Summary Under the Criteria and Evidence for

Proposed Finding Against Federal Acknowledgment

of the

Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc.

Prepared in response to a petition submitted to the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs for Federal acknowledgment that this group exists as an Indian Tribe.

Approved: JUL 12 1990
(date)

Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION
Abbreviations and/or Acronyms

MAP

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS UNDER THE CRITERIA
Criterion A..... 1
Criterion B..... 3
Criterion C..... 7
Criterion D.....13
Criterion E.....14
Criterion F.....15
Criterion G.....16

HISTORICAL REPORT (BAR)
European Contact, The Fur Trade, And War 1654-1795..... 1
Early Land Cessions And The War of 1812, 1795-1815..... 7
Changing Conditions In Indiana, 1816-1828.....10
The Push For Removal, 1828-1840.....13
Splitting The Tribe.....17
The First Years After Removal, 1847-1854.....20
The Treaty Of 1854 And Determining Indiana Miami Membership.....22
The Last Treaty And Initial Claims, 1869-1895.....28
The Meshingomesia Band, 1846-1895.....33
The Individuals Miamis, 1846-1895.....36
Denial of Tribal Status 1896-97.....42
Developing Factionalism, 1897-1930.....44
Formalized Boundaries, 1937-1944.....50
The Pursuit Of Claims And Treaty Rights, 1942-47.....56
Successful Claims, 1947-78.....58
The Movement For Federal Acknowledgment, 1979-89.....64

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT (CONTRACTOR)
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION..... 1
Introduction..... 1
Subgroup Organization..... 6
Godfroy.....11
Meshingomesia.....23

Bundy..... 1
Richardville/LaFontaine..... 9
Richardville/LaFontaine families in the west.....15

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTIONS..... 1
Settlement Patterns in the pre-removal period..... 1
Post-removal Settlements..... 3
Meshingomesia Reserve (1846-1900)..... 4

1900-Present..... 6
Godfroy Reserve (1846-1900)..... 7
1900-1930.....12
1930-Present.....13
Ozashinquah Reserve (1846-1900).....14
1900-1930.....16
Richardville/LaFontaine Descendants.....18
1846-1900.....18
Secondary Migrations of Landless Miamis.....20
Contemporary Geographic Distributions.....22
States.....23
Towns and Cities.....24
Indiana Towns and Cities.....24
Catchment Areas Surrounding Indiana Towns.....27
Towns and Cities in Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri.....28

Geographic Distribution Of Miami Subgroups..... 1
Geographic Distribution Of Miami Subgroups
Major Indiana Towns/Cities..... 2
Subgroups in Indiana: Major Settlement and
Catchment Areas..... 3

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY
Introduction..... 1
Council Meetings and the Annual Reunion..... 3
Miami Cultural Activities..... 8
Cemeteries.....13
Kinship.....16
Ethnic Boundaries.....18
Social Relations.....25

Notes..... 1
References..... 2

SUPPLEMENTARY ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON POLITICAL PROCESSES AMONG THE INDIANA MIAMI AFTER 1890 (BAR)
Introduction..... 1
Political Organization, 1890 to 1940.....1
Political Activity and Organizations, 1940's to 1979.....12
Miami Nation of Indiana Council.....16
Annual Reunion, 1940 to present.....20
Subgroup Conflicts.....21
Bases and Significance of Leadership and Issues.....21
Enrollment.....23

GENEALOGICAL REPORT (CONTRACTOR)
SUMMARY..... 1
A. Total number, geographic distribution..... 1
B. Subgroups..... 1
C. Membership criteria..... 1
D. Terminology..... 2
E. Description of report..... 3

I. GOVERNING DOCUMENTS..... 4
A. Checklist of organizational documents & resolutions to amend..... 4
B. Current governing document..... 4

II. MEMBERSHIP..... 5
A. Description of Petitioning Group..... 5
B. Membership Lists submitted - listing and description..... 5

III. MEMBERSHIP CRITERIA..... 9
A. List of criteria and resolutions..... 9
B. Enrollment 11
C. Documentation accepted by the petitioner.....12

IV. RECORDS UTILIZED.....13
A. List.....13
B. Description and results of research in each 13

V. ANALYSIS.....18
A. Descendancy Charts.....18
B. Genealogical Selection.....18
C. Lineages selected for further study and analysis.....19
D. Do they meet their own membership criteria?.....19
E. Summary.....20

VI. POTENTIAL MEMBERS.....21

VII. ENROLLMENT IN OTHER FEDERALLY RECOGNIZED INDIAN TRIBES.....21

ADDENDUM TO CONTRACTOR'S GENEALOGICAL REPORT (BAR)
Enrollment Process..... 1
Potential for Membership Growth..... 3
Dual Enrollment Policy..... 3

SOURCE MATERIALS

INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in response to the petition received by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs from the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc., hereafter MNISI seeking Federal acknowledgment as a Indian tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 CFR 83).

Part 83 establishes procedures by which unrecognized Indian groups may seek Federal acknowledgment of an existing government-to-government relationship with the United States. To be entitled to such a political relationship with the United States, the petitioner must submit documentary evidence that the group meets the seven criteria set forth in Section 83.7 of 25 CFR. Failure to meet any one of the seven criteria will result in a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

Publication of the Assistant Secretary's proposed finding in the Federal Register initiates a 120-day response period during which factual and/or legal arguments and evidence to rebut the evidence relied upon are received from the petitioner and any other interested party. Such evidence should be submitted in writing to the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, 1849 C Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Mail Stop 4627-MIB.

After consideration of all written arguments and evidence received during the 120-day response period, the Assistant Secretary will make a final determination regarding the petitioner's status, a summary of which will be published in the Federal Register within 60 days of the expiration of the 120-day response period. This determination will become effective 60 days from its date of publication unless the Secretary of the Interior requests the Assistant Secretary to reconsider.

If at the expiration of the 120-day response period this proposed finding is confirmed, the Assistant Secretary will analyze and forward to the petitioner other options, if any, under which the petitioner might make application for services or other benefits.

ABBREVIATIONS AND/OR ACRONYMS USED IN REPORT

BAR = Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs (Evaluator of the Petition).

BIA = Bureau of Indian Affairs

GBMI = Godfroy Band of Miami Indians.

ICC = Indian Claims Commission

MAR = Miami Annual Reunion

MII = Miami Indians of Indiana.

MI/MNI = Miami Indians/Miami Nation of Indians.

MNISI = Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. (The Petitioner)

MTI = Miami Tribe of Indiana.

PD = Petition Document submitted by the Petitioner (MNISI).

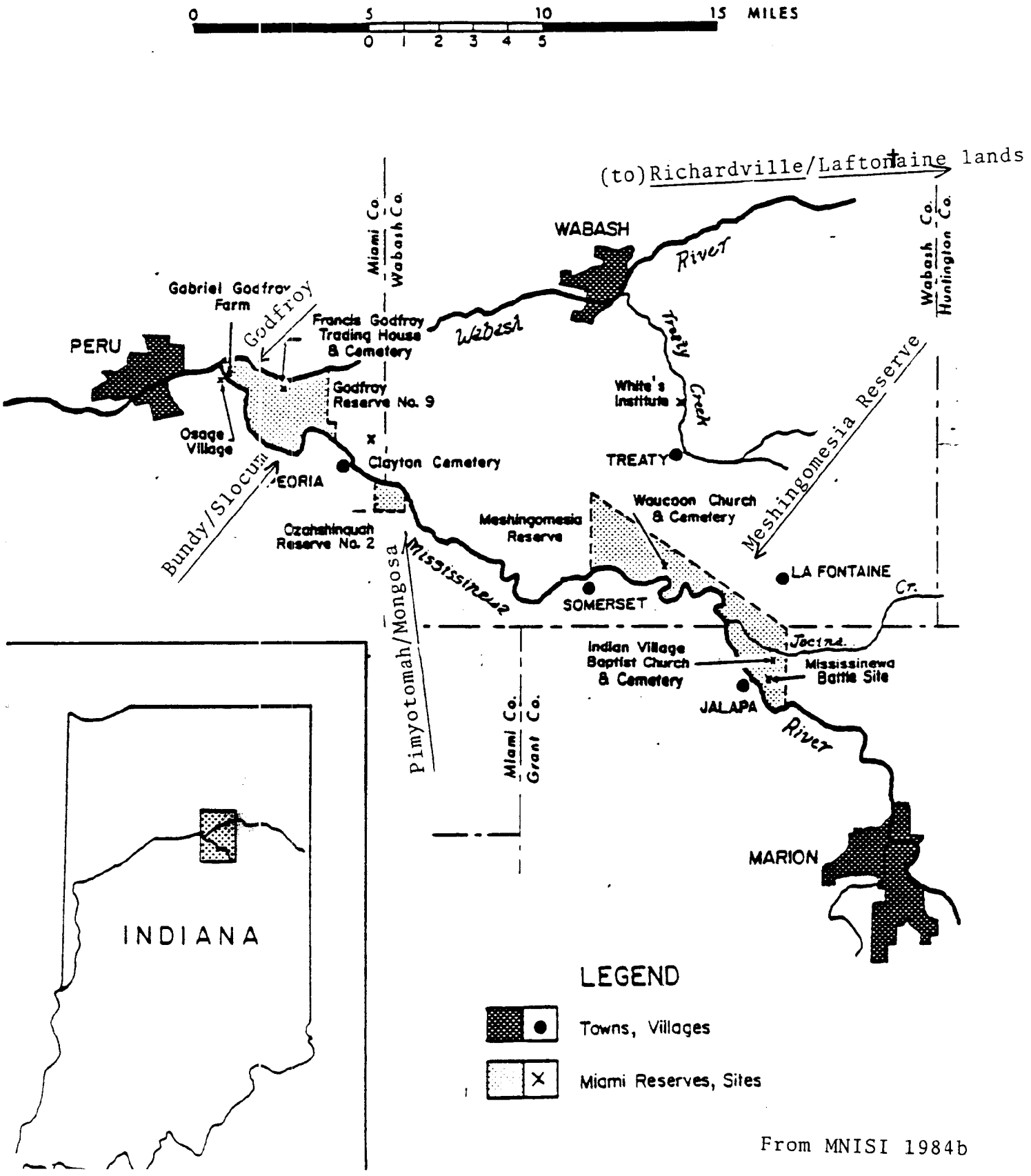
R.G. 48 = National Archives Record Group 48. Records of the Office of the Secretary of Interior.

R.G. 75 = National Archives Record Group 75. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

R.G. 123 = National Archives Record Group 123. Records of the United States Court of Claims.

WNRC = Washington National Records Center, Suitland, MD.

MIAMI INDIAN SITES



From MNISI 1984b

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA 83.7(a-g)

Evidence submitted by the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana (hereinafter, the petitioner) and obtained through independent research by the Acknowledgment staff and by researchers with First Computer Concepts, Inc., demonstrates that the petitioner does not meet all seven criteria required for Federal acknowledgment. Specifically, the petitioner does not meet criteria 25 CFR 83.7(b) and (c). In accordance with the regulations set forth in 25 CFR 83, failure to meet any one of the seven criteria requires a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

This is a proposed finding based on available evidence and, as such, does not preclude the submission of other evidence to the contrary during the 120-day comment period which follows publication of this finding. Such new evidence may result in a change in the conclusions reached in the proposed finding. The final determination, which will be published separately after the receipt of comments, will be based on both the new evidence submitted in response to the proposed finding and the original evidence used in formulating the proposed finding.

In the summary of evidence which follows, each criterion has been reproduced in boldface type as it appears in the regulations. Summary statements of the evidence relied upon follow the respective criteria.

83.7(a) A statement of facts establishing that the petitioner has been identified from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis, as "American Indian," or "aboriginal." A petitioner shall not fail to satisfy any criteria herein merely because of fluctuations of tribal activity during various years.

Documentary sources have identified a body of Indians called the Miami from their first sustained contact with French fur traders and missionaries in the 1650's to the present. Records of New York and Pennsylvania indicate English colonial interest in the tribe as early as 1705, before the main body of the tribe moved from Michigan, where it was first noted by the French, to its "historic" homeland in northern Indiana. Documents relating to the Iroquois Wars, the fur trade, and the imperial rivalry of France and England in the 17th and 18th centuries track the movement of the tribe to northern Indiana by the 1720's. The documentation also discusses the role of the tribe and its leaders in those major events. English colonial documents and early documents of the United States Government also delineate the Miami tribe's role in the American Revolution and the struggles of the fledgling United States Government to maintain its control over the Old Northwest. Records detail the United States Government's dealings with the Miami tribe during the period from 1795 to 1846, during which the tribe signed 12 treaties ceding its lands until part of the tribe was forced to remove west to Kansas and Indian Territory.

At the time of removal, some 148 Miami were allowed to remain in Indiana by treaty stipulation or act of Congress. Others, who returned to Indiana shortly after the removal, raised the total to approximately 300. Subsequent to the removal, the Miami who emigrated became known as the "Western" Miami and were continually referred to as such in correspondence with the Office of Indian Affairs and in congressional documents. The Miami who remained in or returned to Indiana were referred to in similar documents as the "Eastern" Miami, or Eastern "branch" or "band" of the tribe or the "Miami of Indiana." Indiana Miami delegates attended negotiations and signed a treaty in Washington D.C. in 1854, as well as an unratified treaty in 1869.

In 1897, at the height of their successes on the Federal and State levels to have their lands declared tax exempt because of past treaty stipulations, Interior Department Assistant Attorney General Willis Van Devanter issued an opinion declaring that the Federal Government no longer recognized the "tribal capacity" of the Indiana Miami.

The Miami were identified as a tribe in numerous memorials and resolutions of the Indiana legislature to the Federal Government between the 1820's and 1840's to accomplish their removal. After 1846, the Indiana legislature showed concern for the continued payment of annuities to those Miami allowed to remain in the state, and identified them as part of the Miami tribe. After State and Federal court cases in the 1870's and 1880's determined that Indiana Miami lands were tax exempt because of the continued tribal status of the Miami who remained after removal, the State passed legislation preventing such taxation by state, county and municipal governments. As a result of Van Devanter's 1897 opinion, the State began to take action again to tax Miami land holdings, as well as to enforce game laws in the 1930's which had previously been considered not to apply to the Miami because of treaty stipulations protecting their hunting and fishing rights. Federal and State court decisions in tax and game cases involving consideration of the status of the Indiana Miami wavered between acknowledging that they were a band or tribe and stating that they were merely individuals of Indian descent. Decisions prior to 1897 primarily took the former stance, while later decisions held that the Indiana Miami did not constitute a tribe, again using Van Devanter's decision as a basis for their argument. More recent decisions, however, such as that made by the Indian Claims Commission in 1964, identified the Indiana Miami as an Indian entity.

Since the early 1980's, various departments of the State government have worked closely with the Indiana Miami, such as the Department of Natural Resources' efforts to protect Miami cemeteries and the assistance of state officials in removing an offensive Indian stereotype from a State Fair logo. In 1980 the Indiana legislature passed a joint resolution in support of the Miami petition for Federal acknowledgment.

A Miami Indian entity in Indiana has also been identified from before the removal period to the present in travelers accounts, regional histories, and popular biographies -- particularly those relating to Frances Slocum.

Despite the factionalism within the group, numerous articles in Indiana newspapers dating from the 1880's to the present also note the existence of an identifiable, overall Miami Indian entity a well as the subgroups in the state and chronicle the group's participation in local parades and pageants, the activities and deaths of its leaders, its meetings and reunions, and its efforts to preserve its rights and protect its lands.

Finally, the Miami have had dealings with other Indian tribes and Indian organizations. The Indiana Miami maintained close ties with the Miami who emigrated west in 1846. Delegations from both the Indiana and western Miami worked together during treaty negotiations in Washington in 1854 and 1869. In the 1950's the Indiana and Oklahoma Miami worked together again, this time on Miami claims cases before the Indian Claims Commission. Contact and visits between the councils and leaders, as well as members, of both Miami organizations have continued to the present.

From the early 1940's to at least the 1960's various Indiana Miami worked with an organization called the "League of North American Indians" (later the "Long House League of North American Indians"). This organization assisted the various subgroups of Indiana Miami in organizing and in pressing the group's claims. Since the early 1980's, the group and its leaders have become active in statewide Indian organizations, such as the Intertribal Council of Indians of Indiana, and have been proponents of a State Indian Affairs Commission to meet the needs of the state's Native American population. The Miami have included with their petition letters from the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and the Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin supporting the group's petition for Federal acknowledgment.

The petitioner has been identified as being an American Indian entity from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis and, therefore, meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(a).

83.7(b) Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area.

In the early contact period, i.e., the 1600's, the Miamis consisted of a series of independent tribes of related peoples. The largest of these, the Crane tribe, which numbered several thousand people, evolved into the historic Miami tribe during the early 1700's. Bands within the tribe were more or less composed of families related to the village chief, plus additional attached followers. Villages of from 50 to 200 people were the primary settlements.

In 1825, the immediate pre-removal period, there were about 10 Miami villages, including the large settlement around the trading house of the chief, J.B. Richardville. The Miami population had declined to about 850 people. There was considerable reshuffling of Miami bands in the immediate

pre-removal period, as many village leaders died and the Miami population declined.

The present Indiana Miami membership is derived from those families that were allowed to remain after removal westward in 1846 or were allowed to return in the succeeding 10 years. Approximately 300 individuals remained in Indiana or returned and were allowed to remain. The group also includes some families which initially remained but which migrated west voluntarily over the succeeding 80 years. They have remained distinct, for the most part, from the Western Miamis, i.e., those who had been removed in 1846 (presently recognized as the Miami Nation of Oklahoma).

Four groups of kinsmen had land after removal, and formed the nuclei for subgroups which had the character initially of land-based bands similar in character to the pre-removal bands. One was the band under Meshingomesia, which had a communally-held reserve along the Mississinewa River. The second major group centered on the massive Godfroy family (descendants of Chief Francis Godfroy). It initially had major land-holdings, originally granted to Francis Godfroy, along the Wabash and Mississinewa Rivers just east of present-day Peru and west of the Meshingomesia reserve. A third subgroup, commonly known as the Bundy group, was centered on the descendants of Frances Slocum, with land immediately east of the Godfroys. The fourth subgroup with land was the Richardville and LaFontaine families (which were largely intermarried), with scattered lands well east of the others, near Huntington and Fort Wayne. A large portion of this latter subgroup migrated west after removal and form the bulk of the western Indiana Miami. In addition, the Indiana Miami population included the smaller group of followers of Pimyotomah, a portion of the Eel River Miamis, a band originally separate from the Miami tribe and some miscellaneous families affiliated with the Godfroys. The Eel River and some of the miscellaneous families were allowed by the Godfroys to settle on their lands and eventually intermarried with the Indiana Miami. Some families outside the four main subgroups settled among the Meshingomesia.

These subgroups, with the possible exception of the Richardville/LaFontaine, formed small, land-based social and economic communities. In several instances, there was a church and a school that solely or largely was based among the subgroup population. About two-thirds of the Indiana Miami population was resident on the lands in the 1880's, with the balance largely resident nearby. The Miami language was widely spoken and cultural differences from the non-Indian population remained even though the Miamis had early adopted much of European material culture.

A combination of factors forced the Miamis off their lands beginning in the 1880's. The Meshingomesia had agreed to have their lands, which were held communally, individually allotted in 1873, based on the treaty provision establishing the reserve. The land became taxable in 1881 and the Meshingomesia became citizens at the same time. The lands of the other subgroups were in individual grants under the treaties and, while initially considered nontaxable, were subjected to taxation or attempted taxation by the State of Indiana from the 1870's on. The combination of taxation and the difficulties of most Miamis in commercial farming, as well as possibly other economic problems, led to the erosion of the land base through mortgage

foreclosure, forced sale for taxes or sale to pay expenses. This process occurred rapidly among the more conservative Meshingomesia after their lands became taxable in 1881, with most of their land being lost by 1900. The Godfroy and Bundy Lands were lost more gradually, with the Godfroys providing refuge for some families that had lost their lands. They still had substantial land in 1900, but this was lost for the most part by the end of the 1920's.

Most of the Miamis initially moved to the nearby towns of Peru, Marion and Wabash after leaving their lands. The breakup of the land-based communities and the migration to the nearby towns disrupted the social relationships of the communities. Although most of the Miamis remained within a 15-mile radius, there was a substantial reduction in social interaction within the tribe after 1910. There was little evidence of continued economic cooperation among Miamis outside of extended families. There were no longer schools and churches with a substantial Miami population after about 1910. An annual reunion was instituted about 1903 which partially compensated for the decreased interaction. Subgroup differences continued to be important, based on kinship, even though their territorial basis was lost. Subgroup-family cemeteries continued to be maintained. In this era, there was still substantial social discrimination by non-Indians. The Miami language was evidently still widely spoken, but the older generation refused to teach it to their children.

Initially after removal, Indiana Miami marriages were predominantly within the local Miami population. Historically, there had been some marriages with non-Indians since the late 1700's, but the descendants of the families originating with the non-Indian traders primarily married within the tribe. Most marriages after removal were between rather than within the subgroups, presumably because of the closeness of kinship relationships within the subgroups. The extensive intermarriage in this small population led to an intense set of kinship links between the subgroups and their leaders. Subgroup distinctions remained sharp. Beginning with the generation born after 1864, however, most marriages were with local non-Indians. There were few (about 10 percent of the total) marriages within the Miami for the generation born between 1881 and 1907 (i.e., marrying after 1900).

Significant outmigration from remaining Miami lands, and the nearby towns where the Miamis had settled began between 1910 and 1920. More substantial outmigration occurred in the 1920's and 1930's. These individuals and their descendants form much of the basis for the approximately two-thirds of the present membership which is resident outside of the core geographic area. In this same era, the 1920's and 1930's, most of the last of the Miami land holdings was lost. Subgroup distinctions continued, however, based on ancestry and the history of common residence. The annual reunion continued to be held. The available data indicates that discrimination against Miamis had largely ceased by the 1930's. Between the 1930's and the present, outmigration continued and there were essentially no additional intermarriages within the Miami population.

The present-day membership of the Indiana Miami comprises approximately 4400 individuals, descendants of 177 of the 440 individuals on the rolls made in 1895 and 1889 to pay funds awarded to the Miamis and the Eel River Miami

descendants, respectively. Approximately 36 percent of the membership is resident within the four-county area which is more or less the historic (early 19th century) territory of the Miami tribe. Sixty-four percent is resident in other parts of Indiana or elsewhere in the country. There are no distinct territorial areas which are largely or exclusively Miami, although there are a few neighborhoods in Peru which have a number of Miami families living within them.

The available data on Miami social interaction within the core geographic area, between the core area and Miamis outside it, and with local non-Indians is limited and not systematic and hence does not provide an adequate basis to conclusively determine the character of these social patterns. Thus, it could not be demonstrated that the core geographic area was also a core social area. The available data indicates that the membership within the geographic area comprised by the four counties maintains some, but not substantial, social interaction or social ties with those Miamis in the area with whom they do not have a close kinship relationship. Most Miami social interaction occurs within the family group or with immediate kinsmen. Because of the absence of significant intermarriage in the past several generations, there are presently few close kinship ties between, as opposed to within, family lines. Interaction between individuals from different family lines is limited, accounted for largely by the annual reunion, and, in the past five years, the newly established tribal office. There are no clubs or churches or similar institutions which are exclusively or largely Miami, although there are some with a number of Miamis as members. The Miamis within these institutions do interact with each other. There was limited evidence that Miamis, except those with a common church, attended weddings and funerals of Miamis outside of their immediate kinsmen.

The Miami membership, at least those active in the Miami Tribal organization, does retain a significant degree of orientation to and identification with the subgroup differences which have characterized Miami history since removal. The annual reunion continues to be held. Attendance at reunions in the past two decades has been between 5 and 10 percent of the membership. Overall, a larger, but undetermined, percentage have attended at least one reunion in that time period. The best evidence is that attendees have been almost exclusively from within the core geographic area. Although it does not replace frequent social contact, it is a social institution common to the membership and an important context of social contact for the Miamis.

There was no information concerning social relationships among the 248 western Indiana Miami who live within the historic settlement area in the west or the additional 260 of their relatives resident elsewhere in the Oklahoma-Kansas-Missouri area. Social interaction between the western Indiana Miami (about 11 percent of the membership) and those in the core geographic area are and have been limited in the past 50 years.

The balance of the membership resident outside the core geographic area did not form distinct population clusters, with the exception of a group of related families at South Bend (about 8 percent of the membership). Almost all of the population resident outside the core geographic area had a substantial number of relatives living within the core geographic area, i.e., shared at least one common ancestor on the 1889 or 1895 payrolls. The generational depth to this common ancestor is, on the average, two to three

generations. This geographic distribution of kinsmen within the Indiana Miami membership indicates that a systematic communication pattern between the core geographic area kinsmen and those outside was feasible. However, the reports of such communication were anecdotal and the effectiveness of this in practice could not be determined with the available data. Individual informants reported that "tribal news" was passed to relatives living outside the area, although the extent and frequency of this was not indicated. The petitioner indicated that as it presently operates, it is the responsibility of council members to contact local families "in their area" and have them in turn pass information along family lines. The effectiveness of this could not be determined and there was no evidence that this had operated in the past, before the present form of council was organized.

There are no cultural differences between the Miamis and the surrounding population. Miamis and non-Miamis in the core geographic area interact with each other extensively and in all kinds of social contexts, although the data are insufficient to precisely determine the extent and quality of that interaction. The limited available evidence indicates that Miamis and non-Miamis do not make significant distinctions in interacting with each other. The limited data support a conclusion that most Miamis have at least some identity as Miami. The non-Indian population in the core geographic area distinguish Miamis from non-Miamis in the sense that they are aware of the historic Miami tribe and its activities in the area throughout this century as well as earlier. The social discrimination experienced in the first decades of this century is not practiced today.

We conclude that the available evidence does not demonstrate that the Indiana Miami presently constitute a distinct community within which significant social interaction is maintained and that therefore they do not meet the requirements of criterion 25 CFR 83.7(b).

83.7(c) A statement of facts which establishes that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.

In the early contact period, i.e., the 1600's, the Miamis consisted of a series of independent tribes of related peoples. The largest of these, the Crane tribe evolved into the historic Miami tribe during early 1700's.

The tribe consisted of a series of village-based bands led by distinct village chiefs. The tribe was not politically unified under a single chief until the latter part of the 18th century. Traditional Miami leadership was provided by a dual structure of village chiefs and war chiefs. Both offices were inherited and approved by a tribal council, although a person could become a war chief through proven ability in warfare. Both types of chiefs were assisted by a "speaker," who could be chosen as successor to a chief.

There are scattered references to specific Miami leaders in French and English documents prior to the late 1740's. There are more frequent references to specific village, band and tribal leaders after that period as a result of the intense factionalism within the tribe created by the rivalry

between the two European colonial powers. By the 1760's, Pacanne, leader of the Miami village at Kekionga (present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana) was recognized as the principal chief of the entire Miami tribe. He retained that position until his death in 1816, although while he lived in Spanish Louisiana between 1788 and 1803 his nephew, Jean Baptiste Richardville, assumed leadership of the Miami in his place. During this period, Little Turtle was considered the tribe's principal war chief until his death in 1812, although he had lost a great deal of his influence among the Miami by 1809, influence which was asserted by the Miami council of village and war chiefs (Pacanne, Richardville, Hibou and Metocina) living along the Mississinewa River.

Between 1818 and 1840, the period in which the Miami ceded most of their land in Indiana, J. B. Richardville was the most prominent of the Miami chiefs. Although he may have been distrusted by the more traditional leaders such as Le Gros, Metocina and Meshingomesia, Richardville represented a mixed-blood (Miami/French) faction within the tribe that was comfortable dealing with both white and Indian worlds. Richardville's success in postponing the negotiation of a Miami removal treaty seems to have justified the esteem in which he was held by most of the Indiana Miami. Other leaders representing this segment of the tribe were Francis Godfroy, war chief of the Miami from 1833 to 1840, and Francis LaFontaine, who succeeded Richardville as principal chief of the tribe in 1841.

In 1825, the immediate pre-removal period, there were about 10 Miami villages, including the large settlement around the trading house of the chief, J.B. Richardville. The Miami population had declined to about 850 people. Many village leaders died in this period and the mixed-blood traders, Richardville, Lafontaine and Godfroy rose in prominence because of their wealth and ability to control relations with the whites. As treaties whittled away the Miami land base during the 30 years before removal, there was considerable reshuffling of the remaining populations. The land that was left to the various bands in the form of reserves or individual allotments caused the formation of clusters of Miami population, with a concomitant division of leadership.

The removal of the 1840's effectively divided the Miami Tribe politically and socially into an eastern (Indiana) and western Miami tribe. The last overall chief, LaFontaine, died in 1847, while the process of removal was still being completed. He was not replaced. The Indiana Miami, about 300 people, settled out into a collection of kinship-based communities on separate lands. After removal, the leaders of the particular segments of the Miami population allowed to remain in Indiana -- the Godfroy, Slocum(Bundy) and Richardville/LaFontaine families and the Meshingomesia band -- formed groups which had the character of bands and are still seen today as the major Miami subgroups.

The Miami had long-lived leaders from the mid to late 19th century. Meshingomesia was dealt with as principal chief of the Indiana Miami after the death of Francis LaFontaine in 1847. Beginning also in the 1840's, Gabriel Godfroy, Peter Bundy, and Pimyotomah led their subgroups to the end of the 19th century and, in the case of Godfroy, into the 20th century.

Meshingomesia, the oldest son of Metocina, became leader of that band after Metocina died in 1839 and was leader until he died in 1879, two years before the Meshingomesia Reserve became taxable. His grandson William Peconga replaced him, although he was a much less influential leader. Francis Godfroy died in 1841 and was succeeded by his son-in-law. Black Loon. By 1860 he was succeeded by Gabriel Godfroy, one of Francis' sons. The latter was more aggressive and apparently better able to deal with the increasing problems of land pressure, taxation and the need to adapt economically to commercial, non-Indian-style farming. Godfroy led a number of legal battles to preserve the tax-free status of the land, consolidated land-holdings, provided refuge for landless families and attempted to educate the Miami men to modern farming methods. The close intermarriage between subgroups which had begun before removal and continued in the first generation after removal led to many kinship links between the families of this as well as the succeeding generation of leaders.

There is sufficient evidence to indicate that in the mid-19th to the early 20th centuries Miami leaders often acted in concert with a "council" to exert political influence over the group's members and interact with outsiders. Actions for the overall tribe, such as a treaty negotiation in 1854, were generally decided in council of the several subgroup leaders. Indiana Miami delegations were sent to Washington in 1854, 1869, and during the 1880's. These delegations were authorized to conduct business relating to the entire Indiana Miami group, and there is correspondence into the early 20th century indicating a council's involvement.

From the 1840's to the 1890's, the leaders of both the Meshingomesia band and the bands based on individual reservees dealt with same major issues -- who was entitled to be on the Miami roll, the 1881 payment of the principal sum due under the 1854 treaty and the taxation of Miami land. The Miami were successful in some of these issues, such as in having additions to the 1854 Miami roll removed and in recovering through an 1895 suit in the U.S. Court of Claims annuities wrongfully paid to individuals not entitled to be on the Miami roll.

By the late 1890's and early 1900's, the land base of the Meshingomesia was almost entirely lost as a result of taxation and economic pressures, while that of the other Miami subgroups was sharply reduced and declining rapidly. In the midst of a court victory supporting the tax-free status of Miami lands, the Interior Department in 1897, in response to a Miami request for support, issued an opinion that the tribe was not entitled to a Federal relationship. This led to a renewal of taxation and the ultimate loss of most of the remaining Miami lands in the next 30 years.

This era was a transition period, with some of the older leaders still active and younger leaders and new forms of organization emerging. The older leaders had led the successful effort to win a claims settlement in 1895 and signed the resulting payroll. Among the older leaders, Gabriel Godfroy and William Peconga remained active until after the turn of the century. In the 1890's Godfroy was the most important of the older generation of leaders and remained active as a leader until at least 1905.

Sometime in the years immediately around 1900, the Miamis created a formal organization directed at the critical issue of protecting the land and regaining recognized tribal status as well as the pursuit of additional claims. This organization drew from all of the subgroups, i.e., apparently was a unified effort. It was made up of the new generation of leaders which first had become active on the issue of tribal status in the 1890's. The older leader, William Peconga, was also involved with this organization, although Gabriel Godfroy was not.

The annual reunion, which evidently began in 1903, served at times up to around 1930 as a forum for discussing issues such as tribal status, hunting and fishing rights and claims. According to some accounts, "business" or "council" meetings were held. The reunion involved influential individuals from different Miami subgroups, but was not a function of one of the organization created shortly before the turn of the century. It provided a common institution among the subgroups, even after 1930, when conflict between the subgroups led to separate organizations representing Miami interests. Apparently because of the factionalism, however, the business council function did not continue into the 1930's at the reunions.

The organization created shortly before the turn of the century continued to function as late as the late 1920's. However, beginning about 1917 and increasingly in the 1920's, the relationships between the subgroups developed into sharp factionalism, dividing over the issue of the best approach to seeking restoration of tribal status. Based in part on preexisted subgroup distinctions, with the added differences in the historic legal status of their lands, the Godfroys on the one hand and the Meshingomesias on the other formed competing organizations around 1930 which pressed their cases separately with the Federal government.

Feelings ran very high, as each group evidently felt that their interests were threatened by the legal strategies of the other. The issue concerned the fact that the Meshingomesia had been made citizens by law while the Godfroys and others who had been given individual treaty grants had not and asserted that they still remained non-citizens. The conflict to some degree echoed the 1870's when Gabriel Godfroy had objected to Meshingomesia's agreement to allot the reserve, because Godfroy felt it would endanger the status of the entire tribe. The smaller subgroups to some degree were involved with each side at different times in the 1920's and 1930's, the Bundys eventually siding with the Meshingomesias while the Richardville/LaFontaines were to some degree involved with the Godfroy organization.

The Meshingomesia formed a separate organization around 1930, led by Elijah Marks, grandson of one of Meshingomesia's brothers. Information on the activities of the organization before 1937 was limited but indicated that pursuing restoration of tribal status as well as claims was the primary purpose. In 1937, it was incorporated as the "Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana." Minutes and other documentation after 1937 show that in addition to pursuing restoration and claims, the Miami Nation was involved in Indian school and cemetery land issues and hunting and fishing rights. The extent of its membership before 1937 is also unknown, but included a portion of the Bundy subgroup as well as Meshingomesias. After 1939, its membership was

limited to a portion of the Meshingomesias, but it claimed an enrollment of 375 in 1942. The organization became inactive after about 1944. Its secretary David Bundy had died in 1943 and its chief Elijah Marks died in 1948. There is some limited information that in the 1950's the Meshingomesia became active on claims work, although little is known about this.

The organization of the Godfroy descendants, variously called the "Francis Godfroy Band of Miami Indians," and the "Individual Miami," is less well known than the Miami Nation between its formation around 1930 and 1943, when it organized formally. Its leaders wrote to the Federal Government, asserting "wardship" status and protesting that the efforts of the Miami Nation to be restored, did not represent them.

Both organizations were to varying degrees involved with supporting protests against State attempts to regulate and limit Miami hunting and fishing throughout the 1930's. The Miamis had traditionally hunted and fished without, in practice, being required to follow state laws. This was an issue of widespread importance among the membership, in part because many members continued to utilize hunting and fishing resources in the local area for subsistence throughout the 1930's, even after the last of the land-based settlements had ended.

Although the objectives of the leaders and organizations which functioned between 1900 and the early 1940's were somewhat limited, i.e., focused on specific issues, the issue of tribal status was of major importance to the Miami community because with the taxability of the land and its consequent loss, the Miamis had been forced to make a radical change in their community structure and economy. The fishing and hunting rights issue of the 1930's also appears to have been a significant issue for a major portion of the population. The leaders appear to have had a significant following, at least with regard to these issues. There were still close kinship ties within the population, though these were diminishing because of the almost complete lack of intermarriage after 1880. In particular, kinship links between the leaders of this generation of leaders were still quite close. For the first part of the era, some land-based settlements continued to function, with continued use of local lands. There is indirect evidence of considerable effort expended in developing support for leaders and against the other faction.

On the other hand, there is little evidence of leaders carrying out political roles in other ways, such as directly alleviating the economic problems caused by the changes (e.g., assisting with finding jobs), dealing with local authorities or in such functions as dispute resolution. There was some information indicating a limited degree of mobilization of community resources in support of organizational efforts. The Miamis were nominally unified between the 1890's and the 1920's, with the political system shifting in the late 1920's to a non-unified system of factional conflict. There was cooperation on the hunting and fishing rights issue, but conflict on the other issues.

Overall, there appears to be sufficient evidence of leaders with a significant following, although a limited political role, issues of significance to a broad spectrum of the tribal membership, and significant

underlying social connections to conclude that the Miamis continued to have tribal political process between the 1890's and the early 1940's.

Between the early 1940's and 1979, the available evidence indicates there were only limited political processes and a narrow range of activities. Although there is some continuity of organization with earlier periods, the level and scope of activity was much reduced. For all of the period, what activities were evident were almost entirely limited to pursuit of claims and enrollment of members in connection with those claims. The Godfroy organization inquired concerning Federal recognition in 1944. There were limited instances of attention to the defense of the status of various Miami cemeteries and hunting and fishing rights. The character and action are unknown, but appear to have been limited. Most of the action concerning cemeteries appears to have been family-based, rather than involving the group's leadership. There was no strong evidence that the organizations, or those claiming tribal leadership in this period, had broad support among a tribal membership which was by now much more widely dispersed geographically than in previous decades and whose kinship ties with each other were now more diffuse. There is also no good evidence that those designated as leaders in this era influenced the Miami membership beyond these immediate issues or conducted other activities as leaders.

Between 1944 and 1961, only the Godfroys maintained an organization (which included some Richardville/LaFontaine representatives), although there was some limited evidence that the Meshingomesias conducted some claims activities in the 1950's. There was evidence of continued subgroup conflict, consistent in character with that of earlier periods, in relation to representation in the claims process and over the issue of eligibility to receive claims payments. The death of the Godfroy leader in 1961 precipitated an attempt by a Meshingomesia to form an organization to take over the claims effort and unify subgroup efforts on them. This resulted in bitter conflict between the subgroups as well as within the Meshingomesias, and the formation by other Meshingomesias in 1964 of a revival of the Miami Nation organization.

Subsequently, throughout the latter 1960's and during the 1970's, both organizations continued a low level of activity concerning the claims process. This included conducting separate enrollments and trying to influence the means and criteria by which the Federal Government created the payment rolls. The annual reunion continued during this period to include members of all of the factions, and there is some evidence that factional leaders specifically avoided making the reunion a point of contention. The reunion is not known to have served any direct political functions in terms of decision-making or resolving subgroup conflicts.

The most recent era of Miami organization began in approximately 1979, with the beginning of Miami efforts to petition for Federal acknowledgment. A unified organizational structure based on the Miami Nation but involving all of the subgroups was created within two years. The organization has developed rapidly since 1979, taking on a variety of functions in addition to pursuit of Federal acknowledgment. These functions include economic development, seeking educational opportunities for members, protecting Miami cemeteries, promoting knowledge about Miami history and culture, and working

with various state, local and Indian organizations. Factional differences continue to be significant within the council, but the extent of their present significance throughout the membership as a whole is unknown.

The council is self-perpetuating, i.e., it chooses its own members. It was not possible to determine the breadth of interest, support and involvement in council actions by the Miami membership as a whole. That membership is now widely dispersed, no longer shares close kinship ties between family lines and it was not demonstrated that significant social contact is maintained within it. Thus, there has not been demonstrated significant social ties and contact from which to infer the existence of tribal political processes which more broadly encompass the membership than can be established based on the direct evidence presently available.

We conclude that tribal political processes involving leaders with a broad following on issues of significance to the overall Miami membership have not existed within the Indiana Miami since the early 1940's and that therefore the Indiana Miamis do not meet the requirements of criterion 25 CFR 83.7(c).

83.7(d) A copy of the group's present governing document, or in the absence of a written document, a statement describing in full the membership criteria and the procedures through which the group currently governs its affairs and its members.

Existing governing documents encompass three separate organizations: (1) the 1937 Articles of Incorporation and bylaws of an organization which in 1937 represented only the Meshingomesia subgroup of the Indiana Miamis; (2) bylaws adopted by the Godfroy subgroup in 1963; and, (3) constitutions and bylaws for the petitioning group, dated 1983, 1986, with amendments adopted in 1989. The petitioning group, as presently constituted, encompasses all subgroups.

The petitioner is currently governed by the 1986 constitution and bylaws, as amended in 1989. The governing body is defined as a tribal council which includes a chief, vice-chief, tribal chairperson, tribal spokesperson (new in 1986), secretary, treasurer, and one council member from "each clan." The number of council members and/or the number of clans are not specified. Council members serving in 1986, when these documents were adopted, serve until disablement or death.

Amendments to the governing documents are to be made at November council meetings so long as a quorum of eight council members is present.

The current membership criteria state that an individual must prove their lineage to any of several specified Federal lists and payrolls prepared between 1846 and 1895 of Indiana Miamis. The specified lists and payrolls are the 1846 and 1854 lists of Miamis permitted to remain in Indiana; the 1855-56 and 1868-80 lists of Indiana Miamis who were paid annuities granted by treaty; the 1881 and 1889 payrolls to make a final distribution of annuities; and, the 1895 payroll to distribute a judgment awarded to Indiana Miamis for monies which had been wrongfully paid from their annuities. All

of these lists and payrolls are determined to be valid listings of members of the Indiana portion of the historical Miami Tribe. Federal population census records from 1840-1910 were also specified in the current criteria; however, they are determined not to have the same validity as evidence of "Indiana" Miami heritage as the Federal lists and payrolls.

Earlier criteria limited eligibility to descendants of a Miami on the 1895 judgment roll or be able to prove their lineage before council (1983). Evidence of such actions being brought before council is very limited and action taken by the council is not always clear. In 1986, the basis for eligibility was revised to include an 1889 final annuity roll. This revision appears to have occurred as a result of questions posed by the BAR's obvious deficiency review. Available evidence strongly suggests that the petitioner, at least since 1983, has been relying on both rolls (1895/1889) to determine eligibility.

Amendments to the 1986 constitution and bylaws, adopted by the council in 1989, expanded the eligibility basis to its present state and removed the language which provided that an individual who did not have an ancestor on the 1895/89 rolls could prove their lineage before council. Available evidence shows that all changes to the governing documents, except for the addition of the 1889 roll in 1986, have been made without input from the tribe's membership as a whole. Although the addition of the 1889 roll was adopted by tribal vote of members in attendance at an October 1985 general meeting, formal adoption of the 1889 roll does not appear to have been official until adopted by the council in February of 1986.

In November of 1986 (8 months later), the council adopted guidelines for proof which expanded the eligibility basis to "any Federal Miami Payroll" without consulting tribal members. This change had the effect of adding several annuity payrolls which included individuals whom the tribe had specifically rejected as not eligible. Amendments adopted by the council in 1989 have eliminated these payrolls.

Changes in the governing documents, at least since 1983, suggest that the council has added as well as deleted items affecting eligibility for membership without consulting the membership. Similarly there is little evidence of concern or involvement with membership issues on the part of tribal members.

The petitioner has provided a copy of its current governing documents and the criteria it uses for determining eligibility for membership. We conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(d).

83.7(e) A list of all known current members of the group and a copy of each available former list of members based on the tribe's own defined criteria. The membership must consist of individuals who have established, using evidence acceptable to the Secretary, descendancy from a tribe which existed historically or from historical tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity.

The petitioner has provided a current list of its 4,381 members, certified as the official membership roll for acknowledgment purposes. Former lists of members of the petitioning group, as now constituted (i.e., encompassing all subgroups), were submitted with the petition in four different formats. All four appear to have been prepared in the 1980's for submission with the group's acknowledgment petition.

The group's current membership criteria require proof of descent from any of numerous lists (1846, 1854, 1881, 1889, 1895) and annuity rolls (1855-56, 1868-80), prepared by the Federal Government, of Indiana Miamis who were recognized as members by the headmen of the Indiana portion of the historical Miami Tribe. The petitioner's current membership criteria also include "Federal census records of Miami Indians of Indiana (1840-1910)" as adequate proof of eligibility; however, these records do not specifically designate individuals as "Indiana" Miami Indians and, therefore, do not provide reliable evidence of "Indiana" Miami heritage.

Even though the petitioner's current criteria specify numerous lists and annuity rolls which are unique to Indiana Miamis, available evidence strongly suggests that the group has been relying primarily on the 1895 and 1889 lists as the basis for determining eligibility. All reviewed governing documents, which had defined membership requirements, specified descent from Miamis on the 1895 list as the basis for membership.

Ninety-eight percent (97.7%, 4,281) of the petitioner's total membership claim descent from at least one ancestor on the 1895 or 1889 Federal lists mentioned above; more than 75 percent claim descent from two or more such ancestors. The remaining two percent (2.3%, 100 members) have not demonstrated a connection to an Indiana Miami.

Eighty-six percent of the petitioner's members have shared in one or more of three judgment distributions awarded to Indiana Miamis by the Indian Claims Commission and the U.S. Court of Claims. In order to share in these distributions, these members had to document their ancestry back to the 1895 or 1889 lists to the satisfaction of the Secretary.

We conclude that the petitioner's membership consists of individuals who meet the tribe's own defined criteria and, that they have established, using evidence acceptable to the Secretary, that they descend from the historical Indiana portion of the Miami Tribe; therefore, the petitioner meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(e).

83.7(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any other North American Indian tribe.

Less than 1 percent (34) of the Indiana Miami membership of 4,381 could be identified as members of recognized tribes in Oklahoma, Kansas, and Missouri, according to the records of the BIA's Muskogee Area Office.

The petitioner's governing documents do not address whether dual enrollment is permitted. Available evidence is limited to one newsletter (July 1988) which suggests a prohibition on dual enrollment. The petitioner does not appear to be enrolling persons who are already members of other North American tribes.

We conclude that the petitioner's members are not principally members of other North American Indian tribes; therefore, the petitioner meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(f).

83.7(g) The petitioner is not, nor are its members, the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

In the late 1880's and early 1890's, the Indiana Miami were successful on the State and Federal levels in fighting state taxation of their lands. State and Federal court decisions and reports prepared by Commissioners of Indian Affairs and Special Indian agents based their opinions on the group's status as Indians who had never severed their tribal relations. In 1897, the Miami requested that the Federal Government intervene in their attempts to gain a refund of back taxes paid to the State. In March 1897, as a result of these requests, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs referred the matter to the Department of the Interior's newly-appointed attorney general for an opinion as to whether litigation to reimburse the Miami should be pursued by the Indiana Miami themselves or by the Federal Government under the Act of March 3, 1893, which allowed reservation Indians or allotted Indians to be represented by a United States District Attorney in litigation.

On November 23, 1897, in response to this request, Assistant Attorney General Willis Van Devanter issued an opinion that the Miami did not come under the purview of the act of March 3, 1893. Contrary to Federal and State court decisions and the lengthy analyses of the Miami situation prepared by Commissioners of Indian Affairs in 1880 and 1897, Van Devanter justified his opinion by relying on language in the 1881 legislation providing for the payment of the principal sum due to the Indiana Miami under the treaty of 1854, as well as the legislation which partitioned the Meshingomesia Reserve in 1873. He considered the the 1881 legislation providing for the payment of funds due the Indiana Miami under the treaty of 1854 as the last congressional recognition of the Indiana Miami as a tribe. He considered the members of the Meshingomesia band no longer Indians as a result of the 1873 legislation authorizing the partition of the Meshingomesia Reservation and granting them citizenship in 1881. The descendants of those Miami who had received individual grants under various treaties prior to the tribe's removal in 1846, said Van Devanter, became citizens under the General Allotment Act of 1887 because they had had their lands patented to them and because they had taken up a "civilized" lifestyle. Because the Indiana Miami held patents to their land, and because they had no tribal organization that was recognized in congressional legislation, Van Devanter concluded that they were neither reservation Indians nor allotted Indians eligible to be represented by a United States District Attorney.

Van Devanter's opinion went beyond the rather narrow question posed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and effectively resulted in a loss of administrative recognition. The Miami continued to barrage the Bureau of Indian Affairs with correspondence questioning the determination of their tribal status under Van Devanter's opinion. All replies sent by the Bureau to the group -- as well as internal Bureau memorandums -- relied on Van Devanter's opinion in denying that the Federal Government had any responsibilities toward the Indiana Miami because their tribal relationship had been dissolved. Examples of such correspondence abound in the 1930's, and there are some examples from as late as the 1960's and 1970's.

Willis Van Devanter was later, in 1910, appointed an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, where he wrote the Court's opinions in a number of significant Indian cases. In U.S. v. Nice, in 1915, he wrote that citizenship was not incompatible with tribal existence or Federal guardianship. He reiterated this position in 1930 in Halbert v. United States (283 U. S. 763). The arguments made in these Supreme Court decisions were to be used later, in the 1970's, by the United States District Court in Indiana, to determine that the land held by descendants of individual Miami reservees were exempt from State taxation.

The 1872 and 1881 acts cited by Van Devanter do not explicitly sever the tribal relations of the Indiana Miami. The former (17 Stat. 213) states simply that after the partition of the Meshingomesia Reserve the land was to be patented to the members of the band who received a share of the land and that members of the band were to become citizens of the United States on January 1, 1881. The Act of March 3, 1881 (21 Stat. 433), merely stated that the receipt of the principal sum due under the treaty of 1854 would be considered the Federal Government's final discharge of obligations it incurred under that treaty. Neither act explicitly severed Miami tribal relations, or even hinted that the Government was attempting to sever those relations. In regard to the General Allotment Act of 1887, the Supreme Court has rejected the doctrine that allotment and citizenship under that act imply the termination of tribal existence.

Neither the petitioning group, nor its members, are subject to congressional legislation terminating or forbidding the Federal relationship. Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 25 CFR 83.7(g).

HISTORICAL REPORT ON THE MIAMI NATION OF INDIANS OF THE STATE OF INDIANA

European Contact, the Fur Trade, and War, 1654-1795

On the afternoon of October 6, 1846, just over 320 members of the Miami tribe of Indians boarded canal boats at Peru, Indiana, for their emigration west in accordance with the removal provisions of the treaty signed at the Forks of the Wabash on November 28, 1840. The rest of the tribe, some 148, remained in their historic homeland on the Wabash and Mississinewa rivers in northern Indiana.

They had not always lived there. As was true of many other eastern and midwestern tribes, the Iroquois Wars, intensifying fur trade rivalries of European colonial powers, and shifting alliances during the French and Indian War and American Revolution caused frequent Miami tribal movements, splintering, and regrouping from the mid-17th to late-18th centuries.

"Miami" should be, technically, a linguistic, not a political appellation. It was used by the French in the 17th century to refer originally to six groups (often called "bands" or "tribes" in the historical and anthropological literature) which "spoke mutually intelligible dialects of an Algonquian language, and were therefore often referred to collectively or singly by early writers as 'the Miamis'" (Wheeler-Voegelin, et al. 1974, 55; Berthrong 1974, 18-19). These six groups were the Atchatchakangouen, Kilatika, Mengakonkia, Pepicokeas, Piankashaw, and Wea. Three of these groups disappeared from the historical record by the early 18th century, while two groups, the Wea and Piankashaw, became distinct tribal entities at about the same time. (MNISI 1984b, 10). The Atchatchakangouen ("Crane") group "became specifically known after ca. 1700 as the Miamis" (Wheeler-Voegelin, et al. 1974, 39). Sometime after the middle of the 18th century, a seventh group appeared which became known as the Eel River Miami (Wheeler-Voegelin, et al. 1974, 39, 190).

Although their aboriginal range may have extended from the St. Joseph River in Michigan westward across northern Indiana and Illinois to the Mississippi River (Callender 1978, 686), at the time of first sustained contact with the French in 1658 the "Oumamik" were living in the vicinity of Green Bay, Wisconsin, and early movements of the Miami around the southern portion of Lake Michigan from the late 1650's to about 1701 seem to have resulted from a desire to move away from Iroquois raids or find better access to French trade goods (Dunn 1919, 56). Later movements to Indiana and Ohio were influenced by the more attractive trade offered by the English. By the early 18th century most of the groups identified as Miami had moved to the Wabash River in Indiana (Callender 1978, 686)

The French tried to convince the Miami to return to the St. Joseph River but were unsuccessful and eventually changed their policy and constructed garrisoned trading posts on the Wabash in order to consolidate control of the lower Ohio River fur trade (MNISI 1984b, 11, 14). In 1721, the French built Fort St. Philippe (later renamed Fort Miamis) at the headwaters of the Maumee River on the present site of Fort Wayne (De Bourbon 1721, 399). The Miami

had established their primary settlement of Kekionga here some years before (Anonymous 1718, 375; Berthrong 1974, 130-34). It was at Kekionga that the "grand council of the village, band and clan chiefs" of the Miami was held, perhaps as early as 1712 (Anson 1970, 15). Other Miami settlements were noted on the Tippecanoe and Eel rivers (Berthrong 1974, 147).

One anthropologist has recently written that, in terms of their culture, "on the whole, the Miami cannot be described as well known" (Callender 1978, 689). Still, a few broad generalities can be described. The Miami maintained a mixed hunting-farming economy similar to other tribes of the region (Callender 1978, 682). The Indian agent at Fort Wayne noted in 1817 that the Miami hunted from the fall to the early spring, when they returned to their villages to plant corn (Berthrong 1974, 211; Callender 1978, 682).

Data on the political organization of the Miami at the time of initial contact with Europeans are among the kinds of information on Miami culture that are "distressingly vague" (Kinietz 1940:179). In the historical period the Miami, like many other tribes in the area, had a dual structure of village chiefs and war chiefs. Both offices were inherited patrilineally and "validated by the tribal council," although a person could become a war chief through proven ability in warfare (Callender 1978, 685). Both types of chiefs were assisted by a "speaker," or, as they were called in the early English records, "Crier of the Town" (Darlington 1893, 53), who also inherited their offices (Callender 1978, 685). Sometimes these individuals could be chosen as successors to a chief (Kinietz 1940, 182).

The six Miami groups spoke dialects of a similar language and sometimes lived close enough to one another to cooperate against common enemies, or even lived together in some mixed-band villages. Yet historically, each of the six groups was an autonomous political unit, and at times they even fought each other (Wheeler-Voegelin, et al. 1974, 55-56). This is certainly accurate for the 18th century, when each group had its own chief. Earlier, however, when the French contacted the Miami groups in the 17th century, they seem to have been led by a "principal chief" (Vaudreuil 1718, 377; Berthrong 1974, 19), and French sources indicate that Miami chiefs had more authority over their villages than chiefs of other tribes (Kinietz 1940, 181). An early English observer noted, after visiting one Miami village in 1751, that each of the Miami bands "has a particular Chief or King, one of which is chosen indifferently out of any Tribe to rule the whole Nation, and is vested with greater Authorities than any of the others" (Darlington 1893, 48). While this generalization from one village to the whole Miami nation might have indicated that the Miami bands had retained some aspects of their earlier political structure, it is more likely that by the mid 18th century villages were composed of several different clans or bands, "the members of each would have a chief, one of whom would be considered the principal chief of that village" (Kinietz 1940, 180).

Firmly established in their homeland on the upper Wabash and Maumee rivers, by the 1750's the Miami maintained their position by playing off British and French traders against each other to the tribe's best advantage. European material culture was quickly adopted. The French had relied on Miami military assistance against other tribes hostile to French interests, and the French alliance had been "advantageous to the Miami in achieving an

economic/political edge in the region" (Glenn 1987, 4), particularly in ending the Iroquois threat at the start of the 18th century (Callender 1978, 686). Intermarriage with French traders had created a population which "could interact with some ease in both the Miami and White worlds" and would become more and more important in Indian-white relations from the late 18th through the 19th centuries (Glenn 1987, 5, 11). Finally, as the Miami moved south and east into Indiana, the tribe's "political structure became more diffuse in order to establish direct contact with traders over a larger base" (Glenn 1987, 4). Contact with English traders, and the increasing hunger for land as British and American settlers poured into the area, would only intensify the changes already taking place in Miami society (Anson 1970, 56-57).

English fur traders had penetrated the Ohio valley by 1725, at the same time that the Miami presence seems to have been consolidated in Indiana (Blasingham 1955, 2). Torn between commitment to their old French allies and the cheaper and more abundant trade goods offered by British traders, some Miami had been induced to trade with the English colonies as early as 1703 (Hyde 1708, 65; Lords of Trade 1721, 622). By the late 1740's, distinct pro-British and pro-French factions developed among the Miami at Kekionga.

In 1747, the pro-British Miami at Kekionga, led by their chief called La Demoiselle by the French (called Old Britain by the English), seized and burned some of the buildings at Fort Miamis and made away with a large quantity of trade goods. The chief of the pro-French Miami, Le Pied Froid (Coldfeet), intervened, and most of the goods were recovered and Fort Miami was re-established (Blasingham 1955, 2; Tanner 1987, 44).

Anti-French feeling continued to run high among La Demoiselle's faction, and in 1748, on invitation from British traders and their Shawnee allies, he led his followers eastward away from Kekionga and established a village named Pickawillany on the Great Miami River near present Piqua, Ohio. On July 23 of that year, three Miami chiefs, Assepausa (the son or nephew of La Demoiselle), Ciquenackqua (father of Little Turtle, future war chief of the Miami), and Natoecqueha, signed a treaty of friendship with the English at Lancaster, Pennsylvania (Colonial Records of Pennsylvania 1851-52, 5:316-19; Anson 1970, 44-45; Carter 1987, 32). French agents, sent to "whip home" to Kekionga the recalcitrant Miami in 1749 (Celeron 1749, 533), were unable to lure La Demoiselle's faction to return to French influence in 1749 (Tanner and Wheeler-Voegelin 1974, 1:154-56). Instead, La Demoiselle was able to convince more and more Miami to trade with the English at Pickawillany. Between 1748 and 1752 "this advance post for English trade was maintained at the threshold of the French presence," and by 1750 the village had grown in size to accommodate 1,600 Indians, as well as 50 or more British traders and their servants (Kellogg 1968, 413).

A French expedition failed in its attempt to destroy Pickawillany in 1751, but the following year a force of French soldiers and Ottawas from Detroit under Charles Leglade attacked Pickawillany, captured the English traders and their goods and killed three Miami, including La Demoiselle. With British influence broken, the remaining Miami returned to Kekionga on the Maumee River and remained under French influence until near the end of the French and Indian War. Whether all the Miami returned to Kekionga is uncertain, for

it was noted that "about the close of the French war" a village of Miami was located at Pickawillany; they eventually returned to Indiana, settling on the Mississinewa River, under the chief Metocina before the War of 1812 (Butler 1901, 220; MNISI 1984b, 71).

The factionalism within the tribe demonstrated by La Demoiselle's disaffection with the French is important for two reasons. First, political juggling of Miami leaders and Miami factions between French and British imperial interests -- and later British and American interests after the French and Indian War -- became a major factor in tribal politics during the late 18th and early 19th centuries; factionalism in tribal politics was to emerge again in the 20th century. Second, because of this political juggling, from this period we begin to see more distinct references to specific Miami leaders and the villages they controlled than in the literature of the earlier contact period. In 1749, for example, the French commander of Fort Miami near Kekionga noted that the Miami were "divided into several bands" occupying four villages -- one at Kekionga under Le Pied Froid, one under La Demoiselle at Pickawillany, one on the Tippecanoe River under Le Gris, and a small band on the St. Joseph River consisting of Miami who had separated from Le Gris' village (MNISI 1984b, 18-19). From this point on, the designation of Miami chiefs and their villages in the historical documentation becomes significant in discerning Miami tribal movements, political alliances with outsiders and factionalism within the tribe.

At the beginning of the French and Indian War the Miami were solid allies of the French (Kellogg 1968, 425; Tanner 1987, 46; French Abstracts 1756, 486). Still, the Miami must have retained favorable memories of the trade relations they had had with the English at Pickawillany, because as soon as British military supremacy was established in the Northwest in the late 1750's the Miami initiated contact with English traders in Pennsylvania, and Miami were trading with the English at Fort Pitt almost a year before the British occupied Fort Miami on the Maumee in December 1760 (MNISI 1984b, 22; Tanner 1987, 47).

Profitable trade did not, however, prevent the Miami from sharing the Ottawa chief, Pontiac's, objective of driving the British from the Great Lakes in 1763. Fort Miami fell in May of that year, and the Miami remained overtly hostile to the English until the summer of 1765, when chiefs of the tribe "renewed their Antient Friendship with His Majesty & all his Subjects in America" (Croghan 1750-65, 147). After Pontiac's Rebellion the Miami seem to have adjusted to British control of the Great Lakes region, although "they never completely acceded to British dominion" (Stevens 1987, 152), and some joined Shawnee and Delaware warriors in attacking settlers encroaching on Indian lands in the Ohio Valley during Lord Dunmore's War in 1774 (Anson 1970, 77-81).

By 1777, the Miami primarily occupied two villages near Fort Miami where the St. Joseph and St. Marys rivers join to form the Maumee (Tanner 1987, 87). The larger village, Kekionga, on the west bank of the St. Joseph, was under the leadership of Pacanne, who had been noted in 1764 as "king of the Miamis nation, and just out of his minority" (Morris 1764, 316). A smaller village,

on the east bank of the St. Joseph River, was led by Le Petit Gris. Both men were often referred to as the tribe's principal chief (Anson 1970, 104).

In the fall of 1778, when Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor of Canada at Detroit, led an expedition to the Upper Maumee and Wabash to dislodge American rebels from the region, he stopped at the Miami villages to attempt to gather Indian warriors for support. In his journals he noted other chiefs associated with the Miami villages: Le Gros Loup was a chief from the same village that was led by Le Petit Gris; Hibon or Hibou (Owl) may have been from the same village or the village led by Pacanne; Old Wolf was appointed chief of a war party from the Eel River Miami village which had first been observed by George Croghan during his expedition up the Wabash to make peace with the western tribes in 1765 (Berthrong 1974, 152; Barnhart 1951, 113, 115, 123; Croghan 1750-65, 149).

As control of the Wabash valley shifted from American to British to American hands in the fall and winter of 1778-79, Miami loyalties vacillated too, some professing fidelity to the American cause and others, such as Pacanne, maintaining their pro-British stance (Berthrong 1974, 152-54; Hamilton 1778, 9:475).

The Miami became involved in the Revolution in earnest in 1780, when Augustine Mottin de La Balme, playing on continued French sympathies in the area round Vincennes, collected a force of 80 men and marched up the Wabash to conquer Detroit (Alvord 1907, lxxxix-xcv; Alvord 1909, 169, 199). On the way he attacked and destroyed Kekionga. When the Miami warriors returned, however, led by the Eel River war chief Little Turtle, they fell on La Balme's encampment and killed half of his small force. Little Turtle was to be a major figure in both internal and external Miami politics, as well as warfare, until his death in 1812 (Berthrong 1974, 153-54; Anson 1970, 91). The Revolution ended on the upper Wabash with the Miami firmly on the British side, both Pacanne and Le Gris (earlier called Le Petit Gris) meeting with the British commander at Detroit and actively sending out war parties against the Americans (Berthrong 1974, 154-55; Dey Peyster 1782a, 10:588; Dey Peyster 1782b, 600).

British military commanders at Detroit were certain that the Miami and other Wabash tribes would have difficulty in laying down their arms at the end of the war. These concerns were to prove true. Dissatisfaction with American trade practices, aggressive American demands for all lands west of the Ohio, and encouragement by British agents brought continued Indian attacks on the frontier. The Miami, who refused to meet with American commissioners sent to negotiate with the tribes in 1784 and 1785, became leaders of a confederacy of tribes opposed to American expansion (Anson 1970, 98-101).

In 1784 or 1785, Pacanne, who seems to have been opposed to the more belligerent anti-American faction among the Miami at Kekionga led by Le Gris (Montgomery 1785, 268; Anson 1970, 104; Tanner 1987, 87), moved a portion of his band from Kekionga to a settlement on the lower Wabash River. In mid-July 1786, Pacanne's father-in-law was among a number of Miami and Piankeshaw killed by a group of Americans near Vincennes. Such actions brought quick Miami retaliation (Cruzat 1786, 174). Vincennes was under continual threat of attack by Miami and other angered tribes (Le Gras 1786,

175-81; Anson 1970, 103). American forces under Colonel Josiah Harmer, who garrisoned Vincennes in 1787, attempted to negotiate an end to the frontier skirmishing, and even Pacanne served as a guide to Harmer's troops. A surprise attack by Kentucky settlers on Pacanne's village in the summer of 1788, however, brought a resumption of Indian attacks on Americans and further American retaliations. In the winter of 1789, perhaps because he did not wish to be involved in the intensified trouble on the Wabash, Pacanne led a small group consisting of his family and nine men to Spanish-held Louisiana, requesting permission to settle west of the Mississippi (Valliere 1790, 292; De Blanc 1790, 335). Pacanne's small band eventually settled in the Ouachita District, where another Miami chief, Hibou, seems to have settled earlier (Valliere 1790, 292; Delino 1790, 368-69). Pacanne stayed away from the Miami homeland until after 1800, but in his place his nephew, Jean Baptiste Richardville, son of a French trader and Pacanne's sister, led the Miami at Kekionga (Wheeler-Voegelin, et al. 1974, 96-97; Anson 1970, 103-4).

As the American government became more insistent that the Indians give up their lands northwest of the Ohio, Indian resistance stiffened, and disaffected Delaware and Shawnee joined the Miami on the upper Maumee, establishing their own villages near Kekionga. When these three tribes refused to attend treaty negotiations in 1788-89, General Josiah Harmer marched from Cincinnati in 1790 to end the problem militarily. Harmer managed to destroy abandoned Miami, Delaware, and Shawnee villages around Kekionga. The Indians had fled temporarily, however, and returned under Little Turtle, now considered to be war chief of the entire Miami tribe, to badly maul Harmer's forces and force them to return to Cincinnati (Downes 1968, 314-16; Anson 1970, 104-5, 114-16).

In a concerted effort against all the Wabash tribes in 1791, an army of over 2,000 men under General Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, moved against Kekionga. St. Clair's army reached the upper Wabash where it was attacked by Little Turtle's warriors on the morning of November 4. Nearly half of St. Clair's troops were killed or wounded in what has been described as "the worst defeat ever suffered by the American army in proportion to the numbers engaged" (Downes 1968, 318).

Flushed with victory, the Miami and other confederated tribes rebuffed American attempts at negotiations between 1792 and 1794 (Berthrong 1974, 175-77). In 1794, General Anthony Wayne, who had spent the intervening years training his army and building a string of forts northwest from Cincinnati, decisively defeated the northwestern Indian confederacy at Fallen Timbers on the lower Maumee River. Following this victory, Wayne marched up the Maumee and built Fort Wayne at the former site of the Kekionga villages (Downes 1968, 323, 334-35; Anson 1970, 130-31). The Miami had practically abandoned the area.

As early as 1790, some Miami had moved north to the lakes region at the headwaters of the Elkhart and Tippecanoe rivers to avoid contact with Harmer's troops. By 1792 Le Gris and Little Turtle had moved their village temporarily to southern Michigan and then, by 1795, to the headwaters of the Eel River, and Richardville may have moved Pacanne's Miami followers to a site at the mouth of the Mississinewa River near present Peru as early as

1790; he had certainly settled there permanently by 1795 (Wheeler-Voegelin, et al. 1974, 68-69, 78; Tanner 1987, 89; Anson 1970, 131; Glenn, Swartz and Lewis 1977, 22).

On August 3, 1795 hostilities between the United States and the northwestern confederacy were officially ended by the Treaty of Greenville. Among the six Miami who signed the treaty were Le Gris, Little Turtle, and Richardville. Le Gris, who had "stood out for a long time, but .... has surrendered, and ... fully converted" from British to American interests (Hamtramck 1795b, 34:736), participated in the Greenville conference as the principal chief of the Miami, Little Turtle as the "speaker" for the tribe at the treaty negotiations. Richardville does not seem to have taken a vocal part in these negotiations (Anson 1970, 105, 136-37), although he was also described as "a village chief of the nation" (Hamtramck 1795a, 34:735).

EARLY LAND CESSIONS AND THE WAR OF 1812, 1795-1815

Although the Treaty of Greenville was supposed to bring peace by recognizing Indian claims to ownership of lands north and west of the Ohio River, it was certain that the United States' promise to protect the Miami and other tribes in their "hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon so long as they please" (Kappler 1904, 2:42) was going to endure only as long as it was expedient.

Americans rapidly settled on Ohio land ceded by the Indians at Greenville. Miami lands were not threatened until 1800, when Indiana Territory was organized. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 accelerated the government's determination to negotiate for further land cessions from the Miami and other northwestern tribes in order to gain control of the lands between the Ohio and Mississippi (MNISI 1984b, 40-41). Between 1803 and 1840, the Miami were signatories to 12 treaties which whittled away millions of acres of tribal land.

William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, began to negotiate for Miami land in earnest in 1802. Over the next seven years, often using divisive tactics such as putting pressure on influential chiefs like Little Turtle or threatening to withhold annuities (Abel 1908, 1:267), he negotiated three treaties with the Miami that ultimately pushed the tribe to attempt militant resistance once again during the War of 1812.

Harrison's tactics put the Miami tribe under considerable political stress, resulting in deep factional divisions between the followers of those chiefs who wanted to accommodate American demands and those who opposed giving up more land. In 1802, Little Turtle and Richardville, along with two Potawatomi chiefs, signed a preliminary agreement for a land cession, but a Miami and Delaware delegation visited Washington the following year and complained "loudly of the unfair means used for obtaining the assent of some Chiefs to the proposed boundaries" (Dearborn 1803, 86). At a conference held at Fort Wayne in 1803 to formalize the preliminary agreement, "three-fourths of the Miami tribe deserted Little Turtle and Richardville because they favored the treaty"; Harrison was only able to force Indian attendance by threatening to provide annuities promised in the Greenville treaty only to those tribes attending at Fort Wayne (MNISI 1984b, 41). Although Pacanne and

Hibou (Owl) had returned from west of the Mississippi River, Little Turtle and Richardville, "the Sachem of the Nation" (Harrison 1805a, 1:82), were the only Miami to sign the treaty concluded at Fort Wayne (Kappler 1904, 2:66). But Little Turtle's influence had waned considerably, and Richardville seems to have deserted the accommodating position that he and Little Turtle had assumed after the Treaty of Greenville, as Harrison informed Secretary of War Henry Dearborn: "Nine-tenths of that Tribe who acknowledge Richardville and Pecann for their chiefs ... utterly abhor ... the Turtle" (Harrison 1805a, 1:76-77).

By the time Harrison negotiated another treaty with the Miami, in 1805, factions were apparent within the tribe, but they were still somewhat fluid. Before the treaty was signed on August 21, 1805, even Little Turtle was "doing us all the mischief he can," although he was only able to influence a few Potawatomi chiefs since "he has little or no influence with his own Tribe" (Harrison 1805b, 294). By the conclusion of the treaty conference, however, Little Turtle was again indicating "his entire devotion to the Interests of the United States," because Harrison had taken President Jefferson's and Secretary of War Dearborn's advice "to distribute two or three hundred dollars among the Miamis, Puttawattamies, & others, by way of quieting their minds in relation to the sale of the lands" (Harrison 1805d, 302; Dearborn 1805, 288); for his services at the Grouseland conference Little Turtle was given a $50.00 annuity (Harrison 1805c, 2:164). Whether bribes were also extended to the Miami chiefs who initially opposed such land cessions is unclear, but Owl, Richardville, and Little Turtle were among the eight Miami and Eel River leaders who signed the treaty (Kappler 1904, 2:81)..

Harrison did not negotiate a new treaty with the Miami for four years. On September 30, 1809, Miami, Eel River Miami, Delaware and Potawatomi delegates signed a treaty at Fort Wayne ceding almost three million acres to the United States. All the most influential Miami leaders -- Pacanne, Owl, Little Turtle, White Loon, Silver Heels -- as well as three Eel River Miami chiefs eventually signed the treaty (Kappler 1904, 102), although the "Miamies from Mississinway," Pacanne and Owl, were at first opposed to a further land cession (Jones 1809, 1:369-70, 373). Richardville, who was not at the treaty negotiations because of illness, also "expressed his entire satisfaction at the conclusion of the Treaty" when he met with Harrison a few days later (Jones 1809, 1:376).

Pressure from within the Indian ranks had caused a realignment of Miami leadership. In the four years between the Treaty of Grouseland and the Treaty of Fort Wayne, many factions within the tribes of the Old Northwest had come under the anti-American influence of the Shawnee Prophet and his brother, the war chief Tecumseh. Although some young Miami warriors joined the growing confederacy organized by the Shawnee, most of the Miami leadership was opposed to the Prophet's and Tecumseh's arguments. The Miami chiefs, therefore, seemed to be more concerned with maintaining the status quo under the treaties which had been negotiated between 1803 and 1809, rather than engaging in a war against the Americans.

The more conservative chiefs, primarily from villages along the Mississinewa River, gained another advantage at the Fort Wayne Conference in 1809. Although they eventually supported the wishes of the government for a land

cession, which placed them in step with chiefs like Little Turtle who had almost always accommodated the American position, the Mississinewa chiefs at Fort Wayne manifested "a very strong antipathy" toward Little Turtle, and forced Harrison "to assure them that he perfectly understood and admitted that they the (Mississinway Chiefs) were the real Representatives of the Miami Nation and that he should always consider them as such" (Jones 1809, 1:375). Harrison continued to try to use the war chief in attempts to manipulate the Miami, but Little Turtle never regained the prestige within the tribe that he had once had, and he did not sign another treaty.

Although the Miami were eventually to become uneasy and divided over the terms of the Fort Wayne treaty, Pacanne, Owl, Metocina, and other chiefs were able to keep most of the tribe from joining the Shawnee Prophet's village on the Tippecanoe, and when Harrison successfully attacked Prophetstown in 1811 the position they had taken against the Prophet and Tecumseh seemed vindicated (Anson 1970, 155, 158). Despite their professions of neutrality, however, Harrison distrusted the older Miami chiefs and the younger warriors who seemed to be more influenced by British agents from Canada. His concerns increased when Little Turtle died soon after the outbreak of the War of 1812. To protect the strategically important Wabash-Maumee route between Vincennes and Detroit, and because some Miami warriors took part in an attack on Fort Harrison, near present-day Terre Haute, American military personnel determined that the Miami should be considered a hostile tribe. In retaliation for the attack on Fort Harrison, troops were sent to destroy Little Turtle's village on Eel River and three Miami villages at the Forks of the Wabash, near present-day Huntington, Indiana, in September 1812.

Harrison sent another military expedition, under Lieutenant Colonel John B. Campbell, against the Wabash and Mississinewa villages in December 1812. Campbell was ordered to destroy the villages and their provisions but, as far as was possible, to protect the persons of the Miami leaders Pacanne, "the Principal Chief of the Miamies," Richardville, "the 2nd Chief of the Miamis," White Loon, "Old Godfroy" (the father of Francis Godfroy) and the Eel River Miami chief, Charley; these were "some of the chiefs who have undeviatingly exerted themselves to keep their warriors quiet, to preserve their friendly relations with us." Campbell was also to protect "the sons and brothers of the Little Turtle" (Harrison 1812, 1:229).

Rather than marching directly on the major Miami villages at the mouth of the Mississinewa, on December 17 Campbell's troops attacked a Delaware village upriver, near present-day Marion, Indiana, killing 8 Indians and taking 42 prisoners. From this base, Campbell led a detachment of dragoons which burned three small, deserted Miami villages a few miles down the Mississinewa -- probably the villages of the Miami chiefs Silver Heels, Metocina, White Loon and, perhaps, Little Eyes (Glenn, Swartz and Lewis 1977, 26-28). On the morning of December 18, Campbell's troops were attacked by a combined Miami and Delaware force under the Miami war chiefs Joseph Richardville, son of chief J.B. Richardville, and Francis Godfroy. With 9 of his men dead and almost 50 wounded, Campbell retreated to Greenville, Ohio. Indian casualties were higher (Glenn, Swartz and Lewis 1977, 14-18).

Following his victory over Tecumseh's Indian forces at the Battle of the Thames in Ontario, Canada, Harrison gathered delegations from the tribes at

Greenville in July 1814. Pacanne, "the principal chief of the Miami tribe," and Charley, "a principal war chief amongst the Miamies," spoke for the tribe (Dill 1814, 830-33). In the treaty the tribes agreed to assist the United States in the war against Great Britain and any tribes continuing to be hostile. In return, the tribes were assured that the United States would confirm the boundaries of their various territories as established by treaties before the war. The day after the treaty was signed, Harrison wrote Secretary of War John Armstrong that "two or three Miami chiefs only, refuse to sign, of all that were present. One is a half Frenchman [Richardville], whom we know to have been in British pay, with the rank of Captain in the Indian Department. His objection was, that he wished to remain neutral" (Harrison 1814 1:836; Anson 1970, 166).

In 1815, after the Treaty of Ghent ended the war with Great Britain, Harrison again met with the northwestern tribes, this time at Spring Wells near Detroit. Article 3 of the Treaty of Spring Wells specifically stated that because of the Miami tribe's "repentance" as indicated by their signing the 1814 treaty at Greenville, the United States government agreed to pardon those Miami who had joined the war on the side of Great Britain (Kappler 1904, 2:118-19).

