

1945

## ISSAC McCOY: His Plan of and Work for Indian Colonization

Emory J. Lyons  
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1945

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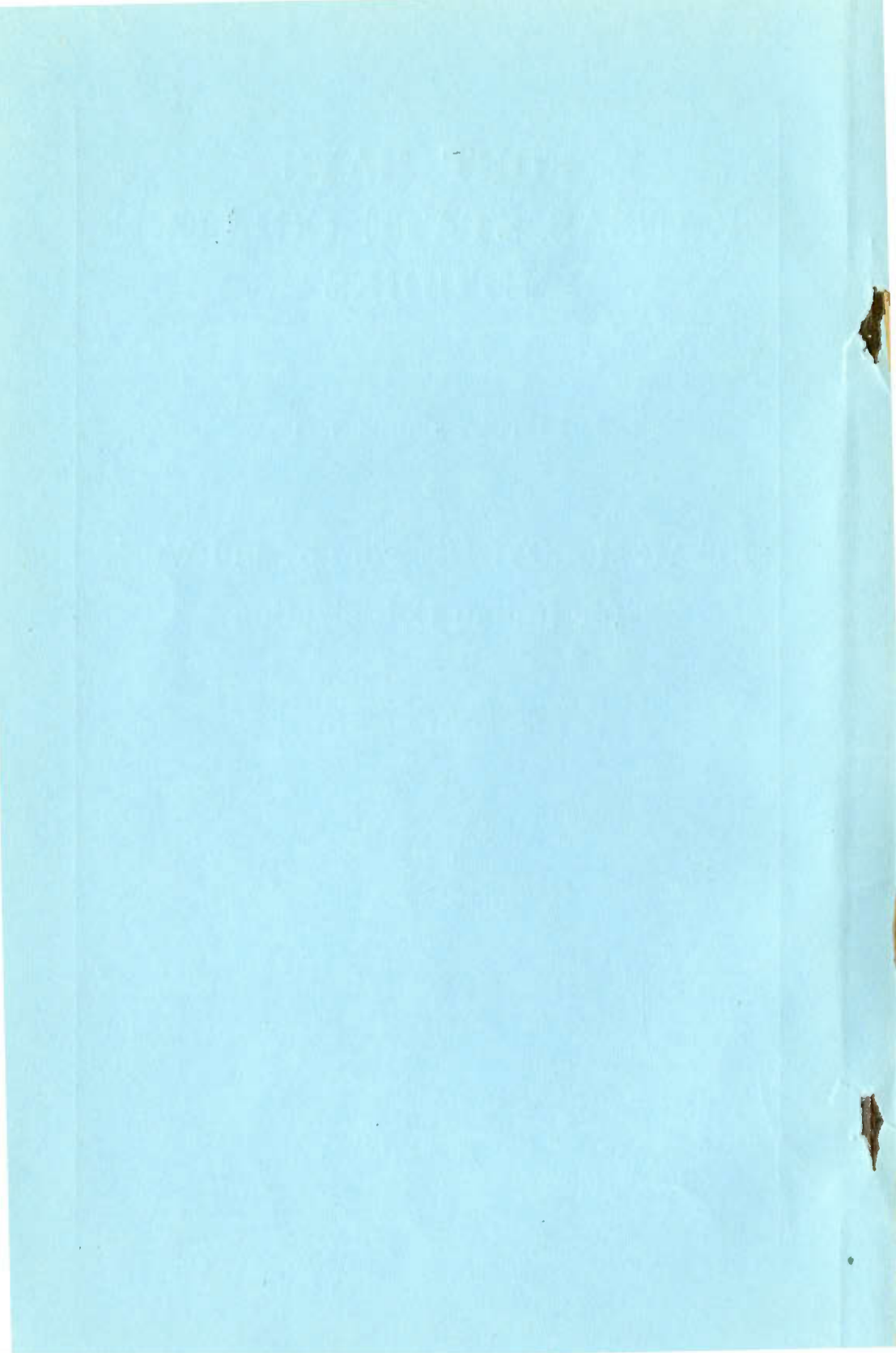
## ISAAC McCOY: His Plan of and Work for Indian Colonization

By EMORY J. LYONS



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F. B. STREETER, *Editor*

ISAAC McCOY: HIS PLAN OF AND WORK  
FOR INDIAN COLONIZATION

By EMORY J. LYONS





## PREFACE

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Several books and articles have been written concerning Isaac McCoy, but as far as I am able to find out there has been no book, article, or research paper written on the plan of Indian colonization that originated with McCoy, and his work for the fulfillment of that plan.

A biography of McCoy written by Walter N. Wyeth<sup>1</sup> and published in 1895 mentions McCoy's plan, but gives no specific outline of it. A brief sketch of McCoy's work in the Indian Territory is given also. The biography was written as a memorial to Mr. and Mrs. McCoy rather than an historical sketch of McCoy's work.

A research paper for a B. D. degree was written at the University of Chicago in 1928 dealing mainly with the work of McCoy in Michigan at the Carey and Thomas missions. The Rev. A. W. Lyons<sup>2</sup>, author of that paper, was pastor of the Baptist church of Niles, Michigan, the city that grew out of the establishment of Carey Mission, from 1913 to 1919. Mr. Lyons is, at the present, pastor of the Immanuel Baptist church in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Two books, written by McCoy, have been of value in obtaining material for this paper. One, *A History of Baptist Indian Missions*<sup>3</sup>, covers almost the same period and material as his daily journal. The other, *Remarks on the Practicability of Indian Reform*<sup>4</sup>, was written by him to help bring about the fulfillment of his plan of Indian colonization.

There was a great deal of material available in the manuscript department of the Kansas Historical Society Library in Topeka, Kansas. These manuscripts of McCoy's have been of greater value in gathering material for this paper than any of the other sources used. They include letters to McCoy, copies of letters written by him, his daily journal, maps, articles, and documents of various sorts. This collection covers the period between 1808 and 1846.

In collecting and organizing the material for this paper I tried to get, as much as possible, an unbiased and a scientific historical sketch of McCoy's life, going more into detail during that part of

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1. Walter N. Wyeth, *Isaac McCoy*. Philadelphia, 1895.

2. Austin W. Lyons, *Isaac McCoy and Carey Mission*. Chicago, 1928, unprinted.

3. Washington, 1840.

4. New York, 1829.

his life which was spent in the territory which is now Kansas, including his plan and work for Indian colonization. It would be useless to attempt to show what would have happened if all of McCoy's plans had been carried out, but it might be of some value to show that, at that time, a decided change was needed in the Indian policy of the United States, and that McCoy's plans, if carried out, would probably have eliminated some of the evils of the existing Indian policy and system.

Acknowledgment is due to Dr. Raymond L. Welty for his many suggestions and comments that have been of great value in the collection and the organization of the material for this paper; to Dr. F. B. Streeter for the knowledge and correction of the many mechanical points necessary in a paper like this; to Mrs. Lela Barnes and Miss Martha Caldwell of the Kansas State Historical Society Library for their assistance in the use of the McCoy manuscripts; and to Miss Evelyn Davenport, who typed the manuscript and proof read it.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS PRIOR TO THE 19TH CENTURY

Until the time of the discovery, exploration, and colonization of North America, this vast continent was inhabited solely by the Indians. They owned the land and lived on it, moving as they pleased. Land was plentiful, as was game, such as buffalo and deer.

After the discovery and exploration of America, colonization followed because the country made a good penal colony for European countries; because it was found to be rich in natural resources; because it offered freedom to the oppressed classes and adventure to those who were looking for it.

The Indians treated the first newcomers kindly. The white man asked for a little land so he could raise enough corn and greens to keep alive in this new country. His quest was granted. Later they wanted more land and better land. New settlers coming in would take land, the best they could find, without asking for it. Finally the original thirteen colonies were settled, the population increased, and the colonies obtained their independence.

The states grew and expanded, forcing the Indians off of the territory "belonging to the United States."

Southern Ohio, southeastern Indiana, and other small and scattered areas were ceded to the United States by the Indians by the treaty of 1795.<sup>1</sup> All other country north and west, to the Lakes, and the Mississippi, still belonged to the Indians, and "title of this territory had been solemnly guaranteed." By 1810, settlers were invading the Indian territory faster than before. Pioneers, such as Daniel Boone, became the heroes of the day.

Quotations from the writings of Frederick Ogg<sup>2</sup> and Thomas Jefferson Morgan<sup>3</sup> bring out clearly the mistreatment of the Indians.

Ogg stated:

In this new rush of pioneers the rights of the Indians received scant consideration. Hardy and well-armed Virginians and Kentuckians broke across treaty boundaries and possessed themselves of fertile lands to which they had

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1. Frederick Austin Ogg, *The Old Northwest*. (Chronicles of America Series, New Haven, 1921, XIX, 132.)

2. *Ibid.*, 133.

3. Thomas Jefferson Morgan, "Our Treatment of the Indians." (*Source Book of American History*, Hart, Albert B., ed. New York, 1900, 368.)

no valid claims. White hunters trespassed far and wide on Indian territory, until by 1819 great regions, which a quarter of a century earlier abounded in deer, bear, and buffalo, were made as useless for Indian purposes as barren wastes. Although entitled to protection of law in his person and property, the native was cheated and overawed at every turn; he might even be murdered with impunity. . . .

Morgan wrote:

The white man furnishes the Indian with arms and ammunition; the white man provides him with whiskey; the white man encroaches upon his reservation, robs him of his stock, defrauds him of his property, invades the sanctity of his home, and treats him with contempt; thus arousing within the Indian's breast those feelings of a sense of wrong, and dishonor and wounded manhood that prepares him to vindicate his honor and avenge his wrongs.

The numerous Indian wars were the result of this mistreatment, which, with other factors, led to an estranged relation between the United States government and the Indians.

## 2. INDIAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES—19TH CENTURY

"The relation of the government of the United States toward the Indian has been that of careless indifference. When Isaac McCoy came on the scene the Government had no constructive policy for caring for the red man."<sup>4</sup>

The existing treaty system of the nineteenth century along with the corruption and fraud connected with the Indian agencies probably were the most outstanding evils of the United States Indian policy at that time.

By the treaty system of the nineteenth century, a chief could sell all of the land belonging to his tribe without the consent of the people. The treaties were made with the false view that an Indian tribe was a nation. "These Indian tribes are not a nation, and nothing either in their history or their condition could properly invest them with a treaty making power."<sup>5</sup>

Tecumseh, that "Napoleon of the Shawnee" Indians, declared that this system of treaty making was an evil, and refused to abide by the treaties made that way. The Indians' "right of occupancy" was recognized by all the great discovering powers of Europe, alienable in only two ways, *i. e.*, purchase or conquest<sup>6</sup>. The Indian tribes, not being a nation, and thus unable to make treaties, therefore could not sell their lands by treaties. This left only conquest as a way

4. Lyons, *op. cit.*, 6-7.

5. Julius H. Seeley, "Introduction" to Helen Hunt Jackson's *Century of Dishonor*. Boston, 1888, 4.

6. Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor*. Boston, 1888, 9.

for the United States to obtain the Indian lands in a legal way. So, under the name of treaties, the United States obtained the Indian lands, illegally.

The evil of this system of treaty making may be summed up in the following quotation<sup>7</sup>:

The robbery, the cruelty which were done under the cloak of this hundred years of treaty-making and treaty-breaking, are greater than can be told. Neither mountains nor deserts stayed them; it took two seas to set their bounds.

Isaac McCoy recognized this evil of treaty making, and included in his plan of colonization a form of patents whereby each Indian would own his own land, to be sold or disposed of as the individual Indian pleased and not as the chief pleased.<sup>8</sup>

The other evil mentioned above was that of corruption and fraud in the office of Indian agencies. Concerning this, Dr. Raymond L. Welty<sup>9</sup> cites a quotation:

"The eagerness," declares General Pope, "to secure an appointment as Indian agent, on a small salary, manifested by many persons of superior ability, ought of itself to be a warning to Congress as to the objects sought by it. . . . the more treaties an Indian agent can negotiate the larger the appropriations of money and goods which pass through his hands and the more valuable his office. An Indian war every other day, with treaty making on intermediate days, would be, therefore, the condition of affairs most satisfactory to such Indian agents. I by no means mean to say that all Indian agents are dishonest—but that the mass of Indian agents on the frontier are true only to their personal and pecuniary interests, I am very sure that no one familiar with the subject will dispute."

Agitation was started for the placement of the Indian agencies under the control of the army, where it was claimed by many that many of the evils of the system would be eliminated.<sup>10</sup>

McCoy recognized this evil, also; "these agencies, [Indian]" being "lucrative offices to men who have no conscience."<sup>11</sup> McCoy, however, did not advocate military authority over these Indian agencies. He worked for the reform of the civil authority plan which can be noticed in his plan of Indian colonization.<sup>12</sup>

Cheating, robbing, breaking promises—these three are clearly things which must cease to be done. One more thing, also, and that is the refusal of the

7. *Ibid.*, 27.

8. See Chapter III, section 2 of this paper.

9. *House Mis. Doc. No. 37, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess.*, 10. (Welty, Raymond L., "Indian Policy of the Army, 1860-1870," *The Cavalry Journal*, July, 1927, 375.)

10. Welty, *op. cit.*, 375.

11. Isaac McCoy, *Journal* (Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka, 1808-1846) July 25, 1838. See also February 10, 1831. Hereafter referred to as *Journal*.

