to the appropriated Frances Slocum captivity narrative and its linking to a specific landscape. The Frances Slocum captivity narrative is not a single narrative, but multiple narratives.

Through the Muk-Koons-Kwa Company, the Indiana Miami not only engaged in wage labor by playing Indian, they used the narrative to promote an Indian, and specifically Miami identity, upon a specific Miami landscape. During the lifespan of the Muk-Koons-Kwa Company, the Indiana Miami faced the continued legal denial of their identity and land tenure at local and regional levels coinciding with renewed Miami political efforts for land claims and re-acknowledgement as a Federally Recognized Indian Tribe. Many of those Miami who participated in the pageant as well as political efforts were also descendents of Frances Slocum. The Muk-Koons-Kwa Company is itself a narrative – a spatial practice – where performing the pageant created a specifically Miami space within a specific Miami landscape.[253] This practice of the pageant created a safe space to be Miami, as a means of transmitting important tribal knowledge to the younger generations of Miami pageant participants.

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[252] Michael David McNally, 2006. "The Indian Passion Play: Contesting the Real Indian in Song of Hiawatha Pageants, 1901-1965". *American Quarterly,* Vol. 58 (1):105.

[253] For more on spatial practice see Michel deCerteau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)

Introduction: The Contexts

Recent scholarship has referred to the Indiana Miami as "hidden" under the guise of "whiteness"[254] following removal of half of the Miami Nation in 1846 through the remainder of the nineteenth century. This assertion is problematic when examining the complexities of how the Indiana Miami were representing themselves to their Euro-American neighbors within the colonial context. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Indiana Miami were making themselves quite known at multiple levels through their own guise of Indianness. With Congressional exemptions from removal in 1846, the return of Miami refugees from Kansas, and signing a treaty in 1854[255], the Indiana Miami firmly established their continued residency in Indiana comprising of several hundred individuals where they remained on many individual fee simple reserve lands and one communally held reservation for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

The majority of these lands lied along both sides of the *namacihsinwa siipiiwi* (Mississinewa River) between the cities of Marion and Peru. There were others scattered along the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* (Wabash River) and *oonsaalemooni siipiiwi* (Salamonie River) with a concentration around the cities of Huntington and Fort Wayne. The Meshingomesia Reservation, north of what is now Marion, was established

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[254] See Sleeper-Smith, Susan. 2001. *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. Chapter 7 "Hiding in Plain View: Persistence on the Indiana Frontier". Smith contends the Indiana Miami purposefully constructed whiteness to "hide in plain view" of their Euro-American neighbors following removal in 1846 though the turn of the 20th century. See also Stewart Rafert. *The Hidden Community: The Miami Indians of Indiana, 1846-1940* (Dissertation: University of Delaware, 1982).

[255] Stat. L VII 1093, Treaty with the Miami, 1854.

as a communally held reservation under the treaty of 1838.[256] Although individuals held the remaining Indiana Miami lands in fee simple title, the treaties in which many of these were reserved stipulated they could only be sold by permission of the President of the United States.[257] Despite the apparent security in retaining these lands following removal, the surrounding local and state government continuously attacked and challenged Indiana Miami inherent sovereignty and separate status.

As demonstrated in more detail in Chapter Six,immediately following removal, the Miami constantly filed legal cases to deal with neighboring landowners and municipalities pressing for jurisdiction over these lands. In nearly all cases, these outside entities worked to declare the Miami involved as having severed their tribal relations and therefore no longer Indian.[258] Through these cases, the Miami were not only successful in the outcomes, but successful in demonstrating their continued separate identity as Indians and as an Indian tribe. The success of these efforts halted in 1897 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs suddenly terminated the relationship between the Indiana Miami and the United States through an administrative memo. Assistant U.S. Attorney General, Willis Van Devanter, interpreted the last disbursement of Indiana Miami annuities in 1881, as per the treaty of 1854, as effectively ending their

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[256] Sta. L. VII 569, Treaty with the Miami, 1838. This treaty established the reservation for the band of Me-to-sin-ia (*Mihtohseenia*) and was later confirmed to be held in trust for Me-shing-go-me-sia (*Mihšiinkoomiša*, the son of *Mihtohseenia*) and his band under Sta. L. VII 582, Treaty with the Miami, 1840.

[257] Stat. L Vii 189 Treaty with the Miami, 1818.

[258] See *Godfroy v. Poe*. Miami County (Ind.) Circuit Court, Spring Sess. (1855); *Godfroy vs. Loveland*. Miami County (Ind.) Circuit Court, Fall Sess. (1859); *Me-shin-go-me-sia v. State*, 36 Ind. 310 (1871); *The State, ex. Rel. Godfroy v. The Board of Commissioners of Miami County*, 43 Ind. 497 (1878); *Wau-pe-man-qua v. Aldrich*, 28 F. 489 (1886); *Board of Commissioners of Allen County v. Simons*, 28 N.E. 610 (1891); *Board of Commissioners of Miami County v. Godfroy*, 60 N.E. 610 (1901). I discuss these cases and their implications in more detail in Chapter 6.

protection under federal law.[259] This decision was a final blow to the legal acknowledgement of Indiana Miami inherent sovereignty integrally tied with determining the Indian and tribal identities the Miami had struggled with following removal.

The Indiana Miami struggles with their legal standings became conflated with a growing ideology of "authenticity" in late nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial societies. In Paige Raibmon's *Authentic Indians*, Raibmon states, "Whether they used definitions of Indianness in the context of religion, amusement, or science, colonizers shared an understanding of authenticity. They were collaborators in a binary framework that defined Indian authenticity in relation to its antithesis: inauthenticity."[260] The binary of authenticity extended into the legal realm. Within this constructed binary, the Indiana Miami were legally inauthentic. The Indiana Miami combated these attacks and asserted themselves as authentically "Indian"[261]through asserting an Indian identity in the public realm.

Throughout the latter nineteenth century and continuing into the early twentieth century, Gabriel Godfroy (*Waapinaakikaapwa)*, a Peru area Miami leader engaged in this struggle of Indian status linked to authenticity. Godfroy led successive lawsuits seeking redress of taxation upon his inherited reserve lands while also engaging in performing an Indian identity to Euro-American neighbors. Godfroy, along with his

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[259] Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People 1654-1994* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society): 173.

[260] Paige Raibmon, Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 6-7

[261] By placing Indian in quotation marks here I am referring to the idea of the Indian as a colonial construction. See Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York : Knopf, 1978). Indian without quotes is how the Indiana Miami have always referred to themselves when not referring to themselves as specifically Miami, or *myaamia*.

daughter Lillian, son James, grandson Clarence Godfroy, and Peter Bruelle participated in a Wild West show that had traveled to London, Kentucky.[262] Godfroy's participation in Wild West performances influenced his own creation of a Miami performing troupe. His troupe would perform at local fairs such as the Marion (Indiana) fair. The Marion Chronicle reported: "Gabe Godfroy will take his Indians to the Marion fair next week and give daily and nightly exhibitions. Gabe has a good show and is deserving of success."[263] Godfroy's long legal battle with the Indiana court system to relieve his lands of taxation culminated in 1901 and was highly publicized in local and regional papers. The court ruled that Godfroy was not an Indian. Despite receiving a freeze on taxation for ten years in 1905[264], his descendents would continue the battle for the next seventy years.[265]

Ironically, with Godfroy's increased public image, he received a great deal of public and academic attention as authentically Indian despite the Indiana State Supreme Court's ruling. Godfroy's intricate knowledge of Miami history, culture, and language sparked the interest of Albert Gatschet, a United States Bureau of Ethnology[266] anthropologist. Gatschet recorded extensive vocabulary and several important narratives

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[262] Peru Tribune, date unknown but probably around 1897.

[263] Gabriel Godfroy Marion Fair Performance,1897. *MC (Marion Chronicle) Record*, September 9, 1897.

[264] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 197.

[265] This ended with the successful lawsuit brought by Godfroy's grandson, Oliver Godfroy in *Swimming Turtle, a/k/a Oliver Godfroy v. The Board of County Commissioners of Miami County (1975).* See Chapter 6 for more details of these cases.

[266] The Bureau of Ethnology was formed in 1879 by an Act of Congress as "a separate, purely research unit of the Smithsonian, independent of the National Museum. The focus of the Bureau's research was on North American Indian cultures, including important works in ethnology, archaeology, and linguistics. The B.A.E. effectively founded American anthropology (especially ethnology and linguistics) at a time when there were no advanced university degrees in the field and there were almost no full-time anthropologists employed anywhere else." Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology. http://anthropology.si.edu/outreach/depthist.html. Accessed December 17, 2010.

in the Miami language from Godfroy from approximately 1895 to 1902.[267] Jacob P. Dunn, an Indianapolis lawyer and amateur historian and linguist followed Gatschet's work with Godfroy. Godfroy was the main informant for Dunn's *True Indian Stories* in 1909. Through his public performance and legal battles, Godfroy had reached near celebrity status in northern Indiana and was invited as a guest speaker at a memorial celebration of the Battle of Tippecanoe in Battleground, Indiana in 1907. Godfroy's speech was not one of celebration, but of the depredations upon Miami lands and the belief in the continuance of the trust relationship between the Miami and the United States. Godfroy stated:

> "My people, the Miamis, made peace with the whites in Washington's time and we never violated it. We did not take part in the Battle of Tippecanoe. If they had the result would have been different for it was very close anyhow. The red man made their treaties and kept them, but the white man did not. Whenever they were dissatisfied they would give us a little money and make a new treaty…I use to own a great deal of land. I have only 48 acres now. I have had nineteen children and three wives. Indians believe in big families like President Roosevelt. (Laughter) My second wife was a granddaughter of Frances Slocum…I have sold the relics of Frances Slocum for three hundred dollars and they

[267] David J. Costa, *The Miami-Illinois Langauge* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003): 22.

have gone to Wilkes Barre, Penn. and Detroit Mich. I had to have the money…"[268]

Figure 23.Photograph taken at the Battle of Tippecanoe memorial celebration, June 16, 1907. Left to right: Louisa Aveline Godfroy, Peter Godfroy, Clarence Godfroy (*Kapaapwa*), Lillian Godfroy, Gabriel Godfroy (*Waapanaakikaapwa*), Martha Jane (Logan) Godfroy. This photo reveals Godfroy as wearing the clothing of many Miami men of his parent's generation; with ribbonwork moccasins, leggings, and long shirt with overcoat. Godfroy holds a bow in his right hand with an upright feather headdress typical of many eastern Algonquian headdresses. Clarence Godfroy would be the future manager of the Mu-Koons-Kwa Company. His dress shows a much stronger influence of his participation in Wild West performances. Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc. Tribal Archives.

Godfroy's public performance in 1907 was a means of using Euro-American constructions of the "Indian" to further the authenticity of his message that he was in fact an Indian and that his lands were tax-exempt Indian lands as guaranteed by the

[268] Godfroy, Gabriel. 1907. "Address by Chief Gabriel Godfroy" at Tippecanoe Battle Ground Sunday June 16th, 1907. Godfroy Family Genealogy Folder. Miami County Historical Society.

several treaties his father Francis Godfroy and the Miami Nation had signed with the United States. Through concluding with a brief narrative of the life of Frances Slocum, Godfroy used the increasing fascination with the captivity narrative of Frances Slocum in his own public performances. During his Wild West show participation, Godfroy took along objects associated with the famed Frances Slocum. Godfroy also frequently loaned out these items for display in local historical festivals and galleries.[269] Godfroy sold many of these items to supplement funding this long legal battle and maintain the remainder of his lands. Had these objects been attributed to "ordinary" Miami people, there is no doubt Godfroy would not have received as much from their sale.

Godfroy's struggle set a precedent for further Miami land claims and due to several factors associated with taxation and mortgage foreclosures, Indiana Miami reserve lands rapidly fell out of Miami control with many migrating to the nearby towns of Peru, Marion, and Wabash in search of better economic opportunities. By 1903, 58 acres of the original ten square mile Meshingomesia Reservation remained in Miami hands.[270] The landholdings of the Godfroy and Bundy families in nearby Butler Township, Miami County, had declined from 2,192 acres in 1880 to 449 acres in 1920, and 311 in 1930.[271] With the loss of federal protection of these lands, Miami leaders quickly realized the need to reassert tribal sovereignty and began to push for land claims settlements and re-acknowledgement of their nation-to-nation relationship with the United States. At the forefront of leadership among the Indiana Miami in the 1920s and 1930s were members of the Godfroy and Bundy families who also made up the majority

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[269] Peru Republican, August 27, 1886.

[270] Raftert, The Miami Indians of Indiana, 158.

[271] Ibid., 197. According to Rafert, in 1930, the Bundy (Ozahshinquah) reserve lands were entirely gone.

of participants in the Muk-Koons-Kwa Company. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Indiana Miami continued to find themselves struggling to retain their reserve lands as a means of maintaining a measured separatism from their Euro-American neighbors in north-central Indiana.

The Frances Slocum Captivity Narrative, Playing Indian, and Authenticity

Frances Slocum was born in the late 1700s into a Quaker family living in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania, adopted into a Delaware family as a child and later married the Miami war leader, *šiipaakana*, also known as Deaf Man. She would live the remainder of her life as *Mahkoonsahkwa* among the Miami. Their descendants would intermarry within nearly all of the other Indiana Miami families and serve as tribal leaders into the twenty first century. A fascination with the captivity narrative of Frances Slocum developed shortly after she used her narrative as a means to avoid the 1846 removal, resulting in Congressional exemptions for twenty-one of her extensive Miami kinship relations.[272] Her narrative was quickly appropriated by Euro-Americans and she was assigned the pseudonyms of the "White Rose of the Miami" and "Lost Sister of Wyoming" through countless retellings and fictional renditions of her personal story that continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[272] Raftert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana,* 108.

Table 2. Genealogy of Published Frances Slocum Captivity Narratives[273]

Year	*Title*	*Author*
1842	*The Lost Sister of Wyoming: An Authentic Narrative*	John Todd
1878	*Frances Slocum, The Indian Captive*	James Slocum
1891	*Biography of Frances Slocum, the Lost Sister of Wyoming: A Complete Narrative of Her Captivity and Wanderings Among the Indians*	John Franklin Meginness
1905	*Frances Slocum: The Lost Sister of Wyoming*	Martha Bennett Phelps
1908	*History of Frances Slocum, the Captive: A Civilized Heredity vs. a Savage, and Later Barbarous, Environment*	Charles Elihu Slocum
1928	*Frances Slocum of Miami Lodge: The Dramatic Story of the White Girl that Became an Indian Princess and Her Relation to the Stirring Events through which the Northwest Territory was Wrested from the British and Indians*	Joseph Allen Minturn
1936	*The Lost Sister Among the Miamis*	Otho Winger
1939	*Historical and Other Poems*	Joseph Allen Minturn
1943	*The Frances Slocum Trail*	Otho Winger
1954	*Captured by Indians: True Tales of Pioneer Survivors*	Howard Henry Peckham
1960	*Our Miami Indians and the Frances Slocum Story*	George Erwin Meeker
1961	*Miami Indian Stories*	Chief Clarence Godfroy
1986	*Maconsquah: Small Bear Woman*	Mary Dodge
1996	*Maconaquah's Story: The Saga of Frances Slocum*	Kitty Dye
1997	*The Red Heart*	James Alexander Thom

[273] These are the works of non-Miami with the exception Clarence Godfroy, whose *Miami Indian Stories* contains a few short stories relating to her life. For a more in depth analysis of circumstances surrounding the earlier narratives and *mahkoonsahkwa*'s own use of her narrative to avoid removal see Susan Sleeper-Smith, "Resistance to Removal: The 'White Indian,' Frances Slocum," Chapter 6 in R. David Edmunds, ed. *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

It is important to note not only the racial constructions surrounding the Frances Slocum captivity narrative, but gender constructions as well.[274] Euro-Americans have a long tradition of appropriating American Indian figures of femininity in the stories they tell about themselves: the two most ubiquitous figures being Pocahontas and Sacagawea. With Euro-Americans projecting their conceptions of proper gender roles upon American Indians, American Indian woman have symbolized the landscape and served as mother figures integral to the origin stories[275] of the United States. Pocahontas's fictional saving of John Smith and their subsequent romantic relations legitimate Euro-American patriarchal claims over a feminine landscape of the Other.[276] Sacagawea's role in the Lewis and Clark expedition demonstrates another symbolic subservient trope of American Indian women serving Euro-American male desires for land.[277] These two figures simultaneously symbolize the landscape and serve as mother figures of the nation-state, thus linking a fictional Euro-American aboriginality to landscape.

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[274] For a more thorough investigation of the intersections of constructions of race and gender regarding the Frances Slocum captivity narrative see Jim J. Buss, "They Found and Left Her an Indian": Gender, Race, and the Whitening of Young Bear", Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies Volume 29, Numbers 2 & 3, 2008, 1-35. Though Buss incorrectly refers to *mahkoonsahkwa* as "Young Bear" instead of "Little Bear Woman" or "Young Bear Woman", he presents a more nuanced look into how Euro-Americans have projected their own constructions of race and gender upon *mahkoonsahkwa* and the Miami as well as silencing her marriages to two Native men through the retelling of narratives.

[275] For more on origin stories and the formation of the nation-state, see Michel Foucault's essay "Neitzsche, Genealogy, History" in *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews by Michel Foucault*, Donald F. Bouchard, ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977): 139-164.

[276]See Helen C. Rountree, "Pocahontas: The Hostage Who Became Famous" , Chapter 1 in Theda Perdue, *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 14-28 and Kathleen M. Brown, "The Anglo-American Gender Frontier", Chapter 1 in Nancy Shoemaker, Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women (Routledge: London, 1995): 26-48.

[277] See Donna Barbi, "Sacagawea: The Making of a Myth", Chapter 4 in Theda Perdue, *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 60-76.

In the late nineteenth century Frances Slocum became recreated and celebrated as a mother figure through a narrative that legitimated the origin and foundation of the State of Indiana. As shown in Table 1, the Frances Slocum captivity narrative continues to "captivate" Euro-American audiences. In addition to her appropriated narrative undergoing continuous literary reproduction, the public latched on to two series of pageant performances in 1916 and 1927 that served to perpetuate and perform the Frances Slocum captivity narrative as an origin story of the State of Indiana.

As a part of the 1916 State of Indiana Centennial celebration, Miami County sponsored a pageant held in the county seat, Peru, from August 13-19 as "an historic scenario of Miami County in seven episodes" as written by Miami County Centennial Commission Chair, Claude Y. Andrews.[278] Central to the pageant scenarios was that of "Ma-con-a-quah". Through the appropriated narrative, *Mahkoonsahkwa* was assigned the pseudonym of "White Rose of the Miamis"; as a "white rose" among those who were "red". In the prologue of Scene I, "The Abduction of Frances Slocum" from Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania in 1778, the Miami declare:

> "We are gone – down into the vastness of the past, crushed by civilization's onward march, with folded wigwams, toward the setting sun we have gone…but we have left a story rich in romance, the story of Ma-con-a-quah. You call her Frances Slocum, We the White Rose. And in her story shall be reflected the history of *your* beginnings…"[279]

[278] "The Miami County Centennial: The Pageant, Presented at Peru, Indiana, August 13-19, 1916" pg. 3. Miami County Museum. Maconaquah Pageant Folder. 1827.32.

[279] Ibid., Emphasis mine.

The remainder of the pageant is complete with interpretive dances of the "Spirits of the Primitive Forest" as ordaining the landscape for the use of the future State of Indiana. Subsequent scenes depict constant warfare between the United States and the Miami Nation with their inevitable destruction and demise. Frances Slocum's and Miami Principal Chief Jean Baptiste Richardville's "white blood" allowed them to appease the warlike Miami enabling the following scene of "Pioneer Settlement" and a finale celebration of the appearance of Columbia in the "Rapid March of Progress". The pageant performed a narrative of decline of the Miami Nation while simultaneously serving as an origin story for the narrative of progress of the State of Indiana.

Contrary to the narrative of decline and ultimate destruction of the Miami Nation and their removal in entirety to a "Western reservation" at the close of Episode 6, nearly half of the Miami remained in their Indiana homelands. To further legitimate the supposed removal of the entire Miami Nation, non-Miami played all of the Miami Indian roles. There was only one Miami person that participated, Mable Bondy Sausaman, who played Frances Slocum. Sausaman, a recent graduate of Haskell Indian School, was a granddaughter of Frances Slocum's daughter, *Oonsaašinihkwa* (Jane Bundy) and *Waapapita* (Peter Bundy), both Miami Indians. Sausaman's Miami Indian identity was not mentioned in the promotion of the pageant, but rather it focused upon her descent from Frances Slocum.

Figure 24. Mable Bondy Sausaman in pageant clothing. Miami County Historical Society

Furthermore, a large number of Miami people were present during the festivities. The Peru Republican newspaper listed the names of all of the Slocum Family members present during "Frances Slocum Day", but they are only listed as descendents of Frances Slocum, not as Miami.[280] The pageant's narrative centered upon the decline of the Miami Nation and their eventual extinction, yet promotion of the pageant denied the Miami identities of Frances Slocum's descendents and the continued presence of the Indiana Miami upon the very landscape represented in the centennial narrative and performance.

[280] The Peru Republican, Friday August 18, 1916, Vol. LXI. No.4

The 1916 Centennial Pageant illustrates Euro-Americans engaged in playing Indian to define their own identities. Philip Deloria's *Playing Indian* demonstrates the long history of Euro-Americans assuming the guise of constructed Indianness to serve their various needs of identity formation throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these morphed into a way of dealing with anxieties centered upon modernism through experiencing the authentic as "a way to imagine and idealize the real, the traditional and the organic".[281] Raibmon's authentic/inauthentic binary includes Euro-Americans in addition to American Indians with Euro-Americans placing themselves in the position of the inauthentic and therefore seek out authentic experiences. Deloria states: "…they (Euro-Americans) easily locate authenticity in the figure of an Other. This Other can be coded in terms of time (nostalgia or archaism), place (small town), or culture (Indianness)."[282]

Deloria explains Indian Otherness as having its own contradictory binary of interior and exterior, where the Indian can function as an Other within the nation or society as well as those who are excluded from the nation society.[283] We find that the pageant dealt with these issues of Euro-Americans grappling with modernity as :

> …the long cultural moment in which the positive/negative and close/distant axes of Indian Otherness become inverted. Americans built the notion on contradictory foundations: a highly positive interior brand of Indian Otherness coexisted with exterior savages lurking outside societal boundaries. By the early twentieth century, however, many

[281] See Philip Deloria, Playing Indian, 101
[282] Ibid.
[283] Deloria, Playing Indian 21.

> Americans had become fascinated with a positive exterior Indian Other, one who represented authentic reality in the face of urban disorder alienating mass society. Indians who had assimilated into modern society were now negative Others, and they could only reflect the savagery and degradation of that world back into American eyes.[284]

The Frances Slocum captivity narrative complicates Raibmon's binary of authenticity and Deloria's binary of Indian Otherness. Through the Euro-American use of this narrative, Frances Slocum is coded as Self, while Ma-Con-A-Quah is coded as Other; representing the melding of Self with Other and thus linking Euro-Americans with the landscape inhabited by Frances Slocum/Ma-Con-A-Quah. Through her, the Miami landscape and Miami history became theirs. Through playing Indian by way of the Frances Slocum captivity narrative, Euro-Americans emulated the Miami. The Indiana Miami creation of their own pageant and their own form of Indian play in Indian guise took full advantage of the positive connotations of modernity's exterior Indian Otherness.

Indians playing Indian was not an isolated phenomenon. Several scholars have addressed this as a product of displays of colonial dominance and the progress of modernity tied to Native performance in the World Columbian Exposition of 1893, also known as the Chicago World's Fair.[285] At the turn of the twentieth century and

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[284] Ibid., 73-74.

[285] See Paige Raibmon, "'The March of Aborigine to Civilization': Live Exhibits and the World's Columbian Exposition", Chapter 2 in Authentic Indians. Robert W. Rydell. All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex." In David Boswell and Jessica Evans, eds. Representing the Nation: A Reader (London: Routledge, 1999): 332-361.

continuing well into the mid-twentieth century, American Indians were directly engaging in the proliferation of public Indian performances throughout the United States and Europe. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and its many imitations provided opportunities for American Indians to escape oppressive Western reservation environments, make needed money, and to see the world.[286] The Song of Hiawatha Pageants performed by the Anishinaabeg of Michigan provided avenues for revitalizing indigenous identity through a colonial narrative.[287] Following World War II, the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa created the Wa-Swa-Gon Indian Bowl to define and defend their American Indian identity during post-war homogeneity and termination policy.[288] The Ho-Chunk of Wisconsin performed in the Stand Rock Indian Ceremonials at the Wisconsin Dells throughout much of the twentieth century. Individuals such as George Copway (Ojibwe), Molly Spotted Elk (Penobscot), and Lucy Nicolar (Penobscot) used performance as Indians for their own personal and tribal motives. Several American Indians engaged in the early years of Hollywood through on-screen performances as Indians. Native people had employed and were directly engaged in "playing Indian" as counter-hegemonic strategies that, while not always completely successful, were useful strategies that promoted a tribal presence in direct dialog with a narrative of absence in American popular culture and historiography centered upon the "vanishing Indian".

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[286] Philip Deloria, 2005. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. (Nesper 2003)Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 69-71.

[287] See Michael David McNally, 2006. "The Indian Passion Play: Contesting the Real Indian in Song of Hiawatha Pageants, 1901-1965". *American Quarterly* 58 (1):105-136.

[288] Nesper, Larry. 2003. "Simulating Culture: Being Indian for Tourists in Lac du Flambeau's Wa-Swa-Gon Indian Bowl. *Ethnohistory* 50 (3):447-472.