CHANGING CONDITIONS IN INDIANA, 1816-1828

It would be another three years before the Miami signed another treaty with the United States, but events occurring in those years proved significant to the relationship between the tribe and the United States government. The years between 1815 and the removal of part of the tribe in 1846 have been called by one historian "the most complex, crucial, and interesting period in the tribe's long history" (Anson 1970, 177).

Pacanne, who had led a significant portion of his people for 52 years, died in 1816 and was succeeded as principal chief of the Miami by his nephew, Jean B. Richardville (Carter 1987, 241-42). Over the next 20 years most of the other traditional chiefs who had so adamantly held on to what they could of their tribal territory as it shifted from French to British to American possession would also die.

Also in 1816, Indiana achieved statehood. Settlers from Ohio had hoped that Harrison would be able to negotiate another land cession from the northwestern tribes when he met with them to gain their assistance of the war at Greenville in 1814; wisely, government officials realized that this was an inappropriate time to force more land from the disaffected tribes (Armstrong 1814, 1:827; Berthrong 1974, 204). After the war was over, however, there were no such concerns, and settlers were poised to flood into central Indiana. It was up to the new Miami leadership, primarily J. B. Richardville, Francis Godfroy, Francis LaFontaine and, to some extent, Metocina and his son Meshingomesia, to find a way to adapt the tribe to its new circumstances.

On October 6, 1818, the Miami signed a treaty with American Commissioners at St. Mary's, Ohio, by which the tribe ceded over seven million acres of land in Indiana -- the central third of the state -- to the United States, ending their possession of most of their former territory south of the Wabash River. In return the tribe was to receive a perpetual annuity of $15,000.00 in silver and an annual delivery of 160 bushels of salt; the government also

promised to erect a grist mill and a saw mill and provide a blacksmith, gunsmith, and agricultural implements for the tribe (Kappler 1904, 2:173).

From this cession, six reservations were made for the use of the Miami. In addition, the United States granted to individuals or families 20 tracts of land (totalling 31,460 acres) varying from one to six sections in size; these land grants could not be transferred by the individuals who received them, or their heirs, except with the approval of the President of the United States. Principal chief J. B. Richardville received nine sections of land near Fort Wayne and on the Wabash by fee simple patent (Kappler 1904, 2:172-73; Anson 1970, 180-81).

The next eight years began a period of economic and cultural decline for the Miami. Economically the tribe was primarily dependent on the fur trade and on annuities promised by treaties. There was some agricultural activity also, evidenced by requests from some Miami chiefs for assistance in plowing and erecting rail fences; contracts for such work were often let to the major trading companies at Fort Wayne (Hays 1823, 1:296; Charley's Son 1824, 1:347; Miami Chiefs 1824, 1:350-51; Richardville 1824, 1:357; Tipton 1824, 1:358; Tipton 1825a, 1:434). Conscious and unconscious erosion of Miami culture added to the stress on the tribe during this period. Annuities given out to the tribe, if any were left after traders deducted past debts, "rarely got beyond the temptations at Fort Wayne," and in this period "the easy and uncontrollable access the Miami had to whisky and the disruptive effect this had on all aspects of their culture, began to undermine whatever cultural stability, economic advantage, or political stratagem they might have had" (Glenn, Swartz and Lewis 1977, 65, 67).

Population decline emphasized the instability arising within the tribe. The Indian agent at Fort Wayne in 1817 noted that there were 1,400 Miami under the charge of his agency (Berthrong 1974, 211). Only eight years later the new Indian agent enumerated 1,073 Miami (Tipton 1825b, 1:475).

Two different types of leadership seem to have emerged, pushing the tribe in two different directions. Most of the new tribal leadership were part white, primarily of French background. Many, like Richardville, Godfroy and LaFontaine were traders in their own right. As early as 1790 Richardville was trading with the tribe at Fort Wayne (Hay 1789-90, 314), and in 1805 Harrison noted that "Richardville the Sachem or Principal Chief of the Miamis whose father was a Frenchman carries on a small trade with that Tribe" (Harrison 1805a, 1:84). Richardville may have given up wearing European-style clothing and gone back to speaking the Miami language exclusively sometime after the War of 1812 in order to maintain broad tribal support; his influence with his people was "so great as to control, generally, the affairs of the tribe" (Porter and Marshall 1833, 7). One reason for Richardville's influence over the Miami was his attempt to monopolize the tribe's trade; another was the fact that he controlled much of the distribution of the tribe's annuities. This was resented by some of the other chiefs (Le Gros 1826a, 1:517; Berthrong 1974, 214-15). His shrewdness in business and in dealings with government agents, however, gained him the respect of whites who believed that the tribe had, in him, "one of the most shrewd men in America at their head" (Tipton 1831, 2:400). In managing to maintain the Miami presence in Indiana until 1846, well after most other

tribes had been removed west of the Mississippi, Richardville and the chiefs associated with him proved how well they maneuvered in both cultures (Anson 1970, 189-90).

There was also a strong conservative element in the tribe, living primarily in villages along the Mississinewa River, rather than along the Wabash. Represented by Metocina and his son, Meshingomesia, these Miami had fewer ties to the traders and avoided involvement with the white population in the area (Anson 1970, 180). These burgeoning differences between portions of the Miami population were given expression in the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's, at which time most of the individual grants went to Miami who had mixed ancestry, while the six communcal tracts were reserved for the more traditional Miami villages (Anson 1970, 180-81).

This trend continued in the next treaty signed by the Miami, at the mouth of the Mississinewa on October 23, 1826. In consideration for giving up any claim the tribe might have to land in Indiana north and west of the Wabash and Miami rivers, the United States promised the Miami a "permanent annuity" of $25,000.00 "as long as they exist together as a tribe" (Kappler 1904, 2:279). The Government also reserved four individual and six village reservations (81,880 acres) within the ceded tract for the Miami's use (Royce 1899, 716-17; Gates 1942, 1:12). Twenty individual grants, totalling 13,920 acres, were made in a manner similar to the grants in the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's; 9 of the 20 recipients of grants under the 1826 treaty had received grants under the treaty of 1818 (Kappler 1904, 2:172-73, 280-81; Gates 1942, 1:16). This treaty, for the first time, stipulated that the United States government was to pay traders' claims against the tribe (Kappler 1904, 2:279).

The treaty commissioners recognized the importance of the treaty's provision which made the duration of annuities dependent on tribal existence. The Miami were considered to be rapidly declining. A perpetual annuity would be payable as long as an individual of the tribe might remain; but, by the present arrangement, this heavy debt will cease when they become incorporated with some more powerful and kindred tribe, and this event cannot be very remote" (Cass, Ray and Tipton 1826, 2:684). The commissioners felt forced to agree to the provisions relating to the reservations and individual grants made under the treaty; they noted that "without consenting to this arrangement, all our efforts would have been useless" (Cass, Ray and Tipton 1826, 2:684). The individual grants were encouraged by the traders, who had become so important to the Miami: "These reservees conveyed their rights to traders in payment of real or imaginary debts before the treaty" (Gates 1942, 1:17-18).

Individual grants made under the 1826 treaty were quickly sold off, often to pay debts or prevent the total impoverishment of the families receiving the grants; some of this land eventually ended up in the hands of Indian agent John Tipton or in the hands of traders (McKenney 1828, 2:24; Tipton 1829a, 2:125-26; Tipton 1830a, 2:251-54; Tipton 1832c, 2:655; Tipton 1832d, 2:656; Hamilton 1836a, 3:215; Tipton, Taber and Hamilton 1837, 3:462-64; Taber 1838, 3:575; Gates 1942, 32-33).

The treaty commissioners realized they could not convince the Miami on one point of the hoped for negotiations -- their removal west. "They are not yet prepared for this important change in their situation. Time, the destruction of the game, and the approximation of our settlements, are necessary before this measure can be successfully proposed to them" (Cass, Ray and Tipton 1826, 684). It was hoped that the scattered, smaller reservations and individual grants provided for in the treaty would separate the tribe "into bands, by the intervention of our settlements," and thereby help induce the tribe to eventually agree to move west (Cass, Ray and Tipton 1826, 684).

Two years later, on February 11, 1828, John Tipton concluded a separate treaty with the Eel River, or Thorntown, band of Miamis, purchasing the ten-square-mile tract which had been reserved to them in the Treaty of St. Mary's in 1818. The purchase of this tract, surrounded by white settlers, had been contemplated for some time by the Federal Government at the request of the Indiana congressional delegation (Kercheval 1827, 1:637; Barbour 1828, 1:6; Wheeler-Voegelin, et al. 1974, 166).

THE PUSH FOR REMOVAL, 1828-1840

Increased white settlement in Indiana in the late 1820's and early 1830's, the Removal Act passed by Congress in 1830, and the construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal beginning in 1832 all provided pressure on the Government to complete the process of acquiring Miami lands and moving the tribe west of the Mississippi. There were internal problems as well. Chiefs Richardville and Godfroy were attempting to monopolize the Indian trade. This not only angered the white traders, who profited from the sale of individual reserves and the flow of money along the Wabash each year at the annuity payments, but also aroused jealousy and frustration between tribal families and the chiefs, and between the chiefs and government representatives (Grover 1829, 2:185; Miami and Eel River Indians 1829, 2:189; Tipton 1829b, 2:190; Tipton 1829d, 2:193; Tipton 1829e, 2:209; Ewing 1829, 2:231; Tipton 1830b, 2:251). Removal, said Indian agent John Tipton, would lessen Richardville's influence over the tribe and set the Miami on the road to civilization (Tipton 1829c, 2:193). Other Indiana politicians believed that while most of the tribe might want to sell their land and remove west, they were "instruments in the hands of their half breed chiefs," whose only purpose in holding on to the land was for "extorting a high price from the Gov'mt" (Canby 1830).

The tribe's removal, "a matter of such deep interest, to all," (Milroy 1831, 2:468) was slow in coming to fruition, even with the support of Tipton, who had become a United States Senator in 1831. At first, Congress refused to appropriate funds for another treaty (Tipton 1832a, 2:522; Colerick 1832 2:623-24). Finally, in July 1832, Congress authorized $20,000 to be used for "holding Indian treaties, and of finally extinguishing Indian title, within the state of Indiana" (4 Stat. 564 Tipton 1832b, 653-54).

But the Miami were determined to remain where they were. Senator Tipton was angry at the delaying tactics of the tribe. During negotiations in 1833 the Miami were similarly unmoved, and Tipton fumed that "Jealousy and ambition have twice defeated this Treaty" (Tipton 1833b, 2:853). One of Tipton's

Indiana associates was more specific as to the problems in obtaining further land cessions from the Miami: "The great mistake is in relying on the Old Chief two [sic] much. It is my opinion that the same money, offered Richardville if distributed among the village Chiefs, would have done the business" (Hanna 1833, 2:869).

The treaty commissioners realized that the only way to obtain further Miami cessions would be to encourage the members of the tribe to go into debt, forcing them to sell off their lands one parcel at a time (Porter and Marshall 1833). A step in this direction was made in October 1834, when the Miami finally signed a treaty which ceded more than 200,000 acres to the government, primarily five small tracts northwest of the Wabash River which had been reserved for individuals or families in the 1818 and 1826 treaties, and an eight-mile-wide strip of the "big reserve" created by the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's. For this cession, the Miami were paid one dollar an acre, of which $50,000 was to be applied to paying the tribe's debts.

Rather than provide for the tribe's removal, further individual grants were made: Richardville received patent in fee simple for the 10-section tract reserved for him at the Forks of the Wabash by the 1826 treaty, as well as grants totalling an additional 2,080 acres. Patents in fee simple for lands granted by the treaties of 1818 and 1826 were also issued to four other Miamis, including Francis LaFontaine and Francis Godfroy (both of whom also received other grants). Seventeen other individual grants totalling 10,000 acres were made (7 Stat. 458).

The treaty's supporters lauded the provisions that brought "an additional quantity of first rate land" onto the market (Tipton 1834a, 3:79), and tried to minimize those that continued to create "some small reserves" (Tipton 1834b, 3:78) for individual Miamis. President Andrew Jackson, however, was furious that the treaty contained no provision for Miami emigration to the West, and he refused to send it to the Senate for ratification.

The treaty languished, unratified, for three years. Attempts were made in 1835 and 1836 to convince the Miami to reconsider the treaty and sell the individual reserves granted by the treaty (Tipton 1835, 3:137; Hamilton 1835b, 3:178; Hamilton 1836b, 3:222-23; Tipton 1836a, 3:256; Hamilton 1836c, 3:275; Tipton 1836b, 3:297-98). President Jackson, more in touch with the desires of the people of Indiana, who wanted the Federal Government to "provide the most efficient means to cause the peaceable, prompt and effectual emigration" of the Miami (Indiana 1835), told Senator Tipton "that he would not sanction an Indian treaty ... in which a portion of the best lands are reserved" (Tipton 1836b, 3:299). Richardville and the other Miami leaders were as adamant as Jackson, proclaiming that "should this treaty not be ratified, no other will Ever be made during their life time" (Boure 1835, 3:109; Hamilton 1835a, 3:106). Government agents sent to negotiate with the old chief doubted whether "the Miamies will consent to sell lands without making some reservations" (Hamilton 1836c, 3:275), and it was widely recognized that white traders "stimulate as many of the Indians as possible to insist upon individual reservations, which they [the traders] hope, ultimately, to possess" (Kinnard 1835).

Almost immediately after the succession of Martin Van Buren to the presidency in 1837, the 1834 treaty was resubmitted to the Senate and a commissioner was appointed to negotiate for the relinquishment of additional Miami lands (Hamilton 1837, 3:367; Harris 1837, 3:386). The new commissioner, however, secured only a modification of the 1834 treaty: The same lands were ceded to the Government, but the tribe would receive its entire compensation in money, not partially in goods as originally intended. The same individual grants were reserved as in the 1834 treaty (7 Stat. 462).

Only John B. Richardville, Francis Godfroy, and Majenica signed the modification agreement. This caused some concern for Commissioner of Indian Affairs Carey A. Harris, as 73 "chiefs warriors and headmen of the Miami tribe" had signed the 1834 Treaty (7 Stat. 458). Harris asked Indiana's Senator Tipton and Representative James Rariden whether the three who signed the modification agreement were "principle [sic] Chiefs, whose authority are recognized by the Tribe & whether the miamies would conform to an adjustment of the business of said Tribe entered into and sanctioned by the above named chiefs"; Tipton and Rariden answered that Richardville and Godfroy were "legitimate Chiefs whose authority is universally acknowledged by the miamies," that Majenica was "a man of much influance" and that any agreement the three made would "be implicitly conformed to by all the miamies" (Tipton and Rariden 1837 3:446). The Senate consented to the ratification of the treaty in October, but only if "the Chiefs and Warriors of the said tribe, shall in General Council, as on the occasion of concluding the aforesaid treaty, agree to and sign the same" (7 Stat. 463). Such a "general council" of 31 Miami "chiefs and warriors" met on November 10, 1837, and signed a statement agreeing to the amended treaty (7 Stat. 466).

A new treaty, signed at the Forks of the Wabash on November 6, 1838, was not exactly what everyone had hoped for either. The Miami ceded that part of the Big Miami Reserve that abutted the Wabash River and four smaller tracts which had been reserved for the tribe under the 1818 and 1826 treaties. From this cession, a ten-square-mile tract was reserved for Metocina's band; although Metocina had died in 1832, the reserve was held in trust for the band by his son, Meshingomesia. As compensation for the cession, the Miami were to receive $335,680.00. Negotiators of the 1838 treaty had to agree to individual grants -- 50 sections (32,000 acres) were granted by patent to individuals, including 11.5 sections to Richardville and 7 sections to Francis Godfroy (Kappler 1904, 2:519-24).

The 1838 treaty added another significant provision: none of the tribe's annuities or lands could be used as a lien for debts, nor could "any person or persons other than the members of said Miami tribe, who may by sufferance live on the land of, or intermarry in, said tribe, have any right to the land or any interest in the annuities of said tribe, until such person or persons shall have been by general council adopted into their tribe" (Kappler 1904, 2:521). This portion of Article 6 of the treaty has been interpreted as an indication of the Miamis' "increased sensitivity to changing cultural values and vanishing tribal identity" (Anson 1970, 201). It may actually have a simpler meaning, especially as it was part of the section in the treaty dealing with the amount set aside ($150,000.00) to pay the tribe's debts. While the Federal and State governments and local settlers had been encouraging the Miami to move west for twenty years, the traders had profited

from the tribe remaining in Indiana, particularly "viewing the annuities and the lands ultimately as the ample source from which he [the trader] is to derive his fortune" (Kinnard 1835). As early as 1830, an Indiana politician had noted that the tribe's land had become "so valuable that it has become an object for white men to marry their Squaws with the hope that they may thereby obtain valuable reservations in the name of their wives" (Canby 1830). By prohibiting liens against land and annuities for payment of debts, and not allowing anyone living among or marrying into the tribe who was not a member of, or adopted by the Miami from having any interest in the tribe's land or annuities, the Federal Government had removed one of the traders' motives for wanting the Miami to remain in Indiana. And by handsomely increasing the amount allocated for payment of debts, the government may have hoped to gain the support of the traders for the eventual removal of the tribe west of the Mississippi.

The sections of the 1838 treaty relating to the tribe's eventual removal were certainly disappointing. The Government promised to pay the expenses of a delegation of Miami chiefs to visit the western country proposed as their new home, but the tribe only vaguely agreed to accept "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" (Kappler 1904, 2:521). Despite his being "now very old and infirm" (Hamilton 1838b, 3:770), Richardville was able to get what he wanted out of the treaty -- "absolute" patent to the individual reserves granted by the treaty, but no firm commitment on removal (Pepper 1838, 3:761). He was certainly not yet "disposed to emigrate."

The Senate approved the 1838 treaty within three months, probably because of the realization that it was "as good a one as any we can get" (Hamilton 1838b, 3:770) in that "it further extinguishes all their good lands[,] congregates them together [and] surrounds them with a white population -- which they must retreat from" (Hamilton 1838a, 3:760). Removal was now just a matter of time.

Reports of Nathaniel West, the commissioner appointed to approve payments of Miami debts under the treaties of 1834 and 1838, indicate what the tribe was facing during its last years as a unified entity in Indiana. West reported to the Secretary of War early in 1839 that "In a few short years their whole remaining patrimony will be gone; then necessity would compel an emigration, and they would go empty handed" (West 1839a, 7).

Reports prepared by the Indian agents for the Miami in these years before the tribe's removal were equally disturbing. The tribe's population was declining drastically; from a total of 1,073 in 1825, the number of Miami had dropped to about 700 only 14 years later (Milroy 1839, 187). There were only 661 remaining in 1842 (Hamilton 1842, 97). Only the band led by Meshingomesia, "an intelligent and prudent chief," were prospering on the small reservation allowed to them by the treaty of 1838 (West 1839b, 5).

SPLITTING THE TRIBE, 1840-1846

Even Richardville could not hold out forever, although some whites in the area still thought that "he may stand it as long as any of us" (Hamilton 1838b, 3:770). Other chiefs who had tenaciously held on to their land were dying off -- Le Gros in 1826, Seek in 1827, Osage and Metocina in 1832, Deaf Man in 1833, and Majenica, Little Duck, Black Loon and Francis Godfroy in 1839 or 1840 (MNISI 1984b, 67-68, 71, 73-74, 79). With a fragmented land base and increasing individual and tribal debts, a new treaty and final cession were recognized as inevitable.

On November 28, 1840, the Miami ceded to the United States "all of their remaining lands in Indiana" (Kappler 1904, 2:531). Eight sections of land were reserved from this cession, seven to be patented to John B. Richardville and one to Francis LaFontaine. The 10-square-mile reservation reserved for Metocina's band by the 1838 treaty was now conveyed and patented to Meshingomesia, who was to hold the land in trust for the band and distribute the proceeds to the band whenever the land should be alienated.

In return for the cession, the Miami were to receive $550,000.00. The tribe would receive $350,000.00 to pay its debts; the remainder of the purchase price would be paid in 20 annual installments of $12,500.00.

By Article 8 of the treaty the Miami agreed to "remove to the country assigned them west of the Mississippi, within five years" (Kappler 1904, 2:532). The treaty also stipulated that the families of Francis Godfroy and Meshingomesia were to continue to receive their portion of the tribe's annuities at Fort Wayne after the rest of the tribe emigrated, which meant, in effect, that these families were exempt from removal. A similar provision covering the family of John B. Richardville had been a part of the 1838 treaty (Kappler 1904, 2:521, 532).

The treaty of 1840 was forwarded to the Senate, which consented to its ratification with six amendments in February 1841. The Miami chiefs agreed to the amendments on May 15. John B. Richardville, who had so long resisted the final removal of his people from their homeland in Indiana, died three months later (Kappler 1904, 2:534; Anson 1970, 208).

There was some fear on the part of the traders that on Richardville's death the various village chiefs would "split up and divide off into different Bands or parties" (Ewing 1841). The traders hoped that a "good successor" could be found, as the tribe "should be kept together and their national character sustained, and should be made to do all their business as heretofore, as one Nation" (Ewing 1841). A tribal council meeting elected Francis LaFontaine (Topeah), also descended from a French trader and Miami woman, principal chief to succeed Richardville. LaFontaine was considered a "safe" choice compared to Miami subchiefs such as Meshingomesia, who disliked the traders and were opposed to removal (Anson 1970, 213-14).

LaFontaine was Richardville's son-in-law, a trader who realized the importance of paying debts and a recipient of individual treaty grants himself. Still, LaFontaine, like his father-in-law, was clearly reticent about adhering strictly to the tribe's promise to emigrate west, and he was

able to postpone Miami removal for another six years. The desire of the traders to continue to profit from annuity payments made in Indiana, as well as problems with the location, survey, transfer, and sale of individual land grants held by those Miami who were not exempt from removal also delayed emigration (Anson 1970, 217-18; Dowling 1845; LaFontaine 1845; Ewing 1846a; Sinclair 1846b). Another reason for the delay was the Indians' "great reluctance to leave that country to which they were so strongly attached, whilst a portion of their Tribe were permitted to remain behind" (Ewing 1846b).

Despite the delays, preparations for Miami emigration began in earnest when pressure was exerted by the Indiana congressional delegation to expedite the removal (Wilkins 1844). In 1844, the Government let a contract for the expenses of the removal and, in 1845, authorized a new commission to finalize Miami debt payments to their traders in Indiana (Anson 1970, 217-18, 219-20). In August 1845, "an authorized delegation from the [Miami] Nation" was sent west pursuant to the treaty of 1838 to examine the land set aside for the tribe. This delegation, consisting of J.B. Brouillette, Pimyotomah, Shapendociah, George Hunt and Louis LaFontaine, reported back to the tribe that "it was a miserable despicable country" that had been chosen for them (Ewing 1846b). Attempts to exchange the land the delegation had seen for other land west of the Mississippi were unsuccessful (Sinclair 1846f), and preparations for the removal continued. Finally, to end further Miami procrastination -- and trader interference -- Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Medill ordered that annuities due both portions of the tribe and debt payments for 1846 be withheld until after the removal was completed. Federal troops were ordered to Peru to forcefully, if necessary, escort the Miami west (Anson 1964, 260; Benoit and Hamilton 1846; Sinclair 1846b; 1846g).

Preparations included determining which members of the tribe were exempted from removal and would remain in Indiana. The treaty of 1838 had exempted Richardville's family from removal, a group totalling 43 people in 1846. The treaty of 1840 had exempted the 28 individuals who comprised Francis Godfroy's family in 1846 and the 55 members of Meshingomesia's band (Sinclair 1846a). LaFontaine's family was included in the exemption for Richardville's family, as he had married one of Richardville's daughters (Sinclair 1845). LaFontaine also tried to obtain exemptions for other Miami subchiefs, perhaps in order to maintain his position as principal chief (Anson 1964, 259), but despite his promises to "effect wonders" he was unsuccessful in this maneuver other than in causing a further delay in the emigration while he traveled to Washington to plead his case before the Indian Office and Congress (Sinclair 1846c; Sinclair 1846d; Sinclair 1846e) Commissioner Medill told the chief that "it would be much better if every member of the tribe would remove, than it would be to authorize an increase of those stipulated to remain" (Medill 1846, 5).

On March 3, 1845, a joint resolution of Congress granted a similar exemption to Frances Slocum and 21 members of her family (6 Stat. 942). Slocum, a white woman, had been captured by a Delaware war party in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley in 1778, when she was five or six years old. Eventually, she left her Delaware captors and married Shapoconah, or Deaf Man, a Miami warrior who became the tribe's war chief after the death of Little Turtle. After Deaf Man's death in 1833, Slocum lived with her daughters. Word of her

survival did not reach her family in Pennsylvania until 1837, after which she became a romanticized figure, "the Lost Sister of Wyoming" (Anson 1970, 211-12). As the tribe's removal neared in 1845, Slocum was in her 70's, and she requested permission to remain in Indiana, basing her petition to Congress on the fact that she was too old to emigrate, that her newly-found white family could not visit her and assist her if she were removed west of the Mississippi and that she and her children wished to continue to live on the section of land granted them by the 1838 treaty (Slocum 1845, 2-3). Although the Miami's Indian agent thought that granting Slocum's request "might disincline other Miamies to remove to their new homes" (U.S. Congress 1845, 1), Congress agreed with Indiana Representative Samuel Sample that allowing Slocum's family to remain on the land granted them by treaty was "nothing more than other Miamies enjoy by the treaty" (Sample 1845, 3). Slocum and her family remained on their land on the Mississinewa River, and their descendants became prominent in the later history of the Indiana Miami.

Francis LaFontaine, some of his family and a number of Miami "warriors and headmen" who constituted the Miami council, accompanied the portion of the tribe that left Peru for Indian Territory in October 1846, planning to return to Indiana later (Anson 1964, 260; LaFontaine et al. 1846). It was hoped that by allowing LaFontaine and the other tribal leaders to observe for themselves that the land in the West was "as good as it has been represented to them it be ... it will not be long before most of those who are permitted to remain here [in Indiana] will emigrate of their own free will" (Sinclair 1846h). At times on the month-long trip west, LaFontaine exerted his influence as principal chief of the entire Miami tribe, although the removal agents tried to minimize his role in the affairs of the emigrating Indians (Harvey 1846). The Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis was forced to admit that the chief's influence over his people "is unlimited" and would probably continue to influence the Miami who moved west even after he returned to Indiana (Harvey 1847; Anson 1964, 262). But LaFontaine's death on April 13, 1847, during his return trip to Indiana, broke the political link between the eastern and western portions of the tribe (MNISI 1984b, 84; Anson 1970, 231).

With the removal of half of the tribe to the West, two different types of Miami remained in Indiana -- Meshingomesia's band, which lived on a 6,400-acre tract on the Mississinewa River held in trust by the chief for his band, and those Miamis, such as the descendants of Godfroy, Richardville and Slocum, who had received individual grants through various treaties. These different and dispersed patterns of land ownership would create "a separate legal identity" (MNISI 1984b, 72) for each group, a sense of separateness which would lead to deep factionalism within the Indiana Miami tribe over the next century. The history of the Miami from the mid 19th to the late 20th centuries can be seen, therefore, as an attempt to maintain tribal unity while still allowing each band or subgroup to pursue its own interests.

THE FIRST YEARS AFTER REMOVAL, 1847-1854

The Miami who emigrated in 1846 were not content in the West. The western Miami's new Indian agent, Alfred J. Vaughan, called their condition "deplorable," despite good land, large annuities and considerable other government benefits (Vaughan 1847b, 147). Only seven months after their emigration, the number of western Miami had dropped from 323 to 234 (Vaughan 1846; Vaughan 1847a). Violent deaths attributed to the uncontrolled flow of whiskey to the tribe account for some of the population loss (Handy 1849, 157; Ewing 1846a), but the return of some Miami to Indiana also played a role. Vaughan had thought that "those [Miami] who remained back in Indiana, are now on their way hither and may shortly be expected" (Vaughan 1847b, 147); actually, the reverse was true -- some Miami who had gone west returned to Indiana within four or five months of their removal. Although the first unauthorized group that returned east was "collected" and sent west again (MNISI 1984b, 85; Anson 1970, 228-29; Coquillard 1847b; Coquillard and Edsall 1848), the problem continued.

Some Miami never left with the emigrating party. Flat Belly and Wauwasee led their bands on the upper Eel River to live among the Potawatomi in southern Michigan (Anson 1970, 228). These two bands had long had extensive connections by marriage to the Potawatomi, and it had been feared at the time of the Miami removal that they would refuse to go west (Sinclair 1846i; Coquillard 1847a; Ewing 1847); the Miami agent thought that if the Potawatomi accepted them, "it would be much better to let them remain there than to throw them again with the Miamies" (Sinclair 1846i).

In 1847, the Miami County Circuit Court allowed a group of 12 Eel River or Thorntown Miami to remain in Indiana (MNISI 1984b, 86; Coquillard and Edsall 1848). And, in addition to the Miami who unofficially returned to Indiana, four Miami chiefs (Meaquah, Rivarre, Coesse, and White Loon) returned to the state with LaFontaine's party. These four chiefs and their families had not been exempted from removal in any of the earlier treaties, although they owned individual land grants under the treaties (Hamilton 1844; Ewing 1847). LaFontaine's trip to Washington, D.C., just prior to the tribe's removal had been on behalf of these tribal leaders, but he was unsuccessful in gaining permission for them to remain in Indiana. As they had procrastinated so long in preparing for the emigration, they made a unique agreement with the removal agent: In retrun for their assistance in removing the rest of the tribe, the families of these chiefs could remain on their lands in Indiana to watch after their crops. After the removal was completed, the chiefs would return to Indiana, dispose of their lands and go back to Kansas at their own expense (Hamilton and Benoit 1847; Sinclair 1847b; Medill 1847a). They attempted to obtain a complete exemption from removal, however, almost as soon as they returned to Indiana in 1847. They had the support of the State government (Indiana 1847), and Congress, by joint resolution in 1850, extended to these chiefs, eight other adults and their descendants (a total of 101 Miami) the provisions of the resolution allowing Frances Slocum's family to remain in Indiana (9 Stat. 806).

It had been expected that the death of LaFontaine would encourage more of the Indiana Miami to go west (Sinclair 1847a), and the Office of Indian Affairs was not pleased that so many Miami had been able to avoid removal. For

example, although the Miami County Circuit Court in 1847 had allowed the Eel River band to remain in Indiana, they could not receive their annuities, as only those stipulated in the treaties of 1838 and 1840 and the joint resolution of 1845 relating to the Slocum family had any right to receive annuities in Indiana. When the Indiana legislature sent a resolution to Congress requesting that Congress authorize the payment of their annuities in Indiana (Indiana 1847), Commissioner Medill warned that Government complyiance with such requests would prove detrimental to the Miami who had emigrated west:

> To enlarge the number [of exempted Miami] will increase their discontent, and lead to expectations, that, by continuing to manifest dissatisfaction, still others will be permitted to return and remain, which will tend to keep them unsettled, and thus to defeat the beneficial policy adopted by the government for their improvement and welfare. (Medill 1848, 3)

Medill thought that a wiser policy would be to convince the Miami still in Indiana to move west as well. He doubted that Congress had the power to exempt the family of Frances Slocum, as the joint resolution of 1845 had been "a material modification" of the treaty of 1840, a modification made "without the consent of all the parties thereto" (Medill 1848, 3). Four years later, the agent for the Miami reported that there was still "constant complaint and jealousy" between the Miami who emigrated and those who remained in Indiana (Coffey 1852, 98).

Commissioner Medill had voiced his major concern about those Miami who remained in Indiana in 1847, a year after the emigration:

> It is doubtfull whether they can prosper and be happy where they are.... It is hoped that, even before they suffer in any material degree from the disadvantages under which they must necessarily labor where they are, they will become convinced that it would be far better for them to emigrate and be with their brethren in the west. (Medill 1847b, 3-4)

The Indiana Miami had no intention, or inducement, to move west. While over the next few years the western Miami population was described as "fast passing off their stage of being" (Handy 1849, 157; Coffey 1852, 97), the eastern Miami population was "increasing a little" (Nelson 1848). When LaFontaine left his western tribesmen to return to Indiana, Ozandiah was elected chief of the western Miami. After LaFontaine's death, Meshingomesia was considered principal chief of the eastern Miami. Both Ozandiah and Meshingomesia had been considered possible successors to Richardville in 1841 (Ewing 1841). In terms of economic enterprise, those Indiana Miami who had individual land grants and had "direct exposure to white farming methods through white relatives or advisors," such as the Godfroy and Slocum families, took up agriculture like their non-Indian neighbors along the Wabash. The Miami who lived on the communally-held Meshingomesia reserve practiced a more traditional hunting/horticultural lifestyle (Rafert 1982, 27-28; Meginnis 1891, 149; Rose 1979, 26). The Meshingomesia Reserve was not

only "a place to live and retain some ties to a traditional way of life"; it was also "a place of refuge to avoid removal" for many Miami who were not originally members of Meshingomesia's family (Glenn, Swartz and Lewis 1977, 72-73). Extensive intermarriage between the Meshingomesia, Godfroy, and Richardville families also tied the Indiana Miami to each other, and to their homeland (Rafert 1982, 98, 181-83; Glenn, Swartz and Lewis 1977, 73).

THE TREATY OF 1854 AND DETERMINING INDIANA MIAMI MEMBERSHIP

As early as 1851, the Indian agent for the Osage River Agency advised his superiors that the only way for the tribes under his charge, including the western Miami, to improve their condition was to relocate them away from the temptations of the whiskey sellers on the Missouri border and allot individual tracts in fee simple to each head of family (Coffey 1851, 91-92). Another concern of the Western Miami was the enrollment of a number of "half breeds" on the Western Miami annuity roll. Big Legs, who had taken over as chief of the Western Miami from Ozandiah (Anson 1970, 231), told Commissioner of Indian Affairs George Manypenny when the latter visited the tribe in Kansas, that the Indians thought "we should determine in open council who are Miamis and not attempt to have them selves enrolled contrary to our decision" (Anonymous 1853).

Negotiations for a treaty with the Miami took place in Washington, D.C. in May 1854, when western and eastern Miami delegations with Commissioner Manypenny. The five-member western delegation was led by Big Legs, who had taken over as chief from Ozandiah (Anson 1970, 231). The five-member delegation from Indiana was led by Meshingomesia and included members of his own family and members of the Slocum and Godfroy families. Like the Western Miami, one of the primary reasons given by Meshingomesia for the presence of the Indiana Miami delegation was to discuss the "part breeds" and Potawatomies who were drawing annuities in Indiana against the wishes of the Indiana Miami (Anonymous 1854a).

By this treaty, signed on June 5, 1854, the Miami gave up all the western country given to them under the 1840 treaty, except for 640 acres to be used for school purposes and 70,000 acres to be allotted in 200-acre tracts to each of the western Miami. In consideration for this cession of over 254,000 acres, the western Miami were to receive $200,000.00. The Indiana Miami who had been exempted from removal were not to receive any portion of this payment.

To end jealousies between the eastern and western Miami over which group was receiving the proper proportion of the tribe's annuities (Nelson 1848; Mitchell 1852; Coffey 1852, 98), the two delegations agreed to a division of the limited annuity of $12,500.00 per year still due to the tribe as a whole under the 1840 treaty; the Indiana Miami would receive $6,863.64 and the western Miami $5,636.36, although a portion of each of these payments would be withheld for six years to reimburse the Federal Government for payments that were due the Eel River Miami but had been inadvertently been paid to the "Miami Nation" (10 Stat. 1096). The tribe relinquished its remaining permanent annuity due under the 1826 treaty and sundry other benefits under various treaties, in return for which the Government would pay the tribe six

installments totalling $421,438.68 -- $194,346.68 to the western Miami and $231,004.00 to the Indiana Miami. In the treaty as originally written, the Indiana Miami were given the option, if its delegation agreed "to take the opinion of their people on their return home, and advise the department without delay," of having the Secretary of the Interior invest the entire sum due them and receiving the interest from that investment annually (10 Stat. 1096).

As for the "part breeds" who had been drawing annuities contrary to the wishes of both the western and eastern Miami chiefs, Manypenny decided on June 7, two days after the treaty was signed, that he would "sustain the decision of the chiefs of the tribe" that these individuals were not Miami and had not "been regularly adopted into the tribe according to the usages and customs of the same" (Manypenny 1854b) and, therefore, "that they should not be enrolled and regarded as Miamis without the consent of the chiefs" (Anonymous 1854a) This statement seems to be the basis for the "corrected list" of 302 Indiana Miami which appeared prominently in the treaty as it was approved by the Senate later in the summer. On January 13, 1854, James Lindsey, a clerk in the Office of Indian Affairs, had been instructed to take a census of those Indiana Miami families which had been allowed by treaty or Congressional resolutions to remain in Indiana after removal. Lindsey's instructions for taking the census were detailed, and he was to include "any others who may claim to be" of the Richardville family (Manypenny 1854a). He included on his census, therefore, 42 individuals of the Minnie, LaCroix and DeRome families who claimed a relationship with J.B. Richardville and had been added to the Miami annuity roll in 1853 despite "the most earnest protest of all the Miamis" (Loveland 1853; Mix 1858).

When the Miami met with Commissioner Manypenny in June for the treaty negotiations, they "corrected" Lindsey's census by removing the names of the disputed part breeds (Mix 1858). The commissioner, however, added a caveat to his agreement that the Indiana Miami chiefs' consent would have to be obtained before anyone could be added to the new list: "if it should be proven to him that some are excluded who are entitled to draw annuities, the chiefs' decision will not be binding" (Anonymous 1854), and he would "direct that they be placed in a position to regain their rights" (Manypenny 1854b).

When Meshingomesia's delegation returned to Indiana after signing the treaty on June 5, "a full council of the Miamies of that State was held, and another deputation was despatched to Washington" in August (Manypenny 1854e, 2). This new delegation was composed primarily of the same Indiana Miami who had signed the treaty in June, although Meshingomesia and Keahcotwoh (Buffalo) remained in Indiana and Gabriel Godfroy, Peter Langlois, and Little Charley joined the delegation, now led by Pimyotamah, for the trip back to the capital for the treaty's ratification (U.S. Congress 1855, 2-3).

The Indiana Miami who met "in general council" to consider the treaty "solemnly and earnestly" protested the provision that would have ended the permanent annuity. The Miami chiefs who had signed the treaties establishing that annuity had been "the wisest chiefs the tribe ever had, ... men who could look into the future, and see the sad destiny" of the tribe; the annuity was meant "to follow said tribe to its extinction, and to protect its children until their tribe was no more." The attempt to end the annuity was

seen as a "crusade for the extinction of the tribe," and the 45 Miami who signed the council's petition to the Government urged that the annuity -- "that monument of wisdom of our fathers" -- be preserved (J. Godfroy et al. 1854).

In Washington, the Indiana Miami delegation agreed to an amendment allowing the President of the United States to invest the group's money and pay its members the interest for 25 years, after which they would receive the principal sum. They also agreed that only the 302 persons on "the corrected list agreed upon by the Miamies of Indiana" when they met with Commissioner Manypenny in June would be considered "Miami Indians of Indiana." Only these persons "and the increase of the families of the persons embraced in said corrected list" could receive the payments stipulated in the treaty. Additions to the list could only be made "by the consent of the said Miami Indians of Indiana, obtained in council, according to the custom of Miami tribe of Indians" (10 Stat. 1099).

During the negotiations in Washington, Commissioner Manypenny insisted that "they have no power in Indiana, the power is in the tribe west, whatever that tribe does here will be binding upon the Indiana Miamies" (Anonymous 1854a), a position similar to that taken six years earlier by the House Committee on Indian Affairs, which stated that the Miami "'tribe' ... is understood only to embrace those who have removed" (U.S. Congress 1848b, 1). The introduction to the treaty seems to indicate that Meshingomesia's delegation were merely "residents of the State of Indiana," whose only role was in "assenting, approving, agreeing to, and confirming" the treaty made between the United States Government and "the Miami tribe of Indians" (10 Stat. 1093). Still, Manypenny described the treaty as an agreement "between the two branches of the nation" (Manypenny 1854c), and the text of various articles of the treaty differentiates between the Western Miamis and the Indiana Miamis. Senate acceptance of the amendment to the treaty also indicates congressional recognition that the Indiana Miami were "represented in Washington by a fully authorized deputation" during the ratification process (10 Stat. 1093). The treaty also directs payment to families "of the Miami tribe of Indians residing in Indiana" and stipulates that additions to the roll of Indiana Miami were to be dealt with through a political process "according to the custom of Miami tribe of Indians" (10 Stat. 1093).

Such a political process seems to have still been in place five years later and was active in opposing Federal actions to unilaterally add names to the "corrected list" of 302 members which was "prepared ... by the council of the Indians" (U.S. Congress 1856, 1). These additions seem to have been made in accordance with Commissioner Manypenny's caveat of June 7, 1854. In October 1858, the Secretary of the Interior added 68 names to the Indiana Miami list, basing his action on a section of a supplemental Indian Appropriation Act of June 12, 1858, that authorized the Secretary to pay annuities to any "persons of Miami blood" who had been excluded from such payments since the tribe's removal and "to enroll such persons upon the pay list of said tribe" (11 Stat. 329). What little discussion there was in the Senate regarding this section of the act indicated that it was seen as "a mere inter-tribal regulation between the Miamies of Indiana, and a few families who have been improperly deprived of their annuities" (Congressional Globe 1858, 2822). The Senate relied on a report, prepared by Acting Commissioner of Indian

Affairs Charles E. Mix, stating that these families were simply requesting "restoration to their tribal rights by enabling them to obtain their proper shares of annuities of that tribe" (Mix 1858, 6). Congress seems to have given little attention at this time to the fact that when the Indiana Miami delegation had come to Washington to negotiate the treaty of 1854, they had been specifically consulted as to what persons were to be considered of Miami descent (Anonymous 1854b). Meshingomesia had expressed so much concern over the "part breeds," Potawatomies and "persons coming into their tribe in Indiana not of Indian blood" (Anonymous 1854a), that Commissioner Manypenny arranged to have testimony taken from the "part breeds" in the matter so that "the Indian Office will have something intelligible -- something produced where the parties confronted each other face to face -- and will therefore be able to come to such a conclusion as will mete out justice" (Manypenny 1854d).

The Senate also seems to have been unaware that in 1856, when the Indiana Miami council was given the opportunity to decide whether to allow these claimants to share in the Indiana Miami annuities, the Miami were so "exorably opposed to the opening or consideration of the question" that the special agent appointed to propose the question during their annuity payment dropped the matter after talking with Miami leaders such as Meshingomesia, J.B. Brouillette, Pimyotomah, and Gabriel Godfroy, all of whom were opposed to adding any names to the annuity list (Dowling 1856). Indiana Miami dissatisfaction over how the tribal membership provisions of the treaty of 1854 were being interpreted in Washington was a major cause of what one historian has called "the beginning of a Miami preoccupation with legal cases which continues today" Anson 1970, 239).

At a meeting on January 6, 1859, the "council of the Miami Tribe of Indians of Indiana" appointed a committee to inform the agent who distributed the Miami annuity that the council members "protest, consent not, and allow not" any persons to receive the annuity who had been added to the payroll list "without the consent of the Miami Tribe of Indians of Indiana" (Brouilette et al. 1859a). All of the major Indiana Miami groups were represented on the committee, which sent a letter to Special Agent John Graham on January 10, protesting that the additions to the Miami roll had only been "admitted through the influence of the Indian agents." Three of the eight members of the committee -- Meshingomesia, Wappoppetah (Peter Bondy) and Pimyotemah -- had signed the treaty of 1854. Other members were Thomas Richardville, grandson of the former principal chief, James Godfroy, son of the last tribal war chief, and J. B. Brouilette, a son-in-law of Frances Slocum (Brouilette et al. 1859a). On January 13, Graham was invited to attend "a council held at Gabriel Godfroy's," at which time the Miami informed Graham that they refused to accept their annuity "in consequence, they said of persons having been placed upon the Pay Roll, by the Government, who were not entitled to participate in their annuities" (Graham 1859). On February 1, 1859, the five Miami who signed the January 6 protest met with twenty others "in council," again at the home of Gabriel Godfroy. Stating "that they and their families and the persons whom they represent" were the 302 Miami Indians and their descendants who were to receive the benefits of the 1854 treaty, a letter was drafted to both houses of Congress protesting the addition of the 68 names "without our consent and against our wishes" and requesting that the Act of

June 12, 1858, be repealed because it violated the treaty (Brouilette, et al. 1859b).

Nothing was done about the Indiana Miami protest at that time. Three years later, in fact, the Commissioner of Indian affairs added five more individuals to the Indiana Miami list, bringing the number of persons added to the 1854 list under the authority of the 1858 act to 73. An attorney general's opinion in 1865 supported the Secretary's actions; although recognizing that the Indiana Miami "tribe in council never did, according to their custom, consent to the addition of those names or to their being paid," as was stipulated in the 1854 treaty, still, said the attorney general, since treaties "that require legislation to execute them, are ... brought under the consideration and are subject to construction by Congress," the 1858 act did not violate the 1854 treaty (Speed 1865, 1-2). The House Committee on Indian Affairs concurred, and determined that "no further legislation is necessary on the subject" (U.S. Congress 1866, 1).

Continued protest by the Indiana Miami, however, resurrected the issue. Just before their annuity payment in 1865 most of the same Miami representing the different subgroups who signed the 1859 protest, "in our individual and tribal capacity, respectfully but earnestly remonstrate against such payment to ... all such persons as have been aded [sic] to our payroll and to our tribe" (G. Godfroy, et al. 1865). Meshingomesia, who was in Washington early in 1866, also pleaded with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to "ask their grate father as they call the President to protect them" because "thare Money is Rongfully Paid" to those added to the list (Meshingomesia 1866b), a remonstrance he repeated in the following year (Meshingomesia 1867). In an Indian appropriation act of March 1867, Congress attached an amendment stipulating that future appropriations for the Indiana Miami would be paid "to such persons as may be, upon the opinion of the Attorney-General, legally entitled to the same" as stipulated in the 1854 treaty, "regardless of any subsequent legislation" (14 Stat. 492). In addition, the amendment repealed the part of the Act of 1858 that had started all the trouble (Congressional Globe 1867, 1647).

There was some discussion in the House concerning the tribal status of the Indiana Miami. Those who supported the amendment, such as Representative Kasson of Iowa, based that support on the fact that the "legislative outrage" of 1858 had violated the portion of the 1854 treaty necessitating the "consent of that tribe in council" before any additions could be made to the original list of 302 Indiana Miami; Kasson insisted that by this clause, "the treaty itself declared who constituted the tribe of Miamis" (Congressional Globe 1867, 1649). Opposing the amendment, Representative William Niblack of Indiana had the same conception of the status of the Indiana Miami. He called the Indiana Miami "this Indiana branch of the Miamis" and "the portion of the tribe residing in Indiana"; he referred to the 1854 list as "the regular list of the tribe"; and he called the 1858 legislation "the action of Congress which recognizes that portion of the tribe living in Indiana as a part of the Miami tribe of Indians notwithstanding treaty stipulations or objections from any other source under any pretense whatsoever" (Congressional Globe 1867, 1648, 1649).

Representative William Windom of Minnesota, on the other hand, although he supported the amendment because the treaty of 1854 did not give the Secretary of the Interior the authority to decide who should receive payments, said that he thought there was "a distinction between the tribe of Miamis of Indiana and the Miamis themselves. The Miamis emigrated west.... The three hundred and two who remained are not a tribe, but are dealt with as individuals" (Congressional Globe 1867, 1650). Indiana Representative Joseph Defrees opposed the amendment, saying that he did "not think that certain individuals have any right to get together and claim to be the tribe because the principle [sic] tribe is west of the Mississippi" (Congressional Globe 1867, 1650).

This discussion does not seem to have had an effect on House concurrance to the amendment, which became part of the Indian appropriations bill. The 73 individuals who had been added to the 1854 list and their families (a total of 119 by 1867), who had been been receiving a portion of the Indiana Miami annuity for 13 years, were removed from the Indiana Miami roll (U.S. Congress 1892, 2-3).

Before making payments to the Indiana Miami, however, the Secretary of the Interior requested an opinion from the U.S. Attorney General's Office as to whom the proper beneficiaries of such payments would be. The Attorney General determined that only the Indiana Miami on the "corrected list" of 1854, their descendants, and additions approved by the Indiana Miami in council "and no others, are legally entitled to the ... appropriation under the said treaty" (Stanbery 1867, 243-44).

In his written opinion, the Attorney General discussed the relative status of the Miami who emigrated west in 1846 and those who remained in Indiana. In earlier treaties, the Miami had been considered one tribe, and no stipulations had been made concerning separate groups of Miami. In the treaty of 1854, however, there was "a distinct recognition of, and separate provision made for, two independent bodies of Indians of Miami blood, namely, the emigrated Miamies living in the west, and the Miamies living in Indiana" (Stanbery 1867, 242). The western Miami, although the smaller of the two groups, constituted "the political body called the tribe" and was represented at the negotiations for the 1854 treaty by five delegates. However, there were five Indiana Miami at the treaty negotiations, and in consenting to the ratification of the treaty the Senate "recognized them as 'a fully authorized deputation' of the Miami Indians of Indiana" (Stanbery 1867, 244-45).

With this opinion as support, the Secretary of the Interior had a new Indiana Miami roll prepared, to include only those who were on the 1854 list and their descendants. These were the only individuals who were to receive annuity payments after 1868, including the 1882 payment of the principal sum which had been invested in accordance with the 1854 treaty (Atkins 1887, 3).

Rectifying the Indiana Miami roll had become so complicated that the Miami had not received an annuity payment for 1867, a matter of great concern to the tribe's leaders. Gabriel Godfroy, Peter Bondy and Pimyotomah wrote that their perople were "suffering for necessary clothing and food." They had bought supplies on credit, relying on the good faith of the Government to pay their annuities on time; now their creditors would allow them no more credit

and, in addition, "taxes on the little farms" were due and if not paid the farms would be sold. The Miami had heard that the attorney for those who had been removed from the Miami roll by the 1867 act of Congress had arranged with the Office of Indian Affairs "that no more payments will be made until they shall be reinstated." Godfroy did not believe that the Indian Office could be "this partizan," as to "disregard the law of Congress." He suggested that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs authorize the annuity payments for 1867 and 1868 and leave it to Congress to determine the status of those still claiming to belong on the Miami roll (Godfroy 1868a; Godfroy 1868b; Godfroy, Pimyotomah and Bondy 1868). Meshingomesia was also writing to the Indian Office regarding the lateness of annuity payments to his band (Meshingomesia 1868; Meshinogmesia 1869).

THE LAST TREATY AND INITIAL CLAIMS, 1869-1895

The "bogus Miami" who were removed from the Indiana Miami roll continued to try to reverse the decision. Delegates representing the 92 members of the Western Miami and the over 400 Indiana Miami met at Washington early in 1869 to negotiate a new treaty "to settle and adjust all claims against the United States and all controversies amongst themselves." Among these "controversies" was the "contention and difficulty [which] has existed among those who have always claimed to be Miamies who did not remove" (Murphy and Denman 1869, 2). The treaty granted land held by the Western Miami to descendants of those persons added to the Miami roll in 1858. It also entitled those stricken from the roll to receive various funds due to the Western Miami and allowed the Indiana Miami who had settled in Kansas to receive a pro rata share of the principal fund invested for the Indiana Miami under the 1854 treaty (U.S. Congress 1869).

Correspondence relating to the treaty of 1869 indicates that one of the primary purposes for its negotiation was to rectify the "great injustice ... done to the eastern Miamis particularly that portion of them provided for by the act of Congress of June 12th 1858" (Brackenridge 1868a). U.S. Commissioners who negotiated the 1869 treaty noted that "four of the five Miamis of Indiana" who had signed the 1854 treaty had been consulted and "admit that many persons were improperly excluded from the list" of 302 Indiana Miami compiled in 1854. This is unlikely. At the time the 1869 treaty was being negotiated in Washington, Gabriel Godfroy Pimyotomah, Peter Bondy and Meshingomesia were writing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs about their concern that the persons excluded from Miami membership were delaying the Miami annuity payments with their tactics to get back on the roll.

It had been intended that Meshingomesia participate in the negotiations in 1869, but he was unable to travel to Washington because of illness and poverty (Manypenny 1869; Wines 1869; Colerick 1869). Instead, Thomas F. Richardville, James R. Godfroy, Joseph Meshewas and Augustine Toposh signed the 1869 treaty as Miami Indians of Indiana. James Godfroy was a brother of Gabriel Godfroy. James's signature had headed the list of those who signed the Miami council's memorial in response to the treaty of 1854 (J. Godfroy et al. 1854). Richardville was residing in Kansas at this time and representing the interests of the Western Miami -- and those of his own family in trying

to obtain their share of the Indiana Miami principal sum -- but he signed the treaty as a representative of the Indiana Miami, as well as interpreter (U.S. Congress 1869, 16). Meshewas, who lived near South Bend, Indiana (Brackenridge 1868c), was one of the Indiana "Miami" who had been added to the roll in 1858 and stricken from the roll in 1867 (Brackenridge 1868b). Augustine Toposh is more difficult to identify, but may have been the same individual as Joetah Toposh, who attested to the claims of James Godfroy and Meshewas for reimbursement of expenses incurred during their stay in Washington (Godfroy and Meshewas 1869).

The names of Meshewas and Toposh also appear in lists appended to the 1869 treaty which contained the names of Western Miami and the names of those excluded from the Miami roll in 1867. Richardville and Toposh were also among the six signers of the 1869 treaty who would have received grants of land had the treaty been ratified (U.S. Congress 1869, 6, 10, 11, 16). Although the treaty was transmitted to the Senate by President Grant, it remained unratified, partly due to initial opposition to the treaty by a faction within the Western Miami tribe (Hoag 1870). It was not until 1873 that the Secretary of the Interior decided that the 73 added to the Indiana Miami roll in 1858 and 1862 could not be placed on the Western Miami roll either (Western Miami Indians 1887, 4).

The payment of the principal sum due to the Indiana Miami under the treaty of 1854 took place in 1882. Legislation authorizing the payment was passed in March 1881, although Congress had attempted to pass such legsislation a year earlier. Most of the Indiana Miami bands and those Indiana Miami living in Kansas, had actively lobbied for its passage (T. Richardville 1879; Peconga 1879; Peconga et al. 1880; Mowbray 1880; C. Godfroy et al. 1880). Some Miami leaders, however, representing the Godfroy and Slocum descendants, urged that the Government keep the principal sum invested, and continue to provide the Miami with the annual interest, which "has enabled them to keep their families together, and with their scanty earnings, has prevented suffering, and charitable support"; payment of the principal sum, however, which was "being urged by the most improvident, and by pretended friends, who hope to be benefitted by such distribution," would be disastrous, as it would be quickly squandered (Godfroy, Pemyotomah and Bondy 1880).

In preparation for the payment, the Secretary of the Interior appointed Thad Butler, a Huntington, Indiana, newspaperman, special agent to compile a census of the Indiana Miami who were to share in the distribution of the fund. Butler's census enumerated 321 Indiana Miami: 60 lived on lands which were formerly the Meshingomesia reservation, 80 lived on land reserved for the Godfroy family, 15 lived at Lafayette, 20 in Huntington County, 30 near Fort Wayne, 40 in Kansas and Indian Territory, 6 in Ohio, "and the residue in the states of Michigan, Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota" (Butler 1881; Butler 1901, 237). Butler indicated that representatives of all the Miami subgroups met to approve his census:

> What was probably the last official gathering of the tribe was held in Wabash in September, 1881, to examine and approve the census roll. Twenty heads of families were present, among them Wah-pop-pe-tah ... and Peem-y-o-tah-mah, both of whom signed the last treaty made with

> the government; the two nephews of Chief Me-shin-go-me-sia, Wah-pe-mun-wah, the White Loon, and Chin-quah-sah, the Thunderer, and Co-pe-wah, the Overseer, a newphew of the last war chief, Pol-oz-wah [Francis Godfroy]. (Butler 1901, 238)

The 1882 receipt of $695.78 by each adult (and by the guardians of each minor under the age of 21) was considered "a final discharge by each party so receiving of all claims whatsoever under said treaty [of 1854] against the United States Government" (21 Stat. 433). This payment ended the annuities due under various treaties to most of the Indiana Miami. The small Eel River or Thorntown group of Miamis who had settled near Peru after 1847 and intermarried into the other Indiana Miami subgroups continued to receive annuities until Congress, in a section of an Indian appropriations act of July 4, 1888, separately ended their annuity payments. Congress appropriated $22,000.00 to be divided among the Eel River group, which numbered 26 on a roll prepared in 1889 by Thad Butler (25 Stat. 217; MNISI 1984b, 98-99; Butler 1889).

Between 1867 and 1895, the Indiana Miami attempted to gain compensation from the Government for the money paid to the additions to the roll between 1858 and 1867. In these attempts, the status of the Indiana Miami as a tribal entity was frequently discussed. In preparing to carry out the stipulations of an 1873 act abolishing the tribal relations of the western Miami, the Secretary of the Interior noted that "in various parts of the treaty [of 1854] the Miami Indians in what is now Kansas are recognized as the Miami tribe, and it is clearly inferable, from certain sections of the treaty, that the Indians remaining in Indiana were not regarded as members of the tribe proper" (Delano 1873, 2). This was not the general trend of the discussion, however. In 1871, Enoch Hoag, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Lawrence, Kansas, noted that in amending the treaty of 1854, the Senate had recognized "a delegation of Indiana Miamies as fully competent to negotiate with the Government, and with the Western Miamies in all matters involving a common tribal interest, and by that treaty the common funds of the tribe were divided, in a manner satisfactory to both Eastern and Western Miamies." Hoag also stated that those on the list of 302 Indiana Miami certified in 1854 were "all that were left east of the Mississippi entitled to receive any of the annuities or claim any of the benefits of tribal relationship with the Miami tribe of Indians," and he characterized the 73 added in 1858 and 1862 as "bogus Miamies" urged on in their claims by land speculators who hoped "to obtain a further share in the distribution of the remaining assets of the tribe" (Hoag 1872, 4, 6, 7).

In 1885, as part of a report prepared by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for Congress regarding moneys which had been improperly taken from both the western and Indiana Miamis to pay those who had been added to the Indiana Miami list, the Commissioner noted that the additional 68 persons had not originally been "enrolled with either branch of the Miami tribe, but were looked upon as being members of the Miami tribe of Indians at large," and that until they were "placed on the roll of the Miamis East" in 1858, "funds belonging to the whole Miami tribe, East and West, were used to pay their back annuities up to and including the year 1857, and they were then placed on the roll of the Miamis East." The Commissioner also called the Indiana

Miami "that part of the tribe remaining in Indiana" and "the Indiana branch of the tribe" (Price 1885, 4, 5). Two years later, in a House Committee on Indian Affairs report which recommended passage of a bill to reimburse the Indiana Miami, Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. D. C. Atkins noted that the individuals who were eventually added to the Indiana roll in 1858 and 1862 "had been objected to by the delegations of the tribes from the Indian Country and from Indiana who appeared before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the summer of 1854" (Atkins 1887, 2).

In the following year, the House committee reported adversely on a similar bill because it believed that the 1858 and 1862 additions to the Indiana roll had probably been valid because the "whole tenor" of the 1854 treaty "seems to contemplate that all Indians who could be ascertained to be of the Miami tribe, resident in Indiana" should share in its benefits (U.S. Congress 1888a, 1).

In 1890 the House Committee on Indian Affairs again reported favorably on a bill to reimburse the Indiana Miami, on the grounds that the payments to individuals added to the Indiana Miami roll "clearly, not to say ruthlessly, violated the treaty of 1854." That treaty had been made "with certain Indians known as the Miamis of Indiana, whereby it was agreed that certain persons belonging to said tribe, then residing in Indiana, should receive certain annuities and lands." Further, the treaty stipulated that only the 302 embraced in the list of Indiana Miami, "together with the increase of their families and such other persons as should be received into tribal relation with them ... should be entitled to any portion of said annuities and lands." This House report also referred to those Miami who had emigrated west in 1846 as "the remainder of the tribe" (U.S. Congress 1890, 1, 3).

In December 1890 the Court of Claims heard a case, brought by the Western Miami, relating to whether the 73 who had been added to the Indiana Miami roll had been entitled to receive land allotments along with the western Miami under the treaty of 1854. In its defense, the United States Government argued that the 73 had not been added to the "rolls of Indiana Indians," but to "the rolls of the [Miami] tribe." The land in Kansas set aside for the Miami to settle on after their removal had been assigned to the "whole tribe," just as the moneys stipulated by treaties as payment for Miami land in Indiana "were for the benefit of the whole tribe" and not just for those who had actually emigrated in 1846. While "most of the Miami tribe of Indians moved west" in that year, "the individual members in Indiana were recognized, through their delegates, as part of the tribe" (Dewees 1890, 2-3, 5, 12). As part of its finding of facts, issued in 1891, the court (U.S. Congress 1891, 3) determined that in 1854 "the annuities due the tribe were divided. One part was distributed among the Western Miamis, or those who resided on the ceded lands in Kansas, and the other part was distributed among the the Miamis of Indiana." The court also found that the list of 302 Indiana Miami referred to the in treaty of 1854 had been prepared by "the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in consulation with the head men of the Indiana portion of the tribe."

Early in 1895, the Court of Claims issued a similar finding of facts in the case of The Indiana Miami Indians v. the United States (U.S. Congress 1895). The case had been initiated when, in 1893, a "special Council of the Indiana

Miami Indians" was held to authorize Gabriel Godfroy, Peter Bundy, Judson Bundy (Peter's son), Peter Godfroy (Gabriel's son), and Anthony Walker (Pimyotomah's grandson) to hire an attorney to recover annuity funds paid to the 73 persons placed on the Indiana Miami roll in 1858 and 1862 (Godfroy and Bundy 1893).

The Indiana Miami attorney argued before the Court of Claims that the treaty of 1854 had been "made with the Miami tribe of Indians, which included both the western Miamies in Kansas, and the Indiana branch of the tribe, both sections being represented by delegates"; Congress had also recognized that there were "two distinct portions of the tribe" by appropriating funds to pay annuities stipulated in that treaty to both the Indiana and Western Miami (Embry 1894, 3-4). Among the findings in this case, the court determined that "a large number of the tribe had special permission ... to remain in Indiana" at the time of removal, and that afterwards "the annuities due the tribe were divided, one part being distributed among the Western Miamis, or those who resided in Kansas, and the other part distributed among the Miamis of Indiana." The court agreed with the Indiana Miamis' attorney that the treaty of 1854 had been made by delegates from "both branches of the Miami tribe of Indians" and reiterated its earlier finding that the 1854 list of Indiana Miami had been prepared by "the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in consultation with the headmen of the Indiana portion of the tribe" (U.S. Congress 1895, 1-2).

A month after these court findings were issued, Congress passed an Indian Appropriations bill which included a provision to pay $48,528.38 "to the Indiana Miami Indians residing in the State of Indiana or elsewhere, ... which said sum of money was by the United States taken from their tribal funds against their protest, and in violation of the treaty ... and paid to other persons not entitled to it" (28 Stat. 903). A new Miami roll, completed in preparation for this payment, listed 440 Indiana Miami, 67 of whom resided in Kansas, Oklahoma and Indian Territory (MNISI 1984a, 128-42). These 67 represented a migration of Indiana Miami to Kansas and Indian Territory which began in the 1850's and continued into the early 20th century, although there seems to have been another slight reverse migration -- from Kansas back to Indiana -- in the early 1860's to avoid "the troubles on the border of Missouri" during the Civil War (Colton 1863; Pettit 1863). Some Indiana Miami may have moved west because of marriages with western Miami, others in order to obtain land as the Miami land base in Indiana shrank (MNISI 1984b, 115-16).

Many of the Miami who moved west in this migration maintained their separateness as Indiana Miami, while others seem to have shifted allegiances. Thomas F. Richardville, for example, who was a member of the Indiana Miami council in the mid to late 1850's (J. Godfroy et al., 1854; Brouilette et al., 1859), moved west in 1860. In 1866 and 1867 he was part of a delegation of Kansas Miami in Washington and was considered one of the "members of said tribe" (Wright 1866; Big Leg et al. 1867; Kappler 1902, 2:967). Later in 1867, the principal chief and council of the Western Miami complained that Richardville, "a member of the Indiana Miamies, was actively engaged in creating disturbances among their people" (Colton 1867). In 1868, however, he again represented the Western Miami during treaty negotiations in Washington (Richardville 1868). In 1869 he signed a treaty at Washington as

a representative of the Miami living in Indiana (U.S. Congress 1869). At other times he represented the interests of the Indiana Miami living in the West particularly in regard to annuity payments (Richardville 1867a; Richardville 1867b). In 1880 he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs describing himself as one of the 40 "of us living now in Kansas and Indian Territory, who are members of Miami Indians of Indiana" (Richardville 1880). In 1881 he represented the interests not only of the Indiana Miami living in the West, but also the Eel River Miami in relation to the payment of the principal sum due under the 1854 treaty (Richardville 1881a; Richardville 1881b). In 1890 he described himself as an adopted member and "chief" of the Western Miami (Richardville 1890). And he continued to advocate for Indiana Miami interests in the 1890's and into the early 20th century (Richardville 1895a; Richardville 1895b; Bundy 1905), although in 1890 he described himself as an adopted member and "chief" of the Western Miami" (Richardville 1890). Long after his death, Richardville was described as "having been chosen by tribal custom" to serve "as the Chief of this Tribe [the Western Miami] from approximately 1880 to 1910" (Daiker [1939]).

The Meshingomesia Band, 1846-1895

Meshingomesia, who held his 10-sqaure-mile reservation in trust for his band under the treaty of 1840, lived until 1879. The period between the removal of part of the tribe to Kansas in 1846 until his death 33 years later was a significant one to his portion of the Indiana Miami.

Meshingomesia's communally-held tract was chosen for this more traditional band because of its "compatibility with Indian agriculture, hunting, fishing and folkways" (Rafert 1982, 27). Meshingomesia himself, however, was praised by his white neighbors for encouraging acculturation, and to that end, he tried to focus the use of his reservation for commercial agriculture (Ray et al. 1867; Meshingomesia 1867c; Indiana 1871, 310).

Pressures from white lessees, trespassers, and timber interests increased in the late 1850's and early 1860s. Twice in 1859, Meshingomesia offered to sell a portion of the reserve (McClure 1859; Mix 1859), but the Commissioner of Indian Affairs refused at that time, saying that "the Government has no need for any portion of the said reserve" (Greenwood 1859). Besides, such action would require treaty negotiations or Congressional action, neither of which the Office of Indian Affairs was willing to recommend (Mix 1859). In the mid 1860's, Meshingomesia's attorneys contemplated court action against timber speculators who had come onto the reserve through a contract with one of the band members and destroyed some of the timber stands (Whiteside 1863). However, because Meshingomesia had not received an actual patent to the reservation as promised by the treaty of 1840, and, therefore, had no clear title to the land, the band faced endless court complications over such "flagrant outrages" (Meshingomesia, et al. 1867, 4). Another attempt on the part of Meshingomesia to sell his reserve to the Federal Government in 1864 met with the same rebuff he had received five years earlier (Dole 1864).

Meshingomesia led a delegation to Washington in 1866 "to get his lands in a shape that his people may not have any further trouble" (Meshingomesia 1866a). Not receiving any satisfaction, Meshingomesia sent another

delegation to the capital in 1867 which requested in the name of the 80-year-old chief and other "heads of families and adults" of his 40-member band, "that the patent be issued jointly to all of the members of the band" (Meshingomesia, et al. 1867, 5; Mix 1867, 2). Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Mix refused to consider the band's request, because the treaty of 1840 specified that Meshingomesia was to receive the patent in trust for the band, and although this provision had never been carried out, any other proposition would be unauthorized by the treaty (Mix 1867, 2).

Meshingomesia's delegation then requested that the reservation be divided equally among the band and that each member receive a patent in fee simple for his or her share. Although this was also unauthorized by the treaty, Mix thought that this would "be the most equitable method of disposing of the subject." Because the treaty had only provided for the distribution of the proceeds from the sale of the reservation to members of Meshingomesia's band, and not the division of the land itself, the fact that "the Indians desire to retain the land" required new authorization, either through legislation or by negotiating a new treaty (Mix 1867, 2). Congress finally acceded to the request in 1872, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to partition the reservation among the descendants of the band and those who had intermarried into the band. Each person would receive patent in fee simple to his or her share of the land. The partitioned land would not be subject to debts contracted before the date of the partition. Finally, although the land would be subject to the descent laws of Indiana, it would not be subject to levy, forfeiture, mortgage or taxation, nor could the Indians dispose of it, before January 1, 1881. On that date, too, "the members of said band, and their descendants, shall become citizens of the United States" (17 Stat. 133).

In the meantime, the Indiana Supreme Court rendered a significant decision in terms of the status of Meshingomesia's band. The State had attempted to tax the land and personal property of the band members, and the court determined that such taxation was contrary to language in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 which protected Indian property, language which the State had pledged to honor when it became a state in 1816 (Indiana 1871, 317-18). Attorneys for the state had argued "that these Indians have lost their tribal relations by the removal of a portion of their number to Kansas, and that those who remain [in Indiana] must be regarded as having become so far intermixed with the whites as to be subject to the same laws" (Indiana 1871, 316). The court disagreed:

> This is a question, for a solution of which we must look to the action of the government of the United States, and it is primarily a question for the political departments of the government.... We think it does not follow, because a part of the tribe have emigrated to Kansas, and the other part remained here, that they are, therefore, no longer a tribe. It does not seem necessary that Indians shall reside upon a common territory, or that their lands shall be conterminous, in order to give them the character of a tribe, or entitle them to the rights and immunities thereof. These Indians remained on their ancient possessions, by and with the consent of the

> authorities of the United States, while those who emigrated were provided with new homes in another part of the country. No change in the relations of those who remain is in any way indicated. They, or some of them, receive their share of the annuities, at or near their old home, as the others do at their new homes.... If they have lost their tribal organization, rights, and immunities, when and how did they lose them?
>
> ... But suppose these Indians have ceased to be part of their original tribe, does it follow that they have no organization which entitles them to be regarded as a separate people? Does not the treaty of 1838 expressly recognize them as having such organized existence? If not, why is this land reserved to them as "the band of Ma-to-sin-ia"? Receiving these treaties as paramount to any law which the State can enact, we must accord to these Indians an organized and separate existence, and must hold that they have not become incorporated into, and do not form a part of the body politic of the State. (Indiana 1871, 316-17)

Although in 1867 many of the white neighbors of Meshingomesia's band had supported the chief's attempt to have the reservation land partitioned because "a large majority of the band have abandoned altogether the habits of their ancestors, and are disposed to adopt themselves to our civilization" (Ray et al., 1867, 6), the court decided differently four years later, basing its conclusion on the facts agreed to by both parties in the case. Although it might be true that "their ancient customs are considerably broken in upon by the manners and customs of the whites," such customs were not entirely lost:

> They settle their troubles among themselves, without resorting to our courts. In their intercourse with each other they speak their own language.... Their tribal organization still remains. They still hold their councils for the same purposes as in former times, and are governed by their ancient customs. (Indiana 1871, 313-14)

As proof that the band exercised authority over its members, the court noted that "about the year 1867, their band having had some trouble about individual members selling timber growing on said reservation to the whites, it was determined in general council of the band that no more timber should be sold by any Indian on lands not by him fenced" (Indiana 1871, 312-13).

Between May 14 and June 17, 1873, a three-member commission appointed by the Secretary of the Interior met at the schoolhouse near the Miami Union Missionary Baptist Church on the reservation to take testimony from those who claimed a share in the land. After collecting testimony and other evidence, the commission determined that 63 persons were entitled to share in the partition: 14 who were members of Meshingomesia's band at the signing of the treaty in 1840 and were still living, 43 living descendants of members of the

band, and 6 persons "of Miami blood" who had intermarried into the band. The commission disallowed the claims of 55 individuals, most of whom were Richardville, Slocum, or Godfroy descendants (Votaw, Irwin and Keith, 1873).

The commission distributed the land to the Meshingomesia band in tracts ranging from 77 to 125 acres, but Meshingomesia's hope that division of the land among the band would lead to "permanent improvements upon the land for themselves and their children to enjoy" (Meshingomesia 1867c, 7) was not to be fulfilled. During a period of high mortality among the Indiana Miami in the late 1870s and early 1880's, almost half of the male members of the band died, including Meshingomesia, who was described then as "the Last Chief of the Miamis" (Anonymous 1880b), his sons Pecongeoh and Tawataw, and his grandson Nelson Tawataw. Thus, "most of the leaders for a transition to white style agriculture were lost" (Rafert 1982, 40, 41, 46). In addition, the band members received citizenship and complete property rights (i.e., the responsibility to pay taxes, the threat of loss of land for debt and the ability to dispose of their land) in January 1881. The following year the band members received, along with the other Indiana Miami, a per capita payment of $695.78, their part of the payment of the $221,257.86 set aside and invested under the treaty of 1854.

Facing a new way of life without strong leadership, and seemingly unable to compete with surrounding white farmers who were modernizing their commercial farming methods, the Meshingomesia band began a period of decline and land loss. By the beginning of the 20th century, only 58 acres of the Meshingomesia reservation remained in Miami hands (Rafert 1982, 46-47). Meshingomesia's grandson, William Wilson Peconga, became the band's new chief (Rafert 1982, 41). Even before Meshingomesia's death, William Peconga had assisted his grandfather in corresponding with the Office of Indian Affairs, particularly in regard to annuity payments and the "french and Potowatomies" who were stricken from the Indiana Miami roll in 1867 (Meshingomesia 1867b; 1868). After 1879, Peconga's family attempted to soften the deteriorating situation faced by the band. His concerted "strategy of personally consolidating and retaining large acrages of the former Meshingomesia reservation" in order "to keep tribal land in Indian hands" resulted only in overextension and eventual loss of his personal finances as well as the property by 1898 in tax litigation (Rafert 1982, 45; Peconga 1898).

The "Individual" Miamis, 1846-1895

The descendants of J.B. Richardville, Francis Godfroy, and Frances Slocum who were allowed to remain in Indiana after 1846 initially fared better than the Miamis who began the post-removal period living on the Meshingomesia Reservation. Most of these families had white friends or families to assist them in farming their individual reserves. For instance, George Slocum, a nephew of Frances Slocum, moved from Ohio to Indiana in 1846 and assisted the Slocum descendants in managing their farms until his death in 1860 (Rafert 1982, 22-24). Similarly, Francis Godfroy's son, Gabriel, owned what was considered "the leading Indian farm in the state of Indiana," primarily because he encouraged assistance from white advisors (Rafert 1982, 50, 51, 24).

Although much of the land that had been given by treaties to the original heads of the Richardville, Godfroy and Slocum families had been sold by 1846 to pay debts due to traders, the families still held about 9,000 acres (MNISI 1984b, 97). As most of this land was scattered, it was "less of a lure to opportunistic whites than the unbroken island of the Meshingomesia reserve," and the Godfroy, Richardville and Slocum descendants were able to compete more successfully as commercial agriculturalists and even increased their landholdings in the 1880s while the Meshingomesia Miami lost more than 30 per cent of their land base (Rafert 1982, 53). The depression of the 1890's, however, caused many of the Godfroy and Slocum descendants to sell their heavily-mortgaged farms (Rafert 1982, 54).

Gabriel Godfroy assumed the primary leadership role within his own family which, because of extensive intermarriage with descendants of Frances Slocum and because the Eel River Miami eventually moved onto the Godfroy reserve, included a large number of Indiana Miami. He also "served as advisor, guardian and general intermediary, accommodating differences between native and white ways and easing acculturation until his death in 1910" (Rafert 1982, 56). He often wrote to the Federal Government to assist other members of the tribe (Dresser 1867; Waters 1869). The Special Indian Agent appointed to pay the Indiana Miami their annuity in 1865 noted Godfroy's "influence with the Indians, their confidence in him, and the estimation in which he is held by the whites" (Whiting 1866). The agent who paid the 1880 annuity noted that although after the death of Meshingomesia the year before "the tribe has no chief," Godfroy and William Peconga were "really the head men of the two Bands" (Butler 1880). Like the Meshingomesia reserve, Godfroy's land became a refuge for landless Miami (Anonymous 1914); in fact, when William Peconga, Meshingomesia's successor, lost his land holdings in the late 1890's, he also moved on to Godfroy lands.

Godfroy also, at times, took on a leadership roll for all the Indiana Miami. He signed the July 20, 1854, petition requesting the Government to preserve the tribe's perpetual annuity (J. Godfroy et al. 1854) and was one of the "fully authorized delegation" of Indiana Miami who returned to Washington in the late summer of 1854 with the council-approved amendment to the treaty of that year (U.S. Congress 1855, 3, 4). Although in 1856 he seems to have been spokesman for the "young men of the tribe," who "would be governed in the matter [additions to the 1854 list of 302 Indiana Miami] by the opinions of the old men" (Dowling 1856), it was at his home on the Mississinewa River in Miami County that the "council" of Miami met in January and February 1859 to protest against those additions (Brouilette, et al. 1859; Graham 1859). He signed and presented a similar protest to the Miami's payroll agent in 1865 for forwarding to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (G. Godfroy et al. 1865). In 1867, Meshingomesia authorized Godfroy to remonstrate with the Office of Indian Affairs over "the persons that we think have no right to our annuity, by the treaty made with G.W. Manypenny" in 1854, although the old chief pointed out that Godfroy was not authorized to concern himself with the affairs of "my reservation," another issue that Meshingomesia was pursuing with the Government in 1867 (Meshingomesia 1867a). Godfroy continued to write the Office of Indian Affairs regarding matters affecting the Indiana Miami in the 1870's (Godfroy 1870a; Godfroy 1870b; Godfroy 1870c).

