

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form [Rev. 8-86]

OMB No. 1024-0018

AKIMA PINŠIWA AWIIKI (CHIEF JEAN-BAPTISTE DE RICHARDVILLE HOUSE)

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Akima Pinšywa Awiiki (Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House)

Other Name/Site Number:

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 5705 Bluffton Road

Not for publication:

City/Town: Fort Wayne

Vicinity:

State: Indiana County: AllenCode: 003

Zip Code: 46809

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: X

Public-Local: ___

Public-State: ___

Public-federal: ___

Category of Property

Building(s): X

District: ___

Site: ___

Structure: ___

Object: ___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

1

1

Noncontributing

___ buildings

___ sites

___ structures

___ objects

___ Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 2

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

Designated a National Historic Landmark

MAR 02 2012

by the Secretary of the Interior

AKIMA PINŠIWA AWIIKI (Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House)

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: DOMESTIC Sub: single dwelling

Current: RECREATION & CULTURE Sub: museum

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Mid-nineteenth century: Greek Revival

OTHER: I-House

MATERIALS:

Foundation: Stone (limestone)

Walls: Brick, stone (limestone)

Roof: wood (shingle)

Other: wood

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Summary Statement of Significance

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is a rare and exceptionally well-preserved example of an extant treaty house in the United States that was constructed as the direct result of treaty-making between American Indians and the US government. Built in 1827 as part of the terms of the 1826 Treaty between the Myaamia (Miami) and the United States, the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki was the primary residence and locus of Pinšišwa's activities as a sovereign leader in Myaamia negotiations with the United States government during the years 1818 to 1841.¹ The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) Criterion 2 for its association with Pinšišwa, the *akima* (civil chief) of the Myaamia. Pinšišwa was able to maintain the cultural identity of his tribe while achieving and maintaining tribal consensus under his strong leadership. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is also eligible under NHL Criterion 1 because much of the Old Northwest Territory was shaped by treaties brokered by Pinšišwa, allowing for more than half of the Myaamia to remain in their traditional homeland even after much of the territory was ceded to the United States. By weathering the political changes brought about the westward expansion of the United States, the waning of European influence in the Great Lakes, and changing US policy toward American Indians, Pinšišwa profoundly shaped the political landscape of his people, the state of Indiana, and the Old Northwest Territory of the United States.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.**Site and Location**

The house is situated on a low ridge that is near the geographical center of a tract of land Pinšišwa received in a fee-simple land grant as part of the terms of the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's. The ridge is one of the highest points in the area. Pinšišwa specifically sited the house to provide an overview of the important Myaamia-controlled portage between the *mameewa siippiwi* (St. Mary's River) and the *pwaawikamisiipi* (Little Wabash – weak-water river), and the traditional village of the *cecaahkwaki* (crane band) of the Myaamia. Pinšišwa inherited the specific control of this portage from his Myaamia mother, Tahkamwa (Crossbill – *Loxia* spp.). The house was constructed as a result of the 1826 treaty negotiated by Pinšišwa, which included an agreement for the US government to build houses for him and eight other Myaamia chiefs. The US government provided \$600 for each house, and Pinšišwa added \$1,600 of his own money to have a more substantial house constructed.

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is located in what is now the southwestern part of Fort Wayne, Indiana, colloquially known as Waynedale. In the Fort Wayne area, Pinšišwa was known and is remembered by most Euro-Americans as Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville, and the land in the area around the house is identified as the "Richardville Reserve." Descendants of Pinšišwa owned the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki and resided in it until at least 1908. Between 1907 and 1908, several parcels of land, one of which included the house, were sold to the Savin/Alden family.² Carrie Savin/Alden and her husband, Judge Samuel R. Alden, never lived in the house or at the site, but leased the property to tenant farmers for many years. In 1942, the portion of land directly north of the house was sold to the Southwest Conservation Club. In 1950, the Alden's son, Whiting, sold the house and land to the Lincoln National Bank, who then sold it to Isabelle May. Through her husband's company, Wayne Center, Inc., the house and property continued to be leased to tenants until 1983 when Burt Keenan

¹ Pinšišwa is pronounced "Pin-ZHOO-wah." The Myaamia are commonly and historically known as the Miami. The Myaamia names of people are capitalized in this nomination, although this is not the practice of modern Myaamia speakers. Other Myaamia words are not capitalized but are instead italicized.

² Sara J. Savin, et al. (presumably other family members) purchased a portion of the land in 1907. In 1908, Carrie Savin Alden (Sara's daughter) purchased another portion of the Richardville Reserve that included the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki.

purchased the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki. In 1991, Keenan sold the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki to the current owner, the Fort Wayne-Allen County Historical Society.³

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is located in the St. Mary's River Valley near the vicinity of the traditional Myaamia village *Kiihkayonki* (Kekionga). The St. Mary's River flows northwest from headwaters in Auglaize County, Ohio, to its confluence with the St. Joseph River in Fort Wayne, Indiana. According to Myaamia geography, the *mameewa siipiiwi* (St. Mary's River) meets the *kóchiihsasiipi* (St. Joseph River) and continues to Lake Erie.⁴ The two rivers combine to form the *taawaawa siipiiwi* (Maumee River), which flows northeast to Lake Erie. The St. Mary's River forms the south and western border of the Maumee River Basin and forms part of the boundary between the Tipton Till Plain and the Maumee Lacustrine Plain, or Black Swamp Natural Area.

Fort Wayne, Indiana, is located at the confluence of the rivers and sits on a continental divide. Rainwater from Fort Wayne flows north and east to the Great Lakes via the St. Mary's and St. Joseph Rivers. Rainwater from two miles west of the confluence at Fort Wayne flows south and west to the Mississippi River via the Little River, Wabash River, and Ohio River. For the Myaamia, the flow is from the *pwaawikamisiipi* (Little Wabash, meaning "weak-water river") to the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* (Wabash River) which continues west to the Mississippi.⁵

The Little Wabash River Valley between the Great Lakes and Mississippi River drainages was known as the "nine-mile portage," and was a critically important link in transportation controlled by the Myaamia. For the Myaamia and other American Indian nations as well as travelers, settlers, and traders from the United States and Europe, this transportation node was a crucial juncture for water-based travel. The Myaamia referred to the area as the "Gateway." In speaking of *Kiihkayonki*, Mihšihkinaahkwa (Little Turtle) identified it as "that glorious gate ... through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north and the south, and from the east and the west."⁶

General Description

Today, the Pinšišwa property is less than one acre in size, reduced from the numerous parcels of the original Pinšišwa treaty settlement land in the early-to-mid-1800s. The land to the north of the house retains much of its original topography and landscape and is now the grounds of the Southwest Conservation Club. To the east, south, and southwest of the property some quarrying for sand and gravel occurred during the mid-twentieth century. The steep slope in those directions has since become covered in second-growth forest. The land to the west along either side of Bluffton Road, Indiana State Road One (1), is lined with commercial and residential development, the view of which is obscured by trees in the yard area of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki. The house does not face Bluffton Road, instead it is oriented toward the banks of the *mameewa siipiiwi* (St. Mary's River), which is approximately one-quarter mile to the north-northeast.

³ Allen County, Indiana, deed records on file in the Allen County Courthouse, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

⁴ Michael McCafferty, *Native American Place-Names of Indiana* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 74-86. According to McCafferty, the Maumee River retains the original Myaamia name and understanding of the river, as an extension of the St. Mary's River to the east, and not as a new river created from the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20-38, and 102. The Myaamia considered the Ohio River to be a tributary of the Wabash, which continued west to the confluence with the Mississippi.

⁶ Logan Esarey, ed., *Governor's Messages and Letters*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Historical Commission, 1922), 576; quoted in Robert Mann, "The Silenced Miami: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Evidence for Miami-British Relations, 1795-1812," *Ethnohistory* 46 (Summer 1999): 408.

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A narrow asphalt drive, circa 1950, extends from Bluffton Road east to the house, and widens to create a parking area on the north side of the house. The drive continues around the east, south, and west sides of the house, returning to the main drive. On the north side of the house, two mature “twisted” Silver Maple (*Acer saccharinum*) trees stand at equal distances from the main entrance. At this time, it cannot be determined whether the twisting of the Silver Maples was caused by an act of nature or by human manipulation. The Myaamia refer to the Silver Maple as *soowanaahki*.⁷ These two remarkable trees are contributing landscape elements to the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki.⁸ Within the lawn area surrounding the house are located two mature Lilac trees (*Syringa spp.*), that may be contemporary to the residency of Pinšišwa’s family during the nineteenth century. A grouping of Eastern White Pines (*Pinus strobus*) was planted on the west side of the house, near the point where the circle drive meets the main drive, and are contemporary with the paved driveway. The driveway and grouping of pine trees occurred after the period of significance and are non-contributing elements to the site.

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki was built in 1827. It is massed as an I-House with a two story side-gable rectangular main block that has a one-and-a-half story, gabled rear wing attached to the southwest corner. The rear alcove thus formed has a porch located under the eaves, which follows the rake of the rear wing’s roof. Trim details of a wide frieze board, entrance surround, and gable returns are consistent with early Greek Revival style in northern Indiana. The five bay facade faces north. The walls of the house are soft red brick laid in an American bond style. Sills and lintels are plain-dressed limestone.

The walls of the foundation are *waapahsena* (limestone), which has a symbolic meaning to the Myaamia people.⁹ The *waapahsena* rubble walls of the foundation are topped by a cut stone water table with vertical tooling on the main block’s facade. Other walls have no water table, only the coursed rubble *waapahsena* foundation is visible. The walls of the entire house are topped by a wood entablature beneath close, boxed eaves. The entablature is a typical American interpretation of the Greek three-part feature, with architrave defined by a simple necking molding, plain frieze, and cornice. The cornice conceals a built-in guttering system.

The first floor of the five-bay facade has a wide central door flanked by two windows on each side with five windows in alignment above on the second floor. The basement level has four openings aligning with the windows. Each window has a wood grille with square vertical bars. Concrete steps access the front entry. The wood shouldered surround with a box cornice frames the entry’s four-panel door. The door has tall upper panels and short lower ones and is set deeply into the wall with wood jamb panels lining the entryway. Original lock hardware and hinges remain on the door. The narrow transom over the door is original and has two panes with narrow muntins. Because the original, wood six-over-six double hung sash windows were removed at some point, newly-milled replicas of the original windows have been installed. First floor windows have solid panel shutters with the original iron shutter dogs, and the second floor windows have louvered shutters. All of the shutters are painted green, with the color suggested by other contemporary examples of French homes of the

⁷ George M. Ironstrack and Daryl Baldwin, Myaamia Project, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, to Angie Quinn, December 19, 2008, ARCH, Inc. files, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

⁸ Because it has not been determined whether or not the two twisted Silver maples have Myaamia cultural significance, it is not advisable to ring-date the trees.

⁹ Ironstrack and Baldwin, Myaamia Project. “In myaamia limestone is “waapahsena” - literally ‘white stone’ - this is an animate noun which marks the stone as significant to Miami people. I believe that it is this stone that gives the Wabash River its name. While its inclusion as a building material was probably made because of availability and construction practices of the day, its inclusion would have been significant for the myaamia who gathered there.”

period in Detroit and Canada. The roof is covered in wood shingles and the ridge shingles are combed to the south.

The east and west elevations of the front block are nearly identical with each having a blank, brick gable end wall with wood raking entablature and returns. The roof ridge on each side has a double flue internal chimney. The cap of each chimney is corbelled. Roughly half of the south elevation of the main block is visible; the west half is largely hidden by a one-and-one-half story ell with half-gabled porch across its east face. The rear (south) elevation of the main block has a basement opening, first floor window, and second floor window toward the east corner. The basement opening is slightly west of alignment with the two windows. Toward the center of the main block, there is a second floor window with one (east) shutter due to the rake of the porch roof, and, a door under the porch in alignment with it. The full entablature treatment extends across this side of the main block. The ell has a gable roof perpendicular to the main roof, but, at one and one-half stories, its ridge meets the back of the main block below the main eaves. The ell is believed to be original to the house, as evidenced by a pre-1894 historic photograph that shows the original Greek Revival porch.¹⁰

Circa 1915, the porch was enclosed as a sunroom-like feature and its roof line merged with that of the ell. The original porch configuration was restored in 2003. The east side porch of the ell has a half gable or shed roof with the ridge line just below a wood, full entablature mimicking that of the main block. The porch's wood deck floor rests on brick piers partially covered by a skirting board. The open area under the porch is blocked off by vertical, wood lattice bar frames that span between the piers. A broad set of wood steps provides access to the porch from the south. Also clad in wood shingles, the porch roof is carried on three stout square Doric columns, and a similar pilaster against the back of the main block. The half-gable of the porch is sided with horizontal boards and a modest entablature molding runs atop the columns and around to the half gable. The ell roof and porch roof have metal half-round gutters on the east side. In 2003, an ADA accessible lift was installed to provide access to the porch on the ground adjacent between the middle two porch columns. Metal plates conceal the square opening for the lift, when it is not in use. The control buttons are on a three foot high post set in the ground next to the lift. Under the porch, the east wall of the ell has, at its south end, a plank door, and a window on the north end. The rear wall of the main block has a door under the porch.

The south gable end wall of the ell has no first floor openings and two square, symmetrically placed, wood three-over-three double hung windows. Eaves are minimal and are trimmed with a narrow raking cornice. The west wall of the ell is flush with the west wall of the two-story main block. There are two six-over-six windows on the first floor of this wall of the ell, each placed toward the outside corners. The roof of the ell has a small, square, brick chimney roughly centered in the mass of the ell. The chimney rises to just above the eaves line of the main block of the house.

Exterior Rehabilitation of the Akima Pinšiwā Awiiki

Shortly after purchasing the akima Pinšiwā Awiiki in 1991, the Fort Wayne-Allen County Historical Society decided to re-roof the house. During the 1992 inspection of the roof prior to the re-roofing, it became evident that the existing roofline was the product of an alteration at some time after the initial construction of the house. The eave projections were made of a variety of reused materials. In the course of their research regarding the history of the akima Pinšiwā Awiiki, the historical society located a historic photograph of the Hanna house that

¹⁰ The photograph is of Sahkonkwa (James Godfroy), who was the son of Myaamia leader Palaanswa (Francis Godfroy). Sahkonkwa married Pinšiwā's granddaughter, Maankoonsihkwa, (Archangel) in 1841.

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was contemporary to the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki. The house was owned by Samuel Hanna, and its construction is credited to his brother Hugh Hanna, who was one of the construction supervisors for the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki. Details from the Hanna house historic photograph provided useful evidence for the historical society's future rehabilitation plans for the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki.

When nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1997, the exterior of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki still had stucco walls and an overhanging roof with scroll-sawn rafter ends. A number of these features probably were included in a remodeling done circa 1915 by the owners of the property (Savin/Alden) at that time. The circa 1915 alterations also included the installation of six-over-one sash replacements on almost all of the windows, the stuccoing of the exterior, and the enclosure of the rear porch alcove with a ribbon of high windows to create a sun room. Taken together, these features were likely intended to refashion the exterior in the manner of the popular Colonial Revival style of that time. Another feature that may also have been a part of that renovation was the addition of a one-bay porch that, until 1995, sheltered the front door. It had a classical architrave supported by two Tuscan piers. At some time after 1915, a garage was attached to the house. The outline of a lower roof on the rear wing's gable shows the location of a wood-frame garage addition that was demolished probably in the 1960s.

The Fort Wayne-Allen County Historical Society determined that the most significant period of the building was during its occupancy by Pinšišwa from 1827 to 1841, and these dates guided the rehabilitation effort that took place between 2002 and 2003. With funds from the federal Save America's Treasures grant program, the Fort Wayne-Allen County Historical Society completed an exterior rehabilitation of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki in 2003. The rehabilitation was reviewed by the National Park Service, the Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, and the staff of the Fort Wayne Historic Preservation Review Board for compliance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation. Ratio Architects, Inc., an Indianapolis firm, provided architectural services for the project.

The rehabilitation focused on the exterior, since the interior retains much of its original appearance in the principal rooms. The project corrected three major items: the removal of the stucco on the exterior walls, the restoration of the original rear porch configuration, and the replacement of windows with replicas of the original six-over-six sash type. Other related items included the restoration of the wooden entablature and repair of some of the exterior doors to their original condition. The front door of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki was also restored to its original Greek Revival appearance with a surround flanked by engaged pilasters framed behind a shouldered architrave casing. The muntins for the replica windows were based on those originals found on the transom over the front door.

During the 2002 work season, workers removed the tightly adhered stucco and carefully cleaned and repointed the original brick. Damage to the original brick from the stucco removal resulted in the replacement of some of the bricks (less than 10 percent), and some of the scar marks from the stuccoing are visible. The new brick does not noticeably vary in color from the original brick. Once cleaned, the original bricks were found to be in good condition. In one area, an additional window had been cut into the second floor west gable end, south of the center chimney. This window sash and casing was removed, and new brick carefully toothed-in to make a veneer patch on the exterior.

The original porch roof was discovered under the circa 1915 porch roof line while investigating the back porch. A historic photograph of Sahkonkwa (James R. Godfroy) sitting on the back porch of the house revealed the style of the original columns, which was useful for the restoration of the porch. Evidence of the addition of a

bathroom to the porch area was easily discernible. The bathroom was removed during the rehabilitation, and openings from the house to the porch were restored to the original door and window.

Description of the Interior and Interior Rehabilitation of the Akima Pinšišwa Awiiki

The interior of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is a central hall I-House with one room on either side of the stair hall on each floor of the main block and the space in the rear wing unevenly divided into two rooms by a lateral partition. The four rooms of the main block were heated by gable-positioned hearths with interior chimneys. The house has plastered walls and ceilings and hardwood floors of oak and poplar. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki has an unfinished basement under the main block with rubble walls that have been reinforced with concrete; a crawl space extends under the rear wing. In addition to the front stairway in the main block, enclosed stairs against the south wall of the rear wing provides access to a loft.

The central hall is dominated by the main staircase that is located on the west side of the room. The newel post has a simple urn-shaped profile. The stair has a balustrade composed of tapered spindles standing on the open ends of the treads and supporting a delicate ogee-section handrail. Though portions are now painted, the entire stairway, excluding the oak treads, appears to be made of walnut. The handrail continues uninterrupted up the stairway and forms radial corners that follow the return of the upper run of treads and the rectangular stairwell opening. A door under the upper run of the stairs opens to the back porch. The door located at the east end of the north wall in the hall provides access to the basement.

The room to the east of the hall on the first floor was presumably the parlor. A hearth is centered on the east wall of the room, flanked by alcoves formed by the chimney's projection. Broad casings with shouldered architrave trim formed by a plain square bolection are used on the parlor casings, and the same motif is repeated in the design of the room's mantelpiece. The tall baseboards are capped with a plain Doric torus. The windows are set into shallow reveals behind the casings and have paneled aprons beneath their sills. This same treatment, but with the use of shouldered profiles limited to the mantle only, is repeated in the presumed dining room on the west side of the first floor. The dining room also differs in that the fireplace is flanked on either side by cased openings that presently have cupboards surmounted by open shelving. The cupboard doors appear to have been made by cutting down original full-length doors. The masonry of the dining room fireplace is covered with a modern brick and tile veneer, and the floor is a ca. 1950 replacement in maple.