Competing Narratives

Along with so many other contemporary tribal and individual Indian performers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Muk-Koons-Kwa Company enabled the Indiana Miami to address issues important to their community at several levels while engaging in the Euro-American quest for authenticity. Beginning sometime in the early 1920s, the Miami pageant troupe was nameless. Over the next few years, the number of performances would grow and the pageants would be advertised under the auspices of names such as the "Ma-con-a-quah Company of Indians" which the public could more easily identify with since they were well accustomed to the appropriated Frances Slocum captivity narrative. By the 1930s, the pageant performers would promote themselves as the Muk-Koons-Kwa Company of Miami Indians, more appropriately reflecting the Miami name of Frances Slocum. Despite the changes in names, the pageant performers consistently promoted themselves specifically as Miami Indians.

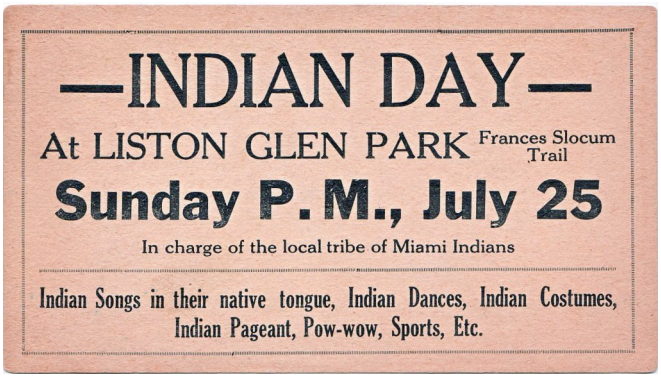

Figure 25. Flyer card, approximately 3 inches by 5 inches. Date unknown. Liston Glen Park was created on the former Miami reserve land of *oonsaašinihkwa*. Pat Hrybyk.

The flyers soliciting the pageant promoted tribal authenticity and authority to tell the Frances Slocum captivity narrative: "…Miami Indians who present the Pageant are legal descendents of Francis [sic] Slocum and will give a Historical Pageant portraying

Francis Slocum's life among the Indians. Indians songs will be sung and Indian Camp Fires and old Indian life in general will be exemplified, including the Gay Indian Costumes."[289] The "Gay Indian Costumes" worn by the Muk-Koons-Kwa Company reflected a mixture of older clothing from the mid to late nineteenth century that some Miami people had managed to keep in their families such as leggings, moccasins, and ring brooch covered blouses with Plains Indian symbolism readily recognized by Euro-Americans as authentically "Indian". Many of these older types of Miami clothing had been sold to collectors. In 1910, Mark Raymond Harrington, an anthropologist employed by George Gustav Heye, traveled to Indiana to purchase items from later pageant participants, Harvey Ward and John Bundy.[290] Other Miami from the Godfroy, Bundy, and Meshingomesia families sold items to collector Milford G. Chandler in the 1920s in order to maintain reserve lands, pay attorneys' fees, and fund delegations to Washington, D.C.

Several Great Lakes Indian communities practiced this mixture of Plains Indian imagery and tribally specific symbolism throughout the twentieth century in conjunction with tourism performance. In her investigation of Great Lakes Indian photographic representations, Anthropologist Patricia Albers examined over 600 postcard images spanning 1900 to 1970 where Plains Indian imagery increasingly became incorporated by Native communities in their own way. Albers states:

> If one combines the influence of national media, with the popular use of Plains Indian symbolism in tourism in the East, it is not hard to

[289] Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana,* 213.

[290] Mark Raymond Harrington Field Notes, 1910. National Museum of the American Indian Cultural Resources Center Archives. He also collected from Susanna Pimyotamah Pope, William Peconga, and John Kilsozah.

comprehend why entrepreneurs in the Midwest promoted this image in their emerging industry. Nor is it difficult to understand why many Great Lakes Indians may have adopted this symbolism voluntarily. After all, it was through the Plains Indian that local Indians were able to project their own ethnic identity to outsiders. This is not to say that stereotyping based on indigenous symbols did not develop. Clearly, the re-creation of Woodland style crafts, dwellings, and dances in tourist attractions was based on locally authentic models. Yet it is unlikely that these aspects of Great Lakes Indian culture would have been recognized as "authentic" if they had not been combined with some of the more familiar trappings of the Plains Indian…The evidence documented in photographs, however, suggests that these Indians modified the symbols of Plains Indian culture within the context of their own expressive traditions. This kind of blending is vivid testimony of cultural resistance in the in the face of modernity's leveling forces. It is a prime illustration of how one prominent aspect of modernity, tourism, can create but not entirely control the character of popular image-making.[291]

[291] Patricia Albers and William R. James, "Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indians", Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 10, 123-148, 1983. 142

Figure 26. Pageant participants in August 22, 1926 performance at Liston Glen Park. Back row, left to right: Clarence Godfroy (*Kapaapwa*), ? Bundy, ? with son ?, ?, Ross Bundy (*Waapihšinka)*. Middle row, left to right: Mary Clark Godfroy, John Bundy (*Awaakamwa*), Elsa Coiner, Frank Godfroy (*Palaanswa*), ?. Front row, left to right: William Godfroy, Hiley Bundy, Harvey Ward. Wabash County Historical Society

Figure 27. Pageant participants in September, 1930 performance near Roanoke, Indiana. Back row, left to right: ?Mongosa, Clarence Mongosa Bradley (*Kinoosaawia*), Frank Godfroy (*Palaanswa*), ??, Homer Mongosa, Hal Phelps (as Simon Gerty), ??, ??, ??. Front row, left to right: Harvey Ward, Elsa Coiner, Louise Hay, Elizabeth Godfroy, Mary Clark Godfroy, ??. Miami County Historical Society

Figure 28. a*waakamwa* (John Bundy) in foreground with "pageant clothing" and ?? in background wearing ribbonwork leggings and moccasins. Probably taken at August 22, 1926 performance. Pat Hrybyk

Miami participation in earlier Wild West Shows, where they came into association with other performing American Indians, popular American representations of American Indians, and a long association with the circus industry in Peru, influenced a contemporary Miami interpretation of these clothing types as a performance attire that would remain integral to the Miami pageant for its near decade of existence. In addition to these influences on the aesthetics of the pageant, they also influenced the narrative.

Lora Marks Siders (*Maankwa*), a member of the Mongosa family who participated in the pageant as a child and young adult, recalled the pageants as having to meet "non-Indian expectations"[292]:

[292] See Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 2004).

They were in a sense… educational. Its like the world today, if you want to sell a ticket to something… we're right here in the land of the circus. And they sure had us beat on animals, 'cause they had, you know tigers, lions, elephants, camels, buffalo, panthers, any kind of a cat you can name almost. Zebras. And then they practiced out there and so you know when anybody can go and see… oh, Tom Mix used to be out there and practiced. So what are a few of us Indians gonna do? So they've got to scalp somebody, they've got to burn somebody at the stake and got to keep the blood pumped up! But they (Euro-Americans) did learn things because they (Miami) did show how we did a council meeting, they did show how the women worked together, they showed them dancing when they were both happy and when they were mad…Since most of those pageants were in the summer time, it was all fake skinning and doing those kinds of things. People didn't see all that was going on and what they saw is what they believed. We even had scalpings because that's what people expected. If you're going to sell tickets to a pageant, you've got to put something in there that they're going to expect. Of course, I hope everyone knows now that the Indians weren't the ones who started the scalping, but they still had to have burning at the stake and the scalping. And burning at the stake we did. We did do that.[293]

[293] Daryl Baldwin and Julie Olds. Lora Marks Siders, Interview 1997. Myaamia Project at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

Siders' memories of the pageant illustrate the pageant performances had to not only meet non-Indian expectations of how Indians were supposed to act, but the competition for spectators with the circuses in Peru created a needed theatrical flare to performances.[294] Despite this theatrical flare, the Miami were careful about how they presented themselves publicly to play to non-Indian expectations of authenticity. Photographs of pageant performances demonstrate both "private" and "public" images, with the Miami knowing how the public would read their imagery.[295] The public photo of Myrtle Moyer in figure 29 displays a posed individual shot holding a cradleboard and wearing beaded Miami style moccasins. The private photo of Moyer in figure 30 was taken before or after the pageant performance at the Bundy Cemetery on September 4, 1927 and shows Moyer holding this time a stylish purse in place of the cradleboard and wearing high heels in place of the moccasins. These public photos in conjunction with advertisements and the pageant narrative demonstrated not only an Indian identity to the general public, but a Miami identity as well; created and defined by the Miami themselves.

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[294] The Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus formed its winter quarters in 1892 on reserve lands sold by Gabriel Godfroy and continued into the 1930s. Several local Miami were employed as workers in the circus with a few participating as performers. See Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, 166.

[295] For a more detailed discussion regarding public and private photography relating to American Indians and imagery, see Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, "Private and Public Images: A Study of Photographic Contrasts in Postcard Pictures of Great Basin Indians, 1898-1919", in Visual Anthropology, (Vol. 3, 1990): 343-366.

Figure 29. Myrtle Moyer (baby in cradle board appears to be a doll). Pat Hrybyk

Figure 30. "At Bundy Cemetery, September 4, 1927". Left to right: George Clossa, Myrtle (Godfroy) Moyer, Frank Godfroy (*Palaanswa*), John Bundy (*Awaakamwa*) with unknown child, George Slusman (*Aahsansanka*), Harvey Ward. Pat Hrybyk

Siders' memories also reveal that while the viewing Euro-Americans believed all they saw as "Indian", the pageant participants knew what was

Miami and what was not. The pageant created a space for the Miami to practice "Miaminess" for themselves while simultaneously being viewed through the audience expectations of "Indianness". The creation of the pageant also enabled the Indiana Miami to promote an Indian identity through re-appropriating the Frances Slocum captivity narrative as their own, inviting their Euro-American neighbors to "Come and hear the Indians tell their history in their own way."[296]

The 1920s marked a period of revived efforts of the Indiana Miami to address their grievances against the United States, namely their Federal re-acknowledgement in relation to tax exemption of their remaining lands, unpaid past treaty annuities, and land claims. Members of the Godfroy and Bundy families assumed leadership roles in reasserting sovereignty and claims against the United States with Camillus Bundy (*Pimweeyoteema*), a grandson of *šiipaakana* and *Mahkoonsahkwa*, leading the reunited effort of the Indiana Miami beginning in 1923. In 1924, Hal C. Phelps first observed a Miami pageant in Peru at the home of Francis Godfroy for Dr. F.A. Clear who had traveled from Greenville, Ohio to see the performance. This group of Miami would travel later in the summer to perform as part of the Treaty of Greenville commemorative celebration. Nearly forty Miami would travel to Ohio, with each participant netting a five-dollar profit after their weeklong stay.[297] The Indiana Miami were creating an increased visibility beyond regional and state boundaries.

Subsequent pageant performances would not only supplement incomes, but would contribute to the needed funding raised among the Indiana Miami to send several

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[296] Flyer from July 4th, 1935 performance near Rochester, Indiana. Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc. Tribal Archives.

[297] Hal. C. Phelps Papers. Miami County Museum. 1944.040.0001.056.14-j Print, Photographic.

delegations to Washington, D.C. This increase of Indiana Miami political activity and mobilization coincided with the efforts of the Peru Chamber of Commerce in taking advantage of the recently realized opportunity of drawing business to Miami County through automobile tourism. In 1925, several prominent Peru entrepreneurs formed the "Frances Slocum Trail Association" as a means of creating an automotive trail with Peru serving as its hub.

The Frances Slocum Trail would capitalize upon the life of Frances Slocum and the places she and the Miami inhabited along the Mississinewa River, connecting the City of Peru downstream to the City of Marion. It was promoted statewide in the Indianapolis Star as "…a highway with a purpose broader than the mere provision of a transit avenue for automobiles…revealing to the tourist the points of Indian interest along its way."[298] By traversing Miami reserve lands along the trail the tourist would encounter "Indian battlefields, cabins, churches, graveyards and landmarks" and possibly even "the last descendents of the Indians who once dwelt by the thousands in this beautiful and fertile country…" who are "not of the full-blooded type, but bear unmistakable evidence of having had Indian forbears."[299] Hoosiers and Mid-Westerners did not need to travel to far off places to experience tangible authenticity. It was very present in their own backyard. Hoosiers could simply hop in their symbol of modernity, the automobile, and take a leisurely drive to experience authenticity through Deloria's codes of Otherness: time, place, and culture. The trail even had the possibility of being incorporated as part of a much larger "Trans-Appalachian Highway" connecting Chicago to the East Coast.

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[298] Indianapolis Star, Saturday July 18, 1925, p 17.
[299] Ibid.

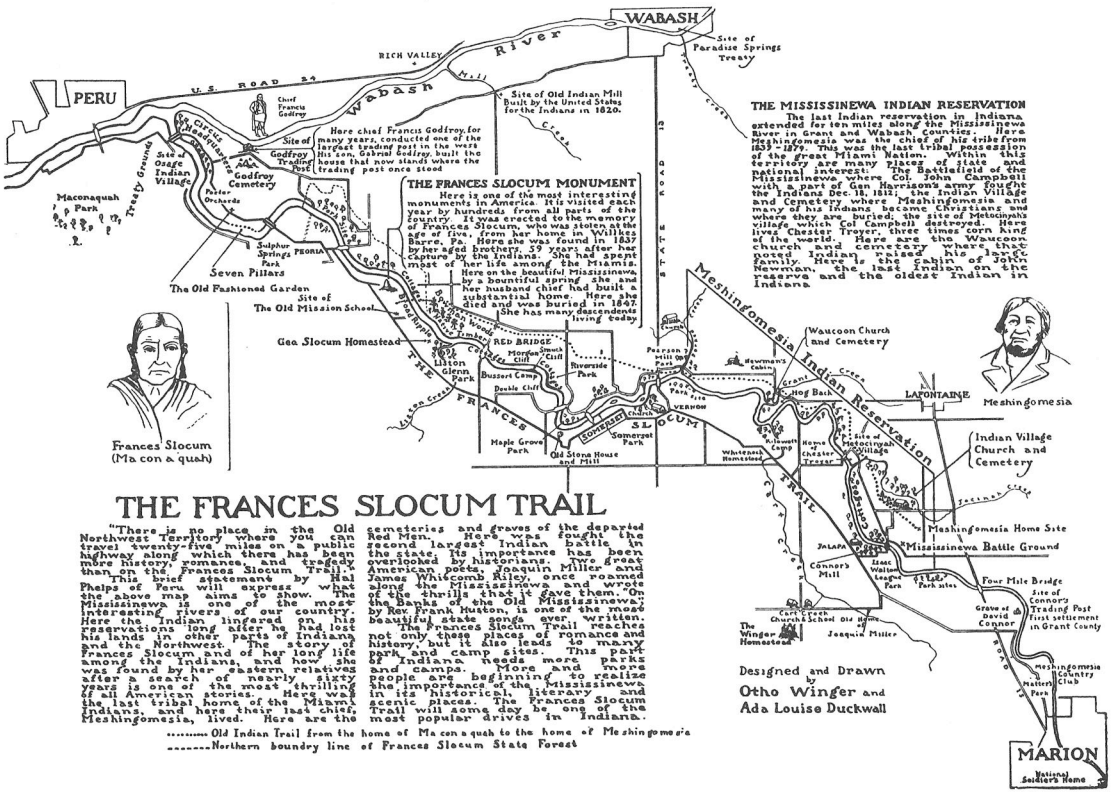

Figure 31. Map promoting the Frances Slocum Trail. Otho Winger, *The Francis Slocum Trail* (The News-Journal: North Manchester, Indiana, 1943): 91

Hal C. Phelps was the main proponent and promoter of the trail. A local attorney and founder of the Miami County Historical Society in 1916, Phelps was an avid amateur historian and collected significant amounts of objects and histories in Miami County. Through this interest, Phelps had befriended several Miami people, namely Clarence and Peter Godfroy, and Camillus Bundy. Phelps became an advocate for Indiana Miami political efforts and would later represent the Indiana Miami in Senate Indian Sub-Committee hearings in 1937 and 1940.[300]

[300] See Miami Indians Jurisdictional Act, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session on H.R. 2306, A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the court of claims with right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment in all claims which the Miami Indians of Indiana who are organized and incorporated as the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana may have against the United States, and for other purposes. Part 1, April 11, 1939 (United States Government Printing Office,

In 1926, the Frances Slocum Trail Association contracted with Clarence Godfroy for a performance to promote the trail at the newly acquired Frances Slocum Park, located on the former reserve land of Camillus Bundy. The Trail Association provided all of the expenses for promotion and logistics of the pageant and was to evenly split the gate proceeds with the pageant players. The script narrative of this pageant performance focused peculiarly on scenes depicting the life of frontiersman and Simon Girty.[301] The loose script for this pageant has no recorded author, but it was probably that of Phelps, since he played Gerty in this pageant performance.

While the pageant opened with non-Miami singing songs such as "America", "The Banks of the Old Mississinewa", and "Childhood Days" and despite Phelps apparent control of the pageant narrative, the Miami ultimately controlled participation in the pageant performance and their own representation. All pageant participants consisted of Miami and a few of their non-Miami spouses. Phelps was the only other non-Miami who participated in the pageant and whose part in the pageant was also non-Indian. Miami pageant participants added humor and the Miami language into their own scenes. Harvey Ward and Clarence Bradley "furnished much of the interspercing [sic] comedy."[302] Clarence Godfroy, pageant manager, interpreted a speech given by Ross Bundy in the Miami language who stated that "…if it is true that the painted face of an Indian is what makes him look wild, then it may be concluded from the appearance of many in the audience that a lot of pale faces have been marrying wild looking

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Washington: 1939) and Part 2, March 14, 1940 (United States Government Printing Office, Washington: 1940).

[301] Miami County Museum. Hal C. Phelps Papers. Simon Girty was of Scots-Irish descent and had been taken captive by the Seneca during his childhood and later became a middle person between the British and their American Indian allies.

[302] The Peru Journal, "Thousands Witness Indian Pageant at Slocum Park Sunday", August 23, 1926.

women."[303] Approximately 3,000 people attended and while the Frances Slocum Trail Association "netted a splendid and much needed profit"[304], so too did the Miami.

Figure 32. View of August 22, 1926 pageant performance with surrounding audience. Clarence and Bill Godfroy at center. Wabash County Historical Society.

While the Frances Slocum Trail Association was contracting with Clarence Godfroy for the Miami performance, they were also planning a major pageant of their own to be performed in the City of Peru Municipal Park to be renamed as "Ma-Con-A-Quah Park". The "Ma-Con-A-Quah Pageant" of August 10-14, 1927 was sponsored by the local American Legion in conjunction with the Peru Chamber of Commerce and the Frances Slocum Trail Association and was essentially the same pageant script as that performed in the 1916 Miami County Centennial Pageant "Ma-con-a-quah Scenario".

[303] The Peru Journal, "Thousands Witness Indian Pageant at Slocum Park Sunday", August 23, 1926. Clarence Godfroy and Ross Bundy were the last recorded fluent speakers of the Miami language, both died in the early 1960s.

[304] The Peru Journal, Aug. 23, 1926.

Figure 33. Program cover, 1927 Ma-Con-A-Quah Pageant "Presented under the Auspices of Glen Owens Post American Legion, Peru, Indiana." The cover imagery evokes the "vanishing Indian" in this rendition of the popular "End of the Trail" sculpture by James E. Fraser, 1915. The Indian on horseback faces West, demonstrating the narrative of his inevitable decline and the progress of Euro-Americans.

Planning for the 1927 pageant received extensive coverage in local and regional newspapers with its budget for costumes alone being nearly $10,000. The Frances Slocum Trail was promoted in conjunction with the pageant with markers to be placed along the trail before the performance courtesy the Hoosier Automobile Association.[305] Phelps was a tireless promoter of the trail with extensive newspaper articles and radio broadcasts that drew upon the Frances Slocum captivity narrative and Miami history associated with the landscape traversed by the trail. The 1927 pageant drew nearly 12,000 spectators and netted a profit of nearly $1,300 dollars. The Frances Slocum

[305] The Peru Republican, Friday, August 5, 1927.

captivity narrative had proved lucrative for Miami County and helped to promote Peru as the hub of the Frances Slocum Trail. As in the 1916 Centennial Pageant, there was no participation of the local Miami, with all "Indians" played once more by local non-Miami. Phelps played the role of "Little Turtle". The massive expenditure on costumes is apparent when we look at the few images of this pageant with its "Indians" dressed heavily in Plains Indian headdresses and beadwork; an aesthetic quite different from the Indiana Miami pageants.

In the months leading up to and following the 1927 Ma-Con-A-Quah Pageant, the Indiana Miami staged their own pageant performances. Advertisements for this series of performances emphasize the authenticity and authority of the pageant performers as not only Miami Indians, but legal descendents of Frances Slocum.

Figure 34. Flyer promoting September 4 and 5, 1927 pageant performance. Maconaquah Pageant Folder. Miami County Historical Society.

The Frances Slocum Trail enabled the Indiana Miami to directly engage in tourism where the Euro-American thirst for authentic experiences to counter anxieties centered upon modernity "… is the key insight that tourists seek experiences of authenticity amid the anomie of late capitalism".[306] Tourism became a way for Euro-Americans to experience authenticity directly and easily via the automobile. The automobile also allowed the Miami pageant participants to travel throughout and outside of their Wabash Valley home. Several of the images from the pageant show Miami people posing with their automobiles in both public and private images.

Figure 35. Carmen Mary Ryan (*mihšikamiihkwa*)
Wabash County Historical Society

Figure 36. Peter Bundy.
Wabash County Historical Society

The Frances Slocum Trail provided a locally tangible experience with the authentic narrative of Frances Slocum and its associated landscape where the trail itself was

[306] Michael Harkin, 2003. "Staged Encounters: Postmodern Tourism and Aboriginal People". *Ethnohistory* 50 (3):575

literally the grounds by which Hoosiers could define themselves and solidify their identity as rooted in a particular landscape. With the tourism associated with the Frances Slocum Trail, we see that "the construction of a performative space provides a staging ground for touristic encounters. Not only does this satisfy most (but not certainly all) tourists but it provides a context in which Indian people are free to present positive images of themselves" and that "…such performances…are meaningful within Indian communities."[307]

The pageant was meaningful to the Miami in multiple ways. Most pageant performances took place at the Bundy Cemetery where *Mahkoonsahkwa* and *Šiipaakana* and their descendents and associated family were buried. The cemetery was located near her former home along the Mississinewa River on the lands reserved for her daughter *Oonsaašinihkwa* and inherited by her son Camillus Bundy (*Pimweeyoteema*). Following the loss of tax-exempt status of Indiana Miami lands, Bundy's land was foreclosed on by the Aetna Life Insurance Company in 1921. Bundy lived at the cemetery in a tent while charging visitors ten cents to see his grandmother's grave. Bundy was later arrested for trespassing and forcibly removed. The Frances Slocum Trail Association eventually acquired and renamed the cemetery and surrounding lands as Frances Slocum Park.

Through staging their performances, the Indiana Miami pageant was in direct conversation with this process and worked to reclaim the captivity narrative of Frances Slocum as that of *Mahkoonsahkwa*, as part of a Miami narrative, on lands they continued to claim as rightfully theirs. In later scripts and advertisements for the

[307] Harkin, 578

pageant, the Indiana Miami began to focus specifically upon the Frances Slocum captivity narrative to draw spectators, but re-appropriated her story as a part of Miami Indian history. The later Miami scripts[308] focused not upon the decline of the Miami Nation and the foundations of the state in C.Y. Andrews's script and other published narratives, but rather upon how the story had been passed down among her descendents: Frances was adopted into a Delaware family to cure sickness associated with a mother mourning the recent deaths of her eleven children as prescribed by Delaware and Miami medicine people. The script concludes with *šiipaakana* relinquishing his war leadership and Francis Godfroy chosen to follow *šiipaakana*'s unfavored successor. This later Miami pageant turned the narrative back to focus upon those ancestors and origins of the Indiana Miami, not of the state of Indiana. The Miami pageant performances provided a counter to the appropriated captivity narrative of Frances Slocum as giving birth to the State of Indiana. The Miami pageants declared that Frances Slocum gave birth to Miami Indians and that her life was a part of Miami history and kinship relations, not that of Miami County and the State of Indiana.

The pageant not only served as a way of passing down tribal history, but the frequency of pageant performances provided a space for older generations of Miami such as Anna (Mongosa) Marks, Eclistia Mongosa, John Bundy, Harvey Ward, and several others to speak the Miami language, dance Miami dances, and sing Miami songs to younger generations of pageant participants. Siders remembered Miami songs

[308] Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana Tribal Archives. Peru, Indiana. Date unknown, but the list of participants reflects those who participated in the 1930s pageants. According to Lora Siders, her sister Carmen Ryan often wrote the scenarios of the pageants and determined who would play what role. See David J. Costa, interview with Loa Siders, Miami / ethnographic data / Peru, IN, May 22, 1993. Formerly numbered 1:1. English only. Berkeley Language Center, Miami (LA 188).

distinctly from the pageant: “My mother (Anna Mongosa Marks) sang a lot of songs. But this one she sang at pageants and I think that’s why I learned it more because I probably heard it more often… It’s a prayer for a young man. It’s a spiritual song, a prayer song.” Miami songs and dances were an important aspect of what Siders would learn from the pageant:

> Oh yes, a lot of songs that I would call pow wow songs because they danced, you know, they’d have the dance before the hunt, and then the dance after the hunt, and they would have the council meeting and make decisions whether they should go to war or not. Those were some of the more elaborate ones. A lot of the pageants that they put on depended upon how many people were there to act in the pageant. I was fortunate they always needed kids. I could be a kid.

Figure 37. Pageant performance in September 1930 near Roanoke, Indiana. Note Harvey Ward sitting in center with hand drum singing while other participants dance around him. In the foreground is the stake in which the prisoner was to be tied.

While humorous stories and incidents were intended toward the Euro-America audience, the pageant was also full of humorous stories and events meaningful to its participants.