Other leaders of the individual reservee families included Peter Bondy, who had married a daughter of Frances Slocum, and Pimyotomah, whose sister had married Francis Godfroy. In 1845, Pimyotomah had been a member of the Miami delegation which investigated the land in Kansas assigned to the tribe. He was also a member of the Miami council that petitioned President James K. Polk regarding the payment of the tribe's creditors prior to removal (LaFontaine et al. 1846a; 1846b; 1846c). Pimyotomah and Bondy had accompanied LaFontaine to Kansas as part of the Miami tribal council during the removal (LaFontaine et al. 1846d), and both were signers of the 1854 treaty as well as the two 1859 protests against additions to the Miami list.

Bondy, Pimyotomah, and Godfroy were also among the signers of an 1867 memorial praising the work of payroll agent Charles A. Dresser (G. Godfroy et al. 1867) and an 1868 request for a double payment of the Indiana Miami annuity to enable the members of the tribe to pay for food and clothing they had purchased on credit and to pay taxes on their farms (G. Godfroy et al. 1868; Godfroy, Pimyotomah and Bondy 1868; Godfroy 1868a; Godfroy 1868b; Pimyotomah, Bondy and Godfroy 1868). The same problem of late annuity payments was noted in letters to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ely S. Parker in 1869 and 1870. These letters were written by Pimyotomah's son, John B. Walker, but were signed as "approved" by Pimyotomah, Peter Bondy, and Gabriel Godfroy (Walker 1869; Walker et al. 1870; Pimyotomah, Bondy and Godfroy 1870). Special agents appointed to pay the Miami annuities relied upon Godfroy, Bondy and Pimyotomah to inform them as to who was entitled to draw the annuities (Crowell 1870b; 1871), and the three were still noted as "principal men belonging to the Miami Tribe of Indians, in Indiana" in 1880 when they wrote to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz reqeusting him not to make the payment of the prinicpal sum under the treaty of 1854 (Anonymous 1880a); Thad Butler, who enumerated the Indiana Miami during the annuity payment of 1880 noted that Godfroy and William Peconga were "the head men of the two Bands" of the tribe (Butler 1880). Pimyotomah died in 1889, but Gabriel Godfroy and Peter Bondy were the first two signers of an 1895 petition from the "head of families of the remnant of the Miami Tribe of Indians remaining in Indiana" protesting the manner of payment of the funds appropriated pursuant to the Miami's successful Court of Claims litigation (G. Godfroy et al. 1895). Peter Bondy died in 1897 and Gabriel Godfroy in 1910 (MNISI 1984b, 110-12). Thus, it seems that the leadership of the individual reservees proved more continuous through most of the latter half of the 19th century than the leadership of the Meshingomesia band, which was dying off in the late 1870's and early 1880's.

In an attempt to secure for those Miami who held individual grants the same relief from State taxes enjoyed by Meshingomesia's band ever since the latter's successful appeal in the Indiana Supreme Court in 1871, Godfroy sued the Miami County Commissioners for taxing land held by his family. The lower court ruled against him, and Godfroy appealed to the State Supreme Court in 1878. The thrust of Godfroy's complaint was that he and the other members of his family were "of the Miami tribe and nation of Indians" who had "never been citizens of the State of Indiana," and that as "part of a dependent tribe residing in the State of Indiana .. are not governed by, nor subject to, the laws of the State" and, therefore, the lands granted by treaties to his ancestors were not subject to taxation (Indiana 1878, 499).

Justice William Niblack, who, as a member of Congress in 1867 had agreed that the Indiana Miami were a distinct portion of the Miami tribe, wrote the State Supreme Court's ruling. The court determined that Godfroy's complaint did not indicate that the lands granted his ancestors "were reserved to, or held by, the Miami Indians as a tribe, or by any subdivision of such Indians as a band"; indeed, "the inference from what is alleged is rather that the ... lands were reserved to him and his ancestors individually, and not collectively with others." Therefore, Godfroy's case was unlike Meshingomesia's case in 1871, and his lands fell under State legislation which provided that "all lands reserved to or for any individual, by any treaty between the United States and any Indian tribe or nation, shall be liable to taxation from the time such treaty shall have been confirmed" (Indiana 1878, 500-501).

During the decade of the 1880's, it seemed that Godfroy and the other individual Indiana Miami reservees would finally be successful. In May 1880, J. Brownlee, attorney for the Godfroy Miamis, wrote the Secretary of the Interior complaining that his clients, who still "retained their tribal relations, and were still recognized by the Government of the United States as the Miamis of Indiana," could get no relief from the Indiana courts in their attempt to end the unjust taxation of their land by the State (Brooks 1880, 47). Ten years earlier, Brownlee had been the attorney for the State who had tried to tax the Meshingomesia Reserve (Brownlee 1870). The Secretary requested a report on the matter from Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Edwin J. Brooks, who responded on July 12 with a 25-page report detailing the treaties made with the Miami between 1795 and 1854, as well as laws and court decisions -- both State and Federal -- which had anything to do with the issue of "the relations of these Indians to the United States, and to the State of Indiana" (Brooks 1880, 48).

Brooks's conclusion was that the Miami living in Indiana should not have had their lands or other property taxed by the State. The Miami in Indiana, said Brooks, "are as fully and unqualifiedly recognized by the government of the United States, as are those of the tribe who moved to Kansas, ... and have their Chief or Headman, and they preserve their character of Indians." As regards the removal of part of the tribe to Kansas, "the mere fact that these Indians did not accompany their tribe to the west, but remained to live upon the lands granted them by the United States, from the lands of their ancestors, cannot be regarded as severing their tribal relations." The treaty of 1854 recognized this fact, as it "recognizes two distinct and separate organizations, or bands of said tribe or nation, to wit, the Miamis of Indiana and Miamies of the West, or Kansas Miamis, and they are so denominated in the said treaty, and Miami Indians, residents of the State of Indiana, are parties to it." As the Miami had never severed their tribal relations and received citizenship by treaty or legislation, "those Indians still retain the character which the treaties of 1838, 1840 & 1854 gave them." Brcoks found the reasoning of the Indiana Supreme Court in Meshingomesia v. The State compelling: because of "the relations of the Indians to the general and state government," the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prevented the State from taxing the Meshingomesia band as well as those Miami whose lands were individually reserved. The State had no right to tax the Miami lands "so long as they are recognized as 'Miamis of Indiana'." (Brooks 1880, 51, 55, 57, 59-60, 65).

Brooks recommended "that the proper legal steps should be taken to obtain the refunding of the taxes heretofore paid" by the Godfroy Miamis and that the Department of Justice "take the necessary legal steps to bring the case properly befcre the Courts, to the end that the question of the power of the State to tax these lands may be determined" (Brooks 1880, 70-71). It does not seem, hcwever that quick action was taken. The Department of the Interior submitted the matter to the Attorney General two weeks after Brooks submitted his report, and the Attorney General instructed the U.S. Attorney for the District of Indiana to puruse proceedings in the U.S. Circuit Court. C.L. Holstein, the U.S. Attorney in Indiana, succeeded in a delaying tactic. He stated that "before he could act intelligently under his instructions, it would be absolutely necessary that he be furnished with certain facts," and suggested that the Department of the Interior appoint a special agent to investigate the situation in Indiana.

In April 1884, perhaps in response to inquiries from attorneys representing Richardville heirs (Drummer and Bradford 1884), Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hirum Price noted that since August 1880, "no action appears to have be taken" on this "matter of much importance to these Indians, as well as to the State of Indiana," either by the Department of the Interior or the Department of Justice (Price 1884). Two months later, District Attorney Holstein again informed the Justice Department that he needed the "detailed facts" -- they could only be gathered by a special, as he did not have the time -- before he could bring a single test case, or a series of class action suits, into court (Holstein 1884). In September 1884, the Commissioner Price accomodated the district attorney by sending Special Indian Agent Charles H. Dickson to gather information regarding taxation of LaFontaine, Godfroy and Richardville lands in Huntington, Peru and Fort Wayne.

At first, because a number of court cases regarding taxation of Richardville land were already pending (Drummond and Bradford 1884), Dickson looked into utilizing one of those cases as test case. He was in favor the Federal government interfering in the Richardville suits, primarily because the Richardville heirs were in "danger of their rights being entirely lost, for lack of power to give the heavy appeal bondy necessary" if they lost their current case (Dickson 1884a; Dickson 1884b).

Dickson was instructed to take no action in the Richardville cases, and he looked further for anther taxation case to use as a test. Near Peru, "(where the great body of the Indians live)," he had talked with Gabriel Godfroy, "an intelligent Indian who has been one of the principal chiefs of the Miami Indians," and Dickson reported back to Commissioner Price that the tax cases of Gabriel Godfroy, his brother, William, would be appropriate cases to test the taxation question (Dickson 1884c). A further report by Special Indian agent Cyrus Beede, who visited Huntington, Peru, Wabash, Marion, Logansport and Lafayette a month after Dickson's investigation, concluded that the case of the Langlois reserve near Lafayette might prove a good case. But, Beede cautioned, any Miami test case might be "a little prejudiced" by the fact that these Indians "have been allowed to exercise, and have to some extent, at least, exercised the privileges of citizenship" such as voting, holding minor offices, and serving as jurors, even though the Miami "themselves, may not be responsible for exercising these privileges" (Beede 1884).

District Attorney Holstein finally took a case to the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Indiana in 1886. The case, Wau-pe-man-qua, alias Mary Strack, v. Aldrich, related to Mary Strack, a Richardville descendant who had lost her land for delinquent taxes. Aldrich had bought the land at a tax sale. The court made a sweeping decision:

> 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, though the 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. (U.S. Circuit Court 1886)

The Indiana Miami fit this description, because in the treaty of 1854 a clear distinction was made between the Western Miami and the Indiana Miami, "and the tribal relations of both are recognized as still existing, and as expected to continue for at least a quarter of a century longer." If the treaty negotiators had intended for the Indiana Miami to become citizens subject to state jurisdiction, "that intention would have been expressed in some of the treaties, as in similar cases it was done in treaties with other tribes" (U.S. Circuit Court 1886)

United States Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan, after reviewing the Circuit Court's decision, concurred:

> While these Indians ... have exercised some rights that belong to State citizenship, the papers sent to me do not show that the United States had, prior to the tax sales in question, surrendered control over them as Indians, and is, in fact, a part of the tribe to which they originally belonged. It does not seem to have been the object of any of the treaties to separate them, for every purpose, from their tribe, and abandon them to the absolute control of the state in which they were permitted to remain. On the contrary, the relations between them and the United States ... seem to have been such that the government could have compelled them to join their tribe wherever it then was. It was competent for the United States to retain control equally over those who went to the west, and those who, for special reasons, were permitted to remain in Indiana. (Harlan 1886)

In March 1891, the Indiana legislature passed an act changing its tax laws to conform to these decisions, making it unlawful for any State, county or municipal official to assess for delinquent taxes "any land in Indiana

included within a grant to any member of the Miami tribe of Indians made by the United States under a treaty with such tribe from lands in such treaty ceded by said tribe." This legislation also encouraged landowners whose title was clouded because of such assessments to clear title in the county circuit courts (Indiana 1891a).

The Indiana Supreme Court followed later in September of the same year with a reaffirmation of the nontaxability of Miami land in a case involving James M. Godfroy, a descendant of both the Richardville and Godfroy families, regarding land held through the Richardville line. The court affirmed that "the government of the United States has never consented that they [the descendants of Principal Chief Richardville] should be put off their tribal relations." Indeed, not only had these descendants "been treated with by the United States and known as the Miamis of Indiana, and have been so enumerated," but "the chiefs and head men of the nation in the West, from time to time, called upon them and consulted with the descendants of Richardville whenever any question between them and the United States arose requiring the presence at Washington of representatives of the Miami nation." The question of whether their lands were subject to taxation, said the court, depended on the "tribal relations." The court thought that the answer was clear:

> That the owners of this land constitute a part of the Miami nation, and have kept up their tribal relations, is abundantly shown.... They are not citizens of the United States, and, indeed, could not rid themselves of their allegiance to their nation and become citizens without the consent of the United States. (Indiana 1891b)

Also in 1891, Gabriel Godfroy sued in county court to overturn the decision that had gone against him in 1878. In 1893 the county court ordered that Godfroy's land not be sold for taxes (MNISI 1984b, 104).

Denial of Tribal Status 1896-97

While it seemed that the Individual Miami had been as successful in fighting the taxation of their lands as the Meshingomesia Miami had been 20 years earlier, the victory did not prove long lasting for either of the Indiana Miami subgroups.

In May 1896, Camillus Bundy, a Slocum descendant and "a chief and attorney in fact of the Miami Indians of Indiana," wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, insisting "that all Indiana Miami Indians, except those of Me-shing-go-me-sia, are wards of the Government, and as such their lands, held by grants from the United States, are and were not liable to taxation by the State" (C. Bundy 1896a) The following October, Bundy, "the present Chief" of the "Tribe of Indiana Miami Indians," was appointed by a committee authorized "at a special council meeting of said tribe" to bring suit against the Government and collect any money due the tribe (P. Bundy et al. 1897). Bundy had been attempting to clarify the status of the Miami in regard to taxation since at least 1892 (Anonymous 1892). The committee that appointed him as the Miami attorney in 1896 seems to have been composed primarily of

members from the Godfroy/Richardville/Slocum subgroups but included members of the Meshingomesia group as well (P. Bundy et al. 1897). Bundy's letter to the Interior Department in 1897 requested that the Secretary follow the advice that Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Brooks had given 15 years earlier to force the State of Indiana to refund to the Miami the "thousands of dollars of taxation forcibly and unjustly wrung from them" (C. Bundy 1896b).

As in 1880, the Secretary of the Interior referred the matter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who, on March 27, 1897, prepared another lengthy report which reached the same conclusions as had Brooks's report of 1880. Descendants of the Meshingomesia band were made citizens in 1881 and, therefore, their land was taxable; lands of Indiana Miami who were descendants of individual treaty grantees, however, were exempt from taxes. The Commissioner requested the Department of the Interior's newly-appointed assistant attorney general for an opinion as to whether litigation to reimburse the Miami should be pursued by the Federal Government under the Act of March 3, 1893, or the Indiana Miami themselves (MNISI 1984b, 105).

On November 23, 1897, Assistant Attorney General Willis Van Devanter replied. Technically, he declined to decide whether the Miami's land was taxable by the State, or, if it were, when it became taxable, or whether they had a right to be reimbursed for past taxes paid to the State. His decision only related to the rather narrow question of whether the Miami of Indiana came under the purview of the Act of March 3, 1893, which stated that "in all States and Territories where there are reservations or allotted Indians the United States District Attorney shall represent them in all suits at law and in equity" (27 Stat. 631). Still, Van Devanter's opinion had wide-reaching effect, overturning everything the Miami had won in their arguments with the BIA and in court since 1880. Van Devanter determined that the treaty of 1854 had denominated the Miami who did not remove west "as the Miamis of Indiana, and they continued to be so recognized as an organization or body in the various acts appropriating money to meet the obligations arising under treaties ... until 1881." The Act of March 3, 1881, however, which appropriated funds to pay the Indiana Miami the principal sum due them under the 1854 treaty, "provided that the receipt of the sum ... should be a final discharge by each party so receiving of all claims whatsoever under said treaty against the government." Van Devanter took this to mean that this was "to be the last legislative recognition of these people as an organization, and ... since the payment of this money the executive departments have not known or recognized the Miamis of Indiana in a tribal or other capacity" (Van Devanter 1897, 431, 432).

The act authorizing the partition of the Meshingomesia reservation had made the members of that band citizens who "are no longer Indians." Like other citizens, "they hold their lands entirely free from all conditions and from the control of the United States." As for the descendants of those Miami who had been granted land under various treaties with the United States, Van Devanter declared that they had become citizens under provisions of the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887. "The facts ... are that these people have used their lands free of control by the United States for seventy years or over; that they have had no executive recognition in a tribal capacity since 1881, and that if they were ever alloted Indians, they became citizens of the United

States in 1887." Thus, none of the Indiana Miami could be considered allotted Indians who still maintained tribal relations and who had the right of the Government's assistance in court suits under the 1893 act (Van Devanter 1897, 431).

Given his background and future decisions, Willis Van Devanter's opinion in 1897 is difficult to explain. His father, Isaac Van Devanter, also an attorney, had been extensively involved for many years in litigation on behalf of the Indiana Miami, particularly the Meshingomesia band. The elder Van Devanter had successfully presented the Miami's case in the Indiana Supreme Court in Meshingomesia v. The State, in which the court established that members of the Meshingomesia band had indeed maintained tribal relations; in 1873 he had represented the band's interests during the Government's investigation into who was entitled to share in the partition of the band's reservation (MNISI 1985f, passim); as attorney for Meshingomesia, "chief of the Band of Miami Indians bearing his name," he sent a petition signed by the chief "and other head men of said Band" to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1879 requesting the appointment of a Special Agent to make the annuity payments of that year (Van Devanter and Lacy 1879; Meshingomesia, Peconga and Tawataw 1879); and in 1880 he had accompanied a delegation sent by "head men of the Me-shin-go-me-sia Band" to Washington to lobby for legislation authorizing payment of the principal sum due the Indiana Miami under the treaty of 1854 (Peconga et al. 1880).

Willis Van Devanter was later, in 1910, appointed an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, where he wrote the Court's opinions in a number of significant Indian cases. In U.S. v. Nice, in 1915, he wrote that "Citizenship is not incompatible with tribal existence or continued guardianship, and so may be conferred without completely emancipating the Indians or placing them beyond the reach of congressional regulations adopted for their protection" (241 U. S. 598). Van Devanter reiterated this position in 1930 in Halbert v. United States (283 U. S. 763). The arguments made in these Supreme Court decisions were to be used later, in the 1970's, to determine that land held by descendants of individual Miami reservees were indeed exempt from state taxation.

DEVELOPING FACTIONALISM, 1897-1930

Van Devanter's decision "had the effect of ending Federal recognition" of the Indiana Miami (MNISI 1984b, 106). This, in turn, hastened the loss of their land base as the 19th century gave way to the 20th. An increase in the Indiana Miami population, primarily due to marriages outside the group, also put pressure on the remaining land base and encouraged migration away from traditional areas. Some went west to join the western Miami or Indiana Miami in Indian Territory and Kansas. Many Godfroy descendants moved into Peru, while Meshingomesia descendants moved to Marion and Wabash and Richardville and Lafontaine descendants concentrated at Huntington (MNISI 1984b, 122-23).

Intermarriage with whites also helped to erode what was left of Miami culture, and outside observers had little faith in the continuance of the Miami people. An article appearing in the Indianapolis Journal in 1900 noted "the pathetic spectacle of these one-time lords of the soil" whom "sharks

operating from the shady side of the law have left ... all but penniless," and it told of how Gabriel Godfroy "has left of his father's ample reserves but forty-eight acres" and how Meshingomesia's grandson, William Peconga, "recently left his last strip of land, and is living with a friend" (G.S.C. 1900, 36, 37).

There were, then, two major concerns of the Indiana Miami between 1897 and the late 1930's: how to deal with what they perceived as the the loss of their treaty rights in the face of Federal denial that the Government had any jurisdiction over the Indiana portion of the Miami tribe, and how to maintain their own identity as Miami.

The primary political concern of the Indiana Miami during this period was to recoup anything possible from the opinion delivered by Assistant Attorney General Van Devanter. To that end, the Godfroy and Bundy (Slocum descendants) subgroups continued to request relief from taxation and press for the restitution of taxes already paid. In May 1901, following a "meeting of counsil [sic] as Miami Indians of Indiana," Gabriel Godfroy, his brother, William, and William Peconga of the Meshingomesia subgroup wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for a further opinion as to whether the Miami "are in tribel [sic] relation, or citizen" (Godfroy, Godfroy and Peconga 1901). The Commissioner referred the matter to the Secretary of the Interior who requested a clarification of Van Devanter's 1897 opinion. Van Devanter, still the assistant attorney general for the Department of the Interior, reiterated his opinion that the act of 1872 which partitioned the Meshingomesia band's reservation made its members citizens in 1881 and that the "Indians of this tribe who received parcels of land in their individual right and capacity" became citizens under the Allotment Act of 1887 (Van Devanter 1901; Hitchcock 1901). In November of that year the Appellate Court of Indiana, following Van Devanter's reasoning, ruled in Board of Commissioners of Miami County et al. v. Godfroy that Gabriel Godfroy had voluntarily "adopted the habits of civilized life"; as "he can not be both an Indian properly so-called and a citizen," he must be considered a citizen according the the Allotment Act of 1887, and, therefore, his lands were taxable (Indiana 1901, 617).

Correspondence to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in this period indicates that some sort of formal tribal organization existed which continued to press the taxation issue. The petitioner claims that this organization was known as the "Headquarters of the Miami Indians of Indiana," and that it emerged from the council that had appointed Camillus Bundy its attorney in 1896 (MNISI 1984b, 135-35). No papers of a "Headquarters" organization are known to exist (MNISI 1984b, 135), and, more significantly, no documentation exists indicating that anyone involved with the organization called it by that name. The petition bases its discussion of the "Headquarters" organization on the letterhead of various pieces of correspondence between the group and officials in Washington between 1902 and 1905 (MNISI 1984b, 135; 1984a, 38-39).

There may be a simpler explanation for the "Headquarters" designation. In March 1902, two attorneys from Chicago wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting another attorney general's opinion on whether the Miami were United States citizens or not (Stark and Denison 1902). The letterhead

stationery upon which this letter was written was that of the "Legal Department" of the "Tribe of Miami Indians," and the attorneys wrote that they had been "retained by the Tribe of Miami Indians of Indiana" (Stark and Denison 1902). On the letterhead, George Godfroy is designated chief and Ross Bundy secretary of the tribe, and the letterhead also states that "Tribal Headquarters" were at Marion and Peru (Stark and Denison 1902).

The letterhead stationery of the "Headquarters of the Miami Indians" from the same year also lists George Godfroy as chief and Ross Bundy as secretary, and it adds William H. Bundy as treasurer (W. Bundy 1902). It is more likely that this letterhead reflects correspondence written from Marion or Peru, the location of the headquarters of whatever organization existed, rather than refecting the name of the organization.

There is no direct documentary link between the organization that existed in 1902 and the council that had appointed Camillus Bundy its attorney six years earlier which would indicate that the organization's formal existence had begun in 1896. In addition to the three officers, the Headquarters letterhead lists Camillus Bundy, John Bundy, Robert Winters, George Bundy, William Peconga and Peter Godfroy as "Councilmen," indicating that the organization included the major leaders of all the Indiana Miami subgroups. Most of the people named on the letterhead had also been involved in appointing Camillus Bundy the attorney and spokesman for the Miami in litigation in 1896. George W. Bundy, listed as "Guard" on the Headquarters letterhead, had identified himself as "chief of the Miami Indians of Indiana" in 1898 in correspondence relating to Indiana Miami claims to western Miami lands (G. Bundy 1898). In a letter written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on this letterhead in June 1902, William Bundy requested a compilation of Indian treaties. In an accompanying letter of April 1902 (not on the same letterhead), William Bundy indicated that this legal material was needed for "the Miami Indian defence" in order "to get my people on their feet again." He stated that the Miami "have organization Miami Indians Band of tribe and we have been for som [sic] time ago" and that he was "man look after all my own people affairs's and business matter" (W. Bundy 1902).

Despite his defeat in the Indiana Appellate Court in 1901, Gabriel Godfroy continued to fight for tax exemption. He brought suit in circuit court in 1905. This time, court ruled that the land was to be exempt from taxes for ten years, or until January 1, 1915, after which it was subject to taxation (MNISI 1984b, 140)

Relief from State taxation was not the only concern of the Indiana Miami in the years after Van Devanter's opinion. Many Miami children, including some who later became leaders of the group, had attended Carlisle and Haskell Indian schools. In 1898 it was rumored that the Miami children who were attending Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, might be forced to leave school. Although at that time the Commissioner of Indian Affairs granted the Miami youth the right to attend Haskell, in 1901 a new Commissioner determined that as "the government has severed its connections with the Miami Indians in Indiana" it would be disadvantageous to them "to take a backward step" and keep their children in Indian schools. Instead, the Miami children were to use the Indiana public schools (Jones 1901).

Another concern the Miami were dealing with on a tribal basis during this period was their attempt to recover interest on the more than $48,000.00 that had been paid to recompense the Indiana Miami for annuities wrongfully paid to the persons added to the Miami payroll in 1858 and 1862. Legislation was introduced in Congress several times between 1902 and 1921, but without success. Attempts in 1910 and 1921 to give the Court of Claims jurisdiction over the issue failed (MNISI 1984b, 143-45; U.S. Congress 1902; U.S. Congress 1910; Hauke 1911). In 1911, the Secretary of the Interior prepared a lengthy report on the matter for the House Committee on Indian Affairs, indicating it was up to Congress to decide the merits of the Indians' case. In this report, the Secretary characterized the treaty of 1854 as having been signed by "the Miami tribe of Indians (including those who emigrated west and those who remained in the State of Indiana)," and referred to the western and Indiana Miami as continuing to constitute "both branches of the Miami Indians" (Ballinger 1911a). A similar report was prepared for the Senate (Ballinger 1911b).

The Indiana Miami were undergoing another shift in leadership at this time. Gabriel Godfroy died in 1910, at the age of 76. One local newspaper characterized him as "the last chief" of the Miami Indians (Anonymous 1910a); another noted that Godfroy "was the most conspicuous Miami Indian since the death of the last chief Meshingomesia," and that "we call him chief because he was so acknowledged by common consent among both whites and the remnant of the tribe" (Anonymous 1910b). William Peconga, grandson of Meshingomesia, died in 1916, also in his 70's (MNISI 1984b, 135).

In November 1916, 24 Indiana Miami signed an agreement authorizing Charles Z. Bondy to act as their "agent and attorney-in-fact" in an attempt to recover money or land that had been wrongfully taken from the tribe (Mayer et al. 1916). It was similar to the 1897 agreement and authorization that had appointed his father, Camillus Bundy, the Miami's attorney. There was a difference, however. The 1897 agreement and power of attorney had been authorized by "a special council meeting of said tribe," and it was signed by the committee appointed by the council to appoint Bundy (P. Bundy et al. 1897). The 1916 agreement was made and signed by "Indians of the whole or part blood belonging to or formerly members of the Miami Tribe of Indians" (Mayer et al. 1916). Only two of the Miami who signed the 1916 document had signed the 1897 agreement, although the signers in 1916 were descendants of all the major Indiana Miami subgroups -- Slocum (Bundy), Meshingomesia (Peconga), Godfroy and Richardville/LaFontaine.

Not all the Indiana Miami were happy with this effort. George Godfroy and Ross Bundy, who had been respectively chief and secretary of the Miami organization at the beginning of the century, were still in office and were opposed to the contract made with Charles Z. Bondy. Ross Bundy, as spokesman for the chief, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that Bondy had "secured this contract illeagle [sic]. The chief who is Geo. Godfrey or the business committee never saw the contract" (R. Bundy 1917).

Three years later, Ross Bundy (R. Bundy 1920) informed the Commissioner that the tribe's general council had appointed a "business committee of the Miami Tribe of Indians of Indiana" which was the only body authorized to deal with the Government in relation to the tribe's affairs (Bundy 1920). This was

being brought to the Commissioner's attention because "we have members in our tribe, that are not competent people to deal with, furthermore no doubt, your office will be flooded with letters from some of these people" (Bundy 1920). The business committee, consisting of Chief George Godfroy, John Bundy, Joe Mongosa, Peter Bruell, and Willis Peconga, represented the Godfroy, Slocum, and Meshingomesia subgroups of the tribe. Two members of the committee -- Mongosa and Bruell -- had signed the 1916 agreement with C.Z. Bondy, and their presence on the new business committee may have been a sign of their dissatisfaction with Bondy's activities.

There was indeed, as Ross Bundy had warned, a flood of letters from the Indiana Miami to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the 1920's and 1930's. This correspondence complicates the issue of Miami leadership in this period. Some of the letters were from individuals complaining about various issues, others from family leaders, and others from individuals representing a broader constituency. (see MNISI, 1984a, 41-47). This seeming fragmentation into pockets of activity may have partly been a function of the dispersal of many Indiana Miami families to the towns of northern Indiana or to the West as their land base continued to erode. It was also a function of split into factions along band/family lines as the various subgroups emphasized the the historical roots of their different legal statuses as they perceived them.

As examples of this diversification, Clarence Godfroy, a grandson of Gabriel Godfroy, began writing to the Bureau of Indian Affairs requesting tax exemptions for the treaty grant land still held by his family (MNISI 1984b, 148-49; 1984a, 41-42). During this period Clarence and his brother, Lawrence, wrote primarily on behalf of their uncle, Francis Godfroy, who was then chief of the "Francis Godfroy Band of Miami Indians" after the death of George Godfroy in 1929 (C. Godfroy 1932). Francis himself also wrote to the President, members of Congress, and the Bureau of Indian affairs trying to explain the difference between the Meshingomesia Miami, who had been granted citizenship in 1881, and the "individual" Miami like the Godfroys, who had not been made citizens and were, therefore, wards of the Government entitled to tax relief and their other treaty rights (F. Godfroy 1929; F. Godfroy 1933; L. Godfroy 1935; C. Godfroy 1936). In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1935, Lawrence Godfroy enclosed an article from a local newspaper which described the individual Miamis as continuing to maintain "tribal relations with the Miami nation," and "not citizens, not voters and not subject to taxation" (Godfroy and Bruell 1935).

In September 1923, Camillus Bundy called a meeting of a "council" to begin work fighting foreclosure on his farm mortgage (MNISI 1984b, 147-48; MNISI 1984a 42-43). Soon after, Clarence Godfroy wrote the Secretary of the Interior that Camillus Bundy's council did not represent all the Miami, and certainly not the Godfroys (C. Godfroy 1924a; C. Godfroy 1924b). Instead, this council was composed primarily of descendants of Ozahshinqua, Frances Slocum's daughter. In a case heard before the Wabash Circuit Court, Camillus Bundy was called "chief of said branch of said tribe for at least thirty years last past" (Indiana 1925, 1). Although he lost the case, Bundy and his daughter continued to press for tax exemptions for the Miami who descended from the individual treaty reservees (C. Bundy, 1925). In this effort he enlisted the aid of his son, Charles Z. Bondy; eventually they claimed they

represented the "Miami Tribe of Indians of Indiana," and Camillus called himself "Chief of the Tribe" (Bundy, Brady and Bondy 1927). Newspaper articles from 1934 seem to give some support to the continued existence of this faction within the Indiana Miami, as it was noted that "fifty descendants of the once powerful tribe of Miami Indians" had "assembled in a conclave" to discuss treaty rights and monetary claims. Although it was noted that the Miami "nation is governed by a chief who is elected.... no chief has been elected for some time," and the meeting was presided over by Charles Z. Bondy, "son of Camillus Bondy of Wabash and last survivng chief of the Miami tribe" (Anonymous 1934a; 1934b). A year later, Camillus Bundy was dead, and his son, C.Z. Bondy, succeeded to his father's claim of leadership as well as tc the land claims work his father had left unfinished (Anonymous 1935).

In 1922, Elijah Shapp and other Meshingomesia Miami began more than a decade of correspondence with the Bureau regarding land rights, tax exemption, the hope of receiving interest on the money wrongfully paid to the 73 added to the 1854 list, the constitutionality of the 1872 legislation partitioning the Meshingomesia Reserve and the right of Miami children to attend Federal Indian schools (Shapp 1830a; 1830b; 1932; 1933; M. Bundy 1934; MNISI 1984a, 42-48; 1984b, 136). Shapp was a descendant of Meshingomesia's brother, and in the early 1930's was a member of an organization called "the Miami Indians of Indiana." In 1930 this organization held "council" or "business" meetings at which payments were allocated to C.Z. Bondy "to represent the Miami Indians" in Washington (Miami Indians 1930; 1931). Meanwhile, William Bundy, a Meshingomesia Miami who was treasurer of the Miami organization that had existed at least as early as 1902, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding land and treaty rights the Miami had been deprived of as well as regarding the loss of his own land (MNISI 1984a, 41-43). William Bundy and others were also concerned with the protection of the church and cemetery on the forner Meshingomesia Reserve (W. Bundy 1920; Winters 1922). At the same time Ross Bundy, a Slocum descendant, continued writing to the Commissioner as representative of the Miami council regarding broader issues, such as legislation for the payment of interest on the money that had been paid to the Indiana Miami to recompense them for annuities wrongfully paid to the persons added to the Miami payroll in 1858 and 1862 (MNISI 1984a, 41-43, 46; 1984b, 136].

The answers these various Miami subgroups received from Washington were strikingly similar. Basing their responses on Van Devanter's 1897 opinion, BIA and Department of the Interior officials wrote that "the affairs of these Indians, both tribal and individual, have all been definitely closed out years ago, by treaties, Acts of Congress, and administrative action in accordance therewith; and there is nothing further we can do for them under existing law" (Collier 1933). In regard to the Meshingomesia Miami, the Bureau wrote that since the partition of their reservation in 1873 and their assumption of citizenship in 1881 "this Office has not attempted to exercise any manner of jurisdiction over these Indians" (Burke 1922), and as their land was under State jurisdiction "it appears that all the affairs of the Miami Indians of Indiana have been wound up" (Scattergood 1930). The Bureau wrote to Francis, Clarence and Lawrence Godfroy that the Government considered the individual reservees' land "under the sole jurisdiction of the State of Indiana and subject to taxation" (Stewart 1935; Rhoads 1930), and

that "all the treaty obligations of the United States to the Miami Indians have been fully discharged" (Stewart 1935). Government officials wrote to Camillus Burdy, 1927 stating that "you have been advised at various times since early in June, 1923, ... that you have no valid claim or claims against the Government.... You have less of Indian than of white blood, your lifetime has been spent in a white community, you have had control of your own property, and for many years have been citizens of the United States" (Burke 1927).

Although pursuit of different issues seemed to deepen the divisions between the Indiana Miami subgroups, there were other activities which drew them closer together in maintaining their identity as Miami in relating to the surrounding non-Indian community. In 1903, the Miami started an annual "tribal reunion." Newspaper articles described the 1925 gathering of "200 descendants of a once powerful nation." The reunion consisted of a dinner, speeches by invited guests, "a war dance" and awards for athletic events and for the "oldest man" and "oldest woman" present (Anonymous 1925b). Early in the day, at "a business session or 'council'" presided over by George Godfroy, "head of the tribe," the tribe held an election at which time "the same officers were reelected." Other than George Godfroy, the officers were not named, although Ross Bondy, secretary of the Miami organization in 1902, was noted as present at the event (Anonymous 1925b). At this business meeting also, "policies and other important matters arising will be decided" (Anonymous 1925a). From the names of the families listed as attending the reunion, the majority seem to have been Godfroy descendants, but there were representatives from the Meshingomesia, Slocum and Richardville/LaFontaine subgroups as well (Anonymous 1925b).

In addition to the annual reunion, the Miami organized the Ma-con-a-quah (sometimes spelled Muk-kons-kwa) Company in the late 1920's to perform "pageants" (Anonymous 1927; 1933). Dressed in Indian costumes, the members of this group performed in various places -- primarily Miami sites such as the Slocum Cemetery -- in northern Indiana. Not only a means of preserving and telling outsiders stories of the "OLD INDIAN LIFE" (Anonymous 1927), these performances had a secondary function of raising funds for the group's attempts to regain lost treaty rights (MNISI 1989b, 1:34). The membership of this performing group, which was active between 1925 and 1937, seems to have been primarily members of the Godfroy and Slocum families (Ma-con-a-quah was Frances Slocum's Miami name), although others were involved as well; tribal leaders such as Clarence Godfroy, Myrtle Moyer and Ross Bundy were actively involved with this group (Anonymous 1927). Tribal leaders also participated in local parades and similar events, as Gabriel Godfroy had done in a "Red Men's festival" (Anonymous 1910b) and as his son, who succeeded him as chief of the Godfroy Miami, participated "in the various pageants in this city [Peru], portraying the early history of the tribe" (Anonymous 1938).

Formalized Boundaries, 1937-1944

By the late 1930's, differences in issues and approaches developed into more formal boundaries between the different Indiana Miami subgroups. On June 2, 1937, Meshingomesia band descendant Elijah Marks's organization, which had been working with C.Z. Bondy under the name "Miami Indians" in 1930 and 1931,

signed a power of attorney to allow Nettie B. White to act as the group's attorney in their land and monetary claims against the Government (Marks, et al. 1937a). A year earlier, White had agreed to act as attorney for members of the Bundy group in their attempt to evict a "squatter" from the Frances Slocum cemetery (MNISI 1984b, 170).

Soon after receiving her power of attorney, White met with D'Arcy McNickle of the BIA on matters relating to both the Meshingomesia and Bundy groups. McNickle, who thought that the two bands (Meshingomesia and Bundy descendants) of 400-500 Indiana Miami "still retain some Indian characteristics" (Westwood 1937), requested a report on their status. Charlotte Westwood, an assistant solicitor for the Department of the Interior, replied by reiterating Van Devanter's 1897 conclusion that the Indiana Miami "were no longer recognized as having a tribal capacity and that they were no longer under the guardianship of the United States." Van Devanter's opinion was "sufficient to show that these Indians cannot now be recognized as a band or a tribe and that as individuals they cannot be considered members of any tribe." They would have to obtain any relief they might be entitled to as a half-blood community under the Indian Reorganization Act (Westwood 1937).

John Herrick, Assistant to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote to White in August, explaining that he had concluded "that the Miami Indians have long since terminated their tribal status and are therefore not entitled to any assistance which this Office might furnish them," although "individual members of the group may be enrolled as persons of one-half or more degree of Indian blood" in order to receive benefits under the IRA (Herrick 1937).

By the time of the BIA's reply, however, the Miami were moving rapidly ahead with organizing themselves, primarily because someone in Washington had told them they "needed to incorporate the Miami Indians of Indiana" in order to make any headway in the capital (Evans 1937; MI/MNI 1937-42, 10/31/37). On July 7, Elijah Marks's group met to hear White's report of her trip to Washington and to discuss plans to clean up and provide security for the Meshingomesia and Slocum cemeteries. An organizational meeting was scheduled for July 18 "to organize and get papers ready for charter" (MI/MNI 1937-42).

At the July 18 meeting, a new council and the tribe in general approved the by-laws of a new organization, the "Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana" (incorporated in September as the "Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc." following a name change approved at an August 9 meeting). The by-laws listed Elijah Marks as Chief, Oatis Marks as Vice Chief, David Bondy as Secretary, Tommie Lee as Treasurer, and 12 other Meshingomesia band descendants as "Counciling Chiefs" (Marks et al., 1937a; MI/MNI 1937-42, 7/18/37). The purposes of the group, as set forth in its articles of incorporation were "to fraternize the Band of Miami Indians of the State of Indiana; to continue and carry on the tribal customs ...; to advance the mental, social and moral well being of said tribe; to promote the mutual protection of our membership; to improve our general welfare, and to love, honor and obey the laws of the United States and of the State of Indiana" (Marks et al. 1937b).

Throughout the rest of the summer and fall of 1937 and into 1938 the new organization was occupied with getting its business in order, meeting sometimes three or four times a month. It appointed Mrs. White its agent to Washington, solidified its council, amd consulted with attorneys (MI/MNI 1937-42, 7/18/37, 8/9/37, 8/22/37, 10/10/37, 10/31/37). The organization also concerned itself with issues such as opposition to "the public exhibition of sacret [sic] Indian Bones by white men for personal profit" (MI/MNI 1937-42, 11/7/37), the protection of cemeteries (MI/MNI 1937-42, 1/12/41, 2/9/41, 10/12/41), providing Miami children with Miami names (MI/MNI 1937-42, 1/15/39) and participation in or support of pageants.

The Miami Nation wanted "all Indians of the Miami Indians ... to join the new organization." It elected Ross Bundy, who had worked closely with George Godfroy's organization since the early years of the century to its council, and even invited William Godfroy to address the council on tax exemption and hunting rights. Still, the new Miami Nation was at first unsuccessful in attracting the Godfroys (MI/MNI 1937-42, 10/10/37, 10/31/37, 11/7/37, 11/14/37). In fact, the Godfroys were as dissatisfied with Elijah Marks's organization presuming to speak for all Indiana Miami as they had been with Camillus Bundy's activities in 1923. Clarence Godfroy wrote to the Secretary of the Interior that "Elijah Marks, who claims he is chief of the MIAMI INDIAN Nation here in Indiana," in reality only represented "his immediate family." The Godfroys "will not recognize him as chief, we have our own chief." A formal remonstrance against any activities Mrs. White might undertake in Washington, signed by 31 Godfroy descendants who called themselves "members of the Individual MIAMI INDIANS in Indiana," accompanied Godfroy's letter to the Secretary (C. Godfroy et al. 1937; F. Godfroy et al. 1937). C.Z. Bondy also wrote a protest against the Marks organization (MI/MNI 1937-42, 2/12/39). In 1938, when the Godfroys' chief, Francis Godfroy, died, it was noted that his death would necessitate "the election of a tribal leader.... The Godfroy family ... assert there is no connection with the tribe from Grant and Wabash counties which incorporated last year" (Anonymous 1938).

Marks's group countered Godfroy opposition by writing President Roosevelt that "the once powerful nation of Miami Indians of Indiana last on record as under the leadershp of Chief Me-shing-go-mesia are organized under the leadership of the newly chosen Chief, Elijah Marks" (Marks and Bondy 1937). Their attorney informed Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier that "this Godfroy Bu[n]ch are still the trouble makers they have always been in this tribe" (Evans 1937)

Mrs. White met with BIA officials and congressmen in Washington early in 1938. D'Arcy McNickle noted that the newly formed Miami corporation should be considered "entirely a private matter" by the Government, as Mrs. White evidently had "some idea in mind that by recognition of their corporation on the part of the Indian Office the Miami Indians will secure special consideration of some sort." The BIA's position was still "that these Indians -- this group -- had no basis for claiming Federal recognition, since they had long ago accepted compensation from the United Staes in exchange for which they gave up all tribal rights and accepted citizenship" (McNickle 1938). The Bureau informed the interested parties that of the two "classes" of Indiana Miami "the treaty reserve class has never had a tribal

organization since the removal of the Miami Indians to Kansas," while members of the Meshingomesia band "have had no tribal organization recognized by the Congress or the United States Government since 1881," when they were made citizens (Zimmerman 1938a). The attorney appointed by the Miami was informed that only congressional legislation could "change their relations with the United States" (Zimmerman 1938b). This attitude on the part of the Bureau may not have been getting back to the Miami Nation of Indians, as Mrs. White reported to the group's council from Washington that "she had a very satisfactory talk with the head land man. He intimated that the organization was the only one who would get any place with the government" (MI/MNI 1937-42, 1/23/38).

Still, Mrs. White and the Miami's attorney had some success in gaining congressional support. In 1928 a bill had been introduced in Congress to give the Court of Claims jurisdiction to adjudicate claims of "the members of the Miami Tribe in the State of Indiana" (U.S. Congress 1928), but the bill got nowhere. In 1938 companion bills were introduced in the House and Senate for the same purpose, but specifically stated that the Court of Claims was authorized to adjudicate claims of the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana organization (U.S. Congress 1938a; U.S. Congress 1938b). The bills failed to pass.

Meanwhile, dissention seems to have emerged within the Miami Nation of Indians. In April 1938, the council recalled Mrs. White from her advocacy position in Washington, although she continued to be active in the various attempts to get legislation passed over the next two years (MI/MNI 1937-42; 4/3/38, 4/17/38) and was considered the group's "Agent ... to do any thing that would be best for the Tribe" (MI/MNI 1937-42, 4/2/39). A month later, Ross Bundy resigned not only from the council, but "from the Tribe" itself. Mildred Bundy, the council's assistant secretary, 24 other individuals and 2 families also signed a letter indicating that "they wish no longer to be a member of the Miami Nation Of Indians Inc. of Indiana" (MI/MNI 1937-42, 5/1/38).

New legislation, identical in language to the bills which failed in the 75th Congress, was introduced in 1939. Following House hearings in April 1939, the bill was amended so as not to refer to claims of the "Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana," but to "all claims which the Miami Tribe of Indians, the Miami Indians, residents of the State of Indiana may have against the United States," thereby including claims of the Western Miami (U.S. Congress 1940b). The House hearings also indicate that the Miami's primary claim against the Government at this time was for the relinquishment of the tribe's permanent annuity of $25,000 (U.S. Congress 1939a).

Before new hearings were held on the amended bill (U.S. Congress 1939b), the Miami requested that the BIA assist them in contracting with an attorney. This request, signed by Elijah Marks and others involved in the Miami Nation of Indians, was made in the name of "the Miami tribe of Indians and the Miamis resident of the state of Indiana" (Marks et al. 1939), probably to conform more closely with the language in the amended bill. The organization was at this time also attempting "to have any and all Indians that were really Miami Indians to come into the Tribe" (MI/MNI 1937-42, 4/23/39). Commissioner Collier replied with instructions on how to go about selecting

an attorney, and suggested that the Bureau would submit the name of the attorney selected by the Indiana Miami to the western Miami so that "a single contract can be executed in the name of the whole Miami Nation or Tribe, resident in Indiana and Oklahoma" (Collier 1939). On June 4, 1939 a "council of the eastern Miami Indians" (again, the organization led by Elijah Marks), met and voted to retain Fred B. Woodard of Washington, D.C. and William L. Naftzger of Kokomo, Indiana, as their attorneys in any case brought before the Court of Claims (MI/MNI 1939). In January 1940, the tribal committee of the western Miami agreed to accept the same attorneys used by the Indiana Miami (Andrews 1940; Daiker 1940).

At the resumed House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs hearings on the Miami jurisdictional bill in March 1940, the Miami Nation of Indians' attorney faced opposition from Charles Z. Bondy. Bondy, who had worked with Marks's group when it was known as the "Miami Indian Tribe" in the early 1930's, was now calling himself "lineal chief of the Miami Tribe of Indians of Indiana." Claiming to represent the rightful descendants of the signers of the 1854 treaty, Bondy and his attorney characterized the Miami Nation of Indians as "a group of people that are part Caucasians ... and [who] have in many instances disintegrated" (U.S. Congress 1940a, 42, 44). Whatever group Bondy was representing also introduced legislation in Congress in 1939 to give the Court of Claims jurisdiction over Miami claims arising out of the 1854 treaty (U.S. Congress 1939c). At the time, C.Z. Bondy's half-brother, David, was secretary of Marks's organization.

Although opposed by the Secretary of the Interior, who relied on advice from the BIA that "these Indians were no longer recognized as having a tribal capacity and that they were no longer under the guardianship of the United States" (Anonymous 1941a), the bill was favorably reported out of the House Committee (U.S. Congress 1940b). Still, it did not pass (Anonymous 1940d).

Legislation conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear Miami claims continued to be introduced in Congress in 1941 (U.S. Congress 1941a) on behalf of Charles Z. Bondy, "the lineal descendant of the Miami Indians under power of attorney handed down from his father, Camilaus [sic] Bondy, his immediate predecessor and lineal Indian chief of said Miami Tribe of Indians of Indiana, and last in line of descendants of Indian chiefs to which said Charles Z. Bondy is the legal, equitable, customary, and lawful Indian chief" (U.S. Congress 1941b). It does not seem that the Miami Nation of Indians continued to have bills introduced as well. They may have been satisfied that Bondy's bills covered all Indiana Miami, but they continued to retain their attorney and kept a close watch on Bondy's efforts (MI/MNI 1937-42, 9/3/40, 10/20/40, 4/20/41, 6/8/41, 12/14/41). Hearings were held on the 1941 bill (U.S. Congress 1941c), but it also failed to pass.

In late 1942, it seems that the push for such legislation was put on hold for the duration of World War II, as "the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana or the Eastern Miami Indians have nothing in mind but to win this war ... at all cost, and not stop till it is won and in no way to put a block or a hindrance in the way of the successful ending of the conflict" (MI/MNI 1937-42, 11/8/42). In keeping with this patriotic stance, the Miami Nation formally disapproved of C.Z. Bondy's suit to block condemnation of Miami land for the construction of an airbase near Peru; David Bondy appeared at the U.S.

District Court in South Bend and announced to reporters that his half-brother was an "unpatriotic fraud" (Anonymous 1942c), and "that Charley Bundy was not Chief and never was Chief, that the Chief's name was Chief Elijah Marks" (MI/MNI 1937-42, 11/8/42; Anonymous 1942a; 1942b).

The Miami Nation of Indians did not push its claims during the war, although in 1944 it complained to Commissioner Collier about the sale of 28 acres of school, church and cemetery land for back taxes in 1944 (Winters 1944). C.Z. Bondy, "viewed as a gadfly by most Miami leaders," continued to operate "on the edges of Miami tribal affairs" (MNISI 1989b, 1:38) during the war. In 1941, he filed suit against the Indiana Conservation Department for creating a State forest out of land he claimed belonged to the Miami by provision of the 1854 treaty (Anonymous 1941b). In 1944, he reopened tax exemption litigation for land that his father, Camillus Bundy, had lost in 1925 (U.S District Court 1944).

While the Miami Nation of Indians pursued its claims for monetary compensation in Congress, the Godfroy branch of the Indiana Miami was focussing on another aspect of what they saw as the abrogation of their treaty rights. In 1942, Clarence Godfroy, his brother Ira and sister Elizabeth Coiner brought suit in Miami County Circuit Court against a white couple who had bought land once owned by the Godfroys but which had been sold by the county in 1929 for back taxes (Anonymous 1942d). The case was transferred to U.S. District Court, which declared in 1943 that the land was validly taxed by the State and that the foreclosure and tax sale had been legal (Anonymous 1943). The court found that each of the Godfroys, although descended from Miami Indians mentioned in 19th century treaties, "lives in among and as white people in the community life, maintains sanitary homes and habits in accordance with public health rules and regulations, and exercise and enjoy the rights, privileges, pleasures and advancements of white citizens (U.S. District Court 1943). Further, the court advanced its view about the Indiana Miami as a group:

> After the removal of the Miami tribe from Indiana those who remained organized themselves into a symbolic society or club intended to perpetuate the ancient traditions of their forbears and designated certain of their members as chiefs and under-chiefs, medicine men and held social meetings that they designated as pow wows, at which they engaged in amusements, games and dancing, and certain of the older members gave demonstrations of Indian dances, and they had a council composed of five or seven chiefs who at the call of the designated head chief met to discuss the problems that were common to Indians, especially in relation to what they termed "encroachment of white men on the Indians' rights", including the matter of the foreclosure of mortgages and levying of taxes on land held by the descendants of Indians. That the council was advisory and had no power to enforce its conclusions, and was not in any way connected with the tribe of Miami Indians that was removed from the State of Indiana. (U.S. District Court 1943)

The District Court's action seems to have been the catalyst for the formal organization of the Godfroy branch of the tribe. On July 30, 1943, less than two weeks after the Court's decision, "Chief Sylvester Godfroy" wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting "Literature on the Indian Reorganization Act, and on how we Miami Indians of Indiana can become members" (I. Godfroy 1943). Assistant Commissioner William Zimmerman replied that "the historical facts of the relationships between the Miami Tribe and the Federal Government and the legal and administrative decisions based thereon indicate that it is not possible for the Indian Reorganization Act to be applied to the Miami Indians of Indiana." Zimmerman cited once again Van Devanter's 1897 opinion, which Zimmerman felt "indicates rather plainly that the Miami Indians in Indiana can not now be recognized as a band or a tribe, and that as individuals they can not be considered members of any tribe. it is obvious that the Act of 1881 [paying them the principal sum due under the 1854 treaty] was intended to dissolve tribal relationship and to relieve the United States of any further responsibility" (Zimmerman 1943a).

The Godfroys enlisted the aid of Frank Tom-Pee-Saw of the League of American Indians in Kansas in trying to get the court's decision appealed (Tom-Pee-Saw 1943a, 1943b, 1943c). Rebuffed by the U.S. District Attorney at Fort Wayne, Tom-Pee-Saw solicited help from the Secretary and Commissioner to "have the Case Brought to trial on the Basis of actual fact in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals" (Tom-Pee-Saw 1943d, 1943e, 1943f). In his reply declining Federal assistance for an appeal, Assistant Commissioner Zimmerman referred to Van Devanter's 1897 opinion, as he had in writing to Ira Godfroy just a few days earlier (Zimmerman 1943b).

On March 6, 1944 a "Special Council" met in Peru "for the purpose of organizing the Francis Godfroy Band of Miami Indians," the same name the Godfroy descendants had used to describe their branch of the tribe in correspondence with the BIA in the 1930's (C. Godfroy 1932). Clarence Godfroy was elected chairman, Ira Godfroy vice-chairman and treasurer, and Eva Godfroy Bossley secretary. Eight other individuals were chosen as councilmen, with Joseph Mongosa designated "head councilman" (GBMI 1944-67, 3/6/44). References in the early council minutes indicate that this more formal organization for the Godfroy branch received a great deal of assistance from -- and was probably a state-level branch of -- the League of American Indians which had assisted the Godfroy family in its tax exemption suit the previous year (GBMI 1944-67, 3/6/44, 5/8/44, 7/2/44, 1/5/45, 11/15/47).

THE PURSUIT OF CLAIMS AND TREATY RIGHTS, 1942-47

While the Meshingomesia/Bundy and Godfroy/Mongosa Miami were formalizing their different organizations in the late 1930's and early 1940's, Miami from both subgroups were involved in attempts to force State and Federal recognition of their tribal status that were different from land and monetary claims -- individual Miami decided to test Indiana's game laws which prevented traditional Miami hunting, fishing and trapping activities on the upper Wabash (MNISI 1984b, 155-56; Rafert 1982, 157-59). When Pete Mongosa was arrested in 1931 for shooting fish, a meeting was held and "descendants

of the Miami tribe made plans to appeal the case" based on Clarence Godfroy's contention that freedom to hunt and fish had been granted by treaty to the Miami tribe (Anonymous 1931a). The case against Mongosa was quickly dismissed, but "Miami county tribesmen were planning new infractions of the fish and game laws in an effort to carry a test case" to determine "whether immunity from fish and game laws, purportedly granted them by a government treaty, would be recognized in civil and federal courts" (Anonymous 1931b).

While the Miami were searching for an adequate test case, an Indiana game warden wrote to Washington for clarification of treaty-guaranteed hunting and fishing rights. Assistant Commissioner J. Henry Scattergood replied that although those rights were protected by provisions of many treaties made with the Miami between 1795 and 1840, they were protected only while Miami lands were still under the control of the Federal Government. As the Miami (he referred only to the Meshingomesia band) had become citizens in 1881, he "concluded that the Miami Indians now residing in the State of Indiana have no more right to take fish with fire arms than has any white citizen in the state" (Scattergood 1931).

The Miami did not bring a test case to court immediately, even when, in 1934, two more men were charged with illegal fishing practices (Rafert 1982, 160). In 1937 the State of Indiana recodified and extended its game laws, and there was a crackdown on violations. Although the Miami Nation of Indians discussed the possibility of cooperating with the Godfroy branch of the tribe at that time in taking such cases to Federal courts (MNISI 1984b, 157; MI/MNI 1937-42, 10/31/37), nothing was done until 1938, when Frank Marks was arrested for keeping a raccoon as a pet in violation of Dtate game laws. Marks refused to pay a fine imposed by a Justice of the Peace in Wabash on the grounds that he was a Miami Indian and the local court did not have jurisdiction; with the backing of "Chief Elijah Marks" and other Miami he appealed the case to the U.S. District Court at South Bend (Anonymous 1938b).

The case was considered such an important test, at least by the State (Weesner 1940; Slick 1940), that even Frank Marks's death on April 27, 1940, did not stop the court from handing down a decision (Anonymous 1940a). District Judge Thomas Slick's decision hinged on "the exact status of the Miami Indians residing in Indiana." Judge Slick noted that although the 1840 treaty stipulating the removal of the Miami "divided the Great Miami Nation into two separate branches and tribes, the Western Miamis, who moved to Kansas, and the Miamis of Indiana, who remained in Indiana," the members of the Meshingomesia band became citizens after the partition of their reservation This "definitely severed the relationship of guardian and ward between the United States and the Miamis of Indiana" The band and its descendants (of whom Marks was one) could, therefore, be restricted by State game laws just as other citizens. Slick also noted that although evidence had been submitted "to indicate that the Miami Indians maintain their tribal relationship and have monthly council meetings," the fact that they voted indicated their acceptance of the obligations and responsbilities of citizenship.

Judge Slick appears to have placed considerable weight on evidence provided by the prosecuting attorney, who had written the Department of the Interior requesting information as to the Federal Government's recognition of "the

present existence of any band, tribe, group or segment of the Miami Indians who formerly occupied this section of Indiana" (Weesner 1938). The Bureau's reply, by letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, indicated that "the Department of the Interior has disclaimed any further responsibility for this tribe asserting ... that the Acts of 1872 and 1881 are interpreted by their department to ... dissolve tribal relationship in favor of individual citizenship" (U.S. District Court 1940; Armstrong 1938). Not long after the decision, a newspaper article stated that the Miami revival of their "old tribal customs ... and regular pow-wows" had been "an auxiliary to their fight" in court [Anonymous 1940b).

Meanwhile, other members of the Meshingomesia band descendants, as well as members of the Godfroy branch of the Indiana Miami, were also getting involved in fighting for hunting and fishing rights. In January 1939, brothers Emnett and Lemoine Marks were arrested for illegal fishing in the Mississinnewa. It was the county's intention to prosecute them in a "friendly" court action "as a test case in the long argument over the rights of Indians and their descendants to hunt and fish without regard to game laws" (Anonymous 1939a; 1939b). At the end of that year, Frank Marks (still awaiting district court action in his earlier case), William Godfroy and Elzie and Elmer Bruell were similarly arrested on fishing charges (Anonymous 1939d). The results of these other cases were the same as that in the case of Frank Marks -- the individuals were held to be "jurisdictional" citizens who were subject to State law (Anonymous 1940c).

Successful Claims, 1947-78

The two major subgroups of the tribe entered the post-war period as deeply divided as they had been in the 1930's. Elijah Marks, chief of the Meshingomesia/Bundy group's Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, which had been in the forefront of Miami attempts to gain Federal recognition of their treaty rights, died in 1948, but his group seems to have already been dormant for a number of years (Anonymous 1948; MNISI 1984b, 191-92). The Godfroy Miami elected Ira Sylvester ("Ves") Godfroy as their chief in 1945 and continued to work intermittantly on land claims matters and hunting and fishing rights (GBMI 1944-67, 6/11/45, 8/31/45; 11/15/47). But the Godfroys were as determined as ever that "the Richardville heirs and heirs of the Me-shin-go-me-sia Band were not eligible" to take part in the Godfroys' pursuit of claims.

In 1949, the Godfroy organization contracted with attorneys to initiate claims before the Indian Claims Commission (MNISI 1984b, 191; GBMI 1944-67, 7/16/49, 11/49). They called themselves the "Miami Indians of Indiana" to distinguish themselves from the "Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana" formed by the Meshingomesia Miami in 1937 (Godfroy, Godfroy and Owens 1949). Neither the Meshingomesia group nor C.Z. Bondy, who reputedly was representing himself as "a hereditary Chief of the Miami Indians and head of the Meshin-go-me-sia" descendants, was allowed to intervene (MNISI 1984b, 192; Maloney 1962).

Claims activities were of paramount importance to the Miami in the 1950's and 1960's. This is true at least for the Godfroy group, for which council

minutes are extant (GBMI 1944-67). Other activities, such as maintenance of the Godfroy cemetery, were also discussed (GBMI 1944-67, 9/9/56). In 1953, the Godfroy council, after considering inclusion of the Meshingomesia group, decided that the Meshingomesia descendants should "stay in their own group," but that their claims might be allowed under the Godfroys' suit (GBMI 1944-67, 2/14/53). In 1954, the dockets of the Western Miami, Indiana Miami and other tribes involved in claims related to land ceded in central Indiana in the 19th century were consolidated (MNISI 1984b, 193). Although it had been discussed that the Meshingomesia band members would also be included (GBMI 1944-67, 6/53), they were not allowed to intervene at this time as the Miami of Oklahoma and the Indiana Miami represented by Ira Godfroy were the only Miami considered as "organized entities having the capacity to present claims under the Indian Claims Commission Act" (14 ICC 513; Maloney 1962).

In 1956 the Indian Claims Commission determined that the Indiana and Oklahoma Miami were entitled to a judgment based on the inadequate purchase price paid to the Miami for land ceded in 1818. The Godfroy Miami met with Miami from other subgroups in January 1957 in a "secret tribal council to vote to accept the offered award" (Anonymous 1957; GBMI 1944-67, 6/6/57, 3/57). There were difficulties in accepting the vote because of internal fighting (Anonymous 1957), and because IraGodfroy would not accept the votes of Miami from other subgroups (GBMI 1944-67, 1/6/57). After an appeal of the award, the Indian Claims Commission finally made a joint award to the Oklahoma and Indiana Miami as compensation for land ceded by the entire Miami tribe, as well as a specific award to the Indiana Miami as compensation for their share of annuities commuted in the treaty of 1854 (GBMI 1944-67, 7/3/60; U.S. Congress 1961, 19; U.S. Congress 1963, 36; U.S. Court of Claims 1960, 214; Anonymous 1964).

At this point in the claims, process, however, the entire organizational structure of the various Indiana Miami subgroups was changing. Ira Godfroy died in February 1961. His brother, Lawrence, who had been elected "head councilman" a year earlier because of Ira's illness, was elected chief to succeed him (GBMI 1944-67, 8/14/60, 2/5/61).

A month later, a group calling itself the "Miami Tribe of Indians" met at the Wabash Court House and elected William Francis Hale its chief, "replacing the late Ira Godfroy" (Anonymous 1961a; MTI 1961, 3/5/61). Hale's group was immediately chartered as an affiliate of the "Long House League of North American Indians" (Hale et al. 1961). This organization was presumably a successor to the "League of American Indians" of the 1940's, because Frank Tom-Pee-Saw and H.L. LaHurreau, both men connected with the League of American Indians who had assisted the Godfroy branch of the Indiana Miami after 1944 (GBMI 1944-67, 5/8/44, 1/5/45) also assisted Hale's group in holding its first election (MTI 1961, 3/5/61, 4/9/61).

Although primarily composed of Meshingomesia descendants, Hale's initial council broadly represented all the major Miami families: Hale was a descendant of one of Meshingomesia's brothers and had served on the council of Elijah Marks's Miami Nation of Indians. First Vice-Chariman Andrew Marks was the son of Elijah Marks. Everett Marks, Robert Marks and Curtis Shoemaker were grandsons of Elijah Marks. John Owens, a Richardville descendant, had been on the Godfroy council since the 1940's and had been one

of the three councilmen authorized to neggotiate a contract with the claims attorneys in 1949 (Godfroy, Godfroy and Owens 1949). Pete Mongosa and Everett Marks had been involved in game law cases in the late 1930's. Clarence Godfroy was the brother of Ira Godfroy and a former chairman and councilman of the Godfroy organization (Anonymous 1961a). Whether all those mentioned in the newspaper article considered themselves part of Hale's council is problematic. The group's minutes indicate that Clarence Godfroy, John Owens and Pete Mongosa left the Hale council a month after it was formed, having never attended any of its meetings (MTI 1961, 4/30/61). An article which appeared soon after Hale's election noted that "another group met in neighboring Peru and elected Lawrence Godfroy" to succeed his brother, Ira, and that "the Miami Indians of Indiana are warring among themselves over who is the rightful chief of the tribe" (Anonymous 1961b).

This "warfare" continued for a few years. While Hale's organization sent representatives to Washington in 1961 to meet with the claims attorneys and called for "all Miami Indians to register ancestory [sic] with the council by April 1" in preparation for the tribe's claims payment (Anonymous 1961a; MTI 1961, 5/22/61), the Godfroys' "Miami Indians of Indiana" met in "a regularly called meeting" in May "to consider a question of making a current roll of members" and to authorize Lawrence Godfroy to extend the organization's contract with its Washington attorneys (MII 1961a; MII 1961b). The Department of the Interior did its best to avoid interfering with the "several factions which are bitterly opposed to one another.... It appears there are at least two 'elected' Chiefs, each of whom purports to represent the Indians." As it was unsure which faction had the proper authority "to represent the Miami Indians of Indiana," the Department tried to dissuade delegations from either faction from coming to Washington to discuss the progress of the claims awards (Udall 1961a; Udall 1961b, Udall 1961c). The renewed contract was signed by Lawrence Godfroy (who replaced his brother, Ira, in the capacity of contract negotiator), William A. Godfroy, John A. Owens and eight members of the council. William Godfroy and John Owens had been representatives of the Godfroy organzation which had signed the 1949 contract with its attorneys, and Owens had been named as one of Hale's council (Anonymous 1961a).

Still, although Hale seemed to make an effort to meet with the Godfroy organization in order to "re-unite the Godfroy & Mesh. groups" or at least "combine the two councils for business reasons" (MTI 1961, 7/61), there was confusion and bitterness over who was in charge. In October 1962, a meeting was announced for "all groups of the Miamis" to hear Maloney discuss the tribe's claims; it was noted that "William F. Hale of Muncie will be in charge of the meeting" (Anonymous 1962a). On November 7, a newspaper article discussing the Miami claims noted that "Lawrence Godfroy ... is acting Miami chief" (Anonymous 1962b); actually, Lawrence Godfroy had been leader of the Godfroy group for more than a year, ever since the death of his brother, Ira. Maloney himself told the Indian Claims Commission on November 7 that "at the present time the bitterest war you ever saw is being fought between those two groups [the Meshingomesia branch and the Godfroy branch] down there -- and it is not easy to handle" (Maloney 1962).

Rather than bringing the groups together, the bitter resentment over Hale's assumption of leadership deepened the division between the groups. Even

members of Hale's own organization discussed asking him to resign (MTI 1961, 10/15/61).

Lawrence Godfroy and the Indiana Miami associated with him took steps to formalize their organization in 1963 by recodifying and amending the by-laws of "The Miami Tribe of Indiana, Otherwise known as the Miami Indians of Indiana." Hale's group was also called the "Miami Tribe of Indiana." The membership of the Godfroy organization was composed of "persons whose names appear on the Indian rolls of 1887 or 1895, and the children and grandchildren of those persons appearing on said rolls." Others "of Miami Indian descent" could attend the organization's meetings but could not vote. The tribe was governed by a 13-member council, appointed for life by the chief. Of the 13 councilmen who signed the by-laws, 10 were Godfroy descendants and 3 were Richardville/Lafontaine descendants who had consistently been affiliated with the Godfroy organization (MNISI 1984b 198; L. Godfroy et al. 1963).

A year later, Meshingomesia band descendants who had become dissatisfied with Hale's leadership reorganized the old "Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc.," which had been incorporated in 1937 but had been "placed on stand-by status for patriotic reasons" during World War II. The reactivation was considered necessary because "the inheritance of the Miami Tribe and descendants of the original members of the incorporation" had been omitted from consideration in claims filed by "other groups, organized subsequent to the Miami Nation." Those who met to reorganize the Miami Nation hoped that "all Miamis who are interested in Tribal welfare above and beyond natural family loyalty" would join them (MI/MNI 1964; MNSI 1984b, 199). It was to be some years, however, before the subgroups cooperated completely.

Francis Shoemaker, a grandson of Elijah Marks, became president of the Miami Nation, and Mina A. Brooke, who had been the Tribal Council Secretary of Hale's organization, became its secretary-treasurer. According to informatiom presented with the Indiana Miami petition, Shoemaker "challenged Hale's chieftancy [sic] at a stormy meeting with Hale's council in the judge's chambers at the Wabash County Courthouse late in 1964. Shoemaker won the confrontation, and walked out acknowledged as chief" (MNISI 1989b, 1:26).

Hale continued to maintain his position of "chief," at least in regard to his family, and acted as a self-authorized cultural representative of the Miami to the white communities (MNISI 1989b, 1:27-28; Anonymous 1968; 1971; 1981b; Hawes 1982), a function that Clarence Godfroy had also assumed (C. Godfroy 1961). Sometimes, however, despite being on the "outside" of the primary Miami political structure, Hale continued to express more specific claims to leadership. In 1969, he was noted as opposing the naming of a state park in Muncie for Francis Godfroy primarily, said city officials, "because he belongs to a part of the tribe that never got along with the others" (Anonymous 1969a). In an article in 1972 it was mentioned that Hale was one of three individuals who claimed to be the "only chief" of the Miami, the others being Lawrence Godfroy, "who claims to be chief by family birth" and Francis Shoemaker, "who claims the position by virtue of his position of chairman of the board of the Miami Indians of Indiana" (Goodspeed 1972).

Continuing to maintain his own, separate, position, Charles Z. Bondy, a year before his death in 1968, named his son, Oliver Z. Bondy, his successor as "Chief of the Miami Indian Tribe" (Bondy and Bondy 1969). The Interior Department was informed that "since the laws of the tribe so state that the chief has the right to name his successor, we offer this as evidence to all parties so that there may not be any misunderstanding as to who the Interior Department should deal with in regard to any tribe [sic] matters" (Anonymous 1969b). No further documentation has been found to determine how seriously this claim was considered.

Individual Miami were still identifying themselves by particular subgroup. In 1971, the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana initiated a letter-writing campaign to forestall proposed revisions of the Indiana Miami judgment roll (Brooke 1971; Bell 1971; Bevington 1971; Weimer 1971; Easterdan 1971; Fox 1971; Lauglin 1972), while a newspaper clipping from the same year includes a photograph of a Miami woman holding an identification card for the "Miami Indians of Indiana"; the card is signed by Larry Godfroy (Willard 1971). In 1972, Larry Godfroy signed a letter to President Nixon concerning the distribution of the Miami judgment award as "chief" of the "Miami Indians of Indiana" (L. Godfroy 1972).

Legislation for the distribution of funds in the initial claims case was passed in October 1966 (80 Stat. 909), and an enrollment office was opened in Marion, Indiana, to enroll the descendants of those on the 1889 Eel River and 1895 Indiana Miami rolls who were eligible to share in the claim. When the enrollment ended in 1967, over 4,000 Indiana Miami and Western Miami were declared eligible (MNISI 1984b, 200; Anonymous 1967; Melich 1969). Additional awards were made to the Miami in 1968, 1970, and 1979 (U.S. Congress 1972, 6; 96 Stat. 1828; MNISI 1984b, 201). Reports prepared for proposed legislation to distribute these awards reiterated the position that the BIA had taken on the Indiana Miami in the 1930's: these descendants of the remnants of the Miami tribe who remained in Indiana after removal had not been under Federal supervision since 1881, "and we have no reason to believe that they should be under Federal supervision" (Anonymous 1969c); they were "widely scattered" throughout the State of Indiana and had no land and "no recognized organization" (Anonymous 1970; Loesch 1970; Stevens 1971; Loesch 1974; Sampsel 1981); the assistant attorney general for the Department of the Interior had ruled in 1897 "that they no longer had a tribal capacity" (Loesh 1970; Loesch 1974; Stevens 1971); and "they have no Federally recognized governing body and in fact have only a loose association formed for the prosecution of claims against the United States" (Loesch 1970; Stevens 1971).

There were activities other than claims to keep the Miami occupied in the period after World War II. One continuing concern was protection of the various Miami cemeteries. Hale's organization discussed the possibility of the State of Indiana caring for the Meshingomesia Cemetery in 1961, and members of the group cleaned and restored portions of the burial ground after vandals broke some of the grave markers (MTI, 1961, 7/61; Anonymous 1961b; 1961c). Other Miami groups were involved in seeking National Historic Landmark status for the Godfroy cemetery (Udall 1967; Anonymous 1980) and in the relocation of the Slocum cemetery and some smaller Miami cemeteries in advance of the flooding of the Mississinewa River due to dam construction in the 1960's (MNISI 1984b, 201-2; Anonymous 1961c; Vogel 1980, 22).

Another major concern in the 1970's was the final push of members of the Godfroy family to clarify the tax exempt status of the treaty grants (MNISI 1984b, 203-4). In 1974, Oliver Godfroy, brother of Ira and Clarence, brought suit in U.S. District Court at South Bend over acreage he had purchased and inherited from family members in the 1940's, contending that the land was tax exempt because it had been continuously held by his family, all of them Miami Indians, since it was set aside for his great-great-grandfather, Francis Godfroy, in the treaty of 1838.

Oliver Godfroy had long attempted to maintain his Indian identity and maintain aspects of what remained of the Miami culture for future generations (Vogel 1980, 27; Albert 1972; Anonymous 1977a). He testified before the district court that although he was "forced ... to go out in the world and live like a white man" he considered himself to be a member of the Miami tribe of Indiana; the tribe, he said, continued to hold meetings in Wabash every year at which affairs relating to the tribe, such as the tax exemption case, were discussed (U.S. District Court 1977a, 22-23).

Attorneys for Miami County Board of Commissioners, the defendants in the case, took Godfroy's testimony to mean that "the Miami Tribe of Indians is merely an organization for presenting claims to the United States Government for benefits." They continued to insist that because Godfroy "has lived as a White Man under the White Man Laws," and "the only tribal activity he has been engaged in is meeting with a Commission for filing claims against the United State Government for Indian benefits," Godfroy's land was, therefore, subject to Indiana law regarding taxation "the same as all other citizens of the county" (U.S. District Court 1977b, 7).

The court ruled that Godfroy's land was indeed tax exempt. Judge Allen Sharp held that Godfroy, "who had made every reasonable effort consistent with realities of modern society to maintain his status as an Indian was an 'Indian' as defined in ... the Northwest Ordinance which exempts Miami Indian land from taxation" (U.S. District Court 1977d, 374). Even if the Indiana Miami did not constitute a tribe -- and Godfroy's attorneys had argued, citing an Indian Claims Commission opinion of 1964, that they were "at least an identifiable group if not a tribe or band" (U.S. District Court 1977c, 5; 14 ICC 438) -- Godfroy's land was still tax exempt because the immunity from taxation guaranteed by the Northwest Ordinance "is not limited to Indian Tribes but may, in appropriate cases, apply to individual Indians as well. There is no need to show tribal relations" (U.S. District Court 1977d, 377).

The District Court, in its preliminary ruling in 1975, determined that the Indiana Appellate Court's 1901 decision in Board of Commissioners v. Godfroy was inconsistent with decisions of the United States Supreme Court. In the 1901 case, the State court had used arguments advanced by Assistant Attorney General Van Devanter to determine that because they had been made citizens by the 1887 Allotment Act, Miami descendants could not claim tax exemption as Indians. The U.S. District Court cited arguments made in Supreme Court Justice Van Devanter's opinions in 1916 (U.S. v. Nice, 241 U.S. 591) and 1931 (Halbert v. U.S., 283 U.S. 753), which held that "the fact that an Indian has been granted citizenship is not sufficient to remove from him all rights previously granted to him as an Indian" (U.S. District Court 1975).

Two days after the District Court made its ruling, Godfroy told reporters that the decision would likely be appealed: "They're going to try to hold it up as long as they can. They figure I'll die and the case will drop" (Anonymous 1977b). Godfroy died two weeks later, but the case was not appealed, and Miami County returned the taxes Godfroy had paid on his land to his estate (Vogel 1980, 19).

Despite the division between the various subgroups, the annual Miami reunions continued to be held every August in Wabash. Attendance at these reunions continued to transcend factional differences. Extant registration books for the reunions held between 1953 and 1981 indicate that Godfroys, Hales, Markses, Shoemakers, Owenses, Mongosas, and Bundys attended these events. These reunions consisted of picnics, and what were called "business meetings" at which officers were elected to organize the following year's reunion. Issues of tribal concern were discussed only occasionally at the reunions. The officers elected at the reunions, however, seem to have been elected by all the factions present (MAR 1953-81).

The Movement for Federal Acknowledgment, 1979-89

On March 25, 1979, over 70 Miami met at St. Mary's School in Huntington at the behest of leaders of the Richardville/LaFontaine group. Although some of them -- John Owens and Paul Godfroy, for instance -- had represented their subgroup's interests with the Godfroy and Hale organizations, most of the Richardville/LaFontaine had not been active in general Miami affairs for a considerable time, partly because of their small population and partly because they had depended on the "inconsistent" and absentee leadership of Thomas Richardville in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (MNISI 1985a 32-33). In February 1979, however, the Richardville/LaFontaine leaders had been contacted by a representative of the Oklahoma Miami, who suggested that the Oklahoma and Indiana branches of the tribe form a "confederation" to pursue Federal acknowledgment under the administrative process established by the BIA in October 1978 (Greenbaum 1989).

The Indiana Miami who met in March, however, decided not to confederate with the Oklahoma tribe. Instead, a new organization, the "Indiana Miami Indian Organizational Council" to investigate what had to be done to achieve acknowledgment on their own. It was a significant meeting, as representatives of all the Miami subgroups were present and seemed disposed to work together (Miami Roster 1979), although the Organizational Council's officers were all from the Richardville/LaFontaine subgroup. One Richardville/LaFontaine descendant remembers that one of "the most memorable" moments was when a Meshingomesia descendant shook hands with Robert Owens and stated, "I never thought I'd live to see the day I'd shake hands with a Richardville" (Greenbaum 1989). The expressed objectives of the organization in seeking acknowledgment were to "insure the preservation of the Miami Indian traditions and culture" and to secure "benefits, financial or otherwise ... to those descendants of Miami Indians who are listed on the federal rolls" (Farlow 1979).