The treatment of the dining room fireplace wall is repeated in the east chamber on the second floor, where the original full-length doors open to shallow closets. The arrangement seen in the parlor is repeated in the west second-floor chamber. A modern window which had been added to the south of the mantle was removed during the 2003 rehabilitation. Though the use of wide bolection casings continues through the chambers on the second floor, the windows are set above plain sills and aprons, and the use of shouldered profiles is omitted everywhere. The tall baseboards in these rooms have plain beveled tops.

The rear wing of the house appears to be the area most altered over time. At present, there is a room immediately behind the dining room and a smaller room beyond. The first room has a door and recently restored window on its east wall; the door provides access to the rear porch. The room has a window on its west wall and a door into the dining room in the center of its north wall. An ADA compliant restroom was added on the west wall of the room during the 2003 rehabilitation. The south wall of this room is a frame partition that has a cupboard-cum-bookcase built into it on the west side of a concealed chimney. A simple chair rail extends around the room, but at a height that puts it above the sill line of the window. Pinšišwa's large,

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lead safe is located in this room—it is the only known furnishing that is original to the house. Other furnishings throughout the house were donated to the Fort Wayne-Allen County Historical Society, and are of the period, but are not known to have belonged to Pinšišwa or his descendants.

The smaller room in the rear wing has an enclosure for the back stairs against the southeast corner of the room. Both the base of the back stairs and a closet under the stairs are finished with four-panel doors of the type seen elsewhere in the house. A door on the east side of the room provides access to the rear porch. Neither the lateral wall nor the crawlspace below the rear wing provides any readily apparent evidence of a vanished kitchen hearth. The knee-walled loft above the rear wing is divided into two areas. A chimney is located between the two areas. The loft has plastered walls and ceilings and a hardwood floor. The top of the back stairway lacks any balustrade, and a temporary safety barrier has been installed. Access into the west chamber of the main wing is provided from the loft by a step at an opening that is likely a later alteration.

Historic Integrity

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki retains historic integrity for its period of significance, 1827-1841. Built in 1827, the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is a rare example of a US treaty house overlooks the traditional Myaamia portage area, and is oriented to the banks of the *mameewa siipiwi* (St. Mary's River), which is approximately one-quarter mile to the north-northeast. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki retains a strong sense of feeling and cultural association for the Myaamia. Many of the Eastern Myaamia continue to live and work in Indiana and live within a few miles of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki, including his direct descendants, some of whom are actively engaged in interpretation and education programs at the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki.

The house sits on land that Pinšišwa negotiated for in the 1818 treaty between the Myaamia and the US government, adding to the overall integrity of setting, association, and feeling. The house is sited on land that was traditionally of great significance to the Myaamia and Pinšišwa's family.

The land to the north of the house, including the grounds of the Southwest Conservation Club, retains much of its original topography and landscape, and thus, retains a strong sense of setting, feeling, and association for the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki. Although the land to the south had been quarried at one time, the land is now covered over by second-growth forest that obscures evidence of the quarry. Trees on the grounds surrounding the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki also obscure the view of the commercial and residential development on Bluffton Road, located about a quarter mile west of the house.

Archeological excavations of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki site have documented prehistoric occupation of the site during the Late Archaic period (3000-5000 BP), Late Woodland period (AD 500-1300), and the early historic period of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. The excavations have proven valuable in providing information about both the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki and its occupants, and in providing strong evidence that Pinšišwa, his family, and portions of the Myaamia village resided at this site prior to the 1827 construction date of the house.

While not enough archeology has been performed at the site to evaluate the property under NHL Criterion 6, the information gained from these excavations has the potential to provide important context for understanding the productive life of Pinšišwa and the life of his family. Therefore, the archeological resources here contribute to Criterion 2.

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For two field seasons in 1992 and 1995, students of the Indiana Purdue University Fort Wayne Archaeological Field School, under the direction of Dr. Robert J. Jeske, participated in archeological excavations at the Pinšišwa/Richardville site. A total of fifteen two-by-two and one one-by-two meter units were excavated at the site.

Historic materials that date to the period of significance recovered at the site include historic ceramics, metal items, including a razor, bullet shells, pocket knife fragments, percussion caps, and silver spoon fragments, bone and shell artifacts indicating diet, shell buttons, architectural materials, and clay pipe stems.

While some of the site has been disturbed by sewer and water pipes and modern construction, areas around the house and beneath the asphalt drive continue to have excellent stratigraphic integrity. These areas hold additional potential to provide information about the location of buildings no longer extant such as outbuildings, foundations, privies, and, more importantly, key social information associated with Pinšišwa and his family, and the perceptions of both the Myaamia and European community with whom he interacted.

While not high-style architecture, the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki displays a level of stylistic appearance, workmanship, and use of materials commensurate with the status of the *akima* Pinšišwa and the importance of the Myaamia. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki was a grand and elaborate home constructed of red brick with a *waapahsena* (limestone) foundation in contrast to the log construction of most homes in the larger Fort Wayne, Indiana, area during that period. The use of *waapahsena* (limestone) in the foundation is of cultural significance to the Myaamia. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki retains exceptional integrity in its design, workmanship, materials, feeling, and association.

The extent to which the present house is the same building that was constructed for Pinšišwa in 1827 is illuminated by a document now in the Indiana State Library. The papers of John Tipton, the Indian Agent who was responsible for the construction of nine houses that were provided for prominent Myaamia according to the terms of the 1826 Treaty of Paradise Springs, are located there. A sheet dated August 30, 1827, entitled "1827 Plan of J. B. Richardville's House," combines the modern functions of architectural plans and specifications, as well as the construction contract. The floor plan, shown on one side of the page, is surrounded by hand-written specifications. The floor plan shows a scheme that is a mirror-image of the present house as it exists today with respect to the placement of the rear wing. The rear wing itself is shown as a single room seventeen square feet with a hearth centered on its end (south) wall and no rear stairs. The reversal of the floor plan re-oriented the house to protect the back porch from the prevailing southwesterly winds.

The interior of the house is intact in terms of having retained most of the original plan, as well as the principal architectural elements: front door surround, stairway, fireplaces, and monumentally-scaled woodwork and mantelpieces. Though the French carpets, wallpapers, and draperies that were once described by visitors have long since vanished, enough remains of the original character of the house to provide compelling tangible evidence of Pinšišwa's presence in this place. A recent investigation of early interior finishes provides some clues for future restoration projects.¹¹

¹¹ Ronald Koenig, *A Finishes Investigation & Study of the Interior of the Pinšišwa/Richardville Residence Fort Wayne, Indiana* (Fort Wayne, IN: Fort Wayne-Allen County Historical Society, 2003). Koenig found few examples of original wallpaper finishes in either of the front parlors, but did find flakes of gold leaf in the original varnish of the baseboards of the east parlor. This would indicate that gold-leaf had been applied to some decorative element in the room during the construction phase. In addition, evidence in the dining room area indicated that a rich, deep blue had been painted on the walls above a chair rail at the time of construction.

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This unique property remains as a rare resource type representing the life and accomplishments of the Myaamia *akima* Pinšišwa, who successfully led and negotiated for his people in the face of the political encroachment and the geographic expansion of the United States government into tribal homeland.

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
 Nationally: X Statewide: Locally:

Applicable National

Register Criteria: A X B X C X D X

Criteria Considerations

(Exceptions): A B C D E F G

NHL Criteria: 1 and 2

NHL Criteria Exceptions: N/A

NHL Theme(s):

I. Peopling Places
 5. Ethnic homelands
 6. Encounters, conflicts, and colonization
 IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
 4. Political ideas, cultures, and theories.

Areas of Significance: Ethnic Heritage: Native American

Period(s) of Significance: 1827-1841

Significant Dates: N/A

Significant Person(s): *akima* Pinšiva (Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville)

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: A. G. Ballard, Hugh Hanna, William Rockhill

Historic Contexts:

V. Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1860
 G. Jacksonian Democracy, 1828-1844
 X. Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States
 C. Military-Aboriginal American Contact and Conflict
 1. East of the Mississippi, 1763-1850

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary Statement of Significance¹²

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is a rare example of a treaty house remaining in the United States that was constructed as the direct result of treaty-making between American Indians and the United States government. Built in 1827 as part of the terms of the 1826 Treaty between the Myaamia (Miami) and the United States, the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki was the primary residence and the locus of Pinšišwa's activities as a sovereign leader in Myaamia negotiations with the United States government during the years 1818 to 1841.

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) Criterion 2 because the house is the most important place associated with Pinšišwa, the *akima* (civil chief) of the Myaamia. Pinšišwa was able to maintain the cultural identity of his tribe while achieving tribal consensus under his strong leadership. His efforts resulted in treaties that shaped much of the Old Northwest Territory, and that allowed for more than half of the Myaamia to remain in their traditional homeland, even after much of the territory was ceded to the United States. The *akima* Pinšišwa was a nationally significant American Indian statesman and leader.¹³

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is also eligible under NHL Criterion 1 because it represents the particular skillfulness of the Myaamia in weathering the political changes caused by the westward expansion of the United States, the waning of European influence in the Great Lakes, and changing federal policy toward American Indians. Pinšišwa profoundly affected the political landscape of his people, the state of Indiana, and the Old Northwest Territory of the United States.

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is eligible under two National Historic Landmark Themes; I. Peopling Places: ethnic homelands and encounters, conflicts, and colonization; and IV. Shaping the Political Landscape: Political ideas, cultures, and theories. The period of significance for the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is 1827-1841, which is the period from the construction and occupation of the house by Pinšišwa until his death in 1841. It is important to note that Pinšišwa lived at the site of the house prior to its construction. The site was historically significant to Pinšišwa's Myaamia family because of the portage overview it provided. A major village of the Myaamia, *Kiihkayonki* (Kekionga), was located within a few miles of the house site.

Events Leading to the Ascendancy of Pinšišwa as the *Akima* of the Myaamia

Pinšišwa (Bobcat), whose Euro-American name was Jean-Baptiste de Richardville, was born in 1761 to a Myaamia mother, Tahkamwa (Crossbill – *Loxia* spp.), and a French father, Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richerville.¹⁴ He inherited powerful traditions from both of his parents. The mixed blood or "*Métis*" birth was

¹² This nomination was completed with assistance from: 1. The Myaamia Project, Miami University of Ohio, particularly George M. Ironstrack and Daryl Baldwin. The Myaamia Project, created in 2001, is a tribal initiative located within an academic environment to advance the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma's language and cultural revitalization efforts. The Myaamia Project is directly supported by the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and Miami University; Creager Smith, Preservation Planner, City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, with the early versions of this document; Dani Tippman, Interpreter/educator at the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki, a Pinšišwa descendent, and member of the Miami Nation; Michael McCafferty, Algonquian linguist on the faculty of the Department of Second Language Studies at Indiana University, and on the Historical Landscapes of the Miami Committee, Myaamia Project, Miami University of Ohio.

¹³ McCafferty, *Place-Names*, 74-86. According to McCafferty, the modern term for a head chief is spelled "*akima*." The earlier historic civil chief had a different function, and was referred to as "*akimaawa*." *Akima* will be used throughout this nomination to reflect the specific role of Pinšišwa among the Myaamia.

¹⁴ The Richerville name underwent a spelling change in the late eighteenth century, and most texts refer to Pinšišwa, the son, as Richardville. A small town in central Indiana retains the pronunciation of the earlier form, as it is known as "Russiaville."

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common in the Northwest Territory.¹⁵ Although “*Métis*” is a term commonly used today by historians and anthropologists, during his lifetime Pinšišwa never used this term to refer to himself. From a Myaamia point of view, marriage connected families and produced alliances. The children of these marriages often served their communities as leaders and negotiators because they enacted, as well as symbolized the alliances key to communal success. Pinšišwa’s heritage came from French nobility on his father’s side, and from his mother’s side he was descended from a long line of Myaamia *akimas* (civil chiefs) of the *cecaahkwaki* (crane) band.¹⁶

The Myaamia, or Miami, are an Algonquian speaking people most closely related in language and culture to the Kaskaskia and Illinois nations. Traditionally residing in the western Great Lakes, the Myaamia, Kaskaskia, and Illinois were among the westernmost Algonquian peoples during the prehistoric and early contact periods. By the early 1800s, the Algonquian tribes spread across much of the eastern seaboard of Canada and the United States, and extended into the Southeast and west as far as the Mississippi River.

When French explorers and traders first penetrated northern Indiana, they encountered Myaamia and other Algonquian people of the Great Lakes migrating back into the lower Great Lakes region. The return of the Myaamia to the area followed a century of warfare and displacement during a westward expansion by the Iroquois. By 1700, the Myaamia had led the Algonquian peoples against the Iroquois, forcing them to retreat from the Great Lakes region. The Myaamia then returned to their traditional lands south of Lake Michigan and Lake Erie.¹⁷

The Myaamia did not restrict themselves to the courses of rivers via canoes; they also developed trails that cut more directly across prairie and wooded areas. By charging a toll to those that sought passage by trail or canoe, the Myaamia acquired great wealth and prestige. The Myaamia flourished at strategic confluences and portages throughout the Old Northwest Territory, from central Illinois to northwestern Ohio. Before 1700, the Myaamia located their major village at the confluence of the St. Mary’s and the St. Joseph Rivers. There, according to the Myaamia, the *mameewa siipiiwi* (St. Mary’s River) met the *kóchiihsasiipi* (St. Joseph River) and continued to Lake Erie.¹⁸ The Myaamia also controlled both sides of an important portage route between the *mameewa siipiiwi* (St. Mary’s River) and the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* (Wabash River), with additional control of the Forks of the Wabash River at present-day Huntington, Indiana.

The French made trade contacts with the Myaamia and other American Indians and built a series of forts and posts at strategic waterway junctions throughout the northwest. These forts and trading posts facilitated travel between Canada and Louisiana, but also served to protect French colonial claims and their trade from the British. The French established a trading post, and built two forts at the confluence of the *mameewa siipiiwi* (St. Mary’s River) and *kóchiihsasiipi* (St. Joseph River) in what is now downtown Fort Wayne. The first fort, Fort St. Philippe des Miamis, was built in 1722 on the *mameewa siipiiwi* (St. Mary’s River), a short distance from the confluence, near the east end of the portage to the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* (Wabash River). A Myaamia

¹⁵ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1-49. Pinšišwa was one of a large number of French-Indian *Métis* who resulted from the Bourbon French-American policy of sending three groups of French to the colonies of New France and Louisiana: nobles (both grand and *écuyer* classes) for government and military matters, Catholic bishops and missionaries, and licensed traders. Both the traders and the gentry were encouraged to live among and intermarry with the local American Indians. Accompanying priests were to convert, marry, and baptize.

¹⁶ Michael McCafferty to Angie Quinn, ARCH, Inc., November 14, 2008, ARCH, Inc. files, Fort Wayne, Indiana. McCafferty notes that the Myaamia translates to *cecaahkwaki* in their language, with the “c” pronounced “ch,” as in child. The older term, Atchachacongouan, is a garbled spelling of an Ojibwe word for the Myaamia.

¹⁷ White, *Middle Ground*, 1-49.

¹⁸ McCafferty, *Place-Names*, 74-86. According to McCafferty, the Maumee River retains the original Myaamia name and understanding of the river, as an extension of the St. Mary’s River to the east, and not as a new river created from the confluence of the St. Mary’s and St. Joseph.

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village was close by, where a number of French traders also lived. The second, Fort Miamis, was built in 1750 on the right bank of the *kóchiihsasiipi* (St. Joseph River) just above the confluence and in the center of a cluster of Myaamia villages and traders.¹⁹ The principal village among this cluster was *Kiihkayonki* (Kekionga) and the whole area was often referred to as Miamitown. *Kiihkayonki* was a highly important commercial site and transportation node, and has been described as “only slightly less a strategic and military site than Detroit or Michilimackinac.”²⁰

Pinšišwa’s father, Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richerville, was a lieutenant attached to the second French fort near *Kiihkayonki* in the 1750s.²¹ The Drouets were among the landed gentry of France, and the Richerville estate was one of the Drouet estates that dated back to 1201.²² Financially troubled, Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richerville came to the *Kiihkayonki* area to trade with the Indians and “rebuild his family’s lost fortune.”²³

Pinšišwa’s mother had an equally distinguished heritage. Tahkamwa (Maria Louisa) was the sister of Pakaana, the Myaamia’s *akima* (principal civil chief). Tahkamwa most likely served as an *akimaahkwia* (women’s chief) at *Kiihkayonki*, and oversaw many of the aspects of village life. “Women of the elite, or chiefly class, could also hold positions as either village or war chiefs or medicine women, the same designations used among the men... As chiefs, their power was inherited through their fathers, who would also have been chiefs. Tahkamwa was the daughter of a chief and was probably a chief herself, since she engaged in activities that came under the domain of a woman chief.”²⁴

Jehu Hay, the British Agent at Detroit in 1774, described Tahkamwa as possessing powerful political influence. He also stated, “she is capable of doing a good deal of mischief and the rest of the French Traders are under some apprehension that she will...”²⁵ Prospering from her political control of the portage, from which as much as \$100 a day was earned, Tahkamwa was an established trader whose example and tutelage guided her son.²⁶

Both Pakaana and Tahkamwa were of the *cecaahkwaki* (crane band) of the Myaamia.²⁷ She and Pakaana were the great-niece and great-nephew of an earlier *akima*, Wisekaukautshe, known to the French as Pied Froid.²⁸ The marriage of Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richerville and Tahkamwa (also known as Maria Louisa) brought

¹⁹ Charles R. Poinsett, *Outpost in the Wilderness: Fort Wayne, 1706 – 1828* (Fort Wayne, IN: Allen County Fort Wayne Historical Society, 1976), 12-13.

²⁰ White, *Middle Ground*, 448.

²¹ Donald Chaput, “The Family of Drouet de Richerville: Merchants, Soldiers, and Chiefs of Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 74 (June 1978): 103-16. Variant spellings of Drouet used.

²² R. S. Roberts, “A Curious and Important Discovery in Indiana: The Chief of the Miamis,” *Magazine of American History* 24 (July 1890): 46.

²³ John Beatty, Phyllis Robb, Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society, and Allen County Genealogical Society, *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005*, vol. 1 (Evansville, IN: M. T. Publishing, 2006), 11.

²⁴ Karen Marrero, “‘She is Capable of Doing a Great Deal of Mischief;’ A Miami Woman’s Threat to Empire in the Eighteenth Century Ohio Valley,” *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 6, no. 3 (2005): 11.

²⁵ Marrero, “‘She is Capable of Doing a Great Deal of Mischief;’” 14-15. Jehu Hay was the father of Henry Hay who would later describe J. B. Richardville in 1789.

²⁶ Bradley J. Birzer, “Expanding Creative Destruction: Entrepreneurship in the American West,” *Western Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1999): 45.

²⁷ Bert Anson, *The Miami Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 13.