12. See Chapter III, section 3 of this paper.

protection of the law to the Indian's right of property, 'of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' . . . Till these four things have ceased to be done, statesmanship and philanthropy alike must work in vain, and even Christianity can reap but small harvest.<sup>13</sup>

Civilization of the Indians seemed to be the only solution of the Indian problem at that time.<sup>14</sup> The entire history of the treatment of the Indians and the United States Indian policy during the nineteenth century was, and still is, a dark spot on the history of the American people. "The history of the missionary labors . . . is the one bright spot on the dark record"<sup>15</sup> of this "Century of Dishonor."

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13. Jackson, *op. cit.*, 342.

14. *Ibid.*, 2.

15. *Ibid.*, author's note.

## CHAPTER II

## ISAAC McCOY, THE MISSIONARY AND INDIAN AGENT

As this study is to deal mainly with Isaac McCoy's plan of and work for Indian colonization in the territory which is now Kansas, very little space will be given to McCoy's life and work previous to his removal to the Indian Territory west of Missouri.

## 1. EARLY LIFE

Isaac McCoy was born near Uniontown, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, on June 15, 1784.<sup>1</sup> Soon after this time the McCoy family removed to Kentucky where Isaac lived during his early years. Living in a frontier region, his education was limited, but McCoy proved to be very studious, and, as will be pointed out later, he became a capable leader as well as an author, teacher and minister.

On October 6, 1803, McCoy married Christiana Polk. It is interesting to note that Mrs. McCoy's mother and sister had been held captive by the Ottawa Indians, a tribe which later was served by Mrs. McCoy in Michigan and the Indian Territory as a missionary and teacher.

At the age of 24 McCoy was ordained to the ministry. In 1809 he accepted his first pastorate at the Maria Creek Church near Vincennes, Indiana. It was while he was serving this church that McCoy applied for and received appointment as a missionary.

McCoy served the Maria Creek Church from 1809 till 1817. In March, 1817, he applied to the Board of Managers of the Baptist Missionary Convention for an appointment as a missionary. At this time, McCoy's plan for administering to the Indians was secondary to that of ministering to the destitute whites in the frontier regions near St. Louis.<sup>2</sup> In October of the same year, McCoy received the appointment "to labour as a missionary for one year." Concerning the appointment he wrote:<sup>3</sup>

I was instructed to give attention to the Indians as far as practicable, but as a number of counties in Indiana and Illinois were described as the field of

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1. Lyons, *op. cit.*, 14, gives the date of McCoy's birth as 1783, and *The Americana*, XVIII, 29, states that McCoy was married at the age of 20, on Oct. 6, 1803, thus making 1783 the year of his birth. However, McCoy's family record contained in Vol. I of McCoy's *MS & Letters* at the Kansas State Historical Society Library, places the year of his birth as 1784. Journal recordings for June 13, 1835 and 1837, state his age as 51 and 53, respectively, thus making the year of his birth 1784.

2. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 43.

3. *Ibid.*, 44.

my labours, and as my appointment was limited to *one year*, I could not suppose that the board had contemplated that I should do anything of importance for the Indians.

By the time that McCoy received his appointment, his "anxiety to preach the gospel to the Indians had become great."<sup>4</sup>

## 2. MCCOY'S PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER

Isaac McCoy is one of that large group of men of unusual ability about whom the world knows too little. Other home missionaries of the Baptist denomination, who have accomplished less than McCoy, are more widely known and appreciated. A man who can conceive so many plans for advancing the Christian cause, and who can execute his plans over almost impossible obstacles, deserves more than passing acquaintance.<sup>5</sup>

This quotation seems to be agreed upon by all those writing about McCoy. McCoy was very versatile. Besides being a teacher and a preacher, he was a surveyor, a pioneer and hunter, politician, business manager, explorer, organizer, administrator, and author. He was often ill yet at the same time he carried on his work until the time came that he had to be kept in bed for days at a time. His journal recordings show that he traveled while he was sick<sup>6</sup> and that he was forced to preach his sermons while seated or inclined.<sup>7</sup>

In 1830 McCoy surveyed government land for the Indians; in 1828 he explored the territory west of Missouri, having to depend on his hunting, along with that of his fellow travelers, for his food. Often McCoy made trips to Washington to influence prominent men for the fulfillment of his plans. He organized and managed missions in Indiana, Michigan, and the territory which is now Kansas, ran a farm, and wrote books.<sup>8</sup> Besides all of that he found time to read and attempt to learn the language of several Indian tribes. Rules for the mission family show that McCoy's income was turned over to the mission, thus he actually received no material compensation for his labor.<sup>9</sup>

4. *Ibid.*, 44.

5. Lyons, *Isaac McCoy and Carey Mission*, unprinted, 14.

6. July 3, 1828.

7. June 8, 1823.

8. *History of Baptist Indian Missions and Practicability of Indian Reform*.

9. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 170.

"We agree that our whole time, talents, and labors shall be dedicated to the obtaining of this object, [to meliorate the conditions of the Indians] and shall all be bestowed gratis, so that the mission cannot become indebted to any missionary for his or her services.

"We agree that all remittances from the board of missions, and all money and property accruing to any of us, shall be thrown into the common missionary fund, and be sacredly applied to the cause of this mission."

But in all of this work McCoy did not forget his personal religion. He was a God-fearing man. On one occasion he wrote:<sup>10</sup>

I am unworthy of favour, yet I am in many respects favoured—to Him with tears, I appeal for help, for myself and family—to Him who has been our help in days that are past, and who is our hope for days to come. O what should I do had I not a God to go to, and to whose care to commit my dear—lonely—companion, and our dear babes, the mission and all connected therewith! Here alone I find comfort . . . O that God would prepare me for all the duties of this service [to the Indians].

Edward and Spencer W. Cone, in the *Life of Spencer H. Cone*, say of McCoy:<sup>11</sup>

Isaac McCoy was one of the most loveable men we ever had the happiness of being acquainted with. Living his whole life amongst wild Indian tribes, and wilder frontiersmen; living a life of exposure, vicissitude and hardships scarcely to be described; always in the saddle or the camp, and every day risking life and limb to preach the Gospel amongst those whom all the rest of the world seemed to conspire to destroy or forget—his mind and manners, instead of becoming rude and hard in these rough uses and associations, grew all the while, softer, holier, and more loving. Nothing could be finer than his manners. Never familiar, and carrying in his quiet eye an indescribably something which prevented anyone from ever being familiar with him, he never repelled. On the contrary, he attracted; children loved him. Men were compelled to feel, in his company, that they were near something good, kind and noble. The warm coloring of the heart tinged his words and manners, quiet as they were, in everything he did or said. If you had done anything true or good you knew he loved you for it. When he looked at you, you felt there was no selfish thought or scheme working in his mind; but that he was thinking what he could do for your benefit or happiness, or for the benefit of some poor soul that was in need of others' help and kindness.

### 3. HARDSHIPS AND WORK OF MISSIONARIES

Speaking of missionaries in general, Noble L. Prentis writes:<sup>12</sup>

The missionaries were heroic pioneers of Kansas. They invented phonetic alphabets; they created written languages, wrote dictionaries and song books, and gave the Indian the Bible and the Christian religion. They went into the rude lodges and wigwams and cared for the sick and the dying. They suffered from poverty and often from savage cruelty; they sacrificed home and friends, and many died alone on the prairie that the Indians might know the better way and the higher life.

The following quotations are taken from McCoy's *Journal*: July 13, 1828:

10. *Journal*, October 4, 1828.

11. Quoted in Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 233-234.

Spencer H. Cone was a close friend of McCoy's and Cone's sons, Edward and Spencer W., probably were too, so this quotation might be a little colored.

12. Prentis, *History of Kansas*. Topeka, 1909, 63.



The parting with my dear wife and babe after they had accompanied us one day and night, was rendered doubly hard by the circumstance of my being so sick as to be scarcely able to sit on my horse at the time of our adieu. . . .

September 11, 1828:

I have for myself a lonesome time. No one is with me who feels interested in the enterprise beyond his own immediate comfort, or with whom I can indulge as an associate. The Indians are exceedingly careless and improvident. Willing to do anything I tell them, but will not put themselves to the trouble of *thinking*. . . .

July 6, 1828:

I feel myself inadequate to these responsibilities [of allocating the Indians in a country of their own]. The particulars of this inadequacy need not be entered in my journal. But under a sense of dependence of God I have asked of *Him* the appointment which I now have received—and to *Him* I look for abilities to perform its duties. . . .

November 5, 1830:

After we completed our survey, we turned on to a creek, and were looking for an encampment—the day calm and fair—when suddenly the atmosphere became darkened by a cloud of dust and ashes from the recently burnt prairies occasioned by a sudden wind from the north. It was not three minutes after I had first discovered its approach, before the sun was concealed, and the darkness so great, that I could not distinguish objects more than three or four times the length of my horse. The dust, sand, and ashes were so dense that one appeared in danger of suffocation. The wind driving into ones eyes seemed like destroying them.

Other storms of similar character were encountered. On one occasion, the dust was so thick and “it being very difficult for me to look at my pocket compass I told the soldier who had just returned, to lead us back.”<sup>13</sup>

Also under physical conditions would come the scarcity of grass for the horses and the scarcity of food for the men on these exploring trips.<sup>14</sup>

In regard to drinking:

Shawaunukwuk, one of the Potawatomes<sup>15</sup> who are to accompany me, went day before yesterday to see some of his friends, and commenced drinking. Yesterday I sent twice after him, but could not get him home. This morning I sent for him early. He came but had sold his shirt which we had given him a few days since, for whiskey, and had abused an outer garment which I had lent him.

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13. *Journal*, October 18, 1830.

14. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1828.

15. McCoy used the spelling “Putawatomie” instead of “Potawatomi” all of the time.

Concerning the Indians: <sup>16</sup>

When I look among the Indians, I find them barbarous & wild, ignorant, cruel & deceitful. If I live among them I must bear with their uncouth manners & insults, I must be exposed to hunger, wet, & cold. I must, with small exceptions be denied the luxuries of life, the comforts of society, the aid of physicians, & the consoling voice of friends. I shall never hereafter lay up, by personal service, a shilling for the widow & orphans which I shall probably in a few years, leave in the wilds of wabash, or arkansas, & lastly I must probably die without seeing much fruit of my labours, only that I have prepared the way for others to follow. This colouring, my brother is not too high . . . For I assure you, my brother, that every opposing difficulty, the opposition of the assn. not excepted, has only tended to increase my missionary ardour. May my merciful God forgive me if I be wrong, and set me right. I would rather be a missionary to the Indians than fill the President's chair, or sit on the throne of Alexander, emperour of Russia. I would rather preach Jesus to the poor Indians in a bark camp, than address the thousands who assemble in Sansom Street meeting hous, philadel. Something has turned my attention towards the Indians, & every feeling of my soul is enlisted in their cause, yet still I may be wrong. But I feel not the least inclination to turn back, but would drive on with the vehemence of Peter, the meekness of Moses, & the wisdom of Solomon.

## 4. MCCOY'S WORK IN INDIANA

After receiving his appointment as a missionary McCoy settled among the Wea Indians and on January 1, 1819, opened a school. The students consisted of six children from the frontier white settlements and one Indian boy.<sup>17</sup> Later the number was increased to twenty, and about one-half were Indians.<sup>18</sup> This school was located on Raccoon creek in what is now Parke county, Indiana.

McCoy had reasons to believe that the Board <sup>19</sup> would not continue its support of the mission after the year had lapsed. The probable reasons for this belief was the unpopularity of Indian missions at that time, and the popularity of foreign missions. The Board, too, was more interested in Columbian College, a Baptist school in Washington, D. C. In spite of these fears the Board continued its support.

The school among the Weas had to close after one year. Lyons gives the following reasons for this: <sup>20</sup>

First, the location was not the most central place for the Indians. Second, it was too near the approaching white settlers. And third, the Catholic church

16. *Letter, McCoy to Samuel Dedman, January 12, 1820, answering Dedman's criticisms, MS & Letters, 1808-1847, vol. II. (Kansas State Historical Society Library, Topeka.)*

17. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 54.

18. *Ibid.*, 68.

19. The Board of Managers of the Baptist Missionary Convention will be referred to as "The Board" after this.

20. Lyons, *op. cit.*, 18.

had done work in previous years over this same territory and McCoy felt that the opposition from that source was too strong to be overcome.

By necessity and not by choice, the school was moved to Fort Wayne, the central point between the Shawnee, Potawatomi, and Miami. In May, 1820, the school opened and by the last of May, twenty-five pupils were enrolled, "ten English scholars, six French, eight Indians, and one negro."<sup>21</sup> Until 1822 the school prospered, but because McCoy was anxious to get into the heart of the Indian country the school was moved again among the Potawatomi and Ottawa Indians at their request.

For some reason or other the Board was unable or unwilling to cooperate with McCoy's work and plans. McCoy had visions of a greater work among the Indians, which later developed into his plan for colonization of the Indians, than the Board could ever conceive. It seems that the Board wanted McCoy to stay in his field and do a limited piece of work. Concerning this, Sprague<sup>22</sup> states:

It is well known that his [McCoy's] views and proceedings in this matter (colonization of the Indians) were not in harmony with the predominant wishes of the Board of Missions in Boston. Once or twice they were on the eve of sundering his connection with them, when the influence of his intrepid friend and advocate, Dr. Cone, with some others, saved him.