> One of the funny things… my nephew…he's about 5 years, 6 years younger than I am and they always had a big black kettle that they would cook corn in, or vegetable soup, or chili. And this was for two things, they could see the women doing the cooking and it also fed everybody. I had no idea where he (her nephew) found a cat, but he found a cat and put it in the soup. So, you know, there were a lot of those kinds of things that happened that I'm trying to remember. We had a pageant at the airport at Wabash and here's all these women all dressed up you know, hats, gloves, the whole bit, they're lined up in the chairs in front. My uncle John was going to play the man that they scalped and he's bald headed. So somebody thought it would be cute if they took a little jar and put some ketchup in and pour over his head before they stepped away from in front of him. And when they did this, one of those women fainted.[309]

Along with these humorous moments, the pageant was a means for Miami people to express a Miaminess they would otherwise not have been able to express in their daily interactions with their Euro-American neighbors. Siders' remarked:

[309] Siders, 1997

> Since we lived in the country, and on the Sunday's that we didn't have pageants we had several old tables that you put out in the yard, just run it the length of the yard two of them maybe, and everybody would come mostly to our house and bring carry-in and I didn't think about it until after I got older. The reason those people came to our house is it wasn't nice to be Indian. So they didn't want the people in town to know that they were Indian. You see if we had gone to their house the neighbors would finally guess it when they see these Indian people come in to their house. So we lived about nine and a half miles into the country. And they would come to our house and Mom always told us "Do not tell that anybody is Indian unless they want you to tell it."… you spend the weekend, after weekend on pageants because as soon as it got nice enough, probably about the second week in June till school started, you were spending your weekends maybe down in Greenfield, or Wabash, Marion, or around the area here (Peru), every weekend and you did get close.[310]

The pageant created meaning addressing the everyday lives of the Indiana Miami community through creating a safe space for Miami to be Miami on Miami lands. With most Miami living in nearby cities father away from their former reserve lands in close proximity to Euro-Americans beginning in the1920s and 1930s, the Miami could not necessarily perform Miaminess in their daily lives for fear of prejudice; leading some to hide under a guise of "whiteness". While some Miami did hide themselves under a

[310] Ibid.

guise of "whiteness" while living in close proximity to Euro-Americans, the Miami who participated in the pageant chose "Indianness" as a means of practicing Miaminess. The pageant created a space where one could be Miami under the guise of "Indianness" and serve as a space for the continuation of community in direct public view. Miami people could perform and have their Indianness celebrated and embraced on the weekends during pageant performances while outside of the space of the pageant, during their daily interaction with these same spectators, would contribute to their further marginalization. The performance of the pageant created a close distancing of sorts whereby Indians playing Indian simultaneously confronted and confirmed the Euro-American audience's expectations. Through the Frances Slocum captivity narrative the Miami inverted their negative interior Indian Otherness experienced in their daily lives through the guise of the positive exterior Indian Otherness in performance. The pageant provided the Miami a means of simultaneously dealing with their "double Otherness" that directly impacted their relationships with one another and to the landscape.

The last recorded performance of the members of the Mu-koons-kwa Company occurred at the Bundy Cemetery in 1937 with students from nearby Manchester College playing the roles of non-Miamis.[311] Frank Godfroy was the guest of honor. Many of the older generations of Miami people involved in the pageant such as Frank Godfroy, Harvey Ward, John Bundy, Myrtle Moyer, and others had passed by the 1940s, but their efforts instilled younger pageant participants with a continuance of Indiana Miami struggles. Younger participants such as Carmen Ryan, Lora Marks Siders and Louise Hay would assume leadership roles within the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana.

[311] Otho Winger. Sketch of pageant with inset photo of Frank Godfroy and brief description of pageant. Miami County Museum. Maconaquah Pageant Folder.

These roles were integral to efforts for the re-acknowledgement of the Miami Nation of Indiana as a Federally recognized tribe in the 1970s and 80s, as tribal council members, and other important roles within the Indiana Miami Community. Siders provided a supportive and vital role in the revitalization of the Miami language in the 1990s through her exposure to the Miami language in the pageants.

The formation of the Mu-koons-kwa Company worked as a counter to the appropriated Frances Slocum captivity narrative that promoted a continued Miami presence in a Miami landscape integral to larger notions of the recognition of tribal sovereignty the Miami had learned was intertwined with Euro-American constructions and representations of American Indians. Multiple generations of Miami people in the pageant served to pass on important views of Miami history, culture, and language to future generations of Miami leaders. Euro-Americans had assumed the guise of the Miami through Frances Slocum/Maconaquah and shrouded the landscape in a narrative of progress. Through the guise of the Indian, the Mu-Koons-Kwa Company revealed themselves and the landscape as Miami. In this sense, the Miami would treat Euro-Americans much the same way that *Kwaahkwa* treated *Wiihsakacaakwa.*

Neehi-'hsa awiila Kwaahkwa noonteehsaaci seehsikawaaci saahsikawaki.
Then Woodpecker ran out and he knocked out some cracklings.

Neehi-'hsa aapwe awiila eehšamaaci awiihkaanali.
And he fed his friend in return.

Wiihsakacaakwa: "Naapi-hkwa iišileniaampa, naahpa noonki nintaalweeli. Keeto-hkwe iilohkiwiaani?"
Wissakatchakwa said: "I used to do things this way, but now I fail. What's wrong with me?"

Neehi-'hsa maacaaci aapwe Kwaahkwa.
And so Woodpecker started back.

Chapter Five
Kiilaahkwaliaminciki (They Speak to Us): Cultural Sovereignty and Museum Collections

Figure 38. *ahkimotayi*, medicine bag. *ciinkwia* (Thunder) side. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution. Miami Collection. Catalog Number 027973.000

Figure 39. *ahkimotayi*, medicine bag. *lenipinšia* (Underwater Panther) side. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution. Miami Collection. Catalog Number 027973.000

Ojbects[312] speak to us. They are *aacimoona* - multiple layers of stories interwoven into their fabrics and imprinted upon them by the Miami people. As Lora Siders remarked about Miami history: "It's hard to talk about Miami families without talking about the land." The objects created and used by our Miami ancestors are intricately tied to Miami conceptions of kinship and relationships to land. They are also our relatives. These are the stories objects have to tell us, and these stories are not those fixed in a static moment in time, but are rather intricately woven into the histories of Miami families. There are hundreds of objects in museums within North America and around the globe attributed to the Miami. The limited number of objects focused upon in this chapter were chosen because of the poignant stories they have to tell us about the Miami past and present and how to be *nahi-mihtohseeniaki* – good human beings.

This chapter begins with and is informed by the *aacimoona* this *ahkimotayi* -bag –has to tell us. In the Miami language, *ahkimotayi* describes the physical properties of the bag as being a woven bag, literally 'grass' *ahki-* and 'bag or pouch' *motayi*.[313] The name is referring the materials used for such a bag, while not necessarily made of grass, but of something "grass-like" and woven in the form of a pouch. A Miami woman wove this bag sometime in the nineteenth century for a very special purpose: to house ceremonial objects. In this sense it could be referred to as a "medicine bag", however

[312] There is no equivalent in the Miami language for "objects of cultural patrimony" as they are described in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. Some are talked about as living beings (animate), such as *pwaahkana* (pipe). Some are not talked about as living beings (inanimate), such as *kiihkilaakani* (basket). Some can be both, depending upon the context of their use. This presents one of the challenges as we begin to re-establish our relationships. Some Indigenous peoples have begun to look to their language to develop ways to talk about this, such as the Maori referring to them as "taonga" or tribal treasures. In lieu of an equivalent agreed upon by the Miami people, this chapter uses the term "object" to describe these animate and inanimate beings held in museum collections, but for the reader to keep this in mind.

[313] In Proto-Algonquian, this would be **maškimotayi*, with the initial of **maški* also meaning 'grass'. David Costa and Ives Goddard, Personal Communication. October 11, 2010.

ahkimotayi tells us that it is not the bag itself that makes it medicinal, since it would probably be described as an animate object, but that the objects it held were medicinal.

Perhaps the Miami woman lived in the Old Village on the Meshingomesia Reservation, where Metocinia (know called Jocinah) Creek meets the *nimacihsinwi siipiiwi*. The Americans had attacked the village during the War of 1812 and afterward she and her relatives had worked hard to rebuild their homes, replant their fields, and maintain the nearby graves. She, perhaps along with her daughter or son, left the Old Village and went out into the *mitehkia* – forest - just south of the Old Village, and found the appropriate *wiikapimiši* – basswood tree growing in the floodplain of the *nimacihsinwi siipiiwi*. After placing *ahseema* – tobacco - down and saying the necessary prayer, she proceeded to harvest strips of *wiikapi* – basswood bark that she proceeded to soak in the creek over night weighted under some heavy rocks. Upon returning home, she decided to use scraps of some old wool blankets in which moths had chewed holes. Carefully unraveling the blanket scraps, she twined enough colored wool yarn for the bag. She chose some blue and red yarn to serve as the colors for the designs along the sides of the bag. She also chose contrasting black wool for the geometric designs at the center of each side of the bag. The next day, after processing the inner bark or the *wiikapi*, she then created long strands of *wiikapeepiikwi* – basswood cordage to serve as the main material for the bag. Sitting outside her cabin, she placed two strong sticks into the ground and proceeded to twine the bag. Perhaps a relative asked her to make the bag to hold some of his special items he used in ceremonies for the people of the village. It is clear she had made these bags before and had learned perhaps learned from her mother that the bag needed to represent *ciinkwiaki*

– thunder beings – on one side, and *lenipinšia* - the underwater panther – on the other side. The bag would get much use and help the people deal with the tremendous transitions they were to face. Perhaps this is how the patch became placed on the bag.

While this story of the creation of the bag is my own invention, it is the story that came to mind as I first saw this bag in a museum. The materials used in its construction all come from *myaamionki*, either in natural form, or in the creative reuse of introduced materials such as the unraveled wool blankets. A Miami woman probably made the bag since the production of material culture was gendered. Women typically were involved in the production of clothing, household goods, and items associated with their sphere of food production such as basketry while men typically were involved in the production of items associated with warfare and hunting. These were not necessarily strict boundaries and variations and transgressions between these existed, but the art of weaving of clothing and items for storage were typically related to the female sphere among the Miami.

The bag was used in *myaamionki*, by *myaamiaki* long after it was initially made. At some point, the bag came into the possession of *Ciinkweensa*, William Peconga. As examined in Chapter Three, Peconga and other members of the Meshingomesia Band had great difficulties in retaining their allotments and livelihoods at the turn of the twentieth century. Peconga eventually found refuge on the Godfroy reserve near Peru where he was working as a landless tenant farmer when anthropologist Mark Raymond Harrington, employed by George Gustave Heye, came to collect material among the Indiana Miami in 1910. The stories of the bag did not end when it was packaged and

shipped to Heye's New York City and its later incorporation into the collections of the National Museum of the American Indian.

Rather than objects being used to tell the story of the museum exhibit, objects begin to speak and tell multiple stories. Objects and the stories associated with them are not just about the past, but continuous and contemporaneous to Indigenous identities and realities. The bag, the many other Miami objects in museum collections, and the stories associated with them continue to hold meaning to the Miami people today. As a contemporary practitioner of the art of Miami ribbonwork, the research process for this chapter has evolved over my lifetime; cataloging all of the museums in which I have become aware with Miami collections. Learning the art of ribbonwork was like learning another language, much like the language left by my Miami ancestors in the volumes of dictionaries and wordlists gathered by Jesuit missionaries and linguists. Learning the language of the art of ribbonwork and the Miami language itself has played an integral role in my growth and awareness as a Miami person. These objects also serve an integral role in the growth and awareness of the cultural sovereignty of the Miami people, if we only listen to what they have to say. Drawing upon Museum Studies and the work of Indigenous scholars, this chapter bridges the gap between these two areas to provide alternative ways for Indigenous communities to tell stories of their cultural sovereignty.

Introduction

In 1997, the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art developed an unprecedented exhibit of the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana entitled: *In the Presence of the Past: The Miami Indians of Indiana*. The exhibit brought the Miami

people together with the vast collections of Miami objects that are today scattered across North America. These objects included a broad array of intricate ribbonwork clothing, silver work, and utilitarian and ceremonial objects. Most Miami people had never seen many of these objects, nor perhaps had even heard of them. It was a homecoming of sorts for the people and the objects that many of their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents had sold to collectors earlier in the century.

Following the administrative withdrawal of federal recognition by the Assistant Attorney General of the Department of the Interior in 1897, the tax exempt status of the Indiana Miami was also withdrawn. Within one half century, most of these lands had been lost to taxation. The loss of these lands, their economic and social marginalization by the surrounding dominant Euro-American society, along with the costs of constantly funding tribal representatives' trips to Washington D.C. to argue for the restoration of Miami tribal status, the Indiana Miami found themselves living in poverty and were forced to sell precious items of material culture they had managed to maintain within their families for centuries. Collectors such as Heye were eager to purchase the unique items from the Indiana Miami and so these objects were scattered to far off places, much removed from their cultural home in the Miami community. The Miami stories and meanings associated with these objects did not end with their making, use, or sale. Reuniting objects and the people from which they originated is a continuation of the stories and meanings associated with these for the Miami people. This chapter continues a reunion that began in 1997.

Miami objects resting in museums and Miami texts resting in archives throughout the United States and beyond are largely inaccessible to the Miami people.

In the early 1990s, the Miami reconnected with their language. The last fluent speakers of the language passed away in the 1960s in Indiana. At that point in time, the language went into a state of dormancy. Afterwards, linguists were quick to declare the Miami language as "extinct". Yet the language remained in the memories of those elders who grew up hearing the language, in the few prayers and songs maintained, and literally in the land around the Miami people in place names. The language also remained in the extensive volumes of recordings spanning nearly 300 years from Jesuit missionaries, Anthropologists and others. With these tangible aspects of the language left behind by Miami ancestors, the Miami people have reclaimed the appropriations of the language in the written form to help relearn their language of heritage.[314] The process of relearning the language requires the Miami people to reinterpret not only the Miami texts, but in the case of the Jesuit texts, the French and English that initially served as interpretations of the original Miami.

The Miami language is no longer "extinct" or "dead", nor is it any longer a "dormant" or "sleeping" language. It is now a "formerly sleeping" language[315] re-awoken by the Miami people who have in turn been re-awoken by the language. Similarly, Miami objects in museums have lain dormant in museum collections for nearly as long as dictionaries and recordings of the Miami language. The challenge for the Miami people is to reawaken those objects and to listen to the stories they tell, to reinterpret these texts and objects, and to reestablish a relationship with them. This

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[314] See Melissa A. Rinehart, *Miami Indian Language Shift and Recovery*. (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2006)

[315] See Wesley Y. Leonard, "When is an 'Extinct Language' Not Extinct? Miami, a Formerly Sleeping Language." In Kendall A. King, Natalie Schilling-Estes, Lyn Fogle, Jia Jackie Lou, and Barbara Soukup, eds., *Sustaining Linguistic Diversity: Endangered and Minority Languages and Language Varieties*. (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University, 2008).

process is integral to the reclamation of Miami cultural sovereignty as being *nahi-mihtohseeniaki*.

On being *nahi mihtohseeniaki:*
Cultural Sovereignty and Reclaiming Museum Collections

The passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) seems a logical starting point for issues of sovereignty and the reclamation and repatriation of American Indian objects in museum collections. NAGPRA came into law in 1990 to address the historical atrocities associated with the collecting of American Indian human remains, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. In most cases, this called for the return of those objects to their Indian tribe of origin. NAGPRA defines an Indian tribe as: "any tribe, band, nation, or other organized Indian group or community of Indians, including any Alaska Native village or corporation as defined in or established by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians."[316] Within this meaning, the Indiana Miami, as a tribe, cannot utilize NAGPRA as a tool for repatriation since the United States does not recognize the political sovereignty of the Miami Nation of Indiana and are therefore ineligible for the "special programs and services" provided to other tribes.

The Miami Nation of Indiana struggle to regain this recognition is focused upon further in Chapter Six, however it is worth noting that they are among several non-federally recognized tribes who have legitimate claims to those items held in museums

[316] *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, U.S. Code* 25 (2004), §§3001 et seq. at §3002.

that fall under NAGPRA. Using tribal nations of southern New England as an example, we see the uneven distribution of abilities for tribes to utilize NAGPRA, even though the same collectors collected among their communities at the same time. For example, the National Museum of the American Indian has several baskets attributed to the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation (STN) who have lived on their Connecticut State reservation since the early 1700s. These baskets were collected at the turn of the twentieth century by renowned Anthropologist Frank Speck and are attributed to Abigail Mauwee and Rachel Mauwee.[317] The Schaghticoke were initially determined to be a tribe und the Branch of Acknowledgement and Recognition (BAR) of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), but through what the tribe contends as "political interferance" mostly by various officials from the State of Connecticut, the BIA revoked their initial decision in favor of recognizing the STN and issued a final determination ruling they were not a tribe within the meaning of federal law. Since the STN were denied federal recognition, as a tribal entity, they have no legal authority to claim these objects under NAGPRA.

For other southern New England tribal nations, at the time that anthropologists like Frank Speck and Mark Raymond Harrington collected items among their communities, none of them were federally recognized tribes and in similar circumstances to the Indiana Miami (except none of them had signed treaties with the United States). Some of these tribes have since received federal recognition, such as the Narragansett, Mohegan, and Wampanoag (both Aquinnah and Masphee Wampanoag

[317] National Museum of the American Indian Online Collections Search. http://www.nmai.si.edu/searchcollections/results.aspx?catids=0&areaid=22&regid=83&culid=421&src=1-1. Accessed December 3, 2010.

tribes). The Narragansett Tribe of Rhode Island and Aquinnah Wampanoag of Massachusetts received federal recognition prior to the creation of NAGPRA, in 1983 and 1987 respectively. However, both the Mohegan Tribal Nation of Connecticut and the Mashpee Wampanoag of Massachusetts received federal recognition in 1994 and 2007 respectively. The irony of this is that while both are now considered a tribe by the United States, from the passage of NAGPRA until their official recognition they had no legal authority to claim items in museums. While NAGPRA has been a vehicle for federally recognized Native nations to return their ancestors and objects to their rightful places, it perpetuates an adversarial relationship between Indigenous nations and museums. The language of NAPRA furthers this divide:

> i) The term " *possession* " means having physical custody of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony with a sufficient legal interest to lawfully treat the objects as part of its collection for purposes of these regulations. Generally, a museum or Federal agency would not be considered to have possession of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony on loan from another individual, museum, or Federal agency.
> (ii) The term " *control* " means having a legal interest in human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony sufficient to lawfully permit the museum or Federal agency to treat the objects as part of its collection for purposes of these regulations whether or not the human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony are in the physical custody of the museum or Federal

> agency. Generally, a museum or Federal agency that has loaned human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony to another individual, museum, or Federal agency is considered to retain control of those human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony for purposes of these regulations.[318]

Furthermore, NAGPRA requires that museums who "possess" and "control" objects to contact those federally recognized tribes who may be associated with remains and objects in their collections. No legal obligations exist for museums to contact the Miami Nation of Indiana, even though a significant percentage of a museum's collections attributed to the Miami were collected among the Indiana Miami, especially after the loss of federal recognition in 1897. Without federal recognition, the burden lies upon the Indiana Miami to seek out their material culture in collections.

NAGPRA does provide one possible avenue for the Indiana Miami and other non-federally recognized tribes such as the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation, to follow: the ability of lineal descendents to repatriate items. Regarding museum collections, much of museum archives and catalogs lack sufficient provenance, making it difficult for tribes and individuals to prove their relationship. Yet, as this chapter demonstrates, the provenance of many Miami objects can be determined and the connection of objects to the ancestors of the Indiana Miami families, NAGPRA can enable objects back to their families of origin. Within the definition of NAGPRA, lineal descendents are the following:

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[318] NAGPRA

> an individual tracing his or her ancestry directly and without interruption by means of the traditional kinship system of the appropriate Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization or by the common law system of descendence to a known Native American individual whose remains, funerary objects, or sacred objects are being requested under these regulations. This standard requires that the earlier person be identified as an individual whose descendants can be traced.

Yet, this definition only applies to remains, funerary objects, and sacred objects. Objects of cultural patrimony can only be returned to an Indian tribe and not lineal descendents from whom the objects were originally from despite the fact that in several Indigenous communities, objects of cultural patrimony were in the possession of clans or families. NAGPRA provides a very narrow and limited avenue for the Indiana Miami to reestablish their relationships with objects in museum collections. The Indiana Miami, and American Indians in general, are once again forced to operate within a system dictated by the United States in conjunction with museums and federal agencies, omitting the "native voice" and perspective on these incredibly important issues where "at its essence, NAGPRA regulates transfers of ownership within the confines of established *(Euro-American)* conceptions of private property."[319]

The bag Mark Raymond Harrington purchased from William Peconga provides an alternative to Euro-American conceptions regarding museum collections through articulating Miami cultural sovereignty and the importance of reclaiming relationships

[319] Pensley, D. S. "The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990): Where the Native Voice Is Missing".Wicazo Sa Review, Volume 20, Number 2, Fall 2005, 38. "Euro-American" and emphasis mine.

with Miami objects. "Sovereignty" has been a ubiquitous phrase among Indigenous communities and their issues for the last several decades. Most often, the term connotes what could be called political sovereignty and issues of power and control, often by the nation-state. However, many Indigenous scholars have begun to question this term. Some have challenged us to think about it in multiple ways while others have challenged us to completely disregard it. In the latter sense, political sovereignty and cultural sovereignty are different yet inextricably linked; where cultural sovereignty is the foundation of political sovereignty.[320] Since the Miami Nation of Indiana is no longer considered a federally recognized tribe, the tribe's political sovereignty is not recognized by the United States. Therefore it is necessary to disregard this colonial legacy and to formulate it within the less limiting terms of cultural sovereignty.

The late American Indian intellectual, Vine Deloria, Jr. stressed that Indigenous sovereignty and nationhood rests upon a preservation of the people and their cultural integrity:

> Sovereignty then revolves about the manner in which traditions are developed, sustained, and transformed to confront new conditions. It involves most of all a strong sense of community discipline and a degree of self-containment and pride that transcends all objective codes, rules, and regulations. Unless individuals have a commitment to a larger whole they cannot function efficiently and unless a nation is composed of committed individuals it cannot function with the efficiency that

[320] James Fenlon, "Indian Gaming: Traditional Perspectives and Cultural Sovereignty". "rights to practice traditional ways of life including language, religious beliefs, property values, and social systems toward relatives and family. It is cultural sovereignty that has kept Indian nations in existence to claim tribal sovereignty."382.

> sovereignty is meant to describe…is a useful word to describe the process of growth and awareness that characterizes a group of people working toward achieving maturity. If it is restricted to a legal-political context, then it becomes a limiting concept which serves to prevent solution. [321]

Deloria sees sovereignty as a useful term that can be repurposed by Indigenous communities that extends far beyond the legal-political context and into the social, cultural, and spiritual realms of a people's continued existence. According to Wallace Coffey and Rebecca Tsosie, cultural sovereignty should take precedence over political sovereignty and Indigenous communities must also move beyond the legal-political context, since:

> Contemporary legal battles center around the concept of political sovereignty as Indian nations attempt to define and defend the boundaries of their jurisdictional authority. However, these legal struggles for political sovereignty coincide with a larger battle: the battle to protect and defend tribal cultures from the multitude of forces that threaten the cultural survival of Indian nations.[n59]
>
> The concept of cultural sovereignty is valuable because it allows us, as Native people, to chart a course for the future. In that sense, cultural sovereignty may well become a tool to protect our rights to language, religion, art, tradition, and the distinctive norms and customs that guide

[321] Vine Deloria, Jr. "Self-determination and the Concept of Sovereignty" in Economic Development in American Indian Reservations, ed. Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Native American Studies, 1979).

> our societies. Indeed, cultural sovereignty may ultimately prove to be our most valuable legal tool. However, it is important to construct this tool from *within* our Native societies, rather than looking to external definitions of "sovereignty" to determine what the concept means.[322]

While continuing to use the term "sovereignty" Coffey and Tsosie expand upon it to include the "political" as only a part of the much broader "cultural" and stress that this *must* be defined from *within* Indigenous communities. Building upon Deloria and Coffey and Tsosie, the work of Mohawk scholar Taiaike Alfred reiterates the fact that "sovereignty" is a concept that Indigenous peoples must move away from since it is deeply rooted in European conceptions of power and control. Alfred echoes Coffey and Tsosie and calls for Indigenous peoples instead to look to their own conceptions of relationships based upon "mutual respect and balance" and completely throw out the use of "sovereignty" in all forms all together.[323] In order for Indigenous people to truly free themselves of the colonial paradigms imposed upon them that continue to separate the people from who they are and can be, Indigenous people must develop their own ways of seeing their relationships within and outside of their communities.

Deloria reminds us that for Indigenous nations, sovereignty can only happened through the commitment of individuals. In the idea of *myaamia* landscape examined in Chapter One, the responsibility lies within the individual – the *mihtohseenia* – to act properly to strive to maintain a balance in all that they do, to be *nahi-mihtohseenia* - a

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[322] Wallace Coffey and Rebecca Tsosie, "Rethinking the Tribal Sovereignty Doctrine: Cultural Sovereignty and the Collective Future of Indian Nations", Stanford Law & Policy Review Spring, 2001, 12 Stan. L. & Pol'y Rev 191, 6.

[323] Taiaike Alfred, "Sovereignty" in Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, eds. *A Companion to American Indian History* (Blackwell Publishers, 2002): 460-474.

good human. This concept is further iterated by *aweem-*, which is a morpheme that connotes being related or allied to someone; one must also be a good relative. This directs human relationships to all of creation and it is within this web of relationships that mutual respect and balance is maintained through reciprocity. "Objects" in museum collections are a part of this ongoing process of maintaining, re-establishing, and creating new relationships. Borrowing from Deloria, sovereignty is a "process of growth and awareness that characterizes a group of people working toward achieving maturity."

The bag Harrington purchased from William Peconga tells these stories as well. The Miami woman who initially created the bag continues to tell a story of mutual balance and respect that reminds the Miami people of these relationships. The bag, with *ciinkwiaki* and *lenipinšia,* is the story of the balance inherent in the world around us, and our place as human beings within it. The Miami idea of landscape and cosmology *is* cultural sovereignty. The *ahkimotayi* embodies and reminds us of the relationships and responsibilities the *mihtohseeniaki* have toward these relationships to be *nahi-mihtohseeniaki*. Keeping this in mind, the reclamation of museum objects is the reclamation of relationships and responsibilities that inform the "growth and awareness" of the Miami people.