²⁸ Marrero, “‘She is Capable of Doing a Great Deal of Mischief;’” 5; Beatty, *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County*, 11; and Stewart Rafert, *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1996), 37. It has been hypothesized that Pakaana and Tahkamwa were the children of Aquenackqua and an older Pakaana, and the grandchildren of French trader Pierre Roi and Margaret Ouanbankikoue, sister of Wisekaukautshe (Pied Froid). But, according to Ironstrack and Baldwin: “Tribal genealogists believe that the Margaret who shows up in the marriage record in Montreal is not the mother of Tahkamwa because the baptismal records of children born to that woman do not match any of Tahkamwa’s siblings... ‘Roi’ (king) was a common way Europeans referred to an *akima*, so “dit Roi” could also be interpreted to mean that she was the daughter of a chief (the elder Pakaana) and not the daughter of a French man named Roi.”

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together vital government and trade connections in Canada with *cecaahkwaki* trade and political connections for their son Pinšišwa (or Jean-Baptiste to the French). Pinšišwa, who was probably born in *Kiihkayonki*, was one of four children of this marriage; little is known of the other three. Pinšišwa was born into a community whose political status had changed after the British triumph in the French and Indian War. British troops had replaced the French garrison at *Kiihkayonki* in 1760. Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richerville arranged several visits to Canada for his son and oversaw his formal Catholic education in Detroit.

Richerville left *Kiihkayonki* and returned to Canada in the 1770s, after Tahkamwa ended their relationship and married an important trader named Charles Beaubien. The acrimonious divorce between Tahkamwa and Richerville was eventually adjudicated in 1774 in Detroit in what, for the time, must have been an extremely controversial and public case.²⁹ At issue was not only the property and wealth of the *akimaahkwia* Tahkamwa, but also her control over the vital, lucrative portage. Tahkamwa's claim to the portage rights was supported by her brother Pakaana and her new husband Beaubien. Capt. Richard Berringer Lernoult, the British commander at Detroit, confirmed Tahkamwa's control over the portage and her right to profit from its use. How this public feud affected the thirteen-year-old Pinšišwa is unknown, but it seems clear that he and his family fully understood the source of their power and were unwilling to surrender it. After the divorce, Pinšišwa remained with his Myaamia family and was raised to adulthood in that tradition. It is not known if Pinšišwa had any further contact with his father.

To attain the role of *akima*, or civil chieftainship of the Myaamia, the aspirant had to follow a highly formal and ceremonial procedure. Although the Myaamia were patrilineal in social structure, power was transferred matrilineally. Thus, the *akima* Pakaana inherited power from his great uncle Wisekaukautshe, and his own successor would be a son of one of his sisters, e.g., Pinšišwa, the son of his sister Tahkamwa. The ceremonial earning of the *akima* status consisted of a series of activities. Initially, the sister of the *akima* would wage a political campaign to win support for her son among their people, and the son would then confirm his fitness for election by performing a public act of unusual courage, daring, and leadership. Such public acts were documented for both Pakaana and Pinšišwa and are remarkably similar. In 1764, a young Pakaana rescued Captain Thomas Morris from death by a group of angry Myaamia. In about 1785, Pinšišwa saved an unnamed Euro-American prisoner from death, who publically thanked him when they met many years later in Ohio.³⁰

Leadership among the Myaamia was focused on service to the tribe. In 1720, Charlevoix described the leadership style of the Myaamia: "These chiefs generally have no great marks of outward respect paid them, and if they are never disobeyed, it is because they know how to set bounds to their authority. It is true that they request or propose, rather than command; and never exceed the boundaries of that small share of authority with which they are invested." The *akima* represented the consensus of the community.³¹ In 1832, as *akima*, Pinšišwa voiced his understanding of Myaamia community consensus, saying in reference to the US government, "Father, I have told you I do not speak for myself but for my people... What you hear from me is the voice of the Miamies."³²

²⁹ Marrero, "'She is Capable of Doing a Great Deal of Mischief,'" 1-3, 14-18.

³⁰ Thomas Morris, "The Journal of Captain Thomas Morris, 1764," *Old Fort News* 4 (February 1941): 4. See also Wallace A. Brice, *A History of Fort Wayne from the Earliest Known Accounts of This Point, to the Present Period* (Fort Wayne, IN: D. W. Jones, 1868), 8 and 314.

³¹ Ironstrack and Baldwin: "Leadership in our community was never about authority, it was focused on service... Among our community I look to the quote in the above text by Pinšišwa as an example of what he learned from his service and tutelage under the *akima* Pakaana."

³² K. A. Berry and M. A. Rinehart, "A Legacy of Forced Migration: the Removal of the Miami Tribe in 1846," *International Journal of Population Geography* (2003): 98. Quote from a letter written by Pinšišwa in 1832 (Ironstrack).

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During the American Revolution, the Myaamia, like many of the Algonquian peoples, supported the British. Pakaana and Charles Beaubien, Pinšiwa's step-father, participated in the capture of Vincennes.³³ In 1780, Beaubien lost his trading post in an attack on *Kiihkayonki* led by a French officer named LaBalme. After the attack on *Kiihkayonki*, Mihšihkinaahkwa (Little Turtle) gained his initial fame as a warrior and the position of *neenawihtoowa* (war chief) by striking LaBalme's camp west of *Kiihkayonki*.³⁴ Mihšihkinaahkwa and his war party killed LaBalme and many of his men; about half of LaBalme's force escaped.³⁵

Throughout his life Pinšiwa learned to be a cultural broker with the surrounding Indian tribes, the French, the English, United States military leaders and government officials, and the growing numbers of US settlers who crossed the Ohio River into Indian land.³⁶ These situations required Pinšiwa's ability to negotiate and broker between parties who had profoundly different, "mutually incomprehensible" worldviews.³⁷ Pinšiwa spoke the language of the Myaamia, as well English and French.³⁸ The "Middle Ground" approach and process required a rough balance of interest, need, and power between the parties.³⁹ As the *Pays d'en haut* (Great Lakes "upper country") matured and civilizations increasingly collided, the cultural brokerage of leaders such as Pinšiwa became ever more crucial.⁴⁰ The presence and interaction of Myaamia, French, British, Spanish, United States citizens, other tribes of the Great Lakes, and those tribes fleeing US frontier expansion, made the collection of *Kiihkayonki* villages in which Pinšiwa was raised as cosmopolitan a community as any that existed in the Great Lakes region.

At a young age, Pinšiwa had been trained to utilize his heritage, ingenuity, and skill, to become an influential assistant to his uncle, the *akima* Pakaana.⁴¹ He also became a trader under the tutelage of his mother and stepfather, Charles Beaubien. Pinšiwa's command of the language and customs of the Euro-American world gave him an advantage as he attempted to maintain the "Middle Ground" equilibrium between Euro-American and Indian cultures. Educated in both the French and Myaamia tradition, he gradually ascended to *de facto* status as *akima* upon the removal of his uncle to Vincennes after 1785, and became fully recognized as *akima* by the Myaamia and the United States government by 1818.

As Pinšiwa matured into his role as *akima*, he also married, and raised several children. It is thought that the marriage took place between 1780 and 1800, and his children were born between about 1790 and 1810. He married Naatowehkwa, who may have been Iroquois (her name means "Iroquois Woman" in Myaamia). She was the daughter of Waapeehsipana (White Raccoon), one of the leaders of the Myaamia. Naatowehkwa and Pinšiwa's children included: Kiinkwaatehkwa ("Long-Sewn-Hair," who was also known as LaBlonde and

³³ Bradley J. Birzer, "Entangling Empires, Fracturing Frontiers: Jean Baptiste de Richardville and the Quest for Miami Autonomy, 1760-1841 (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1998), 60; Bradley J. Birzer, "French Imperial Remnants on the Middle Ground: The Strange Case of August de la Balme and Charles Beaubien," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 93 (Summer 2000): 140, 144.

³⁴ Michael McCafferty to Angie Quinn, ARCH, Inc., August 6, 2008, ARCH, Inc. files, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

³⁵ Birzer, "Entangling Empires, 61-65; See also Harvey Lewis Carter, *The Life and Times of Chief Little Turtle: First Sagamore of the Wabash* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 73-74; Birzer, "French Imperial Remnants," 144-147.

³⁶ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 73.

³⁷ White, *Middle Ground*, ix-x.

³⁸ Gayle Thornbrough, ed., *The Correspondence of John Badollet and Albert Gallatin, 1804-1836* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Society, 1963), 168. John Badollet to Albert Gallatin, September 25, 1810. There are numerous references to Pinšiwa's mastery of language and to his astute business sense, which is also a strongly-held belief of Pinšiwa's present-day descendants.

³⁹ White, *Middle Ground*, i-x.

⁴⁰ Larry L. Nelson, *A Man of Distinction among Them: Alexander McKee and British-Indian Affairs along the Ohio Country Frontier, 1754-179* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1999): 5. White refers to this middle ground of cultural negotiation on the frontier of the Old Northwest as the "Pays d'en haut."

⁴¹ Michael McCafferty to Angie Quinn, August 11, 2008, ARCH, Inc. files, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Although the modern Myaamia call their Second Chief *niishonaminki*, McCafferty writes that, if the term were used during Pinšiwa's life, it was probably the older form *niinshonaminki*. Its historic use has not been documented.

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Marie Louise); Araansoon (‘‘Bullrush Mat’’, also known as Susan); Waapimankwa (‘‘White Loon’’, also known as Joseph); Pakankiihkwa (‘‘A Woman Striking,’’ also known as Catherine); John (some sources list his Myaamia name as Aughquamauda, meaning ‘‘Difficulty’’) and, Maayaaahkwa (‘‘Noon,’’ also known as Louis).⁴² His sons, John and Waapimankwa (Joseph), were educated at McCoy’s School in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and at schools in Detroit, Michigan. His daughters were schooled by the Sisters of Providence in Terre Haute, Indiana. Maayaaahkwa was described as blind in several sources, and there is no record that he attended school. John (Aughquamauda) is not listed after the 1818 treaty and appears to have died before 1826. Waapimankwa (Joseph) died before the completion of the 1834 Treaty, which noted: ‘‘To John B. Richardville, principal chief of the Miami tribe, one section of land on the five mile reserve, opposite the mouth of the Mississineway River, to include the improvement made by Joseph Richardville, deceased.’’⁴³

In 1786, the Myaamia leaders Mihšihkinaahkwa (Little Turtle)] and Cecaahkwa (known as both La Grue and Le Gris) wrested leadership of a vast American Indian alliance from the Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant. The alliance included seven Canadian tribes, segments of the Iroquois, and the tribes between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River.⁴⁴ Pakaana soon joined Mihšihkinaahkwa and Cecaahkwa as leaders of the new alliance. Anger over the heavy-handed United States treaties and over the encroaching US settlers had coalesced into powerful consensus. This alliance was called the Miami Confederacy because although Myaamia numbers were small compared to many of the others, Myaamia leadership had proven to be the most capable both militarily and diplomatically. The Miami Confederacy centered its activities at *Kiihkayonki*, near the headwaters of the Maumee River.

In 1787, Pinšišwa’s uncle Pakaana was accepted as a guide for the new American commander at Fort Vincennes, General Josiah Harmar, who went on a goodwill tour to the Kaskaskia in central Illinois. Pakaana also provided several services to the succeeding Vincennes commander, Major John Francis Hamtramck. In 1788, Pakaana was sent by Hamtramck to a council with British Indian Affairs Commissioner McKee. While Pakaana was absent, Hamtramck was unable to protect Pakaana’s new village located north of Fort Vincennes. A band of Kentucky militia destroyed Pakaana’s village without Hamtramck’s knowledge. Pakaana heard the grim news at Terre Haute on his return journey from the meeting with McKee and never proceeded on to Vincennes. An understanding between the Myaamia and the United States at this point might have halted the formation of the Miami Confederacy and the wars of the 1790s. Instead, a bitter Pakaana turned implacably anti-American.⁴⁵

In October 1790, the Myaamia villages at and around *Kiihkayonki* were burned by the order of General Josiah Harmar. The Miami Confederacy had expected a much larger army and had stationed their forces around the area. To protect the villages, the Miami Confederacy had evacuated people to the north and west. Mihšihkinaahkwa’s forces were closest to Harmar’s army, northwest of *Kiihkayonki*, and between the army and the hidden location of the villagers. Mihšihkinaahkwa’s confederated force of Myaamia, Ottawa, and Iroquois defeated Harmar’s army, which lost 183 soldiers in the battle. In one of his few military experiences, Pinšišwa was one of the Myaamia warriors.⁴⁶

⁴² Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), 172. See also Michael McCafferty to Angie Quinn, December 2, 2008. The names are also recorded by a Myaamia genealogist as Susan [Myaamia name unknown], Waapimaankwa [Joseph], Tahkonzahqua [LaBlonde], Miaqueah [Louis], John, and Pongocoquah [Catherine]. Darling, Sammie. Descendants of Aquenackqua The Turtle.

⁴³ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:427. Also see Nathe West to Chief John B. Richardville [Pinšišwa], May 20, 1839, History Center Digital Collections, Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society, Fort Wayne, Indiana, accessed February 12, 2009, http://acfwhs-collections.lib.ipfw.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/cc_cfwhs &CISOPTR=1118&REC=18.

⁴⁴ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 105-6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 161; Carter, *Life and Times of Chief Little Turtle*, 76, 78.

⁴⁶ Carter, *Life and Times of Chief Little Turtle*, 95.

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By the summer of 1791, the Miami Confederacy acquired more arms from the British at Detroit. In November, United States' forces under General Arthur St. Clair reformed in Cincinnati and marched north to *Kiihkayonki*, bent on avenging the army's previous defeat. The Miami Confederacy attacked the Army in northwest Ohio. The US Army was routed and suffered 847 casualties, nearly 50 percent of their force. It was a substantial victory by the Miami Confederacy over the United States military.⁴⁷

In 1794, General Anthony Wayne formed another army at Cincinnati and slowly and methodically advanced his troops towards *Kiihkayonki*. When the British abandoned the Confederacy, and without Mihšihkinaahkwa's leadership, Wayne defeated the Miami Confederacy on the *taawaawa siipiiwi* (Maumee River) to the east of *Kiihkayonki*, near Lake Erie at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Ohio (NHL, 1960). This defeat of the Miami Confederacy allowed General Wayne to enter the homeland of the Myaamia. Wayne and his troops marched west to the headwaters of the Maumee River and built a fort overlooking the villages of Pakaana and Cecaahkwa, in the center of *Kiihkayonki* (now downtown Fort Wayne, Indiana). For Pinšišwa and the Myaamia, the 1790-1794 War marked a turning point; the US military defeat of the Miami Confederacy marked the last concerted use of military force by the Confederacy.

The *akima* Pakaana served the *cecaahkwaki* (crane) band of Myaamia for many years, and on their behalf, refused to attend the 1795 treaty conference unless it was held at *Kiihkayonki*. When General Wayne decided on Greenville, Ohio, as the location for the treaty negotiation, Pinšišwa represented Pakaana at the conference. The *neenawihtoowa* (war chief), Mihšihkinaahkwa also attended.⁴⁸ Much has been written about Mihšihkinaahkwa's eloquence at that meeting. However, Secretary of War Timothy Pickering wrote that the speeches that accompanied the treaty signing were unremarkable, "... except the speech of Richardville, Miami Chief."⁴⁹ This marked the onset of Pinšišwa's ascendancy to the position of *akima* of the Myaamia.

Pinšišwa signed the 1795 Greenville Treaty, his first, as a leader of the Myaamia and Eel River Tribes.⁵⁰ This treaty established the negotiation protocol for future American Indian/US treaties. The pattern included the United States repudiation of the conquest treaties in the 1780s, the recognition of American Indian rights to their land, rote statements of friendship, a definition of cessions, and the establishment of a boundary. Although American Indian rights to ownership of the land were extinguished, hunting rights were allowed. Annuities and trade goods were provided. The right of the United States to purchase the land, the right to evict squatters, and the ability to license trade was reserved for the federal government. From the Greenville Treaty in 1795 through the last treaty in 1871, a total of 361 treaties were negotiated nationally.⁵¹

The Greenville Treaty seriously diminished Myaamia military power and their influence on the frontier. It also breached the old British Proclamation Line for the Indian Territory and opened the land for US settlers. The southern two-thirds of Ohio and a slice of southeast Indiana were ceded to the U.S., along the old treaty line determined in 1785. All former French and British post cessions would now belong to the United States. Small cessions were made on strategic transportation sites, including tracts at the Fort Wayne confluence and on the long portage from Fort Wayne to Huntington. In the near future, the pressure for more land concessions in Indiana would again fracture Myaamia unity and severely strain their leadership. The Greenville Treaty was a turning point for the further geographic contraction of the Myaamia lands.

⁴⁷ Alan D. Gaff, *Bayonets in the Wilderness: Anthony Wayne's Legion in the Old Northwest* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), xvii-8.

⁴⁸ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 60. Along with Pakaana, Mihtohseenia (Metocina), and Hibou (Owl), who were chiefs of other Myaamia bands, also refused to sign the 1795 Greenville Treaty.

⁴⁹ Chaput, "Family of Drouet de Richerville," 113.

⁵⁰ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:39-45.

⁵¹ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 60.

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Cross-cultural sharing and the fluidity between cultures that characterized the area was typical of the early transitional state between borderlands and bordered lands that had resulted from both national and international developments.⁵² Following the Greenville Treaty, relationships between US settlers, the Myaamia, other tribes, and the Métis traders in the Fort Wayne area became increasingly complicated. In 1791, a government “factory” system was created. It established government trading posts, or factories, to bring in revenue and curb the sale of whiskey to Indians. The intention of the plan was to offer better goods at cheaper prices than private traders, and, thus, eliminate the business of the *Métis* traders. In 1793, the US government established a system of Indian agents to oversee Indian matters, which primarily concerned the distribution of annuities by the Secretary of War. The Indiana Territory was created in 1800, with William Henry Harrison as Territorial Governor and Vincennes as the capitol. Land Acts were passed by the US government in 1796 and 1800 that included more specifications for government land sales in order to satisfy the demands of settlers as well as to produce government revenue.⁵³

The *neenawihitoowa* (war chief) Mihšihkinaahkwa and his adopted European-American son-in-law, Eepiikanita (William Wells), have dominated the historical record, overshadowing Pakaana and Pinšišwa.⁵⁴ Mihšihkinaahkwa and Wells’ support of Americanization policies was opposed by many Myaamia traditionalists. However, their stance found favor with government officials in Philadelphia in 1796 and 1797, and in Washington, DC in the 1800s. The US government appointed Wells the Fort Wayne Indian agent in 1796, but he only served in that capacity from 1802 to 1809. When Wells and Mihšihkinaahkwa visited President Jefferson in 1802, Wells also requested the additional office of factor—the manager of the government factory (trading post)—in Fort Wayne. However, Wells’ request was rejected in favor of a clerk from Secretary of War Dearborn’s office, John Johnston. Conditions for the United States in Fort Wayne after 1800 became a tangled web of competing lines of authority between the Secretary of War Office, the governorships of Indiana and Michigan, and the Fort Wayne land agents, factors, and fort commandants.

Between 1795 and 1805, Pakaana, Pinšišwa, and an older chief called Hibou, became the counterweights to the pro-US assimilationist views expressed by Mihšihkinaahkwa.⁵⁵ In an 1805 letter to the Secretary of War, Harrison noted, “Nine tenths of that Tribe who acknowledge Richardville [Pinšišwa] and Peccan [Pakaana] for their chiefs ... utterly abhor both Wells and the Turtle.”⁵⁶ For the Myaamia in the *Kiihkayonki* area, the breach widened between the Pakaana-Pinšišwa leadership and that of Mihšihkinaahkwa and Wells. Pakaana, Pinšišwa, and Hibou struggled to maintain Myaamia culture and a traditional subsistence lifestyle, and also to retain tribal independence and control of the tribe’s destiny.⁵⁷ The morass of conflicting goals and ambitions, as well as competing traders and power seekers, provided fertile ground for the plans of William Henry Harrison, the Indiana Territorial Governor.

