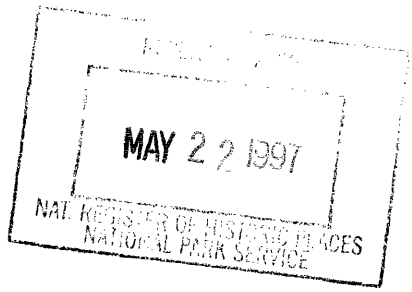
NPS Form 10-900
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 10024-0018

595

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form



This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. *If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.* Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name **de Richardville, Chief Jean-Baptiste, House**

other names/site number Richardville, Chief John B., House

2. Location

street & number 5705 Bluffton Road N/A ☐ not for publication

city or town Fort Wayne N/A ☐ vicinity

state Indiana code IN county Allen code 003 zip code 46809

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, 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 36CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☒ nationally ☐ statewide ☐ locally. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date 4-21-97

Indiana Department of Natural Resources
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

☑ entered in the National Register.
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined not eligible for the National Register
☐ removed from the National Register
☐ other, (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action 6/27/97

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- ☒ private
- ☐ public-local
- ☐ public-State
- ☐ public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- ☒ building
- ☐ district
- ☐ site
- ☐ structure
- ☐ object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	0	buildings
1	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
2	0	Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC: Single Dwelling

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

RECREATION/CULTURE: Museum

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

MID-19th c.: Greek Revival
OTHER: I-house

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation: STONE: Limestone
walls: BRICK
STUCCO
roof: WOOD: Shingle
other: STONE: Limestone
WOOD

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- ☒ private
- ☐ public-local
- ☐ public-State
- ☐ public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- ☒ building
- ☐ district
- ☐ site
- ☐ structure
- ☐ object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	0	buildings
1	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
2	0	Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC: Single Dwelling

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

RECREATION/CULTURE: Museum
EDUCATION:

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

MID-19th c.: Greek Revival
OTHER: I-house

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation: STONE: Limestone
walls: BRICK
STUCCO
roof: WOOD: Shingle
other: STONE: Limestone
WOOD

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

☒ **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contriibution to the broad patterns of our history.

☒ **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

☒ **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

☒ **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

☐ **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

☐ **B** removed from its original location.

☐ **C** a birthplace or grave.

☐ **D** a cemetery.

☐ **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

☐ **F** a commemorative property.

☐ **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

POLITICS/GOVERNMENT
ETHNIC HERITAGE: Native American
ETHNIC HERITAGE: European
COMMERCE
ARCHITECTURE
ARCHAEOLOGY: Historic-Aboriginal

Period of Significance

c.1818-1841

Significant Dates

1827

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Richardville, Chief Jean B.

Cultural Affiliation

Miami

Architect/Builder

Hanna, Hugh
Ballard, A.G.

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographic References

Bibliography
(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
☐ previously listed in the National Register
☐ 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
☐ Local government
☒ University
☒ Other

Name of repository:
Indiana State Library, Indiana University-Purdue

de Richardville, Chief Jean-Baptiste, House
Name of Property

Allen IN
County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property .8 ac

UTM References
(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	16	654300	4543650
2			
3			
4			

☐ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description
(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification
(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Richardville Committee/Lois Headings, Historian; Craig Leonard, HP Consultant

organization Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society date 10-28-96

street & number 302 E. Berry St. telephone 219 485-5911

city or town Fort Wayne state IN zip code 46802

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white** photographs of the property.

Additional items
(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society

street & number 302 E. Berry St. telephone 219 426-2882

city or town Fort Wayne state IN zip code 46802

Chief Jean B. Richardville House
Allen County, IN

Architectural Description

The Chief Richardville House is located in what are now the southwestern suburbs of Fort Wayne, near the Waynedale area. While the immediate area of the house remains open space, the land to the west, along either side of Bluffton Road (Indiana 1), is lined with commercial and residential development (Photo 1). The house does not face Bluffton Road; instead it is oriented toward the banks of the St. Marys River which is approximately one-half mile to the north-northeast. The site of the house is a low bluff that is near the geographical center of a tract of land that was given to Chief Richardville as part of the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's; the hillock is one of the highest points in the area. Though the fields to the north of the house are now the grounds of the Southwest Conservation Club, the land to the south has been extensively quarried for sand and gravel. The quarrying came within about one hundred feet of the house on the east, south, and southwest; the steep slope has since become clad in trees and underbrush.

The Richardville House is a brick I-House with a two story side-gabled rectangular main block that has a one and a half story gabled rear wing attached to its southwest rear corner; the rear alcove thus formed originally had a porch roofed by an extension of the rake of the rear wing's roof; the porch has since been enclosed (Photos 2,3). The five bay facade (Photo 4) faces north, overlooking a broad slope. The walls of the house are now clad in stucco that is flush with the faces of the cut stone lintels. The limestone rubble walls of the foundation are topped by a cut stone water table with vertical tooling on the main block's facade; elsewhere the stucco extends to the grade line. The walls of the entire house are topped by a plain wide frieze beneath plain projecting eaves with scroll-sawn rafter ends. Inspection of the roof framing during a 1992 re-roofing showed that the present roofline is the product of later alteration; the eave projections are made of a variety of reused materials. An idea of the house's original appearance is provided by an historic photograph of a similar house that stood in Fort Wayne until c.1914; it may have been built for Samuel Hanna by his brother Hugh, who was one of the contractors for the Richardville House. That building (Photo 5) had walls crowned by a wide frieze with returns on the facade and corbie-stepped parapet gables with engaged end wall chimneys on the ends of the main block. That structure also had a Greek Revival front door surround nearly identical to that of the Richardville House: it had a door flanked by engaged pilasters enframed behind a shouldered architrave casing with battered sides. On the Richardville House, the front door is set beneath a two-light transom and the door itself has a long light over two panels with raised moldings, the last probably a later alteration (Photo 6). While most of the windows of the Richardville House are double-hung units, the wide mullions of the six-over-one sash suggest that they date from the early twentieth century; only the transom sash over the front door has the type of thin mullion generally associated with early buildings in the area.

Architectural Description

A number of features probably were included in a remodeling done c.1915 by a later owner, Judge Samuel Alden. These include the six-over-one sash installed in most 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 Craftsman and Colonial Revival styles. Another feature that may also have been a part of that renovation was a one bay porch that until recently sheltered the front door; it had a classical architrave supported by two Tuscan piers. Lore to the effect that the facade once had a one story Victorian porch across its width has yet to be confirmed. An historic photograph in the possession of the present owner shows that the rear alcove porch was once supported by plain stop-chamfered square posts.

The interior of the Richardville House has a characteristic central hall I-House plan 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 Richardville House has an unfinished basement under the main block whose rubble walls have been reinforced with concrete; a crawl space extends under the rear wing. In addition to the front stairway in the main block, an enclosed stairs against the end (south) wall of the rear wing provides access to a loft.

The central hall (Photo 7) is dominated by the main stairs, which lands on the west side of the room. The starting newel has a series of simple urn-shaped profiles, and the base of the handrail forms a holiday atop the newel (Photo 8). Otherwise, 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 stairs (excluding the oak treads) appears to be made of walnut. The handrail continues uninterrupted up the stairway and forms radiused corners that follow the return of the upper run of treads and the rectangular stairwell opening. In the hall, a door under the upper run of the stairs originally opened onto the back porch; it now provides access into a short hall that is alongside a modern half bath built into the porch.

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 (Photo 9). 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 mantlepiece. The tall baseboards are capped with a plain Doric torus. The windows are set into shallow reveals

Architectural Description

behind the casings and have paneled aprons beneath their sills (Photo 10). 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 (Photo 11). 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 c.1950 replacement in maple.

The treatment of the fireplace wall seen in the dining room is repeated in the east chamber on the second floor, where the original full-length doors survive on shallow closets (Photo 12). The arrangement seen in the parlor is repeated in the west chamber, where a modern window has been added to the south of the mantle (Photo 13). Though the chambers continue the use of wide bolection casings, the windows are set above plain sills and aprons, and the use of shouldered profiles is everywhere omitted. 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, it has a room immediately behind the dining room and a smaller room beyond. The first space has two doors on its east wall; one opens into the modern rear hall and the other provides access to the former back porch. The room has a single window on its west wall, and a door into the dining room in the center of its north wall. 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 (Photo 14). A simple chair rail extends around the room, but at a height that puts it above the sill line of the window.

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 (Photo 15). A door on the east side of the room provides access to the enclosed back porch, opposite a window that is centered on the west wall of the room. A modern kitchen base counter is centered on the north side of the room, and a recess with shelving is located on the west end of that wall.

The knee-walled loft above the rear wing is also divided by a lateral partition that is directly above the corresponding wall on the first level. The middle of this partition has a wide opening in which the brick stack corbels to the north before piercing the ridge line of the roof (Photo 16). The loft otherwise has plastered walls and ceilings and a hardwood floor. The top of the back stairway lacks any balustrade. Access into the west chamber of the main wing is provided by steps at an opening that is likely to be a later alteration.

Architectural Description

The extent to which the present house is the same structure that was built for Richardville 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 Miami according to the terms of the 1826 Treaty of Mississinewa, 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 construction contract (see Attachment C). The sketch plans, shown on one side of the page surrounded by specifications, show 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 feet square with a hearth centered on its end (south) wall and no rear stairs. The reversal of the plan can probably be explained simply in terms of re-orienting the house to protect the back porch from the prevailing southwesterly winds; interpretation of the rest of the differences between the plan and the rear wing as it presently exists will require further investigation. At present, neither the lateral wall nor the crawlspace below provide any readily apparent evidence of a vanished kitchen hearth. Preliminary archeological investigation on the west side of the rear wing does suggest that the rear wing has been extended to the south. The outline of a lower roof on the rear wing's gable shows the location of a wooden garage which was likely demolished in the 1960s.

Selective demolition of small areas of the exterior stucco reveals that the face of the brick was heavily abraded to enhance the stucco's adhesion. The most intact exterior brick surface today is that above the front door surround, where the later porch had covered the face of the wall. This brickwork does bear out the 1827 specification, which calls for the masonry to be "pointed and pencilled," i.e., given joints with rodded tooling. A much larger area of exposed (yet painted) brick, along with the stone foundation, is located on the gable wall of the rear wing. The 1827 specifications also called for both a paneled front door and paneled window shutters; rabbet marks for the shutter hinges can be found on the jambs of the windows. There is also a note to the effect that the "gutters" (perhaps a timber cornice?) were to be painted white, and the roof was to be red.

While the exterior of the Richardville House has been altered by the covering of the brickwork, alteration of the roofline, and enclosure of the back porch, it retains features such as its fine Greek Revival door surround. The house also maintains integrity as an early I-House and is the oldest documented house in northeast Indiana. The interior of the house is remarkably intact in terms of having retained most of the original plan, as well as the principal architectural elements: front door surround, stairway, and monumentally scaled woodwork and mantlepieces. Though the French carpets, wallpapers, and draperies that were

Architectural Description

described by visitors have long since vanished, enough remains of the original character of the house to provide compelling tangible evidence of Chief Richardville's presence in this place.

Archaeological Description

For two field seasons, 1992 and 1995, students of the Indiana Purdue University Fort Wayne Archaeological Field School, under the direction of Dr. Robert J. Jeske, participated in archaeological excavations at the Richardville site. The excavations provided historic data from the 20th, 19th, and late 18th centuries, as well as prehistoric materials from the Late Woodland (circa AD 500-1300) and Late Archaic (circa 3500-4500 years BP). The primary significance of the site is the cultural material which it has yielded and is likely to yield for the period which the site was occupied by Chief Jean Baptiste de Richardville. It will be possible to study the archaeology of the individual with material from this site, and perhaps other Richardville-affiliated properties in the region. The site has also provided important construction information about the house itself. The presence of prehistoric, contact period, and historic components at the site provides a unique opportunity to study culture contact and change.

The Richardville House site is located in the St. Marys River Valley. The St. Marys River flows northwest from headwaters in Auglaize County, Ohio to its confluence with the St. Joseph River in Fort Wayne, Indiana. The two rivers combine to form the Maumee River, which flows to Lake Erie. The St. Marys 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, which is located at the confluence of the rivers, sits on a continental divide. Rain that falls at Fort Wayne flows north and east to the Great Lakes. Rain that falls just two miles west of the confluence flows south and west to the Mississippi River, via the Little River, Wabash, and Ohio. The portage area between the Great Lakes and Mississippi drainages was known as the 9 mile portage, and was a critically important link in transportation during the early historic period. The Miami Indians referred to the area as the "Gateway." The location of the Richardville House is not accidentally on high ground overlooking the portage route.

The Richardville House archaeological site is composed of the remainder of the land included within the boundaries of this nomination. Because of the extensive sand and gravel quarry operation which thrived around the house, the ground drops off sharply on all but the north and northwest sides of the boundary. This parcel of land today, which is 0.8 acre, is primarily a lawn

Archaeological Description

with several mature Maple and Pine trees. The lawn slopes north from the front of the house to a concrete walk and steps. An asphalt drive and parking area is situated at the base of the slope, an extension of a drive from Bluffton Road. A deteriorated asphalt drive circles the house. This drive cuts through the hillside somewhat on the west side of the house, but the grade levels as the drive turns toward the rear (or south side) of the house and continues around the east side. Because of the disturbance by the quarry operation, it is likely that archeological materials remain in greatest density relatively close to the house.

Excavations were undertaken at the Richardville House in 1992 and 1995 (see Attachment J). The 1992 artifacts have been analyzed. The 1995 artifacts are still undergoing analysis, with the exception of the stone tools and debris. For the most part, 1992 data will be used when discussing the artifacts from the site. A total of 15 two by two and 1 1 by 2 meter units were excavated at the site. Units were excavated in natural or cultural units until sterile levels were reached. All material was screened, except for samples taken for flotation analysis, which is not yet completed.

Initial excavations indicate that the northern portion of the house is somewhat disturbed by sewer, water pipe, and other recent construction. The western portion is relatively undisturbed. The eastern portion of the house is also disturbed, but provides some very interesting data about house construction and the site formation process. In 1995 the 20th century covered porch was removed. Coins dated between 1903 and 1956 found here suggest that the site has been heavily damaged by metal collectors. In the two test units under the porch area, over 50 coins were recovered. Only a dozen coins were recovered from the other 14 units at the site. Even with the understanding that coins may be more common at entranceways, the distribution strongly suggests that metal detectors have dug up around the house extensively.

Although distributed across the site, 93% of the prehistoric materials came from the western side of the house. A total of 525 chert flakes and debris pieces came from the 1/4 inch screens. Flakes are distributed primarily between 20 and 50 centimeters below ground surface. Materials include local cherts as well as Wyandotte cherts from southern Indiana and Flint Ridge and Mercer cherts from Ohio.

The stone tools include diagnostic points from the Late Archaic such as a brewerton eared and unnamed corner notched as well as a Late Archaic/early Woodland Meadowood point and a Late Archaic humpback triangular. In addition, there are three triangular points from the Late Woodland, including one nice humpback. A pair of unifacial endscrapers made from Mercer chert, probably dating to the Late Archaic, were recovered from the lower strata of the site.

Archaeological Description

Contact period materials of the 18th century recovered from the site include a knife made from a French gunflint and beads (which are perhaps prehistoric). Some 2200 sherds of historic ceramics were recovered in 1992, over 75% of which was whiteware. Over 90% of the whiteware is in the top 20cm of the site deposits. Decorated wares are more evenly distributed from top to bottom in the site strata. Most of the whiteware appears to be relatively late: two marks are possibly as early as 1830 to 1840, but with 6 other identified makers marks ranging from 1870 to 1900.

Approximately 1% of the assemblage was creamware, thought to date from 1760 to 1820, and is associated with either the house or the immediately prior occupation of the site.

Other decorated wares include annular wares, edge decorated wares, and transfer prints, including a Persia pattern (1819-1860) and Chintz I print dating to the 1840s. Hand painted polychrome materials from the 1830s to 1860 are found. In addition, a Wedgewood marble pattern and British flowers black transfer wares from 1834-1860 are found. The site also contains flow blue--192 sherds, including early floral patterns from the 1840s. Decal over black transfer material is found, but red and purple transfer wares of the 1870s to 1900 are curiously absent. Both porcelain and decorated porcelain are found in low numbers. Stonewares and earthen wares are probably relatively late and are found in low frequency.

Metal items recovered from the site include a straight razor, three pocket knife fragments, a relatively few bullet shells and percussion caps, three silver spoon fragments, a brass necklace clasp as well as a brass clasp for a jewelry box, a horseshoe and harness buckles, a mantle clock gear mechanism, and a ladies compact inscribed Garden Court--likely dating to c.1890.

Bone and shell materials were abundant, including over 2870 pieces of animal bone. Pig and cow are present, as are deer and dog. Three bone buttons and four shell buttons were found. The bone buttons are suspected to date to 1750-1830; the shell (not mother of pearl) buttons to 1830-1865.

Clay pipe stems and bowls are also present in several varieties. The earliest bowl fragment dates to c.1830.

Curiously absent from the assemblage of artifacts are materials from the late Victorian age. This period coincides with the time when the property was often involved with litigation, but it would seem unlikely that the house was abandoned or even intermittently occupied. In addition, very few women's articles were recovered, such as needles, pins, thimbles, and stays. Historical anecdotes

Archaeological Description

suggest that Natoequeah did not live in the house with Richardville, and the excavations lend credence to this notion. Further investigation is needed to resolve these issues.

Archaeological evidence has provided important information about the construction of the house, as well as information about its occupants. A massive limestone footing with a 15 inch diameter post remains at the front door of the house, suggesting a large porch early in the history of the house--perhaps a Greek Revival portico. Over 500 square nails have been recovered from the site, but only 25 were hand-wrought. Machine cut nails were common by 1830. Some of these nails are slate roofing nails, the only indication that the house may have once had a slate roof. There is a 3 to 2 ratio of square to round nails; the relative lack of round nails suggesting that the house has seen little modification since 1890.