Museums, the "Art of Collecting", and Indigenous Perspectives

Museums have a long and problematic history of displaying objects of the "Other" and interpreting these objects to the general public. This history is intricately tied to colonialism and power, where the collecting of objects, usually by individuals with their own desires and positions of power, from Indigenous groups is either through

out right theft, such as grave robbing, or by legal yet coercive means. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains the legacy of colonialism in Indigenous communities as a "collective memory" that "has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified, and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized…It is important to remember, however, that colonialism was not just about collection. It was also about re-arrangement, re-presentation and re-distribution."[324] Collection encompassed the collecting of information – language, stories, songs, ceremonies – and the collection of specimens – human remains and cultural objects. Museums have served as vessels to house collections of specimens, thereby serving as a means of re-distributing human remains and objects far from their community of origin, re-arranging them within collections storage and catalogs, and finally re-arranging and re-presenting them in various ways to the general public and the very Indigenous community of origin through the form of exhibits.

The use of objects to support and illustrate the stories of the researcher and the curator is the most pervasive use of objects in historiography and the contexts of museums. Whether it is the voice of the historian or the voice of the museum exhibit curator, in both cases the interpretations of objects are those of "experts" and become imbedded in the discourse of dominance regarding Indigenous communities. Literature in the field of Museum Studies has begun to address the authenticity and authority associated with the interpretation of objects and the stories told. Indigenous scholars

[324] Smith, 62.

have also begun to question this authority and are developing new ways of interpreting and preserving objects for the communities from which these objects originated. The work of these Indigenous scholars in regards to objects within the museum context, have critiqued the museum and its interpretative discourse and representations as continuances of colonial oppression. Much of this literature critiques the museum as a western colonial invention and illustrates issues of power surrounding the telling of these stories associated with objects.

The interpretation of objects in the context of museums also has a rather troubled past. The empirical and analytical perspectives of colonial/imperial encounters sought to categorize indigenous people and their associated material culture to provide evidence of universal rules and materialized in the creation of the museum. The interpretation of objects was intertwined with representation of the Other and was concerned with demonstrating cultural evolution that maintained power relations within the colonial hierarchy. Indigenous scholars argue that much of what continues to be written in regards to the interpretation of objects in the field of Museum Studies relies upon Euro-American systems of knowledge and places Indigenous interpretations at subordinate positions within its hierarchy.

In Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's post-modern analysis *Destination culture: tourism, museum, and heritage (1998),* her preface centers upon issues of display. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett categorizes a series of sets of contradictory binaries that have been historically associated with the "ethnographization" of the object. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett contends that this "ethnographization" in turn creates a "fragment" that

functions to simultaneously detach both the object and the viewer.[325] Issues such as this are important to take into account when approaching objects of Indigenous origin, but we must look to what Indigenous scholars have said about museums and the interpretation of objects if we are to see how this affects Indigenous communities.

Miriam Clavir's *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations (2002)* demonstrates the museum as an extension of Western epistemology where science, technology and art are the major means of maintaining colonial hegemony and that First Nations "art/objects" have had to deal historically with these categorizations in relation to how their objects were collected and have been displayed.[326] Through an examination of viewpoints of various British Columbia First Nations individuals, Clavir demonstrates that the preservation of those communities interviewed is much greater than preserving the physical integrity of the object; it is the preservation of culture and ultimately the preservation of the people that is of the utmost importance. The objects are important, but only in so far that they serve to maintain the community integrity, which confers with Deloria's explanation of "sovereignty". Clavir demonstrates that for the Indigenous people of British Columbia, objects are associated with a pantheon of other equally culturally important 'artifacts' such as stories and songs. The object in turn is only a part of a whole within the relationship of stories and songs.

Although museums may have not been compatible with certain Indigenous cultures in the past, they are increasingly being used to "articulate" identity through the

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[325] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Destination culture: tourism, museum, and heritage (1998)*

[326] Miriam Clavir. *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations (2002)*

reclamation of their objects. Anthropologist James Clifford has written about the role of objects within identity formation and how Indigenous people are able to "articulate" their identity; Indigenous ways of creating and maintaining relationships. According to Clifford:

> Articulation offers a non-reductive way to think about cultural transformation and the apparent coming and going of "traditional" forms. All or nothing, fatal-impact notions of change tend to assume that cultures are living bodies with organic structures. So, for example, indigenous languages, traditional religions, or kinship arrangements, may appear to be critical organs, which if lost, transformed, or combined in novel structures should logically imply the organism's death. You can't live without a heart or lungs. But indigenous societies have persisted with few, or no, native language speakers, as fervent Christians, and with "modern" family structures, involvement in capitalist economies, and new social roles for women and men.

Using Cliffords "articulations", it provides a much more flexible way for thinking about how Indigenous communities can continue to maintain the integrity of the community body despite the loss or change of necessary organs. The reclamation of objects is not a "lost cause" since most of the knowledge associated with these objects is lost, but rather the reclamation of objects can also provide and be a product of knowledge created by the Indigenous community.

Clifford further illustrates how the reclamation of objects by Indigenous

communities is used to articulate their identities. In the "Looking Both Ways" exhibit at the Alutiiq Museum on Kodiak Island, Alaska, the Alutiiq created a museum specifically for the retrieval of the Alutiiq past through the partnership of Anthropologists, Archaeologists, Alutiiq elders and youth. The knowledge gained from the research of this partnership fostered the articulation of Alutiiq identity. The partnership began a healing of the wounds of the past where the Alutiiq had denied and hidden their heritage. The present generation worked with those who remembered the past to preserve knowledge for future generations.

This was not a re-assemblage of pieces to recreate a pure "authentic" whole associated strictly with the past, but was rather the assemblage of pieces from the past to be relevant to the present.[327] According to the Executive Director of the Alutiiq Museum and Archaelogical Repository, Dr. Sven Haakanson Jr., (Alutiiq-Sugpiaq), "Most important, we can use these items to preserve our culture and bring this knowledge into a living context that continues to be passed on from generation to generation, rather than be tucked away in a book, archived, or hidden in a museum collection."[328] A part of the integrity of the Alutiiq is thus the articulation of this assemblage.

Language is a powerful means for Indigenous people to reclaim their interpretations of objects and reclamations of parts of their past and future identities. In

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[327] See James Clifford, "Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska." *Current Anthropology* 45(1) (2004): 5-30

[328] Haakanson, Sven, Jr. "Why Should American Indian Cultural Objects be Preserved?" In Sherelyn Ogden, ed., *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*. (Saint Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press), 6

developing its collections management, the Makah Cultural Resource Center (MCRC), located in Neah Bay, Washington, looked to clues from the Makah language for the classification of artifacts. When labeling artifacts from the recently excavated Ozette site, a Makah village dating to the 1700s, the Makah Cultural Resource Center decided to label all of these in the Makah language, *q^{w}iq^{w}i diččaq*.[329] Upon looking at the Makah words used for various tools, it became clear that tools such as canoe paddles should not be organized with other articles associated with a canoe, but with those other tools whose names were similar to that of the canoe paddle, such as wedges and chisels; words that "shared a working surface that was perpendicular to the plane of action".[330] This has led the Makah Cultural Center to look toward the preservation of their "living culture".[331]

Indigenous languages can provide alternatives to nomenclature often employed when interpreting "objects". Terms such as "object" and "repatriation" are terms that are not necessarily within Indigenous languages. Maori scholar Paul Tapsell provides an alternative to these, such as the Maori word *taonga*, meaning tribal treasures, instead of objects. Tapsell also proposes alternatives to 'repatriation' because it is a term not used by Maori elders in their discussions of Maori *taonga* since this word automatically connotes oppositional or "reactive" measures in the return of objects to their rightful place under their rightful stewards, but should be rather "proactive" in nature that

[329] Janine Bowechop and Patricia Pierce Erikson. "Forging Indigenous Methodologies on Cape Flattery: The Makah Museums as a Center of Collaborative Research" American Indian Quarterly 29, 1/2 (Winter 2005), 267

[330] Ibid., 268.

[331] Ibid.

encourages dialogue and cooperation between the two entities who have stakes in the return of objects and remains.[332]

Indigenous people throughout the world are reclaiming objects and interpreting them to the general public. In Malcolm McLeod's essay "Museums without Collections: Museum Philosophy in West Africa" in *Museums and the Future of Collecting (2004),* his investigation of the museum of the Asante Nation provides an alternative to the traditional conception of the museum. Within this museum, most objects are recent reproductions that are not owned by the museum, but are the property of the community that are used for cultural events and loaned to the museum. The museum functions mostly to pay tribute to past leaders of the Asante Nation and to educate tourists and visitors. However, the museum and the objects on display do provide a great amount of pride for the Asante Nation.

Within the confines of the empirical and analytical prioritization of Western knowledge hierarchy, Indigenous people have been portrayed as "people without history", and so this perspective disregards Indigenous ways of history.[333] This has also been the case in the display and interpretation of objects by Indigenous people within the traditional museum and historiography. However, Indigenous people have always interpreted their objects within their communities as well as to those outside their communities. Sidney Moko Mead demonstrates that museums are not all that removed from indigenous practices and culture in Oceania where public meeting houses such as

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[332] See Paul Tapsell, "Partnership in Museums: A Tribal Maori Response to Repatriation," in Cressida Fforde, Jane Hubert and Paul Turnbull, eds., *The Dead and Their Possessions: Repatriation in Principle, Policy and Practice,* (London: Routledge, 2002), 284-292

[333] See Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002), Introduction.

marae's and custom houses serve as spaces of display, but create a much more intimate and contextual learning and sharing possibility that is a natural extension of Oceanic cultural practices.[334] The display and interpretation of objects is not far removed from Indigenous practices.

While the means and interests for these differ from that of the traditional museum and historiography, the objects themselves also contain layers of history associated with them. This is illustrated in anthropologist Julie Cruikshank's *The Social Life of Stories*. Cruikshank focuses upon how the stories told by Yukon elders have an immediate impact upon their daily lives that help them and their communities explain contemporary internal and external issues facing the community. Objects are integrally tied to these stories and the everyday lives of their communities of origin. Cruikshank demonstrates the multifaceted contexts, applications and interpretations within these communities that make them very real and integral aspects that further complicate how stories and "objects" have been historically treated in scholarly attempts as artifacts that are representative of a static homogenous culture. Cruikshank furthers the complexity of the social context of stories for Indigenous Yukoners in their relations to external forces such as land claims and self-representation. Cruikshank demonstrates how Indigenous Yukoners use issues of authenticity and legitimacy through their performance of stories to "make their case" in public performance. Material objects serve as texts for claiming legitimacy in regards to such complicated issues as land claims; objects are the Indigenous documentation of the legitimacy of community claims. Although the claim

[334] See Sidney Moko Mead, "Indigenous Models of Museums in Oceania." Museum 35:3 (1983): 98-101.

of Indigenous peoples as being "without history" is supported in Western knowledge systems since Indigenous communities do not often have histories contained within written documents, histories, etc., their histories are contained within stories and the objects associated with those stories.

Throughout the work of Indigenous scholars we see that objects function as "symbols". A significant amount of literature exists in the study of symbols and their meanings within the field of Anthropology where "…symbols are multivocal (they speak with multiple voices), polysemic (they have multiple levels of meaning), or multivalent (they make multiple appeals)."[335] Objects as symbols function at several levels within the society from which they originate and these meanings associated with these are variable and complex such as their multiple metaphoric interpretations. A detailed investigation of the language associated with symbols/objects is revealed when viewed as rather a "relationship…immersed in a macrocosm of analogic construction."[336]

Much of the literature regarding the interpretation of objects by Indigenous scholars rests upon the contexts from which they arise and have begun to address these issues within the field of Museum Studies. The study of symbols and meaning within the field of Anthropology provides further insights into how a scholarly dialog between these may result. For Miami objects, the *myaamia* idea of landscape adds to this discourse from Indigenous scholars, anthropologists, and Museum Studies scholars, that

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[335] Mary Womak, *Symbols and Meaning: A Concise Introduction* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2005), 3

[336] Roy Wagner, *Symbols That Stand for Themselves* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986), 17-18.

looks as tribally/community specific ways of re-envisioning the relationships of museums, objects, and their Indigenous community of origin.

Reclaiming Relationships:
Interrogating the Colonial Process of Collection, Re-distribution, Re-arrangement, and Re-presentation

Much of the interpretation of these objects within Miami historiography has been assigned by non-Miami as demonstrative of acculturation and as static objects that serve as universal representations of the Miami. What historians and museums have failed to demonstrate are the multiple layers of meaning that literally rest upon these objects. This chapter takes its cue from Indigenous scholars whose work challenges the dominant uses of objects to tell stories through the eyes of the colonizer, instead looking at what stories objects have to tell us; how they speak to the Miami people. Museums have come to represent a global knowledge. According to Smith "This form of global knowledge is generally referred to as 'universal' knowledge, available to all and not really 'owned' by anyone, that is, until non-Western scholars make claims to it."[337] This harkens back to issues of control and possession inherent within the existing dominant context of museum and tribal relationships. Redefining reclamation is a part of this process of re-establishing relationships. Coffey and Tsotsie stress that reclamation and repatriation are integral to this effort for Indigenous communities to begin this process.

> "Indeed, the robust notion of tradition …involves the idea of Native communities reclaiming the fundamental components of cultural existence, which we understand as tribal wisdom, land, and cultural identity. We believe that this process of repatriation should involve both

[337] Smith 63

> the intangible and tangible aspects of our existence which combine within a holistic structure to guide our collective futures.[338]

But Smith cautions this claiming as simply reacknowledging the positionality of the West and the inherent adversarial relationship created by terms of "possession" and "control". It is the challenge of the Indigenous scholar to disavow themselves of this knowledge to forge an Indigenous approach. It is necessary to redefine reclamation to de-center notions of power and replace it with Miami notions of cultural sovereignty.

In order to begin this process, we must first interrogate the means by which the relationships between the Miami people and objects were severed and or strained over time through the re-distribution, re-arrangement, and re-presentation of these objects. The collecting, interpreting, and displaying of objects from the Miami has ascribed multiple layers of meaning that have not only been represented back to the Miami, but have completely covered and obscured the alternative stories these objects have to tell.

[338] Coffey and Tsosie, 13

Table 3. Museums with Miami Collections[339]

Indiana

Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art; Indianapolis, Indiana

Indiana State Museum; Indianapolis, Indiana

Miami County Historical Society; Peru, Indiana

Wabash County Historical Society; Wabash, Indiana

United States

National Museum of the American Indian Cultural Resources Center; Suitland, Maryland

Cranbrook Institute of Science; Bloomfield Hills, Michigan

Detroit Historical Society; Detroit, Michigan

Detroit Institute of Art; Detroit, Michigan

Milwaukee Public Museum; Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Beloit College Logan Museum of Anthropology; Beloit, Wisconsin

Brooklyn Museum of Art; Brooklyn, New York

University of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Lucerne County Historical Society; Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania

Parson's Indian Trading Post & Museum; Wisconsin Dells, Wisconsin

Outside of the United States

Bata Shoe Museum; Toronto, Ontario, Canada

British Museum; London, England

Musée de l'Homme; Paris, France

Museum fur Volkskunde; Vienna, Austria

[339] The number of objects attributed to the Miami within these collections range from 100 at the National Museum of the American Indian to 1 at the British Museum. Those items outside of the United States were collected prior to the 19th century. This table represents those Museums known to the author with objects attributed to the Miami.

The Collectors

Table 3 demonstrates how museums have re-distributed the majority of objects attributed to the Miami far from the Miami homeland of north central Indiana. The vast majority of objects collected among the Indiana Miami comprise the two largest collections of Miami objects in the world, The National Museum of the American Indian and the Cranbrook Institute of Science. Mark Raymond Harrington and Milford Chandler collected these objects among the Indiana Miami community in the 1910s to 1920s. The backgrounds and words of each of these men reveal their motivations and ethics of collecting.

Mark Raymond Harrington for George Gustav Heye

George Gustav Heye was a "fortunate son" of the late nineteenth century. His father, Carl Gustav Heye, had made his fortune in oil and later sold his business to John D. Rockefeller, becoming an executive on the board of the Standard Oil Corporation. George graduated with a degree in electrical engineering from the School of Mines of Columbia College in 1896. His collecting began with his first job overseeing railroad construction in Arizona where he came into close contact with Navajo laborers and purchased a deer hide shirt from a laborer's wife.[340] This encounter, along with his father's own obsessions with collecting, and perhaps his own connections to his German heritage with the influence of German author Karl May's fictitious Old Shatterhand and Winnetou, and, finally, nineteenth century obsessions with "Indians"

[340] See Clara Sue Kidwell, "Every Last Dishcloth: The Prodigious Collecting of George Gustav Heye" Chapter 8 in Shephard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail, eds. Collecting Native America 1870-1960 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1999) 234.

provided fodder for what would later become an almost consuming obsession.[341] Heye would later retire from work to become a fulltime collector. Heye became interested in the growing field of Anthropology, although he had little regard for the actual people he studied and collected from. His inherited and self-made fortunes enabled him to employ several anthropologists to collect items for him.

Mark Raymond Harrington was among the early cohorts of students from the new field of Anthropology spearheaded by Franz Boas at Columbia University. Upon graduating, Harrington had difficulty finding work and through meeting George Gustav Heye, he found someone who could support him financially and professionally:

> I first met George G. Heye in 1908 at Covert's Indian store, which was on Fifth Avenue about opposite the Waldorf Astoria. I had received my Master of Arts in Anthropology at Columbia, and failing the expected job at the American Museum of Natural History, I was working with Mr. Covert.
>
> Among the things I had done for him was a collecting trip – a very successful one – among the Iroquois – and Heye had evidently heard of this, for after some talk he proposed that I go out among the Indian tribes and collect for him. In those days he kept his already large collection in his own private apartment.
>
> He offered me $100 a month, plus all traveling and living expenses in the field; but I held out for $125. "I'm married," I told him.

[341] See Clara Sue Kidwell, "Every Last Dishcloth: The Prodigious Collecting of George Gustav Heye" 232-258. Kidwell makes a convincing conjecture relating to the Heye's involvement with his German heritage and the writings of May.

"And my wife has to live." Finally he agreed, and from that time on I worked for Heye, some twenty years in all except for a few months in the Army in 1918, with gradually increasing salary. Eventually even my wife's expenses were paid, so she could go with me.

Eastern tribes came first. I visited the surviving Indians in Massachusetts, the Mohegan of Connecticut, the Pamunkey and Mataponi in Virginia, the Cherokee in North Carolina, the Catawba in South Carolina and the Seminole in the Everglades in Florida, which was a real adventure…Then came Oklahoma, where I worked with many of the tribes, including Delaware, Shawnee, Sac-and-Fox, Kickapoo, Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa Apache, Chiricahua Apache, Caddo, Wichita, Osage and Kaw, with some visits to the Oklahoma Seminole, also in N.E. corner of the State the Wyandot, Seneca, Miami and Peoria. I even called upon the Kickapoo who had moved down into the Mexican State of Coahuila; the Potawatomi of Kansas, the Muskwaki of Iowa and even the little known Miami of Indiana."[342]

On September 23, 1910, Harrington sent one box and one long package via American Express to Heye from Marion, Indiana.[343] Harrington had collected a total of 49 items from William Peconga, Elmer Winters, John Bundy, Harvey Ward, Susanne Pimyotamah Pope, John Kilsozah, and Kilsoquah (*Kiilhsoohkwa*) and her son Anthony Rivarre; representing half of the current National Museum of the American Indian's

[342] M.R. Harrington, "Memories of My Work with George G. Heye. Date unknown. National Museum of the American Indian Archive. OC 79, Folder 5. Pages 1-2.

[343] "Collection , mainly from the Miamis of Indiana, Collected by M.R. Harrington, Sept, 1910". National Museum of the American Indian Archive, 2A OC 116.

Miami collection of 100 items. Harrington kept copious notes for the items he collected. He brought a notebook with him to the field and later transferred all of this information into more formal catalog sheets. Harrington recorded the person he collected from, an item description in both English and Miami languages, occasional remarks about their use, and finally the price he paid for each item. Harrington's recording adds a tremendous useful amount of information to the items he collected, namely whom he collected from and their descriptions in the Miami language. Some of these items had never been recorded in any other Miami language documentation.[344] As seen in Table 4, the amount of detailed information Harrington provided in his collecting activities is undoubtedly due to his training under Boas.

[344] Daryl Baldwin and David Costa. Personal communication.

Table 4. Miami Words in Mark Raymond Harrington's Inventory[345]

gloss	transcription	speaker	modern spelling
Ribbonwork moccasin tops	makĭsanakan	William Pecongah	*mahkisinaakani*
Two wooden spoons	kokanĭ	William Pecongah	*kookani*
Woman's skirt-robe	kotĕm	Harvey Ward	*akooteme*
Woman's leggings	tasäm	Harvey Ward	*ataahseme*
Silver brooch	colĭakĭ	Harvey Ward	*šooliaaki*
Wooden bowl	tawanlakan	Susanne Pope	*tawaani alaakani*
Silver brooch	cólĭakĭ	Susanne Pope	*šooliaaki*
Cradle board	tĭkĭnaga	Susanne Pope	*tihkinaakani*
Woman's waist	mĕtĕms napĭnakan	Susanne Pope	*mitemhsa naapinaakani*
Woman's robe	kolĕm	Susanne Pope	*ahkoleeme*
Woman's skirt robe	kotĕm	Susanne Pope	*akooteeme*
Woman's leggings	tasäm	Susanne Pope	*ataahseme*
Belt ornaments	colĭapka ēgadowats mĕtĕmsĕ	Susanne Pope	??
Man's leggings	tasäm	Susanne Pope	*ataahseme*
Large wooden bowl	tawanlakan	Susanne Pope	*ataahseme*
Small wooden dice bowl	tawanalakans	Susanne Pope	*tawaani alaakanhsi*
Silver crescents	wakalīnĭkīng'	John Kilsozah	*waakalinikinki* (?)
Little wooden spoon	tawankokans	John Kilsozah	*tawaani kookanhsi*
Ear pendent, silver	cīpītĕma	John Kilsozah	*ašiipiteme*
Set dice (plum stones)	zĕnzĕnmĭnĭk	Kĭlsokwa and Son	*seenseeminiiki*
Brooch	cólĭakĭ	Kĭlsokwa and Son	*šooliaaki* (?)
Bark basket for	wĭpcĭ nagan	Kĭlsokwa	*wiiphšinaakani*

[345] "Collection , mainly from the Miamis of Indiana, Collected by M.R. Harrington, Sept, 1910". National Museum of the American Indian Archive, 2A OC 116. David Costa provided the modern spelling for this chart.

Bark basket for storing maple sugar	wĭpcĭ nagan	Kĭlsokwa and Son	*wiiphšinaakani* (?)
bark sap tub for gathering	wĭpcĭ nagan	Kĭlsokwa and Son	*wiiphšinaakani* (?)

Harrington's collecting among the Indiana Miami came only thirteen years after the termination of the Indiana Miami's government to government relationship in 1897. At the time of Harrington's "expedition" Miami landholdings had significantly dwindled. By 1903, only fifty-eight of the original 5,468.44 acres of the Meshingomesia Reservation remained in Miami hands.[346] The landholdings of the Godfroy and Bundy families[347] nearby had shrunk dramatically from 2,192 acres in 1880, to 907 acres in 1900, and 659 acres in 1910.[348] This dramatic loss of land created a shift in the social and economic fabric of the Miami, with many migrating to the nearby towns of Peru, Marion, Wabash, Huntington, and Fort Wayne in search of needed jobs to support their families.

Milford Chandler

During the1920s amateur anthropologist and collector Milford G. Chandler frequently traveled to north-central Indiana to collect the numerous items of ribbonwork, ceremonial, and utilitarian objects held by the Indiana Miami to support his quest to amass Great Lakes Indian art. Chandler was an avid collector of "Indian relics" and from his home in Chicago traveled to as many Indian communities as he could within a 400-mile radius. Chandler's reasoning behind this was mostly financial, since

[346] Raftert, 158.

[347] The Pimyotamah and Mongosa families never received reserve land, instead they sought refuge on the Godfroy reserve lands, the loss of Godfroy reserve lands also affected these families.

[348] Rafert, 197

travel costs were a large portion of his collecting costs that were later reflected in the prices he would ask from various museums for his collection. The Indiana Miami community was within this 400-mile radius of Chicago. Years later, Chandler recollected about his "diversion":

> Having spent so much time with Indians in Chicago, I think I got an insight into their psychology and their fondness for humor – it doesn't have to be elaborate or very deep but they're ready to laugh usually at any little attempt to be funny. It's hard to say what it's due. They're interesting, childlike in some ways, yet if you get back into their thoughts, there's a certain amount of philosophy which is different from ours. I think I've spent some of the happiest times of my life with them. It's been pleasant and a very good diversion from engineering.
>
> Things I've collected have been mainly heirlooms. And I can't say I've ever found them eager to sell such things…I have long been criticized for taking these things from Indians – Indians have so little left but by doing it I feel I have preserved vestiges of their old culture. I think it's worthwhile. And Indians can come to these institutions and learn about them if they want to but most of them are not interested. They talk about exploitation but I think in this sense it has been well worthwhile.[349]

While Chandler's collecting and interaction with Indigenous Great Lakes communities was a "very good diversion", he was quite driven in his need to collect objects and

[349] Milford Chandler Interveiw. Cranbrook Institute of Science. Tape 1 side 2 page 5

carefully rationalized his ethics of collecting, claiming he was rescuing these objects from the very people who had cared for them:

> …I've been in the habit of going wherever I thought there was an Indian community and just going there I wouldn't stop the agent or for anybody, this is America. The Indians live over there and I want to see them and I'm going. I'll deal with them if there's a chance I can get something I want.[350]

For Chandler, getting something he wanted could not have come at a more opportune time, since the Indiana Miami found themselves struggling to hold onto their remaining reserve lands and maintain tribal sovereignty.