Harrison maneuvered the American Indians into a series of land concessions in 1803, 1805, and 1809. In the 1803 Treaty of Fort Wayne, nine tribes agreed to cede one-and-a-half million acres of land around the Indiana territorial capital at Vincennes. All French land titles were preserved, and the Indians got 159 bushels of salt

⁵² Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States and the Peoples between in North American History,” *The American Historical Review* 104 (June 1999): 822.

⁵³ The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had legalized the right of the new US government to arrange for the survey and sale of government land in the Northwest Territory and for the eventual creation of states.

⁵⁴ Mann, “Silenced Miami,” 399-427, for a discussion on historical “silences” and the Myaamia.

⁵⁵ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 38; cites the Myaamia name for Hibou as “Meshingomesa.” Hibou was Pakaana’s brother and Pinšišwa’s uncle. He had been a chief in his own right and in his elder years became a speaker for Pakaana and Pinšišwa; and Mann, “Silenced Miami,” 399-427. The French referred to Hibou as “Owl.” There can be some confusion regarding Myaamia names because names were given again to later descendants.

⁵⁶ Esarey, *Governor’s Messages and Letters*, 1:76-77; quoted in Mann, “Silenced Miami,” 401.

⁵⁷ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 149, 152, 161; Poinsette, *Outpost*, 31, 44-46, 50-55; and Carter, *Life and Times of Chief Little Turtle*, 146.

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annually in lieu of the use of the salt springs on the ceded land. Pinšišwa and Mihšihkinaahkwa signed for the Myaamia. Pinšišwa again signed for the Myaamia in the 1805 Treaty of Grouseland, which ceded all Indian land in southern Indiana above the Ohio River to the U.S.; this cession included traditional Myaamia hunting grounds. The cessions also cut into the lands of the Kaskaskia, Kickapoo, and Piankeshaw.

Confronted by the “land hunger and hard bargaining” of the territorial governor, William Henry Harrison and the rising Native cultural movement under the brothers Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh, the effect of Pinšišwa’s cultural brokerage was limited during that period.⁵⁸ From 1805 to 1812, Pakaana and Pinšišwa tried to maneuver a neutral way for the Myaamia between the anti-American movement led by Tecumseh and the pro-Americanism promoted by Mihšihkinaahkwa and Wells. Pakaana's primary concern was with Myaamia unity and prestige; he harbored no love for Americans and no trust in the British. As a result of the rising tension between the United States and Britain in 1807, British influence increased among the Myaamia. During this period, both Pakaana and Pinšišwa sought out allies beyond the traditional Myaamia sphere of Indiana. Pinšišwa maintained relations with the British at Fort Malden, and Pakaana courted the Spanish in Arkansas.⁵⁹

The 1809 Treaty of Fort Wayne was a watershed for Myaamia—United States relations.⁶⁰ A large group of American Indians, including the Myaamia living on the Eel River, Potawatomi, and Delaware, encamped in Fort Wayne for a treaty council during which they ceded nearly three million acres of their lands, roughly the middle third of Indiana.⁶¹ This was a treaty that Pinšišwa did not sign, and he was not present for the negotiations, “although he was especially sent for.”⁶² John Badollet, the Registrar of the Land Office at the Northwest Territory’s administrative heart in Vincennes, noted in a September 25, 1810, letter to diplomat Albert Gallatin, “I myself have observed one Pishoowah or Richarville a half blooded Indian who speaks French as well as I do, is with his uncle Pacawn, a grand chief of the Miamis and besides very much of a gentleman, I have seen that man, for some hidden reason affectedly thrown in the background and treated with very little ceremony which usage he has deeply felt.”⁶³

Without Pinšišwa’s counsel, landownership disputes erupted among the Myaamia. Harrison also withheld previously negotiated treaty annuities. The Myaamia ended up settling for new annuities of \$500 and an additional \$200 and salt. The Myaamia were successful in negotiating a definite boundary for their remaining land, which would prove invaluable for the treaty negotiations that occurred between 1818 and 1840.

Widespread American Indian resentment of the 1809 Fort Wayne Treaty’s huge land cession propelled Tecumseh into leadership of a new American Indian alliance, and caused other Algonquians to support the British. The treaty also scuttled any hope that Pakaana, Pinšišwa, or Mihšihkinaahkwa might have had in keeping the Myaamia out of the uprising completely. Some of the Myaamia warriors joined Tecumseh’s war of

⁵⁸ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 70. See also the “About the White House-Presidents,” accessed June 8, 2009, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/williamhenryharrison>, which states: “His prime task as governor was to obtain title to Indian lands so settlers could press forward into the wilderness.” See also the in-depth essays created by the University of Virginia on William Henry Harrison's life and administration,” accessed June 8, 2009, <http://millercenter.org/president/harrison>, which notes: “While governor, Harrison negotiated many treaties with the Native Americans of the region, and most of them deprived the Indians of their lands for little money in return.”

⁵⁹ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 148-166.

⁶⁰ Alfred A. Cave, “The Shawnee Prophet, Tecumseh, and Tippecanoe: A Case Study of Historical Myth-Making,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 22, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 648.

⁶¹ For treaty purposes, William Henry Harrison considered the Myaamia tribes on the Eel River to be a separate tribe from the other Myaamia. Ironstrack and Baldwin, Myaamia Project.

⁶² Charles N. Thompson, *Sons of the Wilderness; John and William Conner* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Society, 1937), 57.

⁶³ Thornbrough, *Correspondence of John Badollet and Albert Gallatin*, 168.

resistance against Euro-American encroachment on Native lands and culture.⁶⁴ The Myaamia were caught between the assimilated tribes in Ohio and the overwhelming anti-American tribes of Indiana, and those to the west and north. During the War of 1812, Indiana Governor Harrison ordered the attack and destruction of Myaamia villages and fields on the Wabash and Mississinewa, although the Myaamia inhabitants had remained neutral until that point.⁶⁵ Pinšišwa and his family, along with many other Myaamia, left Indiana for British-held land in Detroit, and returned after the conclusion of the war.⁶⁶

In 1813, after Harrison defeated the British and Tecumseh in Canada, an armistice council was held in Detroit. Using a formalistic treaty ritual, the American Indians admitted their error in believing in British victory and offered token military support to the United States. The tribes signing the armistice were the Myaamia (which included the Pakaana-Pinšišwa group, Wea, and Eel River bands), Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo. Pakaana signed with two other Myaamia chiefs; Pinšišwa signed with the Potawatomi.

At the Greenville treaty conference in 1814, more than 4,000 Indians attended. The Myaamia, however, were the last to arrive. Pakaana and Kitunga (Charley) from the Eel River village spoke for the Myaamia, and protested that the treaty blamed all Myaamia for those few who fought with Tecumseh, and argued that the official policy of the Myaamia had been neutrality.⁶⁷ More than fifty American Indian leaders signed the 1814 treaty. Only two Myaamia leaders refused to sign. The signers agreed to stand with the United States against the British if fighting resumed in the Great Lakes region. Pakaana signed for the Myaamia and Wea.⁶⁸

An additional treaty at Greenville in 1815 further regulated relations between the United States and American Indian tribes. This treaty was signed by 113 leaders of the Great Lakes nations. The 1815 treaty was the last one signed by Pakaana, who died sometime before 1816.⁶⁹ The 1815 Treaty ended Myaamia military power on the frontier. But, at the same time, historian Bert Anson notes: "... the greatest tribute to Miami adaptability and acumen must be the admission that in such circumstances they were able to maintain some of the political and cultural unity and identity and to secure from their white conquerors an unusual amount of financial security, as well as some degree of harmonious rapport."⁷⁰ These accomplishments were the direct result of Pinšišwa's ascent to the position of *akima*.

Pinšišwa as the *Akima* of the Myaamia

From 1818 until his death in 1841, Pinšišwa, as the consummate "man in the middle ground" was able to delay, frustrate, and ultimately, out-negotiate the treaty commissioners sent to secure Myaamia removal from Indiana. During that period, Pinšišwa led an effort on behalf of the Myaamia to amass money, and outright ownership of land. With Pinšišwa, along with the leadership of the Palaanswa (Francis Godfroy) family, the Šipaakana-Mahkoonsihkwa (Slocum) family, and the Mihšiiinkweemiša family, the Myaamia negotiated exemptions from removal and distributed enough wealth among the families to ensure that over half of the Myaamia were able to

⁶⁴ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 72-73.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁶⁶ Birzer, "Entangling Empires," 131-134.

⁶⁷ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 174.

⁶⁸ American State Papers, Senate, 13th Cong., 3rd Sess. Indian Affairs, General Harrison and Governor Cass to War Secretary, July 23, 1814, 1:828-836, accessed December 2, 2008, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwspink.html>. General Harrison and Governor Cass wrote to the Secretary of War following completion of the treaty, stating: "We flatter ourselves that both the matter and manner of the instrument will be satisfactory; two or three Miami chiefs only, of those that attended, refused to sign... We gave them all distinctly to understand, that no neutrals would be permitted unless they remain within the settlements. If they object to this, it is our decided opinion that they ought to be seized and taken to a place where they can do no injury."

⁶⁹ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 178; Carter, *Life and Times of Chief Little Turtle*, 241-42. See also Brice, *History of Fort Wayne*, for information regarding the death and burial of Pakaana near the site of the *akima* Pinšišwa Awiiki/village.

⁷⁰ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 178.

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remain in Indiana after their official removal in 1845. Few American Indian leaders of that period were as able to withstand the dynamic westward expansion of the United States. Pinšišwa was arguably the most successful negotiator among the American Indian nations of the Great Lakes during the years of the Early Republic.

The strategy of US treaty negotiators during that time period was to separate and isolate the bands of the tribe. In a letter to the Secretary of War, Cass, Tipton, and Ray wrote: "It was then important that the Indians should be separated into bands, by the intervention of our settlements. As long as they can roam unmolested through the country, we may in vain expect either to reclaim them from the savage life they lead, or to induce them to seek a residence where their habits and pursuits will be less injurious to us."⁷¹

But, as treaty succeeded treaty, Pinšišwa and the Myaamia were able to weave together a network of village reserves, lands held in Indian patent, and lands held in fee-simple that contained most of the traditional portage and marshy prairie. These lands, along with tribally-owned lands south of the *waapaahšiki siippiwi* (Wabash River), provided for several years a contiguous area of Myaamia-controlled territory.

By 1818, Pinšišwa understood the value of Myaamia land and the United States government's concept of property ownership. Following the necessary discussion and consensus building with other Myaamia leaders, Pinšišwa worked out a strategy of land ownership, money, goods, and services that would afford some security and sustenance for the Myaamia people. This strategy appears in his first treaty as *akima*, the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's in Ohio. Pinšišwa headed the group of sixteen civil and military leaders who were signatories. The US commissioners were Indiana Territorial Governor Jonathan Jennings, Indiana Judge Benjamin Parke, and Territorial Governor of Michigan and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northwest Territory, Lewis Cass. Holding that office from 1813 to 1831, Cass became Secretary of War and served in that role until 1836. Cass was a commissioner for the Myaamia treaties of 1814, 1818, and 1826. He would also appoint the commissioners for the 1834 treaty.⁷²

The 1818 St. Mary's treaty opened central Indiana for US settlers and marked not only a US land acquisition of unprecedented dimensions from Native Americans; it also demonstrated Pinšišwa's grasp of US land ownership law and American Indian policy.⁷³ The Myaamia, through Pinšišwa, served notice in this treaty that they were aware of US land hunger and would use that hunger and their own strategic position as bargaining chips. In a letter to the Secretary of War after the conclusion of the 1818 Treaty, Commissioner Benjamin Parke wrote that, "...the feelings and views of the Indians have undergone a great revolution, within a few years; they begin to understand the value of their property; Miamis were present who knew the price at which the Government sold the lands in the neighbourhood of Fort Harrison (near Terre Haute, Indiana); and they were also sensible of the importance attached to the acquisition of their country."⁷⁴

Specifically, in the 1818 treaty, the Myaamia ceded undisputed title to the United States of about 4,300,000 acres, and one-half interest with the Delaware of about 3,860,000 acres. This was all the Myaamia land south of the Wabash River except for the tribal lands in the Big Reserve, five smaller reserves, and twenty-one villages and individual grants. The Big Reserve tribal lands lie along the Wabash from the mouth of the Salamonie River to the mouth of the Eel River and an equal distance south, about thirty-five plus square miles in all. Individual grants were Indian patents that could not be sold without the permission of the US President,

⁷¹ John Tipton, *The John Tipton Papers*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis: The Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942), 602.

⁷² Anson, *Miami Indians*, 184.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁷⁴ Benjamin Parke to John C. Calhoun, December 7, 1818. Benjamin Parke Papers, Special Collections, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

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or an official of Indian Affairs as his representative. The major breakthrough of the 1818 St. Mary's Treaty was the fee-simple land grant to the *akima* Pinšišwa.⁷⁵

Unlike Indian patents, the fee-simple land grant conveyed full legal title under US law. While the fee-simple grant was taxable, it was also saleable or transferable at the will of the holder. The Pinšišwa fee-simple grants were for eleven sections of land (7040 acres) of which five sections lay on the east and west banks of the *mameewa siippiwi* (St. Mary's River) south of Fort Wayne.⁷⁶ Pinšišwa and his family had likely settled at this traditionally-occupied Myaamia and familial site in 1814, after their return from Detroit. A Philadelphian traveling in Indiana visited Pinšišwa's home on the *mameewa siippiwi* (St. Mary's River) in 1821, and noted many log cabins in the vicinity, which were probably Pinšišwa's village. Thus, in the 1818 Treaty, Pinšišwa negotiated for ownership of the land that had been home to his Myaamia family for generations past. As part of the treaty terms, Pinšišwa was also able to direct and choose the sections of land that were granted to other individuals. During that period, the grant of fee-simple land was noted as important. Commissioner Benjamin Parke wrote of the fee-simple grants to Pinšišwa; "The value of the land is of no importance; but the precedent may have an injurious effect on future negotiations. The claim would have been cheerfully commuted for money; but he was determined to have the land."⁷⁷

The Myaamia were to receive perpetual annuities of \$15,000 for their 1818 land sessions, a sum considered "extravagant" by one of the Commissioners.⁷⁸ This amount is tangible testimony to the hard bargaining of the *akima* Pinšišwa. The Myaamia also negotiated for continuation of previous annuities, construction of a sawmill and a gristmill, agricultural implements, and an annual delivery of 160 bushels of salt.

As *akima*, Pinšišwa led by achieving consensus among the Myaamia, and then by carefully brokering those decisions among other Indians, traders, settlers, and government officials. Thus, Pinšišwa was able to continue the cultural tradition of decision-making by the Myaamia and many other American Indian communities. The office of the *akima* was far from autocratic, a fact of overriding importance in the overall evaluation of Pinšišwa. He dressed in European or Myaamia clothing, depending on the circumstances. Although Pinšišwa spoke French and English fluently, he spoke only the Myaamia language in negotiations and used an interpreter, as befitted his role as the *akima* of the Myaamia. And, although he was literate, he signed the treaties by adding his mark, along with the other leaders.⁷⁹ As the *akima* of the Myaamia, Pinšišwa required the full accord and support of the other Myaamia chiefs for all important decisions.

There were those that were critical of Pinšišwa, such as Benjamin Parke, who sat across the negotiating table from Pinšišwa at the 1818 Treaty. Parke wrote: "Richardville [Pinšišwa] is the Principal Chief of the Miami Nation, avaricious, shrewd, acquainted with the value of property, and his manners that of a well-bred Gentleman. He was decidedly in favor of the treaty, but anxious to provide for himself, and his selfish views had the sanction of the Chiefs of the Mississenaway Town, without whose concurrence a treaty could not be obtained."⁸⁰

⁷⁵ There are two treaties identified in Kappler that predate the 1818 St. Mary's Treaty fee-simple clauses. In the 1817 Treaty with the Cherokee, article 8 gives fee-simple ownership to the surviving widows and children of reservation grantees. In the 1817 Treaty with the Wyandot [et al.] fee-simple land ownership was granted, but in a supplementary 1818 treaty the fee-simple ownership was modified to reservation status. The 1817 Wyandot treaty negotiated in Wapakonta, Ohio, was nearby Fort Wayne, Indiana, and included the Delaware and Potawatomi. Thus, it is conceivable that Pinšišwa had knowledge of that treaty. Also, Lewis Cass was the US negotiator for both the 1818 Myaamia and the 1817 Wyandot treaties.

⁷⁶ References to sections, acres, and land cessions are as stated in each of the treaties. The numbers of sections and acreages are not consistent from treaty to treaty, and actual acreage and land amounts can be contradictory.

⁷⁷ Parke to Calhoun, December 7, 1818, Parke Papers.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:174, 280.

⁸⁰ Parke to Calhoun, December 7, 1818, Parke Papers.

Nonetheless, Parke's comment substantiates the Myaamia style of leadership in which the actions of an *akima* required the consensus of other tribal leaders, and that Pinšišwa acted on behalf of the Myaamia.

As Hugh B. McKean wrote to Indian Agent Tipton in 1826; "These Miami General are a damned rebellious race, and I believe what Lafountain tells me that Richardville is the Key and nothing can be done without his assent."⁸¹ During this period of shifting land rights, some Euro-Americans criticized tribal leaders, and Pinšišwa, in particular, for receiving individual grants, and for enriching themselves and their families at the expense of the rest of their people. But, most Euro-Americans failed to understand that a key component to the leadership status of the Myaamia hereditary chiefs involved their responsibility of generosity to the people, and their willingness to aid the distressed in the tribe.⁸² The wealth of the *akima* was also the wealth of his people.

Many of Pinšišwa's contemporaries found him to be laudably prudent, careful, and deliberate, a patient listener, even beloved and esteemed. The trader George W. Ewing called him a "distinguished and extraordinary man," and Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury for three Presidents, remarked that he was a man "of whom no one ever got the better in a trade."⁸³ John Tipton called him "the ablest diplomat of whom I have any knowledge. If he had been born and educated in France, he would have been the equal of Talleyrand."⁸⁴ In a tribute to Pinšišwa's generosity, historian Wallace Brice noted, "his kind and charitable hand was never withheld from the distressed of his own people or from the stranger."⁸⁵ Myaamia chiefs acquired their status by showing generosity to their people, and providing assistance to the distressed in the tribe. Pinšišwa fulfilled the role of *akima* in accordance with Myaamia tradition.⁸⁶

The 1820s were one of Pinšišwa's most productive periods. He was in his sixties. His children were grown and scattered from Fort Wayne to Logansport in northeastern Indiana. By 1825, it was clear that Pinšišwa had solidified his standing as *akima* and he became a prominent force in the Myaamia Nation's destiny. Pinšišwa worked to establish rapport with the new Indian agent, John Tipton, and traveled to Detroit on business and information-gathering missions. Pinšišwa, and Meehcikilita (LeGros) of the Mississinewa area, both provided information on Myaamia language and customs to Lewis Cass, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1822, who was particularly interested in anthropology. Later, Cass asked Pinšišwa and Meehcikilita to host his secretary C. C. Trowbridge, who continued studies of the Myaamia culture during the winter of 1824-25.⁸⁷ Both Meehcikilita and Pinšišwa supplied Trowbridge with information that was published in his book, *Meearmear Traditions*.⁸⁸

Pinšišwa as Treaty Negotiator

By 1826, the Potawatomi had already ceded most of their land in northern Indiana to the US government. At the 1826 Paradise Springs Council, held near where the *nimachihsinwi* (Mississinewa River) flows into the *waapaahšiki siipiwi* (Wabash River), Pinšišwa and Myaamia leaders Meehcikilita (Le Gros) and Palaanswa (Francis Godfroy) were concerned about being able to save the isolated Myaamia villages in Potawatomi territory in the northern part of Indiana. There was also increasing pressure in Indiana for a canal. The Erie

⁸¹ Tipton, *John Tipton Papers*, 1:547.