It was while McCoy was at Fort Wayne, too, that financial difficulties started. The funds from the Board were not sufficient to carry out the program that he proposed, and McCoy borrowed money to carry on. Later on a trip to Ohio was made for the sole purpose of borrowing money. McCoy had reached the place where he had to borrow money to pay back borrowed money.<sup>23</sup>

When McCoy heard that there was an important treaty to be negotiated with the Potawatomi, Miami, and Ottawa at Chicago in 1821, he strove to get educational measures in the treaty, and succeeded. According to the treaty the United States was to pay the Ottawa Indians \$1,000 annually forever and \$1,500 annually for ten years to support a blacksmith, teacher and person to instruct in agriculture.<sup>24</sup> The Potawatomi Indians were to receive \$5,000 annually for twenty years and also \$1,000 annually for fifteen years in support of a blacksmith, and a teacher.<sup>25</sup>

21. McCoy, *History of Bap. Ind. Miss.*, 75.

22. Sprague, *Annals of American Baptist Pulpit*, 547. (Quoted in Lyons, *op. cit.*, 20.)

23. McCoy, *op. cit.*, 86.

24. *United States Statutes at Large. Treaties between the United States and Indian Tribes, 1789-1845*, Richard Peters, ed. Boston, 1850, VII, 218.

25. *Ibid.*, 219.

The Ottawa and Potawatomi each gave one square mile of land where the blacksmith and teachers were to reside. The Ottawa gave land on the north side of the Grand river and the Potawatomi gave land on the south side of the St. Joseph river.<sup>26</sup>

McCoy was appointed to be the teacher of the Potawatomi. A similar setup was planned for the Ottawa. The person employed for teaching the Ottawa was to be under McCoy's superintendency.<sup>27</sup>

#### 5. MCCOY'S WORK IN MICHIGAN

So in 1832 the mission was again moved, this time to southern Michigan. Carey Mission was established near the present city of Niles among the Potawatomi. Thomas station was erected on the present site of Grand Rapids in 1823. The blacksmith shop for Thomas station was on the Kalamazoo river.<sup>28</sup>

McCoy wanted to establish a mission among the Miami also. Concerning this he wrote:<sup>29</sup>

But, alas! I was never able to find a man suitable qualified, and willing to labour as a missionary for that tribe. [Miami] Most of the tribe continued on the same ground to this present time [1839] in wretched condition, and constantly diminishing in number. . . .

Under the direction of McCoy, Rev. Abel Bingham was sent to Sault de Ste. Marie in 1829.<sup>30</sup> Sault de Ste. Marie was at that time a center for traders on the St. Mary's river in northern Michigan. A mission was established there, and in 1839 Rev. and Mrs. Abel Bingham from New York, Rev. J. D. Cameron, a former Episcopalian minister whose views on baptism and church government became changed, Miss Mary Rice, and Shegud, a native, were all at Sault de Ste. Marie. This mission was located among the Chippewa Indians at the present site of Sault de Ste. Marie, Michigan.

Many difficulties faced McCoy while he labored among these Indians in Michigan, but on the whole, the stations, especially Carey, were successful. Sickness during the first year just about put an end to that school and mission.<sup>31</sup> Traders selling whisky turned out to be a large problem, and the "use of ardent spirits presented the most formidable obstacle to Indian reform."<sup>32</sup> All of the difficulties can be summed up in this quotation:<sup>33</sup>

26. *Ibid.*, 220.

27. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 114.

28. McCoy preferred the spelling "Kenkenmazoo" to "Kallamazoo." *Ibid.*, footnote, 191.

29. *Ibid.*, 124.

30. *History of American Missions*. Worcester, 1840, 488.

31. *Journal*, August and September, 1822.

32. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 143.

33. *Ibid.*, 162.

How dark are the late dealings of providence! The very existance of the mission seems to be menaced. The sick at the establishment suffering for want of attention; the school suspended; some of the missionaries have forsaken the field, [Mr. and Mrs. Giles Jackson] and others will probably soon follow; [Mr. and Mrs. John Sears] important business requiring my presence in the white settlements, and still more important business will demand my presence a few days hence at Fort Wayne, while I am forbidden to go to either place; my family sick yonder, and I sick here, in a place in which the thought of being confined is intolerable; [in cabin 60 miles from home on way to Ohio] some important engagements with the Miamies and Ottawas in danger of being thwarted; to which may be added many other discouragements, so that the cloud becomes gloomy and the day dark! 'Yet through the stormy cloud, I'll look once more to Thee, my God.'

But in spite of these difficulties, Carey, Thomas, and Sault de Ste. Marie prospered. Tours were made among the Indians, the number of students increased, and friends of the missions became more numerous. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan, wrote the following to McCoy:<sup>34</sup>

Your report and that of Mr. Noble are entirely satisfactory. The affairs of your agency appear to be in the best condition, and, if the experiment is ever to be successful, I am satisfied you will make it so.

It is also deserving to note that from this time, June 18, 1824, until Carey mission closed in 1830, that no funds were drawn from the Board of Missions for expenses, except those donations made especially for Carey.<sup>35</sup>

It was while McCoy was at Carey that seven Indian students were placed in the Baptist Theological Institution at Hamilton, New York, after being refused at Columbian College. One main reason for this was the belief that "Indians suitably qualified could render more service to barbarous and wicked countrymen than whites."<sup>36</sup>

In 1828 McCoy made two exploring expeditions into the proposed Indian territory<sup>37</sup> and in 1830 he made an expedition for the purpose of surveying land for the Indians.<sup>38</sup>

## 6. MRS. MCCOY AND THE MCCOY FAMILY

Mrs. McCoy and the rest of the McCoy family contributed much to McCoy's success in his missionary efforts.

Often, when McCoy had to be away from the mission, Mrs. McCoy managed the establishment herself. She kept house at the mis-

34. Dec. 1, 1823, (McCoy, *Hist. of Bap. Ind. Miss.*, 218.)

35. *Ibid.*, 223.

36. *Ibid.*, 271-272.

37. See Chapter III, section 1 of this paper.

38. This, however, will come in Chapter IV on McCoy's work for Indian colonization.

sion as well as taught and directed the girls in work. She went into the wilderness with her husband, and suffered privation and sickness because of the isolation from civilization and because of the insanitary conditions existing among an uncivilized people. McCoy said of her: "none will be able to form an adequate idea of what she has borne."<sup>39</sup>

The McCoy's had fourteen children,<sup>40</sup> eleven of whom died during the time their parents were missionaries.

39. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 62.

40. Mahala—born August 10, 1804, died August 31, 1818.

Rice—born Jan. 26, 1807, died May 26, 1832.

Josephus—born April 13, 1808, died June 30, 1830.

Delilah—born Nov. 24, 1809, married Johnston Lykins, February 27, 1827.

John Calvin—born September 28, 1811.

Elizabeth—born Aug. 17, 1813, died Aug. 13, 1822.

Sarah—born April 13, 1815, married to Thomas J. Givvens, September 10, 1833, died March 2, 1835.

Christiana—born October 18, 1816, married to William T. Ward, May 2, 1833, died February 10, 1837.

Nancy Judson—born February 26, 1819.

Eleanor—born July 29, 1821, married William Smith Donahoe, Aug. 23, 1837, died Jan. 11, 1839.

Maria Staughton—born Nov. 29, 1823, died Oct. 20, 1824.

Isaac—born April 7, 1825.

Charles—February 2, 1828, died July 21, 1831.

Infant son born and died on April 9, 1831.

Taken from family record. (*MS & Letters*, I, 9.)

## CHAPTER III

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### MCCOY'S PROPOSED PLAN FOR INDIAN COLONIZATION

There has been some question as to just who originated the plan of Indian colonization. It is true that some men advocated this policy before the time of McCoy,<sup>1</sup> but all of these plans were rather indefinite and nothing ever came of them. William W. Harris wrote in regard to this point: <sup>2</sup>

There is ample documentary evidence to show that the definite plan for the concentration of all tribes in one general area lying west of Illinois, Missouri, and the territory of Arkansas, and beyond the confines of our group of states and territories, was inaugurated by the Rev. Isaac McCoy, one of our early settlers. [In Westport, now Kansas City, Missouri.]

McCoy's first plans for Indian colonization are recorded in his *Journal*<sup>3</sup> as well as included in his *History of Baptist Indian Missions*.<sup>4</sup> In the latter he states:

At this time [June 4, 1823, returning to Carey Mission] I formed the resolution that I would, Providence permitting, thenceforward keep steadily in view and endeavor to promote a plan for colonizing the natives in a country to be made forever theirs, west of the state of Missouri, &c., and from that time until the present [1839] I have considered the promotion of this design as the most important business of my life.

This plan came about as a result of McCoy's reflection on the discouragements attending all of the missionary efforts for the Indians.<sup>5</sup>

The results of the advancement of the frontier closer to the then "wilderness" is brought out in this quotation: <sup>6</sup>

A state of things affecting the interests of the natives most unfavorable was becoming apparent. Lands had been ceded by them to the United States—some not a mile distant—and adventurers and worthless characters of the white settlements were promptly on the frontiers with whiskey to sell, and demoralizing habits to bestow, as evidence of the kind of interest they felt in the future of the Red Man. The missionaries remonstrated with them, but with no effect; they threatened, but with no better result. The law seemed to have no power to deter, and though the facts were officially presented to Governor Cass, it was supposed that the evil could not be corrected. . . .

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1. See Annie H. Abel, "Proposals for an Indian State." (*American Historical Association Annual Report for 1907*. Washington, 1908, I, 87-104.)

2. William W. Harris, "Westport Pioneer Launched Plan to Colonize Indians." (*Kansas City Star*, June 25, 1933, 1C.)

3. June 4, 1823.

4. Page 197.

5. Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

6. *Ibid.*, 101.

"The measure of allocating the Indians in a country of *their own* under suitable provisions of our government, is the only one in which we can discover grounds to hope for their preservation,"<sup>7</sup> wrote McCoy; and again, "The only feasible plan for reforming the Indians, is that of colonizing them,"<sup>8</sup> so McCoy's work was centered around a plan for the colonization of the Indians.

Concerning the removal of the Indians McCoy stated:<sup>9</sup>

We could point to the precise spot [in the Indian Territory] on which we designed to locate them, could show them their relations on the ground, the provisions in schools, smitheries, &c. made for their accommodation . . . . They would clearly perceive that the measure was very unlike the ordinary affair of removing back the Indians, merely for the sake of ridding ourselves of their trouble, and leaving them destitute of efficient means of improvement. Under these circumstances, not a shadow of doubt can exist, that the majority of tribes would readily accept the offers of our government.

In his *Report to the War Department on the Country Reserved for the Indians West of the Mississippi River*, McCoy reported:<sup>10</sup>

Could the spirit of uniting in one territory be instilled into them [the Indians], I am persuaded that hopes unknown before would animate every tribe, and lead to virtue, industry and enterprize. The better informed, and those in more comfortable condition, would have the ascendancy among their less fortunate brethren, while the latter would profit by the talents and the enterprize of the former.

#### 1. LOCATION

McCoy wanted territory set apart for the exclusive occupation by all Indians then east of the Mississippi river. In 1828, when McCoy wrote *Thoughts Respecting the Indian Territory*<sup>11</sup> he described the following place for the colonization of the Indians:

Between Arkans [as] Ter., State of Missouri, & Missouri river on the one side, and the Rocky Mountains and Mexican Territories on the other side is the proper place for the colony. From Mexican Territory on the south it should extend North about 500 miles-as far as a general bend in Missouri river which in ascending, bears for a great distance, almost directly towards the mountains, as if intended to mark the northern limits of the territory.

This was rather indefinite, but in the same paper McCoy stated that Congress ought to describe the Territory of the Indians. A while later a more definite boundary was described by McCoy:<sup>12</sup>

7. *Journal*, July 6, 1828.

8. McCoy, *Remarks on the Practicability of Indian Reform*. New York, 1829.

9. *Ibid.*, 39.

10. *Executive Documents of the House of Representatives*. Washington, 1832, IV, Doc. No. 172, 11.

11. McCoy's *MS. and Letters*, XVI.

12. *History of American Missions*, Joseph Tracy, compiler. Worcester, 1840, 540.



Beginning on Red River, east of the Mexican boundary, and as far west of Arkansas Territory as the country is habitable, thence down Red river eastwardly to Arkansas Territory, thence northwardly along the line of the Arkansas Territory to the state of Missouri, thence up Missouri river to Pimcah [probably Ponca] river; thence westwardly as far as the country is habitable, and thence southwardly to the beginning.

A still later specification of the boundaries appeared in the Organization bills of 1836 and 1837<sup>13</sup> which is more definite than either of these two.

McCoy insisted that no other place than the territory west of Missouri would do for his plan. The northern territories owned by the United States would be too cold for the southern Indians, and then, too, the commerce around the Great Lakes would eventually crowd them out. "If, therefore, the country west of the Mississippi should be inadequate, it appears to some, that the fate of the Indians on our borders and within the States must be considered as *sealed*—they *must perish!*"<sup>14</sup>

## 2. DIVISION OF LANDS AND LAND GUARANTEES

According to McCoy's plans, the territory was to be divided "into counties according to the location of the several tribes, or if very small, two or more remnants of tribes might be embraced in one county."<sup>15</sup> Each county was to have a county seat or a place of business.