Robert Owens became chairman of the Organizational Council. The rest of the leadership were also Richardville/LaFontaine descendants -- Paul Godfroy, Joe Owens, Gerald Moore, Sue Strass and Angie Strass (Farlow 1979). Two days later, as "spokesman" for the group, Gerald Moore informed the BIA that "the Miami Indians of Indiana" intended to file a petition for Federal acknowledgment (Moore 1979). A more formal letter of intent to petition, signed by all the council members, was received on April 2, 1980 (Owens et al. 1980). The Indiana legislature had already presented a resolution to Congress urging recognition of the Indiana Miami (Indiana 1980).

In order to clarify the nature of the petitioning group, the Chief of the Division of Tribal Government Services wrote to Robert Owens, requesting information as to which Miami community he represented (Hayes 1980). In reply, the Bureau was informed that Francis Shoemaker's Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Lawrence Godfroy's Godfroy Band of Miami Indians and Robert Owens's Organizational Council, were "all of one accord" -- "All Miami Indian factions are working together" to gain acknowledgment (Siders 1981). In fact, the members of the Organizational Council established by the Richardville/Lafontaine descendants, as well as some members of the Godfroy Council, had been added to the council of the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana soon after they determined to seek acknowledgment (MNISI 1984b, 205; Shoemaker et al. 1983). The structure of the Organizational Council was maintained to serve as the council for the Richardville/LaFontaine subgroup (Strass 1989).

The Godfroy branch, although participating in the Miami Nation council (MNISI 1984b, 206), took longer to be convinced about Federal acknowledgment. Having worked primarily on claims issues, Chief Lawrence Godfroy, called the "hereditary chief" or the tribe's "last heritage chief" (MNISI 1985d; 1979-85, 11/29/81), and his council were "not completely sold on the idea of Federal Recognition" but agreed to assist the "Federal Recognition Committee" established by the Miami Nation "until they were convinced either that Federal Recognition would be good for the whole Tribe or, it would be bad for the Tribe" (MNISI 1979-85, 2/19/83).

Tribal councils from at least 1983 to the present have been composed of representatives of all the subgroups (MNISI 1979-85, 10/23/83, 3/25/84, 6/22/85; 1984b, 206-7; MNISI 1985c, 34-36, Appendix 10). Leaders of the Richardville/LaFontaine and Godfroy subgroups often reported on activities of their groups in Miami Nation of Indians council meetings (MNISI 1979-85, 6/3/79, 11/29/81, 11/24/82, 2/19/83, 4/16/83, 10/23/83, 1/24/84, 1/12/85, 4/20/85; MNISI 1984-88, 3/25/85, 6/22/85).

The Miami Nation moved quickly to organize its acknowledgment efforts. In 1982 the Council contacted historian Stewart Rafert, who had written a doctoral dissertation on the Indiana Miami (Rafert 1982), to prepare their documented petition for acknowledgment (MNISI 1985c, 3/28/82). In the same year, the group applied for and received a status clarification grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) to work on its petition for Federal acknowledgment. Funds from this grant and later continuation grants assisted the group in researching and writing its petition, developing a volunteer network to assist with preparation of a tribal roll, sponsoring recognition workshops in the different geographical areas of Miami population

in Indiana and Oklahoma and meeting with newly-recognized tribes concerning benefits of Federal acknowledgment (MNISI 1985d; 1984-88, 10/25/86). In 1983, the group also began distributing a "Newsletter & Federal Recognition Report" to keep its members informed on the progress of the petition (MNSI 1985c, 6/25/83; 1983-89, 7-8/83, 1/17/84, 8/1/84, 1/85, 12/86). The group's council minutes also detail the monthly progress of their acknowledgment effort (MNISI 1985c; 1984-88), and the group has made extensive use of the media to publicize its efforts (MNISI 1985d; Goldenberg 1981; Haase 1988; Endacott 1988; Harris 1990).

In 1983, the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana formally adopted a constitution and amended its 1937 by-laws (MNISI 1979-85, 12/30/82, 2/5/83, 6/25/83; 1984a, 110-16). Both documents were significantly amended again in 1986 (MNISI 1986). Article 4 of the constitution originally stated that membership in the organization was to be determined by descent from the 1895 Miami roll, or proof of lineage before the council. Among amendments to the constitution adopted in 1986, descent from the Eel River Miami roll of 1889 was acknowledged as proof of lineage for membership (MNISI 1986; MNISI 1985-88, 10/27/85). The organization's membership provisions were amended again in 1989, by Council Resolution VI-89, to require proof of "lineage to any of the following Federal Indiana Miami Tribal rolls of 1846, 1854, 1881, 1889, 1895. Federal Annuity rolls of Miami Indians of Indiana 1855-56 and 1868-1880. Federal Census records of Miami Indians of Indiana, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1880, 1900, and 1910" (MNISI 1989d). This 1989 amendment is contrary to the group's by-laws, which state that "the Constitution and By-Laws may be amended and updated at the November meeting, by a majority vote of Council members, at a meeting at which there is a quorum of Council members. However, notice there must be given at least one month prior to that Council meeting, via a Council newsletter or flier, or at the previous meeting" (MNISI 1986). Council Resolution VI-89 was considered and accepted by a majority vote of the Council at a meeting in April, not November, and there is no indication that one-month's notice was given concerning the proposed amendment.

The Council of the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana was initially organized as consisting of two members from each of the Miami subgroups (called "clans" in the 1983 constitution) This was changed to one member from each clan in the 1986 amendments. The 1986 amendments also codified the creation of the office of Tribal Chairman (MNISI 1979-85, 4/20/85, 5/18/85, 6/22/85). Perhaps in recognition of the importance of the various organizations that had sprung up from time to time in the group's history, article 9 stipulated that if the council and membership of the Miami Nation "fail to meet for one year or longer, any concerned Miami Indian may have the freedom to stimulate the Council to become active by sending out fliers, etc., to the entire area" (MNISI 1984a, 113; 1986).

The Miami's documented petition was submitted to the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research in July 1984. A letter describing obvious deficiencies and significant omissions found in the petition after a preliminary review was sent to the group on January 30, 1985 (Elbert 1985). The group responded with clarifications and most of the documentation requested in the obvious deficiencies letter in October 1985. The group submitted additional documentation -- some in response to the 1980 obvious deficiencies letter and

some in response to staff requests. The petition was placed on active consideration status on March 1, 1988. As an attempt to speed the active consideration process for the Miami petition, the BIA contemplated letting a contract for the anthropological and genealogical portions of the evaluation in the summer of 1988. However, due to delays in the contarcting procedure, a contract was not let until March 1989, and active consideration of the Miami petition was extended to March 1990 (Ragsdale 1989).

Meanwhile, the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana has continued to be active in other activities apart from their efforts to gain Federal acknowledgment. The protection and preservation of the Godfroy, Slocum, Thorntown, Meshingomesia and other Miami cemeteries has been an ongoing concern, and the Miami Nation has worked with various county historical societies on projects to maintain and restore the sites and has made agreements to return some of these sites to Miami control if the tribe achieves Federal acknowledgment (MNISI 1985c, 10/24/82, 7/24/83, 10/23/83, 2/25/84, 8/18/84, 10/21/84; 1984-88, 4/18/86, 6/18/88; 1983-89, 7/89). The Godfroy cemetery has been placed on the National Register of Historic Places (MNISI 1984-88, 10/27/85), and the Miami successfully protested the burial of a non-Miami in the Slocum cemetery in 1987 by blocking access to the burial ground (Anonymous 1987a). There has been cooperation between the Miami tribal council and the Indiana Department of Natural Resources on cemetery issues. There has also been cooperation on a project to restore the old school house, built at Meshingomesia's request in the 1860's, and move it back to its original location at the Meshingomesia cemetery (MNISI 1985c, 11/29/81, 2/25/84, 9/22/84). Tribal leaders have also been involved in efforts to protect other Indian burial sites in Indiana from desecration and in the disposition of skeletal remains from such sites (MNISI 1985c, 11/29/81, 10/23/83; 1984-88, 5/17/86, 9/20/86, 10/26/86, 2/20/88; Carpenter 1988).

The Miami have also continued their efforts to validate and maintain their identity as Indians both to themselves and in relation to the surrounding white community. One means of doing this has been frequent participation in parades and local fairs, which has been going on for most of this century (MNISI 1985c, 11/29/81, 4/16/83, 5/15/83, 6/25/83, 7/24/83, 8/20/83, 10/23/83, 8/18/84, 9/22/84, 10/21/84, 5/18/85, 6/22/85; 1984-88, 10/21/84, 5/17/86, 10/26/86). The Miami Nation of Indians has also sponsored its own powwow as part of a local "Heritage Days" festival (Anonymous 1981b, MNISI 1985c, 11/29/81), participated in a symposium on Miami Indian history (MNISI 1985c, 1/21/84, 10/21/84), worked on the reenactment of the 1812 Battle of the Mississinewa (MNISI 1984-88, 2/20/88) and assisted in preparing local museum exhibits (Anonymous 1982; Richey 1988). The tribal council has encouraged the group's members to submit biographies, "personal memories" and "clan histories" for a proposed "heritage project" book about the Indiana Miami (MNISI 1985c 11/17/84, 3/24/85, 6/22/85; 1984-88, 5/17/86; 1983-89, 10/88). The Miami have worked toward acquiring a land base for tribal facilities (Anonymous 1987b; 1987c); they were eventually given five acres by the City of Peru (MNISI 1989b, 1:46). The Miami were also instrumental in the formation and activities of the statewide Intertribal Council of Indians of Indiana; Raymond O. White, Jr., currently the Miami Tribal Chairman, has served as chairman of the Intertribal council. The Miami have also supported proposals to create a State Indian Affairs Commission to more effectively

serve the needs of the state's Native American population (MNISI 1985c, 10/23/83, 11/19/83, 1/12/85).

A needs assessment, recognized as an important planning tool by the tribal council (MNISI 1985c, 7/24/83, 9/14/85), was prepared for the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana in 1987. Not surprisingly, programs for education, housing, and health services were identified as primary needs of the members of the group, while there was also great interest shown in keeping the Miami Nation a strong, viable organization (Vargas and Lengacher 1987, 2, 38). These same needs had long been discussed as goals for the group (MNISI 1985c, 11/29/81, 5/15/83, 7/24/83, 1/21/84; 1984-88, 2/21/87).

Today the Miami are pursuing ways of fulfilling these needs. The Miami council, representing all the Miami subgroups, meets monthly, and general tribal meetings are held in March and October of each year. The annual Miami reunion, still held on the third Sunday in August in Wabash, attracts members from the outlying Miami populations in Oklahoma and Michigan, as well as from within Indiana.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON THE MIAMI NATION OF INDIANS OF INDIANA

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTIONS

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Susan Greenbaum

First Computer Concepts, Inc.

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Introduction.

The central feature of Miami social and political life has been the enduring subgroup divisions of the Meshingomesia, Godfroy, Bundy, and Richardville/Lafontaine (hereinafter RL) families. These distinctions, which reflect most directly the family groups exempted from removal, were successively reinforced in the post-removal period by differential treatment by the Federal Government and local authorities, as well as internally generated conflicts over old and new issues. Although defined and shaped by the removal, these divisions are in many respects analogous to, and to some extent derivative of, the earlier clan and band organization of the Miamis.

The Miamis were one of a number of Algonkian tribes in the Great Lakes region whose political structure was centered on the patrilineal band. Miami bands were usually named for either the leader or for the summer village inhabited by the group (Callender 1970:682), and the names tended to change over time (Dunn 1919:81). Miami bands were relatively autonomous units, welded into a "confederacy" under pressure from the Iroquois and Europeans. There was reportedly no principal chief until the mid 18th century (Rafert 1982:2). War chiefs led military forays, sometimes involving very large forces, but they possessed little authority. In addition, each band had its own leader.

Bands were associated with specific villages and hunting territories, although the locations of these, as well as the composition of the bands, fluctuated considerably. From contact until the early 18th century, there were six Miami bands in the Great Lakes region, including the Wea, Piankshaw, Pepicokeas, Mengakonkias, Kilatikas, and Crane (the largest). The Crane band had 1200-1500 warriors in the early 1700's, when they were living on the St. Joseph River in Wisconsin. In 1718 they migrated to the village of Kekionga, near the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana. This band shortly emerged as the Miami tribe proper; by the end of the 18th century the other groups had split off to form the separate Wea and Piankashaw tribes. One other segment, known as the "Eel River" Miamis, occupied the nearby Thorntown reserve until 1828 and maintained an association with the Crane/Kekionga Miamis. After the sale of their reserve, they mostly settled on Godfroy land and had become incorporated by marriage into the reformed Miami tribe by the mid 1800's.

Clan organization of the early Miamis was only scantily recorded. Trowbridge (1938 [in Callender 1978:684]) referred to Sky and

Earth moieties and five patrilineal clans; Morgan (1959:80 [in Callender 1978:684]) reported 10 clans. Morgan also alluded to a moiety division, but with the totems Elk and Crane. (Crane was also the name of the largest Miami band.) Clans apparently functioned in selection of war chiefs, marriage regulation, ceremonial ritual including naming, and "may also have been units of collective responsibility" (Callender 1978: 684). By the mid 1800's, drastic population decline, European cultural intrusion, political realignments within the tribe, and the removal had almost completely undermined operation of the traditional Miami clan system (Callender 1978:684).

In the 20th century, the major subgroups of the Miami descendants were often referred to (by Miamis and some local non-Miamis) as both "clans" and "bands." However, this terminology has been loosely applied, and it is apparent that the Miamis recognize the distinction between traditional subdivisions and the modern subgroups within the tribe. Nonetheless, the large reserve holders in the post-removal period possessed the necessary attributes of traditional band leadership, and the communities that formed around their largess assumed many of the functional characteristics of bands. The leaders' extended families formed the nuclei of their constituencies; other followers were drawn from those Miamis who were economically dependent on them, or otherwise attracted to their leadership. Nearly all the unremoved Miamis were aligned with one of the subgroups, which to a large extent was a condition of remaining. These divisions did not fragment what was left of the Miami tribe in Indiana, but rather reflected a familiar pattern of ordered segmentation.

Post-removal poltical organization. Miami leaders in Indiana following the removal in 1846 operated within, and as representatives of, their respective subgroups, and on a number of occasions took collective action on behalf of the tribe as a whole. These latter activities mostly pertained to treaties, annuities and the legal status of tribal members. The treaty of 1854 involved a formally constituted tribal council of the Indiana Miamis; the leading signature was that of Meshingomesia who was considered to be overall chief at that time. Others who signed were Peconga (Meshingomesia's son), Pimyotomah, Peter Bundy and Buffalo (Kappler 1904 2:646). Meshingomesia was also among the leaders of the organized protests over the 63 names that had been added to the tribal roll of 1859. A protest letter sent in January of that year included Meshingomesia's signature and those of JB Brouilette, Peter Bundy, Pimyotomah and TF Richardville (Brouilette et al. 1859a). ibid). Several council meetings were held in early 1859 to discuss this issue -- at Pimyotomah's house on January 6, at Peter Bundy's on January 10,

and at Gabriel Godfroy's on February 1. This group continued to press for the removal of these names, writing a final protest in January 1866 which included the signatures of Gabriel Godfroy, Meshingomesia and JB Brouilette (MNISI 1984c 49:6). When the government finally acted to remove the added names in 1867, a "letter of appreciation" was sent with the signatures of Gabriel Godfroy, Peter Bundy, Pimyotomah, and Buffalo (MNISI 1984a:28). Meshingomesia's name was not included, however. Meshingomesia's petition to divide his reserve was written later in that same year, and his absence from this correspondence may signal the beginning of a formal split in the leadership of the Indiana Miamis.

Anticipating the final annuity payment in 1881, Gabriel Godfroy, Pimyotomah and Peter Bundy, describing themselves as "headmen of the tribe," wrote the Secretary of Interior (on 1/27/1880) urging that the annuity principal not be divided as planned (MNISI 1984a:31). None of the Meshingomesias were included in this petition, and TF Richardville wrote from Kansas in the same year protesting their efforts to prevent the per capita payments (Richardville 1880). A significant portion of the Miamis in Indiana evidently were also eager to obtain their individual payments. A long list of those who wanted their payments, including many close relatives of the above petitioners, was sent to the government in February 1880 [MNISI 1984c 49:24)]). However, Godfroy, Pimyotomah and Peter Bundy asserted that if the individual payments were made, the money would soon be depleted and that the Miamis would end up in "the poor house or prison" and "others would come to us for sustenance and care in want and sickness and exhaust us...WE DO KNOW THE WANTS OF OUR PEOPLE [capitalized in original]" (anonymous 1880a).

In 1895, all the Indiana Miami subgroups jointly shared in the repayment of annuities that had been incorrectly paid to the persons who were later removed from the 1854 roll. The 1895 payroll listed "headmen" among the signers; Gabriel Godfroy, Peter Godfroy, Peter Bundy, Judson Bundy and Anthony Walker (Pimyotomah's son) (MNISI 1984b:135). Gabriel Godfroy signed as "chief" (Anson 1970:279; see also ICC 1963:4). During this same period, most of these same people were involved in individual and collective efforts to obtain repayments of taxes that Miamis had been paying (and exemptions against future taxation) on reserve land they occupied. Of particular importance, Camillus Bundy, son of Peter and brother of Judson, began an aggressive pursuit of Federal assistance in securing the back taxes. Although not among the signers of the 1895 payroll, he managed to achieve a broad base of support for these efforts, and a formal agreement appointing him agent of Miami interests in this matter evidently

formed the basis of the turn of the century organization which has come to be known as the "Headquarters." This agreement was struck" at a special council meeting of said tribe held in Miami County, Indiana on the 8th day of October 1896" (P. Bundy et al., 1897).

Acting in the capacity of "a chief and attorney in fact of the Miami Indians of Indiana," Camillus Bundy wrote the Secretary of Interior requesting action on the 1880 recommendation of then acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E.J. Brooks, who had determined that the Miamis in Indiana were being taxed illegally and should receive Federal help in securing a refund (Camillus Bundy 1896a, 1896b). Bundy's inquiries met with initial success. In March of 1897, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs initiated action to aid in recovery of the tax payments. However, the Assistant Attorney General rendered an opinion on the case in November of the same year which halted that process by interpreting their status to be outside of Federal jurisdiction (Van Devanter 1897). This adverse decision had far reaching consequences which animated the agenda of the Headquarters organization for many years to come. The Headquarters council drew its members from all the subgroups and represented the interests of Indiana Miamis as a whole.

Gabriel Godfroy had been listed as "chief" on the 1895 payroll, but but neither he nor his son Peter were included among the signatures on the 1896 agreement In an 1896 letter, Camillus Bundy had identified himself as "a chief" (Camillus Bundy 1896a) It is perhaps significant that he did not describe himself as "the chief," but the failure of Gabriel Godfroy (who often was described as "the chief") to ratify this position hints of subgroup tensions over leadership at that time. Camillus' father, Peter Bundy, was the leading signature on the agreement. The signers also included Meshingomesias (but not their leader William Peconga) and a sizable number of people associated with the Godfroy subgroup. Peter Bundy died less than a year after this document was signed. The next record of the Headquarters, in 1902, identifies George Godfroy (Gabriel's nephew) as the chief (W.H. Bundy 1902). William Peconga and Peter Godfroy were members of the council at this point, although Gabriel Godfroy's name still did not appear.

Several of the post-removal leaders were Baptist preachers, who exercised influence from the pulpit -- Peter Bundy, JB Brouilette, Pimyotomah, and TF Richardville. These four men represented three of the four subgroups (Godfroys, Bundys and RL), and they were allied religiously with Meshingomesia, who had also converted to the Baptist faith. The Baptist clerics were

active in the period from the 1850's to about the turn of the century, but their influence never encompassed the whole tribe. Most of the Godfroys and Richardvilles remained Catholic. There were no direct successors to the 19th century Baptist group, and churches assumed decreasing importance in the political and organizational life of Miamis in the 20th century. At least two later Miamis did become preachers, but they were not Baptists, their leadership roles in tribal affairs were minimal and their congregations included non-Miamis.

Within their communities, and with respect to their constituents, the post-removal subgroup leaders arbitrated disputes, sought solutions for shared and individual problems, and served as spokespersons in dealings with others. Leaders in all the post-removal reserve communities directed systematic programs to acquire necessary skills and equipment so the resident families could successfully operate farms. Leaders tended to have the largest share of land and financial resources, but were expected to use their wealth to benefit the group as a whole. Gabriel Godfroy and William Peconga, leaders of the two largest subgroups in the late 19th century, assumed office as wealthy young men and died as paupers, largely the result of efforts to protect their constituents at the expense of their own interests. These two men used their own resources to purchase land occupied by members of their band, and Godfroy personally assumed the legal costs in suits to obtain tax exemptions that would have categorical effects benefiting many people other than the plaintiff. With regard to their individual financial positions, these altruistic investments in maintaining the tribal land base proved to be disastrous.

Jockeying for position among the various leaders, whose active roles in negotiating the removal treaty were what had earned them exemption in the first instance, continued in the post-removal period over control of enrollments, annuities, litigation over treaty rights, and who among the contenders would occupy the position of principal chief. Meshingomesia continued his father's opposition to the mixed blood leaders of the Godfroy and Richardville families (Anson 1970; Carter 1987; Glenn 1987). Rivalries and conflicts flared over the partitioning of the Meshingomesia reserve, when TF Richardville and Peter Bundy were accused of interfering (MNISI 1985f). Gabriel Godfroy's opposition to Meshingomesia's request for allotment grew especially bitter in the 1870's, and Meshingomesia evidently lost his role as chief of all the Indiana Miamis (Lamb and Schultz 1964). Although Gabriel Godfroy is regarded as having succeeded him in this role during the latter part of the century, it appears unlikely that the Meshingomesia group ratified that

leadership.

Subgroup organization. Issues that crystallize and regenerate boundaries between the subgroups have been both substantive and symbolic, historical and contemporary. Grievances first ignited over a century ago have been rekindled at frequent intervals, and are still recounted as explanations for present behavior. The fact that Meshingomesia requested allotment and citizenship in 1867 is still regarded among the Godfroys as a fatal error that cost the whole tribe its tax exempt status (Greenbaum 1989). Similarly, Meshingomesias have argued that greed and trickery by the mixed blood traders, Godfroy and Richardville, led to the impoverished condition of the rest of the Miamis (MI/MNI 1/23/38).

Members of the different subgroups have coalesced around a succession of claims efforts, but also have been linked by kinship and in-group feelings. Although the territorial dimension of subgroup membership became attenuated in the early 20th century, kinship and the crucial relationship between genealogy and eligibility for various treaty benefits have contributed greatly to the perpetuation of these subdivisions. The fact that these groups are largely kin-based has facilitated intergenerational continuity and hereditary leadership succession. (These issues are discussed at length in subsequent sections of this report.)

The petition asserts that the subgroups have been normatively exogamous (i.e., out-marrying) apparently based on prior traditions of clan exogamy. However, it should be noted that most of the Miami marriages have not been between subgroups, but with non-Miamis. As a general principle, clan exogamy provides the basis for systematic cross-cutting ties among clans based on unilineal descent (i.e., inheritance is reckoned through only one line; for the pre-contact Miamis, it was the father's line.) With unilineality, marriages between clans do not confuse the clan identification of the offspring (all children automatically belong to the clan of their father). However, the adoption of bilateral descent by the post-removal Miamis surely tended to complicate and, with the loss of a land base, predictably should have obliterated the original subgroup distinctions.

Marriages between subgroups, especially the many marriages involving children of Jane Bundy, did serve a cross-cutting function, but also caused some evident ambiguity concerning group membership. As an illustration, some of the in-marrying Miamis who applied for allotments from the Meshingomesia reserve were denied (Anson 1970:277-278). Although they claimed to be part of

the Meshingomesia group, these claims were not upheld. Testimony collected in 1873 by the commission charged with partitioning the reserve reveals contention over efforts by leaders of the Bundy and RL subgroups who were accused of trying to get Meshingomesia allotments. The two men may well have been seeking after personal gain, but their involvements were based in part on their kin ties to reserve inhabitants (MNISI 1985f:231, 237-238).

The vast majority of Miami marriages in the late 19th and 20th centuries have not been between the Miami subgroups, but rather have been with non-Miamis. Marriage outside of the tribe is generally associated with a weakening of tribal identity. However, at the subgroup level intermarriage with non-Miamis has actually tended to reinforce subgroup boundaries. In mixed marriages, subgroup membership of the children is unambiguous. White spouses do not belong to any of the subgroups, hence the Miami spouse determines the subgroup identity of the offspring. The activities of the various tribal organizations, especially claims, have both motivated and heightened the salience of subgroup identification among the growing number of descendants of the post-removal Miamis.

The removal treaty permitted the families of Francis Godfroy, Jean B. Richardville and Meshingomesia to remain in Indiana. Frances Slocum's family was subsequently permitted to remain also. These four families formed the core of the post-removal subgroups, but the composition of these groups included other Miamis (non-relatives) who also avoided removal, as well as several individuals from other Indian tribes (e.g., Delaware and Pottawtomi) (Glenn et al. 1977:72-73; Sample 1845; Sinclair 1846a). The Eel River Miamis had been a separate band (not part of the Crane band) with their own reserve, which they ceded in 1828 without consulting Richardville or the other Miami leaders. In 1847, they were also allowed to stay in Indiana (MNISI 1984b:86). Because they were landless, they did not continue to comprise a separate subgroup and mainly settled on Godfroy land and became affiliated with that group.

The two largest subgroups have been (and still are) the Godfroys and the Meshingomesias. Bundys, who are descendants of Frances Slocum, formed a third highly distinctive, though smaller, subgroup. Richardville/Lafontaine descendants account for two of the post-removal subgroups. A large contingent of Richardville descendants, under the leadership of JB Richardville's grandson (Thomas F. Richardville), moved to Kansas and Oklahoma beginning in the 1860's, forming the core of the western branch of the Indiana Miami (as distinct from the Western Miamis proper). Those who remained in the Huntington/Fort Wayne

area, mainly the families of Archangel and Lablonde Richardville and Archangel Lafontaine, formed a small subgroup in that vicinity which the petition labels "Richardville/Lafontaine." All of the members of this subgroup were actually descendants of Richardville, but Lafontaine's marriage to Richardville's daughter and his subsequent emergence as principal chief accounts for the addition of his name to the subgroup label. Additionally Lafontaine's descendants have been very active in tribal affairs.

Although most of the Eel River group was incorporated into the Godfroy group, both through marriage and common residence, echoes of their separate status were still evident in disputes over the 1895 enrollment, and these same issues have periodically resurfaced in relation to more recent claims activities. For all practical purposes, this is merely a genealogical artifact; there has not been a separate Eel River group for quite some time.

The Mongosas, who were also aligned with the Godfroys, descend from the children of Mongosa (son of Betsy Whitewolf, a sister of Pimyotomah). The Mongosas have retained a somewhat separate identity, and did not always side with the Godfroys during the 20th century. On several occasions, the Mongosa family has supplied mediators in disputes between other subgroups.

Rivalries between bands and their leaders was a common feature of pre-removal Miami politics. In the post-removal period, the core of contention among subgroups focused on the allotment (in 1873) and citizenship of the Meshingomesia band in 1881. Their allotment became the basis of government arguments that all the Indiana Miamis had surrendered tribal status. Although the 1897 ruling nominally distinguished between the status of Meshingomesias and the others, the Dawes Act of 1887 was cited as having conferred citizenship on the other Indiana Miamis. Even these distinctions, however, became blurred in later decisions by the courts and Secretaries of Interior.

During the late 1870's, after the allotment legislation was passed, intergroup hostilities were at an extremely high pitch. Miami folklore of that period recounts mutual curses and witchcraft that allegedly resulted first in the deaths of a large number of Godfroys, followed by a counter-curse that killed 12 Meshingomesias (including the chief himself) in 1879 and the early 1880's (Rafert 1982: 179-180). These folktales reflect the bitterness that existed between groups during that period.

In the aftermath of Meshingomesia citizenship, Godfroys and other non-Meshingomesias sought repeatedly to distance themselves from

the effects of this new status, arguing that they were still wards entitled to trust protection for their land. By the late 1920's, however, only the Godfroys had land left to protect. They felt that joining forces with the Meshingomesias would further jeopardize their legal position, and they actively opposed efforts by the Meshingomesias to press their own claims (Vogel 1980:26; MNISI 1989c).

At this same time, the Meshingomesias began actively petitioning the government to restore their tribal status, arguing that Meshingomesia had no right to relinquish it. They also contended that they were the authentic Miamis, the only ones to have had a communal reserve, and that the mixed blood traders Godfroy and Richardville were never really chiefs (Mix 1858:11).

There had been a long simmering struggle between the full-blood Meshingomesia, and the half-Miami traders -- Richardville, Godfroy and Lafontaine. Metocina, Meshingomesia's father, had opposed the growing influence of mixed bloods in the tribe, and his band was one of the few that had not intermarried with traders (Carter 1987; Glenn 1987). Only Meshingomesia succeeded in, or even labored at, maintaining a formal "communal" status for his group.

Conflict between Meshingomesia and the other post-removal leaders could be taken to reflect different orientations towards acculturation -- the traditionals on one side and the progressives on the other (Anson 1970; Butler 1901; Carter 1987; Glenn 1987). However, the dichotomy was less clear cut than it may appear to be. Assimilationism, individualism and class distinctions affected all the sub-groups. Moreover, all of the subgroups initiated efforts to resist and combat the divisive effects of these changes. Meshingomesia's group may have appeared to be more traditional, but the other Miamis also preserved significant aspects of their cultural identity and drew a clear distinction between themselves and non-Miamis.

Although Meshingomesia was a traditional full blood chief, he eagerly embraced European farming techniques in an effort to improve the economic circumstances of his group. Commercial farming tended to undermine collective traditions. One of Meshingomesia's problems in the post-removal era was enforcing communal ownership of resources on the reserve. Members of his band came to regard their portions of the reserve as family plots, and were "reluctant to build houses and barns and make other permanent improvements unless they have the title to the land upon which they makes such improvements" (MNISI 1984b:94). These demands and Meshingomesia's inability to control private

alienation of communal timber were major factors responsible for the allotment petition (in addition to his inability to protect against white encroachment). The cash economy also brought European comforts. Meshingomesia's son, Nelson Tawataw, lived in a fine brick house that was surely the envy of his white neighbors, and possibly evoked envy among some of his Miami neighbors. Although Metocina's band was the only Miami group that did not intermarry with whites (Glenn 1987), the same was not true of Meshingomesia's band, many of whom had white spouses.

Members of the other subgroups, many of whom were decidedly not wealthy, could not be regarded as more "culturally assimilated" during the late 19th century. The Miami language was maintained among the families living on the Godfroy and Ozashinquah reserves (and the Richardville descendants living in Fort Wayne and Huntington), along with tribal lore and religious and healing practices that included elements that were traditionally Miami (Meguinness 1891:167; Mongosa 1939). Despite the introduction of plow agriculture, traditional subsistence practices of communal hunting, fishing, gathering wild plants and cultivation of native plants remained extremely important. The continued importance of these practices was the substantive basis for later Miami efforts to gain exemption from state game laws.

Blood quantum differences between the Meshingomesias and the other subgroups are complicated by the fact that an important component of the "mixed blood" segment of the Miamis originated in white captives, as opposed to in-marrying traders. Frances Slocum and JB Brouilette's father were phenotypically white, but socially and culturally Indian. Frances Slocum never learned English and evinced little interest in returning to, or even interacting with, the white world she had been removed from as a small child. Her children may have been half white, but they were all Miami. The major distinction between Meshingomesia's band and the others that have been labeled as mixed blood or "metis" (Glenn 1987) was not blood quantum or cultural orientation, but rather the economic and political consequences of the "communal status" of Meshingomesia's reserve.

The unique status of the Meshingomesia reserve resulted in different treatment by the Federal government, which in turn led to divergent and essentially competitive political strategies by the Godfroys and Meshingomesias. Beginning in the 1870's, both groups asserted their own distinctiveness and repudiated the other's legitimacy. Prospective material benefits and accumulating personal animosities sharpened the conflict and accentuated the differences. The other subgroups have allied variously with one side or the other. RL families have tended to

join with the Godfroys. The Bundys, who had marriage ties with both, were initially strongly associated with the Godfroys, but in later years (after the loss of their land) were allied with the Meshingomesias.

Subgroup tensions, even during the most contentious periods, have not served to weaken an overall sense of Miami identity. Alliances and alignments have fluctuated, and there have also been periodic disputes within subgroups, but for much of the post-removal period there has been an explicitly coalitional relationship involving all the subgroups. Mutual recognition of their common identity as Miamis is reflected in the various organizations that included members of all the groups. The Headquarters, which lasted until the 1920's, the tri-band council in the 1960's, and the reorganized council of the late 1970's included all the contending factions.

Greatest animosities and divisions occurred in the 1930's and 40's, when both sides were engaged in letter-writing campaigns undercutting each other's positions with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and publicly berating each other's ancestors. Even during that period, however, the warring subgroups still came together at the annual reunion, in pageant productions, and in the court cases involving treaty fishing rights. Successes with the Indian Claims Commision (ICC) and the initiation of Federal acknowledgment efforts helped to politically unify the subgroups in the current generation.

From removal to the present, the subgroups have functioned as levels of sociopolitical organization intermediate between the nuclear family and the tribe as a whole. These are not neatly bounded corporate groups, like clans, and there are clear indications that these distinctions have become less salient during the past generation; but they continue to exist in the formal structure of the tribal council, and as informal social units based on kinship. In this regard, the subgroups are an important axis of continuity with the social and political structure of the Miamis who remained in Indiana, and represent a feature of community life that has distinguished their social organization from that of non-Indians living in the same area.

Godfroy.

The progenitor of the Godfroy band was Jacques Godfroy, reportedly of noble French lineage, escaping before the Jacobins. He found his way to the Miami village of Chief Osage, whose daughter he married. Their son Francis was born near Fort Wayne in 1788. Francis distinguished himself in the Battle of

Mississinewa, when he raised a war party from the Osah (Osandiah) village to join in the attack on Campbell. Osah had succeeded Little Turtle as war chief (Butler 1901), followed by Deaf Man. Francis (aka Polozwah, or Little Thunder), then succeeded Deaf Man. Godfrey's election as war chief in 1830, which Butler (1901:231) attributes to his exploits in 1812, is represented folklorically as resulting from a contest between him and a bullying village chief named Majenica (Godfroy 1961:109). However it was acquired, the title was by then ceremonial, given the cessation of hostilities. His position as a leader in the Miami tribe, however, yielded large tracts of land, and his entrepreneurial activities brought him great wealth.

Francis Godfroy had two wives: Sacachequah, a Pottawatomi; and Sacaquatah (Catherine Coleman), whose father was a white captive and mother was a Miami daughter of Osandiah. These two unions produced 12 children altogether. Members of his large family and other remnants of Osandiah's village inhabited tracts of reserve land surrounding his trading house near Peru. The landless Eel River Miamis also settled on this land in the 1830's.

When Francis Godfroy died in 1840, leadership of the band passed to his son-in-law, Black Raccoon (Wappapinsha), also known as George Hunt. Before removal, Black Raccoon had been leader of a village "just south of Wabash" (Butler 1901:228); he married Francis' daughter Frances in about 1830. He delivered the eulogy for Francis Godfroy's funeral (Lamb and Schultz 1964:102). Pimyotomah, the brother of Francis' second wife and a grandson of Osandiah, was also a leader of the band following Francis' death. When Black Raccoon died in 1860, Gabriel Godfroy (son of Francis) succeeded him as leader of the group, although Pimyotomah continued to exercise considerable influence until his death in 1889.

Gabriel Godfroy was born in 1834, only 6 years before his father died. Although not the eldest, his personal characteristics early distinguished him as a leader among the Godfroy Miamis. At age 20, he signed the treaty of 1854; five years later, one of the council meetings about the enrollment problem was held at his house. While still in his twenties, he filed several law suits over reserve property, and he began acquiring large amounts of the reserve land that his relatives were rapidly selling off at that time. His early efforts to consolidate the landholdings of the Godfroy group were continued into the next century, but with diminishing success.

The father of 19 children by three different wives, his children and grandchildren accounted for a large share of the reserve

population. In 1880, the Godfroy reserve held about 130 people (including 15 Eel River Miamis) (MNISI 1989e:1). In addition to Gabriel's family, the Godfroy band also included families of his many siblings and half-siblings. Pimyotomah and Betsy Whitewolf (Gabriel's aunt and uncle) had reserve land nearby. Other families who sought refuge on the Godfroy reserve included the Goodboos and the Lavontures, who were return migrants from the west.

Eel River families (including the Avelines, Lafalliers and Walters) settled on Godfroy land and, in some cases, married into the Godfroy families. Annuities came to the Eel River Miamis on a payroll separate from that for the other Indiana Miamis. The last Eel River payroll was in 1889. There was also a group of Eel River Miamis in Oklahoma who were incorporated into the Weas (Anson 1970). Conflicts have periodically erupted over charges that Eel River Miamis were gaining wrongful access to Federal benefits belonging to both the Indiana and Western Miamis. Marriages between Eel Rivers and the Godfroy group offered the possibility of dual enrollment of offspring, which gave rise to much of the contention in Indiana. Although they remained administratively separate, the Eel River group was not politically autonomous after the removal; they had neither leaders nor reserve land of their own.

The Mongosa family was another segment which maintained a relatively separate identity, but was politically and territorially aligned with the Godfroy group. They descend from Betsy Whitewolf, a sister of both Pimyotomah and Catherine Coleman (Francis Godfroy's second wife). Pimyotomah, who lived until 1889, was a leader in his own right. In 1845, Pimyotomah was part of the Miami delegation who went west to inspect the land designated for the removal, and in the following year he accompanied Lafontaine west with the removal party. Pimyotomah signed the 1854 treaty, and was appointed by Meshingomesia to serve as spokesman for the Indiana Miamis when a delegation travelled to Washington in connection with the treaty. Pimyotomah hosted one of the 1859 council meetings about the added names, and wrote or signed numerous letters to Washington in the 1860's, 70's and 80's. He was also a Baptist preacher who was closely allied with Peter Bundy, leader of the Bundy group during the same period. Part of Pimyotomah's family (the Walkers) went west late in the 19th century, but many of his children and grandchildren remained in Butler Township and married into other Miami families.

Betsy Whitewolf, who was much older than Pimyotomah, had one child -- a son named Mongosa, who was five years older than his

uncle (b. 1809 and 1814, respectively). Mongosa had eight children, who married into all of the Miami subgroups. After removal Betsy Whitewolf and Pimyotomah occupied small adjoining reserves on the north side of the Mississenwa River, about equidistant between Mt. Pleasant and the Ozashinquah reserve. When she died in 1870, Betsy Whitewolf left her 80 acres to four of her grandchildren who were living there: sons John and Robert each got 30 acres; daughters Mary and Nancy got 10 acres each. Gabriel Godfroy was the executor of the will. These heirs and several descendants of Pimyotomah loosely comprised the Mongosa family in Butler Township.

John "Bull" Mongosa was the oldest of this family and became a well known leader in the Butler Township community. He was not a preacher, but was regarded as a spiritual figure who dispensed advice and healing (Greenbaum 1989; Mongosa 1939). His son, Joe, was married to Eclista Pim Walker (a granddaughter of Pimyotomah). They raised a large family on some of Pimyotomah's reserve land, and Joe Mongosa later became active in the Godfroy tribal council. John Bull's daughter Mary was considered to be a "medicine woman." Her husband, Nathaniel Bradley, was a white doctor who lived in the area. The family was well known to the other Miami families in the area who relied on Mary especially for medical care and midwifery. Her family took in orphans and unwed mothers, and had a reputation for generosity.

Mary Mongosa Bradley was also active in tribal politics and was among the signers of the 1897 "Headquarters" agreement (along with her father) (P. Bundy et al., 1897). Mary's daughter, Anna, continued in this role as informal leader and medicine woman, and handed down some of the healing traditions to her own daughters. Anna married John A. Marks, a Meshingomesia Miami. During the past two generations, Anna's two daughters, Carmen Ryan (who died in the mid 1980's) and Lora Siders, have played important roles in mediating between factions of the tribe and in leadership succession at crucial intervals. The Mongosas' alignment with the Godfroys, through Pimyotomah, and with the Meshingomesias, through the Marks family, was an important factor in their ability to negotiate between warring factions.

Families belonging to the Godfroy subgroup during the late 19th and early 20th centuries occupied a sizable amount of good farm land, much of it situated on the Wabash or Mississinewa Rivers. Collectively, and as individuals, the families on the reserve land attempted to establish a livelihood by combining traditional subsistence with the introduction of commercial farming. In both the traditional and innovative aspects of this strategy, Gabriel Godfroy was the clearly acknowledged leader.

In anticipation of the last annuity payment in 1881, Gabriel Godfroy began systematic efforts to train the Miamis to become successful commercial farmers. He also led seasonal hunting expeditions as far away as Wisconsin. Household economies of the reserve families could be largely satisfied by traditional subsistence activities, but there was a persistent and growing need for cash to pay taxes and purchase consumer goods. This was the larger economic problem confronting the reserve families, and Godfroy, who was the wealthiest, assumed the responsibility of finding a solution for that problem. In about 1879, he hired Benjamin Hundley, a white farmer, to teach agricultural techniques to the Godfroy Miamis (Hundley 1939; Rafert 1982). Prior to that he had attempted to obtain the same services less formally by permitting white farmers to use some of his land, in exchange for assistance in teaching the Miamis how to farm (Rafert 1982:24). These efforts proved relatively unsuccessful, and the Miami farmers remained at a competitive disadvantage with the other farmers and landowners in the surrounding vicinity.

Godfroy's principal leadership activities revolved around preserving the land base. During the 1860's, he purchased many parcels of Miami land, which at that time was steadily draining into white ownership (Rafert 1980). The following decade, he commenced a protracted legal struggle to secure tax exemption for the reserve properties. He undertook a string of law suits between 1878 and 1905, the costs of which ultimately left him in poverty.

Gabriel Godfroy was noted for his generosity, which was an important attribute of his leadership (anonymous 1910a, 1910b; Dunn 1919:43). In addition to assuming the costs of introducing commercial agriculture and paying the legal fees associated with the court battles, he paid the fines of "scores" of Indians who got arrested in Butler Township (anonymous 1910a) and served as guardian for many orphaned children. He had cabins built to house landless Miamis who settled on his property after they returned from the west, and he built additional shelters for Miamis dislocated by the sale of part of his property to Hagenbach and Wallace Circus in 1893 (Lamb and Schultz 1964; MNISI 1989c).

Gabriel Godfroy's large family formed the center of a tight knit community centered east of Peru on Godfroy Reserve #9. In the 1880's there were 130 people living on the reserve property. By 1900, that number was unchanged, although the land held by Miami families had shrunk to about half of what it had been 20 years earlier (MNISI 1989e). During the next decade more land was

lost, and there was a gradual attrition in the size of the resident community.

Gabriel Godfroy served as the leader of this community until shortly before his death in 1910. His remaining land had been deeded to children of his son Peter, who was married to Louisa Aveline (an Eel River descendant of chief Little Charley). This group of heirs soon resurrected the legal effort to obtain tax exemption and were to play major leadership roles in the Godfroy group during the 1940's and 50's. His immediate successor in leadership, however, was George Godfroy, who was his nephew (son of his brother William). George Godfroy became the leader of the Headquarters organization sometime before 1902. Gabriel Godfroy was still alive at that time, but his involvement with the Headquarters organization is somewhat unclear. He was not among the signers of the 1897 agreement with Camillus Bundy, nor is he listed on any of the later documents related to the Headquarters. In 1901, however, Gabriel and William Godfroy and William Peconga (leader of the Meshingomesias) sent a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs questioning the 1897 determination that they were citizens (Gabriel Godfroy et al., 1901). The letter refers to a council meeting that had been held at William Godfroy's house. Their inquiry was sent in May; two months later, in July 1901, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reaffirmed the 1897 ruling, and in November 1901, the Indiana Appellate Court ruled against Godfroy's tax suit. In March of the following year, attorneys writing on behalf of the "Tribe of Miami Indians" sought further clarification from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Stark and Denison 1902).

This organization is evidently the same as the Headquarters (MNISI 1984b). The letterhead lists George Godfroy as "chief" and Ross Bundy (Camillus' cousin) as secretary. In 1904 and 1905 documents bearing the name "Headquarters" on the letterhead also list the same officers as in the previous 1902 "Tribe of Miami Indians" (e.g., William Bundy 1905). The Headquarters letterhead also includes the names of William Peconga and Peter Godfroy (Gabriel's oldest son), but not Gabriel. 1905 was the year of Gabriel Godfroy's last law suit, and he was by that time elderly, ailing, landless and impoverished.

George Godfroy was married to Mary Peconga, a granddaughter of Meshingomesia and sister of William Peconga, leader of the Meshingomesia subgroup. His brother-in-law had come to live with him after Peconga lost his land, making George well situated to bridge the two major factions in the joint efforts to restore Miami tribal status. George's sister, Isabel, was married to Judson Bundy (grandson of Frances Slocum and brother of Camillus)

who was also a member of the Headquarters council. Relatively little is recorded concerning George Godfroy's activities as leader. He rarely wrote letters or initiated other actions that were preserved in documents.

The Headquarters alliance began falling apart in 1916 when Camillus Bundy appointed his son, CZ Bundy (more commonly spelled Bondy), to succeed him as "attorney in fact" for the organization. Some of the Headquarters members refused to sign the agreement appointing him to this position, and there were more defections later. In 1917 and again in 1920, George Godfroy and Ross Bundy (the Headquarters secretary) sent letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs protesting CZ's activities and reasserting George's position as leader of the Headquarters (Ross Bundy 1917, 1920). The principals in the Headquarters organization, all of whom formally opposed CZ, included John Bundy, Joe Mongosa, Peter Bruell (both grandsons of Mongosa) and Willis Peconga (nephew of William). George Godfroy was listed as chief.

Until he died in 1929, George Godfroy evidently was able to maintain unity among the subgroups in the Headquarters, in spite of dissension over the activities of some of the Bundys. His successors over the next two generations, however, pursued a divergent strategy, in which the Godfroys acted on their own under the banner of "individual Miamis" or the "Francis Godfroy band." Beginning in the 1930's, the leaders of the Godfroy group were Francis Godfroy (Gabriel's son) who died in 1938, and three sons of Peter Godfroy -- Ira S. and Clarence Godfroy (who survived into the early 1960's) and Lawrence Godfroy (who died in the early 1980's). Peter Godfroy's children had become the owners of the land that was the object of Gabriel Godfroy's last tax suit.

The temporary tax exemption that Godfroy won in 1905 expired in 1915. For a few years, the heirs paid taxes on the land. In the early 1920's they ceased doing so, initiating a new round of legal actions based on the treaty reserve status of their land. Clarence Godfroy wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1921 seeking help with their taxation problem (MNISI 1984a:42). He was refused assistance on the basis that the Indiana Miamis were considered to be citizens. The heirs stopped paying their taxes anyway, and in 1925 land held by Ira S. Godfroy and his sisters, Elizabeth Coiner and Eva Bossely, was sold at a tax sale.

When the Headquarters apparently dissolved in 1929, Camillus Bundy was waging his own land struggle. His last efforts failed in that same year, which partly inspired the birth of the Miami

Nation in 1930. This organization was led by Meshingomesias and Bundys. It did not include the Godfroys, and they actively sought to disassociate themselves from it. There were several factors that prevented a total split, however. These included the Maconaquah pageant and treaty fishing cases, both of which were occurring during the 1930's. Clarence Godfroy, who was an ardent conservator of traditional Miami culture, was one of the main organizers of the Maconaquah pageant, along with Ross Bundy, who had been secretary of the Headquarters and was initially active in the Miami Nation. Bundy's mother was a cousin of Clarence Godfroy's father, one of several kin ties between the Godfroys and the Bundys. Many of the Godfroys were active participants in Miami cultural events and were among the leaders in efforts to fight state game laws.

Miamis in all the subgroups regarded exemption from game laws and taxes as an important treaty right (MNISI 1984b:149; Rafert 1982:10). Moreover, the subsistence of Miami families was heavily dependent on the ability to hunt and fish (MNISI 1990a). Prohibitions against spearfishing, which Miamis flagrantly violated, became a significant issue around which the different factions coalesced in spite of their other disagreements. William Godfroy, Gabriel's youngest son, was a major figure in the fishing cases. Several of the Meshingomesias were also involved, and the Miami Nation lent its formal support for the defendants in these cases.

Although the state of Indiana had imposed restrictions on fishing as early as 1899, there was little effective enforcement until 20 years later, and even then game wardens generally gave tacit approval of Miami rights to fish (Rafert 1982:160). During the 1930's, however, there were several arrests of Miamis for illegal spearfishing. These early cases were thrown out when they got to court, but in 1937, the state legislature tightened game restrictions and directed a campaign of tough enforcement that brought the long ambiguous question of Miami game rights to the fore. A broad coalition of Miamis undertook to test the law by getting arrested.

William ("Wild Bill") Godfroy, was a major figure in the fishing cases. He went before the Miami Nation tribal council in December 1937 asking for support in fighting the new state game laws. Minutes from the Miami Nation meeting two months earlier (October 1937) also referred to William Godfroy as the person to contact for those interested in pursuing test cases on fishing. This was an intensely hostile period in relations between the Godfroys and the Miami Nation. In the October meeting, the Miami Nation had listened approvingly as their claims lawyer expressed

the view that "Gabriel Godfroy [William's deceased father] was not a chief, but an interpreter" (MN/MNI 10/31/37). A few months later, they recorded the fact that Sen. Griswold had labeled Francis Godfroy, JB Richardville and Francis Lafontaine as the "crookedest Indians he ever knew of" (MN/MNI 1/23/38). William Godfroy made several appearances before the otherwise hostile Miami Nation and was able to convince them (and their lawyer) that game rights were a shared issue.

Arrests for violations of the new fishing laws did not occur until 1939, although Frank Marks (a Meshingomesia) had been arrested in 1938 on charges of keeping a pet coon, and his case was included in the general test of Miami game rights. In early 1939, Emmett and Lamoine Marks (Meshingomesias) were arrested for spearfishing. In December, William Godfroy was arrested for the same offense, along with Frank Marks (the coon owner) and Elzie and Elmer Bruell (Mongosas). Their trials offered occasions for public displays of Miami identity and tribal solidarity. Elijah Marks and other members of the Miami Nation council attended in a mass show of support. William Godfroy came dressed in "full tribal regalia" (anonymous 1939c). During the period of the controversy, the Miamis staged public demonstrations of their heritage. "As an auxiliary to their fight, they revived old tribal customs and held regular pow wows, to which they invited some of the jurists before whom they appeared" (anonymous 1940e). When Frank Marks, one of the defendants, died in 1940, his funeral became another vehicle for public demonstrations of tribal solidarity (anonymous 1940e). In spite of these efforts to persuade the court and the public that the Miamis should retain their traditional fishing rights, the courts ruled that they were "jurisdictional citizens" and had relinquished their rights as Indians (anonymous 1940c).

The same year that William Godfroy was defending himself in court over the fishing issue, his nieces and nephews were beginning their own court fight to hold on to what was left of the Godfroy reserve. In 1939, the Godfroy heirs were ordered to vacate the land that had been sold for taxes in 1925. Charles and Elizabeth Soames had recently bought the land from A.W. Zimmerman, who had obtained the deed at the tax sale. The Soames went to court in an effort to quiet the title on their new property (US District Court 1943). When the matter was finally decided in 1943, the Godfroy heirs lost.

The unsuccessful court battle reactivated the Godfroy council (GBMI). This was the separate Godfroy organization which had been variously called the "Francis Godfroy Band" and the "Individual Miamis." This group had been operating at least

since the late 1920's (Francis Godfroy 1929, 1933), but written minutes are available beginning on March 6, 1944. The impending ICC was perhaps another factor responsible for formally chartering the Godfroy organization. The new organization was a branch of the League of Nations of North American Indians, and the first meeting was attended by Howard LaHurreau (a Pottawatomi), who was the league's Indiana organizer. Clarence Godfroy was elected chairman and Ira S. Godfroy was vice chair. Eva Bossley (who had also been involved with the land suit) was secretary. The new council included Elmer and Elzie Bruell (defendants in the fishing cases) and other Mongosas, as well as Godfroys and at least one RL (Richard Witt).

The Indian Claims Act was passed in August 1946, and in November 1947, the Godfroy council decided to contract with a law firm to press for a claims award. Initially, there was disagreement over who should be eligible to share in any ensuing award. Some members felt that Meshingomesia and Richardville heirs should be excluded, but William Godfroy argued that the 1895 payroll list should be the basis for eligibility (which would include all the subgroups). Godfroy's motion for greater inclusion was adopted by a council vote of 8 to 1. This was followed by another motion by William Godfroy to continue to fight was hunting and fishing -- rights (GBMI 11/15/47).

Two more years passed before they were able to secure an attorney to represent their claims. In the meantime, John Owens (a Richardville descendant from Huntington) had been made a council member. Meshingomesias and Bundys were still not involved, however, and their own organization (Miami Nation) had languished with the death of David Bundy in 1943 and the ill health of Elijah Marks, who died in 1948. The Godfroy council dropped the "Individual/Francis Godfroy" designation in favor of the name "The Miami Indians of Indiana," but there was continued opposition to the inclusion of Meshingomesias. However, the discussion centered more on whether to permit them into the Godfroy organization, rather than excluding them a priori from any judgment award. "The councilmen thought it best not to take them in. It was decided to let them stay in their own group but come in on our filing, let the government decide" (GBMI 2/14/53).

With the assistance of Tom Pee Saw of the League of Nations of North American Indians, the Indiana Miamis had entered their claim pursuant to the treaty of 1818 (Docket 124). The Western Miamis, in the meantime, were also pursuing claims (Docket 67) under the same treaty. These two claims were consolidated in 1954, and in 1956 the ICC ruled that payments to the tribe in 1818 had been deficient in the amount of $5,277,000. The Godfroy

council (aka Indiana Miamis) secured a favorable ruling from the ICC in 1958 giving them equal standing with the Western Miamis.

The ICC award for the Miamis amounted to 75 cents per acre. On January 6, 1957 a special meeting was held at the Eagles Hall in Peru for purposes of voting to accept the award. Approximately 300 people (representing all the subgroups) attended this meeting; Ira S. Godfroy presided. There was much heated discussion about whether or not to appeal this amount or to accept what had been offered. Ira resisted a formal vote on this issue, but two people (from Meshingomesia and RL families) forced a vote (GBMI 1/657). A majority voted in favor of accepting the offer (256 to 41) (anonymous 1957). At the urging of Ira Godfroy and on advice of their attorneys, however, the council overruled the vote and filed an appeal, and the offer was ultimately increased to $1.15 per acre.

Success in the ICC bolstered the influence of the Godfroy organization, but did not quiet factional strife. By this time most Miamis were aware of the practical need for tribal unity, but the question of leadership over this unified group was more contentious than ever (Greenbaum 1989). Ira Godfroy died in 1961, and his brother Lawrence, a resident of Indianapolis, was chosen by the Godfroy council to succeed him (GBMI 2/5/61).

At this juncture, William F. Hale, a Meshingomesia from Muncie, asserted his own leadership, designating himself to be Ira Godfroy's successor (anonymous 1961a). He was supported in this by H. LaHurreau and Tom Pee Saw of the League of North American Indians (changed to the Long House League of North American Indians), who had previously worked with the Godfroy council. Initially, Hale also had the support of some former Miami Nation members, as well as several who had been active on the Godfroy council (Clarence Godfroy, John Owens and Pete Mongosa). Within a month, however, the latter three individuals resigned from the council, and not too long after, Elijah Marks' grandsons also defected.

The Godfroys retrenched under Lawrence Godfroy's leadership, formally amending their by-laws in 1963. The Richardville descendants and many of the Mongosas also lined up with the Godfroys. The following year, Francis Shoemaker, grandson of Elijah Marks, wrested control of the Miami Nation from WF Hale, although Hale failed to concede his loss (MNISI 1989b 1:26). Shoemaker had been selected by his grandfather to become leader of the Miami Nation before the latter's death in 1948, and had been personally involved in filing the 1937 charter of incorporation (Greenbaum 1989).

For a time, there were three claimants to the title of chief of the Miami Indians in Indiana -- Lawrence Godfroy, Francis Shoemaker, and William F. Hale (anonymous 1972). Between May 21, 1961 (MII 1961b) and February 12, 1967 (GBMI 2/12/67), the Godfroy council held no recorded meetings, although they continued to be active (anonymous 1965).

During this period, the center of Miami political activities shifted to the Meshingomesias. In October 1964, Francis Shoemaker had regained leadership and reactivated the Miami Nation charter, and early in the following year he reportedly reached a formal accord with the Godfroy group. "Apparently, a letter was signed to this effect, but it has not appeared in any of the tribal archives. The tribe had reached a degree of harmony which, though not perfect, was sufficient to allow the claims process to move forward relatively smoothly" (MNISI 1989b 1:27). This letter was likely destroyed along with the records of other activities by the Miami Nation under Shoemaker in a fire at the house of Mina Brooke, the secretary for the organization (Greenbaum 1989).

While all sides waited for the claims process, tax exemption again surfaced as an issue of major concern for the Godfroys. With the assistance of lawyers from the Native American Rights Fund, Oliver Godfroy (brother of Elizabeth, Eva, Ira S. and Clarence) brought suit in US district court in 1974, in a renewed effort to win tax exemption for land he owned that was part of the Godfroy reserve (US District Court 1977a). Oliver (also known as Swimming Turtle) was a well known figure, both within and outside of the Miami community in Peru (Vogel 1980; MNISI 1989c; anonymous 1977a). Like his older brother Clarence, he was highly interested in Miami traditions and culture. During the earlier tax case involving his brothers and sisters, Oliver had been working in Detroit. Some thirty years after their loss, he undertook to test this issue again. In this case, however, the court ruled in his favor.

The decision, which was not rendered until 1977, came only two weeks before his death. It was primarily a symbolic victory, and the small parcel of land (79 acres) he was able to salvage from the decision dwindled rapidly after his death. Presently, his niece, Louise Hay, is still in possession of a fragment of this land (1 1/3 acres), all that remains of the vast acreage that Francis Godfroy left to his heirs when he died in 1840 (Greenbaum 1989).

The claims and court victories in the 1960's and 1970's represented

a reversal of fortunes after two generations of unsuccessful efforts by the Miamis to regain treaty rights. The Godfroys had finally reconciled with the Meshingomesias under the leadership of Francis Shoemaker. All of the factions were able to unite in pursuit of Federal acknowledgment, and by the early 1980's the tribal council included members of the Godfroy, RL, Bundy and Meshingomesia subgroups. Lawrence Godfroy continued to be identified as the Godfroy subgroup leader and had the added title of "last heritage chief of the Miamis" (MNISI 11/28/81).

In terms of descendant members, the Godfroys represent the largest subgroup by a factor greater than two; more than half of the contemporary Indiana Miamis are descended from Godfroys or the other families associated with the Godfroy reserve. Out of 4288 tribal members, 2160 (50.3%) are in this subgroup category, compared with 860 Meshingomesias, 857 RLs and 411 Bundys. A large proportion of all the descendants of the Godfroy group (19%) live in the town of Peru, Indiana; 95% of the Miamis living in Peru are Godfroy group descendants. Peru is also the single largest settlement of Indiana Miamis; 454 tribal members live in a town of about 15,000 people. Peru is the present location of the tribal office of the Miami Nation of Indiana.

Meshingomesia.

The Meshingomesia band originated under the chieftainship of Osandiah, who was succeeded by his son Atawataw, and he in turn by his son Metocina. Osandiah was reportedly the older brother of Pacanne. He represented the tribe in a meeting with President Washington, a distinction that allegedly resulted in his murder at the hands of jealous tribesmen (Butler 1901: 223). In the latter part of the 18th century, Osandiah moved his group into Ohio, but under Metocina they returned to the Wabash area and acknowledged the principal chieftainship of Pacanne (Butler 1901:220). Metocina was the leader of this band in 1812, when American forces attacked the village.

Metocina had seven children by as many as four different wives. His band also included several of his first wife's children from her two former marriages. Meshingomesia, the oldest son of Metocina, took over leadership of the band when his father died in 1832. He was the acknowledged headman for the next 47 years and strongly influenced the overall course of tribal affairs. A full-blood who never learned English, he evidently conducted his office in a relatively traditional manner (Glenn 1987:12). In the post-removal period, Meshingomesia retained a formal "communal" status for his band, which facilitated this style of leadership. Meshingomesia also attempted to lead a transition to

commercial farming for the inhabitants of the reserve and provided them with both a church and school.

When Francis Lafontaine died in 1847, Meshingomesia became his successor as leader of the Indiana Miamis (P p. 107). However, even before Lafontaine died, Meshingomesia had signed a letter to President Polk in 1846 as the "chief" of the Indiana Miamis (cited in MNISI 1984b:107). He had opposed Lafontaine's election to as principal chief and had been one of the losing contenders when it was decided in 1841. Meshingomesia was one of the Indiana Miami headmen who signed the 1854 treaty, and he led the protests in 1859 against the addition of names to the tribal roll. In 1867, he petitioned to have his reserve allotted individually. This petition came in the same year that the Attorney General finally agreed to remove the names that had been added to the tribal roll. Meshingomesia was particularly ardent on this latter issue and actively sought to remove the names of these individuals, who were either descendants of Richardville or members of Flat Belly's band which had joined the Pottawatomies after removal (MNISI 1984b: 92). Meshingomesia was also selected to be a delegate to Washington for discussions with the Western Miamis in 1869, but declined to attend because he claimed he was too poor to pay the expenses of going (Wines 1869).

Although Meshingomesia had endeavored to maintain his father's reserve land as a communal reservation, he was impeded by legal anomalies in their collective tenure. Because the reserve title was held communally, individual land holders were unable to demonstrate legal rights to their property or the timber and other resources contained on it. These problems in addition to internal pressures forced Meshingomesia to agree to voluntary allotment and citizenship for his band, effecting a radical reversal of their prior "communal" status. The change of status occurred in stages. The petition was made in 1867, the reserve was surveyed and partitioned into individual allotments in 1873, and the Meshingomesia reserve holders became citizens in 1881.

Documents describing the allotment process indicate the relative size and composition of the Meshingomesia band in the 1870's.

> The Meshingomesia family in 1840 had 56 members, of whom 14 were still living in 1873. In 1873, 43 persons were direct descendants of the original 56. There were also 6 women from other tribes or families who had married into the group and were equally entitled with the preceding members to full allotments. The commissioners compiled lists of persons in each group and decided that

only 63 people [43 + 14 + 6] were eligible for allotments. They also filed a list of 55 persons who claimed membership in the family, but whose claims were disallowed (Anson 1970: 277-278).

Families on the eligible list included: Meshingomesia and his wife; son Charles Peconga and members of his large family; son John Tawataw and family; widow and survivors of Meshingomesia's brother Chapendoceah; widow and survivors of his half-brother, Captain Dixon. Also receiving allotments were the families of two persons who had been formally adopted by the Meshingomesia band -- the Pottawatomi Waucoon, and Jane Newman, whose husband was a Delaware. Seven other farms were allotted to unnamed family members (Winger 1970 cited in Glenn et al 1977:73).

William Peconga, Meshingomesia's grandson, became leader in 1879, two years before the allotment was finalized and during a period when death stalked his family. In addition to his grandfather, the chief, 11 other Meshingomesias died in 1879. Peconga and his brothers began a coordinated effort to reassemble large parcels of reserve land and develop new farming techniques. Their efforts failed in the 1890's, and the remaining reserve tracts were rapidly lost in mortgage foreclosures.

The Peconga brothers were the sons of Charles Pegonga, Meshingomesia's oldest son. His other son, John Tawataw, died in 1879 (as did John's oldest son, Nelson). Many of the other reserve families were descended from Chapendoceah, Meshingomesia's brother, who had 16 children. At least three of these were adopted, including "Nancy J." Lenanzoquah, the mother of Elijah Marks (future leader of the Meshingomesias), and the Pottowatomie Waucoon. Another large segment of the group descended from Meshingomesia's half-brother, Captain Dixon. He died before the removal, but his two children, Hanna and Charlie, had large families, members of which later became active in tribal affairs.

By the first World War, a mass exodus from the foreclosed properties had led many of the Meshingomesia families into Marion, Fort Wayne and South Bend. During this period, the Meshingomesia group was fragmented, and leadership over the scattered families is uncertain. Marion was the closest town and is relatively large among the towns in this general region. In the early 1890's, a large number of displaced families moved to Marion and found work in the factories. Among them was Elijah Marks, son of Chapendoceah's adopted daughter. His father was believed to be Commodore P. Marks, a white man who had been extensively involved in the sales of Meshingomesia land in the 1880's.

Captain Dixon's daughter Hanna was also married to a white man named Marks (Abraham). These two unions account for the prevalence of the Marks surname among the Meshingomesia Miamis; it is also reported that some members of the larger Chapendoceah family assumed the Marks surname, although they were not directly related to either Commodore or Abraham. Elijah Marks later emerged as the leader of Meshingomesia group and Marion became the site of the meetings of tribal council.

William and Peter Peconga and several others displaced from the reserve moved in with the Godfroys, and became involved with the Headquarters organization. Meetings for the Headquarters were held in the church on the Meshingomesia reserve, and the Meshingomesia problems were prominent on the agenda. Members of the Marks family in Marion also attended these meetings (MNISI 1985b 1). William Peconga died in 1916. In that same year, C.Z. Bondy succeeded his father Camillus as "attorney in fact" which began to split the Headquarters organization. In the aftermath, there were Pecongas allied with both sides (MNISI 1984b:145-146). During this period, Miami politics were dominated by the Bundys, on the one hand, and the emergent "individual" Godfroys, on the other.

In the teens and 1920's there was a secondary migration of Meshingomesias out of Marion into Wabash. One important example was Lillie Marks, daughter of Elijah. Her second husband was David Bundy, Camillus' step-son who had also moved to Wabash during that time to work for the fire department. David and Lillie Marks Bundy were very active in the Miami Nation organization in the 1930's and early 40's. His father-in-law was chief of the Miami Nation during that same time. Lillie's children from an earlier marriage included Francis Shoemaker, who also became chief of the Miami Nation in the next generation. Francis Shoemaker was David Bundy's step son. When Kim Bundy finally lost his land and was too frail to live on his own, he moved in with David's family in Wabash, and he became very close to Francis Shoemaker before he died (MNISI 1985b 1).

In the late 1920's, a new organization was formed by Camillus Bundy, David Bundy and Elijah Marks. Although Camillus Bundy was evidently the organizer of this first meeting (MNISI 1985b 1), failing health caused him to cease involvement. David Bundy and his cousin Ross Bundy (formerly secretary of the Headquarters) were very active, and Elijah Marks was named chief. In 1930, a contract was drawn up between the Miami Nation and CZ Bondy, Camillus' son, but this relationship proved to be short-lived. The Miami Nation attracted a large number of Meshingomesias, especially those living in Marion. Marks' leadership was more

sectarian than Peconga's had been, and he focused his appeals on the distinctive status of the Meshingomesia reserve. In 1930, Elijah Shapp, a cousin of Elijah Marks who lived on the same block in Marion (E. Wiley St.) began writing letters to the Secretary of Interior on behalf of the Meshingomesia descendants, arguing that they were still Indians and should not have been made citizens in 1881. Between January 1930 and September 1933, Shapp wrote at least 20 letters in which he repeatedly asserted the claim that Meshingomesia Miamis were entitled to land or compensation from the Federal Government.

Most of the Bundys remained allied with Marks and the Meshingomesias when the Miami Nation was formally chartered in 1937, although many of the Bundys left the organization in the following year. For the next two decades, members of the Miami Nation contended sharply with the Godfroy group, variously known as "Individuals," the "Francis Godfroy band" and the "Miami Tribe of Indiana." Members of the Miami Nation also contended sharply with each other. Initially, these were disputes involving Bundys -- CZ, David and Ross. In the post World War II period, especially after Elijah Marks died in 1948, there was a hiatus in the activities of the Miami Nation (recorded minutes stop in 1942 shortly before the death of David Bundy). Oral accounts indicate that Francis Shoemaker, Elijah Marks' grandson, became the Meshingomesia leader in the late 1940's or early 1950's (MNISI 1985b 1; Greenbaum 1989). In the early 1960's, a leadership struggle developed between William F. Hale and Francis Shoemaker, Meshingomesia's great-grandnephew and great-great grandnephew, respectively.

Hale was the son of Lavina Dixon, a niece of Meshingomesia (daughter of Charlie Dixon), whose family had left the Meshingomesia reserve for Marion in the late 19th century. Lavina had married Joel F. Hale, a white man. At least four other Meshingomesia Miami women of Lavina's generation had also married members of the Hale family. Waucoon's daughter, Nancy J., married Charles A. Hale, a white laborer who was hired by the Meshingomesias during the 1880's (Rafert 1982:133). He later also married Nora Dixon, Charlie Dixon's daughter. Another of Charlie's daughters was married to William Hale, and yet another (Mary) was married to John F. Hale. The exact relationships among the different Hale men are not known, but they seem clearly to have been related, and they all were son-in-laws of Charlie Dixon. These interconnected kin ties gave the Hale families a distinctive cohesiveness.

WF Hale was born in Marion in 1891. In the late teens, WF and his brother, Clarence, moved to Muncie, where the former lived

most of his life. Two of his brothers, Martin and Millard, migrated to South Bend around the same time. The dispersed Hales continued to be involved in tribal affairs and activities, especially in the Miami Nation. WF Hale served on the tribal council under Elijah Marks (MN/MNI 4/1738), and he later became leader of both the subgroup and the tribe as a whole. Although an important figure in Miami politics, his leadership was controversial and he ultimately failed in his efforts to represent either the Meshingomesia subgroup or the Miamis of Indiana.

William Frances Hale (Mongonza) was a flamboyant figure whose efforts to promote pan-Indianism and cultural revival drew criticisms from several quarters. A major obstacle to his leadership was that he lived in Muncie, thus outside the center of activities in Wabash, Marion and Peru. He drew his primary support from his brothers' large South Bend families of his brother Millard. George Dorrin, who presently represents the South Bend group on the Miami tribal council, is Hale's grandnephew. Hale's leadership was a important factor in maintaining contact between the out-migrating families in northern Indiana and those still remaining in the general vicinity of the Meshingomesia reserve. During the 1920's and 30's, these families attended reunions and tribal meetings and continued to exercise a voice in tribal affairs (Greenbaum 1989).

The late 1950's and early 60's were a period of intense tribal activity. Success in the ICC had animated the interest of the various subgroups, and also had evidently inflamed some non-Indians. In 1961, vandals severely damaged headstones in the Meshingomesia cemetery, an event that helped to mobilize the Meshingomesia descendants (MTI 7/61; anonymous 1961e). Although the Meshingomesias were not initially involved in the claims activity instigated by the Godfroys and RL group, they were nonetheless eligible to share in the award, and they eventually managed to gain the lead in this effort after the death of Ira Godfroy in 1961. In that year, WF Hale became head of the newly formed, and very short-lived "tri-band council," convened primarily in response to the impending claims award. In a meeting in the Wabash County court house (on March 5, 1961) that included Meshingomesias, Godfroys, Bundys and RL descendants, WF Hale was elected chief of the "Miami Tribe of Indiana." (In that same year, he was also elected president of the Miami Annual Reunion [MAR]).

The new tribal council was ecumenical, but the alliance was very brief. One month after it was formed, three council members (two Godfroys and one RL) resigned and returned to the Godfroy

organization with Lawrence Godfroy as newly elected chief. Dissension also affected the Meshingomesia segment of Hale's organization. In 1964, Francis Shoemaker, grandson of Elijah Marks, reactivated the 1937 Miami Nation Charter and directly challenged Hale's leadership. Others involved in the breakaway organization included Shoemaker's brothers (Curtis, Charles and Clarence), Sam Bundy, Carmen Ryan (Marks/Mongosa), and Mina Brooke, a Meshingomesia who had been Hale's secretary. The opposition group was thus composed primarily of disaffected Meshingomesias from Marion and Wabash, as well as several Bundys. Carmen Ryan's role was important both for her personal leadership qualities, and because she was part of a family (Mongosa-Bradleys) with relatives among the Godfroys as well as the Meshingomesias (her mother was married to a Marks). Shoemaker was recognized as the Meshingomesia leader and in 1965 was finally able to unify all the subgroups into one organization. During the early 1970's, the Miami Nation continued to have sporadic meetings, but minutes were not kept for this period. In November 1978, a meeting was called to discuss the acknowledgment regulations that had been published that year. Before any action was taken, however, a group of RL descendants in Huntington called a meeting (March 1979) to which all Indiana Miamis were invited to consider these regulations. Following that meeting, a consensus emerged that Shoemaker's Miami Nation was the appropriate entity to represent the tribe in pursuing Federal acknonwledgment. Another large meeting was held in June 1979 in Wabash, with Francis Shoemaker presiding (MNISI 6/3/79). Although in semi-retirment, he is still the titular chief of the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana.

Hale, who died in 1983, continued to present himself as chief of the Miamis in Indiana, and was especially active in state wide events focusing on Miami heritage. He remained bitterly opposed to the Godfroys and in 1969 launched an unsuccessful campaign to prevent the naming of a state park after Francis Godfroy (anonymous 1969a). Until his death, he enjoyed the continued support of his relatives in the South Bend area and remained the acknowledged leader of that segment of Meshingomesia descendants (often known by the name "Eagle Clan") (Greenbaum 1989).

Bundy.

The Miami subgroup commonly referred to as the Bundys originated with Frances Slocum (Maconaquah), a white woman captured by Delawares in Pennsylvania in 1778, when she was a small child. Maconaquah, whose name translates as "White Rose," came to live among the Miamis as the wife of Deaf Man, one of the preremoval Mississinewa war chiefs. After the War of 1812, Deaf Man's village consisted of seven or eight log houses on the south bank of the Mississinewa River, eight miles east of Peru. The settlement was located close to the Godfroy Trading House, with a path leading from there down the river alongside the bluff by the main cabin of Deaf Man's village (Meginness 1891:137). Francis Godfroy succeeded him as war chief in about 1830 (MNISI 1984b:71). Deaf Man died soon after, in 1832, leaving his widow and two surviving daughters in possession of a 640 acre site containing the village.

In 1835, Frances Slocum revealed the secret of her capture to George Ewing, a white trader (Rafert 1982:70). Ewing's discovery was eventually communicated to her surviving siblings. The reunion with their lost sister in 1837 generated tremendous publicity, largely sympathetic, at a time when pressure was mounting to remove the Miamis. A Joint resolution of Congress on March 3, 1845 exempted Frances Slocum and her family (a total of 22 individuals) from the removal order (Sinclair 1846a).

Frances Slocum's family occupied a prosperous farmstead and owned cattle, hogs, chickens and a large herd of ponies. The settlement included her two grown daughters, their husbands, and the children of her youngest daughter Ozashinquah (Jane). In 1846, the year of the removal, Frances persuaded her white nephew, Rev. George Slocum, to come from Ohio and help her manage the farm. When Frances died the following year, she was buried "a few yards from the house where she died" (Meginness 1891:140). Her will specified that this burial ground should remain set aside for the interment of her descendants. Her older daughter died that same year. In later years, this cemetery became the last rallying point in the Bundy's efforts to retain land and tribal status, and remains an important symbol of subgroup identity.

After Frances' death, JB Brouilette (widower of her older daughter) and Peter Bundy (her younger daughter, Jane's, 5th husband) assumed leadership of the settlement. Jane, or Ozahshinquah, was the reserve holder of record, and she was also the major progenetrix of the subgroup. She had twelve children by five husbands, one of whom was Francis Godfroy's son Louis.

(Louis was Gabriel's half brother.) Her large family not only peopled the reserve, but also formed multiple marriage alliances with the Godfroys and the Meshingomesias (see Rafert 1982:98).

Rev. Slocum remained until his death in 1860, influencing both Bundy and Brouilette to become Baptist preachers. He may also have been instrumental in persuading Pimyotomah and TF Richardville to join the clergy. Meshingomesia also converted to Baptism during the same period. This religious connection had a significant impact on the leadership of the Ozahshinquah settlement and forged important institutional links with all the other groups. Slocum also influenced the economic development of the settlement. He had brought farm implements and supplies from Ohio, with which he planned to introduce modern farming techniques to his Miami relatives. His assistance eased the inevitable transition to plow agriculture, conditions that later inspired Gabriel Godfroy to hire Benjamin Hundley to provide similar services to his group.

JB Brouilette was reportedly the first Miami to farm using a plow (Meginness 1891:144). He was the son of white captive and a Miami woman, and he married the daughter of a white captive (i.e., Frances Slocum's daughter). Brouilette was a farmer and a preacher, and he was also a healer who combined native practices with European medical knowledge (Meginness 1891:144). After his first wife's death, he married his niece (by marriage) Eliza, who was Ozahshinquah's daughter by Louis Godfroy. The second marriage, and the reserve land he inherited from his first wife, solidified his interest and position within the settlement. His advances in farming were a factor in the relative success of the Ozahshinquah reserve inhabitants' ability to maintain their land during the late 19th century (Rafert 1982:24). Brouilette was also active in tribal affairs. He was reportedly one of three candidates to succeed JB Richardville as principal chief in 1841 (along with Meshingomesia and Francis LaFontaine, the latter being the one selected) (Evans 1963), and was one of the signers of the 1859 petition to the BIA protesting the added names on the tribal roll. He died in 1867. His grandsons Ross Bundy and Clarence Godfroy began the Maconaquah pageant.