The Richardville site has proven valuable in providing information about both the Richardville House and its occupants. The site holds great potential for further investigation through excavation of the immediate area of the house as well as the edges of the site beneath the asphalt drives. These areas hold potential for locating outbuilding foundations, privies, and perhaps even the residence of Natoequeah.

Chief Jean B. Richardville House
Allen County, IN

Description-National Significance

The 0.8 acre parcel delineated in the verbal boundary description and the building (Greek Revival I-House) described above under "Architectural Description" contribute to the national significance of the Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House. A national level of significance for the archaeological site on the property is not claimed or addressed by this nomination.

Chief Jean B. Richardville House
Allen County, IN

Statement of Significance-Criterion B

The Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville House is **significant under Criterion B** for its association with Richardville, who was born during the period of French control of the Old Northwest and served as the chief of the Miami Indians during the critical time when treaties were negotiated with the United States government for their removal from Indiana. Richardville is also significant as a metis; half French and half Miami, he was the product of French settlement methods in the Old Northwest and used his ability to relate to both European and Native American cultures to his advantage. Richardville was not only a skilled leader and negotiator, but he also gained tremendous wealth as a trader. The Richardville House is also **significant under Criterion C** as an excellent example of a Greek Revival I-House, a now rare building form in Fort Wayne. The house is very unique in that its construction was subsidized by the 1826 Treaty of Mississinewa. It is believed to be the only treaty house east of the Mississippi River that is still intact and on its original site. An 1827 sheet with plans and specifications survives, making it the oldest documented building in the region. The property is also **significant under Criterion D.** Both the historical record and evidence at the site indicate that Richardville lived at this site from at least 1818. Archaeological fieldwork at the Richardville site has yielded significant information about the occupation of the site through time, as well as the construction of the house. Further excavation and study promises to provide key information about Richardville the individual--and about his family.

The primary significance of the Richardville House and site lies in the political life and background of Chief Richardville. His considerable political skills were due mainly to his being a metis, Richard White's typical "man in the Middle Ground" (The Middle Ground), who were crucial negotiators and brokers between the Native American and European cultures when their confrontation and resolution shaped 17th, 18th, and early 19th century American history. Richardville's life and times especially illuminate the history of the Old Northwest. This area has been conventionally portrayed as first, a battleground of European colonial powers and their manipulated Indian allies, and second, as an American military conquest of "savages" in a wilderness--for the justifiable purpose of expanding territory for civilized and civilizing settlers. New research on the influence of the metis shines new light on this picture. In particular, Richardville's life from his metis birth in 1761 to his final treaty negotiations at the Forks of the Wabash in 1840 shows in all its ambiguity and complexity this influence as White describes it, "the middle ground depended on Indian-White distinctions, but it also depended on the porousness of the boundaries between Indian and white" (White, 506). In addition to his political and leadership ability, Richardville was a well-trained and skillful trader, the basis for his becoming probably the most wealthy Native American in the country in his lifetime (Chaput, 114). This wealth illustrates Richardville's ability to use his role and skills to benefit both his tribe and himself.

Chief Jean B. Richardville House
Allen County, IN

Statement of Significance

Jean-Baptiste de Richardville (whose Miami name was Pechewa or "wildcat") was one of a large number of French-Indian metis 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 ecuyer 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 Indians. Accompanying priests were to convert, marry, and baptize (Hyma, 322).

When the French explorers and traders first penetrated northern Indiana, they encountered Miami and other Algonquin people of the Lake Country migrating west as the Iroquois wars of the 1650s swept through the area. However, by 1700, the Algonquins, led by Miamis, forced the Iroquois to retreat from the Great Lakes region and the Miamis returned. The French then made trade contacts with the Indians and began building a series of forts and posts at strategic waterway junctions throughout the northwest to protect their colonial claims and trade from British challenge. They built two forts at the confluence of the St. Marys and St. Joseph Rivers that forms the Maumee River. The first was built in 1722 on the St. Marys, a short distance from the confluence, near the east end of the strategic portage to the Wabash and close by the village of Lalabiche, a settlement of traders and Miami. The second, Fort Miamie, was built in 1750 on the right bank of the St. Joseph River just above the confluence and the center of a cluster of Miami villages and traders (Poinsatte, Outpost, 12-13).

Richardville's father, Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richerville (Variant spellings of Drouet used, Chaput, 106), was a lieutenant attached to the second French fort in the 1750s. As a Drouet, he was a member of the landed gentry of France and his title derived from the Richerville estate, one of the Drouet estates that dated back to 1201 (Robertson, "A Curious and Important Discovery," 46).

Richardville's mother had an equally distinguished heritage. Tacumwah (Maria Louisa) was the sister of the Principal Chief of the Miami, Pacan, and a Chiefess in her own right. Both were of the Atchatchakangouen band (Anson, 13 fn 28, 15-17; Carter, 23-24, map 7 following 222). The Miami people originally consisted of six bands (Atchatchakangouen, Pepikokia, Kilatika, Mengakongia, Wea, and Piankeshaw). By custom, all the other Miami showed greatest respect for the Atchatchakangouen, or the Crane People. Some scholars speculate that the respect given to this band was due to the likelihood that their ceremonial powers derived from the Mound Builders, whom they replaced (Carter, 14). Any evidence for this disappeared when either the 1790 expedition of General Josiah Harmar destroyed the chests of Miami historical reminders in the burning of Kekionga (Carter, 12), or in the 1809 burning of the Council House near Fort Wayne.

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The Crane People were known as "the walkers" because they did not restrict themselves to the courses of rivers via canoes, but chose also to create trails that cut more directly across prairie and wooded areas in all strategic directions, acquiring their wealth and prestige by charging tolls to those that sought passage by canoe. They flourished, therefore, at confluences and portages, making their headquarters at the confluence of the St. Marys and the St. Joseph Rivers, where these rivers form the Maumee River, to Lake Erie, and on both ends of the portage from the St. Marys River to the Wabash River at present-day Huntington, Indiana.

The union of Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richerville and Tacumwah (Maria Louisa) brought together his vital government and trade connections in Canada with her Atchatchakangouen trade and political connections for their son, born in 1761 in Miamitown, Jean-Baptiste. (Jean-Baptiste was one of four children of this marriage; little is known of the other three.) The next step was to solidify their position by acquiring the Principal Chieftainship for him and to fit him for his Canadian role. For the latter, Antoine-Joseph arranged several visits to Canada for his son, Jean-Baptiste, as well as overseeing his Catholic education in Detroit. (Antoine-Joseph left Tacumwah and returned to Canada in the 1770s. In 1760, the British had accepted the surrender of the 1750 French Fort Miamie. Tacumwah later married an important trader named Charles Beaubien.)

The Chieftainship required a thoroughly Miami--even Atchatchakangouen--formal, ceremonial procedure. The Miami were patrilineal in social structure but power was transferred matrilineally. Thus, Principal Chief Pacan's successor must be a son of one of his sisters. The sister must first wage a political campaign to win support for her son among their people, and then establish his election by his performing a public act of unusual courage, daring, and leadership. These public acts, documented for both Pacan and Richardville (Pechewa) are remarkably similar. Pacan in 1764 (while still a minor) rescued a white prisoner (Captain Thomas Morris) from death by a group of excited Miami (Morris, 8); and Richardville in about 1785 (about 24 years old) saved an unnamed white prisoner, who thanked him again when they met years later in Ohio (Brice, 314).

The French-British imperial struggle in the Northwest was on the fringe of their long, world-wide imperial war from 1689 to 1763, but for the French <u>pays en haut</u> from 1715, when Sieur de Vincennes led the returning Miami from Detroit to the headwaters of the Maumee (Anson, 34), the struggle would temporarily shatter Kekionga's unifying power among the Miami. Anson says that from 1747 until 1755, the "Miamis played, for the first time, a significant role in American history" (Anson, 42). A British blockade in the late 1740s of the St. Lawrence River disrupted the French fur trade. No furs could get out, but more crucial, no trade goods could get in. French Canadian officials then restricted their

licenses in order to ration trade goods. Being closer to Detroit, the Kekionga traders were favored to the resentment especially of those on the lower Wabash.

A chief of the Piankeshaw Miamis on the lower Wabash (La Demoiselle) recruited Miamis up to the Maumee to move to Ohio and build a fort at Pickawillany to trade with the British in defiance of the French for their trade restrictions. Kekionga Principal Chief Pied Froid, under pressure from a French delegation led by the officer who would build the second French fort at Kekionga, DeRaymond, refused to join, although most of his village defected to follow the Piankeshaw, as did Little Turtle's father. Pied Froid and his family remained in Kekionga, then adjacent to the first French fort. (Earlier, in 1747, word had reached the Miami that Detroit had been captured by pro-British Indians. Some Miami warriors burned the French fort and took eight prisoners while Pied Froid and the fort commandant were enroute to a conference in Montreal. At Detroit, still in French hands, they learned of the pillage at Kekionga. Pied Froid and a French force returned to find the fort only partially destroyed but in sad shape.) In 1752, however, a Canadian Indian force under a metis and two French aides utterly destroyed Pickawillany. Most Miami fled back to the Maumee and Wabash; Little Turtle's family took refuge in a Shawnee village. Richardville and Pacan would both ponder and learn from Pied Froid's travail during this time. (Pied Froid was Pacan's predecessor as Principal Chief.) Pied Froid's reluctance to commit his people to one power or the other and his caution would influence Pacan later. Immediately, Pied Froid's cautious course profited him little: the same year--1752--that the Piankeshaw and their Miami allies suffered their Pickawillany defeat, Kekionga (Pied Froid's village) was hit by a deadly small pox epidemic that killed both Pied Froid and his son (Poinsatte, Outpost, 10). Then, apparently, Kekionga moved to its later Spy Run location, across the St. Joseph River from the 1750 French fort, to which Richardville's father was posted.

From 1752 to 1764, when Richardville's uncle, Pacan, was chosen as Principal Chief, the position was either vacant or taken by a war chief named LeGris (known as The Elder LeGris to distinguish him from his son, who later became important along with Pacan and Little Turtle) who served in that function. Between Pacan's ascendance as Principal Chief in 1764, and when Richardville won the succession in 1785 and became his deputy, the British had formally taken over the French fort, but French Canadian traders maintained their trade in growing Kekionga/Miamitown and built their homes between the fort and the Younger LeGris's village to the south on the east bank of the St. Joseph River. Colonial war would again test the Miami leadership during the American Revolution from 1775 to 1783. The British had protected the Northwest as Indian territory, partly in response to Pontiac's challenge at the close of their war with France. They set up a Proclamation Line that was intended to stop American settlers from moving west of the Appalachian Mountains and for a time, even included the

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Northwest to the Ohio River in Quebec. Just as the Miamis, along with other Indians, preferred the French policy over the British, they now preferred the British over the Americans, whose clear purpose was acquiring their lands.

During the 1770s and early 1780s, Pacan had led raids against--as he saw them--invading American settlers crossing the Ohio from Kentucky. He even led retaliatory raids into Kentucky. He would then usually return to Kekionga to lead his people to their winter hunting grounds. He was aided in his absences by either the elder or younger LeGris and by Little Turtle, who had returned to Kekionga from the Shawnee village where, in 1752, his family had taken refuge. One of the two LeGris must have accompanied Pacan as military leader or war chief on the raids, as a civil chief could not participate in fighting. He was usually accompanied by a special guard of eleven young warriors (Anson, 71). Unlike a war chief (sagamore), who won his position through battle skills, the position of civil chief (sachem) required him to protect his people and help them to prosper and maintain their customs. He was chief executive, diplomat, judge, and, at least ceremonially, a medicine man.

As a chiefess, Tacumwah was especially valuable in maintaining order and trade activity while the men were away. She maintained the Richardville trade interests at the confluence and at the west end of the Wabash portage (Forks of the Wabash)(Roberts, 6). She was indispensable for the prospering fur trade through her French connections in Canada, however in this period British trade goods competed well with French and were often preferred because the Industrial Revolution in England could produce better, cheaper products.

The Americans in Philadelphia, as soon as their open rebellion began in 1775, were aware of British movements in the Ohio and Illinois country. In 1778, a savage border war raged along the Ohio River between Henry Hamilton for the British and George Rogers Clark for the Americans and their Indian allies. Again, Pacan and his Miami were tugged by both sides. Pacan's problems with the settlers and Kekionga's proximity to Detroit tended to sway his support toward the British. He and LeGris accompanied Henry Hamilton and his British forces down the Wabash to Vincennes, where several months earlier, Clark had taken over Vincennes, or Fort Sackville, by apprising the French inhabitants of the French-American Alliance signed in May, 1778. He had left a young captain in charge, who gave no resistance to Hamilton's force in November. By January, however, Pacan left, but apparently not LeGris, who was in the nearby woods when Clark descended from Kaskaskia and recaptured Vincennes. (Interestingly, Clark's life at Kaskaskia may have been saved by a French trader, Charles Beaubien, Tacumwah's second husband and stepfather of Richardville.)

In 1780, Charles Beaubien lost his Kekionga trading post in an attack on Kekionga

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by a French officer named La Balme, who had accompanied Lafayette to America as a result of the French-American alliance. Having his own plans to recapture Detroit for the French, he proceeded from Vincennes to Kekionga. After La Balme's attack on the Kekionga trading post, Little Turtle gained his fame as a warrior and his position as head war chief by striking La Balme's camp west of Kekionga, killing La Balme and many of his men, with only about half of La Balme's force escaping (Carter, 73-74). Miami leadership was being re-established at Kekionga.

By 1785, Pacan, who had favored the British during the war, decided to examine the advantages of swinging to the Americans, along with the lower Wabash Miami. In the Northwest, the British were not withdrawing their contacts into Canada as the 1783 treaty proscribed. In two treaties (1785 and 1786) in the eastern Great Lakes area, the Americans got land cessions from Delaware, Ottawa, and Chippewa chiefs (although not fully represented) in north Ohio along the line that would be the basis of the later 1795 treaty. Only Shawnees and Miami were not parties to them. Even the Shawnees later gave in, leaving the Miami as the emergent natural leader of the growing confederacy to hold the remainder of the Northwest Indian lands protected formerly by both the French and the British. Pacan and his close advisors by this time were considering the best course to stay the growing pressure of American settlers and position his people favorably in the continuing struggle between the British and Americans in the Northwest.

In 1787, Pacan offered and was accepted to be a guide for the new Fort Vincennes commander, General Harmar, on a goodwill tour to Kaskaskia. Pacan later provided several services to the succeeding Vincennes commander, Major Hamtramck. Trusted and appreciated, Pacan in 1788 was sent by Hamtramck to a council with British Indian Affairs Commissioner McKee. Tragically, Hamtramck could not protect Pacan's new village north of Vincennes. A band of Kentucky militia destroyed both Pacan's new village and another before Hamtramck learned of it. Pacan heard the grim news at Terre Haute on his return journey and never proceeded on. An understanding between the Miami and Americans at this point might have halted the formation of the Miami Confederacy and the Miamitown wars of the 1790s. Instead, a bitter Pacan turned implacably anti-American (Anson, 161; Carter, 76, 78).

In the course of his life to 1789, particularly, Richardville learned "the sophistication of the Miami" (Anson, 73) in wending their way among the political thickets in their relations with other surrounding Indian tribes, between the French and the English, and finally with American military leaders, government officials, and the growing numbers of American settlers crossing the Ohio River into Indian land. (The last became the force that could not be stemmed by the British or Americans and would overcome the last bastion of Indian diplomatic skill.)

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The best description we have of the "sophisticated" center of Kekionga/Miamitown which shaped the young Richardville, as well as the 29-year-old Richardville himself, is given in a journal kept by a young British partisan from Detroit, Henry Hay (Hay was half-British and half-French, his full name being Pierre Henry Hay), in the winter of 1789-1790 (Quaife). The journal provides an entertaining account of the life here among the French-English-metis community; one of feasting, hard drinking, card playing, interminable visiting, and the music of two fiddles and one flute for the dancing and frequent masses held in the home of a Frenchman (and with the services of a French priest)(Fort Wayne, Quaife, 19). There are also brief references to freemason membership and the formation of a society called the "Most Light Honorable Society of Monks" (Fort Wayne, Quaife, 54) shortened only days later to "Friars of St. Andrew."

While here, in February, 1790, Hay painted a portrait of metis Richardville, not so much as the young deputy chief, but as a French trader and man about town. Hay, John Kinzie, Richardville, and the Lassell brothers frequently dined and partied together, feasting, drinking, playing cards, and dancing. Richardville is a member of the Friars of St. Andrew; he entertains for dinner at his house and hosts a party for Mardi Gras. Richardville is flooded out of his house in LeGris' village and forced to move in with his mother, whose house in Pacan's village (Kekionga) is on high ground. Richardville, with Hay and the Lassell brothers (after a drinking party) take the ladies for a row down the river to the serenade of a "fiddle" (Lassell) and flute (Hay)(Fort Wayne, Quaife, 67).