The Godfroy and Bundy family landholdings shrank by nearly half again during the decade following Harrington's expedition to 449 acres in 1920, a few years before Chandler's initial visit. The Indiana Miami found themselves struggling to retain their lands and were forced to seek new situations in nearby cities. As Chapter Four demonstrates, faced with these challenges, the Indiana Miami began to reorganize and mobilize; shaping their visibility to the public to achieve the re-acknowledgement of their status in national and local political arenas. Although literally erased from the map of Indian Country, it is perhaps with this renewed sense of direction for the Indiana Miami that Chandler became aware of their presence. Chandler's collection process leaves little information in regard to their provenance. However, he did often record which of the Miami families he purchased items from and sometimes the individual

[350] Richard N. Bowen, *Milford G. Chandler Interviews, September 14-29, 1971*. Transcribed from Tape 2, page 22. Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. Archives.

person. The years of these acquisitions were never recorded but his forays to the areas around Peru, Peoria, and Wabash, Indiana were during the mid-1920s.

Chandler became acquainted with a number of Miami from the areas of Peru and Wabash and this is reflected by his collections. Within these areas were mainly the families of Godfroy, Mongosa, Bundy, and Meshingomesia. In an interview with Chandler in 1971, he recalled purchasing a significant number of objects from a Peconga, of the Meshingomesia family. His recollections demonstrate his insatiable thirst for collecting and the thrill he experienced by manipulating Miami misfortune.

> This is Miami appliqué…I think it's the finest in existence, and I think the man who owned it down there, was name, Pekonga. I remember meeting him.
>
> (This came from Indiana?) It may have, I think outside of Peru, there was town, may have been Wabash…a town in that area. There were three settlements, and one called Peoria, which was near Peru and then a small group…I think they lived at Wabash, then there was another group near Huntington…He owned that piece and most of the ribbonwork. He had a trunk, some ancestor made these things, and they had been kept in a trunk for some reason, for many, many years. He didn't know how long…well, he sent for me, so I think he wanted to sell them, but he did charge a good price…I've forgotten the price, and he, one reason he did sell them, was that he'd had an inlaid tomahawk, like the one I furnished

here, and somebody had stolen that. I think he was afraid that the other pieces would be stolen.

(Did he know the, had any history of this? Who make it and how long ago and…?) He didn't seem to know, no, and he certainly didn't give me the information.

(Were there other pieces that went along with that?) Yes the leggings, the woman's leggings and the man's leggings, and …and I think there were a couple more blankets in the set and ah, a necklace of beads, which I think Richard (Porht) has…I think I kept a waist in bad condition, a silk waist, falling apart, and it had a fringe at the bottom of the cape, made up of ear bobs and it was loaded with broaches. Just clustered as thickly as they could be put on it. And I had the garment made over by a Potawatomi woman and I think she didn't put all the broaches back, I have a few of the broaches and some of the ear bobs, which she just thought were too many.[351]

Chandler also purchased several item from *Pimweeyoteema*, Camillus Bundy. Chandler recalled zealously how he had purchased and coveted the wampum belt from Bundy:

…that is the old fine wampum. So many of the belts were made of a coarser, cheaper variety. I have an idea this belonged to the husband of Frances Slocum because I got this from a descendent. His name was The Blind Man, no, The Deaf Man…Chi-chi-BING-gway, I believe was his

[351] Bowen, *Milford G. Chandler Interviews,* Tape 4, pages 8-11.

Miami name, and Frances Slocum, I guess you remember, was the lost sister of Wyoming, this captive girl, who spent so much of her life among the Miamis.

(And then, this would have been collected then in Indiana?)

Yes, Yeah. Where, near Peru, there's a settlement called, Peoria, where there're a few Miami families still living. The in the town of Peru are a few families.

(Would, did you experience any difficulty in getting this particular specimen?)

I did but not ah, the type of difficulty you might anticipate. This descendent of Frances Slocum, ah, I kept inquiring for more things and most of what I got from him was um, ah, imported cutlery from England, and I kept asking him, "Don't you have anything of beads, especially those real coarse beads." And he finally said, well on one occasion, "I have a little hide-covered box, but it's in my daughter's room and when she went for a visit to Canada she locked that door down." Well, I said to him, "How long will she be gone?" "Oh," he said, "probably not more than a month." So, about a month later I went down there and asked him if she'd returned, "Yes. She's back," and he got the box out of one of these little hide-covered trunks and I asked him, I just peeked in it. Saw this and a lot of trade silk, gorgeous armbands and so forth. I asked him his price, which I've forgotten, but I know it wasn't excessive and I paid it. And within a quarter mile of his home, there was a lot of underbrush.

Of course I hurried right over there and since I was out of sight of his cabin, I opened the box and feasted on the contents. Oh my, what a treasure-trove that was.

(…and this wampum belt was in that…?)

In there. Now there was a good deal or red paint on it when I collected it, but I suppose in the intervening years its been rubbed and lost that, but it is what is often called a War Belt and ah, Francis Slocum's husband was supposed to have been a War Chief of the Miami.

(So you think this might have come all the way, down through the family from that time?)

I think so. Yeah.[352]

At the time Milford "feasted" upon his coveted "treasure trove", Bundy was struggling to retain his inherited reserve lands. Not long after Chandler's visit, the Aetna Life Insurance Company foreclosed upon Bundy's property. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Bundy was kicked out of his home and lived in a tent at his family's cemetery as a squatter. Bundy was later forcibly removed by the local sheriff and would spend the rest of his life living with his son David Bundy and his family in Wabash until his death in 1935. While not "eager to sell such things", these Miami families found selling to collectors a necessity to support broader community efforts and their family's day-to-day survival. Miami people didn't sell these items because they wanted to, they sold them because they *had* to. Chandler's poor record keeping shows little

[352] Bowen, *Milford G. Chandler Interviews,* Tape 4, pages 29-31

regard to the connections of the objects to the contemporary Miami people. His only concern was in acquiring the objects of his desires in order to "preserve" them to become a part of universal knowledge. The majority of Chandler's collections among these families currently reside at the Cranbrook Institute of Science, in addition to the Detroit Institute of Arts, and the Milwaukee Public Museum.

Historiography and Interpretations

The removal of objects from the Miami community is among the many other removals the Miami people have endured since American colonization. While much of the historiography of the Miami only focuses upon the removal of 1846, which removed half of our relatives to Kansas and then to Indian Territory in 1867, those who remained in the homeland have endured other forms of removal within the Miami homeland. The end of the trust period on Meshingomesia Reservation allotments in 1881 and the revocation of federal acknowledgement in 1897 created another removal of the Miami from their reserve lands to nearby towns and to other larger cities beyond. Removal has not only affected living Miami, but has also affected the dead. As mentioned in Chapter One, in the 1960s, the Army Corps of Engineers constructed a dam that flooded much of the old Miami reserve lands along the Mississinewa River. While Miami people were no longer living on these lands at the time, our ancestors continued to rest in two cemeteries, the Bundy/Slocum Cemetery and the Wacoon Cemetery, that were slated for removal to new locations. Miami people oversaw the disinterment of their relatives and their relocation. The removal of objects is no different from these other forms of removal; they are the removal of our relatives, parts of our families.

Much of the interpretation of these objects within Miami historiography has been assigned by non-Miami as demonstrative of acculturation and as static objects serving as universal representations of the Miami. Since the majority of Miami objects within the collections of museums consist of those fabricated in the nineteenth century, the interpretation of these objects remains a historical interpretation. Much focus has been upon Miami ribbonwork clothing as exemplary and representative of not only Miami ingenuity, but as representative of the acculturation undergone within Great Lakes American Indian communities as a result of the Fur Trade Era and increased influx of Euro-American material goods and wealth.[353] Furthermore, these objects are treated as art/artifacts that further divest them of their continued significance to their community of origin.

Within Miami historiography, these objects have been used as supporting evidence for the historian's argument. This has proven problematic in certain instances, for example, in Stewart Rafert's work *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994*, Rafert uses Miami objects as static objects that only illustrate the lives of the Miami at the time these objects were produced; assigning static meaning. Meanings and interpretations have been assigned to objects, sometimes without any evidence such as referring to the previously mentioned Miami wampum belt as being "…green, representing the Wabash River".[354]

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[353] For example, see David W. Penney, *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1997). Susan Sleeper Smith, Indian Women and French Men. Jim Buss, "The Found and Left Her an Indian."…

[354] Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1995* (Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 39. A close examination of the wampum belt reveals that it is not green, but shades of purple which is the color exhibited by the Quahog shell harvested along the shores of Southern New England. This was the common shell used to fabricate purple wampum beads.

Figure 40. "Miami moccasins. Wabash, Indiana, 1820-1840. L 9 7/8 in, W 53 1/8 in. Buckskin, silk ribbon, glass beads, porcupine quills CIS 2207. Provenance: purchased from a descendent of Meshinga Mezhas of Wabash, Indiana by Milford Chandler. References: Walker Art Center and Minneapolis Institute of Arts 1972, cat. No. 326; Feder 1965b, pl. no. 53, ill." As quoted in David W. Penney, *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler Port Collection,* (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1992), 94-95

Figure 41. "Miami skirt. Indiana, 1820-1840. L 55 1/2 in, W 53 1/8 in. Wool fabric, silver brooches, silk ribbon CIS 2221. Provenance: collected at Peoria, Indiana by Milford Chandler. Reference: Flint Institute of Arts 1973, no. 131, ill." As quoted in David W. Penney, *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler Port Collection,* (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1992), 89

The interpretation and representation of Miami objects are furthermore divested of their connections to actual Miami people and families, often labeled as simply Miami, and assigning a date to their manufacture, or occasionally accompanied by the acquisition date. Little has been talked about in regards to the provenance of these objects and their connections to the contemporary Miami people. While the provenance of the objects in figure 40 and figure 41 are acknowledged, assigning time periods to their construction fixes the items within this time. These two objects continuously appear in reference to Miami history and American Indian art and have not only become representative of Miami ribbonwork and material culture of the nineteenth century, but have come to stand in as definitive material representations of the Miami.[355]

Sometimes provenance is acknowledged, but simultaneously distances the object from the contemporary Miami community. This continues through museum exhibits, for example, while the author visited the Detroit Institute of Arts in 2008, the Miami pipe[356] sold by Camillus Bundy, whose story is told in Chapter One, was on display. The interpretive panel read as follows: "Smoking Pipes: All of the pipes seen here were made for the same purpose: smoking tobacco to accompany prayer…Notice

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[355] These include, but are not limited to the following examples:

[356] Milford G. Chandler, "The Miami War Pipe", Cranbrook Institute of Science Archives, date unknown. For a published account see Milford G. Chandler, "The Miami War Pipe", in David W. Penney, Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1997), 295-298. It is unclear were the term "war pipe" is derived from since there is no mention of this pipe being related to war in anyway. Perhaps Chandler inferred this conclusion since it was once part of a bundle and that *oonsaašinihkwa*'s father *šiipaakana* was the War Chief for the Miami in the early 19th century prior to *Palaanswa*, Frances Godfroy. A similar story was also relayed to local Miami county amateur historian Hal C. Phelps by Bundy on September 6, 1930. There is no mention of the pipe in this story, but the interaction between the two young men and the elder man who is described as an "Old Witch" is nearly identical. In this version of the *aacimooni*, the young hunter is distraught by an abusive wife and leaves home to wander the woods and kills a deer on two different occasions and offers them to the "Old Witch" who bestows upon him the knowledge and power to fly. Hal C. Phelps Papers, Miami County Museum, 470.

the small, red pipe with the delicate human face. This pipe was passed down among several generations of individuals from the Miami Nation, who *lived* in present day Indiana."[357] While this interpretation alludes to the provenance of the pipe, it simultaneously describes the Miami people as extinct: extinguishing any continued connection between the pipe and the contemporary Miami people.

Within this type of scholarship and museum display we can see what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls the "ethnographization" of objects. Only those objects that fit into ideas of "exceptional" and "authentic" have further detached the viewer and the people from whom these objects originate. Objects that do not fall within these categories are either disregarded for their inauthentic qualities, aesthetic, and materials and are therefore not representative of the history and authenticity of the Miami people. The interrogation of this process has peeled away examples of these layers. I now turn to forging a *myaamia* approach that looks at a selection of these objects individually and holistically so that they may inform the interpretation and display of these objects as well as elucidating their many layers that remain important to the Miami to aid in community revitalization.

Forging a *myaamia* Approach: Landscape, Kinship, and Language

Re-establishing relationships through a myaamia approach requires extensive research of the provenance of objects that extends beyond the usual cursory reference to the place and occasional person. As mentioned earlier, these have often been overlooked or oversimplified by other researchers. Many objects have been completely

[357] Detroit Institute of Arts, Interpretive Panel. Visited June 2008. Emphasis mine.

disregarded by historians and art historians since they do not exemplify particular aesthetic or authentic qualities.

The process involves listening to each and every object. With hundreds of objects in various museums, a thorough re-reading, or in our case re-listening, is limited to a selection of objects. However, the objects examined, or listened to, in the remainder of this chapter provide a powerful retelling of their stories and in some cases, a telling that has been silenced by the lack of acknowledgement by historians and museums alike.

Forging a *myaamia* approach is the reestablishment of relationships. To conceptualize this approach, I turn to *myaamiaataweenki* – the Miami language. First, I use the phrase *peehsintaawiakinciki kiilaahkwaliaminicki* – we listen to what they tell us. We listen to the stories they have to say about landscape and kinship. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, relatedness, or kinship, is another important layer to the Miami idea of landscape and cultural sovereignty. The second phrase or concept is – *eeweemitiiyaanki* - literally "we are related to one another", in reference to contemporary Miami kinship identities. The Miami language is used as means of reassigning the names of these objects. Language binds the *myaamia* idea of landscape and kinship to reclaim and continue the relationships of the people, the land, and the objects.

As mentioned earlier, being a good relative is a necessary aspect of being *nahi-mihtohseeniaki*. Kinship within the Indiana Miami community is one way that defines the individual's identity(ies) within the community. Most Miami know their genealogies and kinship relations going back several centuries and whenever a Miami

person meets another Miami person he or she may not know, they are asked: Who's your family, who's your people? Knowing one's kinship relations to the rest of the community, that person can then be instantly placed within the communal web of relationships to see just how they are related to one another. As will be demonstrated through researching the provenance of objects, kinship identity is intricately tied to the objects.

Following removal, the Miami who remained in Indiana continued to live in large extended family groups, indeed as seen in the testimonials in Chapter Three, the Miami saw themselves as living in such as opposed to bands. Over time, these family groups began to coalesce into the contemporary family groups, often called clans within the community. These families are as follows: *mihšiinkoomišaki* (Meshingomesia), *palaanswaki* (Godfroy), *šiipaakanaki* (Bundy), *maankaansaki* (Mongosa), *pimweeyotamaki* (Pimyotamah), *pinšiwaki* (Richardville), and *toopiaki* (LaFontaine).

All of these families came to receive their names based upon a head of the family. Some names have a Miami origin, such as Meshingomesia, Mongosa and Pimyotamah, while Godfroy, Bundy (also spelled Bondy), Richardville, and LaFontaine reflect the intermarriage of Miami women with French traders during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although intermarriage between the families following removal has resulted in a complex web of interrelationships among the families, most contemporary Indiana Miami continue to identify only with one family group while continuing to know their family's historic relationships with other families. Following removal, self-government within the Indiana community functioned within these semi-autonomous family groups. The Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana (MNI) gradually

became accepted as the official governmental entity and it is with representatives from each of these families that comprise the contemporary MNI tribal council. Much of the historiography on the Indiana Miami has focused upon individuals, usually those in leadership roles and their families, such as the Godfroy, Bundy, and Meshingomesia. This historiography has led to a misinterpretation of the importance and roles of other families and individuals within the Indiana Miami community.

Maankaansaki/Pimweeyotamaki

Figure 42 and **Figure 43**. Woman's silver ornaments. National Museum of the American Indian.

According to Harrington's original notes, Susan Pimyotamah Pope described figures 42 and 43 as *colĭapka ēgadowats mĕtĕmsĕ*. The translation of these terms has proven difficult even for the seasoned Miami linguist.[358] It is clear however that the final portion is that of *mitemhsa,* meaning 'woman'. The first portion appears to be connected

[358] David Cost is unclear as to what the first two portions exactly are. Personal communication.

to *šoolia*, which means the material of silver in animate form. While it is difficult to know how these were actually used at the time they were made, probably by Miami women retrofitting trade silver brooches, the name does reveal that these are important ornaments used and worn only by women.

Several other items from Pope provide important representation of the Mongosa/Pimyotamah family who have often been overlooked in the historiography of the Miami. The Mongosa[359] family are descended from Chief Whitewolf. Through intricate intermarriage, the Mongosas became intertwined with the Pimyotamah family and Godfroy family as well. Among the last generation of fluent Miami speakers in the Indiana Miami community were the husband and wife of Joseph Mongosa and Eclistia Pimyotamah Mongosa. In contrast to nearly all of the other Miami families who remained in Indiana, the Mongosa and Pimyotamah families were never able to reserve lands around the time of removal and relied upon the generosity and sizeable reserves of the Godfroy family to remain in Indiana. The Mongosa's were integral to the formation and continuation of the Mu-koons-kwa Pageant Company examined in Chapter Four. Their standing within the community has been perhaps due to their cultural conservatism and members of the Mongosa/Pimyotamah family continue to contribute in meaningful and important ways to the cultural revitalization of the Indiana Miami community.

Susanne Pope was a member of the Pimyotamah family, her father was *Pimweeyoteema*[360], the late nineteenth century Miami leader who signed the 1854

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[359] *Maankaansa.* Literally meaning 'Little Loon'.

[360] This is the spelling in the modern orthography. It is generally spelled among the Miami as Pimyotamah. Meaning 'the sound of something flying past'.

Treaty. Following removal, several Miami leaders in Indiana quickly became members of the Baptist Church, eventually becoming preachers among the community whose sermons were in the Miami language. *Pimweeyoteema* was among Miami leaders such as Meshingomesia, *Teekwaakia* (Jean Baptiste Brouillette), and *Waapapita* (Peter Bondy) that became Baptist preachers. *Pimweeyoteema*'s church would come to be called "Hard Shell Baptist Church" and took place in his house built upon the southeastern portion of the Onsandiah Reserve just south of Peru. While Pimyotamah had converted to Christianity, this did not mean that he had given up his leadership position within the community nor necessarily Miami cultural and spiritual practices.

The association of spiritual power and knowledge associated with one's dress is reflected in the vast array of men's and women's clothing and associated items collected from Pope. Clarence Godfroy relayed a story about Pimyotamah that sheds light upon this assertion. Godfroy's story tells of an instance when two young Miami men were scared by a bear while walking along the Mississinewa River:

> …That's no bear for there aren't any here anymore. I know who it is. It is old Man Pym-way-to-ma. I have been told he is a witch and since we are near where he lives he must be the bear. He heard us coming and wants to scare us.[361]

[361] Chief Clarence Godfroy, "Attempting to Discover a Witch", Miami Indian Stories (Light and Life Press: Winona Lake, Indiana. 1961) 73-75

Figure 44. *pintaalina* "Witchbag" attributed to being the "property of Susanah Pymotomony. A daughter of Rev. Peter Pymotomony. Butler TP. Miami Co. Ind." Miami County Museum, 162-3. Approximately 10" x 10"

The presence of "witches" in many American Indian societies is well attested.[362] While the presence of people who were able to tap into spiritual powers existed, the term

[362] See Martha Royce Blaine, "They Say He Was Witched". American Indian Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Autumn, 2000), pp. 615-634; Matthew Dennis "American Indians, Witchcraft, and Witch-Hunting" Magazine of History, Vol. 17, No. 4, Witchcraft (Jul., 2003), pp. 21-23; George S. Snyderman "Witches, Witchcraft, and Allegany Seneca Medicine", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 127, No. 4 (1983), pp. 263-277; and George and Louse Spindler. Dreamers with Power: The Menominee (Waveland Press: Illinois, 1984). Spindler says that among the Menominee, whom they did their field work with in the mid twentieth century, old people were feared for being witches. They quote a Menominee traditionalist as saying "My father used to tell us we were supposed to always help out old people and do all we can and never make a fuss, because some day you might come across some old person who might have that bag (witch bag). 87.

"witch" only came into use by the Miami as a close approximation to the use of those powers by their own people. While several other stories referring to "witches" exist in both written and oral forms in the Miami community, a person termed a "witch" in English would be referred to as *manetoowita* – he or she has spiritual power.[363] This term is not necessarily a cognate to "witch", but since medicines used by someone with spiritual power could be used in various "good" and "bad" ways this term came to be used among the Miami. The medicines used by a person with such power would be stored in a *pintaalina* as seen in figure 44.

The presence of stories relating to the *pintaalina* reveal a much more complex religious and spiritual life among the Indiana Miami following removal. The conversion of Miami leaders to Christianity and their assuming of roles as Baptist preachers did not necessarily mean they had eschewed existing Miami spiritual beliefs and practices, but that a synergism between the two may have existed where leaders continued to tap into existing practices while also tapping into the potential that newer forms such as Christianity may have held. The *pinaalinta* tells a story of the continuation of these beliefs that were known only internally among the Miami community while simultaneously projecting a complete shift to Christian and Euro-American values to their increasingly populous and close Euro-American neighbors.

[363] mänitowia'ni I am a wizard, witch, sorcerer, medicine man (gat). Daryl Baldwin, Personal Communication.

Palaanswaki

Figure 45. *Waapanakikaapwa ateehtoleni*. Cranbrook Institute of Science. 2220.

As per common museum practices, objects are assigned numbers so they may be easily found within its collections. In the collections of the Cranbrook Institute, this "object" is listed as Catalog Number 2220, Collected in Peoria, Indiana from the Godfroy Family. This object simply becomes a number and one among many. It is with little doubt that an object such as this would not be included in a monograph of Great Lakes American Indian art. Furthermore, based upon the museum catalog, little can be concluded of the provenance other than being collected from the Godfroy family in the 1920s. The materials are not of "sacred" eagle or hawk feathers, but wild turkey wing feathers. The band that holds them is not covered in spectacular ribbonwork nor is it encrusted with silver washer broaches. It is a simply woven fabric that has been cut and the edges frayed.

To some, this "object" may tell a story of a people who have lost their identity, who no longer know "traditional" techniques or designs that make them "authentically" Miami. In this perspective, it would serve as evidence of Miami acculturation and assimilation that further supports Euro-American assumptions that the "real" Miami had all but disappeared in the early twentieth century. Listening to the object reveals quite

the contrary. In the Miami language, this would be his or her headdress of feathers, *ahsawaankatiaki atehtoleeni,* but *aweena ahteetoleni* –who's headdress - is it? Although among the contemporary Godfroy family the knowledge about this specific *ateehtoleeni* may be unknown, the Godfroy's have maintained a significant photographic archive that gives important clues as to whom it belonged and how it was used.

Figure 46. Close-up of Waapinaakikaapwa (Gabriel Godfroy) and daughter Lillian at Battle of Tippecanoe Memorial Celebration, 1910, Battleground, Indiana.

In figure 46 we see that Object number 2220 is *waapanakikaapwa ahsawaankatiaki ateehtoleni*, Gabriel Godfroy's headdress of feathers.

Godfroy's headdress tells several stories. *Waapankikaapwa* was an important and influential Miami leader in the Peru area during much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, Godfroy's *ateehtoleni* was influenced by older forms of Algonquian headdresses and his participation in Wild West shows. It reveals the tensions and contradictions of Euro-American expectations of authenticity and the struggles to retain Miami conceptions of identity and community. *Waapinaakikaapwa* attempted to navigate through these to retain Miami lands and treaty rights in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Waapanakikaapwa ahsawaankatiaki atehtoleni serves as a significant symbol in the history of the struggles of the Indiana Miami. Upon his death, Godfroy had retained only a few acres he had inherited from his father. His holdings were then divided unto his heirs who also found it extremely difficult to maintain their ownership. Chapter Six describes the Godfroy family's battle with the Indian legal system in much further detail, however it was under these circumstances that *waapanakikaapwa ahsawaankatiaki atehtoleni* was sold to Chandler. *waapanakikaapwa ahsawaankatiaki atehtoleni* reminds the Indiana Miami of the sacrifices *waapinaakiikaapwa* made for his people – of what it takes to be a *nahi-mihtohseenia*.

Mihšiinkoomišaki

Pwaahkanaki, pipes are among the most represented objects attributed to the Miami and are also among those items in which non-Miami have re-presented the significance of these objects through their own perspectives back to the Miami people. Within the collections of the Cranbrook Institute of Science is item "number 2202,

Miami tomahawk, with silver bands and inlay. Treaty of Greenville presentation." It was purchased near Kokomo, Indiana with remarks "from family of Meshinga Mezhas. Said to be Meshinga Mezhas (From Peconza, originally property of Meshinga Mezhas)."[364] Not only having a long history, being nearly 130 years old at the time of collecting, this pipe has a quite a history of meaning that has been attached to it since collected. This history has assigned it significant meaning far removed from that of its meaning for the Miami people.

Figure 47. *mihtohseenia apwaahkani.* Cranbrook Institute of Science, 2202

In 1945, the Cranbrook Institute of Science loaned *their* "Greenville Tomahawk" to the Ohio State Museum for the Treaty of Greenville Sesquicentennial celebration in Greenville, Ohio.[365] While several Indigenous people were invited to participate in this event, it was essentially a celebration of United States imperial expansionism. The pipe tomahawk would become appropriated within this context and serve as a means of what Smith remarks as the "re-presentation" of objects through the eyes of the colonizer back to the colonized. The pipe was re-presented as "one of

[364] Cranbrook Institute of Science. c.1950 Museum Catalog.