Land patents were to be granted to the Indian tribes and the individual Indians<sup>16</sup> thus making the land secure to the Indians, and free from invasion by the advancing whites. Granting land patents to the individual Indians would eliminate partially the evil connected with the treaty system, by which the chief sold or traded the land as he pleased.<sup>17</sup>

In 1831, McCoy recorded in his *Journal*:<sup>18</sup>

I was much gratified to find that the Sec. War had consented to reserve a portion of central territory as a common ground and for their [the Indians'] seat of government . . . . This is a matter which we have repeatedly recommended. I have reason to believe that the ideas which we have suggested on many particular points have been noticed, and have had their influence.

13. See Chapter VII, sections 1 and 3 of this paper.

14. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 325.

15. McCoy, *MS and Letters*, XVI.

16. See Chapter VII, section 1 of this paper.

17. See Chapter I of this paper.

18. April 2, 1831.

This proposed capital of the Indian Territory that McCoy referred to was to have been located where the present city of Ottawa, Kansas, now is.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. FARM OF GOVERNMENT<sup>20</sup>

As mentioned above, a portion of the territory was to be reserved as the seat of government for the Indian Territory. Congress was to provide a government to suit the situation, which should not differ much from the common territorial form. "It [the Territory] should be supplied with a governor, secretary, two judges, a district attorney, 4 other attorneys, only one of whom may engage for the same client."

Each county should be provided with two or three associate judges, selected from among the natives of each tribe, to serve in the counties to which they belong, in conjunction with the district judges, and each county should be provided with the necessary county clerks of Indian extraction. . . .

A sheriff, and as necessity should require, one or more deputies of Indian extraction should be provided for each county, who should also perform the minor duties of that order usually among the whites assigned to constables until the amount of business in that line in any county should render requisite the office of constable.

Each county should have a proper number of civil magistrates according to its population, situation and circumstances, from whose decisions there should be liberty for appeal to court.

The governor (in conjunction with the district judges) should provide laws for the government of the territory agreeable to regulations by which laws have commonly been provided in the first grades of territorial government. He should appoint associate judges, county clerks, sheriffs, and magistrates and inferior county officers when circumstances should mature affairs into a want of them. He should be ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs within the territory.

An agent, or sub-agent, or both, or more; according to number, location, and other circumstances, should be appointed to each tribe, or if small and suitable located two or more bands might be embraced in one agency or sub-agency.<sup>21</sup>

Later developments of McCoy's plans concerning the government of the Territory can be noticed in the Organization bills of 1836 and 1837.<sup>22</sup>

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19. Residents of Ottawa say that the territory which is now Ottawa was surveyed by McCoy for the capital of the Territory. However, no records were found to prove this.

20. Taken from McCoy, *Thoughts Respecting Indian Territory*.

21. McCoy later advocated a decrease in the number of Indian agencies if not their complete abolition. See *Journal*, November 22, 1833.

22. See Chapter VII, sec. 1 and 3.

## 4. TRADE AND INTERCOURSE

Trade was to be "laid under restrictions not hitherto applied to the Indians"<sup>23</sup> with no thought that the laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians needed to be changed a great deal for use in the Territory.

Traders were to be licensed and the introduction of intoxicating liquors was to be prohibited. All officers, traders, and missionaries within the territory would be dismissed from the territory upon violation of these restrictions.<sup>24</sup>

## 5. SCHOOLS, MISSIONS, AND IMPROVEMENTS

"Funds for education and improvement [in] agriculture and mechanic arts" were to be placed at the disposal of the President of the United States for the Indians.<sup>25</sup> Missionary establishments were to be established among all of the Indians that desired them, under the direction of the President by the Secretary of War.

A system of pre-schools was favored by McCoy to be located in various sections of the Indian Territory,<sup>26</sup> and he had hopes of establishing an Indian college "for the benefit of all the tribes" at the proposed seat of government.<sup>27</sup>

## 6. RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES

All officers of the territorial government were to be paid by the United States,<sup>28</sup> and as mentioned before the President of the United States, directly or indirectly, was to control certain appointments, the establishment of schools, missions, and the distribution of funds for certain improvements of the Indians.

According to the Organization bills of 1836 and 1837, the President would have a part in the legislation of the council if the Superintendent and the council could not come to an agreement.<sup>29</sup>

A delegate of the territory was to remain in Washington during sessions of Congress "to attend to the affairs of the confederacy,"<sup>29</sup>

23. McCoy, *Thoughts Respecting the Indian Territory*.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Journal*, Nov. 22, 1833.

27. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1831. A college was eventually established for the Indians at Ottawa. It is now Ottawa University and is no longer a school for Indians, although many Indians have attended Ottawa University since the difficulty arising between the Indians and whites, when the college became a college for white people.

28. McCoy, *Thoughts Respecting the Indian Territory*.

29. See Chapter VII, sec. 1 and 3 of this paper.

and the President was to have the same control over the Indians that he had before their removal to the west.

This plan of McCoy's went through a period of evolution from 1823 to 1839. As the years went by, the plan became more and more specific and definite, and as parts of the plan were fulfilled by acts of Congress or other ways, McCoy began using his influence for the fulfillment of other parts of his plan. The organization bills of 1836-37 contained parts of McCoy's plan for Indian Colonization.

## CHAPTER IV

## INDIANS AMONG WHOM McCOY WORKED

During the time that McCoy worked with the Indians, he came in contact with many Indian tribes. His work before his removal to Indian territory was confined mainly to three tribes; Miami, Potawatomi, and Ottawa. After his removal, McCoy continued to work among these tribes along with many more. The Shawnee, Choctaw, and Creeks, along with the first three mentioned, made up the most important tribes among whom McCoy worked during his life as a missionary and Indian agent.

Minor contacts were made with major Indian tribes, and major ones were made with minor Indian tribes, but the time and space does not permit a discussion of all the tribes among whom McCoy worked. Therefore this section will be limited to a discussion of the Miami, Ottawa, Shawnee, Choctaw, and Creeks.

1. MIAMI<sup>1</sup>

The Miami are an Algonquian tribe which inhabited the southern shores of Lake Michigan, extending into northern Indiana and into southwestern Michigan at the time McCoy began his missionary work. McCoy's first missionary venture was with the Wea Indians,<sup>2</sup> which is one of the six bands of the Miami,<sup>3</sup> with their headquarters near the vicinity of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

In treaty negotiations, the Miami were looked on as the owners of the Wabash country and all of western Ohio. All other tribes in that region were considered as intruders.<sup>4</sup> The Miami were described as hard working and "distinguished for polite manners, mild, affable, and sedate character" and also for the respect they have for their chiefs.<sup>5</sup> The sun and thunder was the object of their worship according to early explorers.

The Miami took a prominent part in the Indian wars in Ohio during the time that they had settlements on the Miami river in that state. Soon after the war of 1812 they began selling their land, and by 1827 they had removed to the present state of Kansas,

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1. Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 2 vol. Washington, 1912, used as an authority for spelling of Indian names.

2. See Chapter 2, section 4 of this paper.

3. Hodge, *op. cit.*, I, 858.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 853.

5. *Ibid.*, I, 853.

and later into that part of the Indian territory which is now Oklahoma.

The population of the Miami, Eel River Indians, and Wea was given as 1,400 in 1825, 327 being Wea Indians.<sup>6</sup> After the removal to the west they rapidly decreased.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. POTAWATOMI

The Potawatomi is another of the Algonquian tribes, and when first heard of were settled on the islands of Green Bay, Wisconsin. The Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa were originally one tribe according to the traditions of all three of these tribes. They were separated at Mackinaw, Michigan, after their removal from Wisconsin.<sup>8</sup> By 1700 the Potawatomi had moved southward and settled on the Milwaukee river at Chicago, and by 1800 they had moved into the Miami territory on the Wabash amidst protests of the Miami. At the time of McCoy's work among them in Indiana, the Potawatomi were in possession of the land around Lake Michigan from the Milwaukee river in Wisconsin to the Grand river in Michigan, extending southwest into northern Illinois, east across Michigan to Lake Erie and south in Indiana to the Wabash and as "far down as Pine Creek."<sup>9</sup>

The Potawatomi were friendly to the French until the last of the eighteenth century. In 1775 and again in 1812 this tribe took up arms against the United States. A final treaty was made with them in 1815.<sup>10</sup>

Pressed by white settlers, the Potawatomi sold their land piecemeal between 1836 and 1841, and moved west of the Mississippi. They resided in Kansas until 1868, then removed to Oklahoma.

A description of the Potawatomi given by Frederick Hodge<sup>11</sup> corresponds with that given by Alexander Wolcott, United States Indian agent in Chicago from 1820-1830. He wrote of the Indians around the territory of Chicago, which would be mainly Potawatomi at that time:<sup>12</sup>

The savages of this neighborhood are remarkably indolent, holding all labors except those of the chase, in utter contempt. They say that obliging them to labor is reducing them to a state of slavery which they consider the greatest of evils.

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6. *Ibid.*, I, 854.

7. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 124.

8. Hodge, *op. cit.*, II, 168.

9. *Ibid.*, II, 290.

10. *Ibid.*, II, 290.

11. *Ibid.*, II, 291.

12. Letter, Wolcott to McCoy, January 3, 1821, *MS & Letters*, vol. III.

Robberies and murders were common among the Potawatomi. Polygamy was practiced in the seventeenth century and was mentioned by McCoy as late as 1825.

Before the introduction of Christianity the Potawatomi worshipped the sun, to some extent. After the introduction of Christianity they believed that there were two spirits that governed the world:<sup>13</sup>

One is called Kitchemonedo, or the Great Spirit; the other Matchemonedo, or the Evil Spirit; the first is good and beneficent, the other wicked. But all this is the result of Christian teaching.

### 3. OTTAWA

The Ottawa Indians, according to tradition as mentioned before, separated from the Potawatomi and Chippewa during the time they were in Michigan.<sup>14</sup> The Ottawa moved about between 1600 and 1700, becoming settled on the west shore of Lake Huron between Saginaw Bay and Detroit about 1700.<sup>15</sup> From here they spread out, moving south to the St. Joseph river, into southern Wisconsin and northeast Illinois. Like the Potawatomi, the Ottawa were active in the Indian wars until the War of 1812.

Lands on the west shore of Lake Michigan were ceded to the United States by various treaties, and by 1833 the last of the land was ceded and the Ottawa had agreed to remove to northeast Kansas and settle on the Missouri river.

The Ottawa of Blanchard's fork of Great Auglaine river and of Roche de Boeuf on Maumee river, who had lived in Ohio, moved to Kansas in 1832 and later to Oklahoma where they now are.

In spite of the removal, the great body of Ottawa Indians remained in southern Michigan where they still are, scattered in small villages.

"Charlesvoix says the Ottawa were one of the rudest nations of Canada, cruel and barbarous to an unusual degree and sometimes guilty of cannibalism."<sup>16</sup> In spite of this there seemed to be a tendency toward improvement during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This tribe of Algonquian Indians was known among tribes as intertribal traders "dealing chiefly in corn-meal, sunflower oil, furs and skins, rugs or mats, tobacco and medicinal roots and herbs."<sup>17</sup>

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13. Hodge, *op. cit.*, II, 290.

14. See Chapter 4, section 2 of this paper.

15. Hodge, *op. cit.*, II, 170.

16. *Ibid.*, II, 170.

17. *Ibid.*, II, 167.

The total population of the Ottawa in 1900 was approximately 4,700.<sup>18</sup>

#### 4. SHAWNEE

The Shawnee were once a southern tribe residing in Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The term "Savannah" was applied to this tribe also. Between 1690 and 1720 the southern Shawnee moved north, probably because of the dissatisfaction with the English settlers.<sup>19</sup>

During the first forty years in Ohio the Shawnee were continually fighting the English or the Americans. In 1795, at the end of the long wars in Ohio, the Shawnee had to leave the Miami river in Ohio. Some settled on White river in Indiana and some went to Cape Girardeau,<sup>20</sup>

The noted Tecumseh and his brother, The Prophet, were members of the Shawnee tribe in Indiana at the time of the battle of Tippecanoe, where Harrison was victorious.

The Shawnee in Missouri sold their land in 1825 and removed to Kansas. Those in Ohio sold out in 1831 and joined their kin in Kansas. About 1845 many of the tribe left Kansas and settled in Oklahoma.

In 1817 there were approximately 2,000 Shawnee. The number in 1909 totaled somewhere around 1,400.<sup>21</sup>

#### 5. CREEKS

The Creeks formed a confederacy of the largest division of the Muskogean family, who formerly lived in Alabama and Georgia. A removal to the west was effected between 1836 and 1840.<sup>22</sup> The Creeks were considered the most advanced in husbandry and culture of all of the Muskogean stock. The Choctaw were considered second.<sup>23</sup>

After the removal to the Indian territory, the estimated number was between 15,000 and 20,000.<sup>24</sup> Another figure places the number at 14,888 in 1857.<sup>25</sup>

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18. *Ibid.*, II, 171.

19. *Ibid.*, II, 535.

20. *Ibid.*, II, 536.

21. *Ibid.*, II, 536.

22. *Ibid.*, I, 363.

23. "Choctaw" (*The Americana*, New York, 1929, VI, 521).

24. Hodge, *op. cit.*, I, 364.

25. "Creeks" (*The Americana*, VIII, 176).



## 6. CHOCTAW

The Choctaw are an important tribe of the Muskogean stock. They formerly resided in the middle and southern part of Mississippi. In 1832 they migrated to the Indian territory, ceding most of their land to the United States.<sup>26</sup> The Chickasaw are one of the subdivisions of the Choctaw.<sup>27</sup>

The Choctaw were considered the agriculturalists of the southern Indians. They were brave, but fought defensive wars.