Along with Hay's light-hearted account lie glimpses into Pacan's village and LeGris' Indian village where Little Turtle returns with raiding parties, where Pacan is absent at his wintering camp, where Tacumwah joins him when she is not at her trading post at the Forks of the Wabash or back at Pacan's village attending councils with her son, Richardville. Glimpses, too, occur of visiting parties of Shawnee, Delaware, and Potawatomi; of LeGris and Little Turtle, British agents, George Girty and Alexander McKee; of a political intrigue with the Wea over a Kekionga French trader. What occurred was the culmination of the formidable Miami Confederacy under the triumvirate of Pacan, LeGris, and Little Turtle, which in 1786 wrenched leadership from the Mohawk's chief, Joseph Brant, of a vast Indian alliance of seven Canadian tribes, segments of the Iroquois, and the tribes between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River (Anson, 105-6). This alliance was called Miami because, although Miami numbers were small compared to many of the others, Miami leadership had proven to be the most capable both militarily and diplomatically. Its center was Kekionga/Miamitown. Hay's journey here in 1789-90 as an agent of a Detroit merchant was also one with a side request to inform Major Patrick Murray, British Commandant at Detroit, of developments among the Indians and traders at Kekionga/Miamitown, as well as news of the American forces in the vicinity of Cincinnati (Fort Wayne, Quaife, 2-3).

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The following October (1790), Miamitown was burned by an American army under General Josiah Harmar, whose--and Hamtramck's--earlier accord with Pacan had been scuttled by the avenging band of Kentucky militia. However, the inhabitants (traders and Miami) had already fled with their possessions north and west. The Confederacy had expected a much larger army and had stationed their forces around the area. Little Turtle was closest to Harmar's army, positioned to the northwest between the army and the evacuated Miami women and children. Little Turtle's remarkable judgement, planning, and daring cost Harmar 183 dead, victims of the force of Miami, Ottawa, and Iroquois. In one of his few military experiences, Richardville was one of the victorious Miami warriors (Carter, 95).

By the following summer (1791), the Confederacy had acquired more arms from Detroit. By November, St. Clair, with a second American army bent on building an American fort at Miamitown, was attacked at dawn by the forces of Little Turtle before he could leave Ohio. Little Turtle inflicted a very great loss on them.

But Little Turtle was convinced that the new general at Fort Washington, Anthony Wayne, was a different matter. He counseled for the peace pipe as Wayne made his careful, efficient way up through Ohio to Kekionga/Miamitown. Consequently, the Confederacy, which had held Little Turtle in great respect and given him its whole confidence, now suspected him of cowardice. The forces of the Confederacy at Fallen Timbers were led by two other war chiefs. Though able, they were no match for Wayne. The defeat of the Confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers allowed Anthony Wayne to build his fort overlooking the villages of Pacan and LeGris in 1794.

Pacan, whose high civil position had been humiliated earlier at a conference with William Henry Harrison (who saw only the war chief as important), tried to assert the primacy of the Atchatchakangouen Miami and his own position by refusing to attend a treaty conference unless it was held at Kekionga. When Wayne determined on Greene Ville, Ohio, Richardville represented Pacan at the conference along with Little Turtle. Much has been written about Little Turtle's eloquence and intelligence at that meeting. However, Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War, who attended, wrote that the speeches that accompanied the treaty signing were unremarkable--"I may except the speech of Richardville, Miami Chief" (Chaput, 113).

The Greene Ville Treaty of 1795 breached the old line of Indian territory and opened the floodgates to white settlers. Southern Ohio (two thirds of the state) and a slice of southeast Indiana were ceded to the U.S., along the treaty line of 1785. All former French and British post cessions would now be American. 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. The

treaty seriously diminished Miami military power and influence on the frontier (see Attachments E and F). Never again would Miami/Kekionga leadership consider war a means to solve their problems with the whites, but the pressure for more land concessions in Indiana would again fracture Miami unity and severely strain their leadership.

The relationships in the Fort Wayne-Wabash area among the whites, Miami and other tribes, and metis chiefs and traders became truly Byzantine between 1795 and 1814. The situation resulted from both national and international developments. In the 1787 Northwest Ordinance, the new U.S. government had arranged for the survey and sale of government land in the Northwest Territory and an eventual creation of states there. Land Acts were passed in 1796 and 1800 with more specifications for government land sales to satisfy demands of settlers and to produce government revenue. In 1791, a government factory system was created. It established government trading posts (factories) to bring in revenue and curb the sale of whiskey to Indians. By planning to offer better goods at cheaper prices than private traders, it was designed to eliminate the business of Canadian traders. In 1793, a system of Indian agents was established to oversee Indian matters, mainly the distribution of annuities, under the Secretary of War. The Indiana Territory was created in 1800 under the governorship of William Henry Harrison with the capital at Vincennes.

After the Treaty of Greene Ville (1795), Little Turtle was twice invited to the national capital in Philadelphia, where he was lionized and met with both Presidents Washington and Adams. He took with him the man who would become the most controversial figure in Miami history of the post-1795 period: his white, Miami-adopted son-in-law, William Wells. (Wells' activities in 1793-94 are still puzzling. Apparently, he convinced Little Turtle of the futility of continued Miami warfare, not only with Anthony Wayne, but with the American's growing military might in the Northwest in general. Little Turtle agreed to Wells' becoming a spy and a scout for Wayne's forces, as Little Turtle himself tried to turn the Confederacy from continuing their resistance to the Americans under Wayne.) From 1795 to his death in 1812, Little Turtle was not only out of favor with the other tribes of the old Confederacy and most of the Miami, but even despised. More so was his son-in-law, Wells. Even Richardville disliked and distrusted the latter.

Little Turtle and Wells, however, found favor in Philadelphia in 1796 and 1797 and in Washington in the 1800s. Wells was appointed Fort Wayne Indian agent in 1796 by Washington, although he served only from 1802 to 1809. When he and Little Turtle visited Jefferson in 1802, he also requested the office of factor (manager of the government factory) in Fort Wayne, but was rejected for a clerk from Secretary of War Dearborn's office, John Johnston.

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Conditions in Fort Wayne after 1800 became a tangled web of competing lines of authority between the Secretary of War's office, the governorships of Indiana and Michigan, and the Fort Wayne land agents, factors, and fort commandants. In Kekionga, the breach widened between the Pacan-Richardville leadership and that of Little Turtle and Wells (Anson, 149, 152 fn 25, 161; Poinsatte, Outpost, 31, 44-46, 50-55; Carter, 146). The gulf developing between the Kekionga Miamis and their brethren in the rest of Indiana deepened. This murk of conflicting goals, ambitions, competing traders, and power seekers was fertile ground for both William Henry Harrison and Tecumseh, the final antagonists in this period.

Harrison maneuvered the beleaguered Indians into a series of land concessions in 1803, 1805, and 1809. In the Treaty of Fort Wayne (1803), nine tribes agreed to cede one-and-a-half million acres of land around the Indiana territorial capital, Vincennes. (All French land titles were preserved and the Indians got 159 bushels of salt annually in lieu of the salt springs on the ceded land.) The Treaty of Grouseland (Harrison's Vincennes mansion) in 1805 ceded all Indian land in southern Indiana above the Ohio River. Between 1803 and 1805, the Miami had ceded some of the land to the Delaware, who had to now turn it over to the U.S. More significant for the Miami, this land--the area of so many raids by whites and Miami--had included traditional Miami hunting grounds. The cessions also cut into the lands of the Kaskaskia, Kickapoo, and Piankeshaw. (See Attachment G.)

Little Turtle and Wells had visited the new President in Washington, Thomas Jefferson, in 1802 to continue to plead for Miami favor there. They had a number of specific concerns: first, over the sale of whiskey to the Indians and its result in drunkenness, brawling, and ill health, as well as its being a block to their attempts to get Indians to adopt the American style of farming and acquire education, eventually assimilating into American society. They asked that the liquor traffic be controlled. They also wanted federal supervision of credit and annuity activities (payments in silver coin created problems), and they requested instruction for the Miami in metal craftsmanship by supplying a blacksmith and gunsmith to them (Anson, 190; Carter, 162). Jefferson was sympathetic, especially to their plans to make yeoman farmers of the Indians. He did reappoint Wells to be Indian agent at Fort Wayne and arranged for the fort company to build a council house for the Miami in the area of the fort as they had asked. The council house was built in 1804.

Between that 1802 Washington visit and another in 1808, which included Jean-Baptiste de Richardville, events had changed Jefferson's attitude toward the Indians and had brought a number of developments that would affect them. England and France's sporadic wars erupted again, this time under Napoleon. American trade was disrupted and the British from Canada were fomenting anti-American activities among the Indians. Unexpectedly, in 1803, Napoleon sold the Louisiana

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Territory to Jefferson, and in 1804 Jefferson sent out the Lewis and Clark expedition to investigate the new lands. They reported that nothing beyond the Mississippi River to the Oregon Territory was fit for white habitation, but was suited to Indians. Jefferson saw the opportunity to remove Indians from the fertile old Northwest Territory before Jackson. It could have been on this visit that the Miami leaders, including Richardville, heard the tolling of the removal bell in loud, clear tones. Long before this, they had understood the value of their land and the white concept of property ownership.

Factor John Johnston in Fort Wayne had been stoking his anti-Wells vendetta, writing repeatedly to Harrison and the Secretary of War, about Wells' villainy, whipping up explosive grievances among whites and Indians alike (Poinsatte, Outpost, 52-55). Returning from Washington in 1808 with nothing but experience to show for their efforts, the delegation faced another round of negotiations with Harrison. Politically ambitious, Harrison was sensitive to the demands of the settlers and the policy of the Washington government. He was well informed of Johnston's anti-Wells campaign. Harrison was less convinced that Wells' usefulness was over, but he badly underestimated the growing power of Richardville (as Pacan's age was telling), and made the mistake of openly insulting both Pacan and Richardville at the 1803 treaty conference by ignoring their political status among Miami (Anson, 146). Harrison's strategy in Indian dealings was clearly to foster divisions among tribes and Miami groups.

The causes of the devastating 1818 St. Mary's Treaty--Richardville's first as principal chief--lie in the period from 1805 to 1814. Tecumseh's brother, the Prophet, began his preaching after the 1803 and 1805 treaties; his message of a resurrection of traditional Indian culture (an all-Indian culture with all Indian lands held in common and closed to white contact) was the spiritual source of Tecumseh's program for another mighty Indian alliance supplied and supported by the British that would culminate in the War of 1812 (Edmunds, Tecumseh, 122-129, 162-169).

From 1805 to 1812, Pacan and Richardville tried to maneuver a way between the pro-American and anti-Tecumseh forces of Little Turtle and Wells and the bitterly anti-Little Turtle and Wells Miami and other tribes who tended to extend their antipathy to Kekionga and its leadership. Pacan's preoccupation was with Miami unity and prestige; he harbored no love for Americans and no trust in the British. Pacan and Richardville followed a torturous negotiating path (Anson, 148-166). The crucial event was the 1809 Treaty of Fort Wayne. A large group of Indians (Kekionga and Eel River Miami, Potawatomi, and Delaware) encamped in Fort Wayne for a treaty council during which they ceded nearly three million acres of their lands, partly as a result of titles disputed among themselves, in return for annuities of $700, $500, and salt. The Kekionga Miami did salvage definite

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boundaries for their remaining lands, a move that would prove invaluable for the treaties from 1818 to 1840. This treaty, especially the Kekionga passages, propelled Tecumseh into a Moses-like leadership of the Indian alliance. It also scuttled any hope that Pacan, Richardville, or Little Turtle might have had in keeping Miamis out of the war completely. A number of their warriors joined Tecumseh. Kekionga was caught between the pro-American tribes in Ohio and the overwhelming anti-American tribes in Indiana and beyond to the west and north.

Harrison, making his way up the Wabash and unwisely sending forces against the Mississinewa Miami, tried to weld the whole Kekionga group to the American cause by declaring that the families and possessions of Pacan, Richardville, Little Turtle, Godfroy, White Loon, and a Delaware chief (some neutral and some pro-American) be protected (Anson, 169). He failed. Little Turtle died in 1812, and Wells was killed at the siege of Fort Dearborn in the same year. Richardville decided in 1812 to move his family to Detroit, where he had friends and connections from the 1700s. (Whether Tacumwah and Pacan accompanied him is unknown. Quite possibly they remained with friends and family scattered from the Forks of the Wabash to the Mississinewa area.) Richardville's immediate family consisted of his wife, Natoequeah (or Nat-ta-wa-quah), a daughter of White Raccoon (Wap-pe-se-pah) and six children: three sons (John, Joseph, and blind Miaqueah) and three daughters (Maria Louise or La Blonde, Susan, and Catherine). He also had a half-sister, Josette Beaubien Robidoux, in the Fort Wayne area, in addition to his full brother and two sisters, whose whereabouts are unknown. (It is possible one or more of them lived in Detroit. When he and his family returned to Fort Wayne sometime after 1813, he reputedly brought a niece, Madame LaFalia, back with him.)

After Tecumseh's defeat by Harrison in Canada, an armistice council was held in Detroit during which the Indians admitted their error in believing in British victory and offered token military support to the Americans. The tribes signing the armistice with the Miami (Kekionga, Wea, Eel River) were the Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo. Pacan signed with two other Miami chiefs; Richardville with the Potawatomi.

At the Greene Ville treaty conference in 1814, 4,000 Indians attended (85 had attended the 1795 conference). The Miami, however, were the last to arrive. Pacan and Charley (Kitunga) of Eel River spoke for the Miami, protesting the treaty's blaming all Miami for those few who fought with Tecumseh, and defending their official policy of neutrality (Anson, 174). The American negotiators, Harrison and Lewis Cass, equated neutrality with deceit. To them, those who did not ally with the Americans aided the British. The price of the Miami defeat would be exacted in later treaties from 1818 to 1840.

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This 1814 treaty of capitulation was signed by 113 chiefs. Only two Miami subchiefs refused to sign. It ended Miami military power and influence on the frontier. At the same time, Anson claims that "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" (Anson, 178). This would be the accomplishment of new leadership under Richardville. The 1814 treaty was the last one signed by Pacan. He died "soon after" according to Anson (178), but Carter notes that in spring 1816, "Pacan sent word to all the Miami that he was going to establish a village on the Eel River...But before his plan could be realized, Pacan died." (Carter, 241-42).

The man who became Principal Chief at this point was Jean-Baptiste de Richardville, a 55-year-old metis, educated, tri-lingual, at home with French, British, American, or Miami, experienced at negotiating and trading with them all, high and low. From his first treaty negotiations in 1818 as Principal Chief to his last in 1840, his expertise grew. In fact, the last treaty he drew up himself, together with lawyer Allen Hamilton (who would be one of the two executors of his will). They presented it as "a fait accompli" to the local Indian agents, who realized it would be approved by the U.S. Commissioner and the Secretary of War so long as it finally provided for eventual Miami emigration (Anson, 205).

The metis contribution to Richardville's accomplishments is evident in the vast difference between Pacan's pathetic last attempt in 1816 to reconstruct the old and the approach of Richardville, based on an information-gathering and important connections system at least as old as his experience in 1790 Miamitown/Kekionga. His widespread business contacts grew as his trading enterprises expanded and prospered despite, or perhaps because of, the government factories. (Contrary to government expectations, their goods were both inferior to and cost more than those of the private stores and, as a result, the latter's business improved.) Richardville knew well of the majority white desire to drive out or wipe out the Indians to get their fertile and productive land east of the Mississippi. (They often had resorted to ways of accomplishing this short of war: disease-infected blankets, whiskey, starvation--destruction of crops, and debt. The latter was suggested to Harrison by Jefferson, who saw it as a goal for the new factories in 1803. Jefferson advised Hamilton to encourage Indians--"the good and influential individuals among them"--to run into debt because "we observe that when these individuals get beyond what the individual can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands." (Carter, 165 fn 25). Moreover, Richardville knew well the experience of other tribes who had been driven off their lands by force.

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Negotiation by negotiation, plotting step by step with the other chiefs and leaders, persuading them into necessary agreement with the results, Richardville worked out a strategy of land ownership, money, goods, and services that would afford some security and sustenance for his Miami people. This strategy appears in his first treaty as Principal Chief, the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's. Richardville headed the 16 "chiefs and warriors" who were signatories. The U.S. 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. (Cass held the latter office from 1813 to 1831, when he became Secretary of War until 1836. It is likely that Richardville learned about Cass when he was in Detroit after 1812, and any information would prove useful, for Cass was a commissioner for the Miami treaties of 1814, 1818, and 1826. He would also appoint the commissioners for the 1834 treaty (Anson, 184).

The Treaty of St. Mary's (Ohio) in 1818 spelled out the disastrous cost of the 1812-14 Miami attempt at neutrality, which was promised by the 1814 treaty. This treaty, which opened central Indiana for white settlement, marked not only an "American land grab" of unprecedented dimensions (Anson, 179), but also demonstrated Richardville's grasp of American land ownership law and Indian policy. If tribal ownership was a dying cause, there was a retreat to village ownership. There was also the possibility of individual Indian grants or patents. For metis, white-blood claims allowed the possibility of the coveted fee-simple patent, full legal ownership under U.S. law.

Specifically, in the 1818 treaty, the Miami ceded undisputed title to the U.S. of about 4,300,000 acres and one half interest (with the Delaware) in about 3,860,000 acres. (For cessions made in 1818, 1826, 1834, 1838, and 1840, see Attachments F, G, H.) This was all the Miami land south of the Wabash River except tribal lands of the Big Reserve (along the Wabash from the mouth of the Salamonie River to the mouth of the Eel River and an equal distance south--35 plus square miles), five smaller reserves, and 21 village and individual grants. (The village grants could be sold without consent of the whole council; individual grants were Indian patents that could not be sold without "permission of the President," which meant an official of Indian affairs.) The major breakthrough was the grant in fee-simple to Principal Chief Richardville, due to his white blood and his importance, of 11 sections of land (over 7,000 acres) of which five sections lay on the east and west banks of the St. Mary's River south of Fort Wayne. (This land was likely already the site of Richardville's residence and farm, and in 1827 his handsome brick residence.)

In return for their great 1818 land cession, the Miami were to receive perpetual annuities of $15,000 in addition to previous annuities in silver, a sawmill and a

gristmill (sites at chief's selection), agricultural implements (as the appropriate Indian agent deemed proper), and an annual delivery to them of 160 bushels of salt.