[365] Letter, Robert T. Hatt, Cranbrook Institute of Science Director to James H. Rodibaugh, Ohio State Museum, July 14, 1945. Cranbrook Institute of Science Archives. 2202.

several presented by the United States Government, August 3, 1975, to Chiefs of twelve Indian tribes on the occasion of the signing of the Treaty of Greenville. By the treaty much of Ohio and parts of Michigan, Indiana and Illinois were relinquished by the Indians."[366] Through this re-presentation of the pipe, it serves as a symbol of United States appropriation of Indigenous lands and the celebration of Euro-American expansionism. Chandler had purchased the pipe from a member of the Peconga family, not in Kokomo, but in the town of Miami, about ten miles north of Kokomo, who had said it had been the property of his ancestor Meshingomesia. Much of the discourse from museum curators surrounding this statement has focused upon the fact that Meshingomesia would have been only fourteen years old at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Greenville.[367] While this fact may be correct, it does not discount the fact that had been in the possession of the Miami since the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. Meshingomesia's father, *Mihtohseenia*, was present at the treaty negotiations, however he did not sign the treaty, perhaps in protest. *Mihtohseenia* was an important Miami leader of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and was certainly among the Miami contingent present at the treaty. As an *akima*, a recognized village chief, *Mihtohseenia* would have been one of the recipients of these pipes. Chandler collected a similar pipe from Camillus Bundy, which was attributed to having been presented to his ancestor *šiipaakana*, who also did not sign the treaty, but was a recognized *eeteehsia*, war leader.

The layers of meaning ascribed to this pipe in regards to its association

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[366] Interpretive Panel, date unknown. Cranbrook Institute of Science Archives, 2202.

[367] See Robert Hatt letter to James H. Rodabaugh, July 14, 1945. Cranbrook Institute of Science Archives.

with the Treaty of Greenville has been through the perspective of the colonizer. These layers have served to silence the stories and meanings from a Miami perspective. Through the colonial perspective, the Treaty of Greenville set the precedence of the fledgling United States for dealing with Indigenous nations to facilitate imperial expansionism through the guise of peace and fairness. An alternative to this is that the pipes is the physical manifestation of the initial and foundational nation-to-nation relationship of the Miami Nation and the United States. Following the Treaty of Greenville and subsequent treaties, the Miami continued to acknowledge the relationship created and reaffirmed with the United States through the treaty process. The pipe tells us of the continuing responsibility the United States has toward the Miami through this relationship, one that continues to fail to be recognized on the part of the United States. Ironically, only five years prior to the Treaty of Greenville Sesquicentennial Celebration in 1945, Frank Marks, Ko-a-shin-wah a Miami would evoke that responsibility of the United States toward the protection of their inherent rights in the case of *United States v. Brooks D.C. Ind. (1940)*. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, Marks contended that as a Miami Indian and per the Treaty of Greenville, the State of Indiana did not have jurisdiction over him and that the Miami had retained their hunting and fishing rights.

This *pwaahkani* is a tangible reminder of the inherent and reserved rights the Indiana Miami continue to possess and of the United States' continued responsibility to acknowledge and protect those rights. The *pwaahkani* is as powerful as the Treaty of Greenville itself and continues to tell the story of that initial relationship guaranteeing

these rights.

šiipaakanaki

The wampum belt mentioned earlier in the chapter by Milford Chandler is the only wampum belt in existence linked to the Miami people. In the Miami language, it is called *kiilaahkwaakani*, literally meaning 'speaking instrument'. As Chandler mentioned, the *kiilaahkwaani* is covered in *alemooni* – red ochre – a substance associated with warfare among the Miami and is alluded to in Miami *aalhsoohkana*, such as its use by *eecipoonkwia* to escape.[368] The *kiilaahkwaakani* was purchased from *Pimweeyoteema*, Camillus Bundy, who inherited a tremendous amount of knowledge and materials from his mother, *oonsaahšinihkwa* whose father *šiipaakana* was an *eeteehsia*. His name may have been associated with warfare itself, since *šiip-* means to break all the way through something, *-ikana* is the animate form of instrument; Awl. *šiipaakana* had a considerable amount of associated spiritual power and a vast knowledge of medicines in regards to warfare.[369] The *kiilaahkwaakani* is undoubtedly associated with him. Perhaps the *kiilaahkwaakani* was used by *šiipaakana* to speak to individuals, villages, and tribes to join him in war parties against enemies, particularly the Americans. The *kiilaahkwaakani* is made of small wampum shell beads, with the purple beads from the quahog shell originally harvested from the coast of southern New England forming the background. Contrasting diamonds are formed by white shells. The warp and weft are more than likely *ahsapiihkwi* – dog bane cordage, with the edge binding of *moohswaya* – deerskin - all materials easily gathered in *myaamionki*. A

[368] See Snapping Turtle Goes to War, Costa.

[369] The Story of Awl, Costa. Hal C. Phelps papers, Camillus Bundy interviews. The Wabash County Historical Society, located in Wabash, Indiana also has a cast iron mortar and pestle attributed to having been used by *šiipaakana* for making medicines.

Miami woman, perhaps *Mahkoonsahkwa*, the wife of *šiipaakana* would have harvested the *ahsapa* in the late summer or early fall probably in the *mahkoteewa* – prairies – near their home along the *nimacihsinwi siipiiwi* of *myaamionki*. *Mahkoonsahkwa* pulled apart the stalk of the *ahsapa* plant exposing the thread like inner layers and twisted them together to make the *ahsapiihkwi*. The *moohswayipiihkwi* – deer skin thong – used as the edge binding was perhaps a deer killed by *šiipaakana*, who then brought the deer home. Upon closer inspection, one side of the belt has been unraveled and several rows of beads removed. Based upon measuring the remaining cordage and binding, another white diamond probably existing in this area. Perhaps the *kiilaahkwaakani* no longer served its initial purpose and parts were reused for other ceremonial functions or personal adornment.

Figure 48. *kiilaahkwaakani*. Cranbrook Institute of Science.

Figure 49. A close up of the *kilaahkwaakani* reveals its construction of *ahsapiihkwi* and *moohsayipiihkwi.*

The *pwaahkana* mentioned in Chapter One directly ties the descendents of *šiipaakana* and *Mahkoonsahkwa* to a particular place within the *myaamia* landscape – *aašipehkwa waawaalici.* Their ancestor *lamihkikamwa* had shown the proper respect to the elder he met in the woods upon killing the deer. It was here that was given the opportunity to acquire spiritual power from the elder man for acting in the proper manner toward him as a *nahi-mihtohseenia*.

pinšiwaki / toopiaki

Unfortunately, the objects attributed with the Richardville and LaFontaine families of the Indiana Miami are not as numerous as those of other families. However, two important historical sites in Indiana contain a significant number of objects attributed to these two families, the Forks of the Wabash located near Huntington,

Indiana and The Richardville House located near Fort Wayne, Indiana. These two houses in themselves are significant "objects" of Miami history in that these were inhabited and used by the descendents of *pinšiwa* and *toopia* for a significant time. The house at the Forks of the Wabash continued to be inhabited by the descendents of these families well into the mid twentieth century. Both structures currently serve as museums interpreting Miami life in the early nineteenth century, with Miami people very much involved in this interpretation. In the Miami language, a frame house such as the LaFontaine House is called *peepakakihšikaani* – instrument made of flat board. In this sense, these two houses that currently serve as museums are also objects of importance to these two families. The Richardville and Lafontaine families also had strong kinship ties with *kiilhsoohkwa,* a Miami woman who was reportedly over one hundred years old in 1910, when Mark Raymond Harrington visited her at her home in Roanoke, Indiana to collect objects.

Figure 50. *Kiilhsoohkwa* and her son *Waapimaankwa*, Anthony Rivarre. Photo taken by Harrington at Roanoke, Indiana in 1910. Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian.

Kiilhsoohkwa was born around 1810, the daughter of *Waakihšinka* and *Nawaakamohkwa. Waakihšinka* was the son of the *myaamia eeteehsia*, *Mihšikinaahkwa*, also known as Chief Little Turtle. *Mihšikinaahkwa* was also the brother of *Tahkamwa*, the mother of *Pinšiwa,* Chief Jean Baptiste Richardville. *Kiilhsoohkwa* was a well-liked and respected elder not only among the Miami living in Indiana, but among those Miami who had moved to Indian Territory. She would make annual visits to her western relatives. Like *Waapinaakikaapwa*, *Kiilhsoohkwa* had become a local celebrity to her nearby Euro-American neighbors during the early twentieth century. She was celebrated not only for being the granddaughter of Chief Little Turtle, but also for being the "oldest Indian living in Indiana" and was among the last few Miami who spoke only the Miami language.

The photo taken by Harrington also deserves some attention. Perhaps Harrington staged the photograph to lend authenticity to the items he purchased. Note the headdress worn by *Waapimaankwa* with the crossed American flags in beadwork. It also appears that *Waapimaankwa* was wearing a wig for this photo. In other photos of *Waapimaankwa* wearing Euro-American clothing of the time, his hair is cut short. Perhaps these were additions of Harrington, much like the work of the famous "documentary" photographer Edward Curtis's use of props such as wigs to stage his work as authentic. It could also be that *Waapimaankwa*, much like *Waapinaakikaapwa* was engaging in performing to Euro-American expectations of American Indians.

Harrington collected the following items from *Kiilhsoohkwa*: *seenseeminiiki* (plum stone dice used for the game *seenseewinki*), *šooliaaki* (german silver items), and *wiiphšinaakana* (a large basket and a small tub used for the process of making maple

syrup. These items can be seen in figures 51 and 52, taken by Harrington around the time he collected these items. Harrington remarked in his notes that *kiilhsoohkwa* herself had made the *wiiphšinaakana*.[370]

Figure 51 and **Figure 52**. *wiiphšinaakana*. Made by *kiilhsoohkwa*. Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian.

These *wiiphšinaakana* were made by *Kiilhsoohkwa* from the bark of *ašaahšikopa*, Slippery Elm (Ulmus rubra). *Ašaahšikopa* is marked as animate and its bark also provided for the medicinal and housing needs of the Miami. Since it prefers moist, rich, bottomland soils, it is well at home in the riverways of *myaamionki* and easily accessible to *Kiilhsoohkwa*.

It is remarkable that Harrington did not purchase the exquisite ribbonwork leggings and moccasins worn by *Waapimaankwa* in figure 50. These leggings and moccasins resurfaced in 2001, not at a museum, but on episode five of Public Television's "Antiques Roadshow", in St. Louis, Missouri. The gentlemen having these items appraised said that he had bought them at an estate sale at sometime in the past. The leggings and moccasins would disappear again from Miami view only to reappear at the Bata Shoe Museum, located in Toronto, Canada.

[370] Mark Raymond Harrington Notes. National Museum of the American Indian Archives.

'Ribbonwork' in the Miami language is *eehkwaatamenki peepankišaapiikahkia*. This term refers more to the process of sewing flat ribbons. While ribbonwork as an art form did not begin among the Miami until sometime around the late eighteenth century, the bold and contrasting geometric designs it creates derive from much older artistic traditions and is a material representation of Miami landscape. Ribbons became prevalent within Great Lakes Native communities in the late eighteenth century and it was during the early to mid nineteenth century that it blossomed among the Miami. Ribbons were among those items most widely distributed per treaty provisions and sold by traders to the Miami people. With these newer materials Miami women expanded upon existing aesthetic traditions. The ribbons allowed for more complex patterns to develop, yet these newer patterns continued to reference Miami landscape and the relationships of the world around them; representations of balance. The colors typically used were those of red and blue, reflective of the earth and sky.[371] These colors juxtaposed usually against a dark background color produce an effect of vibrant shimmering, causing one's eye s to constantly shift focus from the positive foreground to the negative background, much to the effect of shifting one's attention upon a black vase on a white background, to two facing white colored human profiles against a black background.

[371] Green and red are those colors that the Meskwaki, a related Algonquian speaking tribe, now located in Iowa, use to relate to this division as well and their related clan divisions. See Gaylord Torrence and Robert Hobbs, ed., *Art of the Red Earth People: The Mesquakie of Iowa* (University of Iowa, 1989)

Figure 53. *ahkooteme*. Close up of ribbonwork on *ahkooteme* (women's wrap skirt). Mark Raymond Harrington purchased this *ahkooteme* was during his 1910 collecting expedition among the Indiana Miami. Purchased from Harvey Ward, Godfroy family. Note the red blanket background. It also serves as the central red "ribbon" in this design.

Conclusion

Objects not only connect the Miami people to their past, but to their present as well. Indeed, there is no differentiation between past and present in the Miami language. The designs in the ribbonwork in figure 53 are abstract representations of those *manetoowaki* who control earth and sky, *ciinwkia* and *lenipinšia* and like the bag at the beginning of this chapter, these abstractions not only reflect the Miami idea of landscape, but also remind the contemporary Miami of their relationship to the landscape and their responsibilities to be *nahi-mihtohseeniaki*. They are our relatives and the stories they tell remind us of the necessity to maintain a balance in our relationships to the land and our relatives in order to be *nahi-mihtohseeniaki*. They also remind us of the balance between genders. Many of the Miami objects in museum collections are associated with the men who wore them, most often tribal leaders. While historically, Miami men assumed these

roles, Miami women had equally powerful roles within the community. According to the late Indiana Miami Chief Raymond O. White (*Meehkatamaankwa*), "With the Miami Indians, you'll find in most cases there wasn't a decision made among the tribal leaders without first consulting with the women…In a lot of cases, our Miami women are stronger and have more determination than a lot of our Miami men."[372] These objects remind us of the balance required between male and female within our families and within our nation. They are integral to the family identities among the Indiana Miami community and their removal from the community at the turn of the twentieth century was another removal of our relatives from our homeland. Being *nahi-mihtohseeniaki* requires reestablishing relationships of respect and reciprocity to our removed relatives, be they those Miami removed to Kansas and Oklahoma or those objects removed to museum collections across North American and the globe.

The stories they have to tell are how the relationships between the objects, the people, and the land have become strained and even severed over time, making it difficult to be *nahi-mihtohseeniaki*. As the grandchildren of *Wiihsakacaakwa*, his creation of the earth and the stories told about him remind us of the need to constantly maintain balance in all of these relationships to be *nahi-mihtohseeniaki*. The stories these objects tell remind the contemporary Miami that in order to be *nahi-mihtohseeniaki* again, we must listen to what they have to say.

Neehi-hsa Wiihsakacaakwa maacaaci.
And then Wiihsakacaakwa headed off.

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[372] Chief Raymond O. White (*Meehkatamaankwa*), 1937-1934. Interview from Rita Kohn and W. Lynwood Montell, *Always a People: Oral Histories of Contemporary Woodland Indians* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univeristy, 1997), 276.

Chapter Six
The Struggle for Daylight:
The Indiana Miami and the American Judicial System

Nkóti peehkonteeki Waapanswa Mahkwa aalimwetaatiiciki.
One night Rabbit and Bear were quarreling with each other.

Mahkwa kiipeeweeka moošaki peehkonteeki.
Bear wanted it to always be dark.

"Peemaka nimehkaakooki mihtohseeniaki."
"*Humans would never find me.*"

Waapanswa kiipeeweeka moošaki waahseekiki. Iilaata Mahkooli,
Rabbit wanted it to always be light. He said to Bear,

"Nišihsaki kiinahkwi meehkoohkiki eenkihehkiki."
"*So that my uncles could find you and kill you*".

Neehi Mahkwa: "Miihkintiitaawi", iilaata Waapansooli.
Bear then said: "Let's make a bet", *he said to Rabbit*.

"Niila kati 'peehkonteece' niiši nintelwee.
"*I will say 'Let it be dark' over and over again.*

Kiila kati 'waapance' niiši kitelwee.
"*You will say 'Let it be light' over and over again.*

Anehilaane peehkonteewi kati. Anehiyane waahseewi kati."
If I beat you, it will be dark. If you beat me it will be light".

Neehi weehsiohkaatiiciki.
And so they began.

Mahkwa iilweeci: "Peehkonteece, Peehkonteece, Peehkonteece*".
Bear said "*let it be dark, let it be dark, let it be dark*".

Waapanswa iilweeci: "Waapance, Waapance, Waapance."
Rabbit said "*let it be light, let it be light, let it be light*"

The relationship between the Indiana Miami, the United States, and the State of Indiana has been much like the struggle for daylight. The colonial/imperial imposition of the Federal and State governments upon the Miami has amounted to a game that the

Indiana Miami have learned to play in order to survive as a people. The rules of the game have been rewritten over and over and while the Indiana Miami have faced limited successes and numerous setbacks through the American judicial system, they continue the struggle their ancestors began with the removal of 1846. This chapter argues that the American judicial system is historically fraught with issues of authenticity stemming from nineteenth century constructions of the "Indian" as applied to the Indiana Miami. This chapter examines a series of court cases spanning 130 years that reveal how the Federal and State governments and their courts have taken upon themselves to determined what an authentic "Indian" and an authentic tribe are. By determining these authenticities, these polities and courts have then legitimated the denial of the inherent and reserved rights of the Indiana Miami as the original people of Indiana. As demonstrated in this chapter, the rules of this game have changed over time, yet issues of authenticity continue to set the parameters of the contest.

Introduction

On June 15, 2001, representatives of the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana anxiously gathered in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Indiana, South Bend Division, to await a decision they and their ancestors had struggled with for over a century, federal recognition. The court was to decide whether the defendant, the United States Department of the Interior, had unfairly applied its requirements of recognition as an Indian tribe under federal law. As Judge Robert L. Miller read his decision, it became apparent that the court case would not prove to be the end of a long struggle for justice, but another obstacle among many spanning a long history of disappointing decisions that legitimated the United States' refusal to

acknowledge its trust relationship and the associated inherent and reserved rights of the Miami Nation of Indiana guaranteed through the Treaty of 1854.[373]

Using the Bureau of Indians Affairs Branch of Acknowledgement and Recognition findings against federal recognition of the Miami Nation of Indians of Indian, Judge Miller stated that, "Probably by 1940 and certainly by 1992, the Miami Nation had ceased to be a tribe in any reasonable sense. It had no structure. It was a group of people united by nothing more than common descent, with no territory…".[374] Judge Miller went on to equate the Indiana Miami to nations such as "Prussia, the Republic of Texas, and the Republic of Vietnam" as disappearing or dissolving over time. Judge Miller's decision was not unfamiliar to the Indiana Miami, since they had been struggling with the interpretation of their multiple statuses within both state and federal courts for well over a century.

Since 1871, the Indiana Miami, both collectively as a tribal entity as well as individual Miami have sought to maintain their status as both a tribe and as Indians in order to maintain not only their rights as guaranteed through their treaties with the United States but also to maintain their distinctness from the surrounding society. The cases examined in this chapter demonstrate that the Miami have never sought equality in the broader mainstream society associated with other ethnic and minority groups, but have rather sought a "measured separatism" from American society. Legal scholar

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[373] This treaty recognized the "Indiana Miami" as a separate entity from their "Western Miami" relatives who had been forcibly removed to Kansas Territory in 1846, but that both had concurrent vested interests. STAT. L VII, 1093

[374] No. 00-3465, Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc., et al., Plaintiffs-Appellants, v. United States Department of the Interior, et al., Defendants-Appellees. Appeal from the United States District Court for the Northern District of Indiana, South Bend Division. No. 92 C 586--Robert L. Miller, Jr., Judge. Argued May 8, 2001--Decided June 15, 2001. 255 F.3d 342 (7th Cir. 2001)

Charles Wilkinson coined this term in regards to the goals of treaties from both Native and non-Native viewpoints "to limit tribes to significantly smaller domains but also to preserve substantially intact a set of societal conditions and tribal prerogatives that existed"[375] …"The reservation system was intended to establish homelands for the tribes, islands of tribalism largely free from interference by non-Indians or future state governments. This separation is measured, rather than absolute, because it contemplates supervision and support by the United States."[376] I use the term to also describe how the Indiana Miami not only encompassed "supervision and support by the United States", but also how they have engaged to varying degrees in the social, cultural, and political realms of the dominant Euro-American society while still maintaining their own social, cultural, and political distinctiveness. The maintenance of tribally held lands is inherently and intricately tied to this endeavor and has driven the Indiana Miami to pursue justice by invoking the support of the United States as part of the trust relationship.

In David Wilkins's discussion of native nations and the pursuit of justice, he paraphrases the noted Indian scholar and activist Vine Deloria, Jr that:

> The primary difference between blacks and Indians is that blacks are pursuing equality of acceptance and equal opportunity in American society while Indians pursue justice. By 'justice' Deloria means the Indians' right to maintain their sovereign integrity and to rest assured that their treaty and trust rights will be protected. These goals are

[375] Charles F. Wilkinson, *American Indians, Time, and the Law: Native Societies in a Modern Constitutional Democracy* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1987) 18.

[376] Ibid., 14.

> evidenced in the tribes' focus on tribal sovereignty and maintaining and enhancing their separate land base – goals dissimilar from those of America's other racial and ethnic minority groups.[377]

This investigation of a selection of state and federal court cases spanning 130 years involving the Indiana Miami reveals their pursuit of justice in the courts that demonstrate the Indiana Miami's struggle to maintain "their sovereign integrity", the protection of their treaty and trust rights, and a separate land base; their struggle to maintain a measured separatism. This chapter determines how Miami cases have both succeeded and failed within the American judicial system. By examining the rhetoric used in decisions and how the Indiana Miami have presented their cases, this will provide an important means for the Indiana Miami to examine the genealogy of the perceptions of the validity of their tribal and Indian identities and statuses that are intricately tied to Euro-American constructions of "Indian authenticity". The Indiana Miami themselves brought these cases before the courts in the areas of jurisdiction (in regards to civil matters and taxation); the Indian Claims Commission; and federal recognition. This chapter concludes with reflections upon the ambivalence associated with these decisions and ponders future possibilities for the Indiana Miami to continue their struggle for daylight through the pursuit of justice outside of the colonial system whose continued denial of their existence legitimates the United States' refutation of the trust responsibilities to which the Indiana Miami continue to hold the United States accountable.

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[377] David E. Wilkins, American Indian Politics and the American Political System, 2nd Ed. (Oxford, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007) 197.

Table 5. Treaties Signed by the Miami with the United States[378]

Year	Statutes	Signficance
1795	STAT. L VII, 49	Initiated the government to government relationship of The Miami with the United States and the ceding of Miami land to the United States
1803	STAT. L VII, 74	Ceding of lands around Vincennes
1805	STAT. L VII, 91	Ceding of lands in southern Indiana and the first treaty annuity payments to the Miami for ceding these lands
1809	STAT. L VII, 113	Ceding of more lands around Vincennes
1818	STAT. L VII, 189	First reservations established as well as first fee simple patent to Chief Jean Baptiste Richardville and an several other individual Miami
1826	STAT. L VII, 300	Ceding of all Miami land claims to land north and west of the Wabash and Miami rivers. Several sections of land reserved for individual chiefs. It was further stipulated that these lands could "never be conveyed without the consent of the President of the United States. Article VIII confirms Miami hunting rights upon these ceded lands
1828	STAT. L VII, 309	Ceding of ten square mile reservation at Sugar Tree Creek by the Eel River Band of Miami.
1834	STAT. L VII, 458-463	Ceding of entire reservations or parts of them from previously signed treaties. Patents conveyed to several individual Miami
1838	STAT. L VII, 569	Ceding of a portion of the Big Miami Reserve. Ten square miles reserved for the band of Me-to-sin-ia (*Mihtohseenia*). First mention of possible removal and several more patents issued to individual Miami
1840	STAT. L VII, 569	Ceding of all of the remainder of the Big Miami Reserve, being all of the remaining tribally held lands in Indiana. Miami agree to remove west of the Mississippi. Me-to-cin-ia reservation conveyed to Meshingomesia whose family along with Richardville were exempted from removal
1854	STAT. L VII, 1093	Indiana Miami delegation signed treaty with Western Miami as "Miami Indians, residents of the State of Indiana"

[378] This does not include the 1867 Treaty between the Miami then living in Kansas, since it did not include the Indiana Miami.

Table 6. Court Cases Examined

Year	Case
1871	*Me-shin-go-me-sia v. State,* Ind. 310
1878	*The State, ex rel. Godfroy v. The Board of Commissioners of Miami County*, 43 Ind. 497
1886	*Wau-pe-man-qua v. Aldrich*, 28 F. 489
1901	*The Board of Commissioners of Miami County v. Godfroy*, 60 N.E. 610
1940	*U.S. ex rel. Marks v. Brooks*, 32 F. Supp. 422
1941	*State of Indiana v. Marks, Miami County, Miami Circuit Court, April term*
1975	*Swimming Turtle, a/k/a Oliver Godfroy v. The Board of County Commissioners of Miami County,*
1976	*Swimming Turtle, a/k/a Oliver Godfroy v. The Board of County Commissioners of Miami County,*
1993	*Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc. v Lujan*, 832 F. Supp. 253 N.D. Ind.
1995	*Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc., et. al. v. Bruce Babbitt, et. al*., 887 F. Supp. 1158
1996	*Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc., et. al. v. Bruce Babbitt, et. al*., 979 F. Supp. 771
1999	*Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc., et. al. v. Bruce Babbitt, et. al*., 55 F. Supp. 2d 921
2000	*Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc., et. al. v. Bruce Babbitt, et. al*., 112 F. Supp. 2d 742
2001	*Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc. et. al. v. United States Department of the Interior, et al.,*

Background

Before discussing the court decisions regarding the Indiana Miami, it is necessary to briefly outline the history of their relations with the United States through the treaty making process and congressional acts that established a trust relationship with the Miami Nation and, following the intended forced removal of the entire Miami Nation in 1846, the Indiana Miami. The trust relationship between the United States with the Miami is derived from those treaties signed and ratified by Congress that "impose on the federal government 'moral obligations of the highest responsibility and

trust'".[379] The trust relationship proves a rather ambiguous and debatable concept. This terms holds many debatable connotations and definitions that are both of a moral and legal obligation of the United States toward tribes[380] many of these definitions agree that trust is "the notion of federal *responsibility* to *protect or enhance* tribal assets (including fiscal, natural, human, and cultural resources) through policy decisions and management actions".[381] While several definitions exist, Wilkins and Lomawaima argue that Indigenous perceptions of this are sorely needed since "the Indigenous vision of trust authorizes and allow both parties – the United States and the tribe – to do only what is diplomatically agreed or consented."[382]

The cases examined in this chapter demonstrate the Miami interpretation of their trust relationship with the United States. Most Miami never consented to their lands falling under the jurisdiction of the State of Indiana, becoming United States citizens, or the dissolution of their inherent and reserved treaty rights. After the treaties were signed and after removal, the Indiana Miami continued to engage and seek out diplomatic relations with the United States. The United States reciprocated their relationship with the United States, however, after 1897, the United States abandoned its relationship with the Indiana Miami only to reluctantly acknowledge this relationship with the tribe and individual tribal members on often-contradictory grounds.