A leader of equal importance was Peter Bundy (also spelled Bondy), son of a white trader and Mohican mother. Ozahshinquah's fifth (and last husband), he was the father of seven of her children. Their sons Judson and Camillus were the subsequent leaders of the subgroup, and a very large proportion of Frances Slocum's descendants in the contemporary tribe descend from Peter Bundy. (It is for this reason that the subgroup is generally referred to as the "Bundys".) He was one of the 1854 treaty

signers (MNISI 1984b:86), and in 1859 one of the councils convened over the problem of the added names was held at his house. He, along with JB Brouilette, signed the 1859 petition complaining about the added names. Peter Bundy got his license to preach in 1859, one year prior to the death of George Slocum (MNISI 1985b 7). He preached regularly at the Antioch Church on the Meshingomesia reserve, and he corresponded often with Thomas F. Richardville, also a Baptist preacher, who emigrated to the west in 1860. Bundy also corresponded with others in Oklahoma, providing them assistance with annuity payments (MNISI 1985b 8). In 1880, Bundy joined in a letter to the Secretary of Interior, with Gabriel Godfroy and Pimyotomah, protesting the liquidation of the tribal principal in annuity payments (MNISI 1984b:110). He also represented the tribe in 1884 when he gave a lengthy deposition about Eel River Miamis; and was a signer, along with his son Judson, of the 1895 payroll. Both were listed as "head men." Peter Bondy died in 1897, shortly after helping to found the Headquarters organization.

When Jane Bundy (Ozashinquah) died in 1877, she left 805 unmortgaged acres to Peter and their eight surviving children. (Her will was witnessed by Thomas F. Richardville, who was then living in Oklahoma, but was on a return visit.) Longevity and good management had permitted her not only to retain the original reserve land, but to expand her holdings by 165 acres. Mortgages and tax sales in the period after her death, however, eroded the estate and led eventually to the dispersal of the settlement.

In general, the families on the Ozahshinquah reserve had close and frequent contact with the inhabitants of the Godfroy reserve, which was only about five miles away. Spatial proximity and the marriages of Ozashinquah's children (three of whom married Godfroys and one other married a Mongosa) knitted the two settlements together. Locationally, the Bundy settlement was in between the Godfroys on the west and the Meshingomesias, fifteen miles east. Although the distance to Meshingomesia's reserve was somewhat greater, other ties were equally strong. At least during the late 19th century, religion was an important factor in the relationship between the two groups, with Peter Bundy preaching regularly at the Antioch church on the Meshingomesia reserve.

Three of Ozahshinquah's children married into the Meshingomesia group. Peter's daughter, Rose Anne, married Robert Peconga (Meshingomesia's grandson) and his step-daughter, Melvina, who adopted the Bundy surname, was married to Nelson Tawataw (also a grandson of Meshingomesia). Another step-daughter, Frances Godfroy, married William Peconga (who became the leader of the

Meshingomesia group in 1879). When the Meshingomesia reserve was allotted in 1873, Peter Bundy was accused of using his position as preacher to gain influence in the division of the Meshingomesia land. He was accused of attempting to get some of the land for himself, but he may simply have been looking after the interests of his daughters and grandchildren.

Marriage ties between the Ozashinquah and other settlements were all the more important because these marriages largely involved the leadership of these respective groups. The Meshingomesia marriages were all with grandsons of Meshingomesia, who had large holdings and considerable influence. The marriage between William Peconga (who succeeded his grandfather as chief) and Frances Godfroy (Ozashinquah's daughter) was particularly important, because it also linked him with the Godfroys, directly through his wife's father, and secondarily through his sister's husband, George Godfroy, and his wife's sister, who was married to Gabriel Godfroy. These connections accounted for Peconga's decision to move onto the Godfroy reserve when he lost his land.

Camillus Bundy also had strong kin ties with Gabriel Godfroy. Godfroy's first wife was Bundy's sister, which made the two men brothers-in-law. In addition, Kim's wife, Ladema Kisman, was a granddaughter of Francis Godfroy, and a niece of Gabe. Further complicating kinship relations, Peter Bundy (Kim's father) married Ladema Kisman's mother after Ozashinquah died. Gabriel Godfroy, therefore, was also a brother-in-law of Kim's father, Peter. Ladema was a step-sister to her future husband, which established some species of step-relationship between Kim and his wife's half uncle Gabe. Finally, Kim's brother Judson married Gabriel Godfroy's daughter and was later married to Gabriel's niece. There is no way to clearly summarize these myriad kinship relationships, except to note that they are exceedingly complex and offered many channels of common interest among the individuals involved.

Common problems over taxation of Miami reserve property drew Camillus Bundy into an alliance with Gabriel Godfroy. Favorable rulings in tax cases brought by Gabriel Godfroy and Mary Strack (a Richardville descendant) resulted in state legislation in 1891 exempting reserve inhabitants from taxation. In 1896, Camillus Bundy wrote the Secretary of the Interior about this matter, seeking assistance in recovering back taxes wrongfully paid (Camillus Bundy 1896a). Although Interior's initial report upheld the Miamis right to redress, a subsequent opinion of the Assistant Attorney General Willis Van Devanter reversed this finding, concluding, in effect, that all Miamis were citizens; Meshingomesias in 1881, and the others by the 1887 Dawes Act (Van

Devanter 1897; Rafert 1982:148-149).

Kim Bundy became the "attorney in fact" for the Headquarters group, which formed just prior to Van Devanter's report (P. Bundy et al., 1897). His leadership role in the Headquarters is somewhat unclear. In his 1896 letter, he described himself as "chief and attorney in fact." However, the officially identified chief of the organization in subsequent documents (1902 and 1905) was listed as George Godfroy. Although there are no direct indications of a conflict over leadership during that period, tensions did surface later on when Camillus attempted to transfer his position as attorney-in-fact to his son Charles Z. Bondy.

Kim Bundy is said to have been the originator of the Miami annual reunion, begun in 1903 (Greenbaum 1989). The event was initially held on the Slocum cemetery grounds. Kim and his cousins, Clarence Godfroy and Ross Bundy, took an active role in preserving Miami culture. These men were well known for instructing youths about tribal lore, medicine and hunting and fishing techniques (Greenbaum 1989; Vogel 1980; Lamb and Schultz 1964). These activities became formalized in the creation of the Maconaquah Pageant, named for Frances Slocum, which Ross Bundy and Clarence Godfroy initiated in the late teens or early 20's.

During that same period, however, the Bundy family and the Headquarters organization were beset with tensions. In November 1916, Kim Bundy announced his retirement from tribal politics (prematurely as it turned out), and he attempted to name his son CZ Bondy to succeed him as "attorney in fact" (Mayer et al., 1916). Two months later, however, Ross Bundy wrote to the Secretary of Interior protesting this appointment. "He [CZ] secured this contract illeagle [sic]. The chief who is Geo. Godfroy, or the business committee, never saw the contract" (Ross Bundy 1917). Despite this repudiation, CZ continued his efforts to press Miami claims. In 1920 Ross Bundy and George Godfroy again wrote the Secretary of Interior complaining about his representation and appointing Ross Bundy as agent for tribal interests (Ross Bundy 1920). This later communication also included signatures of individuals who had originally signed the 1916 agreement with CZ, indicating a growing disaffection with his activities on behalf of the tribe.

Shortly thereafter, the aging Kim Bundy was once again drawn into tribal politics. His remaining 113 acres, which had been mortgaged to the Aetna Life Insurance Company, were foreclosed in 1921. In the following year, the Godfroy heirs stopped paying taxes on Gabriel Godfroy's land, for which he had won a temporary abatement in 1905. Like the Godfroys, Bundy attempted to fight

eviction. When his land was sold in 1923, he refused to leave. He called a meeting at his house to gain tribal support for a campaign to secure Federal assistance. This meeting was not formally documented. Carmen Ryan, who attended, recounted that some kind of written agreement was drawn up authorizing Camillus and his daughter, Victoria Brady, to go to Washington. Carmen Ryan indicated that neither the Godfroys nor the Meshingomesias (who had begun writing letters to Interior on their own behalf) were present at the meeting (MNISI 1984b:147-8).

The Godfroys, who were embroiled in their own land dispute, rejected Kim Bundy's leadership. In February, and again in June, of 1924 Clarence Godfroy wrote Interior complaining about Bundy's "contract" (Clarence Godfroy 1924a, 1924b). In this correspondence, Godfroy identified his group as "individuals" (which meant collectively they were the heirs of individual, as opposed to communal/Meshingomesia grantees). He further distinguished his group from that of Bundy (who technically fell under the same "individual" category), because Bundy was perceived as "jumping out of his territory when he comes over to the Godfroy's reserve and wants to be chief." There was also a reference to the fact that Bundy's problems were the result of having mortgaged his property, whereas the Godfroys were involved in a tax protest. ("We don't want a man for chief who never looked after his own business with success") (Clarence Godfroy 1924b).

Bundy set up a much celebrated vigil on his property and attempted to finance his activities by charging admission to the Frances Slocum cemetery. In January 1925, however, he was served an eviction notice (US District Court 1944). He hired an attorney to appeal the eviction, but this was unsuccessful, and in April 1925 he was forcibly removed from the property. He and his daughter then went to Washington and began haunting the office of the Secretary of Interior. In September of that year, the Secretary of Interior turned down his request to intervene in the eviction (Camillus Bundy 1925).

Undaunted, they remained in Washington where they continued their appeals to Interior, wrote to the president (Camillus Bundy et al., 1927) and persuaded Rep. Howard of Nebraska to introduce a Miami claims bill (US Congress 1928). These efforts, including the legislation, proved fruitless. By 1929, their activities had generated such aggravation that a memorandum was circulated within the Interior Department instructing employees to "tell her [VB] that the case is closed, and if she writes again send a card of acknowledgment and nothing more." (MNISI 1984b:154-55). Victoria's death in 1930 brought an end to the Washington tour.

Returning to Indiana, Victoria was buried in the family cemetery, and Kim moved in with his step-son, David Bundy, a fireman who lived in Wabash. Ross Bundy and his family, the last Miami residents of the Ozashinquah reserve, had also left at about this time (in 1926). They moved to Marion.

The Miami Nation was formed at this time. According to Francis Shoemaker, the initial charter was devised by Kim Bundy in 1929. The Meshingomesias joined in this effort, but Francis Godfroy wrote to the president in December 1929, again asserting the Godfroys' distinctive status (Francis Godfroy 1929). In the following month (January 1930), Elijah Shapp also began writing letters on behalf of the Meshingomesias, and by the end of that year, the Miami Nation held its first formally documented meeting (Miami Indians 1930). At inception, at least, forming the Miami Nation apparently mitigated the quarrelsome state of affairs in the Bundy/Bondy family. Elijah Marks, a Meshingomesia, was named chief. David Bundy was secretary, and CZ Bondy obtained another contract to represent the tribe in Washington. Ross Bundy, who had protested CZ's contract in 1916, evidently acquiesced to the new one and was an active participant. Kim Bundy, who was still alive but ailing, was not mentioned in the early minutes. He died in 1935.

The Bundys were a prominent segment of the Miami Nation. In the aftermath of Kim's death, however, dissension over CZ's role resurfaced. By 1936 Nettie White, a non-Miami, had assumed his position of spokesperson, authoring a telegram to the Secretary of Interior requesting assistance in preventing "a squatter on the Ozahshinquah Land and Park Association from tearing up land." (White et al., 1936). In June 1937, her status was formalized in a "power of attorney" document authorizing her to "investigate, search records, or do all things necessary for us in satisfying our claims" (Marks et al., 1937a). Three months later, incorporation papers were filed for the Miami Nation. CZ Bondy's exclusion from this process was evident in minutes of the meeting of November 1937, when the group formally voted to "ignore the letters" that CZ had written (the letters themselves were not preserved). Several months later, CZ appeared before the council, but evidently was not persuasive (MI/MNI 4/3/38). The following month (5/38), Ross Bundy and a large contingent walked out of the council meeting and resigned from "the tribe." It is unclear to what extent, if any, this protest was related to CZ's problems. The actual subject of the dispute was an expense report filed by Nettie White, to which Ross Bundy and his supporters objected. Although many of the dissenting members were Bundys, Meshingomesias were also included. David Bundy, however, remained as secretary and shortly became one of CZ's

staunchest adversaries.

Conflicts with CZ erupted in open court over his 1942 law suit, in which he attempted to block the construction of a military base on what had once been Miami land. His efforts, early in the war, were regarded as unpatriotic and were undertaken without the approval of the Miami Nation (anonymous 1942b). Other activities by CZ during the same period also reflect this divisiveness. In 1939, the Miami Nation had introduced another claims bill in Congress, which failed to pass. In 1941, CZ was able to get his own version of the same bill introduced, again without success. He also resumed his father's efforts to reverse the Aetna Life Insurance mortgage foreclosure on the Ozashinquah reserve land (US District Court 1944). This law suit was also unsuccessful.

The war deflected, at least temporarily, the activities of the Miami Nation. Not wanting to appear to be opposing the government during a national emergency, the Miami Nation adopted a formally supportive position (David Bondy and Elijah Marks 1940; and MNISI 1989b 48), which restrained efforts to regain treaty rights or recognition. "Until the war is over...we will take no action [on claims]. That would be unpatriotic, even if the government did pay us at this time, it would all go toward purchase of United States War Bonds" (anonymous 1942c). David Bundy's death in 1943 also contributed to this reduction in activities during the war years. Elijah Marks sent John Collier a letter in 1944, protesting the tax sale of property on which the Meshingomesia church and school were located (Winters et al., 1944). The commissioner's response to this letter offered no assistance (Zimmerman 1944).

Elijah Marks died in 1948, and the Miami Nation again became temporarily inactive (described as "stand-by status" in MI/MNI 1964). The Godfroy group had resumed their separate efforts. When the Godfroys and RL families formally began pursuing claims in 1949, C.Z. Bondy attempted to intervene on behalf of both his subgroup and the Miami Nation, but he was rebuffed by both.

In the late 1950's, the Bundy family mobilized once again in response to announced plans by the Army Corps of Engineers to move the Frances Slocum cemetery as part of the Mississinewa dam project. Unable to prevent the relocation, the descendants of Frances Slocum were able to persuade US Rep. Roush to introduce a bill making Frances' grave a national monument (anonymous 1961c). Suggestions to relocate the cemetery remains onto the site of the Godfroy cemetery met strong opposition from the Bundys, reflecting the still simmering factional strife among the Miami subgroups (MNISI 1989c). It was instead relocated into a section

of the Frances Slocum park.

Maintenance problems at the cemetery, and the family's inability to control it, have been persistent issues around which the Bundys (and some members of other subgroups) have rallied on a number of occasions. David Bundy's daughter, Phyllis Miley, was one of the leaders of a 1987 protest over the general condition of the cemetery and the proposed interment of an unrelated individual not authorized by the family.

> Mrs. Miley said the man, who was part Cherokee, didn't meet the qualifications. She and other Miami Indians held what she termed a 'religious vigil' to prevent the burial. 'There were about six car-loads of us,' she said. 'We stayed from 4 AM until nearly noon Monday, when we got word' [that the burial of the above person would be at another cemetery]." (anonymous 1987b).

Richardville/Lafontaine.

The group known as Richardville/Lafontaine (RL) are descendants of two 19th century principal chiefs -- JB Richardville and Francis Lafontaine. Both were the mixed blood sons of French traders at Kekionga. Lafontaine was Richardville's son-in-law, the husband of his daughter Catherine.

Richardville's mother was reputedly the sister of Pacanne (MNISI 1984b:33). According to Butler (1901:34), his mother is "credited with having been the head of their band and the only woman chief of whom I find any record." He further recounts that Richardville's mother helped orchestrate her son's political ascendancy (ibid p. 225). When Pacanne and Owl left Indiana in 1778 to go to Spanish Louisiana, Richardville was appointed interim chief (MNISI 1984a:100). However, Anson (1970:273) cites the report of a visitor to Kekionga in the 1780's who testified that "Richardville was but an impoverished member of the group who was ignored because of his white ancestry." Whatever his status may have been during that period, by 1812 he was neither ignored nor impoverished.

He served as principal chief of the Miami Nation between 1812 and his death in 1841. During that period, his position as chief and his trading enterprise yielded tremendous financial gain. In the treaties of 1818, 1826, 1834 and 1838 he obtained grants of land totaling 44 1/4 sections (28,320 acres) and $31,800 in debt settlements. He was reported to be the richest man in Indiana at the time of his death (Hodge 1910:235). Butler (1901:225)

describes Richardville as the overall leader of the Miamis; "his own people trusted him as their lawmaker...[and he] was frequently the arbitrator in...intertribal troubles among the Indians of the northwest." He began the negotiations for removal, but died in 1841. His son-in-law, Francis LaFontaine, succeeded him as chief and was the individual responsible for completing the removal arrangements.

Lafontaine was the son of Peter Lafontaine, a French trader at Kekionga, and an Indian woman who is thought to have been Miami. He was born in 1810. The treaty of 1818 granted reserves to both Peter and Francis. Francis gained a section of land in the 1834 treaty, another in 1838, and another in 1840 (Anson 1964:248-250). When Lafontaine married Catherine Richardville in 1843, two years after the chief's death, he also gained control of the three sections she had inherited from her father. Like his father-in-law, he became extremely wealthy as a result of both his trading business and his activities within the Miami tribe.

Lafontaine emerged as principal chief in opposition to both Meshingomesia and JB Brouillette. He prevailed in this election partly with the assistance of John Roche, a white man who had worked his way into a position of importance in JB Richardville's trading establishment (Brown and Schulte 1949; Evans 1963). Roche was appointed paymaster at the time of JB's death, and reportedly helped Lafontaine avoid an assassination attempt by Brouillette (Evans 1963). Whatever truth this tale may hold, Roche was an extremely wealthy and influential man, and his alliance with Lafontaine was surely important to the outcome of the election of a new principal chief.

Lafontaine and his family lived in a large two story house at the forks of the Wabash, just west of Huntington. According to descriptions, the house "was the center of many activities during the ensuing years. The Indians that counseled with chief Francis Lafontaine lived in small log cabins surrounding his home and the main counsel [sic] house was at the rear of his home" (Evans 1963). He also operated a store and successful trading business.

In his dual role as businessman and chief, Lafontaine mediated between Miamis who were attempting to avoid or forestall removal and the government, which was determined to remove them. Richardville, while was still alive, had managed to secure exemptions for his own family. The Godfroys and Meshingomesias were also included, reportedly because Richardville needed their support in order to have his own efforts succeed (Anson 1970:205). Lafontaine's leadership reflected similar

contingencies. Although he was a wealthy man who lived in comfortable circumstances, Lafontaine retained many of the overt diacritica of Miami identity. According to Anson, he "usually wore Indian dress and followed Indian customs." He evidently lived in two worlds; in the other he was a prominent businessman and upstanding member of the Catholic church. When he died in 1847, "nearly all the white population of the county and the remnant bands of Indians" attended his funeral (Butler 1901:227). All the pall-bearers were white. Lafontaine's efforts to delay the removal as long as possible were aided by his fellow traders who profited from the continued presence of the Miamis in Indiana (MNISI 1984b:61; Anson 1964:241-268).

When the tribe was finally removed, Francis Lafontaine accompanied the emigrants. He was chief of all the Miamis at that time, and he escorted those who had to be removed to their new home in Kansas. In March 1847, he set out on a return trip to Indiana. In his absence the western band chiefs ousted him, an action that was effectively mooted when the erstwhile principal chief died mysteriously en route to Indiana. These circumstances had major implications for the relationship between the western and Indiana Miamis, effecting a formal rupture in the unity that Lafontaine's leadership had represented.

Politically, the two geographic localities had become distinct entities (i.e., Indiana and Western Miamis). Socially, and on an informal political level, however, this distinction was far less clear. There has been on ongoing link between the Miami families who remained in Indiana and those which removed. The RL group has been a major factor in this connection.

Western Miamis. The treaty of 1840 set aside 324,796 acres in east central Kansas for resettlement by the Miami tribe of Indiana. Emigrants in 1846 numbered 323, but within a few months the number living in the new territory had dropped to about 250, mainly due to Miamis returning to Indiana or opting to go elsewhere besides Kansas. Located on the Marais de Cygnes River, the new reservation contained the Osage agency and trading post.

Among the Miami bands that emigrated, there was lingering discontent about the preferential treatment Richardville, Godfroy and their families had received in the removal treaty. Those sentiments, along with the opposition that had been mobilized against the leadership of Lafontaine, helped set apart the Indiana Miamis who moved west voluntarily from those who were forced to go -- and who comprised the group known as the Western Miamis.

Ozandiah had been selected to succeed Lafontaine as leader of the tribe in the west. He died a short time later, and was replaced as leader by Big Legs (Dunn 1919:85). The latter was chief until 1858, during which time the treaty of 1854 was negotiated. This document reduced their landholdings in Kansas by nearly 80% (from 324,796 to 70,640 acres). In exchange, they were to receive $200,000.00, of which $150,000 would be paid in 20 annual annuities, beginning in 1860. Their remaining land was divided into 162 individual 200 acre tracts (later amended to 205 tracts), and a large undivided portion was retained under communal ownership. The communal land was intended to provide acreage that could be allotted to the future growth of the group, both through natural increase and those who "have come amongst us from Indiana with the intention of residing here with us permanently" (cited in Anson 1970:242, fn 11). This clause suggests that the boundary between the Indiana and Western Miamis was somewhat unclear at that point. However, the agreement concerning annuity payments did draw an explicit distinction:

> None of the money was to be paid to any Miamis who were permitted to remain in Indiana by the treaties of 1838 or 1840, or by resolutions of Congress passed March 3 and May 1, 1845, or 'otherwise,' which of course meant those on the approved list of 302 Miamis in Indiana. (Anson 1970:240)

The Western Miami reservation after 1854 included a 640 acre tract on which to build a school, in addition to the individual farms and the lands held in common. Although greatly reduced, the land was still ample to support such a relatively small group. A growing number of white squatters settled on their land, however, and the Western Miamis' efforts to gain Federal protection against this encroachment were largely without effect.

Settlers poured into Kansas after the Civil War, and in 1867 the Bureau of Indian Affairs undertook to remove the Indians from that state. A treaty to remove the Kansas Indians was made on February 23, 1867 (Anson 1970:243). This treaty included the Confederated Peorias, a combination of the Wea, Piankshaw and other Illinois tribes, which had been effected in 1854 (Callender 1978:681). From the time this consolidation had first occurred, there was strong Federal pressure on the Western Miamis to be included. There was apparent logic in this suggestion in view of the close historical ties between the Miamis and these groups, especially the Wea (with whom the Eel River Miamis were strongly affiliated).

The treaty of 1867 offered the Western Miamis a choice. They

could join the Peorias and move to a new reservation in Oklahoma, or they could remain on their land in Kansas as US citizens with fee simple titles. According to Anson, those who remained outnumbered those who left; 65 out of about 260 chose to leave (Anson 1970:244-247). The number who finally settled in Oklahoma, which did not occur until 1873, was actually 72 (ICC 1963:7). At that time, six years after the treaty and only two years after the allotments were made, the fee simple Kansas land had dwindled from more than 70,000 to less than 10,000 acres (an average of less than 40 acres for each of the remaining Miamis) (Anson 1970:244).

After 1873, the identity of the Western Miami tribe becomes somewhat confused. The group that remained in Kansas had effectively lost recognition as members of the tribe, except they had not surrendered their interest in a law suit then pending (over the wrongful annuity payments) (Anson 1970:244). The migrating group, that remained under Federal jurisdiction, did so at the apparent cost of their separate tribal identity. As members of the United Peorias and Miamis, they received 12,878 acres of reservation land near the newly created Quapaw agency. Their annuity payments and funds from their share of tribal land in Kansas were consolidated under the administration of the larger entity. However, the Western Miamis reportedly resisted complete incorporation: "Quapaw Agency officials recognized the Miamis as separate from the confederation of tribes. The [Miami] tribe continued to operate under the Miami National Council and its own chiefs" (Anson 1970:248).

There is little information on the Miamis who remained in Kansas, except that, in 1889, a Court of Claims decision enabled them to share in the payment of annuities to those ejected from the 1854 Indiana Miami tribal roll (Anson 1970:251). The small group of Western Miamis living in the vicinity of the Quapaw agency in the latter part of the 19th century were reported to be highly acculturated and dwindling in number; 75 received allotments in 1891, slightly more than the 72 who came to Quapaw in 1873. (Anson 1970:251). They continued under the supervision of the Quapaw agency although nominally they had been made citizens in 1910 (Anson 1970:257).

A report concerning the Quapaw agency in 1926 indicated that by that time "the Miamis no longer had a reservation, agency rations, tribal funds, government reservation schools, or a medical division, although health services had recently been restored to the tribe" (Anson 1970:260). There is little recorded activity by the Western Miamis living near the Quapaw agency until 1937, when they sought and gained separate

recognition under the IRA. A census done in that year listed 271 members, 126 of whom were living in Ottawa County, Oklahoma (i.e., near the Quapaw agency). Somewhat later, when the Western Miami tribal corporation was chartered, they numbered 287, only 31 of whom were more than 1/4 Miami (ICC 1963:9). They were then described as "very largely assimilated in the surrounding white community, while the bulk of them do not even live in Oklahoma" (ibid p. 10).

The Western Miami tribe had an informal political relationship with the Miamis in Indiana, who were also attempting to participate in the IRA. In 1939, the Miami Nation hired a lawyer (Fred Woodward), whose clients also included the Western Miamis (MI/MNI 4/2/39). While the Miami Nation was deliberating this contract, a letter of support for Woodward was sent by an Indiana Miami family living in Oklahoma (MI/MNI 6/5/39). The relationship between Western and Indiana Miamis became increasingly active during the claims period. The Western Miamis agreed to stipulate that the Indiana Miami "was a proper party to sue and recover an award under the Indian Claims Commission Act" (ICC 1963), and their separate dockets (67 and 124) were consolidated in 1957.

There was a steady flow of correspondence between the Indiana Miamis and the Western Miami tribal chairman during the 1960's. Carmen Ryan, enrollment secretary and record keeper for the Indiana Miamis, communicated frequently with Forest Olds, Western Miami tribal chairman at that time. Between 1964 and 1967, they exchanged at least 102 letters (filed at Miami tribal office in Peru). Much information was exchanged about genealogical relationships and documents pertinent to the land claims. Both groups were claiming under treaties that had been signed in Indiana. The Western Miamis had need of information obtainable only in Indiana, and the Indiana Miamis were in a position to be very helpful. The tone of the letters between Ryan and Olds is consistently friendly and collaborative. Their letters also included news about illnesses, marriages, etc., greetings from others, and gossip.

Indiana Miami council minutes and other documents reflect some degree of competition and conflict between the two Miami groups, although some of this dissension has been attributed to manipulations by claims lawyers. In response to one such incident in 1965, Forest Olds directed the following statement to US Congressman Mike Monroney:

> Just recently it has been called to my attention that there is supposed to be a great deal of animosity between the

> Miamis of Oklahoma and the Miamis of Indiana. To my knowledge this is definitely not so... I correspond with some of the folks in Indiana, and have visited with others...I became aware that [we]...were supposed to be enemies through copies of letters to a good Indiana Miami friend from the attorney for the Miamis of Indiana. (Olds 1965)

The Indiana and Western Miamis have continued to enjoy a cordial relationship. Many from Indiana travel to Quapaw, Oklahoma each year for the Western Miami pow wow. Western Miamis visit Indiana, and the Western Miami tribal chairman has several times attended pow wows and official gatherings as the representative of his tribe. The Western Miamis adopted a resolution supporting Federal acknowledgment of the Indiana Miamis in 1988 (MNISI 1989c 81).

Richardville/Lafontaine families in the west. The Richardville families had been permitted to remain in Indiana, but a large number of JB's descendants moved west anyway. According to the treaty of 1854, Richardville descendants were not eligible to share in Western Miami annuities (although several did get allotments of Western Miami reservation land in 1873). As Indiana Miamis in the west, they lived with the Western Miami tribe, but in most instances did not, or could not, join it on a formal basis. After 1873, many were living in the vicinity of the Quapaw agency in Oklahoma. Others stayed in Kansas, on or near land they had received in the 1871 allotment of the Miami reservation in Kansas. In 1880, there were 49 Indiana Miamis living in Kansas and Oklahoma (MNISI 1984a:31). In that year they petitioned to receive their annuities at the Quapaw agency, rather than in Indiana.

Family ties and friendships crossed the boundaries of the Western and Indiana segments of the Miami Nation, both among those living in the west and with Miamis still living in Indiana. Visiting and correspondence facilitated a common awareness of what was going on in both places. There was also considerable transmigration, which continued well after the removal and into the 20th century. Thomas F. Richardville, who moved to Miami County, Kansas in 1860, played a critical role in this process.

TF Richardville, born in 1830, was a grandson of JB and a nephew of Francis Lafontaine. Some time after Lafontaine's death in 1847, TF succeeded him as a leader of the subgroup, but not as principal chief of the Miami tribe. (Meshingomesia was the official leader of the Indiana Miamis after Lafontaine's death [MNISI 1984b:107].) By 1846, the Indiana segment of the Miamis

had effectively established its own council, separate from that of the western Miamis; this group was formally recognized as a separate entity in the treaty of 1854. TF Richardville, who was not among the signers of the 1854 treaty, joined the council at least by 1859, when he took part in the meetings held in that year to protest the addition of names to the Miami roll. In addition to his hereditary leadership credentials, TF was a Baptist preacher who had religious ties with Peter Bundy and Pimyotomah.

Richardville's first wife was Angelique Goodboo, a daughter of Catherine Godfroy (Gabriel's half sister). They married in Indiana in the early 1850's, but in 1860 he moved his family out of Indiana to Fontana, Kansas (in Miami County close to the Osage agency). His wife later returned to Indiana and remarried. Her second family grew up in Butler Township and was part of that community. TF remained in Kansas and was remarried to a Western Miami woman, further strengthening his ties to that group.

Despite his departure, he maintained contact with the Indiana council and had an especially close working relationship with Peter Bundy concerning matters of tribal interest. They exchanged letters regularly about annuity payments and other matters. TF returned to Indiana in 1877 for Jane Bundy's funeral and was listed as a witness on her will.

Richardville wrote no less than 87 letters to the Dept. of Interior during his term as Miami leader; he wrote on behalf of both the Western Miamis and those Indiana Miamis who were living in the west (MNISI 1984a:37). He also served as guardian for a number of western Indiana Miami children who were drawing annuities. Corresponding regularly with Peter Bondy and returning for visits at frequent intervals, Richardville had ongoing participation in the political affairs of the Indiana Miami. In 1872, he wrote the Secretary of Interior concerning Miamis in Kansas who were claiming an interest in the Meshingomesia reserve (MNISI 1984a:30). These constituents (and possibly his own interest in securing part of the Meshingomesia allotment) drew him into the issue of allotting the Meshingomesia land. He was consulted by the leaders of the Headquarters Organization (William Bundy 1905), and maintained a close involvement in its affairs well past the turn of the century (MNISI 1984b:139).

In 1880, Richardville wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs opposing the efforts of Bundy and the other Indiana leaders who were trying to prevent per capita distribution of the tribal

annuity fund. In this letter he indicates that:

> There are over 40 of us living now in Kansas and Indian Territory, who are members of the Indiana Miamis of Indiana, and it is unanimous with us to draw out our principal fund of $22,125.86 and not reinvested [sic] again: we are not known or treated as a tribe: we have no chiefs, or council, we are virtually citizens of the United States, and therefore no one of our Indiana Miamis has a legal right to dictate and force us to reinvest (Richardville 1880).

Thomas F. Richardville remained in Kansas until at least 1882, and then moved to Miami, Oklahoma. His affiliations with the Indiana and Western Miami are somewhat confusing. Very soon after his arrival in Kansas he was acting in a leadership role in the latter tribe. He had signed the 1867 treaty for the Western Miamis, after John Big Leg died (Anson 1970:247; Dunn 1910:85). Richardville allegedly tried to join the Western Miami tribe in 1881, when the Indiana Miami annuities stopped, but was prevented from doing so (ICC 1963:4 [fn 5]; Anson 1970:259). Anson (1970:259) indicates that Richardville chose to remain in the Indiana tribe, that he "refused to sever his ties with the Miamis in Indiana," but a document prepared by the claims attorney for the Indiana Miamis suggests that he actually became a member of the Western Miami tribe in 1887, and that "Oklahoma Miami claim he was the Western Miami chief from 1880 until 1910." (ICC 1963:4, fn 5). Richardville attempted to gain inclusion on the 1895 Indiana Miami roll (MNISI 1984a:35); his name appears, along with his Miami name (Wahpemumwah) as #348. His second wife was a member of the Western Miami tribe, and none of his descendants are listed on the Indiana Miami tribal roll.

Whatever his actual position within the Western Miami tribe (Anson contends he was never actually a chief; other writers disagree), Richardville was very active in the affairs of all three segments of the Miamis who were living in the west -- the Western Miamis; those who were still members of the Indiana group; and those who had severed ties with the Western Miami in 1867 and were still living in Kansas. In 1899, the Western Miami filed a claim to share in the 1895 Indiana Miami payment. Thomas F. Richardville officially represented the Western interests in this claim (Anson 1970:258). However, Indiana Miamis living in Kansas and Oklahoma were ruled eligible to participate. In that same year, Thad Butler (who had prepared the 1881 Indiana Miami annuity list) traveled to Oklahoma to confer with TF Richardville at the Quapaw agency in order to "verify the names of the Western Miami chiefs who had continued to lead the tribe"

(Anson 1970:249). Butler (1901:223) described Richardville as a "chief" of the Western Miamis. In 1903, TF again executed a contract on behalf of the Western Miamis to secure an attorney to assist them in reclaiming interest on the 1891 payment. He maintained his connections with the Indiana branch of the tribe, and served as a leader for both the Indiana Miamis in the west and the Western Miamis until his death in 1911 (Peter Shapp 1911).

By 1895, there were nearly as many Indiana Miamis living in the west as there were Western Miamis (67 vs. 71, respectively) (MNISI 1984a:37). A large number in both groups were descendants of JB Richardville. Joseph Lafontaine, JB's grandson and son of Francis Lafontaine, was a leader among the Western Miami in 1860. Still a child when his father died, he had remained in Indiana and was educated by Catholic nuns. He later migrated west and joined relatives who had removed. His sister Esther followed him from Indiana a few years later (in 1866). TF Richardville's son Francis married Louise Mongosa, a sister of John "Bull" Mongosa, in Peru in 1879. The couple drew their last annuities in Indiana, and then moved west in the early 1880's (MNISI 1984a:31). Sarah Cass Keiser, a great granddaughter of Richardville, moved from Peru (she was also a Godfroy descendant) to the Quapaw agency shortly after the payment in 1895.

In addition to the RL descendants, there were also representatives of the other Indiana subgroups. The western segment of the Indiana Miamis resulted from a gradual pattern of migration, which continued long after the removal. Many were from the Godfroy group, grandchildren of Gabriel's half sister Catherine. In 1900, Anthony Walker (a grandson of Pimyotomah) moved his family to the west, where nine of his thirteen children were born (MNISI 1985e:21). Others went back and forth, both to visit and to live. Unsettled conditions in Kansas during the Civil War reportedly prompted a small return migration to Indiana in the 1860's. Visiting occurred intermittently. When Dunn collected linguistic information in 1909, one of his informants was Sarah Wadsworth, who had grown up near Peru, but moved west in 1875. While Dunn was there, she was back for a visit (MNISI 1989b Vol 1:3). The Hundley book (1939) describes a number of families who were moving west in the 1870's. Somewhat later, there was a large return migration from the west of people who settled with the Godfroys.

The Indiana Miamis in the west continued to collect their annuities as Indiana Miamis, likely an important reason that they did not formally amalgamate with the Western Miamis. In the early period after removal, there was antagonism on the part of

the some of the western chiefs regarding Richardville and Lafontaine's roles in the removal which affected relations between the two Miami groups in the west. There was also ongoing competition for Federal payments based on past treaties, which added weight to the boundary between Western and Indiana Miamis. When the Indiana group lost recognition in 1897, a number of children living in the west were attending Indian schools. The Secretary of Interior ruled them ineligible a few years later (in contrast with the children of the Western Miamis), but several managed to attend despite this decision. For example, the children of Anthony Walker, most of whom were born after the loss of Indiana Miami recognition, attended Haskell Institute. The Walkers were still considered Indiana Miamis, however, and their access to Federal Indian services was evidently an oversight. In spite of these confusions, as well as interaction with Western Miamis on the basis of proximity, the Indiana families' distinctiveness from the Western tribe was (and continues to be) maintained.

There was also interaction with other tribes living in the area around the Quapaw agency, e.g., Ottowa, Peoria, Seneca-Cayuga, Wyandotte, and especially the Quapaws. One segment of the Indiana Miami group who were mainly RL descendants became affiliated with the Quapaw tribe and were carried on their rolls, although most retained a Miami identity. Lenora Amphlett, an RL descendant who lives in Quapaw, Oklahoma, is the tribal council representative of the Indiana Miamis in the west and serves as "Oklahoma Secretary" for the tribe.

Currently, 11% (506) of the Indiana Miami enrollment is located in Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri. Of these, slightly under half (234) are RL descendants; they comprise 30% of the contemporary RL subgroup. A slightly larger number of RL descendants (33%) are still living in Indiana, and this group has served as an important (although not the only) link between the western segment of the Indiana Miamis and the Miami subgroups that remain centered in Indiana. When the Indiana Miami tribe initiated efforts to pursue Federal acknowledgment in 1979, these activities were organized by RL descendants in Huntington with the impetus coming from Oklahoma.

Richardville/Lafontaine families in Indiana. TF Richardville's departure left the Richardville and Lafontaine descendants who still lived in Indiana somewhat leaderless, although during his lifetime he continued to look after their interests in the tribe. The eight orphaned children of Lafontaine (his wife died shortly after he did) came under the guardianship of the aforementioned John Roche. Lafontaine's children were placed in Catholic

schools -- St. Augustine's at Fort Wayne and a boy's academy in Lafayette (Brown and Schulte 1949). They managed to retain control of his house at the forks of the Wabash in Huntington, and this house continued to serve as a gathering point for the family. They spent winters away at school, but returned home in the summer (Brown and Schulte 1949).

A number of the early RL female descendants attended the St. Augustine Academy, operated the Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary of the Woods, in Fort Wayne. Catherine Richardville, Lafontaine's wife and JB Richardville's daughter, was the first to be enrolled, followed by her sisters Mary and Sara. "The Sisters at Fort Wayne took these dusky daughters of the forest to their hearts" (Brown and Schulte 1949:547). Four of Lafontaine's children (Esther, Francis, Roseanne, Joseph and Archangel) were enrolled in 1848. During that same period, the daughters of Archangel Richardville, granddaughter of JB, also attended the school.

Several of Lafontaine's children died in childhood or as young adults. His son Joseph went west some time prior to 1860. His son Thomas married a non-Indian (Martha Beck) in the 1850's, and they lived on Memorial Drive in Huntington "in a very lovely home." They had two children, only one of whom (Mary Francis) survived past early adulthood (Evans 1963). In about 1885, Mary Francis' white husband gambled away her wealth and landholdings, forcing the family to move to Marion, Ohio; they later returned to Huntington. Their seven children became somewhat distanced from Miami tribal affairs, but maintained a knowledge of Miami ancestry, an interest in the disposition of tribal claims, and social contact with the family of Thomas Lafontaine's surviving sister, Archangel Engelman (Greenbaum 1989).

Lafontaine's youngest daughter, Archangel moved into the house at the forks of the Wabash after her marriage to Christian Engelman (a German immigrant) in 1862. She raised her family (of 9 children) there, and one of her adult grandchildren continued to occupy the house after her death (and was still living there in the early 1930's). The Engleman family became one of two main pivots of RL social and political activities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and continues to be the family that formally represents the interests of the other RL descendants in the Huntington/Fort Wayne area.

The other major RL group was located in Allen County, near Fort Wayne. Gabriel Godfroy's half brother, James R. Godfroy was married to Archangel Richardville, daughter of Lablonde. In 1869, James R. Godfroy was one of three delegates appointed to

represent the Indiana Miamis in a conference in Washington with the Western Miamis (Wines 1869). The Godfroys lived on three sections of land south of Fort Wayne that JB Richardville had left to Lablonde (his daughter) and that she in turn had willed to Archangel. Archangel and James Godfroy had 13 children, five of whom survived. They raised their family on the land outside of Fort Wayne, and through the 19th century managed to keep the 1900 acres intact. Archangel's daughter Louisa was married to William Cass, a great grandson of JB Richardville. The youngest daughter Anna married Francis Aveline, an Eel River Miami. Their oldest daughter Mary was married to a white man named Strack.

Mary Strack had a daughter, Mary, who inherited some of her mother's land when she died in 1885 (Indiana 1901:194). The following year, this parcel of land became the object of a landmark court case over the tax status of Miami grant holders. Archangel Richardville's land in Allen County was placed on tax rolls in 1871, and in 1878 a 202 acre parcel was sold for taxes to an individual named Aldrich. With the aid of her uncle Gabriel Godfroy, Archangel's granddaughter (Mary Strack) succeeded in a law suit claiming tax exemption under the Ordinance of 1787 (Waupemanqua [Mary Strack] v. Aldrich 28 F. 489, circuit court D of Indiana) (US Circuit Court 1886). This decision was upheld in 1891 (Indiana 1891b). This case had far reaching, albeit shortlived, consequences for all the descendants of Miami reserve holders.

Several of James and Archangel's grown children remained on the property, and at the time of the court case, there were about 30 people (Butler 1901:237; MNISI 1989g), 4 families, living in this settlement. James Godfroy possessed a total of 1900 acres at the time he died in 1894. His photograph appeared in the Handbook of North American Indians, identified by his Miami name (Lumkecumwah) under the heading of "Miami" (Hodge 1910:852). This inclusion indicates the persistence of Indian identity among this group of families. Additionally, his wife, Archangel, never learned to speak English, and their children all had Miami names.

At Godfroy's death, most of his land passed to his son John. By the time John died in 1904, there were 72 of his relatives still living at this site (anonymous 1904). Sometime before 1920, the land was lost in a mortgage foreclosure. Two Strack descendants, whose father had grown up on this land, recounted in an interview that, as the city of Fort Wayne expanded, there were growing pressures to displace the family and gain control of the remaining Archangel Richardville land. A donation by the family of 160 acres to the Catholic church "to use for farming"

reportedly ended up being developed as an "urban tract" (Greenbaum 1989). According to this same account, local whites took violent measures to drive the family out. Allegedly, three Miamis were shot and there was an attempt to poison the whole family by replacing chickens hung on their back porch with other chickens that had been tainted. The story goes on to tell of how the judge who finally ordered their eviction was cursed by the family, and indeed suffered many problems in his later life (Greenbaum 1989).

The Godfroy/Strack families had ongoing ties with the Cass family, descendants of JB Richardville, who in 1891 were also still in possession of their grant land in this same area (Indiana 1891b:195). Mary Strack's sister, Louisa, was married to William Cass, and several of their children settled in Fort Wayne. The Englemans in Huntington represented another cluster of more distantly related families. As mentioned, the family of Mary Frances Lafontaine (a granddaughter of Catherine Richardville) also lived in Huntington. Another descendant, John Lafontaine, grandson of Francis, died at Huntington in 1889. He had initially gone to Kansas, but returned to Indiana where he died "a poor man... deeply imbued with the traditions of his race" (Meginness 1891:229). Altogether, this collection of RL descendants was more dispersed than the Miami families in Butler Township (Godfroys and Bundys) or the Meshingomesia reserve families, but they did maintain social contact with each other, as well as a shared interest in tax issues and annuities.

Lacelia Engleman Owens' family was especially active in tribal affairs during the early part of the century, attending meetings of the Headquarters organization (MNISI 1985b 1). The Lafontaine house in Huntington did not pass out of the family until 1943, when Archangel's youngest child died; this, according to conditions specified in her will. Throughout that long period, the house was a permanent home to a large number of the Lafontaine descendants and was visited often by the cousins through Archangel Lafontaines's brother Thomas, and the growing number of Archangel's grandchildren and great grandchildren still living in the Huntington area.

Connections between the Engleman household and other Miami families -- both in the Huntington/Fort Wayne area and at Wabash, Marion and Peru -- were strengthened by marriages involving Godfroys and RL descendants. The pre-removal marriage between James R. Godfroy and Archangel Richardville linked them indirectly with the Strack and Cass families. In the next generation, the marriage between James M. Godfroy (who was James R.'s nephew and Gabriel's son) and Esther Weber (Archangel

Lafontaine's granddaughter) extended and expanded these connections. James M. Godfroy moved into Huntington shortly after his father's death (1910) in search of work. A few years later, he married Esther Weber, daughter of Esther Lafontaine Engleman. Between 1914 and 1931, they had eight children. The family lived in Huntington, and socialized frequently with the large family of Esther's aunt Lacelia Engleman who was still living in the home place.

After TF Richardville's departure for Kansas, leadership in the RL subgroup was divided between Archangel Engleman and James R. Godfroy, and, except for Godfroy's appointment as a delegate to Washington in 1869 and the tax case in 1886, their activities were of an informal nature. During the first half of the 20th century, leadership among the RL descendants emerged out of the nexus between the Godfroys in Peru and the Engleman families around Huntington, with another set of ties linking the Godfroy/Richardville families in the vicinity of Fort Wayne. Lacelia Engleman Owens, daughter of Archangel Lafontaine, was among the signers of a letter in 1937 by the Godfroys protesting efforts of Nettie White on behalf of the Miami Nation (Clarence Godfroy et al., 1937). (Also included were the signatures of her nieces Esther Weber Godfroy, Josephine Weber Thompson and Stella Weber Balzer.) Lacelia Owens had six children, several of whom subsequently became active in tribal affairs: Josephine, the daughter who remained in the Lafontaine house after her grandmother's death, took an interest in Miami cultural affairs and was part of the Maconaquah Pageant during the 1920's (she was also co-organizer of the 1925 Miami annual reunion); John Owens, who joined with the Godfroys' claims efforts during the 1940's; Juanita Owens, the youngest daughter, who initiated the Federal acknowledgment activities in 1979; and Robert Owens, also a son of Lacelia, who presently is tribal council member and is listed as "clan leader" for the RL group (MNISI 1989g). Paul Godfroy, a son of James and Esther Godfroy, is also a member of the tribal council from Huntington.

The RL subgroup emerged in 1979 as leaders in efforts to take advantage of the recently enacted Federal acknowledgment regulations. An RL descendant contacted the Owens family in Huntington and suggested that they join with Indiana Miamis in the west in an effort to become Federally recognized. Instead, the RL descendants attempted to secure an alliance with the other Miami subgroups in Indiana, although without leaving the western group out. Robert Owens, the recognized leader of the RL group, chaired a meeting at Huntington on March 25, 1979. Actually, the Miami Nation, led by Francis Shoemaker, had already met the previous November to discuss the new regulations (MNISI 6/3/79).

The RL group initiated a new organization, the Indiana Miami Organizational Council, with Robert Owens as chair, and members including Paul Godfroy, Gary Moore (son of Juanita Owens Moore), Joe Owens (son of Robert), and Sue and Angie Strass (daughter and granddaughter of Josephine Owens). About one hundred people attended this meeting, roughly a third of whom were RL descendants (MNISI 1989b 71). The other subgroups were also represented, and Francis Shoemaker's overall leadership of the Indiana Miamis was ratified. There was an evident consensus that the organization Shoemaker had reconstituted in 1964 was the most representative of Indiana Miami interests. The 1937 charter of the Miami Nation provided the official structure for renewed efforts to obtain Federal recognition (anonymous 1979). The Organizational Council formed by the RL group remained in existence, as an auxiliary rather than as a competitor, and continues to serve as the organizational framework for the RL families.

Francis Shoemaker is still the chief of the Indiana Miamis, but he is in semi-retirement. His routine leadership functions have been assumed by Ray White, the current tribal chairman. White's position as leader derived important legitimacy from the fact that he is a descendant of Francis Lafontaine (Greenbaum 1989). His great grandmother was Mary Francis Lafontaine, daughter of Francis' son Thomas. White's emergence in this position signifies the contemporary unity of the subgroups and the influence earned by the RL group in instigating the Federal acknowledgment efforts.

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTIONS

Settlement patterns in the pre-removal period.

In the early contact period, the Miamis were semi-sedentary, subsisting on a combination of hunting, fishing and horticulture. With the introduction of European fur traders, commercial hunting played an increasingly important role. Families collected in large riparian villages where they resided during the spring and summer. Individual houses were strung out along the river bank, and sometimes extended over a distance of several miles. Villages also typically included a large council house, separate from the chief's house. Women cultivated and men hunted, and after the harvest women and children accompanied the men on long communal hunts which involved the establishment of smaller temporary winter camps (Callender 1978; Dunn 1919; Glenn et al 1977; Hodge 1910).

Village membership crossed clan lines and was fluid in composition. The traditional range of the Miamis included parts of Michigan, Indiana and Ohio. When first contacted by the French in the early to mid 1600's, the Miamis were principally concentrated on the St. Joseph River in Michigan, from whence they later moved into Indiana. There are indications that unsettled conditions in the region had previously dislocated them from traditional areas further south on the Wabash river, and the movement into Indiana was likely a return to familiar haunts (Callender 1978; Hodge 1910).

Kekionga, the historical capital of the Miami confederacy, consisted of 40 to 50 cabins, surrounded by 500 acres of cultivated fields. Now the site of Fort Wayne, Indiana, this settlement in the late 1700's also included no less than 10 white and mixed blood traders. Miamis withdrew from Kekionga following the treaty of 1795, and settled in a series of about a dozen villages on the upper Wabash and Mississinewa rivers, extending eastward from the forks near Peru (see MNISI 1984b:38 for map and pp. 71-74 for discussion). Use of these settlements reflected the same seasonal mode as in earlier times.

Butler (1901:221) lists the Miami villages in existence in the period after the war of 1812. They were:

> that of Osash [sic], the war chief, located at the conflux of Missisinewa and the Wabash, between Wabash and Peru... the village of the national chief was south of Fort Wayne [near the site of Kekionga]...; Shapeen's village, known as

> [White] Raccoon; and White Loon's village, east of Roanoke; Black Loon's, at Andrews; Big Majenica's at Bleden; Les [sic] Gros, at Lagro; Allohla's at Wabash; Little Charley's (chief of the Eel River Miamis), north of Wabash; Cotticippin's, south of Wabash on Treaty Creek; Joe Richardville's, on the Mississinewa; Meshingomesia's, in the north part of Grant county; Polozwah's [Francis Godfroy], near Peru; Macomaco's village, now Kokomo...other villages of minor importance were the Deaf Man's village (sometimes called the White Woman's village) [Frances Slocum], the Goodboo village, Duck's village, etc., the names of whose chiefs are no longer remembered. Lafontaine's home at the forks [of the Wabash] is sometimes spoken of as a village, but never reached that distinction, although it is understood that Richardville laid out a regular town at this point.

A slightly different set of villages were identified by the agent John Tipton for the period around 1825. At that time the Miamis numbered 848 (Glenn et. al. 1977:67]). In addition to those listed above, he also included the Mississinewa village of Little Huron, Seek's village near the headwaters of the Eel River, and Flat Belly's village in Noble County to the north and west of Fort Wayne. These disparities between lists are likely the result of changing leaders in villages between times of documentation, or perhaps erroneous identification of one or more of these villages. The major villages of the Miamis were those on the Mississinewa where, according to Tipton, 546 of the 848 (64%) of the Miamis resided in 1825. These villages were located very near the river and had by that time begun to transition in appearance -- "cabins were replacing the wigwam structures " (cited Glenn et al 1977:67).

Included among these villages were the antecedents of the major postremoval Miami settlements: Godfroy's village and trading house near Peru; the adjacent village of Osandiah; Deaf Man's small village a few miles south and east; and Metocina's village in northern Grant County. In addition, there was Lafontaine's house in Huntington, which continued to be occupied by his family after his death in 1847.

The first major Miami land cession occurred after the treaty of St. Mary's in 1818. At that time, a 700,000 acre tract between Tipton and Peru (Royce tracts 198, 251, 258) was designated the "Miami National Reserve," and the treaty retained five smaller village reserves. It also granted 21 individual reserves, many to traders of mixed French and Miami background. Subsequent treaties continued this pattern of individual land grants and

other concessions designed to induce the cooperation of the chiefs. Debts to traders became a significant point of treaty negotiation. Cancellation of debts, with compensation given to the traders who held these notes, both accelerated the pace of land cessions and strengthened the influence of the mixed blood trader/chiefs, most notably Francis Godfroy and JB Richardville. The treaty of 1838 eliminated all the communal reserves, except Metocina's; and land grants and debt payments made to Godfroy and Richardville left them vying for the title of "richest Indian in America."

When the removal treaty was signed in 1840, Godfroy and Richardville (both of whom died before removal actually occurred) had gained permission for their families to remain in Indiana and secured for their heirs thousands of acres of tax exempt reserve land. Metocina's band, by then under the leadership of his son Meshingomesia, also managed to avoid removal. His village, on the north bank of the Mississinewa between Somerset and Jalapa, remained a communal reserve, but with provision for its ultimate distribution among the members of the band. In 1845, an additional individual reserve was created for the family of Frances Slocum, at the site of Deaf Man's village on the Mississinewa at the boundary between Miami and Wabash counties.

Meshingomesia's reserve and the smaller individual allotments supported the perpetuation of "bands associated with the allotee" (MNISI 1985e:28). Territorial concentration established both a communal resource base and residential propinquity among those families living on the reserves. Loss of the land had significant impacts, on the one hand eliminating the basis of many communal social and economic activities, but also supplying a pivotal issue in organizing political activities within and between Miami subgroups.

Post-removal settlements.

The removal left Meshingomesia's large communal reserve in Grant County; a reserve area around Francis Godfroy's home at Mt. Pleasant near Peru; a reserve left to Frances Slocum's family on the site of Deaf Man's village, a short distance from Mt. Pleasant; a portion of Osandiah's village site, just to the west of Deaf Man's village; reserves belonging to LaBlonde Richardville and William Cass (a grandson of JB Richardville) near Fort Wayne; and the reserve of Catherine Richardville Lafontaine at the forks of the Wabash at Huntington. These remaining reserve properties evolved into a discontinuous, but proximal, territorial base for the Miami families who remained in Indiana. In 1846, there was a total of 152 individuals in the

families of Richardville (43), Godfroy (28), Slocum (26), and Meshingomesia (55) who had been given official authorization to remain in Indiana (MNISI 1984c 17). Four years later, a joint resolution of Congress extended the authorization to include an additional 101 persons who petitioned to collect their annuities in Indiana (9 Stat. 806). Their exemption brought the total up to 253; the actual number remaining, however, was closer to 300, including a small number of Eel River Miamis who were also given permission to stay in Indiana (MNISI 1989a).

Meshingomesia Reserve

1846 - 1900. At the time of removal, the Meshingomesia reserve consisted of 5,468 acres (the treaty called for 6,400 acres, but a survey at the time of allotment revealed they actually got considerably less), much of which was prime farm land. This land had been granted to the sons of Metocina, who held it communally under the hereditary leadership of Meshingomesia, the eldest.

Metocina's village near Jalapa held 8 families (a total of 46 people) in 1825 (Glenn et. al. 1977: 67). In 1840 the extended Meshingomesia family consisted of 56 members. The reserve population a few years later was considerably larger than that, -- about 100 people. Meshingomesia lived a mile south of the Wabash County line near Jalapa. The reserve was a narrow rectangle running northeasterly from about Jalpa, along the Mississinewa River, into Wabash County. Glenn et. al. (1977:72) state that this territory served as a "refuge" for an assortment of Indians who had avoided removal. The reserve included both non-family, and non-Miamis, e.g. the Pottawatomi Waucoon and the Delaware John Newman (Glenn et al 1977: 73). Waucoon had a house and Baptist church on the "Hogback" section of reserve, and there was also a cemetery there. Meshingomesia's half-brother, Captain Dixon (from whom WF Hale was descended), also lived in this section (Crow 1934:9).

Waucoon was one of several Baptist ministers among the post-removal Miamis. Meshingomesia, although not a minister, was an ardent convert. In the 1860's, he built the Antioch Baptist church on reserve property. Peter Bundy, who lived on Ozahshinquah's reserve, but had relatives living with Meshingomesia, often served as preacher.

Close by the church, Meshingomesia had an elementary school built, which served the children living on the reserve until just after the turn of the 20th century. The Quakers had also established a school on the edge of the reserve, White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute, in 1852. Meshingomesia sold them the

land for this school (Crow 1934:10). At least one, and perhaps other children from the reserve attended, although it was more broadly designed to serve "poor children, white, colored, and Indian" (quoted in Anson 1970:26), many from outside of Indiana.

The latter half of the 19th century was extremely difficult for the inhabitants of the reserve. The reserve population developed a mixed economy, based on agriculture, hunting, fishing and annuities. Annuity payments made them targets of "sharpers" who plied them with expensive wares and alcohol, contributing to acute problems of debt and dependency. Efforts to introduce profitable commercial farming failed, largely due to cultural conflicts and corruption associated with the guardianship system. The communal reserve status of the land created problems when local authorities refused to enforce Miami property rights against white encroachment, and reserve residents began privately alienating communal timber. Meshingomesia evidently believed that allotment would help protect the property of his family by giving them fee simple rights to their land. He was unfortunately mistaken.

In 1872, a Federal act directed the division of the reserve into individually owned parcels; 63 Meshingomesia allotees received grants, or "farms," ranging from 77 to 125 acres (see Meshingomesia subgroup section for a list of recipients). In designating these allotments, the Indian farmers were required to disperse their fields in individual family plots, rather than clustering their fields. The 63 allottees were scattered over an area that was roughly one mile wide and 10 miles long (Rafert 1982:31). These farms were protected from taxes and mortgage sales until 1881, after which the allotees were to become citizens freely able to alienate the land.

The process of determining eligibility for these allotments reveals some of the social and political character of the reserve at that time. In addition to the 63 who received allotments, there were 55 applicants who were residing on reserve land but were denied a share of it (see Glenn et. al. 1977). Those disallowed included some Bundys, Godfroys and Richardvilles who had married in, and others who had long ago been given refuge on the reserve. In deciding who among his band was entitled to take part in the division, Meshingomesia reportedly "made a distinction between welcome guests or refugees and members of his own family" (Anson 1970:278). The distinction was evidently not as clear-cut as Anson suggests, however. The Delaware John Newman's family, and the Pottawatomi Waucoon, both received reserves. Waucoon was adopted, as was Jane Newman (John Newman's wife).

In 1879, Meshingomesia died and his eldest grandson, William Willis Peconga, succeeded him as reserve leader. Peconga assumed his office during the transition to citizenship, and despite his active efforts to prevent it, virtually all of the Meshingomesia land had been sold or foreclosed by the turn of the century. Rafert (1982:42-46) provides a detailed description of the efforts directed by Peconga to regain and consolidate the allotments on the reserve. He and his four brothers had managed to acquire over 1500 acres of allotments by 1885, and they instituted systematic efforts to modernize farming techniques. These activities aimed at stabilizing the economic base of the community, but the Peconga brothers were plagued by high death rates in the reserve population. Between 1879 and 1885, 11 of the 26 males in the Meshingomesia band died. The deceased included some of the most capable farmers (Rafert 1982:41). The depression of the early 1890's precipitated a string of foreclosures on the Meshingomesia reserve. By 1900, only 53 acres (less than 1% of the original reserve) still remained in Miami ownership.

1900- present: William Peconga, whose sister was married to George. Godfroy, moved onto the Godfroy reserve when his land was lost. Some of the Winters family also were able to move in with Godfroys. At least 60 Meshingomesia families moved into Marion, which was experiencing an industrial boom at that time (MNISI 1985e:19). Around the first World War, a large group of Meshingomesia families moved to South Bend where they found work in factories and transport. Others moved to Wabash, Fort Wayne, Muncie and other towns in northcentral Indiana. Virtually none of the Meshingomesias remained in farming.

The school on the reserve was abandoned soon after the turn of the century, although the church remained in use for somewhat longer. The school house was later moved onto a farm lot between the cemetery and the imposing brick house that had belonged to Nelson Tawataw, Meshingomesia's grandson. The cemetery continued in use until the 1930's, when three of the reserve inhabitants were still living on the land.

> Only three Indians are now living on the Meshingomesia Reservation (1934): John Newman, now in his 90th year, and his son Walter, whose mother was a first cousin of Meshingomesia...the other Indian living on the reservation is John Walters, a half-breed. He lives ...on land belonging to his children, the great-great grandchildren of both Meshingomesia and Frances Slocum (Crow 1934:11).

With the above exceptions, the reserve land ceased to have a residential connection for the Meshingomesia descendants. However, the cemetery, school and Tawataw house represented tangible reminders of the community that existed there. Meetings of the Headquarters continued to be held at the church on the reserve during the first two decades of the 20th century (MNISI 1985b 1).

Efforts to maintain the school building and the cemetery, and to protect them from vandalism, have periodically brought dispersed Meshingomesias together in common activities. The reserve land has continued to be highly symbolic, and the source of considerable bitterness. The church property was taken for taxes in 1944, even though it had been tax exempt (Winters et al., 1944). In the 1930's, the descendants managed to secure an historical marker for the cemetery, but there has been ongoing conflict over maintenance by current property owners. Nearly all the markers have suffered damage by vandals. The old school building is presently being used as a corn crib and storage area, although it is scheduled for eventual restoration and measures have been taken to prevent further damage. For both the cemetery and school, mitigation and restoration efforts have been initiated by the Meshingomesia descendants. These concerns have been among the principal ongoing agendas of the tribal organizations in which Meshingomesias participated.

Godroy Reserve

1846- 1900. The Miami families who remained in the area around Peru and Peoria constituted a cluster of settlements that were related through kinship, proximity and pre-removal political alliances. These included lands held by Betsy Whitewolf, Pimyotomah, the Ozashinquah reserve (Deaf Man's village) and Francis Godfroy's former trading house, which he named Mt. Pleasant. Mt. Pleasant was located on the Wabash River about 5 miles east of Peru.

The commanding portion of this territory had belonged to Francis Godfroy. Prior to his death in 1840, Godfroy's dual career as trader and chief had yielded a sizable fortune and thousands of acres stretching for miles between the forks of the Wabash and Mississinewa rivers. He "lived in a style of a baron of feudal times and kept a large retinue of his people constantly around him" (Meginness 1891:220). This retinue consisted of his own large plural family and other related families (e.g., Betsy Whitewolf and Pimyotomah) from the band of Osandiah. Godfroy had expanded his own reserve #9, through purchase of Osandiah's and Wappapinsha's (Black Racoon's) adjacent reserves on the

Mississinewa. When he died, he was able to will in excess of 5,000 acres to his heirs.

The administrators of Godfroy's estate (JB Richardville, Allen Hamilton and Francis' white cousin Edward A. Godfroy) quickly sold #28 and #10 to the town of Peru. Hamilton had been designated guardian of several of Godfroy's children, which facilitated the transfer. By the time of removal the Godfroy land had already become a "patchwork" interspersed with white farms (Rafert 1982:48-49). In 1846, just over 3,000 acres were left in the hands of Godfroy heirs.

The Mt. Pleasant site, including a large triangular section of reserve land in the forks just east of Peru, was inherited by Godfroy's daughter, Frances. She was married to George Hunt (Black Raccoon), who succeeded Francis Godfroy as leader of the community. On an adjacent parcel due east were his daughter Catherine Godfroy Goodboo, son James R. Godfroy (who later moved to Fort Wayne; he married Archangel Richardville), Catherine Coleman (aka Sacaquahtah, Francis' second wife), son William Godfroy, son Gabriel Godfroy, two children of his deceased son Louis, and Clemence Godfroy (who was the daughter of Francis' deceased daughter Louisa). This same set of heirs also held land further east to the edge of the reserve. A large tract in between was owned by Clemence Godfroy. Another daughter, Sallie Godfroy (who married Edward A. Godfroy), held a small tract in the southwestern section along the Mississinewa (see map).

All through the 1850's, the heirs of Francis Godfroy lost sizable amounts of land through sales and mortgage foreclosures. A majority of these parcels were acquired by a white man named John W. Miller and by Edward Godfroy, Sallie Godfroy's white husband. These losses continued during the 1860's, but during that period Gabriel Godfroy began reacquiring land within the boundaries of the reserve. Godfroy's concerted efforts to retain Indian land through the courts began as early as 1855 (he was 21 years old), when he successfully sued to evict a white squatter from his land (Godfroy v. Poe, Miami Circuit Court, spring session, 1855). In 1858, he was again in court, this time suing a Richardville descendant over a piece of land that Richardville had sold to Francis Godfroy (Gabriel Godfroy v. Mongosacquah et. al., Miami Circuit Court, spring session, 1858). The next year, he sued a white purchaser of 185 acres for having a fraudulent title (Godfroy v. Loveland, Miami Circuit Court, fall session, 1859). (All the above cases are described in Rafert 1982:50). Gabriel Godfroy won all of these suits, a reflection of his astuteness and capacity to negotiate within the dominant society. Aside from his personal qualities, he also had important connections

with wealthy and powerful whites. He had a close relationship with Allen Hamilton, the white trader Daniel Bearss and his white cousin, Edward Godfroy. Although these individuals were perhaps at the core of the appropriation of Miami land, the relationship was complex and mediated by paternalism and kinship. In the coming years, small victories yielded to large defeats; but, for the time being, Gabriel Godfroy managed to hold on to a significant land base within what had been his father's reserve.

A sizable group of Miamis filtered back into Indiana in the period after the removal. In 1850, congressional action enabled these returnees to remain and collect their annuities in Indiana, along with the rest of the Miamis who had been permitted to stay. Many of the returning families took refuge with the Godfroys. These returnees included the Goodboos and the Lavonchers (the latter descended from a white trader and the widow of chief Mazequah). A group of Eel River Miamis, who had also been permitted to remain in Indiana, lived on Godfroy land, and several married in to the Godfroy family. When Butler prepared the payroll of 1881, there were 115 people living on the Godfroy reserve, in addition to about 14 Eel River Miamis who were not included on that roll (Butler 1901:237; MNISI 1989e).

By then, the original Godfroy holdings had shrunk to a series of four "island reserves" scattered between the river forks and the Miami County line, totaling about 1800 acres (MNISI 1989e). These were as follows: 1) Gabriel Godfroy's 220 acre farm at the juncture of the Mississinewa and Wabash rivers; 2) Clarence Kissiman's land (husband of Gabe's sister Frances, widow of Black Raccoon) a mile east, where the Francis Godfroy house and cemetery were located; 3) William Godfroy's (Gabe's older brother) land a mile south from Kissiman's; and 3) the adjacent homesites of the Pimyotomah and Mongosa heirs just to the east, around the bend of the Mississinewa. Although not contiguous, these tracts were separated from each other by distances of no more than a few miles.

Collectively, these tracts were known as "Squawtown" to the surrounding white residents. Some information about the life-style of these families is provided in Hundley's (1939) memoirs of his childhood in the late 1870's when his father, a white farmer, was hired by Gabriel Godfroy to teach the Indians to farm.

> Squawtown was scarcely a town; it did not have a single store. The name had been derisively given to the small reservation. (Hundley 1939:17)

He goes on to explain that it was not a "reservation" in the same sense as those in the west, but rather was a collection of Indian and mixed blood families who lived in the same area. He also mentions the presence of white farmers in the same vicinity and a crew of white woodsmen, living there temporarily while they cut the timber from some of Gabriel Godfroy's land (p. 32-33).

Hundley also describes the school on the reserve (Stony Point), noting that "only part of the white population sent children to 'the Indian school,' as they called it" (p. 48). Several of the white children who were sent there (e.g., the Coiners) later married Miamis, and their children became involved in tribal issues. Stony Point school was attended by two generations of Butler Township Miamis; it remained in operation until about 1910. A photo taken in 1891 shows 31 children in the school at that time, 10 of whom are identified in the caption as "Indian" (Stony Point School photo, MNISI 1984c 53).

The largest house in "Squawtown" belonged to Gabriel, whose 220 acre farmstead had cows, cattle, sheep, pigs, horses, a five acre apple orchard and 180 acres under cultivation. (Rafert 1982:52) A prosperous man, Gabriel also attempted to provide for the economic well-being of the other Miami families. Like George Slocum, William Peconga and Little Turtle, Godfroy tried to orchestrate a collective transition to commercial agriculture in order to maintain the economic viability of Miami landholdings. Initially, he offered white farmers in the vicinity rent free land if they would instruct the Miami farmers in modern techniques. These early efforts met with failure, as the white farmers generally abandoned the agreement after only one season (Rafert 1982:31). In 1875, he arranged to pay Benjamin Hundley to move on to the reserve and engage in a full time effort to convert the Miamis into successful farmers. This endeavor also ended in failure, although Hundley remained for two seasons (Hundley 1939).

The economy of the Godfroy reserve mixed traditional subsistence with a growing dependence on cash. Commercial farming was aimed at the market. Miami farmers (who were traditionally women) had no difficulty raising enough food, especially when supplemented with hunting, fishing and gathering. The impetus for the transition came from a growing need for cash to meet consumer needs and to pay taxes on the land. The capital requirements of commercial farming, however, only increased the need for cash, and Miami Indian men were not culturally preadapted to be successful farmers. Although they did not abandon this effort, their failures in operating successful farms contributed to the inability to maintain their land. In response to these

pressures, the Miami families, under Gabriel Godfroy's leadership, adopted a strategy of continued dependence on traditional subsistence coupled with a concerted effort to free themselves of the burdens of taxation.

Hundley's account attests to the importance of hunting and fishing for the Miamis during the late 19th century. The need to be off on hunting and fishing trips, or to check traps and lines, was one factor that regularly interfered with their ability to learn how to farm or properly attend their fields. Gabriel Godfroy organized large scale winter hunting expeditions into Wisconsin. In addition to the importance for subsistence, these economic activities involved varying degrees of common effort, as well as continuities with traditionally communal orientations to getting a living. Hundley describes a great deal of visiting among the Miami families, who lived within easy reach of each other.

During the 1880's, Gabriel managed to further increase his land holdings and was temporarily successful in his legal efforts to stave off taxation. The last annuity payment in 1881 provided needed cash to acquire land and helped defray the expenses of legal challenges to the taxation of Miami land. Although he lost his own case in 1878, a relative in Fort Wayne (Mary Strack) won hers in 1886, and the Miami County Circuit Court found in Godfroy's favor in 1891 and 1893.

As the end of the century approached, Gabriel Godfroy was still a rich man. Meguiness (1891:222) described his residence, as "a splendid farm...[with a] modern 2 story brick house...barns and outbuildings are ample." Not long after, however, the depression of 1893 forced him to sell his 220 acre farmstead to the Hagenbach and Wallace Circus, and an additional 182 acres were sold to pay costs of law suits. He then moved onto the Kissiman land and greatly enlarged the Mt. Pleasant house. Apparently, other families dislocated by the land sales were also moved into the Mt. Pleasant house (MNISI 1989e), or into the cabins Gabe had built on the property at this same time. The remodeled structure had 10 rooms:

> each a living room of some of the chief's descendants. There are two or three other buildings near, and these house other members of the tribe, while the rest of the tribal remnant is scattered about the vicinity. (anonymous 1914).

Loss of land in this instance did not produce a scattering, but rather an orchestrated reconsolidation.

1900 - 1930. Gabriel Godfroy, who directed the relocation process, was in large measure providing for his immediate family. This was, however, a very extensive group. His three wives had produced a total of 19 children (although not all survived to adulthood). Some of his early offspring had children of their own by the time his later ones were born -- yielding a large cohort of children, who were aunts, uncles, siblings, half-siblings and cousins to each other. These interrelated families lived close together, in the same house, or in adjoining cabins, or a mile down the road where Peter Godfroy (Gabe's son) had a farm. The Mongosas and several other Miami families (heirs of Pimyotomah and Polly Wildcat/Bruell) also lived nearby.

Oral history interviews (Greenbaum 1989) describe frequent social events at the Gabe Godfroy home place and weekly dances which also included non-Miami families living in the area. Three rooms of the big house were set aside for the dancing, and police from Peru provided security. On Sundays many people dropped in for meals. In his declining years, Gabe became a legendary storyteller, who entertained the children several nights a week telling stories under a large crabapple tree in his front yard.

The nearby circus winter quarters provided further entertainment for the children of the settlement, as well as employment for some of the adults. Miami cultural traditions were preserved and revitalized in pageants and street fairs organized by Gabe, and Miamis participated in the horse races at Peru. Hunting and fishing were social, as well as economic activities, and occasions to instruct the younger generation in tribal lore.

Gabriel's unsuccessful tax suits ultimately caused him to lose all of his land, except for 240 acres that he deeded to children of his son Peter in 1905. During the last years of his life he lived with Peter and his wife Louisa Aveline Godfroy. Other Godfroy reserve families managed to retain land into the 20's and 30's, and a small parcel still belongs to one of the heirs.

The break-up of the Godfroy settlement was more gradual than with the Meshingomesias, and the families affiliated with the Godfroy band were able to maintain rural communal relations for a longer period of time. Migration into Peru was later and more staggered than in the case of the Meshingomesia move into Marion. In 1910, there was only one Godfroy Miami family living in Peru (MNISI 1989e); by the 1940's, Peru had become the main settlement area, although there were still a few people living on the land.

In 1910 Gabe Godfroy died. His younger cousin, George Godfroy, who was leader of the Headquarters, succeeded him as leader of

the Godfroy group. In the mid 1920's, however, Francis Godfroy (Gabriel's son) began taking over leadership, at least in relation to the Godfroy family, and focused attention more narrowly on the tax status of reserve properties. Tax exemptions on several parcels of Godfroy land expired in 1915. A few years later, the heirs stopped paying taxes on this land, initiating a new round of court battles.

1930- present. The legal cases brought by the Godfroy heirs were again determined on the basis that citizenship and allotment had canceled Miami treaty rights. The adverse judgment in Godfroy v. Soames caused Elizabeth Coiner (Ira's sister) to lose her land. The other heirs were forced to pay their tax bills in order to retain title. Elizabeth's 38 acres, however, were acquired in 1943 by her brother Oliver, who had been away working in Detroit. He was also heir to Ira's remaining land, when he died in 1961. In 1974, Oliver stopped paying his taxes and sought the help of Tom Tureen, one of the attorneys in the Maine land case. Oliver Godfroy (Swimming Turtle) ultimately won his case in 1977. By that time, all of the other Godfroy reserve land had been lost to taxes or mortgage foreclosure. Even Swimming Turtle's victory did not stem the losses. He died almost immediately after the judgment was handed down. Conflicts among his heirs, and white spouses of heirs, eventually led to the loss of all but 1 1/3 acres of the land that Gabriel had carefully transferred to the children of Peter and Louisa Godfroy.

The tax battles assumed increasing symbolic, and correspondingly less substantive, importance. The homesite of Peter and Louisa Godfroy was only part of the land previously incorporated in "Squawtown." The other families -- Mongosas, Wards, Bradleys, Bruells, Lavonchers, Pecongas, etc. -- no longer had land by the 1970's. With the gradual loss of land in the teens and 20's, and accelerated losses in the 30's, there was a growing incidence of industrial migration. A large number of Miami men worked for the railroad. Some worked for the circus and traveled around the country. When the Godfroy v. Soames case was filed in 1940, Oliver Godfroy was in Detroit working in the auto industry. He later returned and lived on the farm. By the time of his law suit in 1977, Oliver Godfroy was living with his sister Eva on E. 6th St. in Peru, in a section inhabited by numerous other Miami families.

Even among those Miamis who were migratory or had permanently relocated to one of the nearby towns, the reserve land continued to serve important functions. Those made jobless by the depression often sought refuge with kin who still had land and gardens. Peter Godfroy permitted some to reoccupy the cabins his

father had built for refugees from the depression of the 1890's (Greenbaum 1989). In addition to periods of crisis, general fluctuations in the regional industrial economy periodically reinforced the value of maintaining a home base. Transcripts of the tax cases describe these shifting occupancy patterns, most notably Swimming Turtle's own sojourning (US District Court 1977a).

Ozashingquah Reserve

1846- 1900. The Ozahshinquah reserve was granted to Frances Slocum's youngest daughter (also known as Jane Bundy). It was located on the former site of Deaf Man's village on the Mississinewa east of Peru near Peoria. The community that developed on and around Jane Bundy's land (about 25 people in 1880) was closely connected with the Godfroy group, and together they formed a cluster of Miami families in Butler Township. Mt. Pleasant was approximately five miles away, with other Godfroy and Pimyotomah reserve land at a distance of only about a mile. They confronted similar problems in maintaining ownership of their land, and they socialized and cooperated with the other Miami families in the vicinity. However, the Bundy's retained their separate identity and operated independently in the tribal-political process. The Bundy's had their own leadership, and the course that their land losses took differed from that of the Godfroys.