The turnover of Indian agents in Fort Wayne during this period must have been troublesome for Richardville. In 1818, the Fort Wayne agency was combined with that of Piqua, Ohio, under the contentious John Johnston. A subagent was named for Fort Wayne who lasted to only 1820, then was replaced by another who resigned three years later due to ill health. In 1823, John Tipton was appointed. Anson says that Tipton was the "most important figure in Indian affairs of Indiana for many years" (Anson, 185) and one who would gain increasing rapport with the Indian chiefs, especially Richardville, in the treaty-making period when their importance in government eyes grew. Tipton had great influence among the settlers and traders, as well as an understanding of Indian concerns and problems.

In 1822, a land office was opened in Fort Wayne and the town was platted in 1823. Richardville bought a lot for his own trading post in 1824 (Poinsatte, Outpost, 97-8). After the 1818 treaty, traders flooded into the town, mostly French Canadians at first, to be on hand at the time of annuity payments. The fur trade by 1820 was dying. Traders sought silver coins and land, not furs. They also offered the tempting credit system. During the 1820s, more ambitious and unscrupulous traders, exploiting the growing Indian addiction to whiskey as a cure-all for despair and alienation, hawked their wares on Fort Wayne streets and even into Indian encampments (Poinsatte, Outpost, 84). From the point of view of Chief Richardville, the situation was potentially more dangerous than any previous threat. By 1831, he would move the tribal headquarters and build a new trading post at the Forks of the Wabash near Huntington. The fine two-story hewn-log council house in Fort Wayne would be turned over to the town inhabitants.

The flight of the Miami from the confluence of the three rivers, however, had likely occurred many years earlier. Upon their return from Detroit after 1812, Richardville, his family, and his village had probably settled south of the Fort Wayne government reserve of 1795 on the St. Marys River. (This was the land he requested and received as his five-section reserve in 1818.) Richardville did live on the reserve before he built his 1827 house. An educated Philadelphian traveling in Indiana visited Richardville's "fine farm" on the St. Marys in 1821. He commented that Richardville (who himself was absent at the time in Detroit) "lives in quite a genteel style" (McCord, 115). In 1825, a visiting circuit court judge wrote about a horse race he attended "at Chief Richardville's" on the St. Marys (Roberts, 11). Moreover, the 1821 visitor noted many log cabins in the vicinity, probably Richardville's village. This would not be the only group of

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Miami whose welfare Richardville would be responsible for as a civil chief. Brice says that "the needy never called (on Richardville) in vain--his kind and charitable hand was never withheld from the distressed of his own people or from the stranger" (Brice, 315). The encomium is important because in this period of shifting land rights, the chiefs, particularly Richardville, who received individual grants, were bitterly criticized for aggrandizing themselves and their families at the expense of the rest of their people.

The 1820s was one of Richardville's most active periods. He was in his sixties. His children were grown and scattered from Fort Wayne to Logansport. Besides establishing rapport with the new Indian agent, John Tipton (who had arrived in Fort Wayne in 1823) and traveling to Detroit on business and information-gathering missions, Richardville, with Chief LeGros of the Mississinewa area, responded to a request from Lewis Cass, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. In 1822, Cass had visited Fort Wayne to gather anthropological information on the language and customs of Miami Indians, a particular interest of his. He then requested that Richardville and LeGros host a visit by C. C. Trowbridge, his secretary, who would continue his studies of the Miami (Trowbridge, Foreword, v-vi). In the winter of 1824-25, Trowbridge stayed with LeGros, who was known to have a very comfortable home and to entertain well. Both LeGros and Richardville supplied him with the information published in his Meearmeear Traditions (Trowbridge, vi).

Rumors of Indian removal to beyond the Mississippi were rampant by this time. Richardville requested that he and LeGros be permitted to visit Washington. Partly in return for their cooperation with Trowbridge, they got their request and in 1825-26, they journeyed to Washington accompanied by John Tipton and John Conner (Tipton Papers, I: 500, 517-20). The group must have learned that Jackson was certain to win the Presidency in 1828 and removal could not be far off. They must also have learned of the push for Clay's "American System," a measure of economic nationalism intended to protect Eastern industries in return for tariff revenue for internal improvements. The Erie Canal had been finished in 1825, and the movement in northern Indiana for an Erie-Wabash canal was a passionate issue for the settlers (Poinsatte, Canal Era, 12).

By 1826, the Potawatomi had ceded most of their land in northern Indiana. At the council held at Paradise Springs, a site where the Mississinewa flows into the Wabash, in 1826, Richardville and other Miami chiefs (his principal counselors and friends were Chiefs LeGros and Francis Godfroy) were concerned with saving the isolated Miami villages in Potawatomi territory. The 1826 Treaty of Mississinewa reflected this concern, as well as that of the hungry settlers and the inevitable canal, and the Indians' only counter-card, the traders. (Indian annuities trade was still the traders' life-blood.)

Chief Jean B. Richardville House
Allen County, IN

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In the 1826 treaty, the Miami ceded to the U.S. their claims to all their land north and west of the Wabash and Miami Rivers 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" (Kappler, Article 2, 278). For "part consideration for the cession herein made" (Kappler, Article 4, 178), the Miami negotiators got the following:

1. Goods to the value of $31,040.53 for the Miami; if treaty not ratified, that amount to come out of their annuity by the Miami tribe
2. Following summer, goods to the value of $26,259.47
3. 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 Miami exist as a tribe
4. One wagon and one yoke of oxen for each of nine chiefs and for the band at the Forks of the Wabash
5. A $600 house for each of nine chiefs, including Richardville
6. To the Miami tribe, 200 head of cattle (four to six years of age), 200 head of hogs
7. Annually to the Miami tribe, 2,000 pounds of iron, 1,000 pounds of steel, and 1,000 pounds of tobacco
8. 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
9. U.S. to pay claims against Miami for $7,727.47
10. $2,000 annually for support of "poor infirm" Miami and the education of their youth "as long as Congress may think proper" and "expended under the direction of the President" (Kappler, Article 6, 279)
11. Indian land patents to 17 named individuals (18 3/4 sections or 6,750 acres)
12. Certain Miami lands granted by 1818 treaty to be purchased at prices listed in an accompanying schedule by U.S. government
13. Miami tribe may hunt on ceded lands as long as they remain in U.S. government hands.

The treaty was signed by 38 chiefs and Commissioners Lewis Cass, James Ray, and John Tipton. The negotiating sessions had been long, and the terms spelled out to the cent in some instances, reflecting the trader instinct and practical business sense of Chief Richardville. The treaty was an expensive agreement for the U.S. government, and was not popular in Indiana or Washington, D.C., because little land was ceded and the cost was far higher than other treaties (Rafert, 93). John Tipton wrote that without the generous giveaway of goods and houses for the chiefs, there would have been no treaty at all (Tipton Papers, I: 603-

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605; Rafert, 93). (In saving their villages to the north, where Indian lands previously had been ceded by others besides the Potawatomi, the Miami also left them isolated and vulnerable as others would be later.)

In 1828, Tipton moved the Indian agency from Fort Wayne to Logansport, Indiana, despite screams in protest from the scrambling small traders and connivers in Fort Wayne (Poinsatte, Canal Era, 16). (In 1831, Richardville moved Miami tribal headquarters and his own trading post to the Forks of the Wabash.) By this time, Richardville's children were grown with growing children of their own and resided along the Wabash from Fort Wayne to Logansport. (His sons, Joseph and John, had been educated at McCoy's School in Fort Wayne and in Detroit and his daughters by the Sisters of Providence in Terre Haute. Accounts of them vary widely from learned, intelligent, attractive, and courageous men and women (Tipton Papers, II: 289-290; Dr. Decker quote, Anson, 196; McCoy quote, Anson, 189) to worthless alcoholics (Reminiscences, [Charles Kiser], np). The comments seem to reflect as much the commentator as the commented upon.)

The move of the tribal headquarters to the Forks gave it better access to the villages and lands of the people, placed it closer to the Indian agency, and removed it from the scandalous conditions in Fort Wayne (Poinsatte, Canal Era, 18-25). The building of the Wabash-Erie Canal in the 1830s brought an influx of Irish and German immigrants into the area and raised the value of land to hitherto unthought of heights, which became evident in the 1834 treaty.

Two other events would greatly influence the 1834 treaty: the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the Black Hawk War of 1832. Greedy and panicked, squatters were besieging the Indiana General Assembly for Indian removal. Aggressive traders were pressing for more treaties with fat annuities. At the same time, Richardville, if denied an exclusive license to trade at the Forks, could at least limit the traders to those he approved of.

The final three treaties (1834, 1838, and 1840) would all be negotiated at the Forks. In 1834, the Miami ceded some lands allotted them in the 1818 and 1826 treaties (12 square miles of small reserves and part of the Big Reserve from 1818; some 120 sections or about 43,200 acres from 1826). For those cessions, the Miami were to receive:

1. $208,000 ($58,000 within six months, $50,000 to be applied to debts of the tribe; remaining $100,000 in annual installments of $10,000 each)
2. Chief Richardville, fee-simple patent for ten sections at the Forks of the Wabash that he held by Indian patent (1826 tribal reserve)
3. A "skillful miller" in lieu of the gunsmith promised in 1818

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4. U.S. to value buildings and improvements on above ceded lands and an equal amount in building, clearing, and fencing at places chiefs chose; meanwhile, right to possess houses and improvements on ceded lands until replacements completed
5. $1,500 reimbursement for horses stolen from Miami by whites
6. Fee-simple titles for lands formerly granted by Indian patents to five chiefs (besides Richardville's grant)--13 sections in all
7. Hugh Hanna, a 1/4 section (compensation for his purchase of an 1826 grant not approved)
8. Indian titles for 20 individuals (23 3/4 sections).

Anson calls the treaty a "good bargain" (Anson, 199-200), but it raised a gale of criticism in Indiana because it did not promise Miami removal. President Jackson refused to accept it for the same reason and it would not be ratified until 1837.

The Panic of 1837 caused traders between Fort Wayne and Logansport to escalate debt claims against the Miami (Anson, 200-201) and brought about a new, complicated compromise treaty in 1838. The Miami ceded all tribal reserve land except their winter hunting grounds on the Big Reserve. In return, the Metocina band was to receive a grant of ten square miles in addition to 31 individual grants (50 sections), with provision for survey and for their transmission to Chief Richardville for distribution. 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 U.S. commissioners or commissioner was to investigate all claims against the Miami since October 23, 1834, and pay such as are "proved to his or their satisfaction, to be legal and just" (Kappler, Article 5, 520). If after investigation and due payment, any unexpended balance from the $150,000 amount reserved for debt payment (in 1834 treaty) was to be added to the subsequent annuity. 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 corresponding value made at places chiefs would designate. Meanwhile, Miami could remain in occupation of present improvements until this was accomplished. The U.S. was to survey and mark tribe's land within one year after ratification.

As long as Congress "shall at its discretion make an appropriation [under the terms of the 1826 treaty] for the support of the infirm and the education of the youth of said tribe" (Kappler, Article 15, 521-2), half the appropriation was to be paid to the chiefs for distribution as they found "most beneficial." A few individual matters were provided for: payment of debt claims of $6,800 by Richardville and $2,612 by Francis Godfroy which had been disallowed by the

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Commissioners because they were members of the tribe; issuance of patents for two individual grants of six sections made in the 1826 treaty.

Articles 10 and 11 bowed to the inevitable Miami emigration beyond the Mississippi, but with provisos that showed that by the fall of 1838 Richardville and the other Miami negotiators knew of the disaster of the Potawatomi removal. (Poor planning and sheer skulduggery had ended in starvation and flight for most Potawatomi [Poinsatte, Canal Era, 96; Anson, 200]). They also give evidence that the chiefs were well aware of previous emigrations and the dangers of being caught between encroaching whites and angry Plains Indians.

These articles specify what land and provisions the U.S. will give, with pledged "guarantee to them forever," to the Miami to remove and settle on "when the said tribe may be disposed to emigrate from their present country." It shall be "sufficient in extent," "suited to their wants and condition," and "in a region contiguous in the occupation of the tribes who emigrated from the states of Ohio and Indiana" (Kappler, 521). If and when the Miami would emigrate, the U.S. "shall protect the said tribe and the people thereof, in their rights and possessions," against any "injuries, encroachments and oppressions" (Kappler, 521). The U.S. will defray expenses for six "chiefs or headmen" selected by the Miami in general council to explore the country to be assigned.

Again, Richardville established a bridgehead with the provision that whenever the tribe emigrates, he, being too "old and infirm" to travel to the new lands, should be paid his proportion of the annuity in Indiana. Article 13 precludes 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 23 Miami "chiefs, headmen and warriors."

The complicated debt claim arrangements of this treaty, however, occupied most of the chiefs' 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" (quoted in Anson, 203). West reduced 118 claims amounting to $142,439.25 to 98 claims for $84,010.40, which he approved. For this long labor, he lived in a "cabin" at the Forks which was Richardville's "house at the Forks" (Anson, 203).

Richardville's health must have been failing noticeably by 1840, for in that year he and Allen Hamilton (his lawyer and later one of two executors of his will)

drew up the "unauthorized treaty" (described earlier) that was accepted by both the chiefs and the government agents. "The chiefs, who had resisted all attempts to force Miami emigration for 20 years, finally agreed among themselves, for reasons which can only be conjectured, that emigration was now acceptable." And "the agents realized that any treaty with unreasonable conditions would be a fait accompli gaining the approval of the Commissioner and the Secretary of War if it provided for Miami emigration. Events proved that the agents had calculated correctly" (Anson, 204-5).

For all their remaining lands, the Miami would be paid $550,000 ($300,000 to be reserved for their debt payments upon ratification; $250,000 to be paid in 20 equal annual installments). A commissioner or commissioners were 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. Also, inquiry should be made into the "equity and legality of the original cause of indebtedness" based on evidence (Kappler, Article 3, 531-2). These judgements, on government approval, would 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 to debts contracted for "provisions and subsistence." Any balance left after the debt payments was to be included in the next annuity.

Specifically and on technical grounds, this treaty excluded the families of Francis Godfroy and Meshingomesia and his brothers from emigration. This treaty, together with the previous one, thus provided for about half of the Miami people to remain in Indiana--most were chiefs' families and metis. By this final 1840 treaty, the Miami were to be paid $250 annually in lieu of the labor stipulated in the 1826 treaty. The Kansas lands for the Miami were specified: 500,000 acres south of the Wea and Kaskaskia, east of the Potawatomi, and north of the "New York Indians" (Seneca). The Miami were to move to these lands within five years of this treaty date, the U.S. paying all moving expenses and furnishing rations to the tribe for 12 months after arrival. The U.S. was also to supply $4,000 worth of "good merchantable pork and flour" (Kappler, Article 8, 532) to the tribe the second year, this amount to be deducted from their annuity for that year.

Those who accused Richardville of avarice would be justified by his personal provisions in the treaty: of the money reserved for debt payment, he was to be paid $25,000 and as the executor for Francis Godfroy, deceased, $15,000; from the ceded Big Reserve, he would get patents for seven sections of his choice and one for Francis LaFontaine. The avarice, however, could have been that of Allen Hamilton, who would eventually get most of these assets, and more, as the executor of Richardville's estate (Perry, 4,6; Tipton Papers, I: 20-21, II: 24,

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III: 462-464).

Finally, negotiating expenses for the treaty were to be paid by the U.S. and the treaty would be null and void if not ratified by March 4, 1841. (It was ratified.) It was signed by 20 Miami "chiefs, warriors, and headmen" and Commissioners Samuel Milroy and Allen Hamilton. This was Chief Richardville's last treaty.

Richardville died August 13, 1841, in his home near the St. Marys, six years before about half the 700 to 800 Indiana Miami were sent by canal boat to west of the Mississippi. Jean-Baptiste Drouet de Richerville, Pechewa, Chief Richardville, indeed had been a remarkable metis with a knowledge of four cultures and the memory of a Miami Golden Age, as well as of the agonizing decline of the Miami in the 19th century. His last portrait, at age 80, shows a grave man with ghosts in his eyes (see Attachment I).

Upon his death, Richardville's casket was ferried down the river to the French Catholic church in Fort Wayne (then on the site of the current Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception). His remains lie under Cathedral Square. His daughters erected a memorial to him which now stands in the Catholic Cemetery in Fort Wayne (Griswold, 225). He left generous land grants to his children and grandchildren (his wife and two sons had predeceased him), as well as a safe containing about $200,000 in gold and silver. His oldest daughter inherited his St. Marys home and estate (John B. Richardville Will). The family sold or were defrauded of almost all the land and eventually the house itself by the 20th century.

When half the Miami people were removed in 1847, first to Kansas, then to Oklahoma, they were accompanied to Kansas by Richardville's son-in-law and successor, Chief Francis LaFontaine, and later joined by his grandson, Thomas Richardville (son of John), educated in law at Notre Dame, who became a Miami leader and a renowned Oklahoma lawyer, adroitly handling the tribe's litigation with the government.

Richardville's tactics in his role as deputy chief and Principal Chief of the Miami highlight the significance, versatility, and usefulness of the metis, as well as his political instincts and his unique place in American history. In Hay's journal, we see Richardville as a Miami chief who fit hand-in-glove in the French-English-metis community of Miamitown, a pipeline of information for his people and an able businessman for his family. Again, during the interwar period when the metis community in Fort Wayne increased as did their importance in trade relations (Anson, 145), Richardville was in his own element. Even his flight to Detroit in 1812 was likely a strategic one. Lewis Cass was stationed there as governor of the Michigan Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the

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Northwest Territory from 1813 to 1831 (Anson, 183-4). Richardville seemed to understand the nature and differences between Miami and European cultures better than any other chief. For example, Little Turtle's association with William Wells had pushed the Miami warrior/hunters toward farming American fashion. Richardville understood that, at a time when their status was being undermined, for Miami men to be asked to do what they considered "woman's work" spelled disaster. Little Turtle encouraged Baptists to set up missionary schools for Miami youth at Fort Wayne; Richardville pushed for schools in the Indian villages run by Catholics (Catholicism was one European institution compatible with Indian ways and beliefs).