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[379] Stephan L. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes: The Authoritative ACLU Guide to Indians and Tribal Rights, 3rd ed.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2002), 32.

[380] David Wilkins and Tsianina Lomawaima, *Uneven Ground: American Indian Soveriegnty and Federal Law* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2001), 67

[381] Ibid., 65

[382] Ibid., 96

This relationship between the Miami and the United States began with the Treaty of Greenville (1795)[383]. In his speech at the Treaty of Greenville, Miami leader *Mihšikinaahkwa*, otherwise known as Chief Little Turtle, proclaimed what are now the states of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan as part of the Miami original homelands that they had shared with numerous other tribal nations. The Miami Nation was essentially forced to sign treaties over the next sixty years (see table 5) that meant increasingly more areas of their original homelands were ceded to the United States to accommodate for growing American expansionism. As discussed in Chapter One, the Miami homeland outlined by *Mihšikinaahkwa* contained diverse hardwood forests, prairies, and wetlands. These resources were coveted by American citizens as well as the land's potential for large-scale agriculture and the construction of an extensive canal system throughout the region to provide routes for agricultural surplus to markets in the eastern United States.[384]

The Federal Indian policy of Indian removal that began in the 1830s, was imposed upon the Indigenous nations of the Great Lakes, especially those in nearby Ohio such as the Shawnee in 1832[385], the Wyandot in 1843 and various Potawatomi groups in northern Indiana and southern Michigan in 1838[386]. Removal was touted to these nations as a means of "protecting" them from the inevitable conflicts that Euro-

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[383] STAT. L VII, 49

[384] For a more detailed description of this process see White, The Middle Ground. The Wabash and Erie canal was instrumental in several treaties signed in the 1820s and 1830s.

[385] Interestingly, the Shawnee who remained in Ohio in the late 1820s and early 1830s tried similar methods of private land ownership and limited accommodation to avoid removal, but were threatened by U.S. representatives in to removing to Kansas in 1832. See Stephen Warren, "The Ohio Shawnees' Struggle against Removal, 1814-1830" in David R. Edmunds, ed. Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2008), 72-93

[386] R. David Edmunds, *The Potawatomis: Keeper of the Fire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1978), 262.

American settlement would bring. Removal also conveniently cleared the landscape of any obstacles to American expansionism in both the physical occupation of these lands and the economic expansionism associated with it by extracting its "unused" resources, exploiting its water routes, and creating new ones in the form of canals as a means of transporting these resources to the eastern United States. The presence of the Miami in Indiana and their ownership of lands theoretically outside of the jurisdiction and control of the State of Indiana after it achieved statehood in 1816 posed a threat and obstacle to the economic "progress" and sovereignty of the State. Over the course of signing these treaties, several lands were reserved for different bands of Miami as well as individual Miami. The Miami were the last stalwarts against removal in the southern Great Lakes and were a thorn in the side of the newly formed State of Indiana and the United States. However, the specter of removal appeared in the wordage of Article 10 of Treaty with the Miami, 1838 where:

> The United States stipulate to possess, the Miami tribe of Indians of, and guaranty to them forever, a country west of the Mississippi river, to remove to and settle on, when the said tribe may be disposed to emigrate from their present country, and that guarranty [sic] is hereby pledged: And the said country shall be sufficient to extend, and suited to their wants and condition and be in a region contiguous to that in the occupation of the tribes, which emigrated from the States of Ohio and Indiana. And when the said tribe shall have emigrated, in their rights and

possessions, against the injuries, encroachments and oppressions of any person or persons, tribe or tribes whatsoever.[387]

Just two years following this, the pressure to remove west of the Mississippi came to fruition in the Treaty with the Miami, 1840. In this treaty, the Miami ceded the lands reserved under the 1838 treaty as "the residue of the Big Reserve. Being all of their remaining lands in Indiana."[388]

Removal of the entire Miami Nation was only half successful. Several tribal leaders who held reserves from previous treaties and their families were exempted in the treaties of 1838 and1840. Several other Miami not mentioned in these treaties were further able to avoid removal through congressional exemptions, such as the large extended family of *Mahkoonsahkwa*, also known as Frances Slocum. Nearly thirty years after removal, *Kihcikamiihkwa*, (Julia Bondy) recalled: "I never went west with the emigration because my mother had given me to "Wa pe ce tah" (who was the brother of Meshingomesia and exempt from removal) and he would not give me up."[389] Other Miami simply ran off. *Pakaankia* remembered the government agent in charge of removal, Alexis Coquillard, referred to among the Miami as "*Aakootia*" meaning "soft-shelled turtle", came to the Meshingomesia Reservation in search of "skulkers" who were avoiding removal. *Pakaankia* remembered how *Mihšikamiihkwa* avoided *Aakootia*:

He came to this reserve for what was left – Chi co me quah was off when "Cot-i-aw" came here for the Ind[ian]s. She run off about 8 Miles south.

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[387] Stat. L VII 569, Treaty with the Miami, 1838, Article X.
[388] Stat. L VII 582, Treaty with the Miami, 1840, Article I.
[389] Testimonials, 38

> She went off with M sha wa quah (Wa pe ce tah's wife) her grand mother. It was the 2nd year of the Emigration that she "Chi co me quah" run off. "Cut-i-aw" brought a wagon to haul them in. They all were off and he did not get any. Chi co me quah came here after we went to Washington.[390]

This was further complicated for the United States by the return of some Miami who had been removed to Kansas. By 1854, 302 Miami remained in Indiana or were considered to be members of the Eastern Miami as they would occasionally be referred by the United States and the Miami alike.

Upon removal of the remainder of the Miami to Kansas to a reservation along the Marias de Cygne River, the United States recognized this group of Miami as the Miami Nation. However, in 1854, another treaty was signed that involved both those Miami in Kansas and Indiana. This is perhaps one of the most important treaties in regards to defining the status of the Indiana Miami. The treaty explicitly names the Western Miami and Indiana Miami as standing equally in regards to the sale of Miami lands. In Article IV of the treaty, it called for a list of names of the Indiana Miami to be compiled in order to distribute future annuities within the State of Indiana. This treaty was a reaffirmation of the trust relationship between the United States, the Kansas Miami, and the Indiana Miami.

For the remainder of the nineteenth century, the Miami in Indiana regrouped and rebuilt their community; struggling to maintain their lands and a separation from the surrounding Euro-American society. The trust relationship between the Indiana Miami

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[390] Testimonials, 278

and the United States continued. For example, Indiana Miami children attended Federal Indian schools such as the Haskell Indian School in Kansas and the Carlisle Indian school in Pennsylvania throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Throughout this period, the Indiana Miami struggled to thwart off encroachment onto their lands through taxation by the State of Indiana and the counties surrounding their reserve lands and the perceived uneven status of these further complicated their efforts.

As demonstrated in Chapter Three, those lands reserved for the Indiana Miami under previous treaties created three differing land statuses: the individual fee simple land patents and Indian land patents to most Indiana Miami and the tribally reserved communal land of the Meshingomesia Band. The individual fee simple land patents were reserved under several treaties throughout the early nineteenth century by Miami leaders and amounted to several thousands of acres. Beginning with the Treaty with the Miami (1818)[391], tracts of land were reserved for several individual Miami that also created the "Indian title" of these lands, but Article VI of the treaty states:

> The several tracts of land which by the third article of this treaty, the United States have engaged to grant, to the persons therein, mentioned, except the tracts granted to Jean Bapt. Richardville, shall never be transferred by the said persons or their heirs, without the approbation of the President of the United States.

These lands were held in trust for the individual and their heirs and could only be sold by the permission of the President of the United States. Subsequent

[391] STAT. L VII, 189

treaties created confusion between these titles; The Treaty of 1826[392], Article III states similarly to the 1818 Treaty, but the Treaties of 1838[393] and 1840[394] refer to most as reservations and some as fee patents. The reservation of individual fee simple patent lands was not uncommon among tribes who signed treaties with the United States in the early nineteenth century.[395] The court cases examined reveal that the Miami believed their lands to be inalienable unless under the auspices of the President of the United States, yet the arguments against this demonstrate that the state and local governments strove to erase the difference between those lands owned by the Miami and their non-Miami neighbors. In order to erase this difference of land status, the difference between the Miami and their Euro-American neighbors also had to be erased.

On paper, the courts and local and state governments may have seen no difference between Miami and non-Miami lands, yet use of these lands was remarkably different. While individuals held titles to nearly all of these lands, they were *used* as communal lands.[396] The owners of these lands gave sanctuary to those landless Miami who had avoided removal along with some Miami who had been removed to Kansas and returned. Those who remained behind and those who returned became the Indiana Miami, who would later be recognized as such in the Treaty of 1854 and enumerated in the list of 302 persons entitled to annuity distributions. With exponential Euro-American settlement throughout the ceded Miami homeland territory, the Indiana

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[392] STAT. L VII, 300
[393] STAT. L VII, 569
[394] STAT. L VII, 569
[395] Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2005), 262.
[396] Rafert, 123-125

Miami saw their reserves as "havens" where the "boundaries faced outward"[397] rather than inward, and struggled to maintain these lands in order to maintain a measured separatism.

Eighteen ninety-seven dealt a critical blow to these struggles. In an attempt to recover taxation money on their lands in 1896, the Indiana Miami contacted then Commissioner of Indiana Affairs, Daniel Browning for representation of the Miami by the United States against the State of Indiana.[398] Commissioner Browning supported the Indiana Miami claims and sent his remarks to Assistant Attorney General of the Department of the Interior (and future Supreme Court Justice), Willis Van Devanter, who in turn declared that the final annuity payments to the Indiana in 1881 under the Treaty of 1854 effectively terminated the federal trust relationship with the Indiana Miami and that the individual ownership of their lands in essence made them citizens per the General Allotment Act of 1887 and concomitantly terminated their tribal government.[399] This decision affected the outcomes of subsequent court cases that the Indiana Miami would file in state and federal courts for the entire twentieth century.

Cases involving jurisdiction were the first of several cases the Miami filed throughout the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The outcome of these cases proved to have significant impacts upon other aspects of the Miami pursuit of justice. These cases set the precedence through which both the Miami and the courts would try to use to their advantage in the contest for justice.

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[397] Banner, 236.
[398] Rafert, 172
[399] Rafert, 173-174

Jurisdiction: Land Taxation

Land taxation comprises the majority of the cases examined in this chapter. These cases involve both those lands reserved to individual Miami and the lands reserved for the Meshingomesia Band. Several notions regarding the aforementioned statuses of Indiana Miami lands further complicate an examination of the taxation of Miami lands. These cases deal with the complicated statuses associated with the lands reserved for three Miami during the Treaties of 1826, 1834, 1838, and 1840. The lands these deal with concern the fee simple and Indian land patents of two individual Miami, *palaanswa* and *pinšiwa*, and the Meshingomesia Reservation. The differing statuses of the lands of the Indiana Miami proved to complicate not only the acknowledgement of their rights associated with these lands, but their statuses as individual Indians and as tribal Indians. Thus, the status of the Indiana Miami as a tribe and the status of individual Indiana Miami as Indians were directly tied to the legal perceptions of the status of their lands. This not only divided the legal system as to the interpretation of these varying statuses, but also divided the Indiana Miami among themselves.

Following the 1897 administrative termination and extending well into the twentieth century, factionalism within the community seems to have centered upon these varying statuses. The perceived difference in status over these lands led the descendents of those Miami who had received fee simple patents and who had never voluntarily become citizens of the United States to pursue separate claims than those of the Meshingomesia Band who had become citizens of the United States in 1881, but who now also had fee simple title to their individual allotments. This is evident in the 1939-1940 House of Representatives Subcommittee on Indian Affairs hearings

regarding the Miami Indians Jurisdictional Act, H.R. 2306, "A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the circuit court of claims, with right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment in all claims which the Miami Indians of Indiana who are organized as the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana may have against the United States, and for other purposes." In the minutes of these meetings, representatives of both factions of Miami argued against the validity of the other to represent their pursuit in land claims.[400] A closer examination of cases involving taxation will further illustrate how this factionalism may have developed.

Taxation and the Meshingomesia Reservation

This investigation begins with what appears to be the first court case brought by the Miami collectively within the American judicial system in *Me-shin-go-me-sia and Another v. The state and Another. Ind. (1871)*[401]. The Meshingomesia Reservation was reserved by the Miami Nation under Article 2 of the Treaty of 1838 where "from the cession aforesaid, the Miami tribe reserve for the band of Me-to-sin-ia (*mihtohseenia*), the following tract of land…supposed to contain ten square miles." The title to this land for the Meshingomesia Band was further confirmed within the Treaty of 1840. It is important to note that the Band was represented by local lawyer, I. VanDevanter, who ironically was the father of Willis VanDevanter.

In *Me-shin-go-me-sia*, the Indiana Supreme Court was to determine "whether the lands and personal property of Me-shin-go-me-sia and the members of his band are liable to taxation, or not." I. VanDevanter and J.F. McDowell, successfully argued

[400] H.R. 2306, Part 2, 1940.
[401] 36 Ind. 310

against the State's position that the lands of the Meshingomesia Reservation were not taxable by the state where the court replied that "We think it safe to conclude that by the reservation and the conveyance made by the United States, or agreed to be made, the Indians have title not inferior to that which the tribe possessed before any treaty was made." Thus, the reservation for the Band was declared as tribally held land that had been specifically reserved by the Miami Nation for the band in the treaties of 1838 and 1840 and not fee simple land held by an individual. The State further tried to argue that with the removal of the Miami to Kansas in 1846, the Indiana Miami had extinguished or lost their "tribal relations…and that those who remain must be regarded as having become so far intermixed with the whites as to be subject to the same laws". The Meshingomesia Band had effectively demonstrated that although their relatives had been removed to Kansas, they continued to maintain a social, political and cultural separation from the surrounding Euro-American society and did not participate in nor benefit from any of these interactions. The judge further declared the inability of the State of Indiana to tax the Meshingomesia Band reservation according to Article 3 of the Northwest Ordinance of July 13, 1787 which states:

> The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing

wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.[402]

The judge also cited that the Indiana State Constitution further held the state to uphold "the propositions of the Congress of the United States" where the state was bound to honor acts of congress such as the Ordinance of 1787 in which the state would be in direct opposition to upholding good faith by taxing the Miami without their consent. The case of *The Kansas Indians (1866)*[403] further supports the fact that states have no power to tax trust lands.[404] *Meshingomesia* demonstrates that the State of Indiana recognized their status as a tribe and that the State of Indiana had no authority to tax Miami lands. The Meshingomesia Band had successfully staved off taxation of their lands for the time being, yet only one year later, the Band propositioned Congress to allot the reserve lands in severalty.

The allotment of the Meshingomesia Reservation following an act of Congress in 1872[405] is often interpreted as the Miami voluntarily dissolving their tribal relations and the trust relationship with the United States. As examined in further detail in Chapter Three, the pursuit of allotment by the Meshingomesia Band was also seen as a means of maintaining a measured separatism and control over land. Other members of the Indiana Miami tribe continued to hold onto their lands as fee simple patents and enjoyed non-taxable status of these lands.

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[402] Contained in 1 Stat., 50, Act of August 7, 1789

[403] 72 U.S. (5 Wall.) 737

[404] William C. Canby, Jr., *American Indian Law In a Nutshell, 3rd ed.* (St. Paul, Minn.: West Group, 1998), 247

[405] Stat. XVII., 213

Future interpretations of the 1872 Act proved important in *United States v. Brooks (1940).*[406] The 1872 Act in no way stated that the Meshingomesia Band had dissolved their tribal relations nor did it dissolve any treaty rights, but merely made Band members citizens of the United States. This did not mean that the Meshingomesia Band members nor the Indiana Miami had lost their tribal status where "the status of Indians as citizens of the United States and of the individual states does not interfere with the Indians' relationship to their tribes or with the trust relationship between the tribes and the federal government."[407]

Taxation and the Lands of palaanswa

This investigation now turns to those lands inherited by Indiana Miami from those tracts of land reserved for their ancestors under numerous previous treaties as fee simple land patents. As per *Me-shin-go-me-sia,* the Indiana Supreme court had declared the lands of the Meshingomesia Band as communally held tribal land. Yet, the court then began to make distinctions between both communally or tribally held lands and those lands reserved to individual Miami under previous treaties. This distinction is important since fee simple lands are considered those lands of which "the inheritor has unqualified ownership and sole power of disposition."[408] Yet several of those tracts of land reserved for *Palaanswa*, otherwise known as Francis Godfroy, were protected from State jurisdiction. *Palaanswa*'s descendents would be involved in over one century of struggles to maintain these lands.

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[406] 32 F. Supp. 422

[407] Canby, 324. See also Winton v. Amos, 255 U.S. 373 (1921) and United States v. Nice, 241 U.S. 591 (1916).

[408] Wilkins, American Indian Politics and the American Political System, 2nd ed., 346.

Palaanswa, was a significant Miami tribal leader during the first half of the nineteenth century and signed several successive treaties of 1826, 1834, and 1838. Within these treaties, *Palaanswa* secured several thousand acres of lands. Under Article III of the Treaty of 1826, *Palaanswa* reserved one section of land on the north side of the Wabash River opposite the mouth of Pipe Creek. This article further stated: "…the land so granted shall never be conveyed without the consent of the President of the United States." Under Article VIII of the Treaty of 1834, *Palaanswa* reserved four sections of land on the Salamonie River in fee simple patent, but he also reserved another two and one half sections in various places under Article III of the treaty which stated: "…there shall be granted to each of the persons named in the schedule hereunto annexed, and to their heirs and assigns, by patent from the President of the United States, the lands therein named." Under Article XII of the Treaty of 1838, *Palaanswa* reserved one section of land near Peru and was granted "by patent." Furhermore, the Treaty of 1840 allowed *Palaanswa's* wife and children to avoid removal and remain on their inherited lands in Indiana.

Beginning in 1878 *Waapanakikaapwa*, Gabriel Godfroy, the son of *Palaanswa*, representing himself and several other Miami, brought suit against Miami County in *The State, ex rel. Godfroy, v. The Board of Commissioners of Miami County (1878)*[409], to recover taxes assessed on the lands he had inherited from his father. According to the court, the "complaint failed to allege that such lands were reserved to such Indians as a tribe or band, and not individually" and that the lands of these Miami were taxable under "section 10 of the act of December 21st, 1872, in relation to the assessment of

[409] 63 Ind. 497 and the 1872 Act can be found in Laws of *Indiana*, 1872, P. 21

taxes, 1 R. S. 1876, p. 72, lands in this State, reserved to or for any individual under any treaty between an Indian tribe and the United States, are taxable from the date of confirmation of such treaty." Perhaps the court was unaware or completely disregarded the rider to the recently passed Appropriation Act of 1871 as a means of legitimating this state legislation, since the act stated:

> Provided, That hereafter no Indian or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty: Provided further, That nothing herein shall be construed to invalidate or impair the obligation of any treaty heretofore lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe.[410]

While the United States clearly did not want to continue to treat with American Indians as nations, it continued to hold those treaties previously signed as being the supreme law of the land. Meanwhile, the Indiana Supreme Court stated that since these were lands held by individuals, that other cases such as *Me-shin-go-me-sia* did not apply. The 1872 State Act was a blatant disregard for the superiority of Federal power over states in relation to American Indians as per the United States Constitution, namely through the Commerce Clause[411], which vests only Congress with the power to regulate commerce with Indian tribes. Clearly, since these lands, regardless of whether they were individually or communally held were the results of treaties the Miami had signed solely with the United States and not the State of Indiana. The State legislation of 1872

[410] Act of March 3, 1871, 16 Stat., 544, 566
[411] U.S. Constitution, Art. 1, sec. 8, cl. 3.

regarding the right to tax individual treaty lands was a fictional right in which the State of Indiana did not and does not possess.

As demonstrated in Chapter Four, the legal status of the Indiana Miami and their lands became increasingly conflated with Euro-American constructions of the "Indian" and its associated authenticity. This became much more overt in the *Board of Commissioners of Miami County et al. v. Godfroy (1901)*. In this case, *Waapanakikaapwa* continued to seek relief from delinquent taxation. *Waapanakikaapwa* argued that Article III of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 continued to apply to his lands and that he had not voluntarily relinquished the tax exempt status of said lands. Rather than deciding on the status of his lands, the court directed its focus upon deciding whether *Waapanakikaapwa* was an "Indian" and although it did not explicitly define what an "Indian" was rather, the court defined what an "Indian" was not; and *Waapanakikaapwa* was not an "Indian".

The court argued that although he had not voluntarily relinquished this status of his lands *Waapanakikaapwa* had voluntarily dissolved his tribal relations and "abandoned his tribal relations" "since he dressed as a white man, sent his children to school, and had voted in local elections." The court ruled that through this apparent abandonment, *Waapinaakikaapwa* became a citizen; making his lands taxable.[412] This decision blatantly disregarded the 1884 Supreme Court decision of *Elk v. Wilkins*[413] where regardless of whether Indians had voluntarily severed their tribal relations or not, Indians were "not subject to

[412] *Board of Commissioners of Miami County v. Godfroy*, 60 N.E. 610 (1901).
[413] *Elk v. Wilkins*, 112 U.S. 94 (1884)

the jurisdiction of the United States"[414] and that "they could not be enfranchised unless Congress made an affirmative declaration – naturalization – authorizing by an act such a change in their standing."[415] While those who received allotments on the Meshingomesia Reservation received U.S. citizenship in 1881, there was no act that enfranchised this portion of the Indiana Miami.

The court had changed the rules of the game; its decision now rested upon what Raibmon calls the "binary framework" of authenticity. It is important to note that this was also the height of the assimilation policy of the United States in regards to American Indians. Through this process, following the allotment of tribal lands, American Indians were to be made into agricultural producers participating in the increasingly capitalistic American agricultural industry. To acknowledge that *Waapanakikaapwa* was still indeed an "Indian" would negate the entire premise of federal Indian assimilation policy. Furthermore, the court would no longer need to decide upon the status of his lands, since a "non-Indian" cannot hold title to "Indian" land.

As mentioned in Chatper Four, concomitantly, *Waapanakikaapwa* was sought out by the Bureau of Ethnology, a part of the Federal Government, as an informant on Miami culture. The works elicited from *Waapanakikaapwa* by these ethnographers demonstrate that he was a fluent speaker of the Miami language and shared this knowledge along with traditional Miami narratives and observations on Miami culture with Gatschet and Dunn; *Waapanakikaapwa* was "Indian enough" for the Bureau of Ethnology, but not the State of Indiana or the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

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[414] As quoted in Wilkins, American Indian Politics, 57
[415] Wilkins, American Indian Politics, 57.

Waapanakikaapwa died nearly penniless, with a substantial amount of his land lost to nonpayment of taxes or sold to allow him to maintain some amount of his original lands. Upon his death, what remained of his lands were divided among his several children, one of these being 'Swimming Turtle', otherwise known as Oliver Godfroy. Swimming Turtle's inherited lands were continually taxed until he filed an initial lawsuit against the Board of Commissioners of Miami County in 1976. Godfroy lost this initial case, but won the appeal which forced Miami County to repay all the taxes he had paid on his lands and allowed for his heirs to enjoy tax exempt ownership of the lands which continues to the present.

In the initial case of *Swimming Turtle, a/k/a Oliver Godfroy v. The Board of County Commissioners of Miami County (1975),* Godfroy contended that not only was the land he had inherited from his ancestor *Palaanswa* exempt from taxation, but that he was also a member of the Miami Nation of Indians. Godfroy argued that the Constitutional Commerce Clause further protected Miami lands since the "Miami Tribe of Indians is recognized as a tribe of Indians by the United States." Godfroy's argument as to the federal recognition of the Indiana Miami was never questioned within the court's opinion, but rather the court focused upon the genealogy of cases and treaties associated with his ancestors *Palaanswa* and *Waapanaakikaapwa,* and denied him relief from taxation.

In the case of *Swimming Turtle v. The Board of County Commissioners of Miami County (1976)*, Godfroy focused further upon the very premises that his father had argued 76 years prior; that Article III of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 protected his

lands from taxation, since he had not voluntarily relinquished them to taxation. The court further contended that Godfroy:

> …has made every reasonable effort consistent with the realities of modern society to maintain his status as an Indian. Therefore, he is an Indian as defined in Article III of the Northwest Ordinance…The word 'Indians' in Article III of the Northwest Ordinance does not refer merely to Indian Tribes. The term 'Indians' there must be given its plain meaning and construed liberally. The immunity conferred by Article III is not limited to Indian Tribes but may, in appropriate cases, apply to individual Indians as well. *There is no strict need to show tribal relations*. *The word must be given a racial meaning*. The tax exempt status of the plaintiff is a vested right which cannot be taken by the State of Indiana or its political subdivision without just compensation.[416]

District Judge Allen Sharp's decision seems to be concurrent with the beginnings of the self-determination period of U.S. federal Indian policy and the rise of the Red Power movement. Judge Sharp had declared that Godfroy's lands were exempt from taxation and that indeed he was an Indian. This completely contradicts the Indiana Supreme Court's opinion in *Board of Commissioners of Miami County et al. v. Godfroy (1901)*. The court had completely disregarded and avoided determining the status of the Indiana Miami by declaring that there was "no strict need to show tribal relations" but that individually, Godfroy was an "Indian". Sharp probably based his decision partly on

[416] Swimming Turtle, a/k/a Oliver Godfroy v. The Board of County Commissioners of Miami County (1977), United States District Court for the Northern District of Indiana, South Bend Division. Allen Sharp, District Judge. 441 F. Supp. 374. (Emphasis mine).

Godfroy's "Indian" phenotype. This time, the U.S. District Court took upon itself the responsibility to define whether Godfroy was "Indian" and that he had been able to remain an "Indian", while his father, seventy-five years prior, was defined as "non-Indian" by the Indiana Supreme Court.