In 1700 there were approximately 15,000 to 20,000 Choctaw.<sup>28</sup>

Regarding Indians in general, McCoy wrote: "When I look among the Indians I find them barbarous & wild, ignorant, cruel & deceitful."<sup>29</sup> Again, he recorded in his *Journal*: "The Indians are exceedingly careless and improvident. Willing to do anything I tell them, but will not put themselves to the trouble of thinking."<sup>30</sup>

Many of the Indians took to drinking and on several occasions McCoy referred to it.<sup>31</sup> It aided the downfall of many tribes.

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26. Hodge, *op. cit.*, I, 288.

27. "Choctaw" (*The Americana*, VI, 581).

28. Hodge, *op. cit.*, I, 289.

29. See Chapter 3, section 3 of this paper.

30. September 11, 1828.

31. *Journal*, October 9, 1828, and July 2, 1828.

## CHAPTER V

## WORK FOR COLONIZATION PRIOR TO 1830

## 1. IN MICHIGAN AND THE EAST

McCoy's first plans for Indian colonization have been discussed above.<sup>1</sup> During the same month of the same year, June, 1823,<sup>2</sup> Rev. McCoy wrote to several influential men with the probable thought of interesting these men in his plan so it might secure a passage through Congress. Among these men were: Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan territory; Col. R. M. Johnson and John T. Johnson, members of Congress; and John Johnson of Ohio, and William Polke of Indiana.<sup>3</sup> The answers received by McCoy from these men gave him little hope for coöperation, but he went ahead to give everything in his power for promotion of his plan.

Writing also to the Board of Missions, McCoy received a more encouraging response. Dr. Staughton, Mr. Luther Rice, and the Rev. McCoy were to lay the plans for Indian colonization before the President, James Monroe, to find out his views on the practicability of the plan. The committee of three failed to obtain an audience with the president at this time, but the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, promised action of some sort. "He [Calhoun] not only approved the plan, but argued its practicability, and said that nothing was wanting to insure success, but a right feeling in Congress . . ."<sup>4</sup> So at once a program was started to "induce right views and feelings on the subject in others."<sup>5</sup>

After McCoy left Washington, the plan for colonization was neglected. The Board of Missions was too busy with Columbian College to give the plan attention, and Congress had more important things to consider. However the plan for Indian Colonization was mentioned in Monroe's message to Congress in December of 1824:<sup>6</sup>

The condition of the aborigines within our limits . . . merits likewise particular attention. Experience has shown that unless the tribes be civilized they can never be incorporated into our system in any form whatever. It has

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1. See Chapter 3 of this paper.

2. McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, page 200, gives the date of this as 1822, but it is probably a typographical error. McCoy's *Journal* for June 23, 1823, records a notice of the correspondence.

3. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 200.

4. *Ibid.*, 218.

5. *Ibid.*, 218.

6. James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Washington, 1896, II, 261.

likewise shown that in the regular augmentation of our population with the extension of our settlements their situation will become deplorable, if their extinction is not menaced. Some well digested plan which will rescue them from such calamities is due to their rights, to the rights of humanity, and to the honor of the nation. Their civilization is indispensable to their safety and this can be accomplished only by degrees. The process must commence with the infant state, through whom some effect may be wrought on the parental. Difficulties of the most serious character present themselves to the attainment of this very desirable result on the territory on which they now reside. To remove them from it by force, even with a view to their own security and happiness, would be revolting to humanity and utterly unjustifiable. Between the limits of our present States and Territories and the Rocky Mountains and Mexico there is a vast territory to which they might be invited with inducements which might be successful. It is thought if that territory should be divided into districts by previous agreement with the tribes now residing there and civil governments be established in each, with school for every branch of instruction in literature, and the arts of civilized life, that all the tribes now within our limits might gradually be drawn there. The execution of this plan would necessarily be attended with expense, and that not inconsiderable, but it is doubted whether any other can be devised which would be less liable to that objection or more likely to succeed.

Annie Heloise Abel wrote concerning the attitude of prominent men on Indian Colonization:<sup>7</sup>

Prominent as the president [James Monroe] and his Secretary of War [John C. Calhoun] appear in those years [1812-1820] to have been as revivalists and propagandists of the removal idea, they were not the soul of the movement, for that was Jackson. . . . Jackson was essentially a western man with western ideas, anxious for western development, no real friend of the Indians.

Later, Conway, a member of the House of Representatives from Arkansas Territory, introduced a resolution in the House which was adopted:<sup>8</sup>

*Resolved*, That the committee on Indian Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of organizing all the territory of the United States lying west of the State of Missouri and Territories of Arkansas and Michigan into a separate territory, to be occupied exclusively by Indians. . . .

This resolution also authorized the President to adopt measures as he thought best to colonize the Indians within this territory. McCoy commented on this resolution, calling attention to the great amount of territory, and stating that only ignorance or ulterior motives could prompt one to include that amount of territory.<sup>9</sup>

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7. "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi." (*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1906*. Washington, 1908, I. 278.)

8. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*. 257.

9. *Ibid.*. 258.

McCoy's action for putting his plan into effect did not center around Washington alone. He thought that "Indians suitable qualified could render more service to barbarous and wicked countrymen than Whites," and accordingly worked with that in mind. Seven Indian students were placed in the Baptist Theological Institution at Hamilton, New York, after being refused at Columbian College,<sup>10</sup> and extended tours were made among the Indian tribes of Michigan and Indiana. Later exploring expeditions were made into proposed Indian territory which included parts of the present states of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Nebraska.

In 1926 McCoy wrote:<sup>11</sup>

Settlement of white people were at this time rapidly multiplying near us, attended with ruinous effects upon the Indians. We resolved to double our diligence to prevent a deterioration among those around us. . . . We were almost invariably treated respectfully, but the devil and whiskey sellers appeared to pull down faster than we could build up; we therefore urged with increased zeal every measure which we thought would promote a settlement of the Indians in the West, and our removal thither.

McCoy suggested going west ahead of the Indians to become "acquainted with the country and inhabitants west of the state of Missouri, by actually residing in and exploring those regions, &c."<sup>12</sup> This was to aid in locating the Indians so they will not "wander & parish, as others have done under similar circumstances."<sup>13</sup> This plan was later carried out in the years 1828 to 1830.

In 1827, McCoy printed, and distributed gratuitously, copies of his book, *Remarks on the Practicability of Indian Reform*.<sup>14</sup> This was circulated widely, copies of it being sent to Congressmen and other influential men.

In December of 1827, McCoy was again in Washington. This time he laid before the House a memorial "praying for the countenance of Government in forming a settlement of Indians in the West."<sup>15</sup> Encouragement was received by the President, John Quincy Adams, and the Secretary of War, James Barbour. On December 14 and December 28 McCoy interviewed the committee of the House of Representatives on Indian Affairs, advocating the plan of Indian colonization.

10. *Ibid.*, 272.

11. *Ibid.*, 274.

12. Letter, McCoy to Stoughton, March 9, 1826 (McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 278).

13. *Loc. cit.*

14. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 321.

15. *Ibid.*, 323.

At this time the action of the Cherokee in Georgia in forming a written constitution of a civil form of government drew attention from every part of the United States. "They declared their right to govern themselves, and to control their own territory and their determination never to alienate their lands."<sup>16</sup> Georgia objected and the removal of the Cherokee to the west became evident. This agitation was important in forming an Indian territory.

After the second exploration expedition of 1828<sup>17</sup> McCoy traveled to Lexington where his family was, and thence to Washington again in January. While in Washington, McCoy recorded in his *Journal*.<sup>18</sup>

I have been at work earnestly about five years or six in the business relating to the removal of the Indians, in which time I have kept pretty much in the background, I thought I could do more by influencing *others to do* who were in authority than by appearing in in [sic] publick fully. I have had the satisfaction to suppose that in an indirect way I had contributed not a little to the stock of ideas and plans suggested by officers of distinction in our government, who also were pleased to partly persuade themselves, and to hold out to the world that they were the real authors of their plans.

I suppose however the time has arrived when it becomes my duty to come out boldly and tell openly what I think ought to be told on this subject. . . .

The Committee on Indian Affairs reported a bill creating appropriations to aid in Indian emigrations, but it failed to pass.<sup>19</sup>

McCoy remained in Washington until he completed the settlement of his accounts for the previous expeditions. These accounts were closed on April 3 and he left Washington on April 5.<sup>20</sup> However before leaving, McCoy proposed another exploration expedition which was turned down for want of adequate funds. He also applied for an Indian agency.

On his way home from the Capitol, McCoy stopped off at Philadelphia for the Baptist Convention during the last of April and the first of May. After much difficulty, McCoy succeeded in getting the Convention to take some action on the Indian colonization plans.<sup>21</sup> But, as usual, all the Convention did was to appoint a delegation to lay a proposition before the President and Secretary of War.<sup>22</sup> So

16. *Ibid.*, 324.

17. See section 2 of this chapter.

18. February 27, 1829.

19. *Journal*, March 8, 1829. Also *MS & Letters*, XVII.

20. *Journal*.

21. *Journal*, May 10, 1829.

22. A copy of the proposition was supposed to be with McCoy's *Journal*, but has been lost or destroyed.

McCoy went again to Washington, this time with Dr. L. Bolles and Mr. Lincoln.<sup>23</sup>

McCoy returned to his family on May 18, 1829, at Lexington, Kentucky, and then back to Carey Mission on June 26.

August, 1829 found the McCoy family established at Fayette, Mo. From that point McCoy made a short tour into the country beyond the Missouri in the early autumn for the purpose of securing additional information about the lands. He spent the months from November, 1829, until June, 1830, in Washington, Boston, and other Eastern cities, working for the bill which would legalize the removal of the Indians to the country west of the Mississippi.

The bill was approved May 28, 1830.<sup>24</sup>

#### EXPLORATION EXPEDITIONS OF 1828 AND 1829

Congress in 1827 made appropriations for exploration of the territory west of the Mississippi by delegations of Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creeks "with a view to the selection of a future home, should they be satisfied with the country."<sup>25</sup> The trip was conducted by Captain George Kennerly of St. Louis, Mo., and Isaac McCoy. A request by McCoy that delegations of Potawatomi and Ottawa go along to help make a more extensive survey than was required, was granted.

The planned expedition of 1828 was made in two trips. McCoy and the delegations of Ottawa and Potawatomi left Carey Mission July 2, 1828, and arrived in St. Louis July 16, where they were to be joined by delegations of Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creeks.<sup>26</sup> The latter delegation however did not arrive until October, so McCoy went ahead with the first exploration expedition without them and then went with the southern Indians again in the latter part of the year.

On this first expedition, McCoy was accompanied by three Ottawa, Naoqua Keshuck, Gosa, and Wesauogana; three Potawatomi, Magaukwok, Shawaunukwuk, and Baptist Chadonois; Noel Mोगrain, a half breed Osage, four Creeks, and an old Osage.<sup>27</sup> The Creeks went on both expeditions.

The expedition lasted forty-nine days, August 19 to October 7, averaging approximately twenty-four miles a day.<sup>28</sup> The party

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23. Probably Heman Lincoln.

24. Lela Barnes, "Exploring Expedition of 1830" (*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, 1936, V, 339.)

25. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 326-327.

26. Barnes, "Exploration Expedition of 1828" (*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, V, 228.)

27. Harris, *op. cit.*, 10.

28. *Journal*, September 11, 1828.

covered most of what is now eastern and central Kansas, eighty miles north to south and one hundred and fifty miles east to west,<sup>29</sup> the farthest point west being about one hundred fifty miles west of Fort Leavenworth.

McCoy's copy of his report to General Clarke gives a good retrospect of this tour.<sup>30</sup>

Sir:

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 7, 1828.

In obedience to your instructions I wrote you from Harmony Mission station.<sup>31</sup> I informed that I had commenced my tour at St. Louis the 19th of August. I have this day returned to this place, having been absent 49 days.

On leaving the State of Missouri I proceeded westwardly up the Osage river, generally on the north side. Passing the Osage we bore Southwest across the upper branches of Neosho until we intersected the main river at a point eighty miles south and 127 west of the mouth of the Kansas river, and [a]bout 25 miles southeast of the Santa Fe road. We then bore north west until we reached the Santa Fe road sixty miles from Arkansas river, and 140 due west of this state. These estimates are made according to distance traveled, survey of the road, &c. We turned eastward along and near to the Santa Fe road, to a point due south of the upper Kansas village, then traveled north to said village on the Kansas river, 125 miles west of this state.

I had been instructed to cross Kansas river and to return on the north side thereof, but the Indians informed me that there was not a canoe or other craft on the river. My time was then so far consumed that I deemed it inadvisable to incur the delay that would be occasioned by crossing on rafts. I therefore proceeded eastwardly near to the southern limits of the Kansas reservation, and came down to the Shawanoe settlement near the mouth of the Kansas river, varying in our journey north and south 40 miles. Thence I came on the most direct rout [e] to this place.