As deputy chief, Richardville emphasized his European culture at the height of Miami power and self-esteem. As Principal Chief, he turned Miami. He wore Miami dress and used Miami language in negotiations, using interpreters. An educated man, he made his mark on the treaties along with the other chiefs (Kappler, 174, 280). He probably insisted on frequent Miami ceremonies. He was all too aware of the long plummeting of Miami hope and confidence. Too many were piling up credit bills, endangering land for the pleasures of the day, displaying more and more silver ornaments, venting their anger and frustration in drinking and brawling. He played his best cards at the Forks of the Wabash, where he built a number of log cabins for the chiefs and commissioners around a large area in which sat the council house. The negotiations drew a horde of journalists and a full account was written in a journal kept by Henry Hoover, Secretary to the Government Commissioners, which details Richardville's delaying tactics ("The Man in the Middle," 6-12). It also reveals the nature of the Principal Chieftainship. He required the full accord and support of the other Miami chiefs for every important decision because the office of Principal Chief was far from autocratic, a fact of overriding importance in overall evaluation of Richardville as a Principal Chief. Yet his influence was pervasive and his judgement central to every tribal decision. He was a leader from 1785 to 1841 and a master of intrigue. 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" (quoted in Poinsatte, Canal Era, 96).

Richardville's contemporaries were sometimes derogatory--a few traders and officials decrying his cunning and deceit, finding his craft too subtle. But others found him laudably prudent, careful, and deliberate, a patient listener, even beloved and esteemed. Trader George W. Ewing called him "this distinguished and extraordinary man" (Anson 213-4) and Hugh McCulloch, respected banker and Secretary of the Treasury for three Presidents, remarked that he was a man "of whom no one ever got the better in a trade" (Anson, 209).

Statement of Significance-Criterion C

The Chief Richardville House is **significant under National Register Criterion C** as an excellent example of a Greek Revival I-House, a now rare building form in Fort Wayne. An 1827 sheet with plans and specifications survives, making it the oldest documented building in the region.

The above-mentioned 1826 Treaty of Mississinewa allotted Chief Richardville, along with eight other Miami chiefs, $600 each in Federal funds to build houses. The money disbursed to Richardville by Fort Wayne Indian Agent John Tipton (Tipton Papers, I: 743-49) would cover the construction of a comfortable two-room one story brick house of the period (Tipton Papers, I: 738-39), but with Tipton's approval Chief Richardville personally added $1,600 (Tipton Papers, I: 810) to construct a fine brick Greek Revival I-House with two parlors down, two bedrooms up, a hallway with a curving stair, four fireplaces, and imported windows.

A document entitled "1827 Plan of J.B. Richardville's House" (Unpublished Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library; see attached plan and specifications of house, Attachment C), includes a floorplan and specifications for the house nearly identical to how the house was built (see Section 7, page 4). This document provides unique insight into the business practices of the time, as it combines the modern functions of architectural plans and specifications, as well as construction contract. The document also illustrates the established position of the I-House in the 1820s as a housing form. A statement on the sheet reads "the within plan of a house for Jean B. Richardville has been submitted to us and we have given our obligations of this date for its erection & completion Fort Wayne Augt. 30 1827" (See reverse side of plan, Attachment C). This statement was signed by contractors A.G. Ballard and Hugh Hanna. It is likely that these two men did actually build the Richardville House. A house in the city of Fort Wayne which was likely owned by Hugh Hanna's brother Samuel was remarkably similar (see Photo 5). The Richardville House is the only known surviving example of the work of these builders.

The Richardville House was a grand and elaborate home when compared to other housing in the area at the time. Allen County, which was the first county formed in northeastern Indiana, had been created only three years prior to construction of the Richardville House. Fort Wayne would not be incorporated as a town until 1829. The few white settlers in the county lived in hewn-log structures. The majority of the homes and commercial structures within Fort Wayne were hewn-log structures as well (Griswold, 246). In contrast, the local tribal chief owned a substantial two-story brick home with fine details in the stylish Greek Revival mode. The house's front door surround is a well-formed Greek Revival example with the door topped by a two-light transom and flanked by engaged pilasters enframed behind a shouldered architrave casing with battered sides. Each of the comfortable rooms within the Richardville House boasted a fireplace and finely

crafted woodwork. The parlor featured broad Greek Revival door and window casings with shouldered architrave trim formed by a plain square bolection. The same motif was repeated in the mantlepiece, as well as the dining room mantlepiece.

Accounts of the original furnishings of the Richardville House reflected Richardville's aristocratic French background, as well as his wealth. Contemporary accounts (cited in Perry, 7; also Edmundson, 229) related in amazed detail the fine French wallpaper and drapes, the Oriental carpets, chandeliers, lovely porcelain figurines, and an elaborate gold clock on the parlor mantels, all owned by "an Indian". 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 Chief's hospitality a remarkable pleasure (Richards, 10).

Because the date of the house is so clearly established, it is the oldest documented house in northeast Indiana. It is also an extremely early expression of the Greek Revival style on the Indiana frontier. In its setting near a river and its I-House form, the house is quite similar to the home of William Conner in Hamilton County, near Indianapolis (NRHP 2-8-80). Conner was a contemporary and at least an acquaintance of Chief Richardville, and is considered to have been the first white settler in central Indiana, arriving about 1800. Conner was also a highly successful trader and landowner--making his wealth among both Native Americans and white settlers. He and Richardville would have been familiar with each other, as Conner served as an interpreter in the negotiation sessions for the treaties of 1818 and 1826 (Kappler, 174, 280). Conner built his large brick I-House on a bluff overlooking the White River in 1823, only four years prior to the construction of the Richardville House. The Conner House, however, was designed purely in the Federal style in both exterior and interior details. The striking Greek Revival details present in the Richardville House are a bold contrast, and clearly illustrate both Richardville's concern with fashion and the spread of the Greek Revival style to the frontier.

Although Greek Revival I-Houses were once common in the city, Fort Wayne's only other surviving example is the William S. Edsall House (NRHP 10-8-76). Built in 1840 at 305 West Main Street, the house is located in downtown Fort Wayne. The Edsall House is also brick, but it is a later, slightly larger, example of the style. The house has been altered with Italianate brackets and other details (Fort Wayne Interim Report, 13, 140), making it differ greatly in appearance from the unaltered early Greek Revival details of the Richardville House. Fort Wayne has only two other examples of the Greek Revival style; the Angell-Hoffman House (c.1840) and the Peter Ohneck House (1850). Both of these houses are located in the West End Historic District (NRHP 11-15-84), and both are Gable-front

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expressions of the style (Fort Wayne Interim Report, 16, 121).

Another house near Huntington, Indiana, has a prior National Register listing as the "Chief Richardville House and Miami Treaty Grounds" (NRHP 9-16-85). Since the listing of this property, new information has shown that this historic name is likely in error. In the nomination for this frame, Greek Revival 2/3 I-House, the owner claimed that the house was built by and for Jean B. Richardville, Chief Richardville, as his residence after the move of the tribal headquarters to the Forks of the Wabash (NRHP 9-16-85; Randle, "Indian house"). No historical reference or documentation, however, indicates that this was the house of Richardville prior to 1949, when the owner of the house first claimed it (Randle, "Indian house"). Undoubtedly Chief Richardville stayed at the treaty grounds at the Forks frequently, however new information and further historical analysis, as well as the traditions of surviving Miami descendants of Richardville and LaFontaine, indicate that the Huntington house was probably built in 1843 or 1844, two or three years after Richardville's death (Leonard, "Historic Structure Report," np). The house at the Forks of the Wabash was likely built by and for Chief Richardville's son-in-law and successor, Chief Francis LaFontaine (Leonard, "Historic Structure Report"), and, therefore, should be correctly referred to as the Chief LaFontaine House.

Statement of Significance-Criterion D

The Richardville site, as nominated, is also **significant under Criterion D.** Archaeological fieldwork at the site by the Indiana Purdue University Fort Wayne Archaeological Field School, under the direction of, Dr. Robert J. Jeske in 1992 and 1995, has yielded significant information about the occupation of the site through time. The excavations provided historic data from the 20th, 19th, and late 18th centuries, as well as prehistoric materials from the Late Woodland (circa AD 500-1300) and Late Archaic (circa 3500-4500 years BP). (For a complete description of the archaeological fieldwork, see Jeske, "Preliminary Excavations at the Richardville Site: A Prehistoric and Historic Miami Home in Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana.")

The primary significance of the site is the cultural material which it has yielded and is likely to yield for the period which the site was occupied by Chief Jean Baptiste de Richardville. Further excavation and study promises to provide key information about Richardville the individual--and about his family. Artifacts at the site may provide information about the lifestyle and social structure of the Richardville family. Animal bone found at the site has provided clues about the livestock kept by Richardville, as well as the diet of the occupants of the property.

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Archaeological study has provided information about the construction history of the Richardville House itself. Important clues have been unearthed which will assist in any effort to restore the house to the period of occupation by Chief Richardville. Further archaeological excavation promises the potential of locating building foundations of cabins and other support structures for the Richardville House.

The presence of prehistoric components at the site from the Late Woodland and the Late Archaic reinforces the importance of the Richardville site to Native Americans over time. This link to prehistoric cultures, along with contact period and historic components at the site, provides a unique opportunity to study culture contact and change (Jeske, 8). The use of the site by Native Americans for thousands of years prior to the occupation by Chief Richardville increases its interpretive potential.

An important consideration in evaluating site significance is the presence of good archaeological context. Although the Richardville site has been heavily disturbed at its boundaries by an extensive sand and gravel quarry operation, the area surrounding the house itself is relatively undisturbed. Numerous cultural deposits have been excavated near the house, and there is potential for further work in this area. Other areas of the site, primarily beneath the asphalt drive which circles the rear of the house, hold the potential for discovery of important features such as outbuilding foundations and fence posts.

There are few known archaeological sites associated with the life of Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville. The Kekionga area, Richardville's birthplace and home for much of his adult life, has been virtually destroyed by residential and commercial development. This area, and other Miami village sites near the confluence of the three rivers, was developed by white settlers as early as the mid-nineteenth century and today is a vital part of central Fort Wayne. The Richardville House and site in Fort Wayne is the only known site with a direct connection to the productive life of Chief Richardville, as well as the only site which is likely to produce archaeology of the individual. The most significant secondary site is the Treaty Grounds at the Forks of the Wabash near Huntington. This site has been listed on the National Register in part for its potential for yielding "historic archaeological data important to our understanding of the historic Miami occupation of the region" (NRHP 9-16-85). There is not, however, any specific location on the Forks site which can be linked directly to Chief Richardville. The site of the LaFontaine House (previously thought to be Richardville's House) has been disturbed by moving the house to make way for highway construction.

Although the historical record provides a well-documented picture of the role of

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Chief Richardville in the history of the Old Northwest, relatively little is known of the daily life of the individual. Information about his family, his lifestyle, and his standard of living will provide invaluable clues to how he was likely regarded by the European Americans which he interacted with, as well as how he was perceived by his own Miami people. Our knowledge of the lifestyles of typical well-to-do white settlers on the Indiana frontier in the 1820s may provide some answers to these questions, however Chief Richardville was far from typical. His mixed cultural background was likely an influence on his daily way of life; an influence which we know little about. Any interpretation of the Richardville House would be much enhanced by developing our state of knowledge in these areas. The site also has potential for providing information about the enculturation of the Miami, and their lifeways during this critical period.

Historical accounts reveal that Chief Richardville occupied the site well before the construction of the present house. He and his family probably settled here upon his return from Detroit after 1812. The account of a traveler in Indiana in 1821 mentions visiting Richardville's "fine farm" on the St. Marys (McCord, 115). This visitor also noted many log cabins in the vicinity. In 1825, a visiting circuit court judge wrote about a horse race he attended "at Chief Richardville's" on the St. Marys (Roberts, 11). This already established occupation of the site is likely the reason why this land was specifically granted in fee simple ownership to Richardville in the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's, hence the period of significance of c.1818 to Richardville's death in 1841. Archaeological excavation has already recovered artifacts which support these dates, such as a contact period knife made from a French gunflint (Jeske, 6) and perhaps examples of creamware which date to 1760-1820 (Jeske, 7). Further excavation at the site promises to yield more artifacts which would support the historical accounts, as well as aid the interpretation of life at the Richardville site prior to construction of the 1827 house.

Other anecdotal historical accounts suggest that Richardville's wife, Natoequeah, did not actually live with him in the house but in a cabin behind the house. The archaeological record is curiously short on women's items such as needles, pins, thimbles, and stays. This suggests that these accounts are likely accurate (Jeske, 8). Further archaeological investigation at the site may potentially reveal evidence regarding the arrangement of Richardville's family life. This information would prove invaluable in any future interpretation of the house and the site, particularly if foundations of a cabin or other outbuildings could be located.

Archaeological excavation has proven valuable in yet another category; in providing important information about the construction of the house, as well as the evolution of the Richardville House over time. A massive limestone footing

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with a 15 inch diameter post remains at the front door of the house, suggesting a large porch early in the history of the house--perhaps a Greek Revival portico (Jeske, 5). Over 500 square nails have been recovered from the site, but only 25 were hand wrought. Machine cut nails were common by 1830. Some of these nails are slate roofing nails, the only indication that the house may have once had a slate roof (Jeske, 7). It is hoped that additional archaeological research will provide information that will be useful in further efforts to restore the house.

Archaeological investigation has revealed that the site has been used even in the Late Archaic (circa 3500-4500 BP) and the Late Woodland periods (circa AD 500-1300). A total of 525 chert flakes and debris pieces came from the 1/4 inch screens. Materials include local cherts as well as Wyandotte cherts from southern Indiana and Flint Ridge and Mercer cherts from Ohio (Jeske, 6). This new information indicates the importance of the "Gateway" portage between the Maumee and Wabash Rivers, and even the importance of the St. Marys River and its connections into Ohio, for Native Americans long before the Miami control of the area. This cultural material reinforces the Richardville site as a "crossroads" of vital transportation routes for centuries.

As indicated, the Richardville site is significant under National Register Criterion D for a number of reasons. As the only site known to have a direct link to Chief Richardville, the site may provide data about the individual (Jeske, 8), and the length of his occupation of the site. It may also provide data about the enculturation of the Miami. The site also represents a rare opportunity for insight into the lifestyle of a well-to-do metis. Archaeological evidence at the site has provided, and will continue to provide, vital information in the restoration and interpretation of the Richardville House. The presence of prehistoric, contact period, and historic components at the site provides a unique opportunity to study culture contact and change. Although the periphery of the site has been disturbed by the adjacent sand and gravel quarry, the site retains sufficient integrity to greatly enhance our knowledge of Jean-Baptiste de Richardville.

Chief Jean B. Richardville House
Allen County, IN

National Significance

Criterion: 1 "That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained."
Theme: I. CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS: INDIGENOUS AMERICAN POPULATIONS
Subtheme: D. Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations
Facet: 5. Becoming Native American
- a. Treaties and Laws Formally Defining Native American Statuses and Roles
- d. Native Responses to New Economic, Political, and Territorial Arrangements
- e. Native Statuses in New Stratification Systems
- g. Co-existing Political Bodies: Chiefdoms, Monarchies, and Nations within the Nation

Period of
National Significance: c.1826-1841

Today, near the St. Marys River in southwest Fort Wayne, Indiana, stands the house built by Jean-Baptiste de Richardville, Principal Chief of the Miami, in 1827. He built it on some 3,000 acres granted to him by the U.S. Government in the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's (see Attachments A and B) and with money the Government allotted to him as chief in the 1826 Treaty of Mississinewa. The Chief Richardville House meets National Historic Landmark **Criterion 1** for being "...associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained." Chief Richardville played a pivotal role in guiding the Miami through the critical period of negotiations with the United States government which resulted in the cession of their land and a new place for the Miami people within the broader American society. The house itself is very unique in that its construction was subsidized according to the terms of the 1826 treaty. This house is the only Indian treaty house of any kind known to survive in the state of Indiana, and is believed to be the only example of a treaty house anywhere east of the Mississippi River still intact and on its original site. A computer search of National Register properties nationwide using the key word "treaty" did not reveal any properties previously listed which may share a similar origin. (However, understandably this search technique has certain limitations.) This unique status makes the Richardville House a historic resource type which is extremely rare and significant in Native American history, as well as the history of the United States government's negotiations with Native Americans.

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The National Historic Landmark Theme and Subtheme (as published in History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program, 1987) which relate to the significance of the Chief Richardville House are "I. Cultural Developments," and "D. Ethnohistory," of "indigenous American populations." The specific facet of ethnohistory which applies is "5. Becoming Native American." Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville's place in the historical time line is unique in that his life serves as a microcosm of the transitional experience of many indigenous tribes who became "Native American." From his birth within the strong, independent Miami nation to his death as tired Chief of the overwhelmed and manipulated Miami people, Richardville's life illustrates the experience of many tribes in the Old Northwest Territory. Chief Richardville, however, played an active leadership role in this transitional period. He was a vital advocate for the Miami people, and his efforts in negotiation of several treaties allowed many Miami to obtain individual ownership of land. This allowed a large number of Miami to remain in Indiana, even after about half were removed to Kansas, and later Oklahoma. The Richardville House is a well-preserved monument to both Chief Richardville's prestige among his own people and his ability to forestall the physical removal of the Miami from Indiana for decades beyond the timetables sought by Indian commissioners, territorial, and state governors. The Richardville House also serves as a powerful symbol of the ability of Chief Richardville to make the most of changes that were largely beyond his control, and find a new place within the larger American society for both himself and his people.