Taxation and the Lands of pinšiwa

In the case of *Wau-pe-man-qua v. Aldrich C.C. Ind. (1886)*[417], in Circuit Court, D. of Indiana, the court was to determine whether the lands of *Waapimaankwa* (Wau-pe-man-qua) were taxable and whether Allen County, the county surrounding *Waapimaankwa's* land could be sold in order to pay for delinquent taxes. *Waapimaankwa* inherited her land through her ancestor *Pinšiwa*, commonly known as Jean Baptiste Richardville who was the acknowledged principal chief who had interacted with the United States, signed several treaties, and was able to reserve for himself and his heirs several thousands of acres of land as individual reserve lands. His descendents were further able to avoid removal. The main issues focused upon in the argument of Aldrich was that *Waapimaankwa* and her relatives who had inherited Richardville's individual reserve lands were not Indians and that their land was not Indian land and exempt from taxation. Numerous treaties were cited that supported that the lands reserved for Richardville were held in trust not only for him but all of his descendents who would inherit the said lands in the future. These treaty provisions maintained that Richardville's descendents would continue to be recognized as Miami Indians.

The court noted:

[417] 28 F. 489

> On the contrary, the opinion (referring to the case of the *Kansas Indians*) seems rather to indicate in its conclusion, that the right of exemption from taxation rests on the fact of a continued tribal organization in the state, which the United States has recognized by treating with the persons concerned as distinct political communities; and, this being so, it is established that the individual members of a tribe may enjoy the same immunity, in respect to lands held in severalty, as the tribe, in respect to those held in common, through individual holdings be not contiguous to the tribal lands or residence, and though the owners dwell among the whites, conforming largely to their customs and laws, to the corresponding neglect of the habits and usages of their own people.[418]

It is important to note here that the decision acknowledges that the United States had recognized the Indiana Miami as a "continued tribal organization in the state" through the Treaty of 1854. *Wau-pe-man-qua v. Aldrich C.C. Ind. (1886)* demonstrates the ambivalent decisions regarding lands held by individual Indiana Miami. The *Wau-pe-man-qua* decision contradicts both Godfroy cases of 1878 and 1901. *Waapinmaankwa's* fee simple patent lands were considered as non-taxable and further contradicted the Godfroy case in 1901, where the court ruled that although the brothers of *Waapimaankwa* had participated in local politics, that it was done so illegally, and that regardless of this, it did not demonstrate a voluntary dissolution of their tribal relations.

The differences in the court decisions regarding the lands of *Palaanswa* and *Pinšiwa* demonstrates the ambivalence of the courts in recognizing both the status of the

[418] *Wau-pe-man-qua v. Aldrich C.C. Ind. (1886)*

Indiana Miami as individual and tribal Indians. Yet the decisions also demonstrate a measure of acknowledgement of the Indiana Miami as individual Indians with individual rights vested in their fee simple patent lands; as holding individual aboriginal title.[419] The status of the lands as "individual aboriginal title" is derived from *Cramer v. United States, (1923)* [420]and further held in *United States v. Dann, (1985)*[421] where the "Ninth Circuit subsequently held that individual Indians (or their lineal descendents) could acquire aboriginal title to land by settling on it before it was withdrawn from settlement…" and where "Individual aboriginal title must be maintained, directly or by lineal ancestors, continuously from a time before the land was withdrawn."[422]

Jurisdiction

In 1940 Wabash County fined Frank Marks for keeping a pet raccoon. Marks refused to pay the fine and ended up having a restraining order placed upon Benjamin Brooks, Wabash County Justice of the Peace.[423] The restraining order came about from Brooks attempting to enforce Indiana game laws upon Marks who, by taking the raccoon as a pet, had violated Indiana game laws. The disagreement reached the U.S. District Court in South Bend. In *United States v. Brooks D.C. Ind. (1940),* Marks contended that as a Miami Indian, the State of Indiana did not have jurisdiction over him and that the Miami had retained their hunting and fishing rights. Marks was a member of the Meshingomesia Band, and as mentioned earlier had a perceived different status from the remainder of the Indiana Miami. The Congressional Act of June 1, 1872

[419] See also Banner, 285.
[420] *261 U.S. 219.* See Canby, 347.
[421] *470 U.S. 39, 50*
[422] Ibid., 348
[423] It is unclear how the United States came to represent Frank Marks in this court case, but the simple fact that the U.S. is a part of the plaintiff's case is noteworthy.

was used to demonstrate that Marks was not an "Indian" under the meaning of the law since Section 5 of the Act declared: "That the members of said band, and their descendents, shall become citizens of the United States on the first day of January, eighteen hundred and eighty-one." The court focused on this as determining that Marks's status as a "ward of the government" had been severed by the aforementioned wording of the Act of 1872; that Marks was not an "Indian", but a citizen of the United States and the State of Indiana and subject to the jurisdiction of the state.

A careful reading of this Act reveals little in regard to the members of the Meshingomesia Band relinquishing any of their rights under previous treaties. The only provisions within the Act that may be construed as such are in Section 3 where "provided, that after the date of partition the said lands shall become subject to the laws of descent of the State of Indiana the same as other lands in said state", Section 4 where "provided, that the same shall be subject to taxation as other property under the laws of the State of Indiana on and after that date." These two provisions strictly apply to the partitioned lands, while Section 5 merely declares them as citizens of the United States. Had the Meshingomesia Band necessarily relinquished all treaty rights upon the allotment of their lands? The court implied that within the Act of 1872, the Meshingomesia Band had voluntarily abolished their "tribal relations" and therefore their hunting and fishing rights as well. The court disregarded previous Supreme Court decisions, such as *Winton v. Amos (1921)*[424] *and United States v. Nice (1916)*[425] stating that one's status as a citizen of the United States did not negate one's tribal citizenship

[424] *255 U.S. 373*
[425] *241 U.S. 591*

status. This leads to the question of whether Marks's claim lies within the "Reserved Rights Doctrine". Wilkins describes the "implied reservation of Indian property rights in treaties…has also been extended to hunting and fishing rights. Such reserved rights are free from state law or regulation, and even survive congressional termination of the federal trust relationship."[426] This extension of hunting and fishing rights was partly derived from the decision of *Winters v. United States*, 207 U.S. 564 (1908) where water rights were reserved for the Fort Belknap Reservation despite the fact that Congressional establishment of the reservation did not mention the water rights of the tribe whatsoever.[427] Had Marks's used *Winters* in his argument, a different outcome may have occurred.

In 1941, just one year following Frank Mark's case, his relative Lamoine Marks was also arrested and found guilty of violating Indiana game laws. In *State of Indiana v. Marks, Miami County, Miami Circuit Court, April term, 1941*, The Miami County Circuit Court stated:

> The court instructs you, that if you believe from the evidence, that the defendant has lived after the manner of a civilized white citizen, has exercised the right to vote, has registered as a citizen, has taken advantage of the rights of the high courts of the state, has taken advantage of the protection and adventures of civilization, has sent his children to the schools of the state, then the court instructs that such acts

[426] Wilkins, *Uneven Ground*, 132.
[427] Ibid., 130.

place him in the same position as any citizen of the state subject to the same laws and entitled to the same rights.[428]

The Miami County Circuit Court decision relied upon a construction of "Indianness" that relegated American Indians as a people of the past. The Court failed to realize that all American Indians were made citizens in 1924 per the Indian Citizenship Act[429]. United States citizenship did not automatically dissolve the rights of individual American Indians as Indians within the meaning of federal law, nor did citizenship dissolve the rights they enjoyed as citizens of their respective tribal nations.

Furthermore, citizenship and even termination did not necessarily dissolve reserved rights. For example, the reserved rights doctrine applied to terminated tribes came up in the case of Menominee Tribe v. United States (1968)[430]. Under the Menominee Termination Act of 1954, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin agreed to terminate the trust relationship with the United States, however, the Menominee Tribe challenged the jurisdiction of the State of Wisconsin over Menominee tribal members in regards to their hunting and fishing rights. According to the Supreme Court decision, it "ruled that implied hunting and fishing rights are not ended unless there is *clear indication* that Congress intended to sever them."[431] As examined earlier in the Act of 1872, there was no mention whatsoever that abrogated the hunting and fishing rights of the Meshingomesia Band. Furthermore, Marks's contention that the Treaty of

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[428] As quoted in Melissa Rhinehart, 115
[429] 43 Stat. 253, ante, 420
[430] 391 U.S. 404
[431] Wilkins, *Uneven Ground*, 133 (emphasis mine). See also Canby, 421.

Greenville of 1795 continued to be interpreted by the Indiana Miami in 1940 that provided:

> The Indian tribes who have a right to those lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon so long as they please' and states that General Anthony Wayne interpreted this provision to mean that they could hunt and fish 'as long as the waters flow and the grass grows', and this interpretation has been handed down from one generation to another and is so understood by the Miami Indians today.

Marks further contended that subsequent treaties either explicitly maintained this or reserved these through not abolishing hunting or fishing rights. The court agreed with Marks on this and further stated that the Indiana Miami had retained their hunting and fishing rights under these treaties, but that the Congressional Act of 1872 had nullified these and further used the provisions of the General Allotment Act of 1887 to demonstrate that the tribe and its trust relationship with the federal government had been terminated. The court stated:

> It would seem to carry some weight that the Department of the Interior has disclaimed any further responsibility for this tribe asserting in an opinion directed to the Prosecuting Attorney of Wabash County, that the Acts of 1872 and 1881 are interpreted by their department to dispose of the property of the band and to dissolve tribal relationship in favor of individual citizenship. A decision of the Assistant Attorney General for

> the Interior Department of Nov. 23, 1897 (25 L.D. 426) concluded that these Indians were no longer under the guardianship of the United States.

The temporary restraining order on Brooks was dissolved and Marks's complaint was "dismissed for lack of jurisdiction."

The Indian Claims Commission

The constraints of this chapter does not lend itself toward a lengthy investigation of Indiana Miami involvement in the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), but a brief examination will further elucidate the ambivalent tribal status of the Indiana Miami under this federal legislation. Following the close of World War II, the United States had just defeated a racist enemy, Germany, and the rise of the liberal consensus strove to erase all measures of racism associated with the United States' past through economic measures. In 1946, The Indian Claims Commission Act[432] was developed to put a final close on the United States' past by compensating American Indian nations for all claims they had against the United States before 1946 and pave the way for the future federal Indian policy of termination.

Throughout the 1930s the Indiana Miami attempted to press claims against the United States to no avail and it was not until the Indian Claims Commission Act that they met some success.[433] The Indiana Miami pressed for several claims in conjunction with their Western Miami relatives along with several other tribes who had claims to lands based upon the several treaties signed by the tribes in the early nineteenth century. The Indiana Miami struggled to be considered as a plaintiff of equal standing with the

[432] 60 Stat. 1049
[433] Rafert, 223-224

other federally recognized tribes who had competing claims and it wasn't until 1958 that "the ICC belatedly recognized the Miami of Indiana as an organized entity (i.e., tribe) having the capacity to present claims."[434] The Indiana Miami were only one of two non-recognized tribes to have been involved in the ICC. Deloria states, "Some tribes, primarily those living in un-federally recognized communities east of the Mississippi River, were never notified of either the Commission or their eligibility to file claims. With the exception of the Creeks and Miamis, who had previously sued the United States in the Court of Claims, the Indian tribes without federal recognition east of the Mississippi were excluded from the operation of the act because of failure of notification".[435] Interestingly, the Poarch Band of Creek of Alabama received recognition in 1984.

By continuing the efforts of prior tribal leaders spanning the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the ICC awarded the Indiana Miami millions of dollars regarding several separate claims until the final closure of Indiana Miami claims in 1972. Although, the ICC did not extend federal recognition to the Indiana Miami, it did demonstrate a measure of recognition that the Indiana Miami indeed had claims comparable to other federally recognized Indian tribes. The Indiana Miami had achieved a limited justice associated with holding the United States accountable for a measure of its trust responsibilities under treaties that guaranteed compensation for lands ceded under those treaties.

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[434] Ibid., 238.

[435] Vine Deloria, Jr., *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence* (Austin: University of Texas, 1985), 224.

Federal Recognition

Through their struggles for justice in regards to taxation, jurisdiction, and land claims to maintain a measured separatism, the Indiana Miami came to realize that the only way they could achieve and secure this was through explicit federal re-recognition of their status as an Indian tribe.[436] The Indiana Miami contended they were not a new entity to be recognized by the United states and instead sought re-recognition or re-acknowledgement as a reaffirmation of the trust relationship that began with the Treaty of 1854; a relationship that the United States had abandoned in 1897. As seen in their participation in the ICC, the Indiana Miami had achieved a measure of recognition of the United States trust relationship pending past treaties, however the era of termination following World War II further stymied any possibilities of the Miami for full federal recognition.

It was not until the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research (BAR) was formed in 1978 that the Indiana Miami saw a way of regaining their ability to maintain measured separatism. All former factions of the Indiana Miami came together in the development of the petition submitted in 1980. After a decade, the tribe was informed of deficiencies in regards to two of the seven required criteria needed to demonstrate the that Indiana Miami were indeed an "Indian Tribe with whom the United States would establish a government to government relationship with"[437]; these criteria being b) "Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or

[436] See William W Quinn, Jr. "Federal Acknowledgement of American Indian Tribes: The Historical Development of a Legal Concept" The American Journal of Legal History, Vol. 34, Oct. 1990, No. 4, on the genealogy of the cognitive and jurisdictional aspects of federal recognition.

[437] See Federal Register Notice of Final Determination, Federal Register, Vol. 57, No. 118, Thursday June 18, 1992.

lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area and that its members are descendents of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area" and c) "A statement of facts that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present".

In 1992 The Indiana Miami received the BAR decision of final determination against their federal recognition and that the Miami's submittal of further supporting evidence was insufficient to demonstrate they had met criteria *c* and *b*. These two criteria can be tied to the Indiana Miami struggle to maintain their measured separatism and the court cases analyzed thus far. The Indiana Miami were able to maintain a measured separatism through the reassurance of successive cases up until 1897. These cases reaffirmed their status, although implicit on the part of the United States, that allowed them to maintain their lands and "tribal relations". Following VanDevanter's 1897 decision, the lack of federal recognition of the Indiana Miami meant the dissolution of their lands, and their perceived assimilation into the surrounding society. Their continued efforts to regain acknowledgement of their status attests to the Indiana Miami continued assertion of a measured separatism. In the proposed final determination against the Indiana Miami petition for federal recognition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs admitted that the loss of lands due to the loss of recognition of the Indiana Miami severely limited their abilities to demonstrate that they had met criteria *b*

and *c* of the BAR acknowledgement criteria.[438] The Miami contend that the BAR failed to take this into account.

The BAR's final determination against federal recognition of the Indiana Miami left the tribe with two alternatives: 1) file a series of lawsuits against the United States Department of the Interior or 2) pursue legislative recognition. The suits filed by the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana span nearly a decade. These lawsuits being: *Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc. v. Lujan (1993)*[439], *Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc., et. al. v. Bruce Babbitt, et. al (1995)*[440], *(1996)*[441], *(1999)*[442], *(2000)*[443], and *Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc., et al. v. United States Department of the Interior, et al (2001).* These cases encompass the one hundred years of historical reluctance of the United States' acknowledgement of the Indiana Miami as a tribe.

The limitations of this chapter do not allow for a more in depth analysis of the entirety of these several lawsuits, but several important aspects of the decisions deserve attention. In *Miami Nation v. Lujan*, the Indiana Miami "sought a ruling that the Secretary of the Interior's decision withdrawing federal recognition of the Indiana Miamis in 1897 was *ultra vires*[444], meaning the Secretary of the Interior acted "without any authority to act"[445] upon the decision of whether the Indiana Miami continued to have a trust relationship with the United States. Indeed the Secretary of the Interior did act out of his authority, since only Congress is vested with the powers to terminate the

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[438] Federal Register Notice of Proposed Finding, Federal Register, Vol. 55, No. 139, Thursday July 19, 1990, 20424.
[439] *832 F Supp. 253 N.D. Ind.*
[440] *887F. Supp. 1158*
[441] *979 F. Supp. 771*
[442] *55 F. Supp.2d 921*
[443] *112 F. Supp.2d 742*
[444] *887F. Supp. 1158.*
[445] *Black's Law Dictionary*, 6th ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1990), 1522.

trust relationship with tribes[446] and the Indiana Miami had never consented to termination of the trust relationship. However the court ruled that the "the applicable statute of limitations barred that claim".[447] Had the Indiana Miami successfully sought justice regarding this decision earlier in their efforts, this chapter and subsequent Miami history would have been much different.

Following this decision, the Indiana Miami focused upon the arbitrariness and capriciousness of criteria of the BAR and the decisions of its employees and the Secretary of the Interior in regards to the denial of recognition. The Miami argued that they had proven they had met all seven of the BAR criteria as they had interpreted them and that the reasons behind the BAR's decisions regarding criteria's *c* and *b* were not explicitly stated in the actual criteria. Throughout these cases, the court consistently ruled that the BAR criteria were neither arbitrary nor capricious. For the court to have ruled otherwise, would have undermined the entire BAR process and all other previous final determinations both for and against the acknowledgement of several other tribes.

In *Miami Nation v. Babbitt (1999)*, court did allow for the "supplement of record" regarding notes, correspondence, and any other records that may have elucidated the premises behind the decisions of the BAR. Through their review of these records, the Miami cited several instances where the BAR disregarded the research and conclusions of its contracted anthropological investigators and indicated that "the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research staff thought the case a close one and sought help from the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, after which they

[446] See Canby, 7.
[447] *887F. Supp. 1158.*

recommended against acknowledgement." The court ruled that the decision process of the BAR was neither arbitrary nor capricious and that the Secretary of the Interior had acted within his authority.

Returning to the case that introduced this chapter, *Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc., et al. v. United States Department of the Interior, et al (2001).* In *Miami Nation v. Department of the Interior*, the court used the findings published in the BAR's final determination to declare the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana as a non-existent entity and that no rights could be extended to an entity that did not exist and equated the severing of the United States trust relationship with the Miami "voluntarily abandoning" the relationship. The case of *Mashpee Tribe v. New Seabury Corp., 592 F 2d. 575 (1st Cir.), cert. denied, 444 U.S. 866 (1979)* further supported the court's decision where "a tribe may totally lose its tribal status by voluntarily ceasing to function as a distinct and identifiable entity."[448] Ironically, the Mashpee Wampanoag of Massachusetts proceeded through the BAR process and received a final favorable determination for federal recognition in 2009.

In Judge Miller's decision he stated that:

> Probably by 1940 and certainly by 1992, the Miami Nation had ceased to be a tribe in any reasonable sense. It had no structure. It was a group of people united by nothing more than common descent, with no territory, no significant governance, and only the loosest of social ties. To what extent and in what sense this long-drawn-out process of dissolution of the tribe of 1854 should be called "voluntary" can be debated (there is no

[448] See Canby, 7

> contention that it was coerced), but that it amounted to abandonment cannot be doubted. The federal benefits for the sake of which recognition is sought are extended to tribes, not individuals, so if there is no tribe, for whatever reason, there is nothing to recognize.

The cases presented throughout this paper demonstrate that the Indiana Miami had not in fact abandoned their trust relationship with the United States, but rather the opposite, the United States' abandonment of the Indiana Miami meant a lack of federal protection for them to maintain a measured separatism.

Conclusion

The rhetoric in the final decision of the case the Indiana Miami brought against the United States in 2001 echoes that of the Indiana Supreme Court's opinion in *Board of Commissioners of Miami County et al. v. Godfroy (1901)* a century earlier and extended the denial of an individual's Indian identity to the denial of the tribal existence of the Indiana Miami. Throughout these cases, the courts have taken upon themselves the role of defining who is an "Indian" and what is an "Indian tribe". By defining these parameters, the courts legitimated the denial of the very justice the Indiana Miami have sought at both individual and tribal levels in order to maintain their measured separatism. Cases such as *Swimming Turtle* demonstrate that individually, some Indiana Miami do have a limited recognition of their status as "Indians", but this is only in so far as they maintain continued ownership of their inherited land patents. Should these lands be alienated from those descendents of *Palaanswa*, their status as "Indians" for the purposes of law is uncertain. As for the collective tribal status of the Indiana Miami, since the court decisions throughout the historical record have relied upon the decisions

of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and that the BIA continues to deny the tribal existence of the Indiana Miami, they will never be able to fully achieve justice in the American Judicial System; the BAR final determination against the Indiana Miami will ensure this.

Although the entire BAR process and the failure of several suits filed by the Indiana Miami may seem to have effectively thwarted the Miami pursuit of federal recognition, legislative recognition continues to be a viable alternative. In the 1990s, this effort suffered a detrimental setback. Legislative recognition requires the support of state representatives and senators to take the bill before congress, and in 1992, Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) sponsored S.R. 538 for re-acknowledgement of the Indiana Miami, but the state of Indiana had recently passed legislation allowing some forms of gambling in the state and the passage of the Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act (IGRA) (1988) was no doubt seen as a threat to the gaming interests of the state and shortly thereafter Lugar withdrew support of the Indiana Miami.[449] Senator Lugar continues to be an important figure in Washington politics and based upon his actions, it is doubtless that he will continue to be an opponent of Indiana Miami federal recognition. Following this, Senator Inouye (D-Haw.) tried further to introduce successive bills and riders to "re-acknowledge" the Indiana Miami to no avail. With the increased negative public perception of Indian gaming and a disturbingly increasing anti-tribal sovereignty movement in addition to the rise of federalism in the United States, the Indiana Miami may have to continue to wait out these obstacles for many years to come.

[449] Rafert, 292.

The ambivalence of the judicial system and the federal government that Wilkins states as pervasive in the history of the relationships between American Indians and the three branches of the federal government is evident when we look at the Indiana Miami. The court cases analyzed within this chapter illustrate the ambivalence associated with the United States' position towards its relationship with the Indiana Miami as a tribe and the affects upon individual Indiana Miami. This is especially apparent in regards to the lands held by the descendents of *Palaanswa*, where a single individual can at one time be declared "Indian," while only twenty years later declared by the same court as "non-Indian," while their descendents were subsequently declared "Indian" over seventy years after the fact.

The successes and failures of the Indiana Miami within the judicial system have depended upon four overwhelming factors: 1) the status of their lands; 2) their status as Indians; 3) the outsider's perception of their identity as authentically Indians; and 4) their status as members of a tribe, which also depended upon an outsider's perception of their "Indian authenticity". It is difficult to separate these factors, since one must be an Indian or member of a tribe in order for one's land to be exempt from state jurisdiction, yet holding title to said lands enables one to exercise a measured separatism that creates the perception of retaining one's Indian or tribal identities.

The cases examined in this chapter demonstrate that the Indiana Miami have continuously sought justice to retain their relationships with their lands in order maintain the integrity of their communities through a measured separatism from the surrounding Euro-American Society. The erasure of their identities as Indians and as a tribe, led to the literal erasure of their lands in the first half of the twentieth century. It

was during this time that the Indiana Miami continued to seek justice not only for the taxation of their lands, but for the re-acknowledgement of their continued existence as the Miami Nation of Indiana and their trust relationship with the United States. The Indiana Miami realized that the only way they could achieve justice was through being an official federally recognized Indian tribe. The court cases of the nineteenth century demonstrate that following the Treaty of 1854, the Indian Miami enjoyed a recognition of their status as a tribe and that the tribe and individual tribal members enjoyed the protections of the United States associated with that recognition. There was never any Legislative or Presidential termination of these protections, of the trust relationship of the United States with the Indiana Miami, yet the decision of Willis VanDevanter in 1897 forced the Indiana Miami to pursue justice in the form of formal federal re-recognition as an Indian tribe.

The Indiana Miami pursuit of Federal Recognition is not a means to an end, but is rather a continuance of their struggle to maintain a measured separatism. The nineteenth century cases demonstrate that the Indiana Miami, to varying degrees sought to maintain a measured separatism. Some voted in local elections, some participated in the local economy, yet all struggled to maintain the lands their ancestors had reserved for them in numerous treaties which enabled the Miami to maintain a spatial separatism where they could enjoy agency in their involvement in local politics, economy, and society. As the twenty-first century begins, the Indiana Miami have realized that justice may never prevail within the American judicial system and so have began to assert their rights in international forums, most recently within the United Nations. The ongoing struggle of the Indiana Miami with the United States and the State of Indiana has left

the indelible mark of "Indian authenticity" upon them, much like *mahkwa* to *waapanswa*. Despite this marking, the hope remains with the Indiana Miami that daylight will finally prevail.

Namahkakike naahpa waahseeki.
After a while, it became light.

Mahkwa ceešikiteeta. "Kitanihi!" iilaata.
Bear became angry, "*You beat me!*", *he said.*

Seehsiinkweenaata, atooni péminkonci peehsinanka. Taawitoneenaata.
He scratched his face, and split his upper lip. He made him hare-lipped.

Iiniini wiiyoonkonci moošaki waahseeki.
That's why it's always light.

Iiniini wiiyoonkonci waapanswa taawitonki.
That's why rabbits are hare-lipped.

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Appendix: Miami Pronunciation Guide

Consonants and their pronunciation

p	as in paper
t	as in tie
k	as in keep
c	as in church
s	as in see
š	as in show
h	as in head
m	as in more
n	as in now
l	as in leave
w	as in wish
y	as in yarn

Vowels and their pronunciation

a	as in father
aa	as in amen – same sound as above only held longer
e	as in bet
ee	as in made
i	as in big
ii	long e as in see
o	as in no
oo	long o sound as in moose

Preaspirated consonants

Sound as a puff of air and spelled into words as the letter h and appears in words such as moohswa – deer

General pronunciation

nk	as in linger
nt	as in tender
ns	as in frenzy
nc	as in conjure
nš	as in hinge, sounding like nzh when spoken
mp	as in lumber
n(m)Vs	when n or m come before a vowel with an s is following, the s is pronounced as a z
n(m)Vš	when n or me come before a vowel with the š follwing – the š is pronounced as the zh sound in pleasure