There is a great similarity in the appearance of all parts of the country we explored. It is generally a high rolling country, exhibiting a healthy appearance. Stone, and almost universally limestone sufficiently abundant for use. The soil exceedingly fertile with scarcely the occurrence of an exception, and possessing the mellowness peculiar to limestone lands. We suffered no inconveniences from want of water, but found it happily distributed in the creeks & smaller streams all over the country, though not much running. Streams for mills and other water-works are abundant, but all these would fail in the more dry season of the year. Wood is too scarce, especially beyond the distance of sixty miles west of this State; and ten miles south of Kansas river, nevertheless I suppose the whole country is supplied with groves, and streaks of timber sufficient to sustain a considerable population, if judiciously located. I persuade myself that the scarcity of timber in this country is not so great as has been sometimes reported. The wood is chiefly along the watercourses. The hills, which sometimes are abrupt though sufficiently level on top, and other uplands formed by gentle ascent generally rise once, twice, or thrice as high as the timber in the low grounds. Travelers usually avoid crossing the

29. Harris, *op. cit.*, 10.

30. Letter, McCoy to Clarke, October 7, 1828, *MS & Letters*, XVI.

31. A Presbyterian mission.

watercourses as much as practicable because of the unevenness of the way, the brush, and the rocks, and hence most of the timber is unseen by one passing hastily through the country uninterested in this matter of wood. It would be fortunate for this country, if, in its settlement surveys should be made that to each farm should be allotted so much timber only as *would* be necessary, and let the residue be prairie. [sic]

The Potawatomes and Ottawas whom I conducted, while they lament the scarcity of wood, and especially the almost total absence of the sugar tree, pronounce it a fine country.

On our tour we came in contact with Osages, Kansas, Pawnees, and Shawanoes, the kind treatment received from all whom is pleasantly acknowledged by our party.

With the exception of a few warm days at the commencement of our tour, the whole has been pleasant and our Indians, I am happy to say, have returned with fine feelings.

Genl. William Clarke  
Present

I have the honour to be  
With great respect, Sir,  
Your Obt. Servt.  
Isaac McCoy

McCoy's *Journal* for the second exploring expedition, with the southern Indians is missing with the exception of the days between October 13 and November 3.

When McCoy returned to St. Louis from the first expedition, the southern Indians were there; they had arrived October 12.<sup>32</sup> The Indians left St. Louis on October 18 and McCoy left on the twenty-second, catching up with the Indians on the 26th of October. This second exploration expedition of 1828 started where the first exploration expedition finished.<sup>33</sup>

The party this time consisted of thirteen Chickasaw, six Choctaw, four Creeks, three white laborers, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Haley, Mr. Blake, Lieut. Washington Hood, topographer; John Bell, topographer; Dr. Todson, physician; Capt. George Kennerly and his servant; and a negro servant to the Chickasaw chief, Levi Colbert.<sup>34</sup>

The company was instructed to explore north of Missouri as well as west, but the Indians didn't want to go north and McCoy thought that northern territory would not make a permanent settlement for the Indians, so the company went west and south.<sup>35</sup>

On October 9, the party left the Missouri border beginning their actual exploration of the proposed territory.<sup>36</sup> On November 26

32. *Journal*, October 13, 1828.

33. G. F. Adams, "Rev. Isaac McCoy" (*Kansas Historical Collections*. Topeka, 1881, I and II, 274.)

34. Harris, *op. cit.*, 2C.

35. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 350.

36. *Ibid.*, 351.



they camped on the Arkansas river, near the mouth of the Verdigris river, where they remained until the second of December. Here the Creeks remained a few days with about 1,500 of their countrymen, later going directly to their home on the east of the Mississippi.<sup>37</sup>

The farthest point south that was reached was the junction of the Canadian and Arkansas rivers.<sup>38</sup> It was here that the exploration expedition terminated on December 7 on the south side of the Arkansas.

On December 24, McCoy was again in St. Louis, where he stated that the southern Indians were reluctant to go on the tour and the second tour was not as successful as the first.<sup>39</sup>

In the fall of 1829 a third exploration trip was made by McCoy during which he visited Kansas villages and other parts of the proposed territory. This trip covered a period of twenty days.<sup>40</sup>

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37. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 366.

38. Harris, *op. cit.*, 2C.

39. McCoy, *op. cit.*, 366-370.

40. Adams, *Loc. cit.*

## CHAPTER VI

## CREATION OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY

## 1. ACT OF MAY 26, 1830

Congress in 1830 passed an act creating the Indian Territory and making provisions for the removal of some of the Indians. This act was the first official act of the United States government in fulfilling part of McCoy's plan for Indian colonization. The act, however, contained many indefinite provisions, but it was a step forward.

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 provided for the following:<sup>1</sup>

The President may cause any territory belonging to the United States west of the Mississippi, "not included in any state or organized territory and to which the Indian title has been extinguished" to be divided into districts for Indians who wish to exchange their lands for lands west of the Mississippi river.

Exchanged districts may be made secure to any tribe and its successors. If the Indians desire it, the United States will issue patents or grants for this purpose, provided that the land will go back to the United States if the Indians become extinct or abandon the land.

Improvements made by Indians upon their present land will be appraised and the amount paid to the individuals rightfully claiming such improvements.

The President may see to it that necessary aid for removal and subsistence for one year after removal is furnished to those wishing to emigrate, and that such tribes are protected against other tribes or persons.

The President will have the same superintendency over the Indians after removal as he had before removal. Nothing contained in this act shall authorize the violation of existing treaties.

\$500,000 was appropriated to give effect to the provisions of the act.

## 2. SURVEYING EXPEDITIONS AND INDIAN REMOVALS

"In 1830 Mr. McCoy's official connection with the Board was terminated by his accepting an appointment from the government as Agent of Indian Affairs . . ." <sup>2</sup> His duties, according to F. G.

1. *United States Statutes at Large, 1789-1845.* Richard Peters, ed. Boston, 1850, IV, 411-412.

2. Gammell, *History of American Baptist Missions.* Boston, 1849, 331.

Adams,<sup>3</sup> were to select and survey locations for the immigrant Indians, and to establish and sustain schools and missions among them. This work kept McCoy busy from 1830 to 1842, the latter date being the year of his removal to Kentucky. At the same time, between 1830 and 1842, McCoy kept up his agitation for the fulfillment of his plans, mainly the organization of the Indian Territory.<sup>4</sup>

Concerning the removal of Indians to this Indian Territory, Adams writes:<sup>5</sup>

Emigration of Eastern tribes to the west of the Mississippi, had, from the choice of the Indians themselves, in fact, began many years before this time. [1830] Crowded from their hunting-grounds, members of the Shawnee and Delaware tribes, as early as 1793, by permission of the Spanish authorities, settled in Louisiana Territory near Cape Girardeau. For the same reason, in 1809, a part of the Cherokee tribe, by consent of the President, made a location on the waters of the Arkansas and White rivers, in Arkansas Territory; and under similar circumstances, small portions of the Choctaws and Creeks made settlements on the Arkansas and Red river.

An agitation for the removal of the Indians continued, treaties were made with the Kansas and Osage Indians, "to make room upon their land for the proposed immigrants."<sup>6</sup>

The surveying expedition of 1830 is the first one that McCoy made for the location of the Indians in the Indian Territory. McCoy's son, John, came to the Indian Territory in 1830 to help his father in this work, thus giving McCoy more time to spend in Washington and the East, working for legislative action.

The surveying expedition of 1830 began on August 16 and ended on November 25. The purpose of the expedition was to survey land for the Delaware Indians, and to do some exploring on the side. On October 5, McCoy recorded in his *Journal*:<sup>7</sup> "Our Company now consists of 15 soldiers, and six of us who come from Fayette, in all 21 with 14 horses . . ."

It was during this expedition that such severe dust storms inconvenienced the party.<sup>8</sup>

The party travelled almost due west from Ft. Leavenworth, stopping "210 miles west of the state of Missouri," and found that the "country is habitable thus far."<sup>9</sup>

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3. Adams, *The Rev. Isaac McCoy*, 275.

4. See Chapter VII of this paper.

5. *Op. cit.*, 272.

6. *Ibid.*, 272.

7. October 5, 1830.

8. See Chapter 2, section 1 of this paper.

9. *Journal*, November 5, 1830.

After the surveying and exploration of the country was well under way, treaties were made with the tribes for their removal. From a list of treaties found in McCoy's Manuscripts,<sup>10</sup> the following treaties and dates are taken:

1. Kansa—Treaty of June, 1825.
2. Osage—June, 1825.
3. Seneca, and Seneca and Shawnee—June, 1832.
4. Omaha, Iowa, and Oto—July, 1830.
5. Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa—March, 1834.

By 1839 the following tribes had settled in the Indian Territory, in addition to those listed above: Pawnee, Sauk, Kickapoo, Delaware, Shawnee, Wea, Piankashaw, Peoria and Kaskaskia, Quapaw, Creeks and Seminole, Cherokee, and Choctaw.<sup>11</sup>

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10. *Letters & MS.* XXII.

11. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 560-571.

## CHAPTER VII

## WORK FOR ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN TERRITORY

On December 30, 1830, McCoy again went to Washington, arriving there on January 29, 1831. While he was in Washington, an investigation of the present system of Indian Affairs was contemplated, for which McCoy was asked to contribute facts relating to that business. McCoy wrote ten pages on the subject pointing out the evils involved in the present system.<sup>1</sup> Concerning this he wrote:<sup>2</sup>

This is delicate affair for me to meddle with, but as I am offered an opportunity of sticking at the roots as well as branches of this system of fraud, too long practiced upon both the Indians and the U. States, I should not be innocent were I to forbear the below.

After McCoy left Washington in April he returned home and remained there until he received his surveying instructions from the Secretary of War on May 6, 1831.<sup>3</sup> Preparations were made to enter upon the work immediately. This time McCoy was to survey and mark boundaries and to explore the country minutely and make a report on what he found and accomplished.

The years between 1830 and 1842 were spent by McCoy surveying the Indian lands<sup>4</sup> and working for the organization of the Indian Territory. Anything that McCoy could do for the improvement of the conditions of the Indians, besides the above mentioned, also took some of his time during this period. Among these would be McCoy's work for the vaccination bill as well as his work in organizing missions and supplying missionaries for the various tribes.<sup>5</sup>

When McCoy discovered the condition of the Indians that were inflicted with smallpox, he began a relentless agitation for the United States government to do something about it. Among McCoy's file of letters are many written to him and copies of those written by him concerning the needed action of the government in this affair. While in Washington again in 1832 McCoy used his influence with the Secretary of War for action along this line. A letter

1. *Journal*, February 10, 1831.

2. *Ibid.*, February 10, 1831.

3. *Journal*, May 6, 1831.

4. It would be impossible to include all of McCoy's surveying expeditions in this paper, so only a few have been mentioned. Most of the time from 1830-1835 was spent in surveying lands while the latter part of the period, 1835-1842, McCoy spent most of his time working for the organization bills and organizing missions in the Kansas Territory.

5. See Chapter VIII, section 2 of this paper.

from McCoy to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War,<sup>6</sup> asks aid from the government to put a stop to the spread of smallpox among the Indians, stating that it had already reached a dangerous stage. However it was not till the last of the year that Congress achieved anything along that line. It was then that a bill for the vaccination of the Indians was passed.

Concerning the organization of the Territory, John Tipton, Senator from Indiana, and McCoy had an agreement between them that Tipton was to work with the Executive department of the government while McCoy should work in the Indian country, influencing people by publication and correspondence.

### 1. ORGANIZATION BILL OF 1836

On March 4, 1836, John Tipton introduced in the Senate a bill for the organization of the Indian Territory. It was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and reported back without amendments on March 15. This bill was supplementary to the Act of 1830 providing for an "exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States or Territories, and for their removal west of the Mississippi."<sup>7</sup>

In this bill, taken from a printed copy in McCoy's MS,<sup>8</sup> a boundary was given and land was to be appropriated forever to the Indians. The boundary ran as follows:

Beginning at the source of the Puncah river; thence down said river to Missouri river; thence down Missouri river, on the southwest bank, to the state of Missouri; thence, along the western line of the state of Missouri, to the northwest corner of Arkansas Territory; thence along the western boundary of the Territory of Arkansas to Red river; thence, up Red river to a point two hundred miles in a direct course west of the Territory of Arkansas, thence in a direct line to the beginning. . . .

Lands were to be secured to tribes and heirs by patents, with the provision that if the lands were abandoned they would go back to the United States, and that the United States had the right to construct roads and occupy military posts in the Territory.

A Superintendent of Indian Affairs was to be appointed for a four-year term by the President with the consent of the Senate. His duty was to organize a confederacy in the Territory, of which each tribe that wished might send delegates to the general council and become members of the confederacy.

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6. Letter, McCoy to Cass, March 23, 1832, *MS & Letters*, Vol. XX.

7. See Chapter VI, section 1 of this paper.

8. Vol. XXIII.

The duties of the council would be to enact laws and regulations for the general good of all of the tribes that were members of the confederacy, without infringing on the rights of the individual tribes to care for their own internal concerns. These laws should be approved by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and if he disapproved they might be approved by the President and still go into effect.

The confederated tribes were to "appoint a delegate to remain at the seat of government of the United States, during each session of Congress, to attend to the affairs of the confederacy . . . and whose pay and emoluments shall be the same as those of a member of Congress . . ."

The bill failed to pass the Senate during that session, the first session of the twenty-fourth Congress.

## 2. ATTITUDE OF INDIANS TOWARD ORGANIZATION

After the failure of Congress to pass the first organization bill, and upon the suggestion of the Secretary of War, McCoy tried to get the opinions of the different Indian tribes on the Organization bill, thinking that if most of the tribes favored organization, that the bill would pass both houses of Congress with greater ease and speed.