⁸² Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 101.

⁸³ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 209.

⁸⁴ Poinsette, *Canal Era*, 96.

⁸⁵ Brice, *History of Fort Wayne*, 315.

⁸⁶ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 101.

⁸⁷ C. C. Trowbridge, *Meearmear Traditions*, ed. Vernon Kinietz (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1938), v-vi. Trowbridge spelled the tribal name as "Meearmear," rather than "Miami" or "Myaamia."

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, vi.

Canal had been finished in 1825, and there was great interest in northern Indiana for an Erie-Wabash canal that would connect Lake Erie to the Wabash River system. The proposed route included Myaamia lands between Fort Wayne and the *waapaahshiki siippiwi* (Wabash River).⁸⁹

In the 1826 Paradise Springs Treaty, the Myaamia ceded to the United States their claims to all their land north and west of the *waapaahshiki siippiwi* (Wabash River) and *taawaawa siippiwi* (Maumee River) with the exception of six village reservations, the small Mississinewa tribal reserve, and two individual reservations. They also allowed a provision that Indiana "may lay out a canal or a road through any of these reservations, and (appropriate) for the use of a canal, six chains (396 feet) along the same."⁹⁰ For "part consideration for the session herein made" the Myaamia negotiators obtained a number of additional items including the following:

- Goods to the value of \$31,040.53 for the Myaamia.
- Additional goods in 1828 to the value of \$26,259.47.
- An 1827 annuity of \$25,000 and \$10,000 in goods; an 1828 annuity of \$25,500 and \$5,000 in goods; and an annual annuity of \$25,000 as long as the Myaamia exist as a tribe.
- One wagon and one yoke of oxen for each of nine leaders and for the band at the Forks of the Wabash.
- A \$600 house for each of nine leaders, including Pinšišwa (more about these below).
- 200 head of cattle (four to six years of age), 200 head of hogs.
- Annually to the Myaamia tribe, 2,000 pounds of iron, 1,000 pounds of steel, and 1,000 pounds of tobacco.
- Five laborers to work three months a year for small villages and three laborers to work for three months a year for the Mississinewa band.
- United States to pay claims against the Myaamia for \$7,727.47.
- \$2,000 annually for support of "poor infirm" Myaamia and the education of their youth "as long as Congress may think proper" and "expended under the direction of the President."⁹¹
- Indian land patents to 17 named individuals (18 ¾ sections or 6,750 acres).
- Some Myaamia lands granted by the 1818 treaty were to be purchased at prices listed in an accompanying schedule by the United States government.
- Myaamia tribal members were given permission to hunt on ceded lands as long as they remained in US government hands.⁹²

Commissioners Lewis Cass, James Ray, and John Tipton and thirty-eight Myaamia leaders signed the treaty.

The lengthy negotiations resulted in terms that were stated in great financial detail and which reflected the trader instinct and practical business sense of the *akima* Pinšišwa. The treaty was an expensive agreement for the US government, and was not popular in Indiana or Washington, D.C., because the Myaamia ceded relatively little land and the settlement cost to the United States was far higher than in other treaties.⁹³ John Tipton wrote that without the generous payment of goods and houses for the chiefs, there would have been no treaty at all.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Charles R. Poinsett, *Fort Wayne during the Canal Era, 1828-1855* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1969), 12.

⁹⁰ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:278.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 279.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 178.

⁹³ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 93.

⁹⁴ Tipton, *John Tipton Papers*, 1:603-605; Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 93.

The list of cessions indicates that Pinšišwa and the Myaamia were negotiating with the intent of remaining on their homelands. At a time when other tribes all around them were abandoning their homelands east of the Mississippi to US settlement, the Myaamia clearly intended to remain. Balancing the competing needs of the US settlers and trader factions, Pinšišwa was able to deliver some of what each side wanted while retaining the heart of the Myaamia homeland and valuable Myaamia lands along the old portage and the route of the new canal.

It is instructive, as well as a testament to the negotiating skill of Pinšišwa and the Myaamia, to compare the 1826 Paradise Springs Treaty with other American Indian treaties from that year, which include those with the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Creek Nations. The Potawatomi Treaty was also negotiated at Paradise Springs one week earlier by the same commissioners, Cass, Tipton, and Ray, who negotiated the Myaamia treaty. For the cession of most of their land, the Potawatomi received:

- \$30,547.71 in goods
- \$2,000 annuity that was to last for twenty-two years.
- \$2,000 annually for the purposes of education “as long as Congress may think proper” and “expended under the direction of the President”
- A mill, and miller
- A blacksmith
- Indian Land Patents to 96 named individuals (43 ¼ sections or 27,680 acres)
- Potawatomi tribe was given permission to hunt on ceded lands as long as those lands remained in US government hands.⁹⁵

The 1826 Creek Treaty provided for the cession of all the tribe’s remaining land in Georgia, and for the removal of the tribe to territory west of the Mississippi within twenty-four months. For this cession they received:

- \$217,000
- \$20,000 annually
- \$100,000 to the “Chief McIntosh” faction of the tribe. \$15,000 immediately and the remainder to their party after their arrival in their new lands if they number 3000, if less than that proportionately less money.⁹⁶

The Chippewa Treaty of 1826 granted to the US government all mineral and metal rights in Chippewa lands and they agreed to the previous 1825 Treaty of Prairie du Chien. In return the Chippewa received:

- 640 acres for “half-breeds”
- \$2,000 annually to be continued “at the pleasure of the Congress”
- For education, one section and \$1,000 annually to be continued “at the pleasure of the Congress”⁹⁷

Clearly the different treaties had different cessions because of the geographic, political, and economic differences of the tribes involved. However, within the relative construct of nineteenth-century Indian treaties, it is apparent that the Myaamia compensation was greater than that of other tribes who either, in the case of the Potawatomi and Chippewa received far less, or in the case of the Creek, ceded far more land. After the 1826

⁹⁵ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:273-277.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 264-268.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 268-273.

Paradise Springs [Myaamia] Treaty, the Commissioners wrote that the treaty itself was the result of a “long, tedious negotiation in which every exertion was used to procure a cession for the United States.”⁹⁸

1826 Myaamia Treaty Houses and the Akima Pinšišwa Awiiki

According to the 1826 Paradise Springs Treaty there were to be nine houses, “not exceeding the value of six hundred dollars for each of the following persons: namely, Joseph Richardville, Francois Godfroy, Louison Godfroy, Francis Lafontaine, White Raccoon, La Gros, Jean B. Richardville [Pinšišwa], Flat Belly, and Wau-we-as-see.”⁹⁹

Each Myaamia leader, who received a house from the 1826 Paradise Springs Treaty, chose his own site for the construction of his house. The houses were all to be built in a similar style. The Tipton Papers include a plan and detailed specification for the houses; each included a brick hall and parlor with total dimensions of 16' x 32'.¹⁰⁰ The specifications, advertised for competitive bidding, also included:

- 4 windows of 12 lights each 8 x 10 glass
- 2 Common Batten Doors, Hung with Iron Hinges, the front Door to have a good Knob
- Lock & partition Door to have a latch and Bolt
- A Chimney in each end of the House of the usual size
- The foundation to be of hard Brick or stone to begin 18 inches below the surface of the earth and to be 18 inches thick
- The House to be one story high – 8 feet between the floors, the walls to be 9 inch thick & covered with good joint shingles – two floors of 1 ¼ Inch board
- All to be finished & completed in a neat durable and workmanlike manner, by the 25th of December next.¹⁰¹

Most of the houses were constructed for less than the allotted \$600. Several of the Myaamia complained about not receiving the total value, and Tipton responded by adding additional features to their houses. He noted in a letter sent to Lewis Cass on November 21, 1827,

But there is persons he[re] base enough to tell the Indians that the U States would pay \$600 for each house and that the Agent would pocket the saveing [*sic*]. This produced uneasiness and when the Indians applied to me I entered into further contracts with the builders to make additions to some of the houses, to Joe Richerville, F Lafontaine, and L Godfroys house each a cellar, to Flat bellys cubboards [*sic*], an additional door, shutter and lock, for J B Richerville I contracted for a house of the value of \$2200 of which sum I have p[aid] \$600, he is to pay the balance, all the other houses are built for the sum at which they were bid off...¹⁰²

At the time of the 1826 Paradise Springs Treaty, the *akima* Pinšišwa added \$1,600 of his own funds in order to build a much nicer house than had been provided for in the treaty. Pinšišwa had acquired wealth from his negotiation of favorable treaty settlements, but most of his wealth resulted from his many years as a successful

⁹⁸ Tipton, *John Tipton Papers*, 1:598.

⁹⁹ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:279.

¹⁰⁰ Tipton, *John Tipton Papers*, 1:738.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 738-739.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 809-812.

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trader. He took advantage of the ability of skilled builders, in rapidly growing Fort Wayne, for the construction of a fine home. Of most importance, the elegance of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki expressed the political and economic status of the Myaamia and their *akima* to the encroaching settlers from the United States. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki was completed in 1827.

Although the fine house undoubtedly contributed to garnering respect and credibility among the US settlers, its rural location provided distance from Fort Wayne for Pinšišwa and the Myaamia people. Several accounts of pioneer life in Fort Wayne mention the high regard that the settlers held for Pinšišwa, both as a political leader and as a businessman.¹⁰³ The business and political leaders of Fort Wayne considered it an honor to be invited to the *akima*'s table. Pinšišwa was much respected, was considered to be a prominent member of the community, and was certainly among the wealthiest residents of the Fort Wayne area, yet he was not among the inner circle of community leaders. Even today, most local Fort Wayne residents remember Pinšišwa as "Richardville" an Indian Chief, who lived in a fine house that still stands in the community. But, it is as a Myaamia *akima* that Pinšišwa established his significance as a highly gifted American Indian leader.

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki was a grand home when compared to other housing in Fort Wayne at the time. Allen County, which was the first county formed in northeastern Indiana, had been established only three years prior to the construction of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki. Fort Wayne would not be incorporated as a town until 1829. For the most part, the few Euro-American settlers in the county lived in hewn-log structures. The majority of the commercial structures within Fort Wayne were hewn-log structures as well.¹⁰⁴ In contrast, the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki was a substantial two-story brick home of Euro-American design with fine details in the emerging Greek Revival mode. While the limestone used in the walls of the foundation was gathered locally and may have been commonly used for foundations, *waapahsena* (limestone) has a symbolic meaning to the Myaamia people.¹⁰⁵

The pioneer town fathers of Fort Wayne, new settlers from New England and Pennsylvania, as well as important travelers passing through, found the enjoyment of the *akima*'s hospitality a remarkable pleasure.¹⁰⁶ Accounts of the original furnishings of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki may be reflective of Euro-American influence and Pinšišwa's *Métis* heritage, as well as his wealth. Contemporary accounts related the interior details of French wallpaper and drapes, Oriental carpets, chandeliers, and an elaborate gold clock on the parlor mantel.¹⁰⁷ In 1847, Pinšišwa's daughter, Kiinkwaatehkwa (also known as Maria Louise Richardville or LaBlonde) who had inherited the house and furnishings from her father, wrote her own will, bequeathing the house, orchard, and barn to her son, and stated: "I also, will and bequeath to my said son, Kelakemokeah (George Ossem), the chairs in the parlor, being twelve in number, the fancy mantle clock in the parlor, one large bureau and one new common bureau, one shaving case, the same formerly owned by my father, one dining table, two bedsteads, two beds and bedding, one large looking glass, and all other furniture that is usually kept in the two north rooms of my house, where I now live..."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Poinsette, *Canal Era*, 96; Anson, *Miami Indians*, 209.

¹⁰⁴ Bert J. Griswold, *Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, 1802-1813: Garrison Orderly Books Indian Agency Account Book* (Indianapolis: Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department, 1927), 246.

¹⁰⁵ Ironstrack and Baldwin letter: "in myaamia limestone is waapahsena - literally "white stone" - this is an animate noun which marks the stone as significant to Miami people.

¹⁰⁶ Clifford H. Richards, *Miami Indian Life—1790* (Fort Wayne, IN: Education Committee, Allen County - Fort Wayne Historical Society, 1972), 10.

¹⁰⁷ D. M. Perry, "The Richardville House," *Old Fort Wayne News* 53 (1990): 7.

¹⁰⁸ LaBlonde Richardville, *Will of LaBlonde Richardville* (June 1, 1847), Allen County Clerk's Office, Probate Papers, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

The Myaamia treaty houses granted in the 1826 Paradise Springs Treaty have had a diverse history. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is the only one of the Myaamia treaty houses that is extant, and is a rare and well-preserved example of a treaty house in the United States.

The final years of Pinšišwa as the Akima

Although Pinšišwa continued to live in his house along the *mameewa siipiiwi* (St. Mary's River) in Fort Wayne, he negotiated the treaties of 1834 and 1838 at *wiipicahkionki* (the Forks of the Wabash), near modern-day Huntington, Indiana. This site was known for its flint (*wiipicahkionki* means "the flint place"), and had been a gathering place since ancient times.¹⁰⁹ Pinšišwa moved the tribal headquarters to Wiipicahkionki in 1831 to provide better access to the villages and lands of the people who were concentrated on the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* (Wabash River) and its tributaries, including the *oonsalamooni siipiiwi* (Salamonie River), *nimacihsinwi siipiiwi* (Mississenewa River), and *kineepikomeekwa siipiiwi* (Eel River).¹¹⁰ Wiipicahkionki was close to the Indian Agency and to Pinšišwa's family and village which remained centered near his home along the *mameewa siipiiwi* (St. Mary's River).¹¹¹ Pinšišwa also built a trading post at Wiipicahkionki during the 1830s.

A population explosion of settlers north of the *waapaahšiki siipiiwi* (Wabash River) took place while the American Indian population suffered an equally dramatic decline during the 1830s.¹¹² Also during the 1830s, the Myaamia treaty negotiations were conducted under the administration of a new President, Andrew Jackson, and a new US policy—the 1830 Removal Act. The Indian Removal Act made official the policy of removing American Indians from their homelands east of the Mississippi River and sending them west of the Mississippi. The removal sometimes happened at gunpoint, and resulted in large-scale loss of life, especially when unscrupulous contractors transported the tribes to the west.

During the Black Hawk War in 1832, the Sac and Fox tribes returned to their ancestral homelands in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin from across the Mississippi. This action resulted in panic among the Euro-American settlers. Squatters, who had illegally occupied Indian lands in northern Indiana, besieged the Indiana General Assembly for Indian removal. Aggressive traders pressed for more treaties with fat annuities, which would, in turn, increase their earnings.

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the Black Hawk War of 1832 influenced the Myaamia Treaty of 1834. In that treaty, the Myaamia ceded some of the land that had been allotted them in the 1818 and 1826 treaties. These lands included about twelve square miles of small reserves and a part of the Big Reserve from the 1818 Treaty, and 120 sections, or about 43,200 acres, from the 1826 Treaty. For those cessions, the Myaamia were to receive:

- \$208,000
- For Pinšišwa, fee-simple patent for ten sections at the Forks of the Wabash that he had held by Indian patent (from the 1826 treaty)
- A skillful miller in lieu of the gunsmith promised in 1818
- US was to value the buildings and improvements on the ceded lands and provide an equal amount in building, clearing, and fencing at new locations for the leaders
- \$1,500 reimbursement for horses stolen from Myaamia by United States citizens.

¹⁰⁹ McCafferty, *Place-Names* 103.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 101-114.

¹¹¹ Poinsette, *Canal Era*, 18-25.

¹¹² Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 95. The white population of Indiana north of the Wabash River grew from 3,380 in 1830 to 65,897 in 1840. Corresponding dates show a Miami population of 800 in 1840, a decline from 5,000 to 6,000 ten years earlier.

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- Fee-simple titles for lands formerly granted by Indian patents to five leaders (in addition to Pinšišwa's grant) –13 sections in all
- Hugh Hanna, a United States citizen, was to receive a 1/4 section (compensation for his purchase of an 1826 grant that was not approved)
- Indian titles for 20 individuals (a total of twenty-three and three-quarters sections).¹¹³

A comparison between the Myaamia treaty and all of the other treaties that were signed in 1834 reveals a marked difference. Treaties were negotiated by the United States with the Chickasaw and the Potawatomi in 1834. Both tribes ceded all of their remaining lands and were relocated west of the Mississippi. During their relocation both tribes suffered horrific loss and death. By contrast, the Myaamia treaty of that same year drew criticism in Indiana because it did not promise Myaamia removal. President Jackson refused to accept it for the same reason; the treaty would not be ratified until 1837.¹¹⁴ Pinšišwa again utilized a strategy of delay, and balanced cessions with annuities, which resulted in the preservation of some of the Myaamia homeland. Pinšišwa was also able to increase the amount of Myaamia land owned by fee-simple title, as opposed to the more customary Indian land patent. A fee-simple title was unqualified; it was the best land title obtainable, and it conveyed the highest bundle of rights to the land owner.¹¹⁵

The Panic of 1837 caused traders between Fort Wayne and Logansport to escalate debt claims against the Myaamia. The annuity payments for land cessions resulted in the Myaamia's purchase of goods on credit from the traders, who in turn claimed payment for the credit debt from the annuity prior to its dispersal to the tribe.¹¹⁶ Pinšišwa crafted a new, complicated compromise treaty in 1838 that dealt with some of this debt.¹¹⁷ The Myaamia ceded all tribal reserve land except their winter hunting grounds on the Big Reserve. In return, Mihtohseenia's family, now led by his eldest son Mihšišinkweemiša (Burr Oak), and his village were to receive a grant of ten square miles.¹¹⁸ In addition, there was also to be thirty-one individual grants amounting to fifty sections, with provision for survey and for the distribution of the land by the *akima* Pinšišwa. The new payment was \$335,680; \$60,000 upon ratification, residue after debt payments to be paid in ten annual installments of \$12,568 each. The arrangements for debt claims and payments were spelled out in detail. The US commissioner was to investigate all claims against the Myaamia since October 23, 1834, and pay those that "proved to his or their satisfaction, to be legal and just."¹¹⁹

After investigation and due payment, any unexpended balance from the \$150,000 amount reserved for debt payment in the 1834 Treaty was to be added to the subsequent annuity in the 1838 Treaty. If that amount proved insufficient, unpaid debts were to be paid in three equal installments from annuities. No debts were to operate as liens on annuities or land. Again, buildings and improvements on ceded lands were to be appraised and residents reimbursed, and the residents were to be allowed to remain on the lands until this was accomplished. The United States was to survey and mark Myaamia land within one year after ratification. In the treaties of 1834 and 1838, Pinšišwa was able to retain his home on the *mameewa siippiwi* (St. Mary's River)

¹¹³ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:425-428.