When Frances Slocum died in 1847, Ozashinquah's reserve consisted of 667 acres. Frances Slocum had lived in a modern brick house on a hill overlooking the river. Nearby there was another log building and a few outhouses. Several cabins were built on the other side of the river. Alongside the bluff was a path leading north to Francis Godfroy's trading house. Frances Slocum was relatively prosperous. In addition to her house and land, she owned cattle, hogs, chickens and 300 Indian ponies. Miamis from all over Butler Township used to gather in a four acre field near her house, where they raced their ponies and horses (Lamb and Schultz 1964:104). She experienced problems with her large herd of ponies which, it is reported, were stolen repeatedly by whites living in that general area (Meginness 1891:135).

When she died in 1847, Frances Slocum was buried close to her house, near her husband's grave, in a cemetery she expressly provided in her will should be maintained perpetually as a family burial lot. After her death, the settlement expanded greatly as Jane Bundy's large family grew to adulthood. Peter Bundy and JB Brouillette (husbands of Frances' two daughters) were the leaders of the Bundy settlement during the latter half of the

19th century. George Slocum, her white nephew whom she persuaded to help her family learn to farm, was also a leading figure in this early post-removal community (see prior section on the Bundy subgroup). George Slocum died in 1860 and JB Brouillette died in 1867. Peter Bundy, who lived nearly until the turn of the century, emerged as the surviving leader of the community. As he grew older, his sons Camillus and Judson assumed increasingly prominent leadership roles.

At Jane Bundy's death in 1877, her land was inherited by her husband Peter and her many living children and surviving grandchildren. In her lifetime she had increased her holdings to 805 unmortgaged acres, which included the original reserve and a section of Tahkonong reserve #28, a few miles north and east on the Mississinewa. Heirs to her land were as follows:

1) 60 acres to husband Peter Bundy, who was later remarried to Francis Godfroy's daughter Frances;

2) 106 acres to daughter Roseann, who married Robert Peconga, Meshingomesia's grandson;

3) 60 acres to daughter Hanna, who married Moses Mongosa, nephew of Pimyotomah;

4) 60 acres to granddaughter Nancy Mongosa, daughter of Eliza and JB Brouillette, married to her uncle Moses Mongosa's brother;

5) 60 acres to Francis Godfroy Peconga, Jane's daughter by first husband Louis Godfroy, married William Peconga, brother of Robert;

6) 60 acres to Elizabeth Godfroy, daughter by her second husband, first wife of Gabriel Godfroy;

7) 224 acres to son Judson Bundy, married to Gabriel Godfroy's daughter and, subsequently, to Gabriel's niece;

8) 224 acres to son Camillus Bundy, married to Gabriel Godfroy's niece;

9) 35 acres to Melvina Tawataw, daughter by her fourth husband, married to Meshingomesia's grandson Nelson.

[MNISI 1989g]

The offspring of Jane Bundy reflect myriad connections with both

the Godfroy group (including Pimyotomah/Mongosas) and the Meshingomesias. These shared landholdings reinforced social and economic ties among the different subgroups, although the Meshingomesias' difficulties holding on to their own land may have contributed to the loss of some of the Ozahshinquah property. Roseann and Robert Peconga had sold their Ozashinquah land to Commodore Perry Marks in 1883, perhaps as part of the effort to finance acquisition of Meshingomesia reserve land. They ultimately moved into Marion. William and Frances Peconga sold their 60 acres to another white man in 1887, and later moved onto the property of his sister and her husband, George Godfroy. Melvina Bundy Tawataw moved on the Meshingomesia reserve, but her husband died in 1872, and his house and property were later foreclosed. She sold the Ozashinquah land in 1882. It is unclear where she was living when she died in 1894.

The two heirs who married Mongosas stayed on their land. Hannah Mongosa, who later married a white man named Buble, occupied her inheritance until she died in 1897. Nancy Mongosa, who later married John Bundy (a relative of Peter's, not related to her), stayed on the reserve with her three children by both marriages.

Elizabeth Godfroy lived on her husband Gabriel's estate. When she died in 1879, her Ozahshinquah land passed to Gabriel, and he transferred it to his son Peter Godfroy in 1886 (who retained in until 1902). Judson Bundy, who married Gabriel Godfroy's daughter, continued to reside on reserve land, although he sold most of it during the 1890's; he sold 80 acres to Gabriel Godfroy in 1894, and all but about 40 acres were gone by 1896.

Camillus Bundy lived on his land in a house down the road from Frances Slocum's homesite. Under Camillus' leadership, this central part of the Ozahshinquah reserve became the focus of Bundy efforts to retain their land and regain Federal recognition. Frances Slocum's house burned in 1882, destroying the many Miami relics it contained. When Meguiness viewed the site in about 1890, "nothing remained but weeds and a pile of stones" (Meginess 1891:137). Camillus maintained his reserve land largely intact until after the turn of the century. His father, Peter, also remained on his 60 acres until his death in 1897; the land was sold for taxes in 1899 (MNISI 1989g).

1900-1930. By the turn of the century, much of the reserve land had passed out of the hand of Jane Bundy's heirs. Only 281.5 acres remained in 1902 (MNISI 1989g). Although dwindling, the reserve land continued to provide a territorial base for some of the Bundy families. Several had moved to other Miami communities with their Godfroy or Meshingomesia spouses. In the early part

of the century, the main families living on the Ozashinquah reserve were those of Camillus Bundy and Nancy Mongosa Bundy. Nancy's three sons -- Julius Mongosa, Sam and Ross Bundy -- remained, as did the surviving son of Hanna Mongosa. The Bundy children went to school at Peoria, which was also attended by white children. Families on the reserve farmed and raised chickens and ducks, as well as horses and mules. Their land adjoined the river, and they made abundant use of fish and other riverine resources. They also hunted coons and trapped muskrats and squirrels. Life styles in the Ozashinquah settlement were very similar to those on the nearby Mongosa, Pimyotomah and Godfroy land, all of which had been chosen to include river access.

Kin ties and social relationships drew the Bundy families into multifaceted associations with the other Butler Township Miamis. Camillus Bundy was one of the prime instigators of the effort to gain tax exemption for reserve land and in the formation of the Headquarters. The Bundy family was also involved in efforts to preserve Miami culture. The Miami annual reunion was begun by Camillus in 1903 and was initially held on the cemetery grounds (MAR 8/20/67; Greenbaum 1989). His nephew, Ross Bundy, helped organize the Maconaquah Pageant (named for Frances Slocum) in the early 1920's. Prior to launching the formal pageant, the Bundy children and others from Butler Township had participated in similar cultural activities in the context of informal social gatherings that took place on various Miami farms in the early part of the century (MNISI 1989c; Greenbaum 1989).

Oral history interviews indicated that the Miami cultural activities (both in the pageants and the reunions) began as family entertainment, designed in part to reaffirm the value of traditions for the younger and more dispersed descendants who, it was feared, would lose contact with this aspect of their heritage (Greenbaum 1989). As the participants became more practiced and the productions got more elaborate, these activities became more institutionalized. Informal presentations and socializing among Butler Township families continued, although steadily diminishing with increasing outmigration. The Maconaquah pageant developed during the same period that the last families were leaving the Ozahshinquah reserve.

By the 1920's, most of the Bundy families had sold or lost their land and moved into the nearby towns of Marion, Wabash and Peru. Hannah Mongosa's only son (a bachelor) died in 1912, and his land was sold soon afterward. Nancy Mongosa Bundy's son, Sam, moved to "either Wabash or Peru...shortly after 1900" (MNISI 1989g:2). Her other son, Ross, raised his family on the reserve, across the

river from Camillus Bundy's land. They moved into Marion in 1926. Camillus Bundy sold some of his land (26.5 acres) in 1904, and in 1923 the land containing the cemetery was sold in a mortgage foreclosure. The following year, he lost his remaining 113.5 acres, also in a mortgage foreclosure. After protracted losing efforts to stay on the land and regain ownership through the courts, Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, he finally moved to Wabash in 1930.

Richardville/Lafontaine Descendants

The contemporary RL group in Indiana derives from two of JB Richardville's daughters, Catherine and LaBlonde. In 1846, Richardville's heirs in Huntington and Allen County held 5,000 acres of reserve land. Catherine Richardville was married to Francis Lafontaine, and they lived in Huntington. LaBlonde, who died in 1847, lived on her reserve in the vicinity of Fort Wayne. Her will left this land to her son George and daughter Archangel. George died soon after, leaving his share of the land to his sister, Archangel, and son, William Cass (Indiana 1891b:194-195).

Much of the three sections left to Catherine Richardville, along with that belonging to her husband (Lafontaine), was lost through sales and generous donations to the Catholic Church by John Roche, who was guardian of the Lafontaine children. The other Richardville heirs confronted similar vicissitudes. However, two important pieces of reserve land were maintained throughout the 19th century -- the Archangel Richardville land in Allen County and the Lafontaine/Engleman house in Huntington. These two areas, and the families who inhabited them, became the main focus for continued tribal activity by the descendants and were the major settlements for this subgroup.

There were other Miamis still living, or recently arrived, in the general region including Fort Wayne and Huntington. Kilsoquah Revoir, granddaughter of Little Turtle, had gone west but returned sometime after 1881 (Butler 1881). Several of the Fort Wayne families were Godfroys or Mongosas and/or people from those groups with marriage ties to the RL descendants. Although more dispersed than those families living on the Meshingomesia reserve or in Butler Township, the RL families reflected a spatial concentration in the early period after the removal that continued for several generations. The contemporary descendants are disproportionately located in this same area.

1846- 1900 Catherine Richardville Lafontaine died at age 40, one year after the death of her husband. She left seven children,

the oldest of whom was 19. Their guardian placed them in Catholic schools in Fort Wayne and Lafayette, but they retained the family house in Huntington. Three of the older children (Louis, Esther and John) went west in the 1860's, about the same time as TF Richardville. Thomas Lafontaine remained in Huntington, although not in his father's house. Frances and Joseph both died some time before 1881, leaving no known descendants. Catherine's youngest daughter, Archangel (b. 1844), moved into the Lafontaine house in Huntington, where she raised seven children by her marriage (in the early 1860's) to a German immigrant named Christian Engleman.

LaBlonde Richardville had one daughter, Archangel (b. c 1826). Archangel Richardville married James R. Godfroy in about 1840; they already had two children at the time of removal. Although they originally settled on the Godfroy reserve in Peru, sometime after 1849 they moved onto 3 sections of land (about 1900 acres) south of Fort Wayne, which Archangel had inherited from her mother in 1847. They continued to occupy this land throughout the remainder of the century.

William Cass, Archangel Richardville's nephew (son of her brother George), left two children -- William jr. and Sarah Cass Keiser. Sarah lived most of her adult life in the Butler Township community. One of her children is buried in the Godfroy cemetery. Around the turn of the century, they migrated to Oklahoma and settled in the area around the Quapaw agency, where many of her descendants continue to live, including Lenora Amphlett, who serves as spokesperson for Indiana Miamis in the west. William jr. remained in Fort Wayne and married Louisa Godfroy, daughter of James R. and Archangel. Many of the children of these two families (the Godfroys and the Cass') also stayed in Fort Wayne area and maintained an association with each other (Greenbaum 1989).

1900-1943. The Engleman family continued to occupy the Lafontaine house in Huntington after the death of Archangel Lafontaine. Her daughter, Lacelia Owens, remained in the house and raised her six children there. Archangel moved out of the house in her old age, into a smaller house in town. Her oldest granddaughter, Josephine Owens, moved along with her and cared for her until she died in the 1920's. Josephine then married and moved back into the Lafontaine house with her mother (Greenbaum 1989). One of her children was born there in 1931. The family moved into another house in Huntington in about 1935, and Lacelia Owens died in 1938. Although they no longer occupied the house, it remained in family ownership until 1943, when it was sold. The house is still standing, and is presently being restored as

an historic site. The descendants of Archangel Lafontaine have taken an active role in the restoration process.

Among the RL descendants, the family of Lacelia Owens took the leading role in tribal activities during the first half of the 20th century. Lacelia, her son John and daughter Josephine, were among the participants in several Miami organizations during the 1920's, 30's and 40's. Lacelia's niece, Esther Weber Godfroy, also lived in Huntington. The two families socialized with each other on a regular basis, and were jointly involved in Miami activities (Greenbaum 1989). For example, Esther Weber's signature appears in proximity to that of Lacelia Owens on a 1937 letter to the Interior Department, sent by the Godfroys protesting the activities of the Miami Nation (Clarence Godfroy et al., 1937). Descendants of Thomas Lafontaine, the Evans family who had moved to Muncie, were also brought into involvement with the Godfroy council during this same period (Greenbaum 1989), partly as a result of ongoing social connections with the Engleman family.

There was also an ongoing acquaintance between the Englemans and the James R. Godfroy and Cass families in Fort Wayne. They, in turn, had relations with the Godfroy group in Butler Township. Swan Hunter, a daughter of Gabriel Godfroy, recounted visits from and to Miamis in Huntington when she was a child, and she lived there for a time (MNISI 1989c). A granddaughter of Lacelia Owens stated that Eva Bossley, one of the leaders in the Godfroy organization during the 1940's and 50's, also used to visit her family in Huntington and the family of Eva's nephew James M. Godfroy (Greenbaum 1989).

The major settlement in Fort Wayne was that of James R. and Archangel Godfroy. By the turn of the century both had died, and the land was held by their son, John, who was the leader of a localized group of about 70 relatives. The Mary Strack court case in 1886, which was upheld in 1891, helped secure their occupancy of this land. The families farmed, raised poultry, hunted and fished. They regarded the land as a "reservation" and were considered by their neighbors to be Indians (Greenbaum 1989). John Godfroy died in 1904, still in possession of the 1900 acres (anonymous 1904). This land was lost sometime in the early 1920's. The alleged conflicts associated with their eviction were described in the RL subgroup section.

Secondary Migrations of Landless Miamis

Few of the early Miami landholders were able to compete in commercial agriculture. Following the depression of 1893 and on through the first two decades of the 20th century, most left

farming for other occupations. During the same period, the railroad towns in northcentral Indiana were industrializing and offered employment opportunities for unskilled laborers. Many Miamis, both men and women, found work in nearby factories, or in larger plants in more distant towns and cities. The railroads became a major source of employment for men leaving the Miami reserve communities.

The settlement patterns of Miamis who left the land during the teens, 20's and 30's, largely reflect considerations of employment. Although migrants became much more scattered, several factors ameliorated the disruptive social effects of this movement. Particular towns tended to attract migrants from the same subgroups, based on proximity to reserve lands, and also as a result of chain migration (i.e., subsequent movement of friends and relatives of early migrants to the same location). Additionally, there continued to be movement back and forth between town and countryside. The dwindling number of families who managed to hold onto their farms provided a kind of home base, to which economic migrants could return in times of difficulty. Several examples are cited in interviews and other documents of individuals who moved away in search of work and then later returned to the family farm, or to farm for other Miami landowners (Greenbaum 1989; US District Court 1977a; MNISI 1989c). The farms in Butler Township also helped feed the families living in Peru during the depression (Greenbaum 1989).

Peru, which was only a few miles from the Francis Godfroy reserve, attracted mainly migrants from the Godfroy group. In 1910, there was only one Miami family living in Peru (Francis Godfroy) (MNISI 1989e:9). In the following decades, however, many Godfroys and Mongosas moved into Peru, and it was the principal site for meetings of the Godfroy council during the 1940's and onward. These families tended to concentrate in the southeastern section of the town near the Wabash River. Peru was a rail center, and many worked for the railroad.

When the Meshingomesia reserve was lost, a large number of the inhabitants moved into Marion. Reportedly, a "barracks" was established to house these refugees in the vicinity of 3rd and Washington Streets. By 1900, however, census schedules showed no Miami families in that part of Marion, although there was a concentration in the northeast part above the bend in the Mississinewa River (MNISI 1989e). Miamis continued to inhabit the latter neighborhood, although they spread out into other parts of Marion in later years. Robert Peconga and his wife Rose Ann Bundy were among the first to move to Marion, and their family continued to reside there, as did the Walters family who

were grandchildren of Nelson Tawataw. Elijah Marks, his sons Oatis and Andrew Marks, Elijah Shapp and some of the Winters family lived close to each other in the northeast part of Marion, and the meetings of the Miami Nation were commonly held in Elijah Marks' house (derived from addresses listed in MI/MNI minutes 1930's and 40's). Ross Bundy also moved to Marion in about 1926, when he left the Ozahshinquah reserve

Wabash was the town closest to the Ozashinquah land, and several Bundy families moved there in the 20's and 30's. Camillus Bundy was living in Wabash at the time of his death in 1935. David Bundy's family lived on Walnut, and Dulcina Bundy's granddaughter, Opal Elshire, lived in the same neighborhood. Another granddaughter, Ladema Ross, lived close by on Hill Street, and one of Sam Bundy's daughters lived on Michigan Street in that same area (Greenbaum 1989). David Bundy worked for the fire department, but most of the other Miamis had factory jobs, many in the large General Tire factory located at Wabash. During the 1930's, Wabash became the permanent site for the Miami annual reunion.

Peru, Marion and Wabash were the major towns of second settlement for the Miamis who left the reserve land during the early part of the century. These towns continue to reflect disproportionate numbers of Godfroys, Bundys, and Meshingomesias, respectively. Other smaller towns in the vicinity, such as Roann, Chili and Denver, also attracted Miami migrants; as did the larger towns and cities, like Fort Wayne, Indianapolis and South Bend. The group of Meshingomesias who moved to the South Bend area in the teens and early 20's was described previously, but other Miamis also moved into that part of Indiana in later years. There has also been considerable movement back and forth among the different Indiana towns. Miamis who worked for the railroads often traveled long distances from Indiana, which in some cases led them to settle in other states.

In the period between 1920 and the present, the Miami tribal membership has grown from an estimated 700 people to more than 4000. In this expansion, there has been a pronounced spreading out of the tribal membership into nearly all the states in the US. Since World War II, especially, younger and better educated Miamis have increasingly moved into more distant states, although as a group they have tended to favor smaller cities and towns over large metropolises.

Contemporary Geographic Distributions

Addresses listed for individuals on the current roll of the Miami

Nation of Indiana were analyzed to determine the geographic distribution of contemporary members, both overall and broken down by subgroups. The figures presented are based on 4288 individuals whose decendency can be traced to one or more of the "list ancestors" who appeared on the 1895 payroll (101 individuals whose descendency has not been established were omitted from the analysis). The petitioner provided a list indicating which of the 1895 ancestors were associated with each of the four subgroups. Based on these groupings, all the descendants on the current roll were assigned to one of the four subgroup categories -- Godfroy, Meshingomesia, Bundy, or RL. Residence patterns of current tribal members (overall and by subgroup) were determined on the basis of state, city/town, and zip code. These were the geographic indicators included with each entry on the tribal roll. County was not included. The results of this analysis are presented below.

States: A majority (53%) of Indiana Miami tribal members still reside in the state of Indiana (n = 2291).* Oklahoma has the next largest concentration of members (261 or 6%); Missouri has 5% (112); Michigan and Illinois each have 4% (189 and 186, respectively); and Kansas has 3% (135). Only 3 additional states have 100 or more tribal members: California with 124; Florida with 109; and Texas with 100. The total tribal membership is distributed among 44 different states; 2 members live in Australia, and 6 are in West Germany.

The general pattern of states represented above indicates that a large majority of tribal members reside in areas of traditional post-removal Miami settlement, which includes Oklahoma, Missouri and Kansas, as well as Indiana (65.3% altogether). Michigan, Ohio and Illinois directly adjoin the state of Indiana, and there are sizable numbers of Miamis living in these states. Although these areas were included in the traditional habitat of the early post-contact Miamis, contemporary residence there mostly reflects outmigration from Indiana in the modern era. People living in these states, especially Michigan (the border of which is very close to South Bend), are in many cases located near enough to the center of tribal activities in Indiana to have some contact with the core area. For example, a disproportionate number of persons outside of Indiana who have attended the Miami Annual Reunion over the past 35 years are drawn from these three states (MAR). If the figures on residence in Ohio, Illinois and Michigan are added to those of Indiana, Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri, the total amounts to 77% of the tribal enrollment.

The only remaining states with appreciable numbers of Indiana Miamis (Florida, California and Texas) are distant from the core,

and the resident families are relatively scattered from each other. These are very large states which have experienced a high level of growth in the past 15 years, and Miami residence primarily reflects broader demographic patterns of the nation as a whole.

Towns and Cities: Contemporary tribal members are distributed among 776 different towns and cities in the United States. This large number of separate settlement areas would appear to reflect a broad pattern of residential dispersion. As indicated above, however, these municipalities tend to cluster in only a few states, with the densest concentration in Indiana. There are a total of 51 towns and cities with more than 10 tribal members: 28 are in Indiana; 10 in Oklahoma/Kansas/Missouri; 6 in Michigan/Ohio/Illinois; and 7 more in other states (see map).

The latter represent geographic clusters that are spatially disconnected from the broad core areas around Indiana and Oklahoma. There are relatively large family groups in Tucson, Arizona; Ocala, Florida; Omaha, Nebraska; Las Vegas, Nevada; Portland, Oregon; Mead, Washington; Kent, Washington; Watertown, Wisconsin; and Cheyenne, Wyoming. These groupings mainly reflect patterns of individual or nuclear family migration two or more generations ago. As mentioned, beginning in the 1920's and 30's, many Miami men worked for the railroads, and for the circus. These migratory occupations tended to spearhead resettlement outside of Indiana. Others departed as individuals in search of opportunities, or were transferred by their employers, in the post World War II period. Much of the remainder of Miami residence outside of the core areas can also be attributed to this broad scale "frictional" mobility (i.e., driven by the labor market) that has been a by-product of the modern industrial economy. It is noteworthy, however, that the places to which Indiana Miamis have been drawn tend to be small cities or towns, rather than large metropolises. New York City has only one member, Los Angeles has none, and Chicago (which is relatively close to Indiana) has only six.

There is also a fairly large number of Miamis now living in Indiana who are return migrants, i.e., they moved out of the core area during earlier periods and have since returned. This observation is based on anecdotal information and limited documentary sources (e.g., Oliver Godfroy, aka Swimming Turtle, spent many years in Detroit before returing to Peru). Precise estimates of the level of return migration is not possible.

Indiana towns and cities: The largest concentration of Miamis (454) is found in Peru, Indiana, which is also the location of

the tribal headquarters. The area surrounding Peru contained the Godfroy and Pimyotomah reserves, and it was the major magnet for Miami families on these reserves who lost their land in the early to mid 20th century. Nearly all (95%) of the Miamis now living in Peru are descendants of Godfroy (or Pimyotomah) reserve dwellers. Meshingomesia and Bundy descendants respectively account for 19, and 15 of the Peru residents. None is from the RL group. The Miami families in Peru are located predominantly in the older eastern section of the town, between Canal Street and Main. On E. Canal, there are 4 separate Miami addresses in the 300 block alone, and the nearby 2nd and 3rd streets also contain multiple Miami addresses within single blocks.**

Fort Wayne, with 277, is the next largest Miami settlement. This is the former site of Kekionga, and Miamis have lived in this area continuously since the 1700's. A sizable number (78 or 28%) of Miamis currently living in this city are RL descendants, whose ancestors had reserve land in the vicinity of Fort Wayne. About twice as many (135 or 49%) are Godfroy descendants, who mainly migrated to Fort Wayne in search of employment. There are 58 Meshingomesias and 6 Bundys, who came largely for the same reasons. Huntington, which is about 20 miles from Fort Wayne, is another site that was historically associated with the RL descendants, especially those related to Francis Lafontaine. Currently, 89 Indiana Miamis live in Huntington, 70 of whom (79%) are RL descendants. The Huntington families show some contemporary residential clustering in the east central part of the city north of the junction of the Erie and Wabash railroad lines, on Market, Washington and Franklin Streets. Families in this area include descendants of the Engelmans and James M. Godfroys, and several others from the Godfroy group. In addition to RL descendants, other Miamis who reside in Huntington are distributed as follows: 10 Meshingomesias; 5 Godfroys; and 4 Bundys.

Wabash, which is about 15 miles east of Peru, contains 240 Indiana Miamis. These include Bundys (89), Meshingomesias (80) and Godfroys (64) and a small number of RL descendants (7). Wabash is most important for the Bundys, accounting for 22% (89/411) of all Bundy descendants; it contains the second largest concentration of Meshingomesias (the largest being South Bend). The current distribution in Wabash continues to reflect the early 20th century patterns of migration, which drew most heavily from the Ozashinquah and Meshingomesia reserve families. The northeast section of Wabash contained a neighborhood where several Bundy and Meshingomesia families lived in close proximity. Many of their descendants still live in this general location. Four Miami families live on E. Hill St., and others

reside within about a 7 block radius, on Elm, Walnut, Maple, Wilson, and Sinclair Streets.

Some of the Meshingomesia families in Wabash had originally settled in Marion after the loss of the reserve land, and then moved into Wabash in the 1930's. Marion is the town closest to the Meshingomesia reserve, and it is alleged that a temporary Miami relocation "barracks" was established there in the early 1890's. This report is based on a single oral account which could not be confirmed in the 1900 census listings (MNISI 1985a:19). The census of 1910 revealed a cluster of about two dozen Miamis in Wabash, many living in the northern section (MNISI 1989e). By the 1930's many had spread out to other parts of the city, but this neighborhood continued to be important. Elijah Marks' house on E. Wiley Street, was in the north end of Marion, and his cousin, Elijah Shapp, lived next door (although he later moved to Wabash). Other officers of the Miami Nation had addresses in the northeastern quadrant of Marion, although some were separated by a distance of a dozen blocks or more. There are still several Miami families living in this general area on Bradford, Marshall, Sherman, Adams and Meridan Streets. Most of the Indiana Miami families still living in Marion are Meshingomesia descendants (63/88, or 72%); 18 are Bundys and 7 are Godfroys.

South Bend, Indiana has a large group of Miami residents (139), the vast majority (86%) of whom are Meshingomesia descendants. Most represent that part of the Hale family which migrated into South Bend in the late teens shortly after the Studebaker plant opened there. Current residence patterns in South Bend show some degree of clustering. Due to the large size of this city and the absence of a map, it is especially difficult to pinpoint relative locations of individual street addresses (see note **). However, relatively large groups reside within the same zip code areas (i.e., live close enough to share the same post office branches): 53 live in the 46637 zip code area, and another 7 live in the nearby 46635 area. In another part of South Bend, there are 12 members in zip code area 46614; 10 in 46615; 6 in 46616; and 3 in 46617 -- all of which should be in fairly close proximity to each other (zip code maps are not published by the US Postal Service). Virtually all of the individuals living in the above listed zip codes (85/91) are Meshingomesia descendants. There is a small number of Godfroys (15), 5 Bundys, and no RL descendants who live in South Bend.

Indianapolis is the largest city in Indiana, and there are 91 Indiana Miami tribal members who live there. Godfroys account for the largest number (68 or 75%); 10 are Bundys, 9 are Meshingomesias, and 4 are RL. There does not appear to have been

a specific or localized community of Miamis within Indianapolis, but rather an aggregation of migrants who were drawn there because of its size (Greenbaum 1989). Lawrence Godfroy, who was leader of the Godfroy group after the death of Ira Godfroy in 1961, lived in Indianapolis, as did C.Z. Bondy (of the Bundy group), who was active in tribal politics for over 50 years. Both Godfroy and Bondy, however, reportedly experienced difficulties exerting leadership from afar, and, unlike the group living in South Bend which was closely aligned with WF Hale, the Miamis in Indianapolis do not seem to have formed the same kind of natural constituency for either Bondy or Godfroy.

Catchment areas surrounding Indiana towns: The members who live within the limits of Peru, Wabash, Marion, Huntington and South Bend represent only a portion of those who reside in the small towns and rural areas surrounding these municipalities. Residential patterns within Indiana were also analyzed to include the larger "catchment" areas in northern Indiana. Because counties could not be identified, this was accomplished using zip codes areas. For example, Peru, Wabash and Marion all have zip code prefixes of 469, as do the towns and rural areas that surround them. The 469 area describes a radius of about 40 miles with Peru at the approximate center, including Kokomo to the south, Marion to the east, west about five miles beyond Logansport, and north to about Macy (see map). Huntington, which adjoins this area is in the 467 zip code zone. The 467 zone is a large irregular area that includes the towns to the east extending about 30 miles to the Ohio state line and then north to the Michigan state line. Fort Wayne, located in the middle of the 467 area, contains all the zip codes with the 468 prefix.

Two large contiguous clusters -- 469 and 467/468 -- represent the historical heartland of the Indiana Miamis in the post-removal period. A third cluster of more recent settlement was defined for the area surrounding South Bend (all the 466 zip codes) and the nearby city of Elkhart. Elkhart (the boundaries of which are only about 5 miles from the boundaries of South Bend) is located in the 465 zip code zone. The 465 area also includes a number of towns located within about 10 miles to the east, south and west of Elkhart. The Michigan border is only about 2 miles north of this region. Thus 465/466 describes a broad rectangular catchment area in the north central section of Indiana (see map).

Taken together, these three areas (469, 467/468, and 465/466) include all of the northern third of Indiana except for a portion about 50 miles wide along the western edge. In effect, these zip code areas do not represent discrete "clusters," but rather describe a large contiguous area. The boundaries adjoin and in

some places actually interpenetrate (i.e., a few towns in 469 are to the north of towns in 465). However, in the absence of data on county of residence, the zip code zones offer the best approximation of the broader areas surrounding the major towns and cities where Miamis in Indiana live.

The 469 cluster includes 370 tribal members in addition to the 782 who live in Peru, Marion and Wabash -- a total of 1152, or 27% of the Indiana Miami tribal membership. Subgroup representation in this cluster includes 31% of all the Godfroys, 21% of the Meshingomesias, 51% of the Bundys, and 11% of the RL group. The 467/468 (Huntington/FortWayne and vicinity) accounts for another 457 members (154 in addition to those living in Huntington and Fort Wayne proper). This cluster thus adds another 11% of the total tribal membership. This is the area most closely associated with the RL group, and 15% of the RL descendants live in the 467/468 zones. Godfroys in this area represent 9% of that subgroup; 9% of the Bundys; and 11% of the Meshingomesias.

When these two clusters are combined (i.e., 467, 468 and 469), the total tribal membership is 1603 (37% of all tribal members). The subgroups are fairly evenly distributed in this larger core area, with the Bundys (60% of whom reside there) showing the largest relative proportion, followed by Godfroys at 39%, Meshingomesias at 32%, and RL at 26%.

Combining South Bend with Elkhart and surrounding towns yields a total of 317, more than twice the number who live just in South Bend (139). This northern cluster (465/466) accounts for just over 7% of the tribal membership. The vast majority (81%) in this area are Meshingomesias; the South Bend cluster accounts for 30% of all the Meshingomesias, making it nearly as important for this subgroup as the previous (467/468/469) area. There are negligible numbers of Bundys (5) and RLs (9), and a small number of Godfroys (46) who also live in this general area of northern Indiana.

Towns and Cities in Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri: The tribal roll of the Indiana Miamis indicates that there are tribal members living in 37 different towns in Oklahoma, 33 towns in Missouri and 25 towns in Kansas. A total of 508 tribal members live in these three states, only about one fourth the number living in Indiana. Residence in the western core area is more dispersed and settlement areas tend to be smaller. Only nine towns and cities in these three states contain more than 10 tribal members: Quapaw, Oklahoma (70); Miami, Oklahoma (33); Tulsa, Oklahoma (31); Picher, Oklahoma (22); Galena, Kansas (29);

Baxter Springs, Kansas (18); Iola, Kansas (12); Joplin, Missouri (15); and Kansas City, Kansas/Missouri (23). Of these, seven are clustered in the area around the three-cornered border near the Quapaw agency where the Miamis were moved in 1873 (see map). Tulsa and Kansas City, which are at a distance from this section, are the closest major cities.

In Oklahoma, Picher, Quapaw and Miami are all in the 743 zip code zone. Several other Oklahoma towns in the same area also contain Indiana Miami residents: Afton (4); Bluejacket (2); Cardin (2); Commerce (6); Grove (4); and Jay (2). Iola, Galena and Baxter Springs, Kansas are both in the 667 zip code zone. Other Kansas towns with Indiana Miamis which are also in the 667 area include: Columbus (4); Frontenac (2); Pittsburg (9); and Riverton (3). Joplin, Missouri is in the 648 zip code zone. Other Missouri towns represented on the tribal roll within this same zip area are: Carthage (3); Neosho (3); Rocky Comfort (3); and Seneca (2). Including these smaller towns, the three corner area accounts for a total of 248 members of the Indiana Miami tribal roll (49% of those living in the three states).

A breakdown of members in these three states by subgroup reveals that most (46%) are RL descendants: RL = 233; Godfroy = 188; Bundy = 82; and Meshingomesia = 5 (see table). The five Meshingomesia descendants all live in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, which is about 60 miles west of the Miami/Quapaw area. All 70 Indiana Miamis living in Quapaw are RL descendants. In contrast, of the 33 living in Miami, Oklahoma, 27 are Godfroys and 6 are RLs. The only Bundy in Oklahoma lives at Kingfisher, which is located in central Oklahoma. However, there are Bundys living in Iola, Kansas and Joplin, Missouri and in other towns in the same general area. Iola also contains Godfroys, and Joplin includes some RL descendants. All of the tribal members in Galena and Baxter Springs, Kansas are RL descendants. With few exceptions, the Indiana Miamis who live outside of the major tri-state towns, but still within Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri, are members of the same families who do live in the major tri-state settlements.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF MIAMI SUBGROUPS

MAJOR STATES:

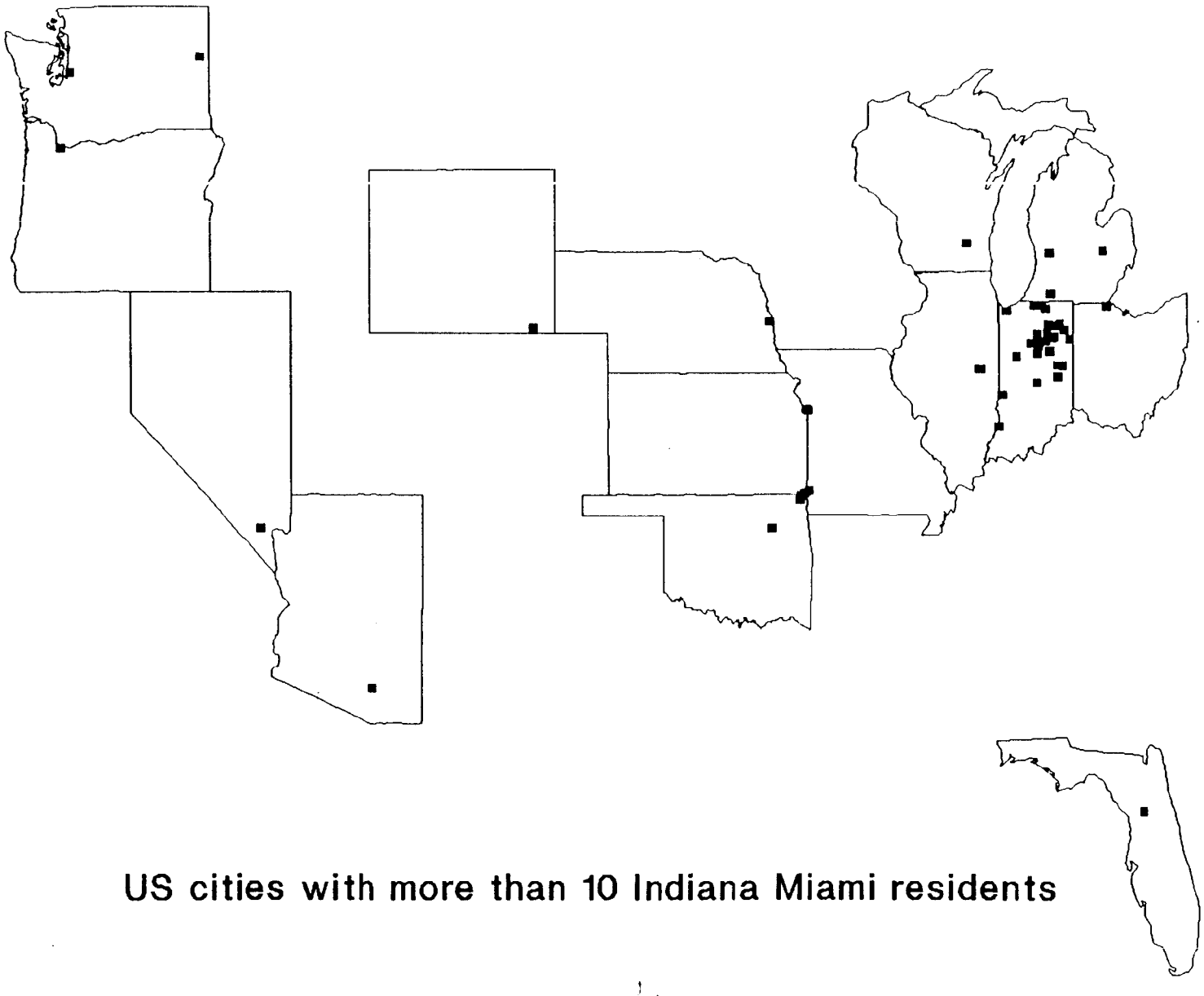
	GODFROY	MESHIN	BUNDY	RL	TOT
TOT	2160	860	411	857	4288
IND	1142	594	235	320	2291
OK	125	5	1	130	261
KS	27	0	39	69	135
MO	36	0	42	34	112
[SUBTOT	1330	599	317	553	2799]
MI	73	66	25	25	189
IL	158	13	0	15	186
OH	70	15	20	38	143
TOT	1631 (76%)	693 (81%)	362 (88%)	631 (74%)	3317 (77%)

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF MIAMI SUBGROUPS
MAJOR INDIANA TOWNS/CITIES:

	GODFROY	MESHIN	BUNDY	RL	TOT
TOT	2160	860	411	857	4288
TOT IN IND	1142	594	235	320	2291
PERU	420	19	15	0	454
WABASH	64	80	89	7	240
MARION	7	63	18	0	87
HUNTINGTON	5	10	4	70	89
SOUTH BEND	15	119	5	1	140
FT. WAYNE	135	58	6	78	277
INDIANAPOLIS	68	9	10	4	91

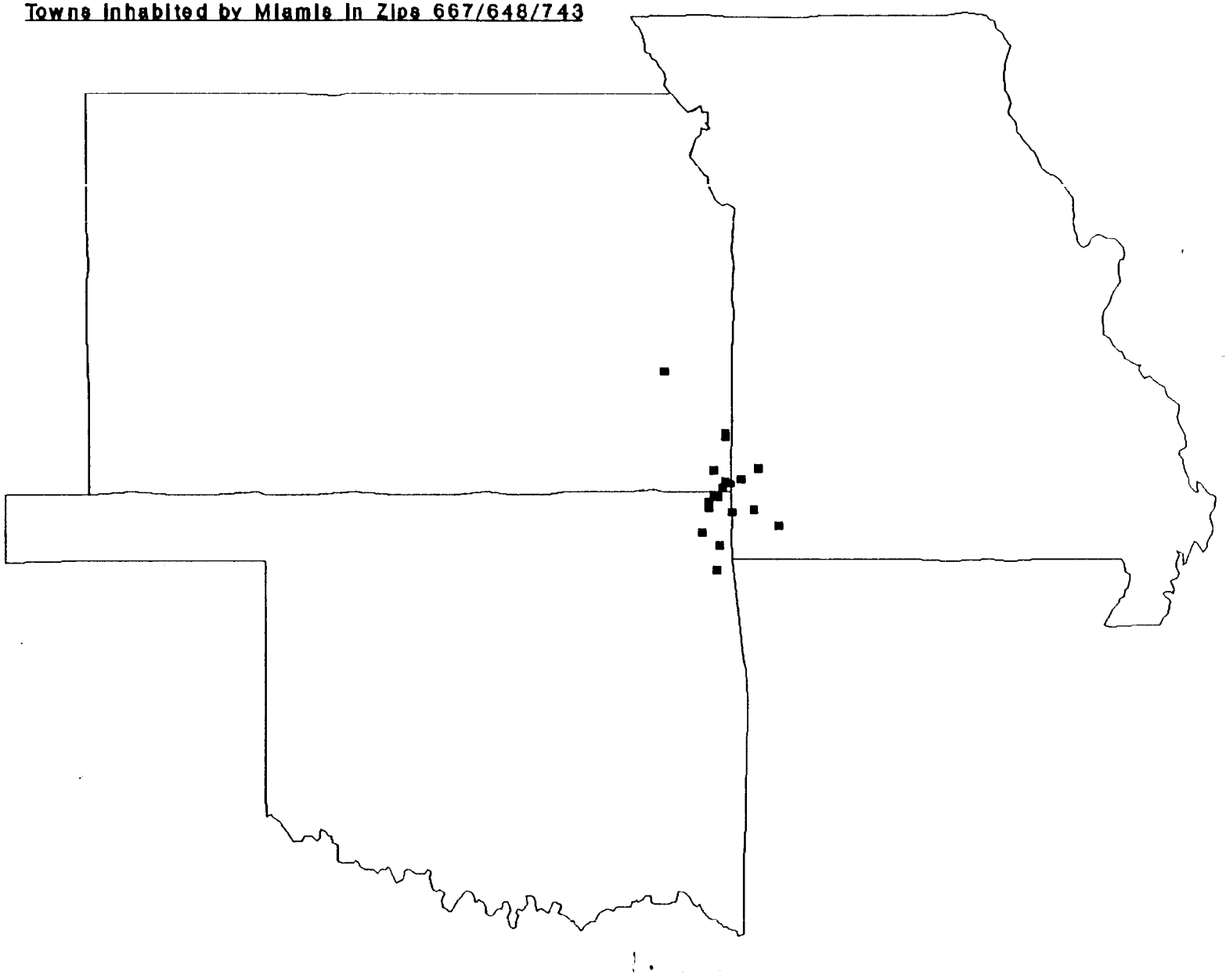
SUBGROUPS IN INDIANA: MAJOR SETTLEMENTS AND CATCHMENT AREAS

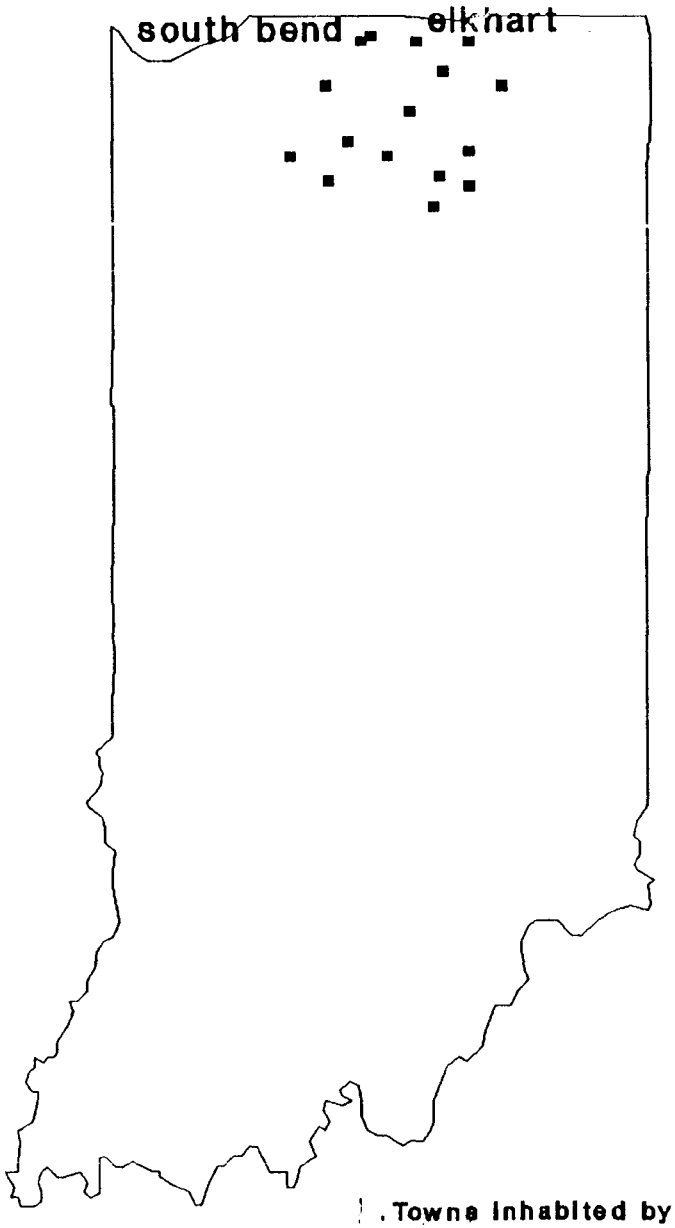
	GODFROY	MESHIN	BUNDY	RL	TOT
TOT	2160	860	411	857	4288
PERU	420	19	15	0	454
WABASH	64	80	89	7	240
MARION	7	63	18	0	88
OTHER 469	180	19	88	83	370
TOT 469	671	181	210	90	1152
HUNTINGTON	5	10	4	70	89
OTHER 467	60	25	25	44	154
FT. WAYNE	135	58	6	78	277
TOT 467/468	191	93	36	131	457
TOT 467/68/69	862	274	246	221	1603
SOUTH BEND	15	119	5	0	139
ELKHART/465	31	138	0	9	178
TOT 465/466	46	257	5	9	317

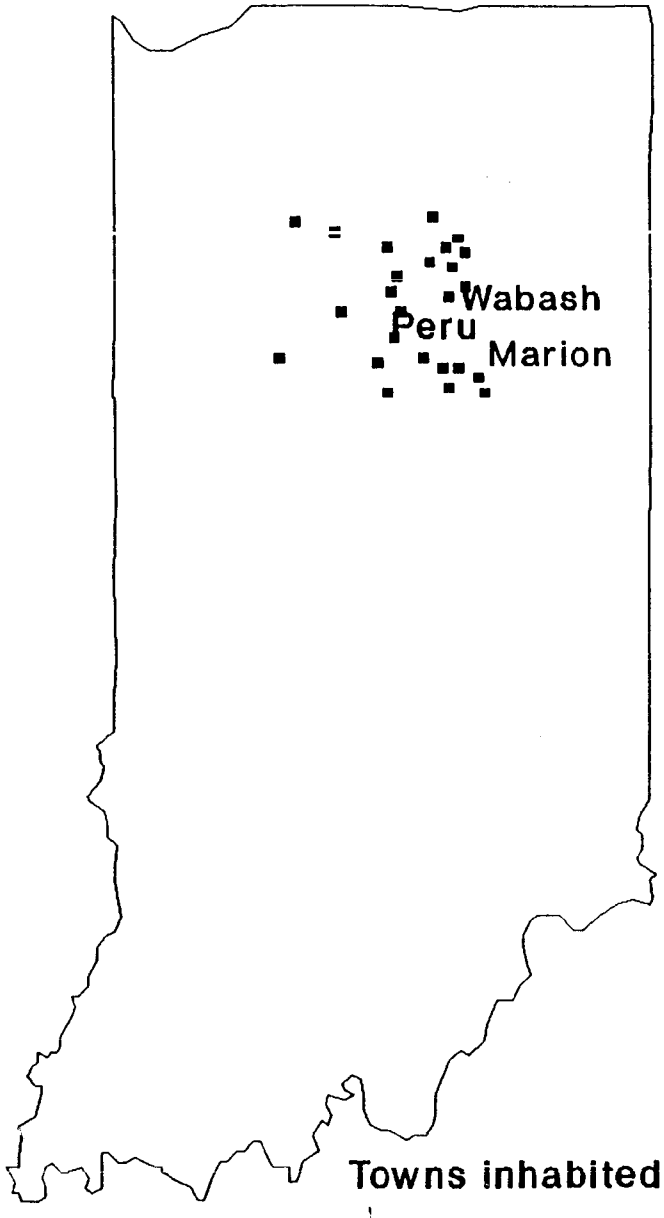


US cities with more than 10 Indiana Miami residents

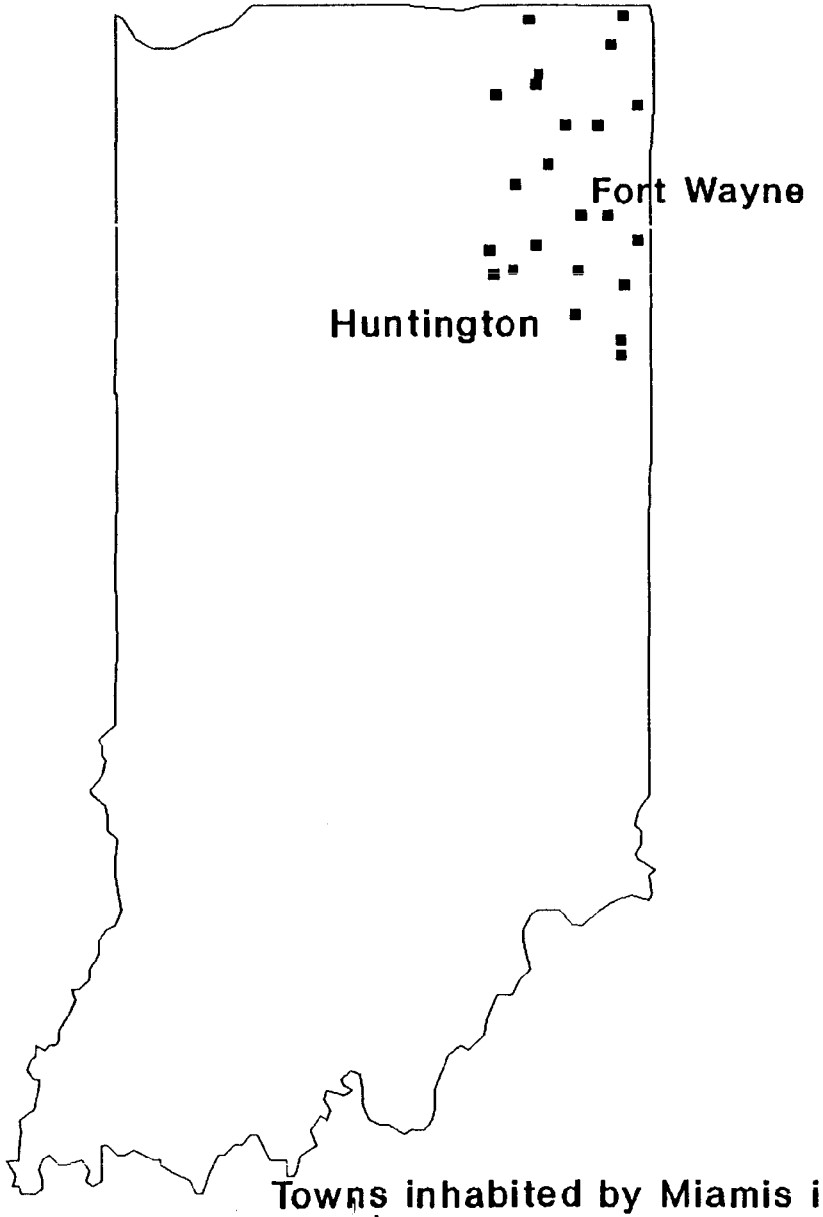
Towns inhabited by Miamis in Zips 667/648/743




south bend
elkhart
. Towns inhabited by Miamis in zips 465/466



Towns inhabited by Miamis in Zip 469



Towns inhabited by Miamis in Zips 467/468

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Introduction. The 19th century community life of the Indiana Miamis, even before the removal, was a fundamental departure from pre-contact lifeways. Through the half century long treaty period, the many reserves granted to individuals tended to erode the traditicnal band/village system of the Miamis, yielding more individualistic and solitary lifestyles (although many reserves remained uncccupied, with the grantees still residing in village locations).

Early contact with white traders and intermarriage between traders and Miami women resulted in bi-culturalism for many of the Miamis, especially leaders such as JB Richardville, Francis Godfroy and Francis Lafontaine. These men also formed alliances with white settlers and traders and played an influential role in the early political life of the state of Indiana. They joined white organizations, named children after powerful white friends (e.g., Francis Godfroy's son James R. was named after James Raridan, one of the first senators from Indiana), and hobnobbed after power in much the same manner as modern corporate executives. Land cessions and annuity payments enabled the Miamis to obtain European goods and technology, and some received an educatior. The Godfroys and Richardvilles converted to Catholicism, while the Bundys and Meshingomesias became Baptists shortly after removal, as did Thomas F. Richardville. The half-blood children of white traders and the many white captives who lived and married among the Miamis tended to blur the phenotypic distinction between Indians and whites at a very early stage.

The pre-remcval Miamis were ethnically complex, in many ways adapted and acculturated to the increasingly dominant white society, yet maintaining a separate political and social identity, in part through the retention of Miami language and culture. The trader chiefs owed their power equally to an ability to negotiate within the white community and to represent acceptably the Indian community. Legitimacy with regard to the latter required validation of Miami values and traditions.

In the post-removal period, the multi-family reserve communities were composed of relatives and landless refugees who were affiliated, or became affiliated, with the largest grantees. The Godfroy, Ozahshinquah and Meshingomesia reserves comprised a set of interdependent but essentially autonomous social communities. Although reserve inhabitants adopted some aspects of white material culture and made determined efforts to institute European farming techniques, these populations remained spatially separate and ethnically bounded from the surrounding population

by distinctive language and traditions. There is considerable evidence, both direct and inferential, that during this period residents of the reserves engaged in diverse and recurrent communal activities (Hundley 1939; Butler 1901; Meginess 1891). Churches and schools were established, and there were many shared economic and domestic activities. Extended family ties within settlements, and marriage ties between them, formed the underlying structure of a sociopolitical organization not radically different from that of the pre-removal Miamis. Hereditary leaders, who had primary control over resources, attempted to provide for the common welfare and develop a stable farming economy for the tribe as a whole.

A land base was both the key ingredient for achieving economic prosperity for individual members, and the principal basis by which a collectivized social and political structure might have been maintained. Loss of this land, most of which occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, undermined both possibilities. Over a period of about two generations, the families occupying the reserves were increasingly dispersed, many into nearby industrial towns, and their day-to-day social relations were fragmented as a consequence. Common institutions could no longer be maintained, economic activities were drastically altered, and the Miami language fell into disuse. There was increased contact and intermarriage with non-Miamis.

Even while the three main reserves were intact, however, nearly one third of Indiana Miamis did not live on one of them. Other Indian families lived in Lafayette, Huntington, Fort Wayne, and at further distances in Michigan, Ohio and Illinois (Butler 1881). The largest number of these lived in Fort Wayne and Huntington (about 50 altogether), but there were 15 living in Lafayette. Much smaller groups, mainly individuals and small nuclear families, were residing in the other nearby states. Shared tax problems and concerns with annuity payments, as well as kin ties to one or more of the major reserves, helped to keep most of these other Miami families in contact with the main body of the tribe. Similarly, having acquaintances living outside of the reserves was likely valuable to those who were forced to relocate when reserve land was lost. The gradual and uneven pace of the land losses, and the fact that an increasing number of Miamis were living in nearby towns and cities, to some extent helped buffer the sociocultural effects of leaving the reserves by facilitating chain migration.

Although families became far more dispersed, the distances between Peru, Wabash, Marion, and the other towns and cities to which most had migrated, were not so great as to prevent contact.

Some clustering of settlements, both on traditional sites and in new locations, was a continued feature even after the major land losses and is still discernible in the towns of Peru, Wabash and Huntington. Visiting among families who were living in different towns became far less frequent in the 1930's and 40's, but still occurred. The inter-urban line that formerly connected all the towns in northcentral Indiana, succeeded by automobiles, as well as telephones, all progressively facilitated contact at the same time that residential mobility increasingly impeded it. Miami tribal organizations in the post World War II period made frequent use of post cards and annoucements in local newspapers as a means of informing Miamis about matters of importance.

According to oral history accounts, the most consistent and effective mode of keeping in touch at a distance was by passing news between kin and neighbors, which then flowed along family networks into other areas, including Oklahoma and other distant states with appreciable numbers of Miamis. It was frequently reported during field interviews that this same "grapevine" mode of communication still operates (Greenbaum 1989). At the same time that Miami families were becoming even more dispersed in the post WW II period, the flow of news intensified in response to interest associated with claims activity. In more recent times, periodic newsletters distributed by the tribe are an effort to inform distant members about what is going on, although the need for such an organ perhaps underscores the difficulties of staying in touch through informal means. During the 1960's, for example, when efforts were underway to enroll ICC claimants, communication problems slowed this process for those who lived outside of Indiana.

Several factors contributed to the maintenance of social ties and a sense of Indian identity among the Indiana Miamis during the 20th century. These include: 1) council meetings and the Miami Annual Reunion; 2) the Maconaquah pageant, and similar cultural events; 3) cemetery preservation; 4) kinship; and 5) an ethnic boundary (both voluntary and imposed) between whites and Indians. These factors are considered separately in the pages that follow.

Council meetings and the annual reunion. The loss of churches and schools controlled or predominantly attended by Miamis undoubtedly weakened social ties by eliminating two important bases of routine frequent contact among large groups of Miamis. In the absence of these communal institutions, however, there have been tribally sponsored social and political activities which have functioned to establish and maintain social relationships and a sense of common identity.

Council meetings that were also social events began with the Headquarters organization in the late 19th century. During the 1920's, the Headquarters met on the church grounds at the former Meshingomesia reserve (MNISI 1985c 1). After the demise of the Headquarters, meetings of the Miami Nation and Godfroy tribal councils occurred frequently, although there were periods during which council activities in one group or another lapsed. Written minutes of the Godfroy council and the Miami Nation do not cover all the periods during which these two organizations were active, and the overall frequency of these meetings is difficult to determine.

The Godfroy council began meeting separately from the other subgroups the late 1920's, but did not keep minutes until 1944. With the exception of one recorded meeting in 1967, Godfroy minutes stopped in 1961, shortly after the death of Ira Godfroy. For most of that period, general meetings were held two or three times a year, with a particularly high level of activity in 1948 and 49, and again in 1953. Although recordkeeping effectively stopped in the early 1960's, the council continued to meet and do business after that time and on into the 1970's. A 1971 newspaper article carries a picture of a member of the Godfroy organization holding a membership card signed by Lawrence Godfroy; the card is also dated 1971. The Godfroy council apparently continued to operate through the 1970's, and it was not until 1981 that Lawrence Godfroy joined the larger council under the chieftanship of Francis Shoemaker. (The two men had agreed to cease hostilities in 1964, but this did not effect an organizational consolidation [Greenbaum 1989]).

The earliest minutes for the Miami Nation group began in 1930, although they reportedly first met in 1929. Between 1937 and 1942, recorded meetings occurred nearly every month, and sometimes more often. After Elijah Marks' death in 1948, meetings still reportedly occurred (with Francis Shoemaker as chief), although infrequently (Greenbaum 1989). These took place in the context of Sunday dinners, where tribal business mixed with socializing, and continued sporadically through the 1950's. In 1961, most of the Miami Nation members joined the Hale council. Minutes are available for this body only for the year of 1961, during which they met nearly every month, and for one meeting in October 1962 (MTI). Francis Shoemaker's council was reestablished in 1964, with Mina Brooke (formerly secretary for the Hale council) keeping minutes of the meetings. These records were destroyed in a fire at her house sometime in the 1970's, and after her death in 1974 or 75, meetings continued, but no one took minutes (Greenbaum 1989).

Council meetings, especially during earlier periods, frequently lasted for many hours. Adults who attended brought their children who played with each other while their parents deliberated, and long lunches were a common feature. Families who attended the meetings came from as far away as South Bend, Fort Wayne and Indianapolis (Greenbaum 1989). Until quite recently (1981), council meetings broke along factional lines, and the social activities therefore included only some of the Miami families. The Miami Annual Reunion, by contrast, was an event to which all subgroups were explicitly invited, and which was faithfully attended by at least some members of all the subgroups regardless of the level of antagonism among them.

The Indiana Miami reunion evidently began in 1903 (MAR 8/20/67), although the earliest direct record is from a 1916 photograph (MNISI 1984b:149). The first reunion was reportedly organized by Camillus Bundy and was held on the Ozahshinquah reserve (Greenbaum 1989). In later years it was held at various locations, rotating among the major population areas, but since the 1930's it has been in the park at Wabash on the 3rd Sunday in August. The specific motives for staging the first reunion are not known, but it generally coincided with the major land losses and initial waves of out-migration, and came not long after the Assistant Attorney General's decision denying Federal recognition in 1897. This adverse decision was reaffirmed in 1901 (Van Devanter 1901).

Interpretable as a response to this general crisis within the tribe, the reunion has offered a yearly anchoring point for maintaining familiarity among families who no longer see each other regularly. For some Miamis who had migrated outside the core area, the reunion was an event that provided social contact that was otherwise lacking in their new locations (Greenbaum 1989).

The reunion has served a dual function, as an occasion for socializing and an opportunity to discuss legal and political issues affecting the tribe as a whole. This has been a highly continuous event, reportedly held every year between 1903 and the present. Regular minutes have been kept for the period between 1953 and 1981, but there are many indications that the reunion has occurred unerringly for the past 77 years.

Minutes from the reunion include sign-up lists of those attending and a description of events that transpired. The program since that time has been extremely regular, and oral and documentary accounts indicate that the same sequence of events had been followed for a long time prior to 1953 (Greenbaum 1989). For

example two newspaper articles from 1925 (anonymous 1925a, 1925b) describe events in that year's reunion which are quite similar to those reported in the minutes for the 1950's through the 1970's.

Families gather in the Wabash park in mid morning. The first formal activity is dinner, which is served around noon. Families bring their own food, although food is also shared. During the depression, more prosperous families reportedly brought extra food for those who were unable to bring their own (Greenbaum 1989). During that same period and into the 1940's, when factional strife was affecting the tribe as a whole, food sharing evidently served as a boundary marker between subgroups. Interviews with members from different subgroups revealed an informal, but strict, admonition against eating any food brought by families from subgroups with which there were hostilities (Greenbaum 1989).

The meal is followed by a formal business meeting, at which officers are nominated and elected. These have been officers for the reunion, not directly related to tribal government, although there has been occasional overlap between these leadership positions (e.g., WF Hale was elected president of the reunion in 1961, shortly after assuming leadership in the reformed council [MAR 1961]). In the 1920's, when the Headquarters was still in existence, its leader, George Godfroy (described as "head of the tribe") also presided over the reunion (anonymous 1925b). The business meeting served as an occasion to deliberate "policies and other important matters" (anonymous 1925b). In later years, there was a distinction between leadership in the reunion and political leadership in the different subgroup organizations. The minutes do not reveal topics discussed at the reunion business meetings, nor do they provide a direct indication of how the tensions and animosities between subgroup leaders were accommodated. However, the slates for reunion officers included members of different subgroups, and nominations tended to cross subgroup lines, possibly indicating a self-conscious attempt to deal with this problem. For example, in 1953, Andrew Marks (a Meshingomesia) was nominated by Irwin Cass (an RL) and seconded by Clarence Godfroy (a Godfroy). Both Marks and Godfroy were heavily involved in the politics of their own subgroups. Marks was the son of the late chief of the Miami Nation and was regarded as an ardent partisan of Meshingomesia interests (Greenbaum 1989). Clarence Godfroy, brother of Ira S. Godfroy, was also a leader of the Godfroy council and had been actively involved in the land suit and Godfroy claims activities. Irwin Cass had intially been a member of the Miami Nation, but was one of the contingent that walked out with Ross Bundy in 1938.

After the election, prizes are given for the oldest man, oldest woman, oldest married couple, most recently married couple, youngest boy, youngest girl, and family that came the farthest to attend the reunion. The prizes are followed by skits and entertainment emphasizing Miami cultural traditions and games for the children. Finally, a collection is raised, primarily to pay the expenses of the next reunion.

The reunion serves to mitigate the effects of territorial dispersion, but it does not directly compensate the lack of more frequent contact. The reunion is a one day event occurring once a year, and drawing only a fraction of the tribal members. An examination of the attendance lists indicates that, although there are some (rarely more than 2-3%) who travel long distances to attend, the reunion has been largely confined to people who live within about a 100 mile radius of Wabash. The size of attendance has fluctuated somewhat, but has been about 5-10% of the tribal membership each year, and it is not always the same people. The number of members who participate indirectly, by learning news or sending greetings via those who do attend, cannot be estimated, but undoubtedly serves to expand the social influence of the reunion.

The lists that have been kept each year between 1953 and 1981 offer an approximate indication of the geographic distribution of those who attend the annual reunion. Wabash, where the event is held, has consistently had the largest representation. The decision to make Wabash the permanent location was based on its centrality and the fact that the interurban line connected the other major Miami towns in Indiana directly to the Wabash station. Fort Wayne, Huntington, Marion, Peru and South Bend have had consistently heavy representation among those attending the reunion, both in the post 1953 lists and as noted in the 1925 newspaper article (anonymous 1925a). In 1925 there was no mention of families attending from outside of Indiana (which does not mean there were none), but in the subsequent attendance lists there were only a few out of state families represented in any given year. In some years, there were none listed, and twice the prize for farthest travelled went to people who had come less than 100 miles (MAR). However, it should be noted that these attendance lists are incomplete. In many cases, addresses are not included with the names, and not all those attending signed the roster. For example, in examining the locations of those who won the "farthest travelled" award each year between 1953 and 1981, it was found that about half of the time, the family named in the minutes was not included on the corresponding sign-up sheet. Economics and ease of transportation are major factors in the ability of out of state members to attend the reunion. There

appear to have been relatively more in the 1960's and 70's, than there were in the 1950's, possibly reflecting the effects of rising incomes and improved transportation systems, but also indicating that interest in this event has been growing among out-migrants in the present generation.

In general, the reunion has served to institutionalize a common sense of Miami identity, while supplying an recurrent context for communal activities. All of the major Miami subgroups have been involved in the reunion, despite the tensions and animosities that persistently have characterized relations among these groups. From this perspective, the reunion has exerted an important unifying influence on the group as a whole.

Miami cultural activities. Traditional Miami culture including language, folklore, naming practices, relics and artifacts, and revitalized costumes, music and dance have continued to play an extremely important role in the articulation of Miami identity. Cultural knowledge has been transmitted informally by elders who have instructed youths about tribal lore (MNISI 1985c 1, 1989c, 1990; Greenbaum 1989), through the maintenance of many traditional subsistence activities (especially spear fishing and gathering wild plants and herbs), in the use of Miami names, and in a long series of formal pageants and plays organized and presented by tribal members. From the turn of the century to the present, there have been a number of well known individuals who have acted explicitly as conservators of Miami traditions. These have included Gabriel Godfroy, Camillus Bundy, Mary Mongosa, George Godfroy, Ross Bundy, Lyman Mongosa, Clarence Godfroy, Oliver Godfroy and William F. Hale. Francis Shoemaker, who is presently chief of the Miami Nation of Indiana, was tutored in tribal lore by Camillus Bundy (MNISI 1985b 1; Greenbaum 1989).

> Gabriel Godfroy was forceful and eloquent as a public speaker. He participated in the unveiling ceremonies of the Frances Slocum monument in 1900; in the dedication ceremonies at the Tippecanoe Battlefield a few years later and at a huge assemblage gathered at the Mississinewa Battlefield during the last two or three years of his life. His grandson, Clarence Godfroy, or Kop-wah, lives a mile north of Rich Valley. He is a leader in Indian pageantry and has traveled over much of America appearing on the stage. His brother, living near Peru, is a locomotive fireman. (Crow 1934:11)

In the early years of the 20th century, Gabriel Godfroy served as informant for the linguist Jacob Dunn, who made an extensive

record of Miami language and traditional beliefs (Dunn 1919). At that time, there were still many for whom Miami was their first (and for some perhaps their only) language. With outmigration, however, a speech community could not be maintained and knowledge of the language rapidly faded. Several older people interviewed during field research recounted that their parents had spoken Miami (often when they did not want others to know what they were talking about), but they refused to teach it to their children, claiming it was no longer useful and was perhaps a liability (Greenbaum 1989). Ross Bundy and Clarence Godfroy, who died in the early 1960's, were the last fluent speakers of the Miami language (Lamb and Schultz 1964). For all practical purposes, however, the language had ceased to be used by about 1940.

Many Miami words have been preserved, however, and most of the older tribal members from all of the subgroups have ceremonial Miami names. Miami names are usually bestowed by older relatives and are often handed down in families. Naming practices for the Miamis are reported from the early contact period.

> Infants were sometimes named by the parents. More often an elderly woman whom the mother summoned and paid for this service gave the child a name derived from an incident in a well-omened dream (Callender 1978:682; see also Dunn 1919:47).

Miami names appear extensively in council minutes and correspondence from the 19th century to the present, and have served as an important emblem of Miami identity. Although names were frequently given by older relatives, when Elijah Marks was chief of the Miami Nation he often performed this function (Greenbaum 1989). There was an apparent lapse in the widespread bestowal of Miami names during the generation born in the 1940's and 50's, but this practice has increased in more recent years (Greenbaum 1989).

The tribal council has been engaged in recent efforts to preserve the Miami language (MNISI 3/19/83), although this is not really a new activity. In addition to Gabriel Godfroy's formal efforts to help record the Miami language, Joseph Mongosa (a son of John "Bull" and grandnephew of Pimyotomah) constructed his own written record of 24 pages of Miami words and their English meanings, which he included in a loosely organized autobiography entitled "Thoughts of a Miami Indian" which he completed in 1939 (Mongosa 1939). This manuscript also contains family history and about 20 pages of folk tales and games. Clarence Godfroy also recorded much Miami folklore in a book that was published in 1961 (Godfroy 1961).

Prior to the turn of the century, Gabriel Godfroy and several members of his band became well known in Peru and the surrounding area for giving public performances of traditional Indian dances and other demonstrations of Miami culture (Anson 1970:280-281). Gabriel Godfroy was scheduled to make one of these appearances at the time of his death in 1910 (anonymous 1910a). In 1909, about 200 Miamis participated in tribal costumes in the "Miami Day" celebration at Lafontaine, Indiana (Anson 1970:280). In the period following WW I, young people representing all the major family groups began a series of Indian pageants.

The Maconaquah Pageant (named for Frances Slocum) began informally, as entertainment during Miami social gatherings in the Bundy and Godfroy/Mongosa communities (Greenbaum 1989). Costumes and skits were created, and productions became increasingly elaborate. In the early 1920's, a formal touring company was established, organized by Ross Bundy and Clarence Godfroy. Participants were drawn from all of the Miami subgroups. Although most were from the community in Butler Township, the group included Meshingomesias from Marion and Wabash, and Josephine Owens, an RL descendant from Huntington (Greenbaum 1989; anonymous 1927). Revenues from ticket sales paid expenses, and in a few instances, went to defray costs of tribal litigation (Greenbaum 1989). The group enjoyed considerable success, traveling throughout the region giving performances for mainly white audiences. This group dissolved sometime in the late 1930's, although there is no information on the exact ending date or the reason it ceased to exist. The depression and the onset of World War II, along with intensified factional strife between the Godfroys and Meshingomesias, all have been suggested as factors responsible for its demise (Greenbaum 1989).

The Maconaquah Pageant, in both private and public aspects, was significant for the Miamis in relation to social cohesion and a distinctive sense of group identity (MNISI 1985c 3; Greenbaum 1989). In all its related activities -- practicing, performing, traveling, building community support, representing Miami culture -- participants in the pageant were drawn closer together socially, were intensely exposed to the preserved traditions of their elders, and gained leadership and organizational experience. The effects of the Maconaquah group extended beyond those individuals directly involved to include family members and other Miamis who were frequent spectators (Greenbaum 1989). The pageant was both functionally and symbolically associated with a shared sense of Miami Indian identity.

Participants in the Maconaquah pageant were largely the second generation of the Miamis who signed the 1895 roll, those who grew up after Federal status was lost. Although courts and the BIA contended that they were acculturated citizens of the state of Indiana, the pageant reflected an active assertion to the contrary. Older leaders like Gabe Godfroy and Kim Bundy had offered instruction in hunting, religion, medicine, arts and lore, and many of their children and grandchildren responded to this opportunity.

The twenty year life span of the pageant formed a bridge to the next generation. Moreover, the end of the Maconaquah company did not bring an end to pageants. Beginning shortly after incorporation in 1937 and continuing through the next five years, the Miami Nation minutes contain references to giving plays and pageants, for both public relations and fundraising purposes. In 1938, a pageant committee was formed with WF Hale as chair (MI/MNI 3/20/38). During the trials for game law violations in the late 1930's, the defendants and their supporters staged public presentations of Miami culture in an effort to win support and sympathy for their cases (anonymous 1940e).

During the 1940's and 50's, public performances and Miami Indian pageants were evidently discontinued, although skits and costumes were sometimes included in the annual reunions during this period (Greenbaum 1989; MAR). Clarence Godfroy and WF Hale continued their interest in Miami lore and became well known speakers in local high schools, colleges and historical society meetings. Clarence Godfroy became adept at making Miami style pottery, and both he and Hale assembled large collections of Miami artifacts and relics (MNISI 1989c). In the early 1950's Hale was involved in inter-tribal pow wows in Indiana, Michigan and Ohio (Greenbaum 1989).

Miami participation in these pow wows expanded greatly during the next decade. In the early 1960's, one of the Bundys began an annual pow wow on the site of the Eel River reserve at Thorntown. Also during that period, the Miamis began participating as a group in the Peru annual parade (Greenbaum 1989). Somewhat later, a similar intertribal pow wow (called the Kenanpocomoco) was begun at Roann (anonymous 1968). In 1981, members of the Engelman/Owens family organized an annual pow wow in Huntington (Greenbaum 1989). Starting in about the same period, several tribal officers and other members have regularly attended the Quapaw pow wow in Miami, Oklahoma (held each year in July), at which time they confer with leaders of the Western Miamis and the Indiana Miamis living in the west (Greenbaum 1989).

Miami representation in these various pow wows ranges from individual spectators in street clothes to official tribal representation by the chief and other council members. Many Miamis attend in costumes, both authentic reproductions and pan Indian regalia. Pow wows have provided significant opportunities to assert a Miami Indian cultural identity and to become socially and politically acquainted with Indians from other tribes. These activities have become an important part of the recreational and intertribal political activities of many contemporary Miamis, some of whom travel to other parts of the country to take part in the broad circuit of American Indian pow wows (Greenbaum 1989).

The Miami Nation has become increasingly involved in other Native American cultural issues, especially reburials and protection of sacred sites. (Concern over the reburial issue was expressed in Miami council meetings as early as 1937 [MI/MNI 7/7/37]). Reburial issues for the Miamis appear to be strongly related to a longstanding concern over Miami cemeteries (see below), but also reflect a growing interest by the tribal council in larger issues affecting Native Americans.

Entry of Miami floats in local parades, participation in county historical society activities, and sponsorship of pow wows -- all of which continue to this day -- represent continuity with the Maconaquah Pageant, and still serve many of the same functions for social relationships and perceived ethnic identity. For those who attend, pow wows are one of the places where Miamis get to know each other and where old acquaintances reestablish contact.

> Back in the 60's they had a big pow wow at Fort Wayne where a lot of Miamis were there...I think really that's when I saw the most people together and knew what families they were (Greenbaum 1989).

Several of those interviewed told of people coming up to them at such events and introducing themselves as fellow Miamis (Greenbaum 1989).

The contemporary Junior Council (begun in 1983), which includes children and grandchildren of people active in the Maconaquah Pageant, was constituted in part to serve as a context for Miami cultural activities (MNISI 33/27/83; Greenbaum 1989). The Junior Council builds floats, helps assemble museum exhibits, and organizes clean-ups at Miami cemeteries and other important sites. This group has a dual function in the present tribal organization. One is to take advantage of youthful energy in carrying out promotional and cultural activities; the other is to

groom the next generation of Miami leadership and facilitate the participation of younger Miamis in tribal matters (Greenbaum 1989).

During the time that field research was being done in Indiana, the Junior Council entered a float in the Fort Wayne parade, which won a prize. This occurred during the first few days of the field trip. On subsequent days, as interviews were conducted with tribal members in Marion, Wabash, Peru, Fort Wayne, Huntington and South Bend, the prize winning float was a frequent topic of conversation. Although none of the interviewees had actually been at the parade, most had heard about the success of the Miami entry, suggesting both the importance attached to this award and the fact that communication networks were operating among the different settlement areas.

Cemeteries. Cemeteries are an important symbolic feature of the subgroups. The Meshingomesia, Godfroy and Bundy cemeteries, remained exclusively Miami burying grounds and were all in active use until about the 1930's. The RL group did not have a similar cemetery, but many of the Lafontaine descendants are buried together in a separate section of the Catholic cemetery in Huntington. Although only a fraction of deceased tribal members are actually buried in these sites, concern with cemeteries has periodically mobilized groups of Miamis (both kin and non-kin), and has provided a major focus for efforts to assert tribal rights. The Bundy, Godfroy and Meshingomesia cemeteries are located on reserve sites. Only the Bundys actually lost control of their burial grounds, but with loss of the surrounding homesites, all of the groups confronted problems in ensuring proper maintenance of the graves.