The Richardville House itself is tangible and impressive evidence of the chief's ability and skill in placing himself in the company of leaders and working within the American system of business for the profit of both himself and the Miami people, and indirectly for a number of Indian traders. As a treaty house, the Richardville House is physical evidence of the adaptation and compromise, on the parts of both Native Americans and European Americans, which was inherent in the process of removing the Native American population from the Old Northwest in preparation for white settlement. The Richardville House is also tangible evidence of the ability of the U.S. government (backed by influential Indian traders) to deal fairly, even lavishly, with Native American populations when they were well-represented in negotiations by capable leaders.

In his career as deputy chief, and later Principal Chief of the Miami, Richardville had an important role in negotiating treaties and influencing U.S. Indian policy which defined the status and roles of the Miami Indians. The treaties ceded vast amounts of land to the United States, however at a time when so many tribes simply relinquished their lands and were moved west, Richardville arranged for a remarkable number of Miami to stay in Indiana. Richardville's cultural background as a metis was surely a significant factor in his ability to

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relate to the European concept of property ownership and his realization early on that legally recognized property ownership--by individuals--was the best method to prevent wholesale relocation of the Miami. The treaties which Richardville negotiated included land grants to himself, his family, and other Miami Chiefs and leaders. The status which was provided by legal ownership of land was a compelling reason for the United States government to allow these members of the tribe to remain in Indiana, even after the Miami had made all efforts to stall relocation of the remainder of the tribe. (Ironically, although Chief Richardville's tactics allowed his descendants and many other Miami to stay in Indiana, the tribe was fractured by the relocation of many of their number to the west [Rafert, 116]. The United States continued to recognize the western Miami as the legitimate tribal government while the Indiana Miami lost federal recognition in 1897 [Rafert, 174]. Though still an identifiable group, the Indiana Miami have struggled to regain their federal status, and have been denied as recently as 1993 [Rafert, 293].)

Although the value of Miami tribal land gave Chief Richardville a strong bargaining position in treaty negotiations, the Miami also had strong (yet selfish) allies in the many Indian traders who would benefit from a delay in the removal of the tribe, and the ownership of land by individual Miami. Primary among this group of traders were brothers George W. and William G. Ewing (Rafert, 90), who came to Fort Wayne in 1822. At the arrival of the Ewings in Indiana, the Indian trade was quickly moving away from the economically unstable purchase of furs, to the more stable supply of goods for payment in annuities or credit. The fur market was subject to severe fluctuations in prices, while annuities were consistent--and paid in silver.

The Ewings and other traders sold goods to the Miami on credit, often to a point beyond which even their annuity could pay. When the trader had manuevered the individual Indian into a debtor position, the Indian would easily exchange some of his land for payment of his debt (Carter, 165 fn 25; Rafert, 93). The likelihood of additional treaties with a rise in annuities was promising for traders and land speculators such as the Ewings. The Ewings, who were quite close to Indian agent John Tipton, likely urged negotiation of further treaties, allowing higher annuities and the individual ownership of land for certain Miami. This unlikely alliance with powerful traders and land speculators fostered an environment where Chief Richardville was able to play government officials desiring Miami removal against the greed of the traders for many years (Rafert, 89).

Although none of the treaties negotiated from 1826 to 1838 required removal of the Miami, all were quite favorable to the Miami debt claims of traders such as the Ewings. The 1840 treaty initiated Miami removal from Indiana, and is also

the apex of treaties favorable to the traders, setting aside $300,000 for claims against the tribe. It was part of an elaborate scheme to rescue the Ewings from bankruptcy by a concerted effort to sell the Miami goods, primarily on credit, prior to the ratification of the treaty. In a period of roughly nine months from the summer of 1840 through February 25, 1841 the Ewings obtained bills of credit on the tribe for $253,052.29--over $5 million currently (Rafert, 99-100). Later, William G. Ewing bragged that, "The only means to succeed was by a large profuse and general indebtedness of the tribe, made by the knowledge and concurrence of many officers of the Indian Department" (Trennert, 84).

Through the negotiation of treaties with the United States government, Chief Richardville obtained a significant amount of money, goods, and services for the benefit of himself, individual members of the tribe, and for the Miami as a whole. Several treaties established annuity payments which tribe members received in return for the tribe's cession of land. Chief Richardville knew, however, that cash alone would not be sufficient to assist tribe members in maintaining their ownership of land against the pressure of white traders. He negotiated several provisions in treaties for goods and services which would support the ownership of land and assist in land development. The 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's provided a sawmill and a gristmill along with agricultural implements. The 1826 Treaty of Mississinewa provided over fifty-thousand dollars in goods; ten wagons with ten yokes of oxen, nine houses, 200 head of cattle, 200 head of hogs, 2,000 pounds of iron and 1,000 pounds of steel and tobacco annually, eight part-time laborers, and $2,000 annually for support of the "poor infirm" and the education of youth. The 1834 treaty was to supply a "skillful miller" to replace a gunsmith promised in 1818. It is unclear just how many of these promises were fulfilled by the United States government, but when viewed as a group they clearly illustrate Chief Richardville's tactic to remain in Indiana by obtaining land as well as the cash and resources to retain ownership of that land. A possible byproduct of these treaty terms was training and experience for some Miami in methods of agriculture and pioneer industry.

As a treaty house, and as a stylish frontier expression of wealth, the Chief Richardville House is a unique example of Native American response to new economic and political arrangements. The 1826 Treaty of Mississinewa provided funding to build a $600 house for each of nine Miami chiefs, including Richardville. These houses for the tribal leadership, along with the specific supplies and livestock provided for in the treaty, gave notice that the Miami had no intention of being removed from their land, although white settlement was quickly approaching. Richardville and the other Miami chiefs knew that land was their most valuable economic asset, and their ownership and control of it was a vital political asset. These houses, particularly the substantial Richardville House, were effective symbols of the power which the Miami leaders held in their

land, and were a tool to reinforce their ownership of the land. The supplies and livestock were undoubtably crucial for each chief to develop homesteads and farms which further developed the Miami-owned land and supported the people of the tribe. These tactics proved successful, as none of the Miami tribal leadership was subsequently required to leave the state of Indiana (Rafert, 108-110).

Chief Richardville made a bolder statement with his personal home by adding $1,600 of his own funds in order to build a larger and more stylish house than provided for in the treaty. Richardville had built a substantial fortune, not only from negotiating favorable treaty terms for himself, but also from his many years as a successful trader. At a time when he was flush with cash, it was fitting that Richardville should take advantage of the availability of skilled American builders in rapidly growing Fort Wayne for the construction of a fine home. The Richardville House expressed the chief's position among the Miami people and (perhaps more importantly) made his status clear to the encroaching Americans. (This house, however, was not likely Richardville's first house with "European" style or form. His earlier house(s) in Kekionga were likely log houses, perhaps similar in form to rural, post-in-ground French Colonial houses documented in Vincennes, IN and Ste. Genevieve, MO.)

The Richardville House is as much a symbol of the respect and social status which Richardville strived for in his rapidly changing environment, as a symbol of economic and political power. The quality of the house and its furnishings placed Chief Richardville's lifestyle at a level above nearly all of the American settlers in the area. This display of wealth sent a clear message to the settlers that Richardville was not the stereotypical "savage" who should be avoided. The fine house undoubtably assisted in building respect and credibility for the chief among the Americans, yet its rural location allowed him to keep a safe distance from Fort Wayne for himself and his people. Several accounts of pioneer life in Fort Wayne mention the high regard which the settlers held for Chief Richardville, both as a political leader and as a businessman (Poinsatte, Canal Era, Tipton quote, 96; Anson, McCulloch quote, 209). The business and political leaders of Fort Wayne considered it an honor to be invited to the chief's table. Richardville was much respected, was considered to be a prominent member of the community, and was certainly among the most wealthy residents of the Fort Wayne area, yet he was not among the inner circle of community leaders. Richardville's place in Fort Wayne's pioneer social structure was high, but on the fringe; in much the same way that his home stood near Fort Wayne, but at a safe distance.

The Chief Richardville House is, lastly, tangible proof of the economic and political arrangements, compromises, and deals which allowed the Miami nation and its principal chief to co-exist with the expanding boundaries of the United

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States. The American public's image of nineteenth century Indian relations is often the simple sequence of battle-conquer-remove, often thought of as a process which occurred in a relatively short period of time. Chief Richardville's life and accomplishments provide a much deeper understanding to the complicated process of negotiation with Native American tribes in this period. Both Richardville and representatives of the U.S. government, with influence from the Ewings and other Indian traders, worked over 23 years to come to a fair agreement for the purchase of Miami land, the accommodation of many Miami, and the eventual removal of only about half of the Miami people to the west (Rafert, 101, 112-113). In a letter to Secretary of War John Eaton in 1831, John Tipton referred to the slow progress of negotiations with the Miami Nation. 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" (Rafert, 96). As a treaty house, the Richardville House was a diplomatic gift from the United States to the leader and "chief of state" of the Miami Nation. It is a unique product of this long process of give-and-take between the Miami Nation and the United States government.

Like the Miami tribe of Indiana, which has remained in its homeland quietly surviving and adapting to change for hundreds of years, so has this house survived on its hilltop for the 155 years since the death of Chief Jean-Baptiste de Richardville. Although it does exhibit alterations and adaption to change, the Richardville House clearly retains integrity from its association with Richardville and deserves federal recognition for its national significance. The Chief Richardville House is worthy of National Historic Landmark status under several sub-facets of "Becoming Native American," a facet within the sub-theme "Ethnohistory" of "Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations." Within this theme the Chief Richardville House is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained. The Chief Richardville House and site is associated with national events from c.1818 until the chief's death August 13, 1841. This period represents Richardville's occupation of the site and the house, and is simultaneous with his significant role in treaty negotiations between Native Americans and the United States. The year 1827 is significant for the construction of the house.

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Chief Jean B. Richardville House
Allen County, IN

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 (see Attachment K).

Boundary Justification

The boundary includes the Chief 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 site beyond this boundary has been heavily disturbed by a sand and gravel quarry on the south and east, and by commercial and residential development along Bluffton Road. Although the house, when built, was located in the center of a tract of over 3000 acres owned by Richardville, the growth of the city of Fort Wayne has transformed the Richardville Reserve into an urban and suburban area.

Chief Jean B. Richardville House
Allen County, IN

Photographs

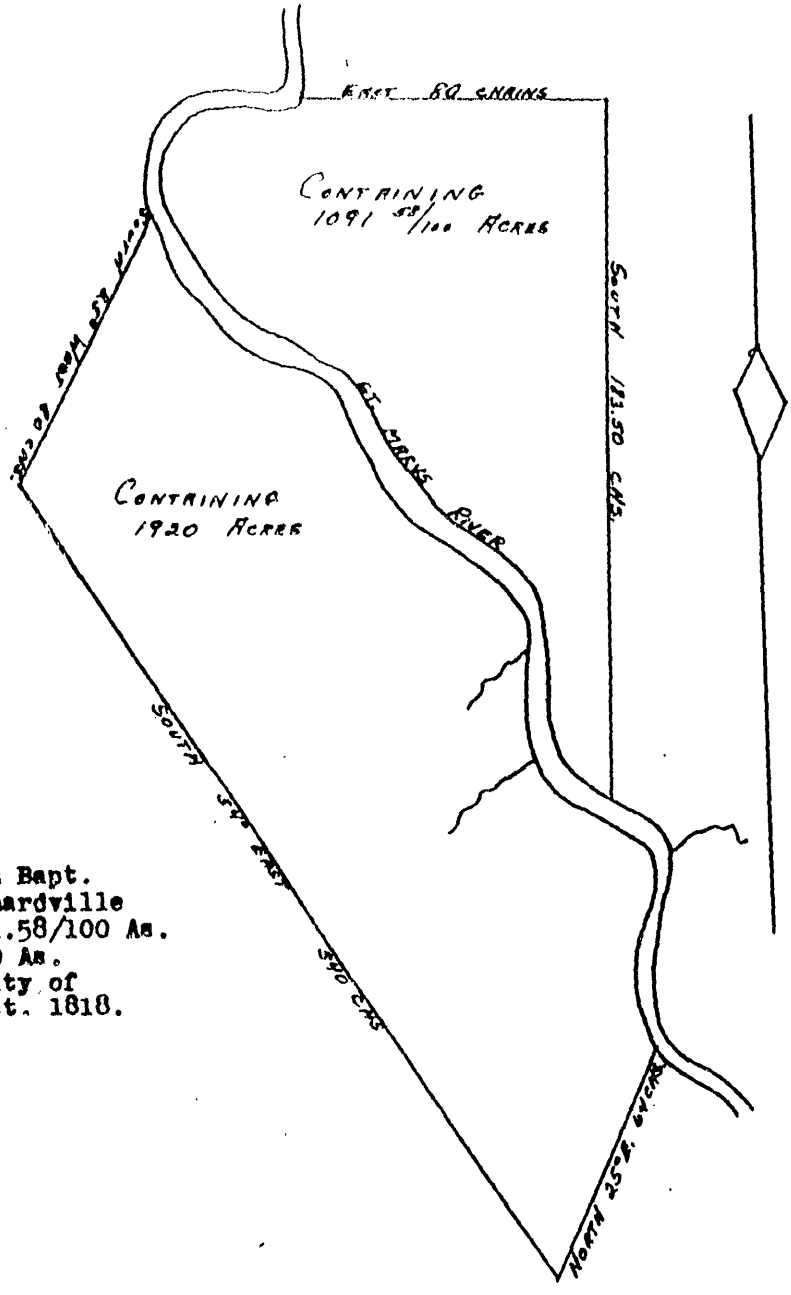
All photographs used in this nomination were taken in April, 1996 by Randy Elliot. The location of the negatives is as follows:

Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society
303 East Berry Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

Photographs

1. General view, looking southeast, of the Richardville House as seen from Bluffton Road.
2. General view, looking southeast, of the house.
3. General view, looking northwest, of the house.
4. General view, looking south, of the facade.
5. Historic view, c.1914, looking north in what is today the 100 block of West Jefferson Blvd., Fort Wayne, showing a house which closely resembles the Richardville House. From the collection of the Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society.
6. Detail view, looking south, of the front door surround.
7. General view, looking south, into the first floor hall.
8. Detail view, looking northwest, of the base of the front stairway.
9. General view, looking southeast, in the parlor.
10. General view, looking north, in the parlor.
11. General view, looking southwest, in the dining room.
12. General view, looking southeast, in the east chamber.
13. General view, looking southwest, in the west chamber.
14. General view, looking south, in the first room of the rear wing.
15. General view, looking southwest, in the back room of the rear wing.
16. General view, looking southwest, in the loft over the rear wing.

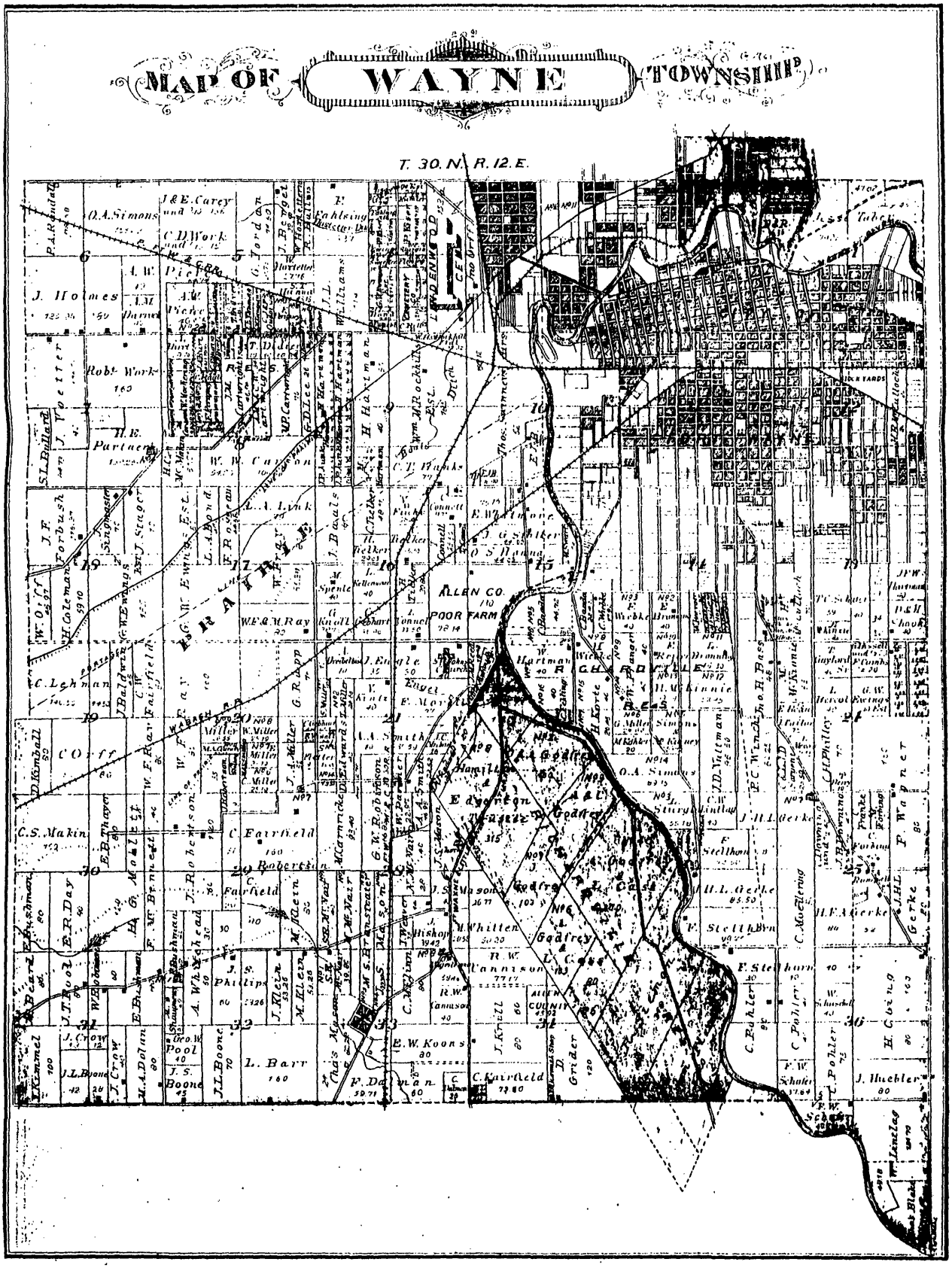
Department of the Interior,
General Land Office
Washington, D. C., May 16th, 1908.