¹¹⁴ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 199-200.

¹¹⁵ "Absolute Fee Simple Title (Fee Simple)," Real Estate Glossary, accessed June 8, 2009,

[http://www.iqrealestate.com/RealEstateGlossary.cfm/term/3/Absolute-Fee-Simple-Title-\(Fee-Simple\).html](http://www.iqrealestate.com/RealEstateGlossary.cfm/term/3/Absolute-Fee-Simple-Title-(Fee-Simple).html).

¹¹⁶ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 80-81, 99, 104-106. See also http://www.mohicanpress.com/trade_goods.html (accessed March 8, 2011) for sample lists of Indian trade goods.

¹¹⁷ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 200-201.

¹¹⁸ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 98. Mihtohseenia (Metocina) died in 1832, and was the leader of the Missisniewa Miami along with Pinšišwa, Pacanne, Hibou (Owl) and Le Gris. Mihšišinkweemiša (Burr Oak) is also referred to as Meshingomesia, which has been reported earlier as Hibou's Myaamia name, see fn. 57.

¹¹⁹ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:520; and Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 98.

while the 1826 treaty houses of Peepakicia (Flat Belly), Palaanswa (Francis Godfroy) and Waapehsipana (White Raccoon) were lost.

Pinšišwa negotiated the 1838 treaty to include language regarding a possible relocation of the tribe in the future. Article 10 of the treaty guaranteed to the Myaamia “forever, a country west of the Mississippi river to remove and settle on, when the tribe may be disposed to emigrate from their present country.” It further stated that the new lands would be in a region contiguous to that of the tribes that had previously relocated from Indiana and Ohio. The Myaamia were also guaranteed their protection by the United States government in the new lands. In Article 11 of the treaty the United States committed to defraying the expenses of “six chiefs or headmen, to explore the country to be assigned to the tribe.”¹²⁰

Article Thirteen of the treaty precluded another three-year delay in ratification as had occurred with the 1834 treaty. If the 1838 treaty were not ratified by the next session of Congress, it would be null and void. The treaty was signed by Commissioner Abel C. Pepper, who had also negotiated and signed the previous one, and by twenty-three Myaamia leaders.¹²¹

In the 1838 Treaty, Pinšišwa established a precedent with the provision releasing himself and his family from future removal:

ARTICLE 14. And whereas John B. Richardville, the principal chief of said tribe, is very old and infirm, and not well able to endure the fatigue of a long journey, it is agreed that the United States will pay to him and his family the proportion of the annuity of said tribe which their number shall indicate to be due to them, at Fort Wayne whenever the said tribe shall emigrate to the country to be assigned them west, as a future residence.¹²²

Article 14 provided the legal basis and mechanism that, along with fee-simple ownership of land, would allow many of the Myaamia to remain in Indiana. Pinšišwa’s children, grandchildren, and future descendants were given permission to reside permanently on their lands. This seemingly minor provision provided the legal opening needed. Like the precedent set by the 1818 grant of fee-simple title of lands to Pinšišwa, the 1838 treaty set the precedent for allowing permanent residency for some of the Myaamia upon their traditional lands.

The complicated debt claim arrangements of this treaty, however, occupied most of the *akima*’s time for the next two years. Commissioner Nathaniel West remarked that “I cannot refrain from bearing witness to the general honesty of this people; indeed, I hardly met with an instance of gross and barefaced denial of debt, unless the Indian knew he was right; then he was firm and decided and unwavering in his replies.” West reduced 118 claims amounting to \$142,439.25 to 98 claims for \$84,010.40, which he approved. West lived at Pinšišwa’s trading post at *wiipicahkionki* while he reviewed the claims.¹²³

In 1840, Pinšišwa and his attorney, Allen Hamilton, prepared a new treaty at Pinšišwa’s residence in Fort Wayne. This treaty was not scheduled or authorized initially by the United States government. However, it was accepted by the other Myaamia leaders and US government agents. Pinšišwa proposed that for all their remaining tribal lands, the Myaamia would be paid \$550,000 of which \$300,000 was to be reserved for their debt payments. Upon ratification of the treaty, an additional \$250,000 was to be paid in twenty equal annual

¹²⁰ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:521.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 522.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 521.

¹²³ Anson, *Miami Indians*, 203.

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installments. One or more commissioner(s) was to investigate debt claims against every member of the tribe, regardless of the claimant's blood, accrued after November 6, 1838, or that may accrue before ratification.¹²⁴ Also, inquiry was to be made into the "equity and legality of the original cause of indebtedness" based upon the evidence.¹²⁵ The government-approved judgments were to be final. Of the reserved money, \$250,000 was to cover debts contracted before November 28, 1840; \$50,000 to debts contracted from November 18, 1840, until ratification, with preference given to debts contracted for "provisions and subsistence." Any balance remaining, after the debt payments were paid, was to be included in the next annuity.¹²⁶

A Treaty Council was then organized at Wiipicahkionki, "between Samuel Milroy and Allen Hamilton, acting (unofficially) as commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs, warriors and headmen of the Miami tribe of Indians." On November 28, 1840, the assembled leaders agreed "that the Miami tribe of Indians shall remove to the country assigned them west of the Mississippi."¹²⁷

The 1840 Treaty excluded the families of Palaanswa (Francis Godfroy) and Mihšiinkweemiša (Burr Oak) and his sister and six brothers and their families from removal. This treaty, together with the 1838 Treaty that exempted Pinšiwa's family, and an 1845 petition to Congress by the Šipaakana-Mahkoonsaahkwa (Slocum) family, provided for about half of the Myaamia people to remain in Indiana. The 1840 Treaty stipulated that the Myaamia were to be paid \$250 annually in lieu of the government-provided labor that had been stipulated in the 1826 treaty. The Kansas lands for the Myaamia were specified as 500,000 acres south of the Wea and Kaskaskia, east of the Potawatomi, and north of the "New York Indians" (Seneca). The Myaamia were to move to these lands within five years of the 1840 Treaty date. The United States was to pay all moving expenses and to furnish rations to the tribe for twelve months after their arrival in Kansas. The United States was also to supply \$4,000 worth of "good merchantable pork and flour" to the tribe the second year; the amount to be deducted from their annuity for that year.¹²⁸

Negotiating expenses for the treaty were to be paid by the United States and the treaty would be null and void if not ratified by March 4, 1841. It was ratified. The 1840 Treaty was signed by twenty Myaamia leaders, and Commissioners Samuel Milroy and Allen Hamilton. This was the *akima* Pinšiwa's final treaty.

Pinšiwa died on August 13, 1841, in his home near the *mameewa siipiwi* (St. Mary's River) six years before about half of the 700 to 800 Indiana Myaamia were sent by canal boat west of the Mississippi. Upon his death, Pinšiwa's casket was ferried down the river to the French Catholic church in Fort Wayne, on the site of the current Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. His remains lie under Cathedral Square. His daughters erected a memorial to him that now stands in the Catholic Cemetery in Fort Wayne.¹²⁹ He left generous land grants to his children and grandchildren, as well as a lead safe in the *akima* Pinšiwa Awiiki containing approximately \$200,000 in gold and silver. Pinšiwa's wife Naatowehkwa, and sons Waapimankwa (Joseph) and Aughquamauda (John) preceded him in death.

His oldest daughter, Kiinkwaatehkwa (Maria Louisa, or LaBlonde) inherited his St. Mary's home and estate.¹³⁰ Kiinkwaatehkwa's daughter, Maankoonsihkwa (Archangel) married Sahkonkwa (James Roridan Godfroy) in

¹²⁴ "Regardless of the claimant's blood," meant that Myaamia of mixed-blood were not to be excluded from having their debts settled.

¹²⁵ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:531-2.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:531-534.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:532.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Bert J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne* (Chicago: Robert O. Law, 1917), 225.

¹³⁰ John B. Richardville, *Will of John B. Richardville* (April 9, 1841), Allen County Clerk's Office, Probate Papers, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Allen County Clerk's Office Probate Papers, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

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October of 1841, and they raised their family in the home. Sahkonkwa was a son of Palaanswa (Francis Godfroy). Pinšišwa's children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren lived in the home until approximately 1908 when it was sold to non-Myaamia. After the home was sold, many Pinšišwa descendants continued and continue to live close to the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki in the southwestern part of Fort Wayne.

Relatively little is known about the daily life of Pinšišwa. Archeological information about his family, lifestyle, and standard of living can provide crucial information about how he was likely regarded by the European Americans with whom he interacted, as well as how he was perceived by other Myaamia. Further archeological investigations at the site may potentially shed additional light on the living arrangements of Pinšišwa and his family which would be valuable in interpretations at the property. Additionally, knowledge of the lifestyles of typical affluent European American settlers on the Indiana frontier in the early nineteenth century may provide some comparative information, however, the archeological collection from the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki site, coupled with ethnographic information, oral histories, and the documentary record, can provide a unique perspective on localized products of power relationships and the construction of group or political identities under the broader topics of acculturation or ethnogenesis as archeologists study them.

Through persistence and hard bargaining, Pinšišwa was able to avoid the strategy of separation and isolation for the Myaamia. The use of multiple forms of ownership insured that Pinšišwa was able to balance the competing interests of traders and settlers to the advantage of the Myaamia. Traders desired access to the annuity money and settlers desired rich agricultural land. Similar to his ability to find a political and economic "middle ground," Pinšišwa's ability to balance these two competing interests brought him negotiating successes that eluded many of his American Indian contemporaries. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki and its associated archeological resources stand on a small piece of land, and is all that remains of what had been a small part of the Myaamia traditional and historical homeland.

Comparative Analysis with other Historic American Indian Sites and Treaty Houses

The rarity of the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki can be determined by a comparison to all treaties enacted by the United States government with American Indians. The Oklahoma State University Library has compiled an important online resource that documents the Charles J. Kappler compilation of those treaties.¹³¹ Although houses were occasionally offered as part of treaty negotiations, the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is a rare, well-preserved example of a treaty house.

Further, there are few known archeological properties associated with the life of Pinšišwa. The Kekionga area, Pinšišwa's birthplace and home for much of his adult life, has been destroyed by residential and commercial development. Other Myaamia village sites near the confluence of the three rivers were likely destroyed when the area was developed by European American settlers during the nineteenth century and the further development that took place throughout the twentieth century. Today, the area is a part of central Fort Wayne. The Treaty Grounds at the Forks of the Wabash near Huntington was listed on the National Register in 1985 for its potential to yield important information about Myaamia occupation of the region, but not specifically about Pinšišwa. The site of the LaFontaine House has been disturbed by moving the house for highway construction.

¹³¹ *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler, is a historically significant, seven volume compilation of US treaties, laws, and executive orders pertaining to Native American Indian tribes. The volumes cover US government treaties with Native Americans from 1778-1883 (vol. 2) and US laws and executive orders concerning Native Americans from 1871-1970 (vols. 1, and 3-7). The work was first published in 1903-04 by the United States Government Printing Office. Enhanced by the editors' use of margin notations and a comprehensive index, the information contained in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* is in high demand by Native peoples, researchers, journalists, attorneys, legislators, teachers, and others of both Native and non-Native origins. Volumes 1 through 7 are available on the web both as fully searchable digitized text and as page images. The contents may be accessed from the table of contents or index of each volume or through keyword searching.

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The akima Pinšiwa Awiiki is the only known archeological property with a direct connection to the productive life of Pinšiwa and is likely to produce significant archeological information about him.¹³²

Using the Kappler documents as the basis for analysis, a survey of all treaties made between the United States of America and American Indian tribes found only ten treaties where the United States agreed to build permanent residential structures for American Indians to encourage their continued occupation of traditional lands. Only five such treaties were negotiated during the Early Republic, and all of these involved Algonquian speaking peoples of the Great Lakes region. These treaties primarily occurred before passage of the 1830 Indian Removal Act.

Du Coigne House (1803) – Illinois

The earliest recorded incidence of a treaty house took place at the 1803 Treaty with the Kaskaskia, held at Vincennes, in which Indiana Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison negotiated a treaty with Kaskaskia *Métis* leader Joseph Du Coigne. Part of the treaty settlement included the construction of a stone house for Du Coigne in Illinois. It should be noted that the Kaskaskia were closely affiliated with the Myaamia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and shared a common language. Pinšiwa's uncle, Pakaana, occasionally lived among the Kaskaskia, near Vincennes, and may have been present at the treaty negotiation. The Du Coigne House is not extant as it was demolished at some point prior to 1950. It was described as being of stone, and built in the French manner.

Mihšihkinaahkwa (Little Turtle) (1805) – Eel River, Indiana

The second record of the construction of a residence for an American Indian was also approved by William Henry Harrison during his tenure as Territorial Governor of Indiana. In 1805, Harrison wrote to President Jefferson that a house had been constructed for Mihšihkinaahkwa (Little Turtle) near his village. This was not done in consideration of any specific treaty. The letter said that “the government constructed a house for Little Turtle on Eel River, a mile or so upstream from turtletown.”¹³³ The house is not extant.

Myaamia Treaty Houses (1826) – Fort Wayne area, Indiana

The nine houses to be built as part of the 1826 Paradise Springs Treaty included:

Pinšiwa (Jean-Baptist de Richardville) (1826) – St. Mary's River, Fort Wayne, Indiana

The house was presumably constructed by William Rockhill; the cost was \$600 of government funds, plus \$1600 provided by Pinšiwa. The akima Pinšiwa Awiiki, which is the subject of this nomination, still stands in Fort Wayne and is the only known extant treaty house in the U.S.¹³⁴

Toopia (Francis LaFontaine) (1826) – Northern Indiana

The treaty states that the house was constructed “On the waters of the Wabash near the mouth of Pipe Creek.” The contract of \$500 was originally awarded to Joseph Coleman. The government later paid an additional \$100 toward the construction of a cellar.¹³⁵ The house is not extant. Its demolition date is unknown.

¹³² Jean Gernand and Mary Kelsay, “Chief Richardville House and Miami Treaty Ground,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC, Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985.)

¹³³ Carter, *Life and Times of Chief Little Turtle*, 176.

¹³⁴ *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, accessed December 2, 2008, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>. William Rockhill held public office at the county, state, and federal levels. He was elected as a Democrat to the Thirtieth Congress, from March 4, 1847 to March 3, 1849.

¹³⁵ Tipton, *John Tipton Papers*, 1:741-810.

Palaanswa (Francois Godfroy) (1826) – Blackford County, Indiana

“Cyrus Taber—F. Godfroy—\$537.”¹³⁶ The house is not extant; it was dismantled following the treaty of 1834, and the bricks were used to build the Goldsmith Chandlee (Chandler) house in Pennville, Jay County, Indiana. The Goldsmith Chandler House still stands near Indiana Highway One (1).

Louison Godfroy (1826) – near Logansport, Indiana

“Wm. Caswell—Lewis Godfroy—\$487.” Louison, whose Myaamia name may have been Winso, was a brother of Francois Godfroy. Tipton notes also document that the Louison Godfroy house was constructed of brick and stood along Eel River Township Road No. One (1).¹³⁷ The house is not extant. Demolition date unknown.

Peepakicia (Flat Belly) (1826) – in the area of Indian Village, Noble, Indiana

“Gillis McBean—Flat Belly—\$562.”¹³⁸ Flatbelly had been granted 36 sections of land and a house was to be constructed for him in Noble and Kosciusko Counties as part of the 1826 Treaty. The House is not extant. Noble County histories and other sources note that the house was destroyed shortly after Flatbelly ceded the 36-section reserve as part of the 1834 Miami Treaty. Sources differ on how the building was destroyed: tornado, disuse. One source notes that Flat-belly's house was located in the southeast corner of his village which is now called Indian Village in Noble County. Another source, Waldo Adams, first vice-president of the Kosciusko County Historical Society, relates that when Flatbelly died, the white settlers tore down the house and the bricks from his house were used for chimneys.¹³⁹

Mehcikilita (Le Gros) (1826) – Lagro, Indiana

“Jos: Holman—Lagros—\$495.”¹⁴⁰ It should be noted that Le Gros died prior to the posting of the request for bids for these houses and it is not known if Myaamia people ever occupied this structure. John Tipton had been named as heir to Le Gros' estate, and may have had this home built for his own interests. The house is not extant. A commercial building located in modern Lagro, Indiana, is said to have been built from portions of the treaty house, but there is no visible evidence from the exterior view of the building.

Waapeehsipana (White Raccoon) (1826) – Whitley County, Indiana

“Holman—White Raccoon—\$499.” An early history of Whitley County noted that the house was, “... located in the southwest corner of the (Jefferson twp., Whitley county) township, on the north bank of the Wabash and Erie Canal, and originally consisted of a brick house with two rooms and a number of log cabins all erected by the government for the occupation of the Indians...Chief Raccoon, who occupied the brick house...brick house passed into hands of Jesse Vermilyea. He rented it to different parties.”¹⁴¹ The house is not extant. The entire site is now a gravel pit, and no historic buildings remain.

Waawiyaasita (1826) – near Camp Mack, Kosciusko County, Indiana

Tipton wrote to Lewis Cass that he had failed to correctly advertise for nine houses in the original bid documents, so he contracted privately with Stephen Coles to build a house for “wau, wee, I, see” for

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Joanne Vrabell, “Indians,” Yesteryear in Print, Kosciusko County, Indiana, accessed August 12, 2007, <http://yesteryear.clunette.com/index.html#countyhist>.

¹⁴⁰ Tipton, *John Tipton Papers*, 1:741-810.

¹⁴¹ Samuel P. Kaler and Richard H. Maring, *History of Whitley County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: B. F. Bowen, 1907), 344.

\$562, on the same reservation and like the one he had contracted to build for Flatbelly. Hugh Hanna then inspected the home, and found inferior bricks had been manufactured. He called for the house to be rebuilt of wood, and the house was built as two rooms, each sixteen feet square, with an eight-foot passage or “dogtrot” between them, and two chimneys.¹⁴² The house was located near the modern “Camp Mack” in Kosciusko County. The house is not extant.