The Godfroy cemetery is located across the road from Mt. Pleasant. Francis Godfroy was buried there in 1840, and his grave is marked by a large monument. Many of the other graves were unmarked, but contained the remains of Godfroys, Goodboos and several Mongosas. Around 1915, the land containing the cemetery was deeded to Butler Township as an official Indian burial ground in order to protect it from taxation. It continued to serve as the primary burial site for families in the Godfroy group until the 1930's, when some members were first interred in the Mt. Hope Cemetery in Peru (Rafert 1982:193). In 1956, the Godfroy council raised funds to repair the Francis Godfroy monument (GEMI 9/9/56), and maintenance of the plots has been on ongoing issue for the Godfroy council and subgroup. The last burial in the Godfroy cemetery was Brenda Mongosa, an infant who died in 1964 (Vogel 1980). There are also a number of Mongosas buried in the Clayton cemetery, located to the northeast of

Peoria near the Pimyotomah reserve. Other graves in this cemetery are of white people who lived in the same area, many of whom married Miamis (Clayton Cemetery records, MNISI 1989b 58). Burials in the Clayton cemetery continued into the 1970's.

There were two cemeteries on the Meshingomesia reserve -- the Indian Village Cemetery in Grant County and the Waucoon Cemetery in the "hogback" section in Wabash County. The Waucoon cemetery was primarily a family plot. The Grant County site was much larger. It is located next to where the Antioch Baptist Church stood and contains the graves of most of the early Meshingomesias, including the large number who died in the late 1870's and early 1880's. Many of the graves are unmarked, although there are several rows of marble headstones. Burials continued in this cemetery until the 1930's (Rafert 1982:192). At the urging of the Miami Nation, an historical marker was erected at the Indian Village cemetery in 1937 (MI/MNI 7/37), and Miami Nation council minutes indicate that members periodically assembled to maintain the grounds (see also MTI 7/61; anonymous 1961e).

The Frances Slocum cemetery is perhaps the best known Miami burial ground, and has been the site of much controversy. When she died in 1847, Frances Slocum's will provided that the cemetery containing her grave and that of her husband, Deaf Man, should remain perpetually in the family as a burial site for their descendants. In spite of this provision, it was lost in a tax sale in 1923, around the same time that the adjoining homestead was lost in a mortgage foreclosure. Camillus Bundy and his daughter Victoria established a militant vigil at the cemetery in a vain, but protracted, effort to prevent its loss. Victoria died in 1930. Her burial in the cemetery was a poignant conclusion to her struggle to help her father retain it. Shortly afterward, he moved into Wabash with his step-son, David. When he died in 1935, his remains were also placed in the Frances Slocum cemetery. This was a bitter and highly publicized chapter in the Bundy family history, and continued efforts to preserve the cemetery have activated succeeding generations of Frances Slocum's descendants.

JB Richardville was buried under the cathedral wall at Fort Wayne, and Francis Lafontaine was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Huntington not far from his house. Lafontaine's remains have been moved several times, the last in 1912. Lafontaine's family and many of his descendants are also buried in the same section of the cemetery (Greenbaum 1989). The RL group did not have their own cemetery, and these issues have not had the same focal significance, although they have an understandable attachment for

the burial plots of their ancestors and more recently departed relatives. The Lafontaine descendants, especially the Engleman family, have taken a strong interest in the preservation of the Lafontaine house, which is presently being restored as a historic structure. Their involvement in the preservation of this monument is similar to that of the other groups who have worked to preserve cemeteries.

During the 1960's, there was a spate of cemetery issues involving several Miami burial grounds. In 1961, vandals inflicted considerable damage to the headstones in the Meshingomesia cemetery (anonymous 1961d). The perpetrators were never caught, although it is widely assumed that local whites who may have been angry over Miami claims settlements were responsible (Greenbaum 1989). Repairs were organized by the Meshingomesia descendants and other Miami volunteers, who also secured heavy equipment to clear underbrush and debris (anonymous 1961e). In that same period, the Army Corps of Engineers announced plans to dam the Mississenwa River which, it was believed, would flood the Frances Slocum and Waucoon cemeteries. In anticipation, it was decided that the cemeteries would need to be relocated. Many family members whose relatives were interred in the cemeteries were drawn into the process, and there was much hostility over what was regarded by many to be an unnecessary disturbance of the graves. In fact, the dam project did not result in flooding the site of the Frances Slocum cemetery. Subgroup hostilities surfaced during the relocation process, when Godfroy offers to have the Slocum cemetery relocated onto the site of the Godfroy cemetery were rebuffed by the Bundy family, who elected instead to have the remains reinterred in a site within the Frances Slocum State Forest (MNISI 1989c). The Bundy family also succeeded in persuading an Indiana congressman to introduce legislation protecting the relocated Frances Slocum monument (anonymous 1961c).

The Bundy family has continued to do battle with local historic preservation officials over what they regard as inadequate maintenance of the cemetery (Greenbaum 1989; Vogel 1983). In 1987, a group of family members and other Miami supporters (six or seven car-loads) temporarily occupied the cemetery to protest plans to bury a non-family member there without their permission (anonymous 1987a).

The protection and maintenance of cemeteries and fundraising for the cemeteries has continued to be an issue for the contemporary Indiana Miami tribal council and the Junior Council. A collection jar is maintained in the tribal office to gather funds for cemetery maintenance and repairs. Periodic work teams are

assembled to mow and clean the cemeteries, and it has long been a tradition for Miami families to visit the various Indian cemeteries on Memorial Day (Greenbaum 1989).

Kinship The Indiana Miami subgroups originated primarily on the basis of kinship and secondarily on common residence. Marriage ties in the late 19th and early 20th century linked reserve families to each other and provided important cross-cutting ties between the different settlements and subgroups. (These specific ties are discussed at length in the subgroup and territorial sections of this report.) Although proximity became decreasingly important, kinship remained as a major social adhesive, and networks of descendants have grown with the passage of generations. Several list ancestors have more than 100 descendants on the current Miami roll. One ancestor, who was 20 years old in 1895, now has 252 enrolled descendants, 203 of whom still reside in the Peru/Wabash/Marion/Huntington/Fort Wayne core area. It is noteworthy that list ancestors with the largest number of descendants are, with few exceptions, the families with the greatest geographic concentration in the core areas, both in Indiana and the tri-state area.

In recent years especially, most of the social activity among tribal members has centered on kinship (Greenbaum 1989). Weekend and seasonal visiting, economic cooperation, support in times of crises, and attendance at weddings, funerals, graduations, etc., largely (although not exclusively) involve family members. Much of the routine socializing involves nuclear family members and other bilateral kin who live in close proximity to each other, although telephone calls and correspondence facilitate contact between those living at a distance. Family events occurring several times a year (as well as the Miami Annual Reunion) occasion visits by distant members back to core areas in Indiana or the western tri-state area, where they are also able to reestablish contact with other Miamis who are not relatives. In addition to the Miami Annual Reunion, there are a number of smaller family reunions held on a yearly basis (e.g., the Mongosas, Pecongas, Marks) to which geographically distant relatives (both Miamis and non-Miamis) return (Greenbaum 1989).

The geographic configuration of the tribal membership shows that only the larger clusters (those with more than 10 members) represent more than one or two nuclear family groupings. Except for the main core areas -- Peru/Marion/Wabash, Huntington/FortWayne, South Bend/Elkhart, and the tri-state region -- even the larger clusters are composed mainly of extended families that are only two or three generations deep. Nearly all of these distant family groupings, however, connect back to the

core areas through common ties to an ancestor on the 1895 payroll, i.e., they have aunts, uncles, and/or cousins living in Indiana or tri-state core areas.

The 1895 payroll contains the names of 117 persons who have descendants on the current Indiana Miami tribal roll. (The number on the original list who have enrolled descendants is actually higher than this, because members claim through only one ancestor, omitting some listed ancestors who are the parents of children from whom descendancy is claimed.) Many of the payroll ancestors were children in 1895. On the roll, they are grouped with their parents and siblings. If these individuals are combined into family units, there are 62 nuclear family groupings (i.e., parents and siblings) among the 117 "list ancestors." Based on these 62 aggregations, the residential distribution of contemporary roll members was analyzed to determine how many of the descendants had relatives still living in either the Peru/Marion/Wabash area (469 zip code), the Huntington/Fort Wayne area (467/468 zip codes), the South Bend/Elkhart area (465/466 zip codes), or the western tri-state area (zip codes 743, 667 and 648) (see Appendix __). The results indicated that 94% of the tribal membership has direct kinship ties to one or more individuals residing in at least one of the major Indiana Miami settlement areas.

"Relatives" in this analysis were defined as those individuals who share descendency through one of these 62 family lines. Of the persons on the 1895 list, most were children, many of whose own children are still living. Ages were given for 111 of the 117 list ancestors; of these, only 30 were 18 years or older. The grandchildren of list ancestors make up the bulk of the contemporary adults on the Indiana Miami tribal roll. The modern population is effectively only two to three generations removed from those on the list, and their progeny are mainly aunts, uncles or cousins to each other. Field interviews consistently reported that visiting and communication within these relatively close kinship circles is frequent (Greenbaum 1989).

Shared ties with list ancestors has added, perhaps even greater, importance because these genealogical connections form the basis of common eligibility to share in claims awards and other benefits to be derived from Miami Indian ancestry. The process of informing claimants and assembling payrolls for the several claims payments that have occurred since the ICC decision in 1956 have been mobilized largely through the efforts of core area families who notify their kin in other states (Greenbaum 1989). In interesting example of this kind of mobilization occured in 1971, when the Miami Nation secretary (Mina Brooke) mounted a

letter writing campaign to the Secretary of Interior and a number of elected officials protesting plans to revise the claims payment roll. At least 26 letters and one phone call were received about this issue. They came from many different towns in Indiana, and nine were from out of state members.

The tribal council is presently composed of representatives from each of the core areas, including Oklahoma. The informal, but explicit, process of informing tribal members about matters of importance involves having the council members contact the Miami families in their respective areas, and these families in turn are expected to inform relatives who live in other towns or cities.

> If something happened quickly [in the tribal council meeting]...some member of the family would be contacted, and then you were expected to call the rest of them in your own area...instead of making a huge mailing. (Greenbaum 1989)

The effectiveness or extent of this process cannot be precisely measured, but the fact that families residing in the core areas have fairly close kin ties to virtually all the membership residing at a distance confirms its feasibility.

During the field trip to Indiana, the BAR researcher visited the South Bend area. Interviews and observations during that visit provided anecdotal corroboration that this process operates as described and also an example of visiting among kin. Interviews with six Miamis living in that city indicated that the council member is expected to keep them informed about tribal affairs, and that he does so. The visit coincided with a birthday celebration for one of the tribal members, a daughter of a list ancestor. On that occasion, 32 of her relatives were in attendance, several from other cities. The tribal council representative for the South Bend/Elkhart area (who is also a relative) was there, and many of his conversations included information about tribal activities. Interviews with council representatives and tribal members (n=29) from all the different core areas in Indiana (Oklahoma was not visited) related a similar pattern of district representation coupled with a family "grapevine" (Greenbaum 1989).

Ethnic boundaries. Except for Meshingomesia, the reserve leaders were mixed bloods, and a great many of the Miamis living on all the reserves were descendants of French traders and/or white captives. The progeny of traders were natural intermediaries, whose family connections to both whites and Miamis became a primary basis for tribal leadership during the treaty period. As

many as seven white captives became incorporated into the pre-removal Miami tribe, either directly or through the marriages of their descendants. Although these individuals, most notably Frances Slocum, were often culturally conservative Indians, physical appearance and the sympathy evoked by their captivity nonetheless distinguished their status from the perspective of the white population.

Phenotypically, and in ususal mode of dress, many of the early Miamis resembled their white neighbors, a fact that reduced both social distance and barriers to intermarriage with the surrounding white population (Dunn 1919; Glenn 1987). Even before the reserves were dissolved, many Miamis had been bi-cultural and were directly or indirectly involved in various types of relations with non-Miamis. Although there were numerous instances of racial discrimination (e.g., Gabriel Godfroy was not permitted to vote during the latter part of the 19th century because he was an Indian), as well as exploitation of their legal status by white guardians, traders and others, Indian/white relations in northern Indiana tended to be relatively more open and cordial than in other sections of the US during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The wealth of Richardville, Godfroy and Lafontaine, although rapidly depleted after their deaths, conferred a kind of noblesse on their descendants that eased their dealings with white society. Similarly, the legend surrounding Frances Slocum (who has become the namesake for many local points of interest, including a bank) enhanced the social status of her family and descendants. The poorer Indian families and those not closely related to the above ancestors, however, were subject to racial discrimination. Older interviewees related a number of instances of verbal or physical abuse that had occurred in the past (Greenbaum 1989). In addition, legal activities of Miami tribal organizations and individuals who were attempting to win tax and game law exemptions or treaty claims drew resentment and/or ridicule from some non-Indians (e.g., anonymous 1934c, 1937a, 1939c, 1940c, 1962b; Woodward 1983).

Miami descendants were integrated into the surrounding white population at an early date, but on a basis that emphasized their distinctiveness as Indians and served to reinforce a sense of group identity. Because of the celebrity of their forebears, Miami surnames and individuals were well known, as Miamis, in their surrounding communities. No one disputed who they were, or that they were Indians; for good and ill, it was a well known fact. Miami children, especially in earlier decades, were often taunted in school, because their classmates knew they were Indi-

ans; and many of the adults suffered the nickname "Chief" from their co-workers (Greenbaum 1989). Numerous newspapers accounts, appearing at frequent intervals going at least as far back as Meshingomesia's death in 1880, have told, retold and updated the identities and activities of the Miami Indians living in the area. Well publicized cultural events, fishing protests, efforts to avoid taxation and claim treaty benefits, controversies over cemeteries, and factional disputes that spilled out into public view have all served to inform the general population about who the Miamis are. Until quite recently, newspaper accounts reflect a noteworthy ambivalence; disparaging references to alcohol use, thriftlessness, querulousness, etc., are interlaced with sympathetic, often admiring, descriptions of the early Miamis and their descendants. It is also important to note that the Miamis themselves deliberately instigated much of the publicity that surrounded them. Appearances in pageants and street fairs, and varied efforts to educate the public about their treaty rights, were strategic actions aimed at building acceptance for their Miami identity and support in their efforts to regain Federal status.

Intermarriage with non-Miamis, which has been very prevalent for several generations, represents a major penetration of the Miami-ethnic boundary, and is a factor that raises questions concerning the maintenance of Miami identity in the offspring of mixed marriages. This pattern of predominant out-marriage began very early. A majority of Miamis born between 1837 and 1864, for whom marriages were recorded, married non-Indians (44 out of 81). For the next generation, born between 1864 and 1881, 157 marriages were recorded for Miamis. Only 13 (8%) of these marriages were with other Miamis (Rafert 1982:188). Possession of reserve land and annuities provided an early incentive for landless whites to marry Miamis. Miamis, in turn, had weak sanctions against intermarriage, based on a long history of mixed blood involvement in the tribe (Greenbaum 1989; Rafert 1982). Additionally, they were confronting demographic problems of small population size and unbalanced sex ratios which made tribal endogamy impossible to maintain.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a great many Miami women married white men, and a great many Miami men remained unmarried.

> The marriage practices of the men of the third generation [born from 1864 to 1891] diverged sharply from those of the women. Less than half as many men as women married outside the tribe.... All together, an astonishing 49% of the men in the sample did not marry. (Rafert 1982:186)

Limited numbers in specific age and gender groups reduced the theoretical likelihood of finding a Miami spouse. Most married out, but there were many who simply did not marry. The gender bias is evidently explained by the greater social acceptance of mixed marriages when the female was non-white (especially in white/Indian marriages). It is reported that, because of their access to resources, Miami women had little difficulty attracting white husbands, but conditions were not parallel for Miami men who courted white women.

In the subsequent generation (those born between 1881 and 1907), rates of marriage to non-Indians were actually somewhat lower. Of individuals listed on the 1895 Miami payroll, 218 were born after 1881 (approximately 50% of the roll). Information on marriages is available for 123 persons; 108 were married to non-Indians, and 15 married Indians (12%). Most of the missing information (excluding those who died young) is for Indiana Miamis living in the west. Some of these also may have married Indians, either other Miamis or members of tribes living around the Quapaw agency. Of the 61 Indiana males who survived to adulthood, 18 (30%) remained bachelors. In contrast, there were 80 women who married, and only 3 (4%) who remained single. Men who did marry were more than twice as likely as women to have Indian spouses (19% vs. 9%). (Data supplied by petitioner, based on information contained in a set of "individual survey forms" corresponding to Indiana Miami rolls of 1895 and Eel River Miami roll of 1889.

There are two factors that may account for this slight decline in out-marriage compared with the previous generation. Those born after 1881 (who would still have been children in 1895) no longer collected annuities or possessed tax exempt land. Moreover, the early decades of the 20th century was a period of resurgent racial intolerance, both in Indiana (where state level Ku Klux Klan activity drew national attention) and in the US as a whole. Oral histories indicated that men in this period (late 19th and early 20th centuries) continued to encounter more resistance from prospective non-Indian in-laws than did women, and that many Miami men were reluctant to expose themselves to these problems (Greenbaum 1989).

Several white spouses were part of larger family groups with multiple marriage connections to the Miamis. These were families who lived nearby and had especially close relationships with the localized Miami comunities by virtue of their many in-law relations to the group. Although outside of the tribe, intermarriages of this type actually helped reinforce the Miami

local kinship networks. The Coiners, who attended the Stony Point School with Miami children, and the Marks and Hale families are prominent examples. Three Coiner brothers married into Miami families in Butler Township; their family had migrated from West Virginia in the late 19th century. The Marks family settled around Wabash somewhat earlier, and several members married into the Meshingomesia and Mongosa families. Commodore Perry Marks, who raised Elijah Marks and was possibly his father, had extensive land dealings with Meshingomesia and Bundy reserve holders in the 1880's. During the same period, many of the Miamis had white "hired hands" who helped with farming and other tasks, and sometimes married Miamis. Charles Hale (one of four in-marrying Hales) and the Stitts are examples (Rafert 1982:133). There were a number of white families living in the vicinity of the Godfroy reserve, some of whom farmed reserve land on shares or in exchange for assistance rendered to Miami farmers. Several of these individuals (e.g., Ward and Witt) married Miami women.

In later years, with increased mobility, non-Miami spouses were drawn from a much wider pool, based on relationships formed at work or in new places of residence. Many of those interviewed during field work in Indiana indicated they had met their spouses in the factories where they worked, or through work-related acquaintances. In the present generation, i.e., those born since WW II, there has been little of the racial intolerance experienced by their parents and grandparents. This altered climate has broken down virtually all barriers to intermarriage with whites. The lack of negative sanctions against Indian identity has also increased the willingness of Miami descendants to publicly identify as Indian, as opposed to earlier periods when disadvantages encouraged outward identification as white (Greenbaum 1989). The membership criteria of the Indiana Miamis confers eligibility on children of mixed marriages while excluding non-Miami spouses, a factor that has maintained the formal boundary between Miamis and non-Miamis.

On the current tribal roll, there are only seven individuals (or sibling groups) whose parents were both Miamis, and there are only five contemporary cases of endogamous Miami marriages. These five couples represent people born in the 1930's, 40's and 50's. Although many of the younger Miamis are still unmarried, it would appear that marriages within the tribe have been quite rare for at least two generations.

Major questions that are raised by intermarriage concern its effects on the Miami identity of children of mixed marriages and the role of white spouses in tribal political affairs.

The relatively large number of social and cultural activities sponsored by tribal organizations, and especially the lure of prospective unclaimed treaty benefits, established favorable conditions for affiliation by non-Indian spouses and their half-Miami offspring. During the previous generations, stigmas associated with marrying across ethnic boundaries tended to discourage full acceptance of these spouses or their children by the white community. In many instances, intermarriage resulted in white spouses being cut off own families and friends, forcing greater reliance on social relations with Miamis (Greenbaum 1989). These pressures now exist to a far lesser degree, but this ostracism established an initial basis for easily incorporating white spouses, at least on a social level.

Non-Miami spouses have in the past, and presently, taken active (although not leadership) roles in tribal activities. Several white husbands were formally adopted into the Miami Nation during the 1930's, and one of them was appointed to the council (MI/MNI 7/18/37). Such adoptions were rare, however, and for most purposes non-Miami spouses have been excluded from official political deliberations. Albeit, spouses sometimes have had unique skills or other valuable contributions to offer. For example, Clarence Godfroy's wife was a white school teacher who assisted her poorly educated husband in writing letters on behalf of himself and the larger tribal organization (Greenbaum 1989). In other instances they have served a kind of "proxy" role, taking part in tribal activities and meetings as representatives of Miami spouses who are unable to participate for some reason (Greenbaum 1989).

Interviews indicated that there have been virtually no internal pressures to marry within the tribe, and having a white spouse or parent has not served to diminish one's standing as a Miami (Greenbaum 1989). Beginning as early as the 18th century, the offspring of mixed marriages have been a persistent feature in the Miami polity both in terms of leadership, and as a growing proportion of the tribal membership. Formal membership criteria have consistently emphasized descendency from the 1895 payroll (and the 1889 Eel River roll) without regard to degree.

The issue of "blood quantum," has surfaced periodically, both in connection with tribal politics, and as a factor in ethnic identification. Meshingomesia, who was the only full blood chief in the post-removal period, sometimes incorporated racial rhetoric into his political strategies and posturing. His offspring and collateral descendants, however, intermarried as freely as the other subgroups, which eliminated most of the basis for making political capital from this issue. Questions of

eligibility were raised during the claims era, both in the Godfroy council and, especially, in the Hale council. In the former case, there seems to have been a misunderstanding, wherein the tribal leadership apparently believed that a 19th century Indiana law defining Indians as being 1/8 or more would determine who was eligible to share in ICC awards. In the latter, a vote was taken to restrict eligibility to 1/8, possibly reflecting the same misconception, or perhaps as a reflection of tensions between Hale and the Godfroys. Some of the older interviewees expressed the view that there were not many "real" Indians left among the Miamis, apparently in reference to blood quantum. However, these are people who grew up during a period when race was much more significant in relation to ones social or legal identity. Their comments also likely reflect a kind of nostalgic distortion commonly found in oral histories, where subjects complain that things are not like they used to be.

Similarly, many white people have contended that the Miamis do not look like Indians and, more commonly, that do not act like Indians, i.e., they vote, dress like everyone else, live in houses instead of teepees, etc. Such judgements were principal arguments in court cases over tax and game exemptions, although the Swimming Turtle decision in 1977 reversed this trend. Popular perceptions, Hollywood stereotypes, and entrenched racial thinking have complicated the definition of Miami identity, both within the tribal membership and in the non-Miami population. Skepticism by non-Miamis has most often been expressed by those who either do not live in the towns with large numbers of Miamis, or those who oppose granting them special privileges, especially game exemptions (Greenbaum 1989).

In spite of the long and close interaction with non-Miamis, a discernible, and in many respects well defined, ethnic boundary has been maintained between the Miami descendants and their non-Miami neighbors and kin. Miamis observe this boundary formally through the enrollment process and a general knowledge of family connections. For non-Miamis, the perceived social distinctiveness of Miamis is also based primarily on a general knowledge of family backgrounds (i.e., non-Miamis know which are the Miami families) and public awareness of tribal activities, at least in Peru, Wabash, and Huntington (Greenbaum 1989). In these areas, this ethnic distinction has persisted as a function of self-imposed as well as externally defined criteria of social identity, although self-identification has been perhaps the stronger factor.

Miami identity derives in large part from the longstanding association of families with their respective subgroup leaders

and organizations, as well as in the context of reunions and pageants. The question of who is eligible to share in treaty rights, that have been pursued actively from the treaty of 1854 to the present effort to gain Federal acknowledgment, has exerted a powerful influence on self-identification by Miami descendants. Similarly, however, the right to share in these potential benefits has been jealously guarded by the leaders and members of tribal organizations. Controversies over the claims of those Miamis who were collateral descendants of JB Richardville, or who had allegedly joined the Pottawatomis, engaged the Miami council throughout much of the latter half of the 19th century. Similar conflicts emerged over those who had been on the Eel River payroll in 1889, although that issue was ultimately decided in favor of their inclusion.

There has been a longstanding reluctance to adopt non-Miami spouses or others who have been involved in Miami organizations (MI/MNI 4/28/40; Greenbaum 1989). Nettie White, who served as "attorney-in-fact" for the Miami Nation during the late 1930's and 1940's, was always carefully identified in the council minutes as a "white woman," and a motion to adopt her (and her white husband) into the tribe was defeated in 1941 (MI/MNI 6/8/41). Non-Miamis have not been permitted to attend council meetings or the annual reunion, except for spouses or those who were specifically invited (Greenbaum 1989).

Social Relations. Data upon which to rest conclusions about the social structure of the contemporary Miami membership are both limited and unsystematic. Newsletters, minutes and other recent documents do not contain this kind of information, and the petitioner did not conduct a community study. During the brief period of field research (7 days), interviews were done with about 30 individuals. This was a small non-probability sample that included: members of the tribal council; members of the Junior Council; individuals living in each of the major towns in Indiana (Peru, Wabash, Marion, Huntington, Fort Wayne and South Bend); non-Miamis from Peru and Huntington; and representatives of each living generation (i.e., elderly, middle-aged and young adult). The interviews focused mainly on historical recollections, tribal activities and information about the political character of past and contemporary tribal organizations. Questions were included about socializing and social contact, but the answers represent anecdotes and untestable generalities that are not always consistent. Moreover, repsonses to these questions are necessarily impressionistic. Several people who were interviewed said things like "we don't visit as much as we used to," or "we don't visit as much as I'd like to," or "most people are too busy with jobs

and children to get out and see each other." Such judgements derive from an unknown context. These complaints, or apologies, have the character of comparisons against an idealized norm of dubious reality, and one which likely varies depending on the age and personal circumstance of the informant. In short, the full extent and quality of social interaction between Miamis, or with non-Miamis, cannot be precisely determined on the basis of these data, or from information supplied by the petitioner. However, for the core areas, the interviews do provide a number of specific examples of social interaction and contexts in which it occurs, as well as some information about funerals, weddings, church attendance, etc. The following discussion is an attempt to distill a general description based on the various kinds of information that were available.

In overall social patterns, there is no striking evidence that the members of the Miami Nation of Indiana are "culturally" different from their non-Miami neighbors, and Miamis have numerous social relationships outside of the tribal membership. This is scarcely surprising; indeed it would be extraordinary if it were not the case. The Indiana Miamis, as a group, have been non-Federally recognized for nearly a century and have been overwhelmingly non-rural for at least 50 years. They have had the good fortune of not being uniformly discriminated against on account of their ethnic status and, through the loss of their land, have been forced to adapt to the employment and residential conditions associated with modern life.

Although they are not "rural," most Miamis reside in small towns (including those who live outside the core areas). Like their non-Indian counterparts, they live in communities that reflect a general pattern of intergenerational stability and recurrent face-to-face relationships. If they lived in urban areas, it is quite likely that their non-Indian neighbors would not be aware of their ethnic origins (and it seems probable that those who live in larger cities, or places outside of the core areas, do experience this kind of ethnic anonymity). In the small towns of Peru, Wabash, Marion and Huntington, however, they are widely known. Additionally, many of the older generation of Miamis who now live in these and other nearby towns grew up on Godfroy, Mongosa or Bundy reserve land. Shared memories and experiences within these rural communities continue to provide a strong social bond among them, and this familiarity extends often to the younger members of their respective families (Greenbaum 1989).

The general importance of kinship in the social relationships of small town Americans is similarly reflected in the social activities of Miamis living in the core areas (including South

Bend). For the Miamis, however, kinship is a fundamental axis of ethnic persistence; the maintenance of kin ties effects an almost passive identification with the traditions of ancestors and has created a framework for the ongoing regeneration of group identity. Although many of the relatives of Miamis are non-Miamis, this condition has evidently created choice rather than confusion, and most descendants have formally opted to affiliate as Miamis.

The fact that their non-Miami neighbors appear to be similarly stable in their local communities and cohesive within their own kin groups has only heightened their awareness of who the Miamis are, as individuals and as a group. For example, the present mayor of Peru (a non-Miami), whose grandparents grew up in the area, has heard stories about the Miamis since he was a child and always knew which of his classmates, neighbors and co-workers were from Miami families. The same was reported by a non-Miami who had grown up near Huntington (Greenbaum 1989). Additionally, for Miamis living in the core areas, the organizational activities -- pow wows, council meetings, the annual reunion, parades, cemetery clean-ups, etc. -- have served to both enhance and formalize a sense of Miami identity, as well as expanding social ties with non-relatives who are also Miamis.

Miamis belong to churches and clubs with non-Miamis; they work together, and they live near each other. The social involvements of Miamis include relationships and visiting with non-Indian friends and relatives, and several of the white families have annual reunions which are attended by the Miami kin. The decision to move the Miami annual reunion permanently to Wabash was associated with the fact that the Marks family held a reunion in the same location at the same time. (This was actually one of two Marks family reunions. The very large Marks family, most of whom are non-Miamis, hold another separate reunion each year, also in Wabash park but earlier in August. The reunion of the descendants of Charlie Marks, who was Miami but also had many non-Miami relatives, is the one that coincides with the Miami annual reunion.) This co-occurence permitted Marks family members who were Miamis to attend both events. The two reunions were not combined, however, and with the exception of spouses, non-Miami relatives have not been permitted to participate in the Miami reunion.

There are no churches predominantly attended by Miamis. In the latter part of the 19th century, there was an important group of Miami leaders who were also Baptist preachers. During that period, the Waucoon and Antioch churches on the Meshingomesia reserve and Pimyotomah's church in Butler Township were important

institutional gathering points for Miamis living in those areas. However, then as now, the tribal membership was divided between Catholic and Protestant denominations; and the generation that followed Peter Bundy, Pimyotomah and the others did not produce successors in the combined role of pastor/tribal leader. George Bundy (a Meshingomesia not related to Peter Bundy) was a Methodist minister. He was active in the Headquarters organization and also performed marriages for a number of Miami couples, but his church was located in Hancock County, at a distance from the major Miami settlements. He died in 1920. From the 1920's into the 1960's, Paul Walters (a Meshingomesia) pastored a church in Marion, but the denomination was Methodist and the congregation included mostly non-Miamis. Rev. Walters offered the closing prayer at some of the Hale council meetings in 1961.

Miamis in the core area towns, especially Peru where there is a very large concentration of Miamis, often do attend church with other Miamis. Approximately 100 Miamis, mostly Godfroy descendants belong to the St. Charles Catholic Church in Peru, along with a large number of non-Miamis. (The two Catholic churches in Huntington also have a number of Miamis from the Richardville and Godfroy families, although not nearly as many as in Peru.) Miamis in Peru also attend several Protestant churches. These tend to have smaller congregations and correspondingly fewer Miami members. The First Christian and Nazerene churches both have between 15 and 20 Miami members. A number of Miami families belong to the Church of God denomination. The churches to which Miamis belong, in Peru and elsewhere, are in no sense tribal institutions (as is the case with churches for some other unrecognized Indian groups). However, they do provide institutional settings in which Miamis meet, interact and exchange information on a regular basis. These are social circles that extend beyond the family, and in many cases reflect multi-generational ties between Miami families.

Funerals are one context in which this larger social process operates. Church members, both Miami and non-Miami, attend the funerals of those in the congregation. The funerals of Miamis routinely include the other Miamis in the church, as well as Miamis (kin and non-kin) who do not belong. The number of Miamis who turn out for funerals varies according to who has died; those individuals who are not generally well known or active in tribal affairs may draw few outside of their relatives and fellow church members. However, the funerals of tribal leaders have attracted very large numbers of Miamis, many of whom come from out of town. A recent example was the funeral of Lyman Mongosa in 1986. He

was the son of Joe Mongosa, and had succeeded his father as head of the Mongosa family (Greenbaum 1989). His funeral was in the Old Weesau Baptist Church in Denver, Indiana (not far from Peru). About 200 Miamis attended, about half of whom were from Roanoke and Fort Wayne (Greenbaum 1989). His obituary noted that he: "took time to teach his grandchildren how to do the Indian dances...[and] the customs...he took part in parades...he was known as the 'chief' of his family" (anonymous 1986).

As with churches, there are no social clubs that are exclusively composed of Miamis. In the past generation, a large number of Miami railway workers in Peru played softball together on a company team, but non-Miamis were also included (Greenbaum 1989). During the 1930's, there was a lodge known as the Improved Order of Red Men of Miami County, Mongosa Tribe No. 67. In 1938, they erected a monument in the Godfroy Cemetery for John "Bull" Mongosa (fd, Mongosa family book; Godfroy Cemetery records, MNISI 1984c 164). Although this would appear to be an Indian organization, it was actually a predominantly white lodge, to which many Miamis (including John Mongosa's son Joe) belonged. Several people from Peru and Wabash who were interviewed during the field research indicated that they presently belong to a coon hunters' club and that other Miamis not interviewed are also members. Although this is a mixed organization, i.e., there are many non-Miamis who also belong, it provides another context in which Miami social interaction occurs and reflects a continued interest in hunting. Moreover, the Miamis' past and ongoing efforts to win exemption from state game laws lends a distinctiveness to their status within this particular organization. Speculations were offered that if the Miamis do secure these exemptions, there will be immediate negative repercussions among the non-Miami members (Greenbaum 1989).

As indicated above, the available information offers an insufficient basis for assessing the extent of informal visiting among Miamis, especially those not closely related through kinship and those living outside of the core areas. In the earlier section on kinship, it was noted that much of the routine socializing among Miamis occurs within the context of family get-to-gethers. There is "not much visiting of families to other families, [but] families within themselves visit often" (Greenbaum 1989). However, some visiting among non-related Miamis does occur, especially among neighbors in Peru, Wabash and Huntington (Greenbaum 1989). A consistent impression or opinion offered in the field interviews was that there is much less of this non-family visiting now than in earlier times, especially when there were still Miami-owned farms. Somewhat contrastingly, however, many of those interviewed indicated that they are kept

aware of what is going on with the other Miamis, at least those living in the core area of northcentral Indiana. Knowledge about births, deaths and the problems of particular individuals reportedly circulates easily via face-to-face and telephone contacts: "information gets around quickly by word of mouth, especially those things one wouldn't want to get around" (Greenbaum 1989).

The existence of the tribal office in Peru, established in the early 1980's, has reportedly facilitated this general exchange of information, both for those who live close enough to drop in and for more distant members who call on the telephone (Greenbaum 1989). A copy of the "visitor's register" that is kept at the tribal office indicates that many tribal members do visit the office (MNISI 1990b). Signatures of visitors occur almost daily; on many days, there are several, and some people drop in regularly. The vast majority of those who list addresses are from Peru, although many are from Fort Wayne, Marion, Huntington, Wabash and other Indiana towns not too distant from Peru. There are also a number of people from further distances in Indiana and a scattering from out of state. (A precise calculation of these different locations was not attempted; the listing, which is for the period between Oct. 1986 and April 1990, contains more than 1000 names).

Notes

* There are some slight discrepancies between the numbers given in this section of the report and those generated by the genealogist. The differences result from: 1) the fact that the anthropological analysis was based only on those contemporary members who trace their ancestry to persons who were able to prove descendancy from individuals on the 1889/1895 payrolls (which excluded 101 people); 2) 6 duplicate entries on the data file used by the anthropologist were not detected until after all of the computer analyses had been completed (reanalysis was not possible within the time available, and the basic results would not have changed); and 3) the petitioner made several corrections in the assignment of list ancestors to subgroups, which was done after the genealogist had completed her work. The discrepancies arising from these different sources are of a small magnitude, and the conclusions based on the overall figures in either case are not different.

** A thorough analysis of the locations of Miamis residing in particular towns and cities was not feasible. This was primarily due to the fact that the "address field" on the membership data file could not be sorted separately; i.e., it was impossible to group together all persons living in the same block and street of

a given town, because house numbers and street names were lumped together in a single alpha field. Additionally, the locations of streets, and particular addresses on streets, could not be determined in most cases, especially for larger towns and cities like Fort Wayne and South Bend. Current street maps were not available (except for Marion, Wabash, Huntington and Peru), and the task of tracking and recording individual addresses was exceedingly difficult and time consuming. As a result, the discussion of the relative locations of Miamis living in the same towns is necessarily imprecise.

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SUPPLEMENTARY ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON POLITICAL PROCESSES AMONG THE INDIANA MIAMI AFTER 1890

Introduction:

This report examines the evidence of leadership and other political processes among the Indiana Miami from the 1890's, the period of the loss of Federal recognition and the breakup of the land-based communities, to the present-day. The subject matter of this report overlaps with the anthropology report prepared under contract and was prepared in consultation with contractor's researcher.

Political Organization 1890 to 1940

The period after 1890 is one in which the leaders from the previous decades continued to play a role, albeit an apparently declining one, while new names appear in the record and a nominally more formalized organization was created. Though to some degree, the actions of the older leaders and those of the new faces were taken separately, there were close kinship relationships between them.

There was no single, overall chief in the 1890's. There were, however, some joint actions, and general councils involving most of the subgroups in the tribe. Gabriel Godfroy, leader of the Godfroys, was probably the most influential single leader, signing the 1895 payroll as chief(Shelby 1895). Although there are occasional references to the difference in legal status of the Meshingesia as opposed to those whose land had been individual grants, there was no indication from this era of the kinds of acrimony and conflict that had characterized relations between the Meshingomesia and the others in the 1880's and that would reappear in the latter 1920's and the 1930's.

The era beginning approximately in 1890 saw the acceleration of land loss under the pressure of taxation and an economic depression. This period was also that of the first generation which was almost exclusively married to non-Miamis. The Miamis were not able to generate sufficient income in most cases, evidently, to pay the taxes on their lands and local attempts to tax it had been fought since at least the 1870's. The critical issue from the point of view of the Miamis was that of the tax-free status of the land and, subsequent to 1897, the effect of the loss of Federal recognition on the land status. The move off the land was largely involuntary and thus a critical political issue.

In 1891 Gabriel Godfroy won a lawsuit holding that the Indians were in "tribal relations" and therefore the land derived from individual treaty grants, i.e., all except the Meshingomesia land, was tax-exempt (see historian's report). State legislation was passed in that year which supported this position and provided that individual Indians could sue to have their lands taken off the tax rolls. In 1893 as a result, the County Circuit Court of Miami County ordered a tax sale on Godfroy's land stopped and in 1897 Godfroy obtained a permanent injunction against against

taxation of Indian lands. Also in 1897, however, in response to the tribe's attempt at gaining payment of taxes previously collected and a renewed clarification from the Interior Department of their tribal status, Willis Van Devanter, the Assistant Attorney General of the Interior Department issued an opinion that the Miamis were not under Federal protection and did not have tribal status. This decision triggered renewed local efforts to tax Miami land.

Most of the Meshingomesia Reserve land was in white hands by 1900, with the Meshingomesia families largely moving to the nearby towns, at first especially Marion and then subsequently to Wabash. The Godfroy and Bundy family holdings were substantially reduced between 1890 and 1900, under increasing economic and tax pressures. The last Bundy lands were those of Camillus Bundy, which were lost in 1923. There were still 16 Godfroy and Pimyotamah families on the land in 1920, with a declining number over the subsequent 20 years (MNISI 1989e). Nonetheless, there was significant continued use of the land areas for hunting and fishing by quite a large number of people until the late 1930's when a number of factors triggered state action to stop defacto Miami exercise of hunting and fishing rights different than those of non-Indians (MNISI 1989b, 1990a).

The land issue affected all of the subgroups, insofar as it broke up the rural communities whose major populations lived close together, even though not on entirely contiguous lands. It does not appear that most, with the exception of some of the Godfroys, were commercial farmers by this era. The land provided a residence and apparently some income, and evidently some subsistence farming and hunting and fishing.

Leaders after 1890 whose position began in earlier eras included, most prominently, Gabriel Godfroy, William Peconga, Peter Bondy, T.F. Richardville and Anthony Walker. Godfroy, Peconga, Bundy, Walker and Richardville (as well as others) signed the 1895 payment roll as "headmen (MNISI 1984b, 135)." They appear also to have taken a lead role in dealing with this issue, signing the attorney contract and writing several letters concerning issues on how the roll was done and the payment was to be made (George Godfroy and John Bundy 1893). In 1893, a "great council" of over 100 persons in 1893 at Peter Bondy's house (MNISI 1984a). This was a meeting to approve the attorneys for the Court of Claims suit (MTI et al. 1963). Godfroy, Bundy, Walker and several others protested the method of payment (MNISI 1984a). Peconga wrote separately, asking when payment would be made (Peconga 1895).

Godfroy was the most prominent among the older leaders in this era, carrying out the tax battle and providing refuge for the landless. Materials of the era make reference to his generosity, i.e., his role in supporting the indigent, intervening on legal matters, paying fines and the like. One article refers to him as leader of the Miami in "all but spiritual matters (Anonymous 1910a)." The extent of his influence beyond the Godfroy group is not clear, some articles referring to him as leader of the Godfroys while others, less precisely, and not necessarily accurately, refer to him as chief of the Miami (Anonymous 1910b). Although the tax suits he undertook appear in an immediate sense to be of individual benefit, Godfroy had the greatest resources to undertake the effort to establish the land status. A 1905 article concerning the Godfroy's last tax suit, stated that his word was "gospel" among the

Indians and that in the payment of taxes they followed his advice (quoted in MNISI 1984b, 139).

Peconga appears to have played a less significant role than Godfroy in this era, perhaps because of his loss of his land in the early 1890's, after which he moved onto Godfroy's land. Peconga did write the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1898 concerning legislation for tax relief (Peconga 1898). In 1901, he wrote jointly with Godfroy asking about tribal status. He is listed as one of the councilmen in the Miami Tribe organization formed around 1900 (cf. below). Although Peconga lived until 1916, there evidence of leadership or involvement in Miami political affairs on his part after 1905.

Another of the earlier leaders, Anthony Walker, migrated to Oklahoma with his family to Oklahoma. The petition reports, but does not describe or substantiate, a continued leadership role for him in Oklahoma after that point. Peter Bundy signed an 1897 agreement designating Camillus Bundy, his son, to represent the Miamis (cf. below) (Peter Bundy et al. 1897). Peter Bundy died soon afterwards.

T.F. Richardville, although considered chief of the Western Miamis at this point, continued to play some, limited role in this era, evidently advising the Miami Tribe organization as well as pushing various actions post-1895 to win claims payments. There is no other information concerning leadership among the Richardville/Lafontaine population, who only appear to a limited degree on the lists of those at political meetings (although active in reunions and the pageant) or signing documents between 1890 and 1925.

The 1905 newspaper article about Gabriel Godfroy's renewed litgation over the tax status of the land indicates non-Indian awareness that this was an issue of broad importance among the local Indians. The joint 1901 letter by Gabriel Godfroy and William Peconga also indicates general tribal efforts in terms of the tribal status-taxation issue. On the other hand, there is no evidence that any group effort was made by the Miami Tribe organization or through other means to mobilize resources to fight the legal battles or pay the taxes of economically poorer members.

Further evidence of the land pressure and efforts to deal with it was a 1903 inquiry from a Peru attorney to the Indian bureau on behalf of 30 families concerning gaining land in Oklahoma (Annabal 1903). Miamis also made inquiries concerning continued eligibility to attend Indian schools. While these are central issues growing out of the loss of recognition, there wasn't direct evidence that tribal political processes were involved in trying to deal with them specifically.

There was no direct evidence concerning a tribal leadership role in the successful efforts to have various claims bills in 1902, 1909-11 and 1920 introduced (none ultimately passed). There was, however, extensive correspondence to the government on these issues, some from individuals with leadership roles. T.F. Richardville did make considerable efforts between 1896 and 1905 to promote various claims bills. There was, similarly, no information concerning the possible efforts of tribal leaders or members behind the passage of the 1891 act of the state legislature although it was obviously in response to and seemingly in support of Gabriel Godfroy's legal victory in that year.

No information was available for this report, except for the tax suits themselves, concerning the relationships between various Miami leaders and local non-Indian governments. Some contacts are likely to have existed, since leaders like Gabriel Godfroy had at least legal and commercial relationships with important non-Indians locally.

The first evidence of the new generation of leaders is in 1892 when Camillus Bundy is noted in a newspaper article concerning the 1891 court victory as having inquired of attorneys concerning the citizenship status of the Miamis (anonymous 1892). This is the first appearance of Bundy who, with his son C.Z. Bondy, play an aggressive role for the next 70 years in pushing the government on issues of status and claims, sometimes in concert with other Miamis and sometimes apparently independently or even in opposition. Camillus Bundy was born in 1854, and was the son of leader Peter Bundy and the brother-in-law of Gabriel Godfroy.

In May 1896, Camillus Bundy, styling himself "chief and attorney" of the Miami Indians of Indiana, wrote the Secretary of the Interior protesting the taxation of Miami lands, seeking in the wake of the 1891 legislation and court decision, to have the taxes previously paid refunded (C. Bundy 1896a). His inquiry re tribal status, unfortunately, led to Van Devanter's opinion.

On the separate issue of claims, Camillus Bundy was authorized by a "special council meeting" in October 1896 to represent the "Tribe of Indiana Miami Indians residing in Miami County" prosecute claims. An April 1897 agreement, reporting this authorization, refers to him as being "the present chief" although there is no evidence that he was chief in an overall sense (P. Bundy et al. 1897). The document represents a broad base of support for Bundy's efforts. Of the older generation of leaders, Peter Bundy and Anthony Walker signed the agreement, while Gabriel Godfroy and William Peconga did not. Signers include individuals from Godfroy, Bundy, Meshingomesia, Mongosa subgroups and at least a few Richardville/Lafontaine descendants. There was no evidence concerning what further actions Bundy took in the next several years in response to this mandate. In 1898, George W. Bundy in writing to the government concerning Miami claims stated that he was chief and authorized to represent the Miamis. He stated "we are in litigation," possibly referring to efforts Camillus Bundy had begun under his mandate the previous two years (George Bundy 1898). William Peconga also wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that year stating that "we're in litigation" (Peconga 1898). Both George Bundy and Camillus Bundy were part of the formal Miami Tribe organization begun around this time (cf. below).

Bundy is also reputed to have begun the annual reunions and to have had a role in the cultural presentations which led to the Macconquah pageant (Greenbaum 1989).

A new, apparently more formalized organization was created at some point, probably shortly before or after 1900. This will be referred to below as the "Miami tribal organization." The first reference to it is in 1902, but a 1902 letter from its treasurer stated that "for som (sic) time ago we have organization (of the) Miami Band (William H. Bundy 1902)." It was

formally organized in the sense of having a designated chief, treasurer and secretary. All were younger men, the chief, George Godfroy, being 31. Godfroy was a nephew of Gabriel, son of his older brother William, and the son-in-law of William Peconga. The treasurer was William N. Bundy, age 37, a Meshingomesia. The secretary was the youngest, Ross Bundy, from the Bundy subgroup, who was only 22. The only evidence for the organizational structure is two different letterheads, one indicating that the group had retained counsel in Chicago (the "legal department") and another titled the "Headquarters of the Miami Indians of Indiana (William H. Bundy 1902, Stark and Denison 1902)." The "legal department" letterhead designates "tribal headquarters" as "Marion and Peru." Oral history indicates that the headquarters were located in Marion, i.e., that this was not the title of the organization itself (MNISI 1985a). Letters to the government from Ross Bundy, William Bundy and others up to 1906 sought a list of treaties, help with business matters, complained of fraud against the Indians, and, apparently, renewed the effort at claims legislation (MNISI 1984a, 37-41).

This Miami tribal organization was almost certainly not in competition with the efforts of older leaders Godfroy and Peconga, even though Godfroy and Peconga wrote to the government in 1902 on behalf of the tribe (see below). William Peconga was one of the councilmen. Other councilmen were Camillus Bundy, Robert Winters, John Bundy, and Peter Godfroy (son of Gabriel). George W. Bundy (who in 1898 had written as chief) is listed with the title of "guard." There are individuals on the letterhead from all of the subgroups. A 1905 letter indicates the group had consulted with T.F. Richardville, apparently on the claims efforts that Richardville was pursuing in that era on behalf of the Indiana and western Miamis. Richardville is characterized in this letter as the "Western Miami chief." A 1902 letter from the organization indicates there may be some connection between the organizations legal representatives and a 1902 House of Representatives resolution relating to the claims issue (Starke and Denison 1902). It is not clear here, or elsewhere, how these efforts are funded. The oral history for later decades at least, indicates tribal leaders paid for much of it out of their own funds (Greenbaumn 1989)

Seemingly uncoordinated with the organization was a joint letter in 1901 from Godfroy and Peconga, along with Godroy's brother William, asking the "Indian Department" whether they were still in tribal relations (i.e., still considered in tribal status rather than citizens) (Godfroy, Godfroy and Peconga 1901). The letter, was written shortly before the courts issued a reversal of Godfroy's legal victories in 1893 and 1897 on the taxation. Though phrased in terms of Godfroy's individual problems, the letter refers to the inquiry as growing out of a "recent council."

In contrast to the extensive correspondence through 1905, there was relatively little in the documentary record that was available for this report concerning the Miami Tribe organization between 1905 and 1916. It is likely that it had some role in the claims legislation introduced in this period. There were several letters to the Federal government in this period from Ross and William Bundy concerning claims and loss of land (MNISI 1984a).

Gabriel Godfroy initiated a new lawsuit in 1905. This was eventually settled by a compromise giving him 10 years grace during which his land would not be taxed, but did not overturn the position that the Miami land was taxable. There was no indication that the Miami tribal organization was involved in this.

The organization continued, with George Godfroy as leader until at least 1925, and perhaps until his death in 1929. The activities of the organization are not known in detail. According to oral history, it met at least twice a year (MNISI 1985a). An account of the annual reunion in 1925, lists Godfroy as "head of the tribe" and presiding over a business session (Anonymous 1925b). The specific bases or character of Godfroy's leadership are unknown, other than his close kinship connections with major families, others on the council and earlier generation leaders.

It would appear from an agreement signed in 1916 that C.Z. Bondy had, similarly to his father 20 years before, gained the support of a wide spectrum of Miamis to carry out some kind of initiative on claims matters (Mayer et al. 1916). It is difficult to determine the role or status of these individual signers, although they include Peter Godfroy and also future leaders and influential individuals such as Lawrence Godfroy and Joseph Mongosa. George Godfroy and John, Ross and William H. Bundy of the Miami tribal organization did not sign it, indicating a division within the tribe. There was no information concerning what actions Bondy took as an immediate consequence of this agreement.

In 1917, the Miami tribal organization's secretary Ross Bundy wrote to the government protesting any possible dealings with the Federal government by C.Z. Bondy as "illegal" because the chief, George Godfroy, and the "business committee" had not seen or approved the contract (Ross Bundy 1917). In 1920 Bundy wrote again, protesting possible dealings with other members of the tribe, apparently referring again to C.Z. Bondy (Ross Bundy 1920). The letter declared that the business committee of the Miamis had been authorized by a general council to "adjust their tribal affairs" with the government of the United States. The council no longer included William Bundy but included John Bundy, Joe Mongosa, Peter Bruell and Willis Peconga. Mongosa and Bruell had signed the Bondy agreement in 1916, apparently shifting allegiances subsequently.

According to oral history, "tribal business" was often conducted at the annual reunions in this era (Greenbaum 1989). News clippings of the 1925 reunion refer to a business meeting at which "policies and other important matters arising will be decided (Anonymous 1925b)." The specific issues are not mentioned. The oral history indicate these concerned claims and the like. Officers, apparently for the reunion itself, were elected. George Godfroy was noted presiding and as "head of the tribe." One hundred and fifty people attended. A very broad representation of families from all of the subgroups including the Richardville/Lafontaine attended. Attendees from all parts of the core geographic area as well as South Bend attended and presumably voted on the tribal officers.

The Macqonquah Pageant, begun around 1923 and continuing until the late 1930's, was an unusual institution that toured the local area presenting stories, dances and other representations of Miami culture. There is some oral history that left over income was used for "tribal purposes

(Greenbaum 1989)," but fund-raising was not its major purpose. It may have originated with private performances of revived Miami cultural features such as stories and legends, e.g., at early reunions. Like the reunion, it involved individuals from all of the subgroups. Also like the reunion, it was not was not directly connected with the various organizations and councils pursuing claims or changes in tribal status. Those active in it and organizing it were, however, individuals central to Miami affairs in that era. The organizers were Ross Bundy, who was on the Miami Nation council two years later and Clarence Godfroy, a leader of the Godfroy organization (Anonymous 1935). Francis Godfroy, Camillus Bundy, Sam Bondy and Lyman Mongosa were also participants. The pageant provided an organizational focus for the generation born within the last of the land-based communities but living for the most part in the nearby towns (see contractor's anthropology report). In 1939, in a departure from the cultural performance orientation, some individuals put on costumes and dances as part of a protest over denial of hunting and fishing rights (Anonymous 1939c). This would have been soon after the pageant stopped being performed.

Two conflicts over taxes developed in the 1920's, seemingly independent of organization headed by George Godfroy. Several of the Gabriel Godfroy grandchildren, Clarence, Lawrence, and Eva Godfroy, staged a tax protest. In 1921, they refused to pay taxes on their land on the basis that taxation was illegal. Clarence seemingly was the leader of this, or at least the spokesman in writing letters (Clarence Godfroy 1924a, 1924b). In 1925 the land was sold at a tax sale. Clarence also protested actions by Camillus Bundy, invoking the legal difference between Meshingomesia and the families with individual treaty grants. This is perhaps the first time the term, "individual Indians," appeared as a reference to themselves by the Godfroys, apparently signaling a conflict within the Miamis between the Meshingmesias and the others as to the best approach to their land status.

At almost the same time, the figures of Camillus Bundy and his son C.Z. Bondy appeared in activist roles again. The last of the Bundy land was lost in 1923 in a mortgage foreclosure. Clarence Godfroy's letter (cf. above) makes it appear the Bundys, in their protests to the Federal government, were allied with the Meshingomesia at this point. However, oral history of a meeting held in 1923 at Camillus Bundy's home indicatesd neither Meshingomesias nor Godfroys were present although the latter were considered "automatically eligible for membership (MNISI 1984b, 148)." Camillus Bundy was "chosen leader," apparently of a group of Bundys and perhaps Mongosas. Clarence Godfroy's 1924 letters also suggest perhaps at least a brief linkage of Camillus Bundy with the Meshingomesia side. The petition's claimed linkage of the 1923 meeting with the subsequent Miami Nation organization seems unsubstantiated. The Bundys in the subsequent five years mounted a strong, but seemingly narrowly based effort to persuade the federal government to restore their land status. Numerous letters and a petition were sent to the Federal government (Bundy, Brady and Bondy 1927), and the Bundys spent considerable time in Washington on the issue.

In 1928, legislation to allow the Miamis to sue in the Court of Claims was introduced. Like previous attempt to obtain legislation, it was unsuccessful. There was no information concerning which Miami groups or individuals were involved in this effort.

Two separate organizations of Miamis were formed around 1930, one essentially representing the Meshingomesias and the other the Godfroys. The era, by all accounts, was one of exceptional acrimony between the two subgroups. This in part appears to reflect opinions that the legal strategy of one side would negatively affect the interests of the other in seeking restoration of land status and, subsequently in the decade, Federal recognition. Annual reunions continued to be held including all the subgroups, although the oral history indicates there was considerable tension (Greenbaum 1989).

As the Indian New Deal took hold in Washington, the emphasis shifted from the land status toward seeking restoration of Federal status per se. Both sides petitioned the Indian Bureau for such restoration and were equally denied, the government citing the act providing for Meshingomesia citizenship and the idea that those with individual treaty grants had become citizens. The recognition efforts may reflect contacts with Western Miami, which succeeded in gaining organization under the Indian Reorganization Act in 1939 after having effectively been treated as nonrecognized for many years.

Minutes are extant for 1930 and 1931 of an organization then termed the Miami Indians of Indiana (Miami Indians 1930, 1931). The actual date of origin of the organization is unknown. According to oral history, it may have begun in 1929, with Camillus Bundy playing some role in getting it started. The leader (titled chief) was Elijah Marks, a grandson of one of Meshingomesia's brothers. Born in 1865 on the Meshingomesia Reserve, he was no younger than the active leaders of previous decades, although his name does not appear in the record earlier. David Bondy (born 1876), son of Camillus Bondy and half brother of C.Z. Bondy was secretary and treasurer. The minutes for this period (1930-31) concern a contract for C.Z. Bondy and the collection of funds to send him to Washington, D.C. to represent the Miami.

Other activities of the organization in this period, or the extent of its membership, are not known. The other names associated, listed as donating funds in 1931, were relatives or children of Elijah Marks. The petition contains extensive correspondence to Washington in the early 1930's from Elijah Shapp, a cousin of Elijah Marks (Shapp 1930a, 1930b, 1932, 1933). Shapp at one point referred to himself as one of three "trustees for the Miami Indians of Indiana," and at another said, "we belong to the Meshingomesia band." Shapp's letters expressed a vociferous position reflecting the Meshingomesia point of view. He cited fraud in the partition of the Meshingomesia lands and states that "we...are still wards of the government..." He stated further that "my people are starving and we need Federal aid at once." He also revived the demand for the interest on the money paid in 1895, which was a focus of post 1895 claims efforts.

In 1934 and 1935, C.Z. Bondy again appeared, leading what was probably a movement independent of the two main subgroups. Newspaper accounts report a meeting of approximately 50 people, who elected him "chief of the Miami tribe (Anonymous 1934a, 1934b)." The purpose of the meeting was to pursue claims. Despite the claimed title, he apparently had limited support.

In 1937, the Miami Tribe organization led by Marks appear in the written record again, under the title of the Miami Nation of Indiana, with the Marks and David Bundy in the same offices. It is not clearly that there was necessarily a gap between 1931 and 1937. The correspondence, however, referred to Marks as "newly elected (Marks 1935)." This time the organization obtained a charter of incorporation from the state of Indiana, evidently under the impression that it would help them gain Federal recognition (McNickle 1938, Zimmerman 1939b). Minutes are extant from 1937 to 1942 for both "general council" meetings, held in public halls, and council meetings (MI/MNI 1937-42). The organization was very active during this period. The organization reportedly became inactive in the early 1940's. One factor may have been the death of its secretary, David Bondy. However, in 1944, Elijah Marks as chief wrote to the BIA protesting the tax sale by Grant County of former Meshingomesia Reserve land that held the Mesingomesia cemetery and had held a church and school (Winters et al. 1944). Marks held that the land had been reserved for all time. Elijah Marks died in 1948.

The major Miami Nation activities were seeking Federal restoration of status, recovery of claims, and concern with the Indian school and cemetery lands. Newspaper accounts at the time of incorporation stated the purpose was to recover lands lost through mortgage foreclosure and leases (Anonymous 1937a, 1937b). The organization was also involved in the hunting and fishing rights protests of the decade (cf. below). Initially, white husbands of Miamis were enrolled and on the council, though this was subsequently discontinued. Much of the activity involved and seemingly was directed by Nettie White, a non-Indian woman who was interested in helping the Miami cause (MI/MNI 1937-42). White did alot of the negotiations and letter writing in dealing with the Federal government as well as locally.

Initially intended to be open to all of the Indians of the Miami tribe, the organization quickly differentiated itself from the Godfroys. Six of the incorporators were from Marion, reflecting the Meshingomesia concentration there (Marks et al. 1937b, 1937c). The other two were from Wabash and Peru. Elijah Shapp was one of the incorporators. Initially supported by the Bundys, there was a mass resignation of them in 1938, including Sam Bondy, one of the incorporators. David Bundy who had close family ties with Elijah Marks, remained as secretary. The action was stated as protesting the actions of Nettie White. There were apparently only a few Richardville/Lafontaine members, who resigned at the same time as most of the Bundy's. Some Meshingomesia families from South Bend also resigned. Some Eel River Miami families were evidently rejected when they applied.

Although C.Z. Bondy had been hired by the council in 1930, he appeared to have been operating independently in 1934. Miami Nation council minutes indicate the organization voted in 1937 to "ignore" his efforts at claims. In 1942 they made a point of protesting Bondy's attack on Federal acquisition of land as unpatriotic and traveled to South Bend to attend the trial on this question (Anonymous 1942b).

There was an enrollment process. A roll created in 1938 and 1939 explicitly referred to enrollment to receive payment when the claims were received (MI/MNI 1938-39). The organizational minutes do not make this

qualification concerning the nature of enrollment. In 1937 it was stated that "Any member is eligible who is in harmony with the Miami Nation and has not signed a petition protesting the present organization." In 1942, the organization claimed 375 members. A review of the 1938-39 roll indicates the membership did not include the families from all of the Meshingomesia families lines, and it contained no Bundys other than the family of David Bundy.

Less information is available concerning the rival group to the Miami Nation. Styled at times the Francis Godfroy Band and the Individual Miamis (referring to the individual treaty grants), it apparently did not organize formally. In 1929, Francis Godfroy wrote to the government concerning Miami problems, signing himself as Chief Pelsawah (Francis Godfroy 1929). In his letter he made the distinction between the Godfroys and the Meshingomesias, stating that the Godfroys had never been made citizens. Subsequent letters to Washington in 1931 and 1932 make reference to the "Francis Godfroy" Band (referring to the original chief of the Miamis) and claimed "wardship" status as noncitizens. Various letters between 1931 and 1935 from Clarence and Lawrence Godfroy, other Godfroys, and a Mongosa, make similar references, citing the need for an investigation and stating that they couldn't get help locally from the non-Indians (Clarence Godfroy 1932, Lawrence Godfroy 1935, Mongosoah 1932).

The composition of the Godfroy group is not precisely known. The best indication, aside from the letters, is a 1937 protest to the Interior Department of Nettie White's actions on Miami claims (i.e., on behalf of the Miami Nation). The petition, from "members of the Individual Miami Indians in Indiana," was signed by 29 people (Clarence Godfroy et al. 1937). The first signatures were those of Francis Godfroy, Clarence Godfroy, and Sylvestor (Ira) Godfroy, consistent with their apparent positions in the group. The signers also included several Mongosas and five people from the Richardville/LaFontaine subgroup.

Like the Meshingomesia organization, the Godfroy group originated immediately after the death in 1929 of George Godfroy, chief of the Miami tribal organization. It appears in some ways to be a reaction to the activities of the Miami Nation in that era. Francis Godfroy, a son of Gabriel, is not known to have been previously active in Miami affairs, and may have been residing in Chicago in the previous two decades. Born in 1863, he was of almost the identical age to Elijah Marks. (Both were of roughly the same generation as George Godfroy and William Bundy but not, apparently, active in Miami tribal affairs before the late 1920's). Francis Godfroy was probably more highly educated than most Miamis, having graduated from Notre Dame.

Francis Godfroy was apparently considered the, or at least a, leader of the Godfroy organization perhaps as early as 1929 until his death in 1938. His obituary makes reference to his being elected chief in 1938, suggesting some additional organizational activity that is not recorded (Anonymous 1938a). Information in connection with fishing rights cases in 1939 characterize Clarence as chief but, also in 1939, Ira (Sylvestor) Godfroy in a lawsuit characterized himself as co-chief with Clarence of the Miami Indians of Indiana. Ira, Clarence and their sister Eva filed suit in that year to overturn a 1937 foreclosure on the last of their family's lands, growing out of their tax protests of the 1920's.

There is really very little indication of what political or other activities this organization may have carried out, other than writing to the government and opposing the actions of the Miami Nation. It does appear to have been involved in or supportive of the fishing rights protests (cf. below) in 1939 and 1940. The letters sent to the government suggest some of the leaders may have sought economic assistance from local authorities during the Depression.

One older Miami in describing the origins of political leadership in this era stated that Elijah Marks was elected as a "general chief" at first and "immediately as the three factions grew apart from each other, they elected their own chiefs (Greenbaum 1989)." The account goes on to say that the Godfroys elected Sylvester Godfroy while Marks (had been) elected chief by the rest by popular acclaim. (There was no mention of a third chief, e.g., for Richardville/Lafontaine, hence this may refer to C.Z. Bondy's largely independent activities in the 1930's). While the timing in this account is not quite in accord with the documentary sources, it suggests the general process and also indicates, as the documentary sources do, that the Godfroys were the less active of the two sides. Other sources indicate that Marks gained his position in part because of the influence of Camillus Bundy, who lived with him in his last years (Greenbaum 1989, MNISI 1985a).

Perhaps because of the Depression, and because few Miamis were resident on the old lands any more, fishing and hunting rights became an issue in the 1930's. Miamis had made extensive use of rural lands for fishing and hunting, as part of their subsistence economy. This was still widely practiced among the Miami as late as the 1930's (MI/MNI 1990a). Local game enforcement personnel had evidently informally allowed Miamis to fish and hunt using methods such as shooting fish which were not legal and for not adhering to game limits. Although the issue doesn't appear in the written record earlier, the Miami view as expressed in the 1930's was that they had special rights based on the treaties. There is no explicit basis for this in the treaties, however. In 1931, Peter Mongosa was arrested for shooting fish (Anonymous 1939a) . The newspaper accounts stated that at meeting of Miami descendants, it was decided to make it a test case of Indian rights, seeking an appeal to Federal courts. Clarence Godfroy was quoted, as an apparent spokesman, and the Huntington newspaper noted the interest of Miami descendants there (probably Richardville/Lafontaine families) (Anonymous 1939b).

The issue got into the courts again in 1939, with the newspaper accounts indicating there had been a series of earlier arrests and trials which had not resolved the issue. In 1938, Frank Marks, a Meshingomesia, was arrested for keeping a pet raccoon. In 1939, William Godfroy and others were arrested for illegal fishing and, separately, LeMoyne Marks and other Meshingmesias were also arrested (Anonymous 1939a). Chief Elijah Marks appeared in support of Frank Marks, and the court record indicates the case was defended as a matter of tribal rights (U.S. District Court 1940). There was no information concerning how resources were mobilized to carry out this test case, however and there is no mention of it in the Miami Nation minutes. It was less clear what activities were carried out by the Godfroy organization in connection with this issue, as opposed to individual Godfroys.

In 1939, if not earlier, both of the organizations were involved, at least in a supportive role, and the issue bridged the factional differences. It seems to have had fairly widespread support among the local Miamis. One of the figures leading the protest and seeking to enlist support in the Miami Nation organization was William A. Godfroy, Gabriel's youngest son. Godfroy evidently ran a restaurant or at least was selling fish, i.e., not just using them for subsistence (Anonymous 1939a). This brought a protest from local non-Indian conservation groups and triggered State Game Department action. Godfroy appeared before a meeting of the Miami Nation, the Meshingomesia-oriented group, obtaining its support for the fishing and hunting rights effort (MI/MNI 1937-42).

Political Activity and Organization, 1940's to 1979

Beginning in the 1940's, reported political activities become much reduced in comparison with the previous era. This remained the case, except for a burst of activity, and conflict over claims in the early 1960's, until the movement for acknowledgment began in 1979. This may reflect the aging of the previously active generation, the loss of all but a small portion of land, and the increased dispersal of the Miami population.

The Miami Nation organization became inactive some time in the 1940's, with the death of two of its leaders (cf. above). After 1942, the only recorded instance of activity is the 1944 letter from Chief Marks concerning the sale of the Meshingomesia cemetery land. There are references in interviews to some continued, informal activity during the 1940's and 1950's. There was only a brief description of the actual nature of that activity. One individual stated that Marks had made Francis Shoemaker, who became leader of a revived Miami Nation organization in 1964, the chief in the 1940's (Greenbaum 1989). Shoemaker himself stated that he had been active "in claims work" in the 1950's (MNISI 1985a). He stated that their group had "held off" during the war and then become active in the 1950's. Another individual stated that they had meetings throughout the war, but that it was mostly social because with the war on there "wasn't a way to do business (Greenbaum 1989)."

Some form of Godfroy organization, led more or less by both of the two brothers Sylvester and Clarence continued to be active. One stimulus was the last stages of two lawsuits they had filed to overturn the earlier tax sale of the last Godfroy lands. The suit was lost in 1943, although the land was redeemed by Clarence and Sylvestor and by another brother, Oliver, who worked in Detroit and had sufficient income to accomplish this (MI/MNI 1989c). An individual named Frank Tom-Pee-Saw wrote a series of letters to the government in 1943 on Clarence's behalf, asking (unsuccessfully) that the U.S. join the lawsuit over the land (Tom-Pee-Saw 1943a, 1943b, 1943c). At approximately the same time, "Chief" Sylvestor Godfroy wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asking for information on how the Miami Indians could organize under the Indian Reorganization Act, i.e., become recognized. The request was refused, on the same grounds as the Miami Nation request six years before (Zimmerman 1943a).

Whether or not a formal Godfroy organization had continued since the 1930's, in March 1944, the "Francis Godfroy Band of Miami Indians" was organized. The minutes indicate that the "band" was organized with the help and advice of, and was part of, an organization known as the League of Nations of North American Indians (GBMI 1944-67). Frank Tom-Pee-Saw was an instrumental figure in this organization, being characterized as legal advisor to that "district." The League was an intertribal group, evidently organized to promote Indian claims and rights.

The initial composition of the council had Clarence and Sylvestor (Ira) Godfroy, along with their sister Eva Bossley as chairman, vice-chairman and secretary. Sylvestor replaced Clarence as chairman later in the year. Joseph Mongosa was "head councilman," and Richard Witt, from a Richardville-Lafontaine family, was a councilman. Oliver Godfroy was listed as "state advisor" for the League. Extent of participation by other Miamis in the band organization is unknown. Most of the names mentioned are Godfroys and it seems to have been regarded as a Godfroy organization, despite the presence of a few others on the council at various times. At one time, a membership of 275 persons was claimed, and general council meetings were held regularly, although the extent of attendance is unknown.

The primary activity of the organization was pursuit of the Miami claims, hiring the attorney, raising funds, discussing eligibility, etc. The League initially played a major role in advising them on claims and on its organization. The interest in redress for claims, however, clearly predates this period and was not per se stimulated by the League. After the Indian Claims Commission Act was passed in 1946, the Godfroy band directed its activities at pursuing Miami claims through that route. The Godfroys have seemingly maintained this role until the present. In 1949, Sylvestor ("Ves") Godfroy along with William Godfroy and John Owen (a Richardville/LaFontaine descendant) were selected by the group to be the official representatives to enter into a contract with an attorney to pursue the claims (Godfroy, Godfroy and Owens 1949). In 1956, the organization held meetings to decide whether to accept a proposed settlement with the government. The meetings are notable because of the strong conflict over acceptance. In a 1957 meeting probably open to all Miami, it was voted 246-51 to accept the settlement figure of $.75 an acre. Ves Godfroy strongly opposed this. The accounts of this meeting indicates his efforts were opposed by the Richardville/Lafontaine group, led by that group's representative (Anonymous 1957, GBMI 1/1957). Godfroy eventually prevailed on the issue, convincing the council to accept a subsequent figure of $1.25 an acre.

Discussions in the Godfroy organization's minutes indicate that the organization considered itself a Godfroy organization (GBMI 1944-67). Its eventual position, after considerable argument during the 1940's and 1950's meetings, was that the others could be included in the claim if the government wished, but not in the organization. Initially the group had held that Meshingomesia and Richardville heirs were ineligible for the claims because they "had a right to dispose of their lands," and that the Godfroy council had the right to decide eligibility. There was evidently some discussion of blood degree qualifications, reflecting part of the factional distinctions based on the "mixed-blood" origins of the non-Meshingomesia groups.

There was some indication of continuing concern among the families of the various subgroup over maintenance of the various subgroup cemeteries between 1950 and 1979. However, the nature and degree of involvement of the leaders and organizations is unclear and appears to have been limited. The Miami Nation in the 1930's had had this as a fairly major concern and chief Marks in 1944 had protested the sale of the Meshingomesia cemetery lands. In 1961, repairs to the vandalized Meshingomesia cemetery were made by Meshingomesia, other Miami and non-Miami volunteers (anonymous 1961e). Whether any, or which, Miami leaders or organization in the period were involved is unknown. In 1956, the Godfroy council conducted some funding-raising to repair the monument to Chief Francis Godfroy in the Godfroy cemetery (GBMI 9/9/1956). This is the only reference to this issue in the organization's minutes. In the 1960's, there was tremendous controversy over the relocation of the Francis Slocum (Bundy) cemetery because of a dam which it was believed would flood the cemetery. The efforts with regard to the latter appear to have been largely carried out by the subgroup families themselves.

A 1958 letter from the League characterized Ves Godfroy as a "sort of a modern war chief," "strong, fast, and a vigorous talker, leading the legal fight for Miami Land Claim [sic]," but that while it was not evident to outsiders, Clarence was the real power behind the Miamis (Craig 1958). This appears to refer to Clarence's role, evident at various points in time, in maintaining and explaining to others, knowledge of Miami history and culture. The two seem to have maintained complementary roles, with some evidence that, as the letter indicates, Clarence was more effective outside of a formal leadership role.

When Sylvestor Godfroy died in 1961, it initiated a period of political conflict within the Miami, essentially competition over representation of the Miami Tribe in the claims activities. Lawrence Godfroy, who had been made head councilman the previous year, was elected by the Godfroy council to replace his brother (GBMI 2/5/1961). Lawrence Godfroy evidently could not immediately command the following that Sylvestor Godfroy had. A new organization was started by William F. Hale, a Meshingomesia, to challenge the Godfroy council. This in turn stimulated in 1964 what is regarded as a revival of the Miami Nation organization of the 1930's and early 1940's.

Hale had been briefly active on the Miami Nation council in the 1930's and was from one of the family lines of Meshingomesias that had migrated to South Bend in the 1920's. Hale's council had a brief, contentious life of perhaps three years, although he continued to have a smaller following among his immediate relatives, and to title himself chief after that (MTI 1961). Clarence Godfroy, Pete Mongosa and John Owens very briefly defected to the new organization. William Godfroy, one of the Godfroy Council councilmen, made an unsuccessful attempt to unite the subgroups under Hale's council. The League, with its Treasurer H.L. La Hurreau, "defected" also, setting the Hale organization up as an affiliated organization with a charter from the league. The League's switch evidently was a result of personal ties that had developed with Hale through common activities on the pow-wow circuit (Greenbaum 1989).

Hale made a very strong pitch to create a unified organization for all of the Miamis (MTI 1961). Most of the participants, however, appear to have been Meshingomesias. Hale attempted to take over the process of dealing with the claims awards, trying to establish an enrollment process for the claims award, essentially in competition with the Godfroy organization. There were a series of contentious meetings, which the Godfroys attended to challenge Hale. There were evidently fierce discussions of what degree of Indian blood was appropriate to receive the award, in part an attack on the Godfroys who were regarded as having less Indian blood than the Meshingomesias.

The Godfroy group continued, despite the conflict and challenges. In 1961, it signed a renewal of the claims attorney's contract, with Larry Godfroy, William Godfroy and John Owens (a Richardville/LaFontaine descendant) the representatives (Lawrence Godfroy et al. 1961). It was witnessed by a council of eight, including several others from the immediate Godfroy family plus Paul Godfroy, John Witt and Richard Witt, all from the Richardville/Lafontaine group. In 1963, the Godfroy group adopted bylaws, signed by essentially the same individuals (Lawrence Godfroy et al. 1963). The bylaws avowedly "recodified and amended" previously existing bylaws. Nothing is known, however, of a previous written governing document. The bylaws provided for membership based on the 1889 and 1895 payrolls and established a council of 13 members appointed by the chief, with new members approved by the council.

At various points in the late 1960's and in the 1970's, the organization carried out various activities and communications with the government in connection with the various Judgement awards made the Miamis and related legislation. It conducted an enrollment for claims purposes as early as 1964, issuing i.d. cards, which may have been used to gather donations as well Eva (Godfroy) Bossley in 1977 said she had been "keeping the roll for many years" (MI/MNI 1989c). At least part of the time, the Miami Nation organization was conducting an enrollment as well. In 1965, Eva Bossley attended a congressional hearing on the Miami claims (Anonymous 1965). In 1970, a letter from Donald Strack, a Godfroy, stated that letters of support of a Congressional candidate had been sent to all Miami members. The letter indicated a copy had been sent to Eva Bossley (Strack 1970). Oliver Godfroy indicated in 1977 that his lawsuit over the tax status of his land was discussed at meetings of a "three-man commission" (MI/MNI 1989c) The testimony is difficult to interpret. Since Godfroy was at some points on the Godfroy council, it may refer to that organization.

In 1964, the 1937 Miami Nation organization was revived, and essentially displaced Hale's council. A draft document concerning this provides a perspective on how this was seen by the organizers (MI/MNI 1964). It refers to the revival as necessary because of "obvious ommission of necessary action on the part of other groups organized subsequent to the Miami Nation." It isn't clear if this refers to Hale's council or the Godfroys'. The newly re-formed group reportedly was formed after Francis Shoemaker, who became chief, challenged Hale's leadership in an open meeting. Hale is considered, according to the petition (MI/MNI 1985a), to have pushed too hard, although he seemingly had the qualifications of being knowledgeable about Miami history and previous organizations. Shoemaker was the grandson of Elijah Marks, the chief of the earlier Miami Nation, and this, or his training by his grandfather, is said to have been part of the basis for his leadership.

The draft document indicated that the organization was to be open to all Miamis "who are interested in Tribal welfare above and beyond natural family loyalty, without which the Miami Tribe would not have continued to exist." Like its predecessor, it was predominantly Meshingomesia, but also included some Mongosas and Bundy's among its active members. Although the petition states there was an "accord" in 1965 between the Miami Nation and the Godfroy group and the Richardville/Lafontaine group, this was apparently short-lived and did not bring about a unification of the subgroups under the Miami Nation. The Richardville/LaFontaine group appears to have had representatives in the Godfroy Miami Tribe organization most of the time between 1944 and 1979. The subgroupings continued to be relevant in the period between 1961 and 1979, at least as far representation for claims was concerned.