The proposed bill was presented to the Delaware and Shawnee Indians in June, 1837.<sup>9</sup> The Delaware Indians readily agreed to the proposition, but when the bill was laid before the Shawnee, they asked for time to decide what their answer would be. July 4 was the date set for them to give their answer, but a disagreement among the chiefs prevented an answer from being ready at that time.

On October 20, 1838, McCoy recorded in his *Journal* that the Cherokee and Creeks were certain to return an unfavorable answer for the passage of the bill, so he decided that no answer was better than a negative answer, and therefore did not present the proposed bill to them. McCoy explained the opposition of the Cherokees by stating that they wished to bring about the same results through their own agencies, thus giving that tribe a superior position among the other tribes.<sup>10</sup> The measure that McCoy proposed would equalize the standing of all of the tribes. The Creeks believed that the organization was a design to rob them.<sup>11</sup>

9. *Journal*, June 28, 1837.

10. *Journal*, October 29, 1838, and Letter, McCoy to C. A. Harris, Comm. of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1838, *Letters and MS*, Vol. XXV.

11. *Journal*, October 5, 1838.

The Choctaw Indians objected to it along with the Creek and Cherokee. In McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, he gives the reason for the refusal of the Choctaw to accept the bill, stating that the main cause was a lack of confidence in the government.<sup>12</sup> Grant Foreman<sup>13</sup> states that the Chickasaw were opposed to the organization bill also.

Other tribes that accepted the bill when it was brought before them for consideration were the Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Kansa, Sauk, Iowa, Wea, Piankashaw, Peoria, Kaskaskia, and Ottawa.<sup>14</sup> The Shawnee Indians also accepted the bill after a time.

With this partial acceptance of the bill by the Indians the organization bill of 1837 was introduced.

### 3. ORGANIZATION BILL OF 1837

This second bill, like the first, was introduced by John Tipton, on December 20, 1837, in the Senate during the second session of the twenty-fifth Congress. Again it was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and returned without amendment, on December 28, 1837.

The contents of this bill are also taken from a printed copy of the bill in McCoy's *MS and Letters*,<sup>15</sup> and are about the same as those of the bill of 1836, with a few additions. The additions are as follow:

No white person was to be allowed to reside in the Indian Territory without the authority of the United States.

The salary of the Superintendent was to be \$2,500 per annum.

A Secretary of the Indian Territory was to be appointed by the President for a term of four years with a salary of \$1,500. His duty was to keep records of the official proceedings.

The general council was to organize a confederation and draw up Articles of the Confederation. This council was to meet annually. Each tribe was to have not less than two nor more than five representatives in a ratio to be provided by the Articles of the Confederation. The United States was to pay the expenses of the Indians while attending and returning from the council. A majority would constitute a quorum.

All of the Indian Territory "south of the north lines of the lands assigned to the Osage tribe of Indians" was to be annexed to the

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12. Page 548.

13. Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*. Norman, 1933, 185.

14. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 528.

15. Vol. XXIV.



judicial district of Arkansas Territory. The part north of that line was to be annexed to the judicial district of Missouri.

Trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes within the Indian Territory should be regulated by the "laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes. . . ."

This organization bill of 1837 came before the Senate on April 18, 1838. It passed the Senate by a vote of thirty-eight to six on April 30. The bill, seeking certain objects that McCoy labored fifteen years to promote, was killed again, this time because Congress adjourned before the House of Representatives had a chance to vote on the bill.<sup>16</sup>

McCoy was in Washington again in March of 1838. While there, he tried to get a bill introduced and passed for the subdivision of the Potawatomi lands, so each Indian would own his own land. However this bill was unfavorable to the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, so it got no farther.<sup>17</sup>

In May of 1838, McCoy made plans for the organization of the Indian Territory through other means if the bill for organization failed. He planned to have a general council of the Indians called "for the adoption of such regulations as are most needed, &c."<sup>18</sup>

Patents were intended to keep the chiefs from selling lands by persuasion, bribe, force, or fraud. But no action could be obtained from the government along this line.<sup>19</sup>

During the period that the organization bills were up before Congress, 1836 to 1841, McCoy, with the aid of his friends, tried to secure appointment as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, which office would be created by the passage of one of the organization bills. If this appointment was impossible, he would then seek appointment to the commissioner's post at St. Louis. However McCoy was told that politicians would probably get the appointments.<sup>20</sup>

McCoy met with much opposition in trying to fulfill his plans for the colonization of the Indians. In his *Journal*<sup>21</sup> he lists four sources of opposition:

1. Chiefs who opposed McCoy.
2. Indian Agents, because of the decrease of the number in that office according to McCoy's plans.

16. *Journal*, July 23, 1838.

17. *Ibid.*, April, 1838.

18. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1838.

19. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1838.

20. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1841.

21. June 28, 1837.

3. Indians—jealousy because of innovations upon former customs.

4. Traders and white men—because of malign influence.

One other source of opposition that McCoy failed to mention here was the Catholic church. An article printed in a Catholic magazine<sup>22</sup> criticizes McCoy to the limit. Listed among his evils according to this article were fraud, harboring prostitutes, and maltreatment of the Indians.

In 1841, McCoy made another trip to Washington, this one being his fifteenth trip to the east on business concerning the Indians since he became a missionary.<sup>23</sup>

In 1841, McCoy recorded:<sup>24</sup>

I have recently been deeply impressed with the consideration of the fact that the overwhelming current of immigration of whites to the west for some years past, has reached the western lines of the States of Arkansas and Missouri. . . .

He added that if this advancement continued before the Indians had a firm hold on their hand, they would be unable to retain it.

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22. L. C. Chamberlin, "Missionary Establishments Among the Indians." (*Catholic Telegraph*, March 2, 1833, 142-143.)

23. *Journal*, February 3, 1841.

24. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1841.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE INDIAN TERRITORY IN 1839

1. LOCATION AND CONDITION OF THE INDIANS WITHIN  
THE TERRITORY

In McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* is given a detailed account of the Indians in the Indian Territory in 1839, along with their conditions, approximate number, and missions established among them. The material for this section is taken from that chapter in McCoy's book.<sup>1</sup>

The description of the different Indian tribes begins with the tribes farthest north in the Territory, gradually working south to the southernmost extremities, and then west.

The Ponca tribe was a small branch of the Omaha family which resided near the Missouri river on the northern extremity of the Indian Territory. This tribe numbered approximately eight hundred. Their conditions remained unimproved between their removal to the Indian Territory and 1839.

The Omaha tribe resided on the Missouri river, eighty miles above the junction with the Platte river. This tribe numbered about 1400. A Baptist mission was established among this tribe and abandoned in the same year, 1837. Their condition also remained unimproved.

The Pawnee tribe resided on the Great Platte river, one hundred miles from the junction with the Missouri river. There were two Presbyterian missionaries among these Indians. The condition of the Pawnee Indians was the same as of the Omaha.

The Oto tribe occupied land on the Great Platte river, a few miles from the junction with the Missouri river. The approximate number was 1600 Indians. A Baptist station was established among this tribe. Immediately before 1839 a slight improvement was noticed.

The Iowa tribe had land on the Missouri river. The members of this tribe numbered one thousand, had a Presbyterian mission among them, and showed a little improvement.

The Sauk Indians in the Indian Territory were only a branch of the Sauk nation. They were within a mile of the Iowa Indians and their conditions were about the same as those of the Iowa.

Situated about forty miles below the Sauk and the Iowa on the

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1. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 569-574.

Missouri river was the Kickapoo tribe. They numbered approximately four hundred individuals and failed to show any degree of improvement.

The Kansa were on the Kaw river, one hundred miles from the junction with the Missouri river, with a population of 1,750. They had a Methodist mission among them and showed little improvement in their conditions.

In the upper angle formed by the Kaw and Missouri rivers resided the Delaware tribe, numbering about 921. The Methodists, Moravians, and Baptists had missions among them. This tribe showed much improvement.

The Shawnee were located on the south side of the Kaw river, with a number of 823 individuals. There were Baptist, Methodist, and Quaker missions established among this tribe, and the tribe showed an advancement in civilization.

The Ottawa were thirty miles west of the state of Missouri, having only 350 inhabitants in the Territory. A Baptist mission was established among them, and they showed signs of improvement.

The Peoria and Kaskaskia resided east of the Ottawa, and together numbered 142. They had a Methodist mission and showed improvement.

Just east of the Peoria and just west of the Missouri border were the Wea and Piankashaw. They numbered 363 together. Among them was a Presbyterian mission. Their conditions were similar to those of the Peoria and Ottawa.

The Potawatomi adjoined the band listed just above, numbering 1,650. The Baptists, Methodists and Catholics had missions among this tribe. The civilization of this tribe was lower than that of the Ottawa.

The Osage were twenty-five miles west of the state of Missouri, with a number of 5,510. Formerly there was a Presbyterian mission among them but it was abandoned previous to 1839. Their improvement was similar to that of the Oto.

Located southeast of the Osage, numbering six hundred, were the Quapaw. There was little advancement shown among this tribe.

The Seneca, and the Seneca and Shawnee were two tribes almost blended into one. They numbered 461. Formerly there was a Methodist mission among them, but it was abandoned. They were considerably advanced in civilization.

The Creeks and Seminole were located forty-five miles west of

the state of Arkansas, numebring 24,100. Formerly there were Presbyterian and Methodist missions among them, but they were discontinued. In 1839 there was a Baptist mission among them. There was little advancement prior to 1839, but the prospects were good.

Adjoining the state of Arkansas on the north side of the Arkansas river were the Cherokee. They numbered 22,000 and had among them Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist missions. They were considered civilized.

The Choctaw adjoined the state of Arkansas on the east and Texas on the south and west. Their number was considered around 5,500. The Chickasaw, merged with the Choctaw, brought the total number to 20,000. Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist missions were among them. They were considered civilized, the Choctaw being in advance of all other tribes.

## 2. BAPTIST MISSIONS IN THE TERRITORY

Prior to the creation of the Indian Territory, mission establishments did not grow very rapidly, but immediately following the establishment of the Territory, missions became more numerous within its boundaries.

With regard to Baptist missions in the Indian Territory, McCoy wrote: <sup>2</sup>

I am grieved with our denomination, and am truly ashamed of them. We are greatly behind the Presbyterians in actual missionary doings. I record it because it is my deliberate sentiment, that we have *not* been treated well by our denomination. We have not been sustained in our efforts as we had a right to expect from our brethren.

However, he continued to work for the establishment of missions among the Indians.

In August, 1830, McCoy interviewed about twenty Shawnee Indians in council concerning the establishment of a mission among them.<sup>3</sup> When he passed through the Shawnee settlements again, November 22, he was informed that the Indians were favorable to the establishment of a mission.<sup>4</sup> In June, 1832, erection of the mission buildings were started by Johnston Lykins,<sup>5</sup> one of McCoy's assistants in Michigan. Shawnee Mission, along with Westport, served as a headquarters for McCoy during his period of residence

2. *Journal*, August 23, 1831.

3. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 404.

4. *Ibid.*, 405.

5. *Ibid.*, 450.

in the Indian Territory. This mission also seemed to be the mother of all other Baptist missions in the Indian Territory. It was from here that missionaries went to establish other missions, and it was the Shawnee mission where new missionaries reported when they first arrived in the Territory, later going on to some other station.

In 1832 the first Baptist church was established in the Indian Territory. It was established among the Creek Indians on the Verdigris river. McCoy was present at the time and helped organize the church. One hundred and fifty-two persons had collected that Sunday to hear a sermon. About thirty were Indians, about the same number were white people, and the rest were negro slaves to the Creeks.<sup>6</sup>

"Brother Lewis preached from [blank in MS] & Davis interpreted, exhorted, & prayed. I then called those who were disposed and prepared to unite in a church."<sup>7</sup>

Articles of faith were read and voted on, and the hand of fellowship was "mutually extended to all." A constitution was adopted and McCoy was, for the present, chosen moderator.<sup>8</sup>

Concerning the organization of this church, McCoy recorded in his *Journal*:<sup>9</sup>

This is the first Baptist Church formed in the Indian Territory—Thanks to the Lord that he has allowed me the Satisfaction of witnessing the constitution of one church in this land towards which I have so long bent all my efforts, tho. futile.

Johnston Lykins visited the Delaware Indians between February 23 and 26, and reported that prospects for establishing a school among them was favorable.<sup>10</sup> The mission was established in 1833, and Ira D. Blanchard went among the Delaware Indians to be the head of this mission.<sup>11</sup> Before the establishment of this mission Johnston Lykins worked with the Delaware Indians along with his work at Shawnee mission.

McCoy mentioned in his *Journal* for June 5, 1833, a plan for a mission among the Oto, Pawnee, and Omaha tribes.<sup>12</sup> The plan included a position for Moses Merrill to work among those Indians. When Merrill arrived at Shawnee mission from Sault de Ste. Marie on July 13, he prepared to establish the mission among the Oto and

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6. *Journal*, September 9, 1832.

7. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1832.

8. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1832.

9. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1832.

10. *Journal*, February 26, 1833.

11. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 889.

12. Also McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 405.

Omaha Indians. Merrill went among these Indians, near Council Bluffs, on October 25, 1833.<sup>13</sup> This mission was not in the present boundary of Kansas. Mr. Merrill was appointed teacher of the Oto, Pawnee, and Omaha Indians by the government in the winter of 1833-34.<sup>14</sup> There was an attempt to establish a mission for the Omaha Indians along in 1837 with a Mr. Curtis at its head. However, this mission was abandoned in the same year.<sup>15</sup>

Hodge makes the statement that there was a Baptist mission among the Iowa Indians, established in 1834.<sup>16</sup> However, there was none in 1839.