Ex.
Jean Bapt.
Richardville
1091.58/100 As.
1920 As.
Treaty of
6 Oct. 1818.

I hereby certify that the annexed copy of patent is a true and literal exemplification from the record in this office.

The record of t e patent in this case was omitted to be signed, as required by law, but Section 2470 Revised Statutes of the United States provides that Literal Exemplifications of any records which have been or may be granted ----- shall be deemed of the same validity in all proceedings, whether at law or in equity, wherein such exemplifications are adduced in evidence, as if the names of the officers signing and countersigning the same had been fully inserted in the record.



From: T.B. Helm, History of Allen County, Indiana. Chicago: Kingman Brothers, 1880.

Attachment C

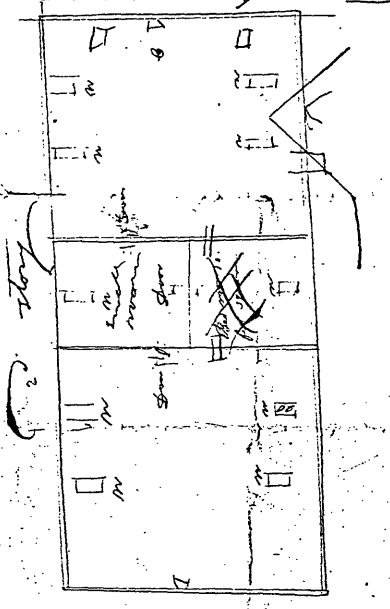
The within plan of a house for
Jesse B Richardville has been submitted
to us and we have given our obligations
of this date for its erection & completion
Fort Wayne Augt. 30 1832—

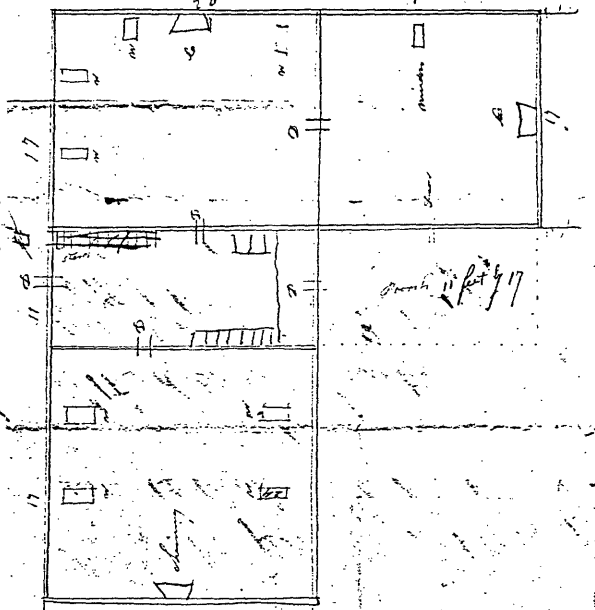
Attest
J B Durnt

J J Ballance
Ft Wayne

Plans of a house.

The following is submitted for which building and finishing in a complete workmanlike manner you will be allowed $200 when the Brick is burned, $200 when the house is covered, $100 when the carpenters work is done and the balance on receiving the keys of the house, every arch must have an iron bar under it, the plastering all finished, best work throughout, locks, latches, hinges and bells must be found by the builder and a closet on each side of 3 fore place in 3 rooms





All sash doors to have 6 panels with a cast ogee moulding, inside and outside, and to be hung with butts, all the wood work to be painted three times with best white lead and oil, and stained in imitation of mahogany, and varnished with best copal varnish, all the iron work painted three times with best black paint, and varnished with best copal varnish, all the plastering to be finished with best stucco, and the whole to be done in a plain workmanlike manner.

Front Elevation

Side Elevation

2 small gothic windows in front & 1 back in the foundation below the floor. The house, Brick work, painted and panelled, doors in first story painted, work, window shutters to same story, same, the wood work painted wherever painting is usual or necessary. ~~and all the shutters to be hung~~

foundation 7 feet high 18 inch wall
first story 9 " " 13 " "
" " 8 " " 9 " "
kitchen, story 9 feet " 9 " "
small room studding partition in passage
porch in ft of kitchen as wide as the passage

Attachment D

Document entitled "1827 Plan of J.B. Richardville's House," in John Tipton papers, Manuscript Division, Indiana State Library

on obverse:

"The within plan of a house for
Jean B. Richardville has been submitted
to us and we have given our obligations
of this date for its erection & completion
Fort Wayne Augt. 30 1827

Attest — A G Ballard(?)
J B Duret — H Hanna"

on reverse:

at top right corner:

"The following plan of a house submitted for which building and finishing in a complete work(e)rlike manner 1 year will be allowed. $200 paid when the brick is burned, $200 when the house is covered, $100 when the carpenters work is done and the ballance on receiving the keys of the house. every arch must have an iron bar under it. The plastering all finished best work(.) locks, latches, hinges and bolts must be formed by the builder and a closet on each side of 3 fire place in 3 room"

at lower right corner:

"foundation 3 feet high 18 inch wall
first story 9 " " 13 " "
2 do 8 " " 7 " "
kitchen 1 story of 8 feet7 " "
small room studded partition in pa$sage (shown at center of second floor)
porch in ft (front?) of kitchen as wide as the passage"

at top left corner:

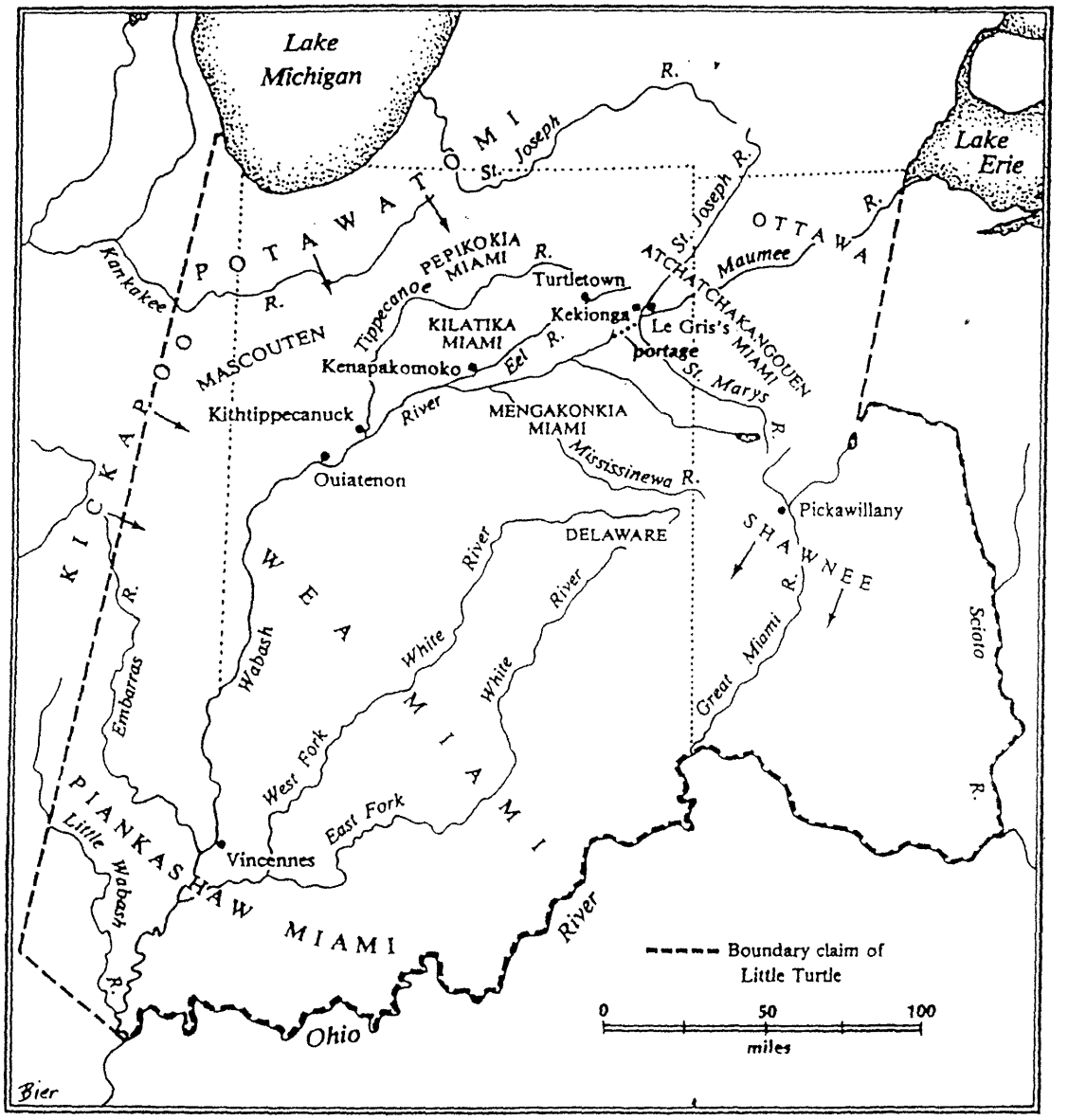
"All sash door and window frames must be primed with a coat of w(hite) lead & oil as it goes into the wall - and troughs, or gutters painted white, roof red a plane chimney fixed to each fire place"

at lower left corner:

"2 small grated windows in front & 1 back in the foundation below the floor. The house Brick work, painted and pencilled, door in first story panneld work, window shutters to same story, same, the wood work painted wherever painting is usual or nece$sary."

transcribed by Craig Leonard
March 3, 1996

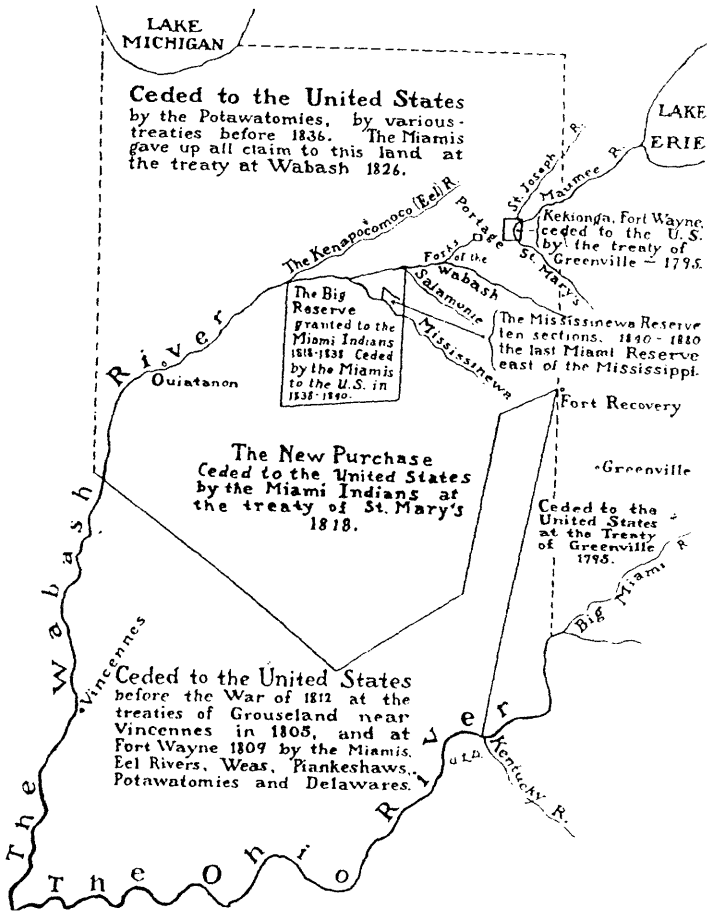
Attachment E



Map 7. *The Miami Domain.* This map shows the extent of the Miami Domain as outlined by Little Turtle in 1795. Also shown is the portage connecting the Maumee-Wabash Line of travel and the encroachment of other Indian tribes upon the Miami Domain.

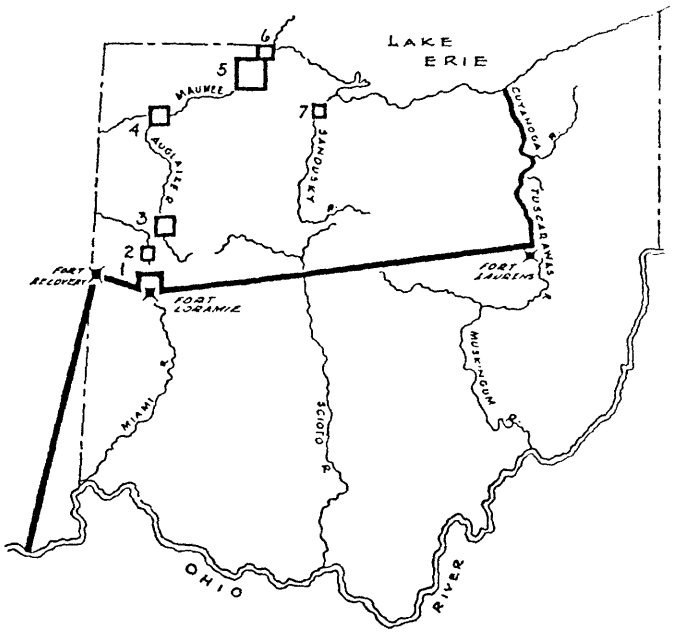
From: Harvey Lewis Carter, The Life and Times of Little Turtle. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987, ff 222.

Attachment F



Source: Otho Winger, *The Last of the Miamis - Little Turtle,* North Manchester, Indiana: North Manchester Press, 1935, p. 10.

OHIO INDIAN LANDS CEDED TO THE UNITED STATES
BY THE TREATY OF GREENE VILLE, 1795



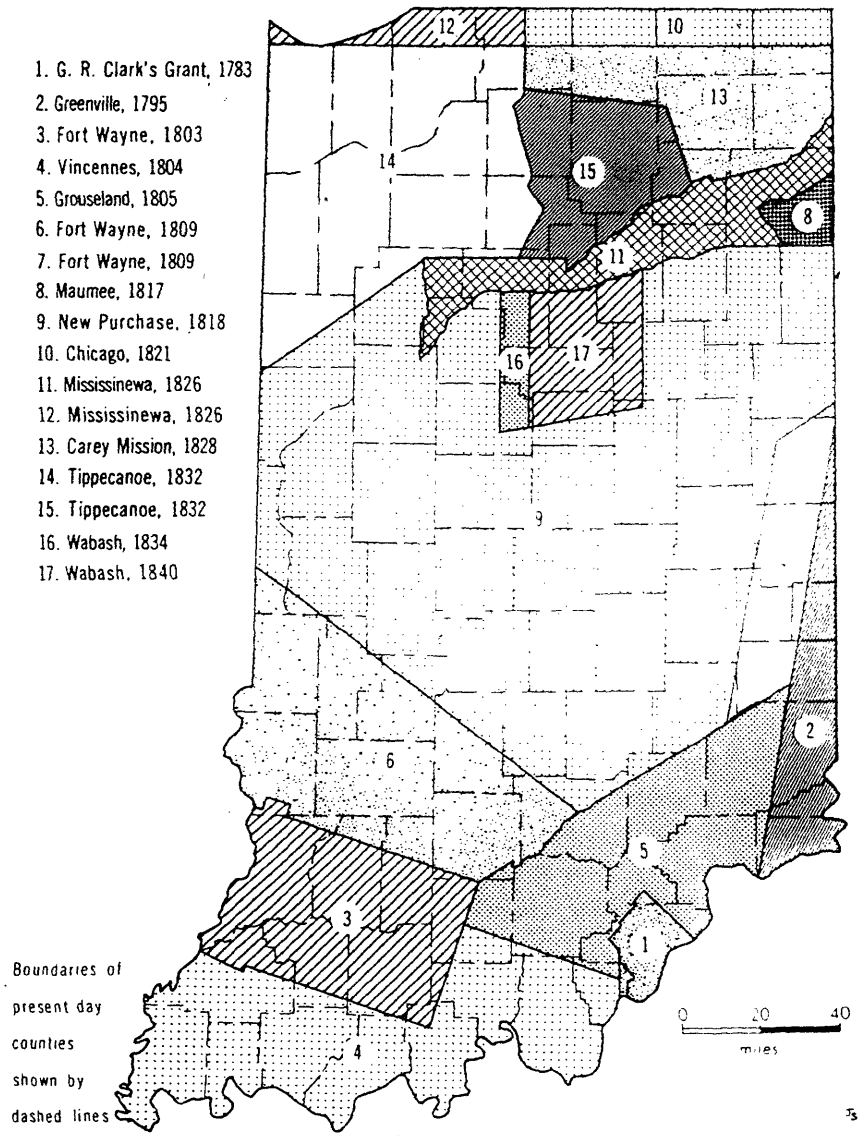
The Greene Ville cession of lands in the Old Northwest included all the area in the present state of Ohio south and east of the treaty line running from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. The Indian Lands in Ohio were further reduced by seven other tracts: (1) at Fort Loramie (present Fort Loramie); (2) near Girty's town (present St. Marys); (3) at the head of navigable water of the Auglaize River (about 9 miles northwest of present Wapakoneta); (4) at Fort Defiance (present Defiance); (5) at the British Fort Miamis (present Maumee); (6) at the mouth of the Maumee River (present Toledo); and (7) at the lower rapids of the Sandusky River (present Fremont).