Waapimaankwa (“White Loon,” also known as Joseph Richardville, Pinšiwā’s son) (1826) – near Peru, Indiana

His Myaamia name means “white loon” —“J. Hays—Near Mouth of Massiniway—\$497.00.” As mentioned above, Tipton wrote to Cass that he contracted to add a cellar to “Joe Richerville's” house, to bring the total cost up to \$600. A house near Peru was erroneously associated with Jean Baptiste de Richardville during a marker program in the 1960s. It is possible that this home, now a two-story house with a large addition, contains a portion of the Waapimaankwa treaty house, but this cannot be verified.¹⁴³

The other recorded instances of houses being built as part of a treaty negotiation include:

Treaty with the Pottawatomie (1828)

“The sum of seven thousand five hundred dollars shall be expended for the said tribe, under the direction of the President of the United States, in clearing and fencing land, erecting houses, purchasing domestic animals and farming utensils, and in the support of labourers to work for them.” The treaty was negotiated by Lewis Cass and Pierre Menard. None of these houses are extant.¹⁴⁴

Treaty with the Eel River Myaamia (1828)

“The United States shall...build twelve log houses, ten on the five mile reservation, and two on the Wabash...” The treaty was negotiated by John Tipton. None of these houses are extant.¹⁴⁵

Treaty with the Choctaw (1830)

Also known as the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, the terms included:

“... for the benefit and advantage of the Choctaw people, and to improve their condition, their shall be educated under the direction of the President and at the expense of the U.S. forty Choctaw youths for twenty years...The U.S. agree also to erect a Council House for the nation at some convenient central point, after their people shall be settled; and a House for each Chief, also a Church for each of the three Districts, to be used also as school houses, until the Nation may conclude to build others; and for these purposes ten thousand dollars shall be appropriated...”¹⁴⁶

The Chief’s House (listed June 21, 1971) in Swink, Oklahoma, was built for Greenwood LaFlore, one of the listed chiefs in this treaty. Although Greenwood LaFlore never relocated to Oklahoma, this house was lived in by Thomas LaFlore, shortly after its construction in the mid-1830s. The nomination describes it as:

¹⁴² Tipton, *John Tipton Papers*, 1:741-810.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:294.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 2:310-319.

Published specifications give us a good picture of what the "Chief's House" must have looked like in the late 1830s. The same specifications gave restorers a welcome blueprint to go by in their work. In between, of course, the double -house-with-dogtrot shrank to half its size (as the north wing was pulled down, its logs and chimney stones put to other purposes on the farm) and decayed badly from abuse and neglect. Government plans called for the house to be 52 x 20 feet, consisting of two rooms 20 feet square at each end and the traditional open passageway, or dogtrot (12 x 20 feet) between them, logs 15 inches "on the face, 11 six inches thick, were specified for the walls, with the inner surface straight edged. One and one-half inch thick planks, tongue-and-grooved, were required for the flooring and room ceilings. House-length porches, 10 feet wide, were called for. Sills were to be on a 12-inch center with flooring laid "athwart the porch." Porch roofs were to extend down over the main body of the house. The roof was to be of 18-inch singles with a five-inch show. A stairway leads to the two, low-ceilinged upper rooms, connected over the dogtrot by a hallway. Massive stone chimneys guarded either end of the house. Although the old house was pretty much a shambles when restoration work began in the 1960s, it now closely resembles the original. Inside restoration work and re-furnishing continue. One original mantel, a handsome hand-carved affair, has survived.¹⁴⁷

Treaty with the Menominee (1831)

"The following described tract of land, at present owned and occupied by the Menomonee Indians, shall be set apart, and designated for their future homes, upon which their improvements as an agricultural people are to be made ... And the United States will cause to be erected, houses suited to their condition, on said lands, as soon as the Indians agree to occupy them, for which ten thousand dollars shall be appropriated." The treaty was negotiated by John Eaton and Samuel Stambaugh. None of these houses are extant.¹⁴⁸

Treaty with the Myaamia (1834)

The status of several houses first built in accordance with the 1826 Paradise Springs [Myaamia] Treaty was cause for concern in the 1834 Treaty between the United States and the Myaamia. This treaty took away much of the Myaamia Indiana lands, including several sites that contained the 1826 treaty residences, but not the Akima Pinšywa Awiiki site. The 1834 treaty states: "The United States agrees to have the buildings and improvements on the lands ceded by the first article of this treaty valued. To cause a similar amount in value, laid out in building, clearing and fencing ground, for the use of the Indians, on such place or places as their chiefs may select, and that the Indians have peaceable possession of their houses and improvements, on the lands ceded in the first article of this treaty, until the improvements are made as provided for in this article."¹⁴⁹ The 1834 Treaty was negotiated by General William Marshall. It is unclear if any new houses were actually constructed, and if so, none are extant today.

Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa (1836) – Mackinac Island, Michigan (NHL, 1960)

A residential building called the "Indian Dormitory" was built on Mackinac Island as part of the treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa in 1836. In this case, however, the structure was clearly not intended for use as a permanent residence: "It is stipulated to renew the present dilapidated shop at Michilimackinac, and to maintain a gunsmith, in addition to the present smith's establishment, and to build a dormitory for the Indians visiting the

¹⁴⁷ Ruth Kent, "Chief's House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, June 21, 1971), 2.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 426.

post, and appoint a person to keep it, and supply it with fire-wood.”¹⁵⁰ The Indian Dormitory is extant and is included as a contributing resource in the Mackinac Island NHL nomination.

Mid- to Late Nineteenth-Century Comparable Historic American Indian Houses

Most of the later United States treaties with American Indians that included the construction of residential structures involved relocation to less valued lands along the margins of traditional tribal lands. Native American policy changed as well; relocation and the building of residences became a less popular option. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, American Indians responded in many ways to United States policies. Just as the akima Pinšiwa Awiiki reflects American Indian response to United States policies during the Early Republic, so, too, was the American Indian response during the second half of the nineteenth century reflected in a variety of other treaty terms.

After 1855, three treaties were negotiated for land in Washington and Oregon Territory, prompting what has been called the Yakima War. It is unclear whether the United States government ever built the houses promised to each tribal chief. The 1863 Treaty with the Chippewa of the Mississippi and the Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands included an annuity and dwellings that were to be built for the chief of each band; it is unclear whether the leaders had to relocate in order to receive the dwellings. The treaty was signed by thirty-four chiefs, most of whom, presumably, would have received their own house. There is no documentation to substantiate the construction of either the Yakima or Chippewa houses.

Non-Treaty Related Comparable Historic American Indian Historic Houses

New Echota (1825-1838) – Gordon County, Georgia (NHL, 1971)

The New Echota site in Gordon County, Georgia, was officially designated by the Cherokee as the capital of the Cherokee Nation on November 12, 1825. In New Echota, the Cherokee constructed a legislative hall, a supreme court house, a newspaper office, and other commercial and residential buildings. Although the Cherokee sued the federal government to prevent their removal to the Oklahoma Indian Territory, the United States Supreme Court upheld the government’s policy established in the Indian Removal Act of 1830. In 1838, the removal of the Cherokee to Oklahoma resulted in great loss of life and is remembered as the “Trail of Tears.”¹⁵¹ The Cherokee Capital, New Echota was abandoned for more than 100 years. In 1954, Gordon County donated a dilapidated frame house to the State of Georgia. The frame house had been the mission school and the home of Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, a New Englander who constructed the building in 1827. During a survey of the site, archeologists Lewis Larsen and Joe Caldwell identified the footprints of other buildings original to the site. On March 13, 1957, in reaction to the findings at the New Echota site, the State of Georgia authorized the town to be rebuilt as a state park. Today, New Echota is a Georgia State Historic Site—its mission school has been restored, and other buildings have been reconstructed or relocated to the site.¹⁵² Although the Mission School at New Echota was constructed in 1827, as was the Pinšiwa House, it was not built as part of a treaty settlement. The other buildings at New Echota have been reconstructed or moved to the site.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 452.

¹⁵¹ New Georgia Encyclopedia, s.v. “Cherokee Removal,” by Tim Alan Garrison, accessed December 19, 2008, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/cherokee-removal>.

¹⁵² William R. Mitchell, Jr., “New Echota,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, April 30, 1971).

John Ross House (1830-1839) – Rossville, Walker County, Georgia (NHL, 1973)

John Ross became Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation in 1827, and served in that capacity through the removal of the Cherokee from their traditional lands in 1839 until his death in Oklahoma in 1866. When the State of Georgia confiscated Cherokee lands in 1830, John Ross was forced from his plantation on the Coosa River, near Rome, Georgia. He then moved into a two-story timber house in Rossville, Georgia, that had been built in 1797 by his European-American grandfather, John McDonald.¹⁵³ In 1839, Ross lost this house as well, as he led the Cherokee to their new lands west of the Mississippi River—on what is now called the “Trail of Tears.” The house was not built as part of a treaty settlement. Only altered slightly, the house has been moved several hundred yards from its original location.

“Chieftains;” Major Ridge House (1797-1838) – Rome, Georgia (NHL, 1973)

The Cherokee leader, Major Ridge was born around 1771. Ridge led Cherokee troops in the defense of the United States during the War of 1812, and earned his military title of “Major” from General Andrew Jackson in 1814. Following the war, Ridge was politically active in Cherokee Tribal politics and became Speaker of the Tribal Council. After living for a number of years in a two-story dogtrot log cabin on the Oostanaula River near present day Rome, Georgia, Ridge’s son John oversaw renovations to the cabin. When completed in 1828, the house was a white clapboard plantation home. In 1832, the Ridge house was confiscated by the state of Georgia and given to Rachel Ferguson. Ridge was one of the signers of the December 29, 1835, Treaty of New Echota that sold Cherokee land to the United States in exchange for land in the Oklahoma Indian Territory. Ridge and his family moved to Oklahoma in 1837. As a result of inner conflict among the survivors of the Trail of Tears and the signers of the 1835 Treaty, Ridge was killed in an ambush on June 22, 1839.

Later occupants of the Ridge House near Rome, Georgia, called the home “Chieftains” in honor of its connection to Major Ridge. Following the ownership of a number of individuals and groups, in 1969 the house was donated to the Junior Service League of Rome by the Celanese Corporation. The Junior Service League has operated the house as a museum since 1971. The group has also been active in rehabilitating the house to its 1837 appearance by removing all non-Ridge period features and finishes. The house was not built as part of a treaty settlement.

Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-chea-ahoosh) Home (NHL, 1999)

In 1884, Alekcheaahoosh (Chief Plenty Coups) of the Crow Nation built a large timber home near the western edge of the Crow Reservation, southwest of Billings, in Big Horn County, Montana. The house is a one and a half story, L-shaped, log building that had additions constructed in 1900 and again, in 1909. The design of the house represents a collaboration of the architectural vision of the Indian Agency, and Alekcheaahoosh—tribal members and non-Indians worked on the construction. The 194.5-acre homestead site, which also includes a store, a spring, a burial ground, and other landscape features, is now a Montana State Park. There are several noncontributing park-related buildings and structures at the site. Designated an NHL in 1999, the nomination for the Chief Plenty Coups home notes: “The Homestead is important in the political history of the Crow Nation for it was here that one of its most influential leaders conferred, strategized, and planned responses to critical issues and shaped the future. The house was the de facto political capital of the Crow during the early years of the reservation.”¹⁵⁴ The Chief Plenty Coups house was not constructed as part of a treaty settlement.

¹⁵³ Benjamin Levy, “John Ross House,” National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, November 7, 1973).

¹⁵⁴ R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) House, National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, June 4, 1998).

Other Richardville Houses

The Chief Richardville House and Miami Treaty Grounds in Huntington, Indiana, were listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1985. It is also known as the “Indian House and Forks of the Wabash.” The house was most likely built by Toopia (Francis LaFontaine), who was married to Pinšišwa’s daughter, Pakankiihkwa (Catherine) who occupied the house until 1847. Current family descendants, who have lived in the house, relate that Toopia built the house and that Pinšišwa had an office in one of the rooms on the second floor of the house. The present marker (Indiana Sesquicentennial Commission, ca. 1966) in front of the house incorrectly identifies the house as Richardville’s principal residence. Historical sources list the primary residence as the house in Fort Wayne. There is also a HABS report, File No. IN-157 [HABS IND 35-Hunt, 1-] related to the house in Huntington. The HABS report states that the building was constructed in 1833. Moreover, this house was not Pinšišwa’s primary residence during the significant events of his life, specifically the negotiation of the 1826 Paradise Springs Treaty.

There is another “Richardville” house in Peru, Indiana, with an Indiana Sesquicentennial Commission marker; this house is near the location of a much smaller treaty house built for Joseph Richardville. Joseph Richardville’s house, according to the building specifications and building contract, was a single-story brick house, 16’ x 32’, with a cellar.¹⁵⁵ A portion of the Peru house might have been built for Joseph Richardville, but extensive additions and enlargements have obliterated the earlier house, if it exists. The text of this marker erroneously reads: “Jean Baptiste Richardville (1761-1841) was principal chief of the Miami Tribe from 1812 to 1841. He signed six treaties with the United States ceding Miami land in Indiana. This house was built for him under one of the treaties.”¹⁵⁶

Conclusion

The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki is the only historic structural and archeological evidence that remains of the economic and political treaties that allowed some of the Myaamia and their *akima*, Pinšišwa, to remain within the expanding boundaries of the United States. The akima Pinšišwa Awiiki outstandingly represents a treaty-negotiated residence from the era of the Early Republic. This unique status makes the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki a historic resource type which is extremely rare and significant in American Indian history and in the history of the United States. The public’s understanding of nineteenth-century Indian relations is often the simple sequence of battle-conquer-remove, and is often thought of as a process that occurred in a relatively short period of time. Pinšišwa’s life and accomplishments as *akima* provide a much deeper understanding of the complicated process of negotiation between American Indian tribes and the United States government during that time period. Pinšišwa devoted his life to negotiating treaties with the federal government for the purchase of Myaamia land so that many of the Myaamia could remain in their homeland.¹⁵⁷ In a letter to Secretary of War John Eaton in 1831, John Tipton referred to the slow progress of negotiations with the Myaamia. He said, “The Miamies are reduced to a small number, but well organized in their kind of government, and with one of the most shrewd men in North America at their head.”¹⁵⁸

In his career as an assistant *akima* and later as leading *akima* of the Myaamia, Pinšišwa played an important role in negotiating treaties for the Myaamia and influencing United States Indian policy. The treaties negotiated by Pinšišwa ceded vast amounts of land to the United States. However, at a time when many tribes were forced to relinquish their lands and move west, Pinšišwa and the Myaamia arranged for about half of the Myaamia to

¹⁵⁵ Tipton, *John Tipton Papers*, 1:738-739 and 809-812.

¹⁵⁶ Indiana Historical Bureau, accessed March 24, 2011, <http://www.in.gov/history/markers/233.htm>.

¹⁵⁷ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 101, 112-113.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 96.

AKIMA PINŠIWA AWIIKI (CHIEF JEAN-BAPTISTE DE RICHARDVILLE HOUSE)**Page 43**

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remain on their land in Indiana. Pinšišwa understood that legally recognized property ownership by an individual or group of Myaamia was the best method to prevent their relocation to the west. The treaties that Pinšišwa negotiated included land grants for himself, his family, and other Myaamia leaders and their families. In recognition of the land ownership status acquired by many of the Myaamia, the federal government did not enforce the removal of those tribal members to the west.

Although the *akima* Pinšišwa's strategy allowed his descendants and many other Myaamia to stay in Indiana, the tribe was fractured by the relocation of many of their number to the west.¹⁵⁹ The Eastern Myaamia continue to live and work in Indiana, and have a strong, organized tribal presence in the state. Myaamia in the Fort Wayne area, including many of Pinšišwa's direct descendants, are actively engaged in interpretation at the *akima* Pinšišwa Awiiki, which is open to the public. The United States government has continued to maintain a government to government relationship with the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (Western Myaamia) while the Indiana Myaamia were forced to accept status as citizens of the United States and lost their tribal protection by federal law in 1897.¹⁶⁰ Although they continue to be an identifiable group, the Indiana Myaamia were denied tribal status by the US government in 1993.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Rafert, *Miami Indians of Indiana*, 116.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 173-174.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 293. Despite the difference in federal recognition, the Eastern and Western Myaamia continue to collaborate on projects and programs, including recent projects to revive the language, e.g., the current Myaamia Project at the Miami University of Ohio.

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Previous documentation on file [NPS]:

Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing [36 CFR 67] has been requested.

Previously Listed in the National Register. NR# 97000595, 06/27/1997

Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.

Designated a National Historic Landmark.

Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #

Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

State Historic Preservation Office

Other State Agency

federal Agency

AKIMA PINŠIWA AWIIKI (CHIEF JEAN-BAPTISTE DE RICHARDVILLE HOUSE)**Page 49**

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- Local Government
 University
 Other [Specify Repository]:

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: less than 1 acre

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
	16	654306.95	4543873.90

Verbal Boundary Description:

Legal description of real estate: Part of Richardville Reserve, West of the St. Mary's River in Township 30 North, Range 12 East, Allen County, Indiana, described as follows: Commencing at the intersection of the east right-of-way line of Bluffton Road with the north right-of-way line of a proposed street (Peachewa Trail); thence south 80 degrees 08 minutes east, along said north right-of-way line, 193.4 feet; thence north 13 degrees 31 minutes 27 seconds east, 154.57 feet; thence north 03 degrees 45 minutes 00 seconds east; 184.64 feet to a pipe found on the south line of the Southwest Conservation Club, Inc.; thence north 80 degrees 41 minutes east, along said line, 162.6 feet to the point of beginning, being marked by a pin set; thence continuing north 80 degrees 41 minutes east, along said line 175.0 feet to a pin found; thence South 09 degrees 19 minutes east, 200.0 feet to a pin set; thence south 80 degrees 41 minutes west, parallel to the south line of the Southwest Conservation Club, Inc., 175.0 feet to a pin set; thence north 09 degrees 19 minutes west, 200.0 feet to the point of beginning, containing 0.80 acres of land, more or less.

Boundary Justification:

The boundary includes the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki (Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House) and the land which immediately surrounds it, which is currently owned by the Fort Wayne-Allen County Historical Society. This open space retains integrity from the period of significance and is the area most likely to contain archeological evidence of past occupation. The land to the north is owned by the Southwest Conservation Club, Inc. which has been responsible for the restoration and preservation of the land between the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki and the St. Mary's River. Although now concealed by second-growth forest, the site beyond the present boundary was disturbed by some limited quarrying of sand and gravel on the south and east sides of the house. The views from the akima Pinšišwa Awiiki to the commercial and residential development along Bluffton Road that lies west of the house are buffered by trees. At the time the house was built in 1827, it sat in the center of more than 3000 acres owned by Pinšišwa (Richardville). The growth of the City of Fort Wayne since that time has transformed the Richardville Reserve into an urban and suburban area.

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11. FORM PREPARED BY

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Date: June 9, 2009

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National Park Service
National Historic Landmarks Program
1201 I Street NW (2280)
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 354-2216

DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK
March 2, 2012

PINŠIWA HOUSE (Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House)

Photos

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PINŠIWA HOUSE
Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana
North (front) elevation
Photo by Angela M. Quinn, October 1, 2007



PINŠIWA HOUSE
Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana
North Elevation
Photo by Angela M. Quinn, February 9, 2009

PINŠIWA HOUSE (Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House)

Photos

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PINŠIWA HOUSE

Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana

South elevation with detail of the east side porch.

Photo by Angela M. Quinn, October 1, 2007



PINŠIWA HOUSE

Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana

West elevation

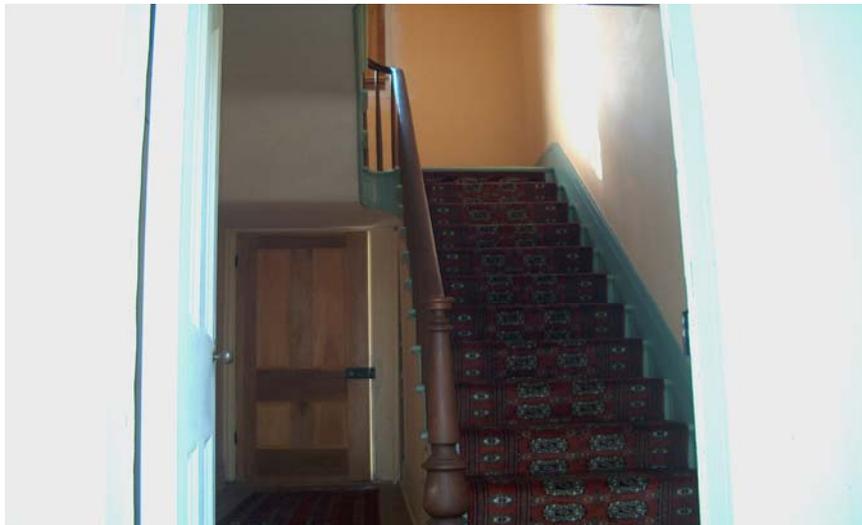
Photo by Angela M. Quinn, October 1, 2007

PINŠIWA HOUSE (Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House)

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PINŠIWA HOUSE

Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana

Front Entrance looking toward the staircase and hallway.