Jotham Meeker, who worked with the Ottawa Indians in Michigan at Thomas Mission, wished now to labor for the Ottawa in the Indian Territory. Application was made to the Department of Indian Affairs for authority to establish a mission among them. The authority was received in 1835, and in June, 1837, Meeker went among the Ottawa and established a mission.<sup>17</sup> This mission was just a few miles northeast of the present city of Ottawa, Kansas.

Robert Simerwell went among the Potawatomi Indians in 1837 and established a mission.<sup>18</sup> This mission was located about five miles west of the present city of Topeka, Kansas, and a building that is thought to have been one of the mission buildings is still standing, and is now used as a barn.

In 1831, McCoy was offered the position of teacher to the Choctaw, by John H. Eaton, Secretary of War.<sup>19</sup> McCoy declined the position, but made efforts to introduce others. In 1834, the Rev. and Mrs. Joseph Smedley went to the Choctaw agency as teachers. In 1835 Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay D. Potts were also hired as teachers at the Choctaw station. Others that arrived in that year to help among the Choctaw were Dr. and Mrs. Alanson Allen and Rev. and Mrs. E. Tucker.<sup>20</sup>

A mission was established among the Cherokee with Mr. Evan Jones and Mr. Jesse Bushyhead working among these Indians.<sup>21</sup>

13. *Journal*, October 25, 1833.

14. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 464.

15. *Ibid.*, 562.

16. Hodge, *loc. cit.*

17. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 483.

18. Elizabeth N. Barr, "Baptist Church." (Connelly, Wm. E., *History of Kansas*. Chicago, 1928, 1052.)

19. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 414.

20. *Ibid.*, 485.

21. *Ibid.*, 571.

Almost all of the missions remained in successful operation until about 1885. They were closed then because of the disturbed condition of affairs in Kansas. Most of the tribes then removed to the present state of Oklahoma.<sup>22</sup>

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22. Hodge, *loc. cit.* See Chapter IX of this paper.



## CHAPTER IX

## CONCLUSIONS

## 1. REMOVAL TO KENTUCKY AND DEATH OF McCoy

McCoy's attempt to induce the Triennial Convention to create a board of Indian Missions had met with failure for years.<sup>1</sup> His constant agitation, however, brought about a meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, in June, 1842, "for the purpose of deciding on the propriety of forming, in the valley of the Mississippi, an American Indian Mission Association."<sup>2</sup>

At this meeting, a committee, appointed for the purpose, presented a report and submitted it to the public. This report contained the following: A recognition of the material and spiritual needs of the Indians in the Indian Territory; a proposal for the creation of an Indian Mission agency, entirely separate from Foreign Missions; and a proposed organization of a society to operate among the Indian tribes.<sup>3</sup> For the fulfillment of the last two, the committee also recommended the adoption of a constitution which it had drawn up. This constitution contained the name of the association, purpose, those eligible to membership, election of officers, administration, time of meeting, and method of amendment.<sup>4</sup> Those serving on the committee making the report were S. W. Lynd, W. C. Buck, J. L. Waller, F. A. Willard, and Wm. Colgan.<sup>5</sup>

The constitution was adopted and "commended to the concurrence and coöperation of the denomination." Isaac McCoy was requested to act as agent and correspondent to carry out the contemplated objects.<sup>6</sup>

This meeting in Louisville was held without the consent of the acting board of managers of the General Convention in Boston. A letter was written to the chairman of the board of managers, asking for the coöperation of the board in the new project, but as an answer was delayed, action was continued on the part of McCoy and

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1. Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 228.

2. *Ibid.*, 228.

3. *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, Extra, Louisville, Kentucky, June 18, 1842. (McCoy's *MS & Letters*, XXVIII.)

4. *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, June 18, 1842.

5. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1842.

6. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1842.

his associates without the acknowledged consent and coöperation of the board for the present.<sup>7</sup>

After the organization of the American Mission Association, McCoy "entered upon a new form of work for the same great enterprise, and with a freedom not before enjoyed."<sup>8</sup> He made his home in Louisville, from where the Annual Reports were now issued, addresses were written and delivered to the denomination, and men and women were commissioned and sent to the field as missionaries among the Indians.<sup>9</sup> "His youth seemed to be renewed as he took the pen and portfolio for a closing period of a great life."<sup>10</sup>

On June 1, 1846, McCoy preached in Jeffersonville. On his return trip to Louisville he was caught in a shower, took a cold, which brought on a fever, and he died June 21 of that year.<sup>11</sup>

Concerning the death of McCoy, Wyeth wrote:<sup>12</sup>

He left the world with his face toward the Indian country. His ruling idea was supreme in death. Rising above all ordinary considerations, this here of the wilderness and the camp, not forgetting the object of his sufferings, nor ignoring the importance of that to which he had devoted his manhood and sacrificed his all, passed from this life to the next with this message on his lips: "Tell the brethren to never let the Indian Mission decline."

## 2. EFFECTS OF TRANSPORTATION AND THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

The frontier advanced up the bend of the Missouri river during Monroe's administration, but it never seriously encroached upon the Indian policy west of the Missouri river until thirty years later.<sup>13</sup> Emigrants were continually going through the Indian Territory to the better lands in Oregon or over the Santa Fe trail to California, but as long as there was better land to be obtained the frontiers of the Indian Territory would not be molested. The absence of roads, navigable rivers, and railroads made it possible for the Indians to have undisputed possession of the Territory for the present.<sup>14</sup>

Frederick L. Paxson<sup>15</sup> wrote concerning the frontier and the Indian policy:

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7. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1842.

8. Wyeth, *op. cit.*, 229.

9. *Ibid.*, 230.

10. *Ibid.*, 229.

11. *Ibid.*, 231.

12. *Ibid.*, 236.

13. Frederick L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893*. Boston, 1924, 423.

14. *Ibid.*, 424.

15. *Ibid.*, 424.

Before the acquisition of the Southwest, and the Compromise of 1850, the Indian frontier policy had been abandoned although not formally repudiated. With the development of heavy traffic along the trails the Government had stopped the further definite colonization of the Indians. This was indeed substantially complete by 1841 and needed no further legislation or administration. The treaty arrangements with the Indians for the next decade were again fragmentary negotiations, as they had been before 1825 . . . In 1851 there were notable new Indian conferences, but they can scarcely be connected with any organized Indian policy.

Agitation developed for a railroad through the Indian Territory, and this, along with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, presented new problems in regard to the Indian policy.

A railroad through the Territory could result in only one thing, the dispossession of the Indians from the Territory. Treaties, however, had been made with the Indians guaranteeing the land they were now on as theirs forever.

"A demand arose that the Indian frontier be abolished, that the tribes of the border be made to cede their lands again and that a right of way for the agricultural frontier be acquired west of the Bend of the Missouri. . . ."16 So in 1853 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was directed to attempt negotiations for the removal of the tribes.

The tribes showed no desire to abandon their guarantees, but "without enthusiasm, most of the tribes of the border signed the treaties that were offered them in 1853 and accepted compensation and territory elsewhere."<sup>17</sup>

In regard to those tribes which refused to "coöperate," Paxson stated:<sup>18</sup>

Where tribes were stubborn, Manypenny [Commissioner of Indian Affairs] accepted partial cessions and made an agreement that the ceded lands should be administered by the United States in trust for the ceding nations; that the acres should be sold at public sale to the highest bidder and that they should not be offered at the usual minimum price of \$1.25 until after the lapse of three years.

Fraud and scandal was the result, but the tribes were too weak to resist. By force and persuasion these tribes were moved a little at a time until pushed halfway across the continent.

The territory which is now Kansas had remained unorganized from the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854.

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16. *Ibid.*, 431.

17. *Ibid.*, 432.

18. *Ibid.*, 432.

About 1843 the increase of overland travel to Oregon led S. A. Douglas to introduce a bill in the House of Representatives to organize the Territory of Nebraska, covering the modern State of Kansas and all the territory north of it, in order to prevent the alienation of this overland route by treaties for Indian reservations. This bill he unsuccessfully renewed at each session until 1854, when Kansas was at last organized as a separate Territory.<sup>19</sup>

The question of slavery in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was to be settled by popular sovereignty. Therefore both the northerners and southerners started a propaganda program to induce migration into the two territories, mainly Kansas. The result of this migration was the complete destruction of the United States Indian policy that was built up between 1825 and 1845.

### 3. SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF MCCOY'S WORK

Never, at any one time in the history of the United States Indian policy of the first half of the nineteenth century, was all of McCoy's plan for the colonization of the Indians completely carried out. Looking at the success or failure of McCoy's work from the standpoint of the fulfillment of his plans for colonization, the answer would almost certainly have to be failure. It is true that parts of McCoy's plans were carried out by legislation of Congress<sup>20</sup> but even those were not permanent. The two outstanding evils of the United States Indian policy, namely the treaty system and the great amount of fraud connected with the Indian agencies, were as prominent after the death of McCoy put an end to his work as they were before he began his work.

The reason given for the failure of this plan by Grant Foreman<sup>21</sup> was the complete opposition of the Indians. Other opposition to McCoy's work, as mentioned elsewhere in this paper,<sup>22</sup> came from the Catholic church, the white frontiersmen, and the Indian agents.

If McCoy's success or failure is to be determined on the basis of financial gains, he must again be labeled a failure. Never did he receive any salary or donations that were kept by him,<sup>23</sup> and often he was in such dire straits that he had to borrow money to make one of his many trips or to keep the schools and missions in operation.

In only one way can McCoy be considered successful, and that is as a missionary. Success to McCoy probably did not mean wealth

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19. Alexander Johnson, *American Political History*. New York, 1905, 159-160.

20. See Chapter VI of this paper.

21. Forman, *op. cit.*, 180 and 185.

22. See Chapter VII, section 3 of this paper.

23. See Chapter II, section 1 of this paper.

and fame. From quotations quoted in the body of this paper it is seen that McCoy only wished to work for others and for his God. The number of missions he helped establish and the number of friends he gained for the missions, along with his attempt and partial success to improve conditions of the Indians, speak favorably for McCoy's success along this line.

Along with almost every mission established in the Territory by McCoy, was a school established for the Indians and taught by the missionaries. Teaching the Indians to read and write was one of the tasks of almost every missionary. To aid in this task and for the purpose of "propaganda in favor of the Indians," McCoy was "determined to have a printing press at his disposal."<sup>24</sup> In the latter part of 1833 this press was set up at Shawnee Mission and run by Jotham Meeker. It was later moved to Ottawa Mission. It was Meeker who devised an Indian orthography for the Ojibwa Indians at Sault de Ste. Marie, and it was McCoy who brought about the introduction of printing for the advantage of the Indians.

Bertha Ellen Milstead<sup>25</sup> wrote concerning the Baptist missionaries under McCoy's supervision:

These missionaries by learning the language and by publishing school books, songs, and parts of the gospels in the native languages had been able to reach the people in a wider and deeper way than those who were unable to do this. Mr. Meeker and Mr. Lykins printed books in the languages of the following peoples—Kansas, Otoe, Delaware, Potawatomes, Munsee, Osage, Iowa, Piankeshaw, Shawnee and Ottawa. The part which these books played in the work of Indian development can hardly be estimated. That it was a unique contribution there can be no question.

McCoy also had visions of an Indian College at the proposed seat of government of the Indian Territory.<sup>26</sup> This also was carried out as part of McCoy's work as a missionary.

Other conditions besides education were improved by the missionaries under McCoy's direction and superintendency:<sup>27</sup> "The Ottawas built log cabins, enclosed fields with rail fences, raised corn and garden vegetables as well as cattle and swine." Other conditions consisted of a grist mill, built from funds furnished by Indians in 1839, the raising of much wheat in 1852, and a blacksmith shop, well equipped.

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24. Douglas C. McMurtie, and Albert H. Allen, *Jotham Meeker, Pioneer Printer of Kansas*. Chicago, 1930, 20-21.

25. Bertha Ellen Milstead, *Indian Missions in Kansas*. Hays, 1930, unprinted, 69.

26. See Chapter III, section 6 of this paper.

27. Milstead, *op. cit.*, 58.

In February, 1844, the Ottawa in council without the influence of white people, made a law prohibiting liquor. Following is a literal translation: <sup>28</sup>

Whiskey on the Ottawa land cannot come. If any person shall send for it or bring it into Ottawa Country, he who sends or he who brings shall pay five dollars and the whiskey shall be destroyed. Any one sending or bringing the second time, shall forfeit all of his annuity money. For the third offense he shall be delivered over to the United States officers, to try the severity of the white man's laws.

Between February, 1848, and October 4, 1852, there was only one violation of this law.

Concerning the religious conditions of the Indians: Meeker's reports indicate that interest was still strong in religious services; that former superstitions and customs had been dropped and all admit that Christianity was good." <sup>29</sup>

In 1840 the church building among the Delaware Indians was not large enough to hold all of those who wished to attend.

In 1842 McCoy organized and headed the American Indian Mission Association, thus organizing to a greater degree his superintendency of the Baptist Indian Missions.<sup>30</sup>

McCoy gave his all to his missionary labors; there is probably no other Indian missionary of the same denomination that was as successful as McCoy.

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28. Ex. Doc. No. 673, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 386. (Milstead, *op. cit.*, 56.)

29. *Ibid.*, 57.

30. See section 1 of this chapter.

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