Source: Dwight L. Smith, *Wayne's Peace with the Indians of the Old Northwest, 1795,* Fort Wayne, Indiana: Fort Wayne Public Library, 1955. This pamphlet is based on a thesis from Indiana University.

from: Dwight and Ann Ericcson, eds., The Forks of the Wabash. [Huntington, Ind.]: Historic Forks of the Wabash, Inc., [1990], 128-29.

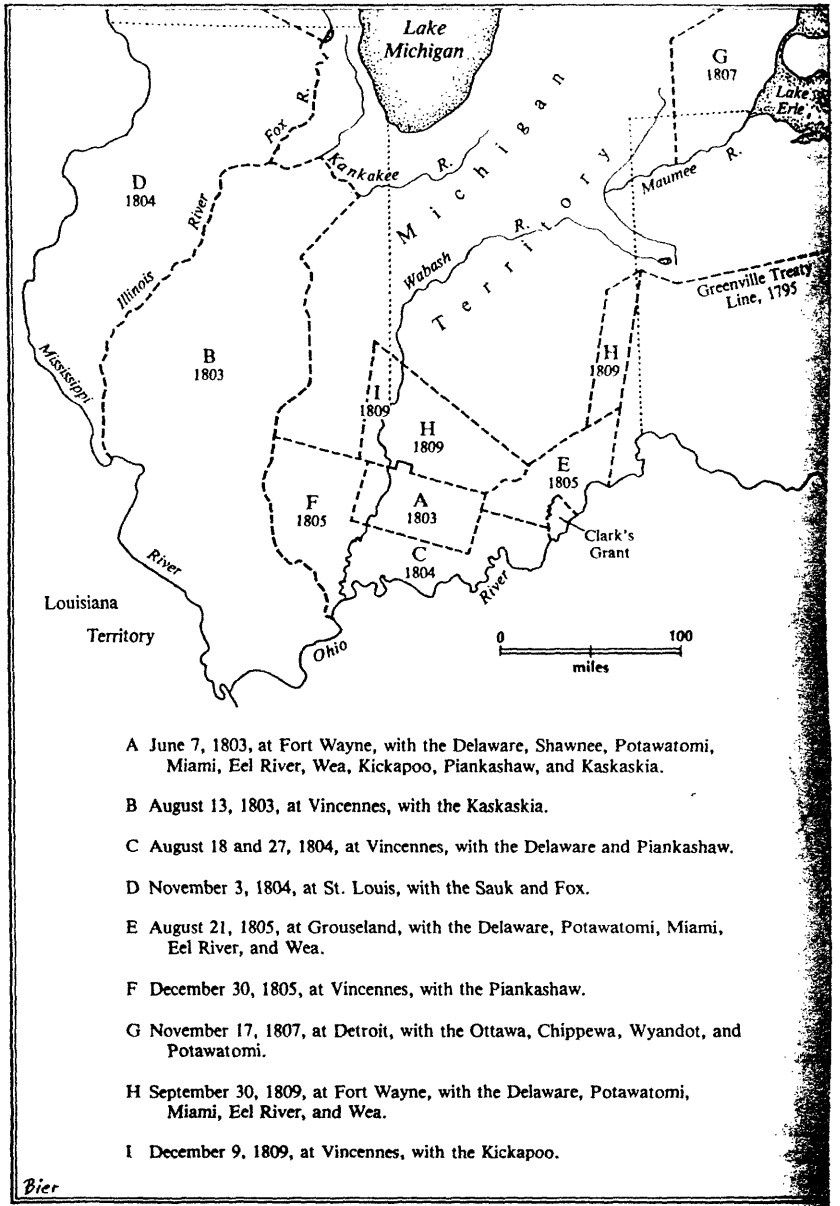
Indian Treaties

Attachment G



SOURCE: Robert C. Kingsbury, *An Atlas of Indiana* (Bloomington, 1970), 7

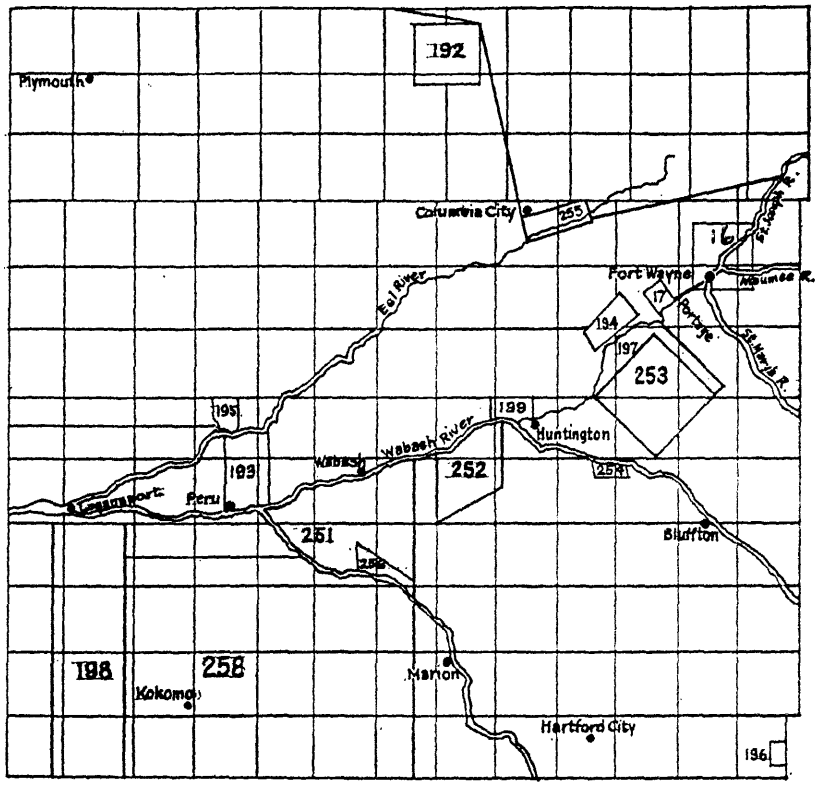
From: James H. Madison, The Indiana Way. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986, 39.



Map 8. *American Treaties of Land Acquisition, 1803–9.* All but one of the treaties was concluded by William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory. The exception was a treaty concluded by William Hull, governor of the Michigan Territory.

From: Harvey Lewis Carter, The Life and Times of Little Turtle. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987, ff 222.

Attachment H



MIAMI INDIAN RESERVATIONS

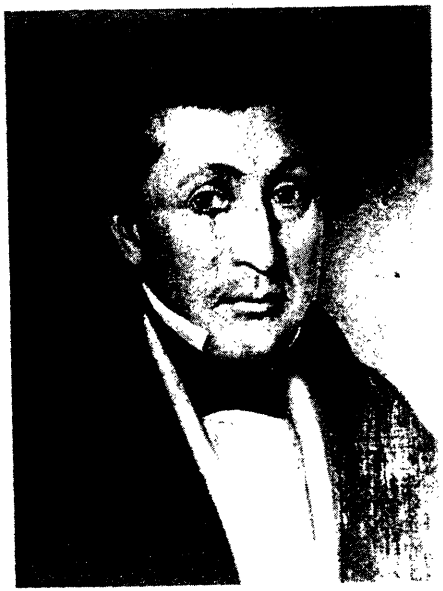
Key to Map

R—Reserved C—Ceded

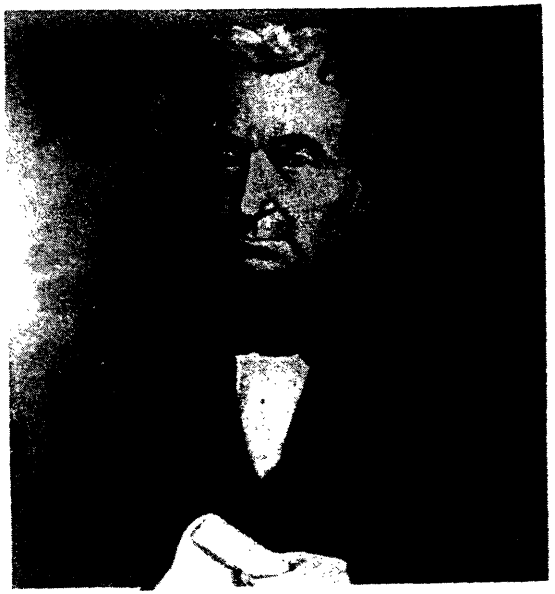
16-17 C Aug. 3, 1795
192-95 R to Miami, Oct. 23, 1826; C Oct. 23, 1834
196-98 R to Miami, Oct. 6, 1818; C Oct. 23, 1834
199 R to Miami, Oct. 23, 1826; patented to Richardville, Oct. 23, 1834
251-54 R to Miami, Oct. 6, 1818; C Nov. 6, 1838
255 R to Miami, Oct. 23, 1826; C Nov. 6, 1838
256 R to Miami, Nov. 6, 1838; patented to Meshingomesia, Nov. 28, 1840
258 R to Miami, Oct. 6, 1818; C Nov. 28, 1840

From: Charles R. Poinsatte, Fort Wayne During the Canal Era, 1828-1855. [Indianapolis]: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1969, 97.

Attachment I



5.a. Chief Richardville at about age 40, painting in the Fort Wayne-Allen County Historical Society collection, Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

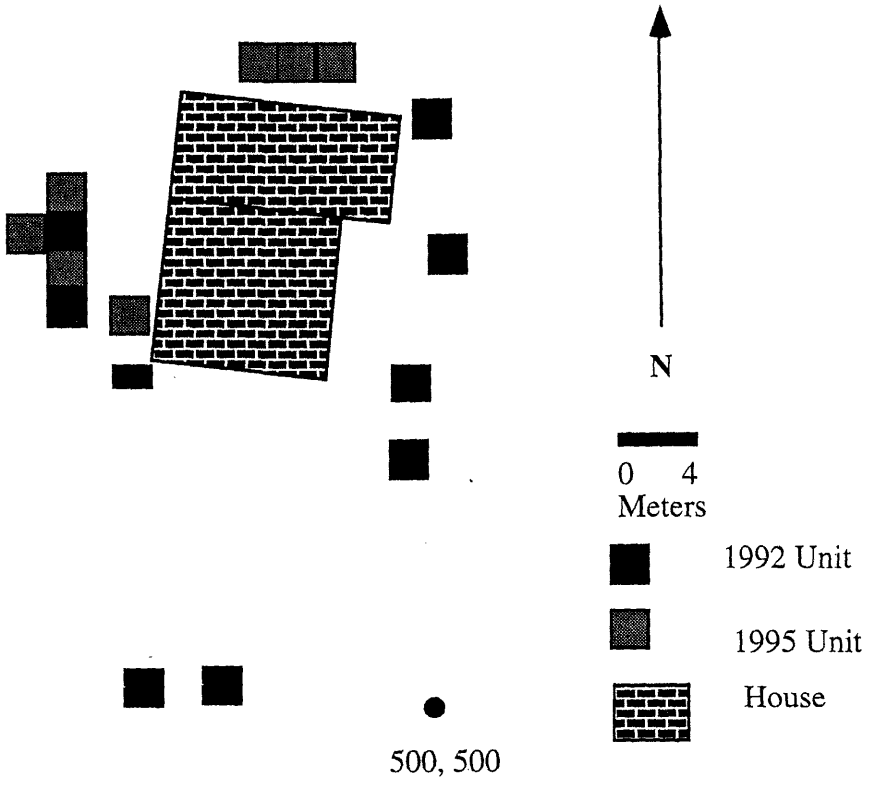


5.b. Chief Richardville at about age 80, painting in possession of Charlene Wirtner, Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

From: Dwight and Ann Ericcson, eds., The Forks of the Wabash. [Huntington, Ind.]: Historic Forks of the Wabash, Inc., [1990], 89.

From: Harvey Lewis Carter, The life and Times of little Turtle. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987, ff222.

Figure 19. *Jean Baptiste Richerville (Richardville).* J. O. Lewis painted this portrait of Richardville in 1827, along with the portraits of many other Miami chiefs. Half French, Richardville was Pacan's nephew and his successor as head chief of the Miami proper. Reproduced by permission of the Indiana Historical Society. Negative no. A129.



Attachment J

Location of 1992 and 1995 excavation units at the Richardville Site (12-Al-1887)

Attachment K

OFFICE OF:

Joseph B. Stoody Jr. and Associates

REGISTERED LAND SURVEYOR NO. S 0144 INDIANA

1042 ST. JOE BLVD.

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

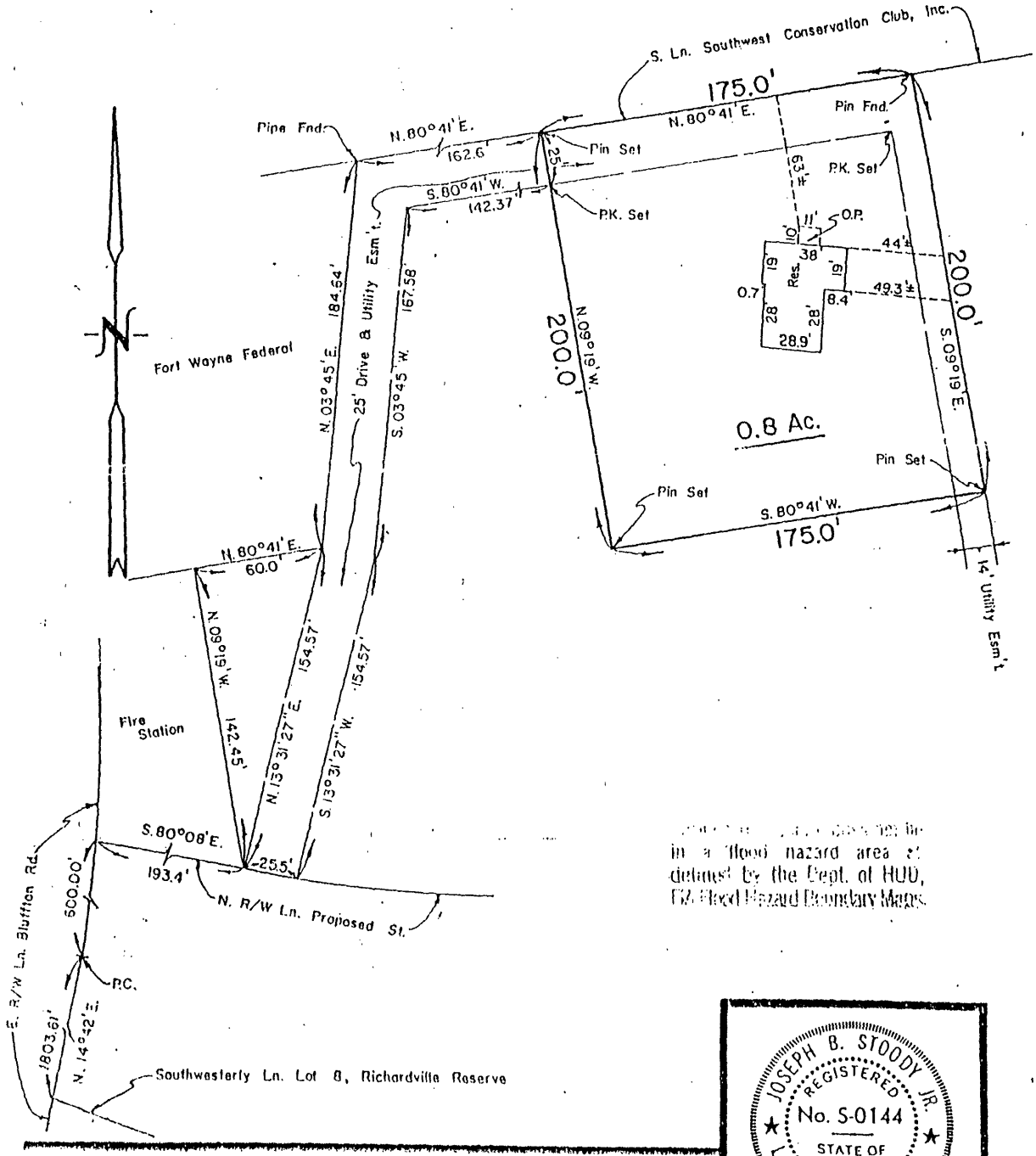
46809

424-6733

The undersigned Land Surveyor, registered under the Laws of Indiana, hereby certifies that he has made a resurvey of the real estate described and shown below.

Measurements were made and monuments set in conformity with the records on file in the office of the Recorder of ALLEN County, Indiana and to the best of my knowledge accurately shown. Any encroachments or discrepancies are shown below.

Legal description of real estate. . SEE ATTACHED SHEET:



[illegible] in a flood hazard area as defined by the Dept. of HUD, FIA Flood Hazard Boundary Maps.

JOSEPH B. STOODY JR. REGISTERED No. S-0144 STATE OF INDIANA LAND SURVEYOR

JOSEPH B. STOODY, JR.

FOR: WAYNE CENTER INC.

SCALE 1" = 60'

DATE 12-1-82

JOB NO. 6161

REVISED: 12-27-82
REVISED: 12-28-82
REVISED: 3-4-83