There is little information about the Miami Nation's activities before 1979. It conducted an enrollment in the 1960's, possibly picked up from that of the Hale organization) in the incorrect belief (shared by the Godfroy organization as well) that the Miamis would determine who was eligible for payment when the claims award was finally paid. It attempted to intervene in the claims process, but was denied by the Indian Claims Commission. A few months before the 1964 document concerning reviving the organization, its secretary sought to have the BIA recognize the 1937 articles, but was told that it was not necessary in order for eligible Indiana Miamis to receive their share of the Judgement Award (Morgan 1964). In 1969 it held a meeting concerning what the government planned to establish as the criteria of eligibility for payment (Brooke 1969). In 1971, the Miami Nation lobbied the government on the subject while also requesting a copy of the 1969 payment roll (Brooke 1971a). Also in 1971, it held a meeting of Miamis on the roll criteria which eventuated in a letter writing campaign to the government (Brooke 1971b).

Miami Nation of Indiana Council

The present-day form of the Miami Nation of Indiana (MNI) council dates, in practice, from around 1981, when the degree of activity began to increase and a number of changes in and elaborations of its structure were made. The council has become increasingly active since that point, adding activities and aggressively interacting with local governments, the state, and other organizations.

An important organizational change, enshrined in the 1986 revision of the MNI constitution, is the addition of a tribal chairperson in addition to a chief (MI/MNI 1986a). The chief has remained Frances Shoemaker, who has held that position since the MNI was "revived" in 1964. The chairperson's duties are designated as "liason with the government." The addition appears to reflect the emergence of Ray White as Miami leader.

Although the 1986 constitution calls for election of officers, the minutes indicate that positions continue to be filled by the present council, usually ratifying the choice of Shoemaker or White. This is consistent with past Miami organizations.

Shoemaker appears from the minutes as well as the interviews to be a forceful figure, able to sway council decisions. The petition's best description of a leadership "transition" is that of the addition of White with Shoemaker's support and that of Lora Siders, the secretary, who along with her family have long been active in the MNI. White first appears in the minutes in 1982. Unlike previous leaders, he does not come from a family that has been active in Miami organization. One interviewee fairly explicitly characterized him as different than previous leaders, in effect referring to his "modern" and "business-like" orientation, in contrast to more traditional leaders who have tended to come from certain active family lines, and have had a history of involvement with the organizations and their past leaders (Greenbaum 1989).

Another structural change is the "council of elders," apparently intended to provide a position for consultation or influence of older members and/or past members of various councils. It is outlined in the 1983 and 1986 revised constitutions. There was no data indicating that this council has actually been instituted or functions.

A "Junior council" has been created (in 1983), as a mechanism to recruit and involve more members in the council's expanded activities. One person characterized it as a "farm team" for the council (Greenbaum 1989).

Geographically, representatives are largely drawn from the core geographic area, with the exceptions of Dorrin and Ray White himself. In general, no continuing effort to establish geographical representation has been made. The 1983 constitution calls for two council members from each "clan," and the 1986 reduces this to one from each "clan." In practice, the effort to have all groups represented appears to be carried out less formally.

The council minutes indicate that subgroup orientations continue to be significant and to affect the council's activities. In 1981, as part of MNI's move to unify the Miami subgroups, Larry Godfroy, head of the Godfroy Council, was added to the Miami Nation Council. He carried the title of "heritage chief." His organization evidently persisted for some time afterwards, carrying on the last stages of dealing with the awards from the Indian Claims Commission. These were reported to the MNI council, which appears to have left this function to the Godfroy Council rather than trying to take it over. Godfroy, who died in 1986, was apparently sick and not very active for about two years before his death.

The Godfroy subgroup, which (exclusive of Mongosas) constitutes about 40 percent of the membership overall and about 60 percent of it in the core geographic area, has been underrepresented on the council and relatively inactive within the tribal structure. Two council members, both recently added, are from that group. Paul Godfroy, though sometimes cited as a Godfroy, is usually considered allied with the Richardville/LaFontaine group and his activities reflected in the minutes are consistent with this.

The Miami Organizational council, which was predominantly Richardvile/Lafontaine descendants, was invited to join the MNI in 1979. Several of its members serve or have served on the MNI council. The minutes reflect some, unstated, objections by the Miami organizational council to the operations of the MNI council. The minutes also refer at

several points to activities of an educational nature concerning historic sites by a Richardville/Lafontaine "council." There was no information about the character or history of this organization, although it may be continuance of the Miami Organizational Council.

The first mention of the Miami Organizational Council is in 1979, when a group of Richardville/LaFontaine descendants called a meeting to discuss petitioning for Federal recognition under the current acknowledgment regulations. The initial Miami petition was received from this organization, whose officers were limited to Richardville/Lafontaine descendants (Owens 1980). The effort, while initiated by these individuals, was intended to cover all of the Miamis. The organizational meeting was attended by individuals, some of them leaders, from all of the subgroups (Farlow 1979, Miami Roster 1979).
At one point, council minutes appear to reflect an effort to balance representation along other lines than simply subgroups (MNISI 1984-88, 6/22/85). South Bend's representation by George Dorrin is noted in the minutes of this meeting, while the lack of representation from Lafayette and Indiana south of Indianapolis was also noted. No mention was made of representation from Oklahoma, despite the extensive council efforts to establish and maintain contacts with that area. (The organization did have a designated representative in Oklahoma in 1989, however). These minutes also list several breakdowns of families within subgroups, Mongosa which was is sometimes considered a subgroup but is often classed with the Godfroys (and was well-represented), but also Langloise, Peconga, Lavonture, Witt and Nitschke. An October 1989 list of the Miami Nation Council and alternates shows a mixture of subgroup and finer family distinctions, as well as some geographical designations (MNISI 1989m). Representation along these dimensions is not otherwise referred to and the implications of making of finer family distinctions is not clear. It may represent the decline of the significance of subgroup divisions and possibly an awareness of the large enrollment from certain families.

The MNI council activities have become increasingly ambitious and aggressive. For the first several years, efforts focused on work on the acknowledgment petition and on various cultural and historical efforts. The latter included a continuing effort to protect and gain control of the various Indian cemeteries. An office and newsletter were established in 1983. Enrollment efforts (q.v.) have been on-going since 1980. Several visits have been made to Oklahoma to reinforce contacts with the Western Miami as well as to contact the western Indiana Miami. More generally, council activity has been characterized by efforts to increase non-Indian public awareness of the Indiana Miami by participation in fairs, festivals, parades and the like, as well as establishing contacts with universities, and local and state government officials. The Indiana Miami have been active in the state Intertribal Council. Achieving Federal recognition is still regarded as the most important goal, as the key to achieving the economic development and other goals.

More recently, efforts have shifted to developing a stronger economic base for the organization and making wider contacts with other Indian tribes and with government agencies to plan in anticipation of recognition. The council has looked toward acquisition of a land base and has begun planning for economic development activities. It has also been looking into methods of aiding members in education and employment. More

generally, the volume and number of activities have continued to increase. This shift is particularly evident after 1986, when Ray White's position as "tribal chairperson" became official.

The petition lists an annual reunion committee for 1982 onward. The reunion is not, however, discussed in the council minutes, except to note its occurrence. The governing documents make no reference to it. The council has instituted semiannual general council meetings, since 1986, which in addition to being social occasions, are used as a forum to report on the activities of the council. These are in addition to the annual reunions which, according to the petition, have not been used for business meetings since the 1950's.

Annual Reunion 1940 to Present

The available minutes for the annual reunion (from 1953 to 1981) indicate that it has been separately organized from the various subgroup councils (MAR 1953-81). Officers were elected at the yearly reunion, and collections taken up to defray expenses. The present Indiana Miami council (post 1979) has not taken a major role in the annual reunion, e.g., significantly changed its character in connection with the growth of council's organization and activities.

The annual reunion does not appear to have been utilized formally for discussion of issues of general concern to the Indiana Miami since the 1920's. This probably coincides with the rise of strong factionalism, i.e., the conflicts between the subgroups were too great. Interviews indicate a high level of tension at annual reunions during the 1930's (Greenbaum 1989). However, the common annual reunion was carefully maintained, even at the height of tensions, suggesting that faction leaders deliberately (and hence by mutual agreement) kept the annual reunion neutral ground. There are examples of nomination of reunion officers from one faction, by members of another. In 1953, Clarence Godfroy, a key leader of the Godfroys nominated and Irwin Cass, a Richardville/Lafontaine, nominated Andrew Marks, considered a very partisan member of the Meshingomesia (Greenbaum 1989). Reunion officers since 1953 (the earliest date for which there were detailed records) were usually individuals not on one or another council. One exception to this, is the election of William Hale as reunion chairman in 1961 and 1965 appear to be an exception. This reflects Hale's contrasting, and much more aggressive approach to Miami affairs, which appears to have ultimately limited his effectiveness. However, Clarence Godfroy and Arthur Lavoncher were officers in 1955 and 1956. Subgroup leaders appear on the attendance lists of the annual reunion between 1953 and 1981 with some frequency, although they are not always shown as attending. The reunions were funded by donations by attendees.

While interviews indicate that issues of concern to the Miamis were naturally discussed, these have not been official business in recent years. The available interviews indicate that issues such as claims were discussed informally by attendees, i.e., presumably, between members of the different factions (Greenbaum 1989). There was no indication in the interviews or the available minutes that the brief "business meetings" of the annual reunion dealt with other than matters pertaining to organizing the reunion itself. On one or two occasions, the minutes note the announcment of a subgroup meeting or a report of progress of the claims process by a subgroup leader. There were probably additional instances of this, not recorded in the minutes. The annual reunion provided a context where, informally, issues could be discussed between factions. The annual reunion provides some evidence that a broader group of Miamis were at least aware of issues discussed by the Godfroy and Meshingomesia organizations, but the evidence does not indicate it was a major forum for discussion of these. There was no comparative information concerning the number attending general meetings of the subgroup organizations, but the annual reunions appear to have been somewhat larger.

Subgroup Conflicts

Subgroup activities and especially conflicts with each other between the 1940's and the present have occurred as the various subgroups tried to control, or be involved in, the process of representation for the claims and enrollment for it. By and large this does not appear to have been a matter of defending against exclusion by the other side. Representation in claims affairs aroused a great deal of interest at least symbolically. Since there does not appear to have been alot concretely at stake, i.e., the claims did not amount to that big an amount per person, the struggle appears to have been for the position itself. The 1961-64 conflicts with the creation of the Hale council, i.e., the conflict with the Godfroys, and the subsequent shift from Hale to the revived Miami Nation may be the best demonstration of these processes. There was no information available concerning the mechanics of "accord" achieved temporarily in 1965 (MNISI 1984b).

It is probably only in the past twenty years that the somewhat bitter side of the relations or rivalries between subgroups has diminished, as those active in the 1930's and before have died off. Even so, the minutes of the current council (MNISI 1985c), and field interviews (Greenbaum 1989), indicate that differences of opinion and orientation to subgroup remain strong at least among those active in the present organization. The current council makes a deliberate effort to include and be balanced among the subgroups, and it is evident in council affairs that subgroup distinctions have some continued relevance. These survive, even though the historical differences in land-status, and possible claims are no longer relevant. It was not possible to accurately determine how widely among the membership these kinds of distinctions, as opposed merely to a sense of family backgrounds, remains relevant. Recent council lists have indicated a trend toward establishing council balance on the basis of territorial location and family or kinship groupings that are smaller than the subgroups (cf. above). This suggests some diminution of the importance of the subdivisions themselves.

Bases and Significance of Leadership and Issues

The evidence is limited that after the 1940's of the issues over which Miami leaders and organizations processes are known to have functioned had a significant degree of importance to the membership and that there was broad involvement of the membership in them. The presently available data do not show issues beyond claims as important with any consistency. While this may in part be a reflection of the kinds of documentary data available, the field interviews, albeit limited in nature, are consistent with this conclusion (Greenbaum 1989, MNISI 1989c, Vogel 1980).

There was some limited information on the bases upon which individuals have been considered leaders since the 1940's. Unlike previous generations of leaders, kin ties to broad constituencies and across subgroups are not discernible as bases for leadership. The petition states that the reasons for leadership status are experience and involvement in Miami affairs and knowledge of Miami history and of past efforts to redress grievances, forcefulness and strength of belief, etc. (MNISI 1985a). These are characteristics of many of the leaders and relate most directly to the functions of the organizations in relation to claims and the historical loss

of tribal status. The petition states that the current chief, Francis Shoemaker, gained his status not only from his participation in the Miami Nation in the 1930's, but by virtue of grooming by Elijah Marks. The latter in turn had some ties and prepration by Camillus Bundy, i.e., an earlier generation leader (Greenbaum 1989). Francis Shoemaker appears from the minutes of the current council as well as the interviews to be sufficiently influential to be able to sway council decisions. One example is his influence in legitimizing the position of the present chairman (see below).

Descriptions of Ves Godfroy and Francis Shoemaker (in interviews) indicate that they have or had a degree of legitimacy as leaders, i.e., that they were (and are) regarded as authoritative figures in some sense. Estimates of how broadly they have this status, i.e., how many regard or regarded them as leaders were not possible with the available data. Ves Godfroy had sufficient influence to overcome the 1957 vote in an open meeting to accept a lower figure for the claims settlement by prevailing on his council, with the help of advice from attorneys, to hold out for a higher figure.

The description of a leadership "transition" from Shoemaker to White, actually the addition of White as "chairman," provides some information on internal political processes within the Miami council. White gained his position with Shoemaker's support and that of Lora Siders, the secretary, who, along with her family have been active in the Miami Nation. Whether this transition was influenced by or had broader support among the membership was not known. White is first noted in the Miami Nation minutes in 1982. Unlike previous leaders, he does not come from a family that has been active in Miami organization and did not have a long history of involvement in Miami affairs. White was characterized by a council member as different than previous leaders, referring to his "modern" and "business-like" orientation, in contrast to more traditional leaders who have tended to come from certain active family lines, and have had a history of involvement with the organizations and their past leaders (Greenbaum 1989). The Miamis cite his being a descendant of chiefs Richardville and LaFontaine as a justification, although this is a distant relationship that does not differentiate him from other Miamis of that subgroup. This justification may be a recognition of the difference between him and leaders since the 1930's.

The contexts for which leaders are recognized by individuals as exercising leadership appear to have been limited since the 1940's to the direct issues revolving around claims and to the contexts which can be characterized as defining what "Miaminess" means, e.g., representing the Miamis to outsiders, being the "keeper" of knowledge of past activities, history and cultural practices (MNISI 1985a). (In very recent years, the Miami Nation organization has acquired more functions). Extensive interaction between leaders and followers, i.e., consultation with constituencies, objection to or awareness of leadership actions and policies was not demonstrated by the limited available data. Council members and leaders have almost exclusively been chosen by the existing leader and/or council. The petition explicitly characterizes this as an "autocratic" form of government.

Enrollment

The current enrollment began in 1980, coincident with the process of beginning work on an acknowledgment petition. It is described by the petitioner as an updating of existing enrollments , although it appears to be considerably larger than any enrollment made by the Miamis before 1979. The current enrollment is more generally consistent in size of the descendancy rolls prepared for the judgement awards (cf. genealogical report). Both the Miami Nation and the Godfroy Council maintained enrollments during the 1960's and 1970's. The present enrollment appears to be an enlargement of the MNI enrollment. In 1981 it was reported that Miami Nation enrollment was 2200, up from 750 "mostly Meshingomesia descendants (Goldenberg 1981)."

A copy of a 1954 roll prepared by the Godfroy organization in anticipation of the claims payment was submitted with the petition. There were approximate 1100 names on it. There was no indication that the enrollment maintained by the Godfroy organization was merged into the current one.

Consistent with earlier organizations, i.e., in the 1930's, and the claims enrollments prepared by the Miami groups in the 1960's, the current enrollment has been based on the "payrolls," meaning the 1895 and 1889 payment rolls. The enrollment in the Indiana Miami is based on genealogical descent, i.e., there are no additional requirements such as a blood degree or a requirement for maintenance of social contact with the group. In the past three years, the Miami Nation council has expanded the membership requirements to allow descendants of Miamis on earlier rolls to enrolled. Such a change if implemented would be a significant departure from tradition. Extensive enrollment on this basis would substantially alter the character of the membership, since the present members' ancestors on the 1889 and 1895 rolls formed a clearly coherent social unit. To a large degree, individuals on the payrolls that were somewhat marginal to the community in that era, have no descendants in the current membership, even though these would be eligible (Rafert 1989).

Genealogical Narrative Report

on

Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana, Inc.

Alycon Trubey Pierce, C.G.
FIRST Computer Concepts, Inc.
July 9, 1990

OUTLINE

Summary
A. Total number, geographic distribution....1
B. Subgroups....1
C. Membership criteria....1
D. Terminology....2
A. Description of report....3
I. Governing Documents....4
A. Checklist of organizational documents & resolutions to amend....4
B. Current governing document....4
1. History
2. Officers & terms
3. Meetings
4. Requirements re: member's age, fee, voting
II. Membership....5
A. Description of petitioning group....5
B. Membership lists submitted - listing and description....5
1. Current....6
a) Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana Census Roll.6
b) Genealogical Roll of Miamis of Inidana....6
c) Current Tribal Roll 6
d) Geographically-sorted Mailing List....6
e) Computer-generated membership printout forms...6
2. Non-current....7
a) 1937 Charter Census Roll....7
b) 1937 Roll Call of Officers....7
c) 1939 "Miami Indian Records"....7
d) 1964 Miami Tribe of Indiana Census Roll....8
3. Research Tools....8
a) "Individual Survey" Forms....8
b) 1966 Modified Judgment Fund Distribution payroll
III. Membership criteria....9
A. List of criteria and resolutions....9
B. Enrollment....11
1. Defined by Petitioner....11
2. Analysis....12
C. Documentation accepted by petitioner....12
IV. Records Utilized....13
A. List....13
B. Description and results of research in each....13
1. Special Lists....13
2. Annuities....14
3. Treaty of 1854....14
4. Judgment Fund Distribution Payrolls....15
5. Federal Population Census Records....16
6. Indian Census Rolls....17
V. Analysis....18
A. Descendancy charts and problems....18
B. Genealogical Selection....18
C. Lineages selected for further study and analysis....19
D. Do they meet their own criteria?....19

E. Summary.....20
VI. Potential Members.....21
VII. Enrollment in other Federally-Recognized Tribes.....21
Bibliography.....23

SUMMARY

A. The Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc., is composed of 4,381 members residing in 43 states and the countries of Canada, West Germany and Australia. The Miamis were residents of north central Indiana in 1846 when half of their group was removed to the West. Today more than half (53.5%) of the petitioner's membership resides in Indiana.

B. Six major subgroups are identifiable among the Indiana Miamis from the nineteenth century: Godfroy, Bundy/Slocum, Richardville/ LaFontaine, Meshingomesia, Pimyotomah/Mongosa and Eel River. These subgroups allied themselves, in varying combinations, in informal and formal organizations over the years. Governing documents with membership requirements were found for only two.

The petitioner, the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. (MNISI), operates as a non-profit organization under an amended 1986 Constitution and By-Laws.

C. All reviewed governing documents, which had defined membership requirements, specified descent from Miamis on the 1895 judgment fund distribution payroll as the basis for membership. The 1889 final Eel River annuity payroll was cited as a base roll for membership in the petition, yet does not appear in any governing document. The 1889 roll was added by amendment to the current constitution as a base roll after its omission had been questioned in the Obvious Deficiency (OD) letter from the Bureau of Indian Affair's Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) in 1985* (Elbert 1985). However, the 1889 roll is also mentioned as a base roll in council minutes and newsletters (MNISI 1985c, 2/5/83; MNISI 1984-88, Jul-Aug 83, 8/1/84) and on the petitioner's forms used for their members ("Census Rolls") well before the OD letter.

A provision in the 1983 and the unamended 1986 Constitutions permitted membership for those Miamis who did not have an ancestor on the 1889 or 1895 rolls by proving "their lineage before Council." However, this option was replaced by an April 1989 amendment which identified specific tribal rolls, annuity rolls and Federal census records whose listed Miamis could be claimed by prospective members proving lineal (straight line) descent.

Of the 462 Miamis listed on the 1889 and 1895 rolls, 182 have descendants among the current membership. More than 97 percent of the membership claims descent from a Miami on the 1889/1895 rolls. Over 75 percent of the current membership has two or more such ancestors. A

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*The petition reports 101 current members (or 2.4% of total membership) who have no qualifying ancestors other than those on the 1889 final Eel River annuity payroll.

total of 76 members (1.7%) do not claim 1889/1895 ancestors. Although intermarriage between Miamis of different subgroups was quite prevalent in the 1800's, only five intermarriages were noted between current members.

Three judgment awards (1966, 1972 and 1982) have been distributed to descendants of Indiana Miamis on the aforementioned payrolls of 1889 and 1895, and to descendants of Western Miamis. Participation of the Indiana Miami Indians in these awards is high - 86 percent of the total membership have participated in at least one award. Only 5 percent have never participated in these judgment awards, and another 9 percent could not participate.

This report cites the years in which judgments were awarded (1966, 1972, and 1982) rather than distributed (1969, 1973, and 1989) to give a more accurate representation of the Miami descendants who could apply.

The primary sources examined during research of several specific lineages confirmed that, with few exceptions, the membership descends from the historical tribe, and that its ancestors were quite consistently recorded as "Indian," even before such designations were required by law for certain records.

Less than 1 percent of the current membership was found to be enrolled in other federally recognized tribes in Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri.

D. Terminology This report and its attachments will occasionally refer to Miamis on the 1889 annuity roll and 1895 judgment fund distribution payrolls (1) in general as "list ancestors," and (2) specifically by number, and (3) as "claimed or claimable."

(1) The term "list ancestor" was coined during the analysis process to refer to a Miami on either the 1889 or the 1895 roll who may or may not have descendants among the current membership.

(2) Each Miami on the two rolls of 1895 and one roll of 1889 has a numeral assigned to him or her (see "Appendix A" to the petition). These three rolls form the "base rolls" from which descent had to be proven for participation in the 1966 judgment fund distribution as an Indiana Miami descendant. The original June 12, 1895, judgment fund distribution payroll of Miami Indians of Indiana did number the distributees (#1-#440); however, the numbering of the roll of 67 Miamis living in the West in 1895 (#441-#507) and of the 26 Eel River Miamis in 1889 (#508-#533) was performed by the BIA's Muskogee Area Office (MAO).

All but one Miami on the second 1895 roll (#441-#507) are also on the first 1895 roll, and five Miamis on the 1889 Eel River roll are also on the first 1895 roll. For these cases in which a "list ancestor" had two numbers, his or her number on the first 1895 roll has been used. Although some were living at the time the petition was submitted, any "list ancestors" cited by name and number in this report are deceased.

(3) The form known as the "Miami Indians of Indiana Census Roll" allows a space for the name of a member's qualifying "list ancestor." However, many current members have more than one "list ancestor." Therefore, there are Miami "list ancestors" who were not "claimed" specifically by current members, but who are clearly "claimable." Put another way, the distinction is between "list ancestors" claimed in the petition documents and those whom petition analysis show to be claimable.

The 1889 final Eel River annuity payroll and the 1895 Miami judgment fund distribution payroll will be referred to as the 1889 and 1895 "rolls" in this report.

E. This report is presented in seven sections: (I) Governing Documents, (II) Membership, (III) Membership Criteria, (IV) Records Utilized, (V) Analysis, (VI) Potential Members, and (VII) Enrollment in Other Federally-Recognized Tribes.

I. GOVERNING DOCUMENT

A. Checklist of Organizational Documents & Resolutions to Amend

1937 Articles of Incorporation (State of Indiana) and By-Laws (Marks, Elijah et al 1937c, 1937b) - Meshingomesia subgroup
1963 By-Laws, Miami Tribe of Indiana, Otherwise Known as The Miami Indians of Indiana (Godfroy, Lawrence et al 1963) - Godfroy subgroup
1983 Constitution and By-Laws, Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. (MNISI 1983, 110-116) - all subgroups
1986 Constitution, Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. (MNISI 1986b) - all subgroups
1989 Resolution C-86 (MNISI 1989h)
1989 Resolution VI-89 (MNISI 1989d)

B. The major subgroups of the nineteenth century Indiana Miamis have allied themselves in varying formal and informal combinations over the years. Governing documents are available for only two of the earlier organizations:

- Incorporation documents from 1937 for the Meshingomesia subgroup, using the name of the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. (MNISI), and,

- By-Laws from a Godfroy subgroup, using the name of the Miami Tribe of Indiana, otherwise known as the Miami Indians of Indiana.

The petitioner, the MNISI, currently represents all subgroups of the Indiana Miami, and operates under a 1986 Constitution and By-Laws which were amended in 1989. Articles of Incorporation, adopted in 1937 by the Meshingomesia subgroup, are used by the current organization which represents all subgroups. The documented petition for Federal acknowledgment was prepared and submitted under an earlier 1983 Constitution and By-Laws of the MNISI.

Under the current 1986 Constitution and By-Laws as amended in 1989 (MNISI 1986b; 1989i; 1989d; 1989j; 1989k), the Officers of the Tribal Council are identified as Chief, Vice-Chief, Tribal Chairperson, Tribal Spokesperson (new in 1986; duties not defined), Secretary, Treasurer, and one Council member "from each clan." The duties and minimum age (25) of Tribal Council "Officers" are defined, but not their terms of office. Tribal Council "members" must be 21, and those on Council in 1986 were to remain on Council until their disablement or death, but otherwise the "Council" is undefined as to composition and number of Council positions. The Council's role in voting procedures is defined in By-Law 11 (MNISI 1986b).

Meetings are held as "directed by the Council;" amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws are to be made at November meetings of the Council following at least one month's prior notice, provided a quorum is present (By-Law 4) (MNISI 1986b). A quorum is defined as eight

members, without further stipulation as to number of required officers or Council members.

Each member of the organization is assessed $3.00 annually. In the description of their enrollment procedures, the petitioner described this annual assessment as a "voluntary assessment" which members pay "at their own discretion" (Siders 1989), yet the Narrative History (MNISI 1984b, 209) says, "Every enrolled Indiana Miami pays an annual $3 fee." Only paid members, who are age 18 or older, may vote (By-Law 2; 1986 Amendments). No further description is given regarding the membership status of a member who fails to pay this assessment, nor of one who wishes reinstatement.

The section of this report entitled "III. Membership Criteria" will address the membership criteria aspects of these governing documents.

II. MEMBERSHIP

A. Description of Petitioning Group

Sixty-five percent (2,866) of the petitioner's membership reside in the state of Indiana and the adjacent states of Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky and Ohio. The largest portion of the membership (2,343 members or 53.5%) resides in Indiana. The Miami petition reports 1,116 members as current residents of the historical land base area encompassed by the contiguous counties of Miami (470 members), Wabash (269), Grant (75), Huntington (87) and Allen (215), with another 211 in the counties of St. Joseph (154) and Elkhart (57) to the north (MNISI, 1984a, 95). Five hundred twenty-nine members (12%) reside in the western states of Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri, the area to which the early Miamis were removed.*

Membership data furnished by the petitioner did not include whether each member was male or female; this was adjudged, wherever reasonable, by the BIA during data entry into the membership database. Also, birth dates did not appear on membership printout forms for 754 members. Given those caveats, Miami membership consists of 2,148 men and 2,069 women (164 indeterminate). About 25 percent of the current membership is under age 20, 46 percent are between the ages of 20 and 50, 15 percent are age 50 or over, and another 17 percent of unknown age.

B. List of Members

The petitioner submitted or cited the following lists and descriptions of their current and historical members:

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*The composition of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (which became a federally recognized tribe as of October 10, 1939, under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act) was not analyzed; however, seven 1895 Indiana Miamis were identified on the 1938 Indian Census Roll, which is used as the base roll for membership in the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma.

Membership lists (petitioner-generated)

1. Current
   a. Miami Indians of Indiana Census Rolls
   b. Genealogical Roll of Miami Indians of Indiana
   c. Current Tribal Roll (alphabetical mailing list only)
   d. Geographically-sorted mailing list
   e. Computer-generated membership printout forms
2. Non-Current
   a. 1937 Charter Census Roll (not available or non-existent)
   b. 1937 Roll Call of Officers
   c. 1939 Notarized Family Trees, "Miami Indian Records"
   d. 1964 Miami Tribe of Indiana Census Roll
3. Research Tools (developed by petitioner's researcher)
   a. Individual Survey Forms
   b. 1966 Modified Judgment Fund Distribution Payroll

1. Current Membership

Four types of membership documents were originally submitted with the petition. The petition seems to refer (MNISI 1984a, 117) to its list of all known, current members as having been submitted on the "Miami Indians of Indiana Census Rolls." Additional Census and Genealogical Rolls continued to be forwarded to the BAR up to the time of petition review. As an illustration of this phenomenon, the original petition estimated membership at 3,500, and the actual membership total after petition review reached 4,381.

> (a) "Miami Indians of Indiana Census Rolls" list current members by family, including names, ages, relationship to head of household, address, name of ancestor on the 1889 or 1895 rolls, and their roll number(s);
>
> (b) "Genealogical Roll of Miami Indians of Indiana" is a log of all members listed alphabetically by surname, and includes their parents' names and birthdates, and 1889/1895 list ancestors;
>
> (c) "Current Tribal Roll" is an alphabetical list of members including their mailing addresses; and,
>
> (d) Geographically-sorted mailing list, containing the same data as in the "Current Tribal Roll," but arranged alphabetically by name within each U.S. county or foreign country.

On March 30, 1989, the BAR received that which was ultimately to be certified as the petitioner's official membership list:

> (e) a set of approximately 4,500 computer printout sheets from the petitioner's membership database. Each sheet contained data on one member, including the member's name, address, date of birth, judgment fund distribution payroll number (listed as "P[ay]. R[oll].#"), if applicable, and

lineage to a qualifying ancestor. The degree to which data was furnished in each category varied dramatically.

An April 1989 resolution passed by the petitioner formally adopted the computer-generated membership printouts as their official membership list for acknowledgment purposes, but failed to properly identify the records (MNISI 1989j). A subsequent resolution (A-IV89) was received at the BAR by telefax on August 22, 1989, which identified the roll as the one "sent from Peru Indiana on March 31 1989, via United Parcel Service" (MNISI 1989k).

2. Non-Current Membership

The following records, provided or cited by the petitioner, describe or list the petitioner's members prior to the petition.

(a) 1937 Charter Census Roll The existence of a "1937 Charter Census Roll" was cited in Dr. Rafert's "Individual Survey" forms, and alluded to in the preamble to the 1937 state incorporation papers. In response to a request for photocopies of the "1937 Charter Census Roll," the petitioner submitted a collection entitled "Miami Indian Records" (described under "c" below).

A search was made of the BIA's "Central Classified Files 1907-1939" (RG 75, Entry 121) at National Archives to determine if a "1937 Charter Census Roll" had been submitted to the BIA along with or separately from the state incorporation papers (#79210 - 30 Dec 1937), but it was not found among correspondence received through 1942. The deputy director of the Indiana state office handling incorporations confirmed that no such "Charter Census Roll" was on file with the other original documents pertaining to the incorporation of the Miami Indians of Indiana. The petitioner's secretary relayed that the "Charter Census Roll" might have been destroyed in a former secretary's house fire.

(b) 1937 Roll Call of Officers Although the "1937 Charter Census Roll" was not found, the petitioner's secretary did locate a 1937 roll call list of 27 officers and council members which she photocopied and submitted.

(c) Miami Indian Records This 304-page collection consists of notarized "family trees," including names, ages, spouses, children and ancestors of the members. They do not appear to be the "1937 Charter Census Roll," judging from the notarization dates on members' records which range from August 1939 to August 1940. Council minutes from 1939 show that these Meshingomesia family trees were drafted concurrent with the selection of attorneys to represent the Meshingomesia Miamis in the attempted "recovery under the Treaty of 1854" (PD 103, MNISI 1984c).

(d) 1964 Miami Tribe of Indiana Census Roll The BAR's Obvious Deficiency (OD) letter (item 5) requested "the 1965 roll cited on page 297 [sic: 287-288] of Bert Anson's book entitled, The Miami Indians," which contained 317 names. The OD response states, "[t]he tribal office is in possession of a 1964 roll [1,016 names, but many duplicates] which may be the one referred to in Anson's book. This appears to be a preliminary roll for the later claims rolls." A cursory review of this roll identified 65 individuals not found among the current membership printouts. Of these 65, 59 were descendants of 1889/1895 roll Miamis not claimed by any current members.

When queried, the tribal office offerred the following description of the 1964 roll's purpose and content:

> This roll was a working copy used to enroll the Miami's in this area on the:
>
> MIAMI PAYMENT ROLL
> as of October 14, 1966
> To Distribute Dockets 67-124 and 124-A
> Judgment Funds
>
> It was created much the same way that we are doing in locating our people (MNISI 19891).

The pre-printed header which appears on the form used for this 1964 roll is "Miami Tribe of Indiana Census Roll," which is the name used by the Godfroy organization when it recodified the Miami's constitution and by-laws the previous year. In telephone conversations, the petitioner identified this roll as an incomplete and initial attempt, without much funding, to identify tribal membership (as opposed to Miami descendants) in preparation for the anticipated judgment award. As with the "Miami Indians of Indiana, Inc., Census Roll" forms submitted for current members, the 1964 "Miami Tribe of Indiana Census Roll" forms do not reveal whether these were long-standing or recent members.

3. Research Tools

These materials, developed by the petitioner's researcher, were provided either with the petition or in response to an OD request, to help with the analysis of the membership.

(a) Individual Survey Forms Photocopies of these "kinship charts" were created by the petitioner's researcher, Dr. Stewart Rafert, for every Indiana Miami from 1846 to about 1900, and were requested by BAR in their Obvious Deficiency (OD) letter (Elbert 1985). These were, in essence, family group sheets for each Miami, and included his or her birth and death data, spouse(s) and children, subgroup affiliation, number on 1846, 1881 and 1895 rolls as well as later judgment fund distribution payroll numbers, where applicable, and land ownership, among other categories of information.

(b) Modified 1966 Judgment Fund Distribution Payroll Submitted in response to an Obvious Deficiency (OD) letter request, this version of the 1966 Judgment Fund Distribution payroll had been edited to contain only Indiana Miami descendants (i.e., distributees who were descendants of the Western Miamis of 1891 were removed). This modified payroll was consulted in the drafting of family tree charts, as it is the only submitted record which provides complete birth dates consistently (see discussion at V. "Analysis," A. "Descendancy Charts").

III. Membership Criteria

Prior to the submission of the petition for Federal acknowledgment, the Miami Indians (or subgroups thereof) have operated under three organizational documents (1937, 1963 and 1983). The membership criteria of the prior documents as well as the current 1986 and 1989 documents are as follows:

A. List of Membership Criteria and Resolutions

1937: By-Laws contain no definition of membership standards or requirements, but in family trees for these members, the only roll numbers cited are 1881 and 1895 (see II. "Membership," B. "Membership Lists," 2. "Non-Current," d. "1939 Miami Indian Records"). Meshingomesia subgroup (Marks, Elijah et al 1937b).

1963: Voting membership to consist of persons whose names appear on "the Indian Rolls of 1887* or 1895," and the children and grandchildren of those persons on said rolls. Other Miami descendants could attend and participate but not vote (Godfroy, Lawrence et al 1963, Article I, Sections 1 & 2). Godfroy subgroup.

1983: Membership to consist of "Miami Indians who are descendants of a Miami on the 1895 roll, or be able to prove their lineage before Council" (MNISI 1983, Article IV). All subgroups.

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*Petitioner was asked to check original By-Laws to see if this roll year is correct; Petitioner's Secretary did not have the original available to her to check, but felt the intended year must have been 1889. The 1887 roll is an Eel River annuity roll (Hart 1954). Note that the 1937 incorporated Miamis listed their ancestors by roll number(s) on the 1881 and 1895 rolls in their notarized family trees ("Miami Indian Records"), and some Miamis on the 1964 "Census Rolls" cited their ancestors by their number(s) on the 1881 and 1895 rolls even though the columns on the form for these data are marked "1889" and "1895."

1986: Membership to consist of "Miami Indians who are descendants of a Miami on the 1889 or 1895 roll, or be able to prove their lineage before Council" (MNISI 1986a, Article IV - underscoring indicates change over 1983 Constitution). All subgroups.

1986: Decision to use as "legal guidelines for proof of Miami Indian ancestry the document called 'Guidelines for Indiana Miami Heritage,' which states, "[y]ou must have an ancestor on any 'FEDERAL MIAMI PAYROLL'" (Miami Council Resolution C-86; MNISI 1989h). All subgroups.

1989: You must prove lineage to any of the following Federal Indiana Miami Tribal rolls of 1846, 1854, 1881, 1889, 1895. Federal Annuity rolls of Miami Indians of Indiana 1855-56 and 1868-1880. Federal Census records of Miami Indians of Indiana, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1880, 1900 and 1910 (Miami Council Resolution VI-89 to delete Article IV of the 1986 Constitution, and substitute the above; MNISI 1989d).* All subgroups.

The article of the Miami's 1983 Constitution defining membership requirements has been changed three times since the petition was submitted, once in 1986 when the council adopted a new Constitution, and again by resolutions later in 1986 and in 1989.

These post-petition changes may have occurred as a result of BAR's Obvious Deficiency (OD) letter of January 30, 1985, and subsequent requests for clarification. The BAR's OD requested "an explanation of the discrepancy between the narrative's statement that membership is based on two rolls (1889 and 1895) and the governing document (1983 Constitution, Article IV), which cites only the 1895 roll." The petitioner responded on October 25, 1985, stating

> The lack of mention of the 1889 Eel River Miami Roll on the tribe's governing document was an error. Nearly all the people on the 1889 roll are also on the 1895 roll.** The tribal charter is being amended to correct this omission (MNISI 1985a).

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*The authority by which the council unilaterally (i.e., without recommendation from the Constitution Committee) passed this amendment is not expressly stated in its constitution; further, Constitution or By-Law changes are to be made once a year, at the November meetings (1986 By-Law 4).

**Petition analysis reveals that only five minors were found on both the 1889 and 1895 rolls.

Two days later (October 27, 1985) at a general meeting, the membership voted to add the 1889 annuity payroll to the tribe's membership criteria. This decision was subsequently voted on and passed by council on February 15, 1986 (MNISI 1984-88, 106).

Among the Miami Council Resolution copies received by the BAR on July 6, 1989, was Resolution C-86 which recorded the Council's decision to "use as our legal guidelines for proof of Miami Indian ancestry the document called 'Guideline for Indiana Miami Heritage.'" Item 5 of that guideline reads, "You must have an ancestor on any 'FEDERAL MIAMI PAYROLL'" (emphasis supplied). The BAR requested (July 17, 1989) a reiteration and clarification of this change in membership criteria, which appeared to vastly increase the number of "base rolls" to which prospective members could look for qualifying ancestors.

The response from the petitioner was a copy of another resolution (Resolution VI-89) to amend the membership criteria in Article IV of the 1986 Constitution, which identifies certain tribal rolls, annuity rolls and Federal Census records as base rolls for membership purposes.

While this amendment appears to widen the membership door to potential member/descendants of pre-1889/1895 Miamis, it also has the effect of closing the door on some current members. That is, members who joined under the 1983 or unamended 1986 Constitution provision of "proving their lineage before Council" - by claiming, for example, an 1838 treaty Miami - cannot qualify under the membership requirements adopted in April 1989, which do not identify this pre-removal treaty among its qualifying rolls.

B. Enrollment Process

As Defined by Petitioner According to information provided by one of the petitioner's genealogists, the determination of what constitutes satisfactory proof of lineage to an acceptable Miami ancestor appears to reside with a five-member committee (McMillion 1989b), although not specifically designated or defined in the Constitution or By-Laws.* In describing the mechanics of enrollment, the petitioner states that the first requirement facing a prospective enrollee is to prove descendancy.

> The Census Roll form should not be filled out until there is proof, however, it has been a custom to make the forms available at all meetings and have often been filled in by persons who were not yet sure of their lineage. In these cases it has been the job of persons working with genealogies to put them in a non-active file. In cases of removal of these forms, the person is notified that proof is needed before they can be added to an active file...We

*Possibly falls under 1986 By-Law 6.

> usually make a card for each person to be used in our 'card file.' This allows us to make changes of names due to marriages or divorces, and addresses, or deletions due to deaths. We can also add genealogies on these cards. The computer file is then taken from these cards (Siders 1989).

The council is not a part of the normal enrollment procedure.

> Only cases that might have a question in ancestry comes before the council. All other cases are recorded by the persons working with genealogies and are open at all times to members of the tribe. In cases that might have a question, the council reviews and votes (Siders 1989).

Analysis At one point during petition evaluation, it became evident that the petitioner thought BAR had requested that they enroll every descendant of 1889/1895 Indiana Miamis on the most recent judgment award payroll list. The BIA's Division of Tribal Government Services advised the petitioner that such an "interpretation was not accurate" (Little 1989), and emphasized the difference between a complete list of all members and a list of all Miami descendants.

None of the petition materials identifies the year in which any person became a member, therefore it cannot be stated categorically that the additional Census and Genealogical Rolls received by BAR after the petition was placed on active consideration represent members added since the original petition was submitted. Some appear to be natural additions to the previously submitted membership; however, 26 are individuals who descend from 3 list ancestors not claimed by any members in the original petition.

C. Lineage Documentation accepted by Petitioner

The November 15, 1986, Council Resolution C-86 identifies the type of documentation needed to prove Miami heritage, but the Census Rolls for Miami members submitted with the petition predate this resolution, and the process by which they were accepted as members was not evident in the petition.

The petitioner's researcher advised that the tribal office does not maintain a file of lineage documentation for each member, except possibly for members who claimed descent from a Miami not on the 1889 or 1895 rolls, and who, therefore, had to prove their lineage before Council. However, of the three groups of current members who fit this description, only one group of members (claiming Richardville) appeared to have its documentation in the tribal office.* Beyond

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*(1) Proof of a Richardville descendant-member was sent to the BAR by the tribal office voluntarily (Siders 1983) as an example of the type of proof they require; (2) proof of a No-ah-co-se-quah descendant, one of the two Genealogical Selection requests, has never

(Footnote Continued)

these specific cases, the type and scope of membership information maintained by the tribal office is not known.

IV. Records Utilized to Determine Genealogical Continuity and Indian Ancestry

A. Listing

1. Special Lists (generated by Federal Government) 1846, 1850, 1854
2. Annuity Rolls (generated by Federal Government)
3. Treaty of 1854
4. Judgment Fund Distribution payrolls (generated by Federal Government) 1895; Acts of 1966, 1972, 1982 (not purely Indiana Miami descendants)
5. Federal Population Census Records
6. Indian Census Rolls

B. Description and results of research in each record

1. Special Lists

1846 List of Indiana Miami families permitted to remain in Indiana (i.e., who did not have to remove to the West [Kansas]). This list consists of 148 members of the Richardville, Godfroy, Meshingomesia and Slocum families. Miamis in this list are grouped by family; their names, relationship to head of family and age are given (MNISI 1984b, 84; Sinclair 1846a).

1850 Joint Resolution This extension of the 1845 exemption from removal, originally granted to 148 Miamis, identified 12 Miamis who, with their families (101 total), were allowed to remain in Indiana upon their return from the west (MNISI 1984b, 85; PD 20, MNISI 1984c).

1854 The "Corrected List" of 302 Indiana Miamis remaining in Indiana. This list was agreed upon by the headmen of the Indiana portion of the Miami tribe and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs pursuant to the Treaty of June 5, 1854 (10 Stat., 1093). An amendment, for the benefit of the Indiana Miamis only, was added when the treaty was ratified; this amendment allowed that no other persons could be added to the list except with the consent of the Miami Indians of Indiana, "obtained in council according to the custom" of the tribe. Annuities to be paid to Indiana Miamis pursuant to the 1854 Treaty were to be paid only to persons on the "Corrected List" and their increase. Information given in this list includes name, age, sex, relationship

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(Footnote Continued)
been furnished to the petitioner nor is any expected; and (3) names and dates of a Dupee lineage, which were requested September 5, 1989, were obtained by telephone contact between the tribal office and the member.

to head of family and residence (Treaty: PD 24, MNISI 1984c; List: Manypenny 1854f).

2. Annuities The annuity rolls reportedly held by the National Archives are dated 1855-1856, (1866 fragment) 1867-1883, 1887, 1889, 1895-1896 (Hart 1954, 88-89); however, the roll paid in 1865 and the rolls of 1870 and 1896 could not be located when requested. These annuity rolls numbered annuitants, grouped them into families, listed Indian and occasionally English names, ages, the amount of the annuity paid, and signature of annuitant or his/her parent/guardian, and witnesses thereto. Residences were not given.

1846, 1855-56 Annuities paid to Western and Indiana Miamis in accordance with treaties.

1858-1867 In 1858, 68 persons, whom the Secretary of the Interior believed to be entitled, were added to the "Corrected List" of 302 Indiana Miamis without the consent of the Miami Indians. Others were also added later. The Miami council petitioned the U.S. Congress in February, 1859, to have persons who had been added without the tribe's consent removed, and the diverted monies refunded because they, the Indiana Miami council, did not recognize the persons added as members. After 1867, annuities were not paid to persons who had been added without the consent of the tribe, and their names were stricken from the payroll under a September 20, 1867, opinion of the Attorney General.

1868-1881 Annuities paid to western and Indiana Miamis in accordance with treaties.

1881 Census of 321 Miami Indians in Indiana and elsewhere prepared by Department of Interior Special Agent Thad Butler on September 10, 1881. Census was taken of those who were entitled to participate in distribution of the principal sum of $221,257.86 which had been set aside in accordance with the amended Article 4 of the Treaty of 1854 and became due in July 1880. Information listed includes each Miami's "number" on the 1854, 1880 and 1881 "rolls," his or her name, relationship, age, sex, and residence (Butler 1881; MNISI 1984b, 97-98; 1984a, 50).

1889 Roll of 26 "sole surviving members" of the Eel River Miami Tribe of Indians as of May 27, 1889 (25 Stat. 223). The Eel River Miami were found to be a part of the Miami Tribe at all times. This roll was prepared to make the final distribution of annuities to the remaining Eel River Miamis in commutation of the treaties of August 3, 1795, August 21, 1805, and September 30, 1809. Five of these 26 also appear on the 1895 judgment fund distribution payroll described below. Information given includes Indian and English names and remarks (generally relationship to head of family) (Butler 1889; MNISI 1984a, Appendix A--typed and numbered list, omitting annuity amounts).

3. Treaty with the Miami, 1854
Five Miamis of Indiana signed this treaty, viz., Meshingomesia, Pocongeah, Pimyiotemah, Woppoppetah (Peter Bundy) and Keahcotwoh (or

Buffalo) (MNISI 1984b, 86). Of these signers, two are among the lineages selected for further study and analysis.

4. Judgment Fund Distribution Payrolls Rolls listed below were prepared by the Secretary of the Interior to distribute judgments awarded by the U.S. Court of Claims or the Indian Claims Commission. Such rolls are "prepared by Secretary on a descendancy basis without regard to tribal affiliation" (BIA 1979, A-II), thus although persons listed must descend, they will not necessarily be enrolled members of the tribe(s) to whom the award has been made.

1895 Identified as "Roll of Miami Indians of Indiana of June 12, 1895" (U.S.Congress 1895). Roll was prepared to distribute $48,528.38 awarded by the U.S. Court of Claims in 1895 to reimburse Indiana Miamis for the annuities wrongfully paid to persons added to the "Corrected List" without the consent of the Indiana Miami Council.

This two-part payroll consists of (1) a June 12, 1895, list of 440 Miami Indians of Indiana, and (2) an undated 1895 list of 67 Miami Indians of Indiana then living in Kansas, Quapaw Agency Indian Territory, and Oklahoma Territory. Sixty-six of the 67 Miamis enumerated on list "(2)" were also enumerated on list "(1)" above. The total number of unique individuals represented in the two 1895 rolls is 441 (MNISI 1984a, Appendix A - typed and numbered list, omitting annuity amounts).

1966 Identified as "Roll of Miami Indians of Oklahoma and Indiana," prepared pursuant to the Act of October 14, 1966 (80 Stat. 909). Participation in this judgment award required proven descent from Miamis listed in the rolls of (1) Eel River Miami Tribe of Indians of May 27, 1839, (2) Miami Indians of Indiana of June 12, 1895, (3) Miami Indians of Indiana living in Kansas, Quapaw Agency, I.T., and Oklahoma Territory in 1895, and (4) Western Miami Tribe of Indians of June 12, 1891 (ICC 1966). The first three rolls are now, among others, used as base rolls for the purpose of determining eligibility for membership by the petitioner. Descent from the 1895 roll has been cited as a membership requirement in all known governing documents since 1963.

1972 Identified as "Roll of Miami Indians of Oklahoma and Indiana," prepared pursuant to the Act of June 2, 1972 (86 Stat. 199). Same descent requirements as in 1966 (ICC 1972).

1982 This roll, also including Miami Indians of Oklahoma and Indiana, was prepared pursuant to the Act of December 21, 1982 (96 Stat. 1828) (U.S. Court of Claims 1982).

Participation of the petitioner's membership in at least one of the three recent judgment fund distributions (1966, 1972, 1982) was 86 percent. Only 5 percent have never participated in these judgment awards; this includes members (1) who were born before the time specified by the most current Act (i.e., December 21, 1982, 1982 act), but did not participate, or (2) whose birth dates were not furnished (i.e., if born after the time specified by the most recent Act, they would fall into the "could not participate" category described next).

The names of the members in this 5 percent were not found in judgment fund distribution payrolls.

Nine percent (9%) of the current membership could not participate in any of these awards (1) because they were not alive at the time specified by the Acts (i.e., October 14, 1966, for the 1966 act; June 2, 1972, 1972 act; December 21, 1982, 1982 act - 327 members total) or (2) because they do not descend from a qualifying Miami on the 1889 and/or 1895 rolls (76 members total - see discussion at V. Analysis, D.).

5. Federal Population Census Records 1840-1910 Federal Population Censuses were consulted to resolve lineage questions raised by incomplete petition data, to "spot check" census abstracts submitted, and to document each of the lineages selected for further study and analysis. Although the term "Indian" was not offered for use as an official designation for "color" in Federal Population Census schedules until 1870, "Ind[ian]" does appear in the "color" column of 1860 Census entries for persons of known Miami ancestry living in Miami, Wabash, Huntington and Allen Counties, Indiana. It also appears (albeit in different ink and handwriting from the rest of the census schedule entries) for known Miamis as early as the 1850 Census enumeration of Butler Township, Miami County, Indiana.

However, no pre-1900 Federal Population Census schedule examined contained a statement, prefix, footnote or other designation that the persons enumerated were Miami Indians, so the meaning of the census portion of the Miami Council Resolution VI-89 amending their membership criteria base rolls to include Federal Census records was unclear.

When queried about this, the Tribal Chairman stated that the wording of this Article IV amendment needed clarification, that Federal Census records were not used in lieu of Federal tribal rolls but rather to "clarify an individual's status on the tribal rolls," by providing more or clearer data than did the tribal roll (White 1989a). As requested, the Tribal Chairman sent a copy of the April 15, 1989, Council Meeting minutes, which refers to the passage of a resolution to revise Article IV of the Constitution (Resolution VI-89). The wording of the resolution as stated in the minutes is the same as in the copy of the resolution furnished to the BAR, except for a concluding sentence in the minutes which states that the "Census records [are] used to identify places of residence."

In 1900 and 1910, Indians were to be enumerated in the "Indian population" schedules if the family was "composed mainly of Indians," and in the general "Population" schedules if the family was "composed mainly of persons not Indian" (Bureau of the Census 1979, 39). "Indian population" schedules of 1900 and 1910 also record individuals' "other" (i.e. Indian) names, their tribal ancestry and that of their parents, their percentage of white blood (1900) or Indian or other blood (1910), whether they were living in polygamy,

whether a citizen, and if so, when and how citizenship was acquired, and the type of dwelling in which they were living.

The citation of relatively few 1910 Census entries in research reported for the selected lineages stems chiefly from lack of facility to locate families in a timely fashion where no indexes were available, rather than failure of enumerators to record them. These differences between "not searched" and "searched but not found" are noted in relevant research results.

The petition stated that legal struggles affected the enumeration of the Miamis in Federal Census records until 1910:

> Elite Miami leaders who owned treaty grants refused enumeration on U.S. censuses, fearing that enumeration would compromise the status they were asserting as non-citizens. Thus, one does not find the names of Gabriel Godfroy, Pimyotomah, Camillus, Judson or Peter Bundy, William, Peter, Jacob, or Thomas Peconga, William or George Godfroy, and some others enumerated (MNISI 1984a, 50).

In fact, of the eleven names quoted above, all but four Peconga men appear in census records from 1850 through 1880, and all but one Peconga was found in 1900. The other seven men were found in every Federal Census record, 1850-1900, created during their respective lifetimes.*

6. Indian Census Rolls

One group of records reviewed for the presence of Indiana Miamis living in the West was "Indian Census Rolls," which were submitted annually by agents or superintendents of Indian reservations, beginning in 1885, of all Indians at their agency and on any reservation under their charge (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1885).

(1) The 1895-1900 Indian Census Rolls of the Quapaw Agency, including the Miami Tribe, were examined without success for the presence of one family believed to have removed to this area between 1895 and 1900 (BIA 1895-1900).

(2) The base roll for membership in the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma is the "official census roll of the Tribe as of January 1, 1938" (Miami Tribe of Oklahoma 1939, Article II, Section 1[a]). The Indian Census Rolls for the period 1885 to 1940 have been microfilmed by the National Archives as Microcopy M595, and they include a complete 1937 Census Roll for the Miami Tribe, followed by several pages of 1938 additions and deletions. According to the National Archives

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*Other Meshingomesia families, specifically those of Lavina (Dixon) Hale and of minor Camillus Aw-taw-waw-taw or Tawataw, were sought and not found in the 1880 Soundex of Indiana.

Descriptive Pamphlet for these records, "[f]or certain years--usually 1935, 1936, 1938, and 1939--only supplemental rolls of additions and deletions were compiled" (BIA 1885-1940, 1). Seven Indiana Miamis on the 1895 roll also appear on this 1938 census roll, but none of the petitioner's current members claims descent from them.*

V. Analysis

A. Descendancy Charts Before certification of the computer-generated membership printouts had been received, family tree or descendancy charts were drafted to illustrate each member's relationship to an 1889/1895 "list ancestor" (or other claimed Miami ancestor), using the following membership data:
(1) "Miami Indians of Indiana Census Rolls,"
(2) "Genealogical Roll of Miami Indians of Indiana,"
(3) "Current Tribal Roll," and
(4) "Individual Survey" forms (see description under "Membership Lists").

Problems Generally, data in the first three records were provided by the members themselves. Their claimed descent from Miamis on the 1889/1895 rolls did not always agree with data found in Dr. Rafert's "Individual Survey" forms, which, among other data, list all known children of every Miami on the 1889/1895 rolls. Wherever current members claimed an ancestor not confirmed by Rafert's data, such cases were sent to Dr. Rafert, investigated further by Contractor, and/or ultimately sent to the tribal office for documentary proof. Of a total of 94 questions posed to the petitioner, approximately 6 lineage questions (affecting 162 current members) are as yet unresolved. An additional 19 lineage problems emerged from analysis of the official membership list, 16 of which relate to members claiming Western Miami ancestry in the judgment fund distribution payrolls, and 3 members for whom further proof is needed.

B. Genealogical Selection The "Genealogical Selection" process, defined and authorized by a BIA policy letter dated August 30, 1979 (Mills 1979), enables the BIA to ask a petitioner for copies of documentation a tribe has accepted as proof of a prospective member's claim to tribal lineage. In this case, two "Genealogical Selection" requests for documentation were sent to the petitioner in an effort to determine how members without 1889/1895 list ancestors proved their lineages. In one of these two requests, the petitioner's Secretary, Lora Siders, relayed by telephone that the member had never provided proof of her lineage to the tribal office, nor was any such proof expected. This member and her family were, therefore, withdrawn from consideration, per Sider's request.

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*viz., #332 Josephine (Pooler) Buck, #278 Charles Demo, #279 Joseph Demo, # 162 Ethel (Goodboo) Gamble, #333 Mabel (Pooler) McMullen, #330 Frank Pooler, and #334 Fred Pooler.

The second request involved a member whose "Miami Indians of Indiana Census Roll" listed a valid 1889/1895 ancestor number coupled with a non-1889/1895 ancestor name. When asked for the documentation accepted by the council for this line, the petitioner responded that it was unaware these descendants ever "made an active file," and asked that this line be withdrawn.

C. Lineages Selected for Further Study and Analysis Six lineages were selected from the petitioner's membership for examination. Each selected line began with a Miami living circa 1846, and followed a single line of descent to a member living as late as 1973. The lineages selected represent varying degrees of:

historical and current tribal leadership
all major subgroups of tribe
geographic dispersion
political factions
large representation in current membership.

Documentation was reviewed for these lineages for evidence of genealogical continuity from the historical tribe, and identification in such records as "Indian." Records searched included the "Special Lists," Treaty of 1854 (signers), Federal Population Censuses, annuity rolls, school census records, judgment fund distribution payrolls, and membership rolls of other federally-recognized tribes. Results of this study on these six lineages support both genealogical continuity and identification as "Indian" individuals.

D. Do they meet their own membership criteria? When the petition was submitted in 1984, the Constitution and By-Laws of 1983 were in effect. However, information regarding the year in which each person became a member was not available. Therefore, it would not be accurate to measure the current membership by this 1983 yardstick in the absence of the above data, nor is it possible to state how many members joined after 1983 and met the membership requirements specified in that Constitution.

Regardless of recent changes to membership criteria, most current members (97.7% or 4,281 of 4,381) claim descent from a Miami on the 1889 or 1895 rolls.*

Of the remainder (100 of 4,381), none has a demonstrated connection to an Indiana Miami: 76 members claim descent from earlier Miamis: Jean Baptiste Richardville (64 members - proof of lineage faulty), No-ah-co-se-quah (7 members, since withdrawn - proof of lineage faulty), and Francis Dupee II (5 members - ancestor had no post-1838 interaction with tribe)); 16 members claim descent from Western

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*This total includes 30 individuals who claim William Godfroy (#133 on 1895 roll) through an unproven daughter Jeannette (Godfroy) Percifield; the documentation submitted does not prove this connection.

Miamis; 5 withdrawn members who claimed but did not prove descent from a list ancestor; and 3 whose lineages need further documentation.

In order for Indiana Miamis to participate in the three recent judgment awards, descent from a Miami on the 1889 or 1895 roll had to be documented to the satisfaction of the BIA's Muskogee Area Office. Applications from about 3,765 Miami Indians of Indiana were approved, based on a total count of their 1966 and 1972 judgment fund distribution payroll numbers as reported on their membership printout forms (2,533) plus the 1982 judgment fund distribution "identification numbers" obtained from that payroll.

E. Summary

Although documentation was requested for the two Genealogical Selection lineages, both lineages were declared invalid and were withdrawn from their current membership by the petitioner. Two types of petitioner-reviewed, post-1900 lineage documentation were furnished: (1) without having been requested, for lineages of one member and one prospective member, both of whom claimed Miami ancestors who were not on the 1889/1895 rolls, and (2) upon request, for 11 lineage questions (resulting from gaps in the petition) regarding parentage of alleged children of Miamis on 1889 and 1895 rolls.*

Research on the 6 "Lineages Selected for Further Study and Analysis" covered many generations of individuals from different subgroups in various geographic locations in a variety of records, yet the results confirm that the lineages were correct as presented, and that these individuals were perceived as Indian over time by the Federal Government as well as local census and school enumerators.

Given the small percentage (1.5%) of current membership without 1889/1895 list ancestors, little time was invested in researching the validity of these claims. However, records obtained both independently and from Dr. Rafert provide evidence that none of the three claimed lineages meet the current membership criteria defined by Miami Council Resolution VI-89. One of these three would be able to meet the previous membership criterion as it appeared in Constitutions dated 1983 and 1986, viz., "or be able to prove their lineage before Council," albeit to an 1838 Miami Treaty signer.

The petition contained "Miami Indians of Indiana Census Rolls" which had been completed and submitted by 17 applicants who never proved their Miami lineage to the satisfaction of the petitioners; 10 of these 17 were submitted as members in the membership printout forms. When asked for clarification and/or proof of the lineages of these

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*Analysis of the documentation received for (1) and (2) reveals that it does not support the lineage claimed in two instances (Richardville and Godfroy #133), and in another (tracing ancestry to an 1858 annuity roll), the claimed ancestor is suspect.

members, the petitioner requested that these people be withdrawn from consideration.

The Constitution and By-Laws do not address how children born to Miami parents achieve membership. The changing membership requirements present a problem for future offspring of current members whose claimed ancestry does not now meet new requirements. The status of children whose parents were accepted into membership based on descent from pre-1889/1895 Miamis who are not on any of the "tribal rolls" or annuity rolls identified in Resolution VI-89 remains unclear.

VI. Potential Members

Four groups of people identifiable in the petition documents and from other research constitute potential members (i.e., persons not currently found on the petitioner's membership list who could meet the membership requirements of the petitioner's current governing document Resolution VI-89).

(1) A group of approximately 190 individuals whom the petitioner did not include on the recently prepared official membership list who were included in genealogical materials submitted earlier.

(2) A much larger group of individuals who shared as Indiana Miamis in one or more of the three Miami judgment awards and would meet the petitioner's historical lineage requirements for membership and are not now enrolled with the petitioner. The size of this group is impossible to predict with any accuracy without an in-depth analysis of the three judgment distribution payrolls and the petitioner's current membership list.

(3) At least 65 persons in 1964 who were on the 1964 "Miami Tribe of Indiana Census Roll" (see discussion at "1964 Miami Tribe of Indiana Census Roll" II.B.2.e.) who are not now on the petitioner's membership list for acknowledgment purposes and whose descendants, with few exceptions, are not currently members.

(4) At least seven Indiana Miamis appear in records used as base rolls for the purpose of determining eligibility for membership by both the Miami Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. (1895 judgment fund distribution payroll) and the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (1938 census roll) (see discussion at "Indian Census Rolls" IV.B.6.). As there is no apparent proscription against dual-enrollment in the petitioner's governing document, descendants of these seven who are members of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma may be eligible for Indiana Miami membership as well (Miami Tribe of Oklahoma 1964). The number of living descendants of these seven Indiana Miamis is not known.

VII. Enrollment in other Federally-Recognized Indian Tribes

As there are no federally recognized tribes in the state of Indiana, the petitioners' primary exposure to other Indian tribes has been and

continues to be with tribes in the tri-state area of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Missouri. Therefore, the BIA Muskogee Area Office was asked for a current listing of the members of tribes in that locale. A special alphabetical printout was made from the Integrated Records Management System (Office of the Federal Register 1986, II:140-141) database which included members of the Eastern Shawnee, Modoc, Miami, Ottawa, Peoria, Quapaw, Seneca-Cayuga, and Wyandotte tribes. A total of 34 names of the petitioner's members (0.8% of the membership) were found on this eight-tribe list.

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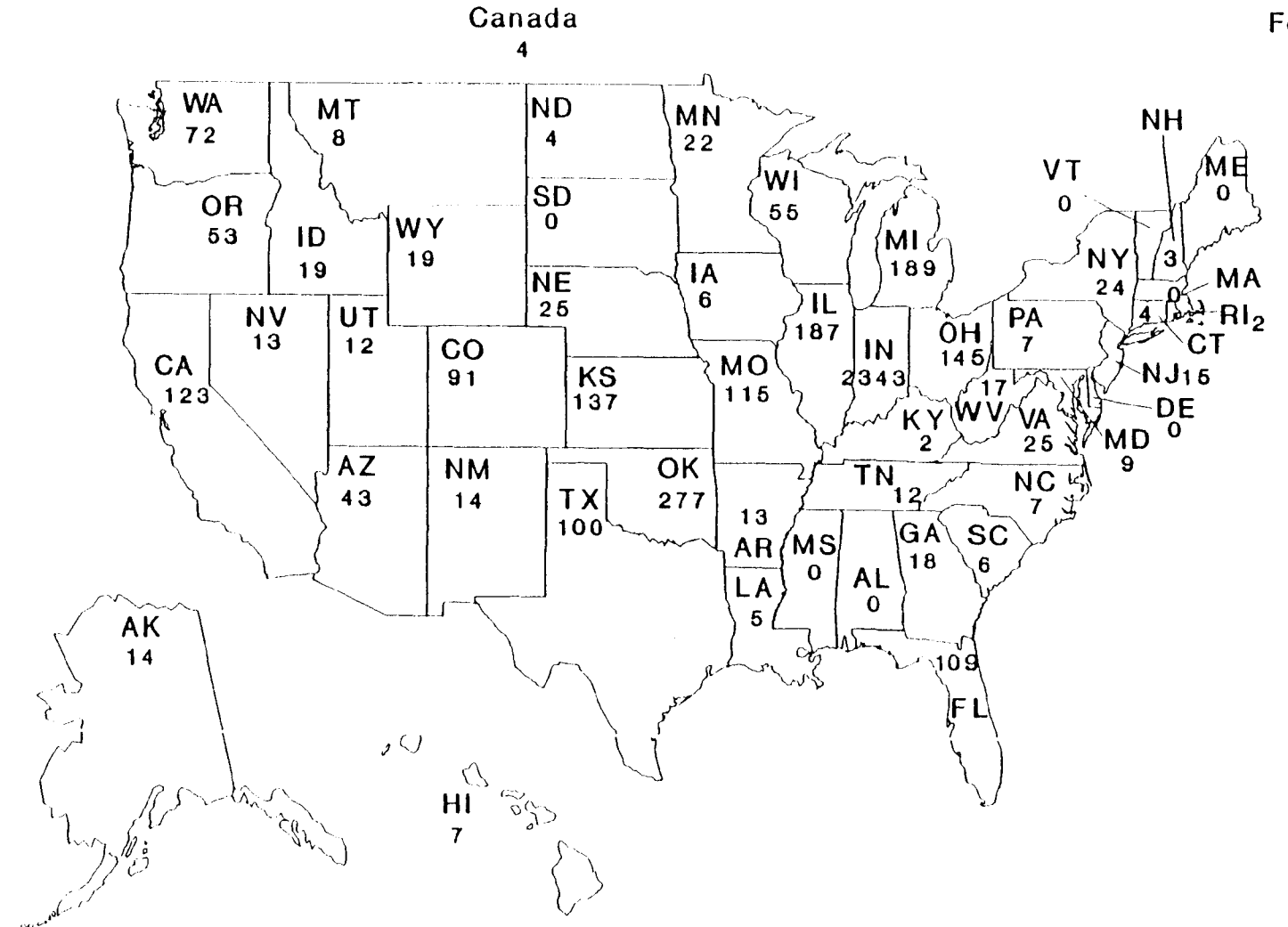
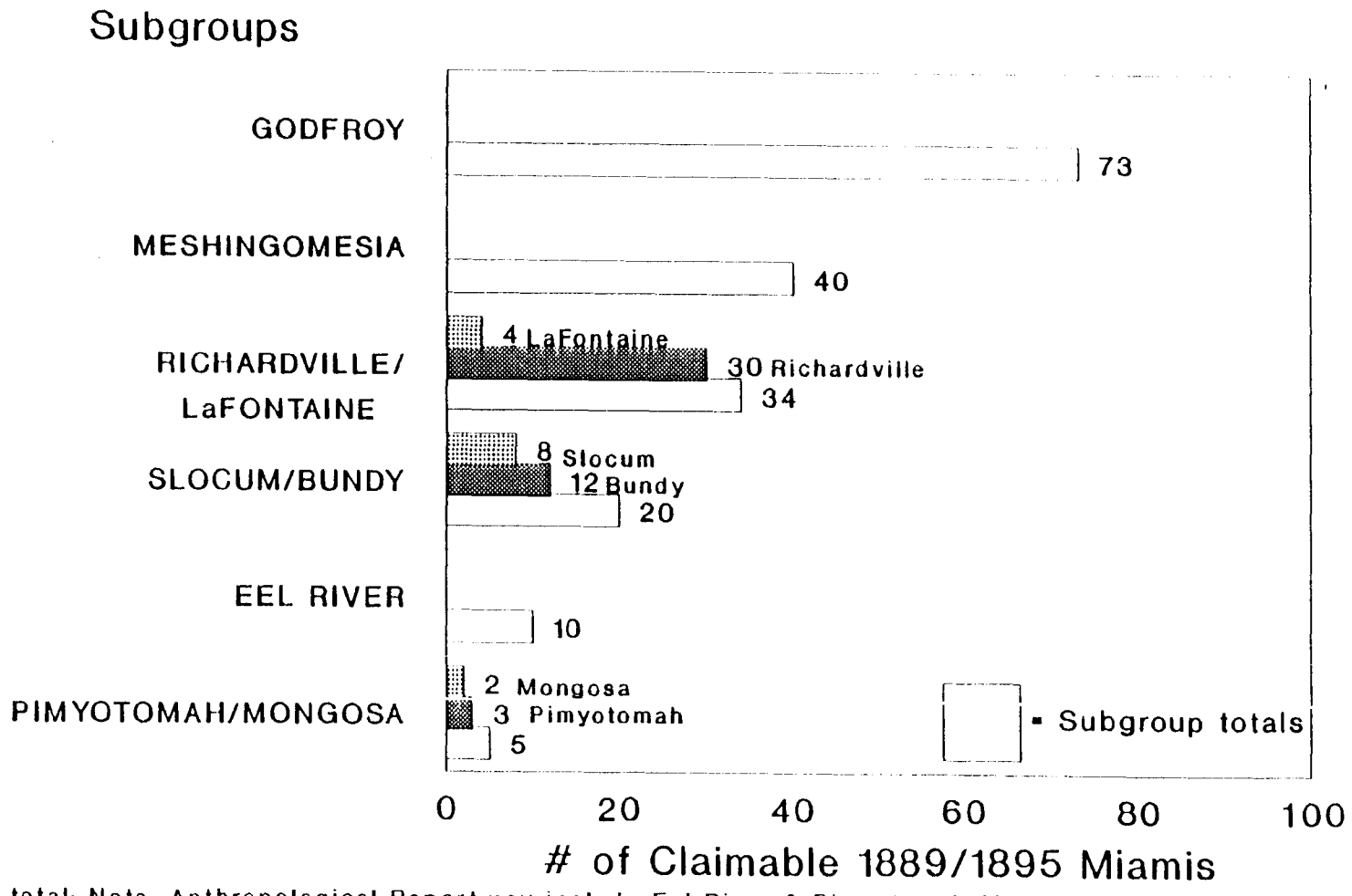
Distribution By Residence



Subgroup Affiliation of 1889/1895 Miamis From Whom Current Members Claim Descent



182 total; Note: Anthropological Report may include Eel River & Pimyotomah/Mongosa Totals in Godfroy

ADDENDUM TO CONTRACTOR'S GENEALOGICAL REPORT

The purpose of this addendum is threefold: (1) to provide additional discussion of the petitioner's enrollment process not addressed in the contractor's genealogical report; (2) to comment on the potential for growth in the petitioner's membership; and (3) to comment on evidence of the petitioner's policy concerning dual enrollment.

Enrollment Process

Although an explanation of the petitioner's enrollment process and how it works has been provided, there appears to be little evidence that the process operates as described, or that tribal members are actively concerned or involved with membership issues.

In an April 6, 1989, telephone conversation with one of the Miami genealogists, the BAR was advised that the group had been obtaining new members by seeking out and contacting people who, by virtue of their Indiana Miami ancestry, had shared in recent judgment awards and were therefore eligible for membership (McMillion 1989b). How long the petitioner may have used this means of enrolling is unclear. The minutes of a 1984 council meeting reflect that the petitioner's researcher reported that the BIA wanted membership rolls as complete as possible and suggested the group send a form letter to persons eligible for membership (MNISI 1984-88, 7/21/84). The fact that the documented petition included a copy of the BIA's 1966 judgment distribution payroll, with complete mailing addresses, demonstrates that the group had the means with which to pursue the enrollment of all individuals who shared and were eligible but were not then enrolled in the group.

The petition also included "Miami Indians of Indiana Census Roll" forms which list current members by family and identify the relationship of the head of household to an ancestor on the 1895/89 rolls. As represented by the petitioner, these forms appear to serve as a type of application form. Lora Siders, the petitioner's genealogist, states that "it has been a custom to make these [census roll] forms available at all meetings" and that they have "often been filled in by persons who were not yet sure of their lineage" (Siders 1989). Siders (1989) notes that "Persons working with genealogies" are reportedly responsible for notifying prospective members that proof is needed "before they can be added to an active file." She also cautioned that although the [census roll] forms may appear to have been completed and signed by individual members, this may not have always been the case (McMillion 1989b). For a time, the Miamis had had two people filling out the forms, until it was discovered that individuals shown on the forms could not always be connected to ancestors being claimed because sufficient information about relationships had not been provided. To recitify the problem, Miami genealogists reviewed all forms completed to that point and personally annotated incomplete forms with the missing information (McMillion 1989b).

Completed forms are reportedly sent to a committee for review. The committee is said to be constituted of five council members: Lora Siders, Frances Bennigan, Louise Hay, Paul Godfroy and Francis Buchanan. Following the

committee's review, the forms are referred to the council for a final decision. Available council meeting minutes do not substantiate the routine submission of all [census roll] forms to the council for "final decision." (McMillion 1989b)

Available information concerning council involvement is limited to the following entries in the minutes of three council meetings. All were written by Siders in her dual role as tribal genealogist and secretary of the Miami council:

> Lora presented, Census Forms, documented, proving Miami Indian ancestery [sic] tho not to 1889 or 1895 payrolls. Council voted to accept them into our membership. Secretary is to send letter of explanation that this is not a verification of any payment of Treaties from the Federal Govrnment [sic] (quoted in full). (MNISI 1985c, 2/5/83)
>
> Lora read two letters...the other a letter to the Lizzie Mahiner descendants, who have sent census forms to us. It is to explain to them we can not accept them on our membership roll as most of them already are on the Sac-Fox roll, but their Miami membership belongs at Miami, Oklahoma. The council approved both letters to be sent (quoted in full). (MNISI 1985c, 2/23/85)
>
> Census forms for people who can prove ancestory [sic] on the 1846 Miami roll were submitted to be approved by council. (MNISI 1984-88, 9/20/86) [The minutes do not indicate what action was taken.]

At its September 20, 1986, meeting, the council established a committee, consisting of Frances Dunagan, Louise Hay, and Lora Siders, to submit criteria to accept Miami descendants and "Make a list of guidelines for future use on prospective Miami Indians..." (MNISI 1984-88, 9/20/86). Guidelines developed by the committee (MNISI 1989h) were adopted by the council on November 15, 1986, without obvious input from tribal members. Although their stated purpose was "to better analyze any and all applications" (MNISI 1989h), the net effect was to expand the eligibility basis of the more restrictive criteria which had been put to "tribal vote" in October 1985, and subsequently adopted by the council in February 1986. The 1986 criteria had limited membership to persons who could prove descent from the 1895/89 rolls or could prove their lineage before the council (MNISI 1986). The guidelines expanded the basis of eligibility to "any Federal Miami payroll" which took in rolls which included persons who had been specifically rejected by the tribe as not eligible.

Further evidence that the council may not be part of the normal enrollment procedure described comes from Siders' statement that "only cases that might have a question in ancestry comes [sic] before the council" (1989).

Potential for Membership Growth

Four areas of potential membership growth are discussed in the Genealogical Report (see VII. Potential Members, p. 21, items 1-4). Two of these areas appear to have the potential for producing significant growth in the petitioner's total membership, namely, the distributees of the three judgment awards who are not now enrolled, and individuals who appeared in earlier petitioner documents but are not on official membership roll for acknowledgment purposes.

The largest and most significant area of potential expansion relates to the persons who participated in the three judgment awards as Indiana Miamis, are not now enrolled, but would be eligible if they applied for membership (VI:21, item 2). The names of approximately 1000 Miamis are estimated to appear on the 1966 judgment distribution roll that do not appear on the petitioner's current membership roll. Since a fair number of these same persons are likely to have shared in all three awards (1966, 1972, 1982), we estimate that this figure should not increase by an equivalent number with succeeding awards. Our best estimate of the expansion possible in this area is 2000 total. A more accurate estimate could be obtained by comparing the three lists of distributees.

Another area with potential for increasing the current membership has to do with 190 individuals who appeared in membership documents provided by the petitioner prior to the April 1989 acknowledgment roll (i.e., the membership printout identified as the petitioner's roll for acknowledgment purposes) (VI:21, item 3). Why the 190 individuals formerly considered members were omitted is unknown. If acknowledged, these names should be submitted to the petitioner's governing body for clarification to insure that they were not inadvertently omitted.

The two other areas of possible growth, discussed in the Genealogical Report (see Potential Members, items 3 and 4), do not appear as likely to produce significant changes.

Dual Enrollment Policy

The petitioner's governing documents do not address whether dual (i.e., concurrent) enrollment is permitted. The only evidence found to suggest a prohibition on dual enrollment was a July 1988 newsletter which states that persons who are already members of federally recognized tribes are not eligible for membership (MNISI 1984-88, Jul 88). The petitioner does not appear to knowingly be enrolling persons who are already members of other North American Indian tribes (see Genealogical Report, VII).

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