Photo by Angela M. Quinn, October 1, 2007



PINŠIWA HOUSE

Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana

Parlor, looking toward the windows on the north elevation.

Photo by Angela M. Quinn, October 1, 2007

PINŠIWA HOUSE (Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House)

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PINŠIWA HOUSE
Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana
Second Floor, East Bedchamber
Photo by Angela M. Quinn, October 1, 2007



PINŠIWA HOUSE
Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana
First Floor North Room of the Rear Wing looking toward exterior door and a window.
Photo by Angela M. Quinn, October 1, 2007

PINŠIWA HOUSE

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Figures

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Historic Images

Pinšišwa House

Allen County, Indiana

Historic photographs, maps, and plans courtesy of the Allen County – Fort Wayne Historical Society, Indiana State Library, and the Myaamia Project.

Some images resized, cropped and compressed for document space limitations. All historic images on GOLD CD-R are unaltered.



Figure 001: Samuel Hanna House. Built by Hugh Hanna circa 1825. Demolished in 1914. Photograph in the collection of the Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society.

PINŠIWA HOUSE

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Figures

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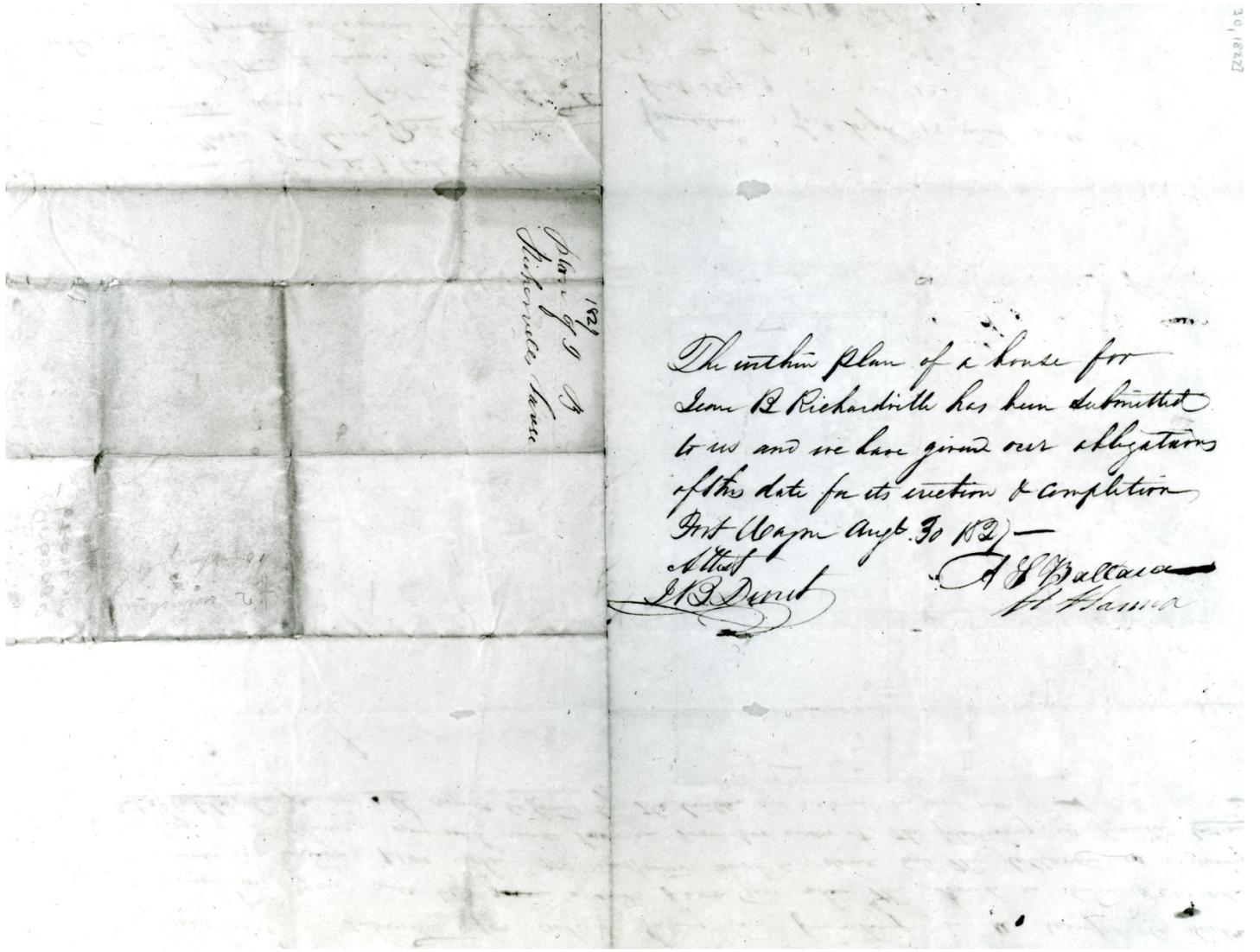


Figure 003: "1827 Plan of J. B. Richardville's House." John Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library. Side 2.

PINŠIWA HOUSE

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Figure 004: Portrait of J. B. Richardville, reproduction, Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society. Available from <http://acfwhs.lib.ipfw.edu> (1 March 2009).

PINŠIWA HOUSE

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Figures

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

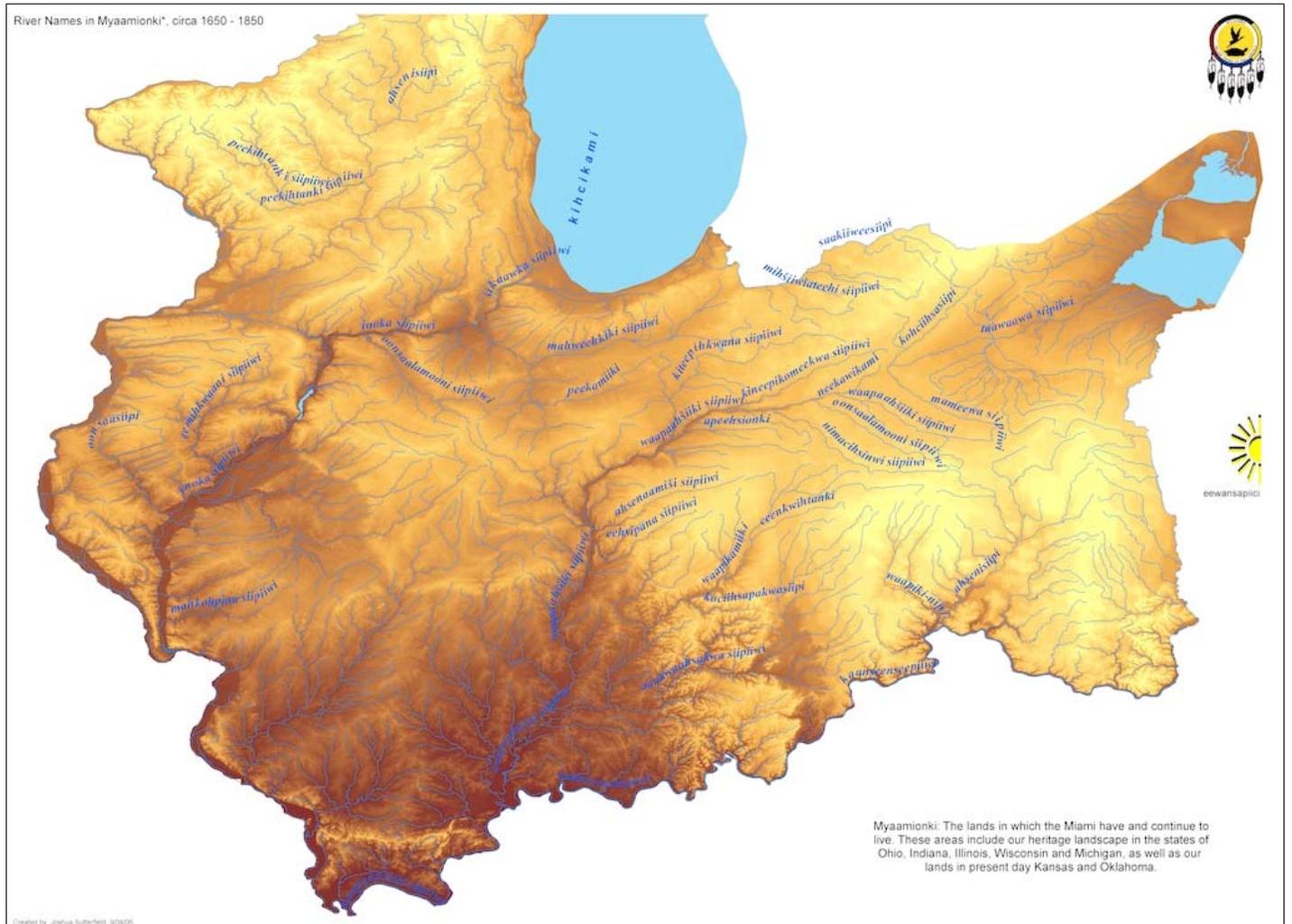


Figure 005: *Myaamionki*—traditional and modern lands of the Myaamia People, with names of Rivers and Lakes in Myaamia. Map developed by and used with the permission of the Myaamia Project, Miami University of Ohio.

PINŠIWA HOUSE

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Figure 006: “Richardville, the Head Chief of the Miami tribe of Indians” by Lewis James Otto, painted at the Treaty of Fort Wayne, 1826. Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society. Available from <http://acfwhs.lib.ipfw.edu> (1 March 2009).

PINŠIWA HOUSE

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

Figures

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

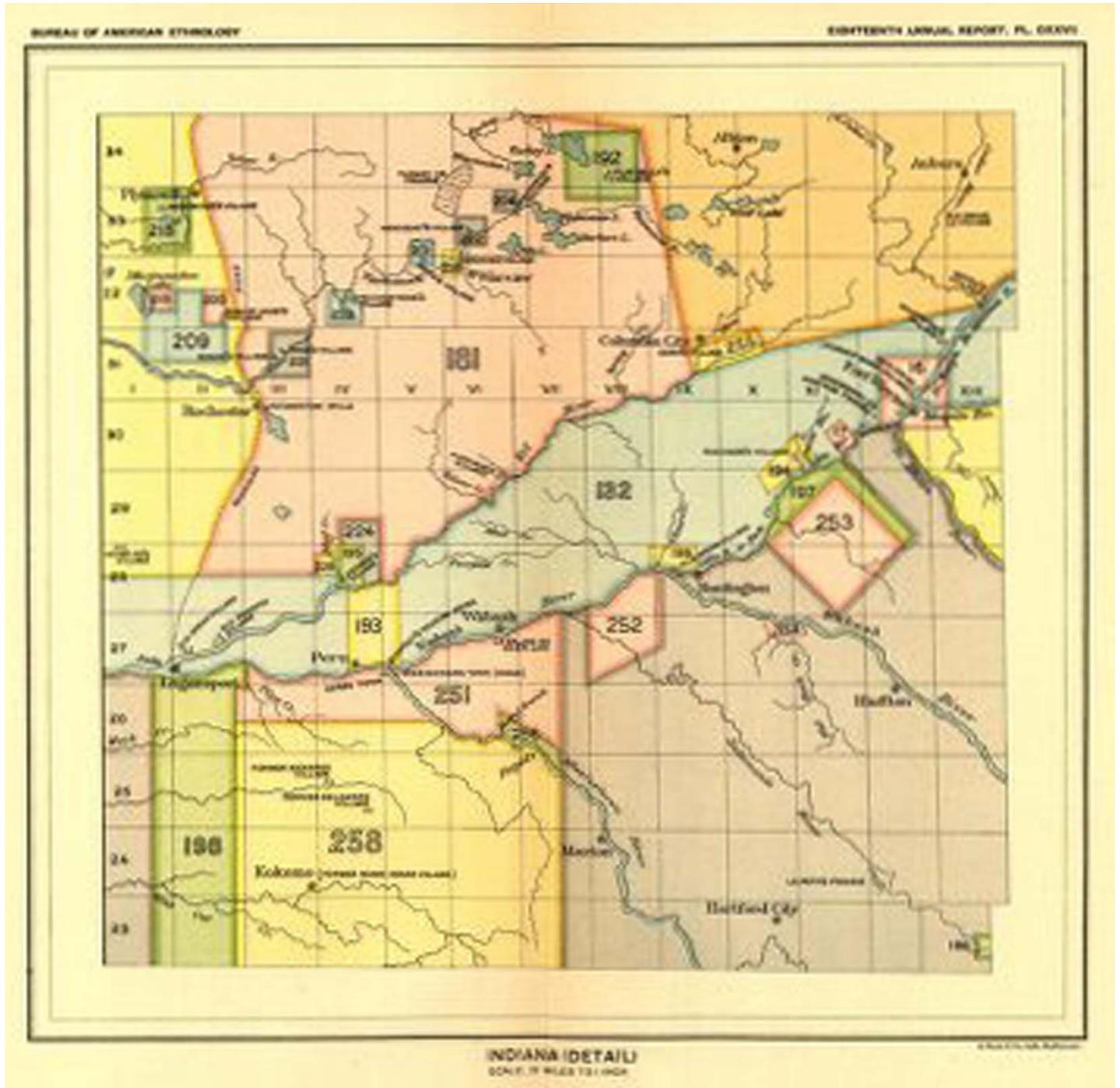
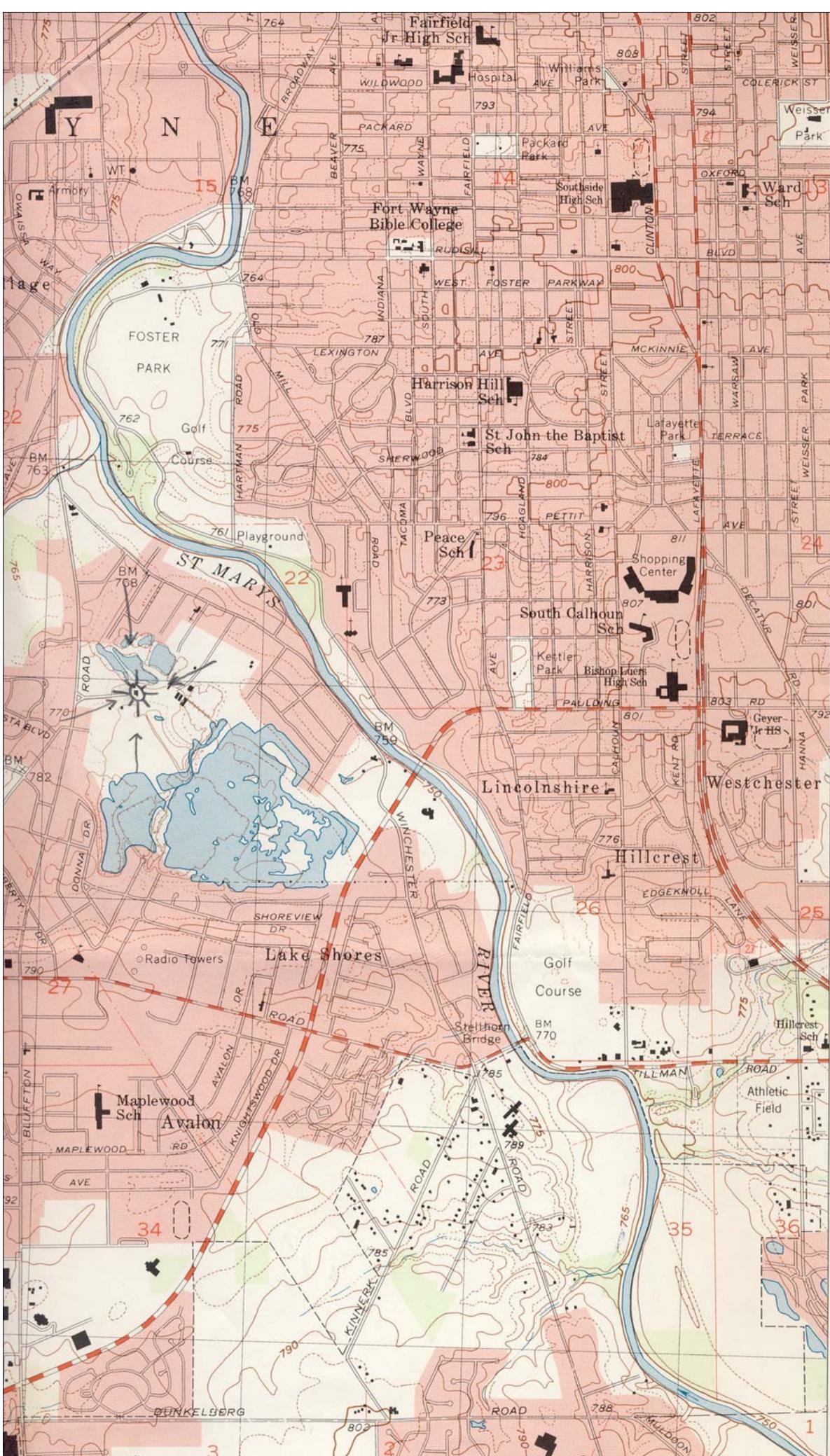


Figure 009: Indiana Detail of Indian Cessions. Library of Congress, American Memory Collection. Indian land cessions in the United States, comp. by Charles C. Royce, with introduction by Cyrus Thomas. Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Eighteenth annual report ... 1896-'97. pt. 2, p. 521-997. Available from [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=gmd&action=browse&fileName=gmd370m/g3701m/g3701em/gct00002/ct_browse.db&recNum=12&itemLink=r?ammem/gmd:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(g3701em+gct00002\)\)&linkText=0&title2=Indian%20land%20cessions%20in%20the%20United%20States,%20comp.%20by%20Charles%20C.%20Royce,%20with%20introduction%20by%20Cyrus%20Thomas.&displayType=3&maxCols=3](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=gmd&action=browse&fileName=gmd370m/g3701m/g3701em/gct00002/ct_browse.db&recNum=12&itemLink=r?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g3701em+gct00002))&linkText=0&title2=Indian%20land%20cessions%20in%20the%20United%20States,%20comp.%20by%20Charles%20C.%20Royce,%20with%20introduction%20by%20Cyrus%20Thomas.&displayType=3&maxCols=3) (March 2, 2009).



*Pinsiwa House
 (Chief Jean Baptiste
 de Richardville House)
 Fort Wayne IN
 ALLEN COUNTY*

*NAD: 83
 Zone: 16
 East: 654306.95
 North: 4543873.90*

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