

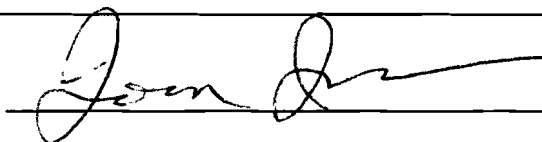
AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Rhonda Jean Hiebert for the Master of Arts

in American History presented on December 20, 1986

Title: "THE BAPTIST MISSION TO THE DELAWARE INDIANS"

Abstract approved:



The Baptist mission to the Delaware Indians of Kansas operated from 1832 to 1868. The mission was supervised by three missionaries during that time-- Charles Wilson, Ira Blanchard, and John G. Pratt. The stated purpose of the mission was to Christianize the Indians. The actual purpose of the mission was to assimilate the Delaware into the culture of the white man. Although the mission failed to Christianize the Indians because of the cultural constraints of the missionaries, it was successful in the objective of assimilation.

THE BAPTIST MISSION TO THE DELAWARE INDIANS

A Thesis

Presented to

the Division of Social Sciences

EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

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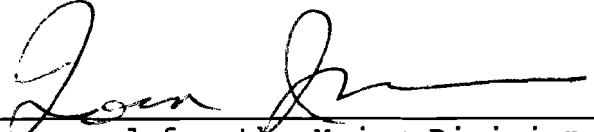
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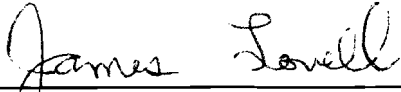
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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The growth of Protestant missionary activity among the American Indians resulted from the convergence of three factors. The first was the inspiration provided by the Second Great Awakening, which began in the 1790s to sweep across America and provide religious fervor for all unconverted persons. The movement merged Old World pietism with an American concern for the future. It provided comfort and assurance in a spiritual message, and it encouraged visible and sudden evidences of God's grace. J. M. Bumstead, author of the historical work, The Great Awakening, said, "The pietists, especially the Baptists and later the Methodists, were particularly successful in the backwater regions, where clergymen were in short supply, because they cared little about formal requirements such as education or ordination for their missionaries and were willing to take religion to the people in a manner popularly acceptable and comprehensible. Thus revivalism became a permanent condition of the expansion of the American settlement."¹

The second factor, added after the War of 1812, was the idea of Manifest Destiny. Manifest Destiny meant a free, confederated, self-governed republic on a continental scale. It included the themes of idealism,

self-denial, and divine favor for national aspirations. Frederick Merk, historian, said, "Its postulates were that Anglo-Saxons are endowed as a race with innate superiority, that Protestant Christianity holds the keys to Heaven, that only republican forms of political organizations are free, that the future--even the predestined future--can be hurried along by human hands, and that the means of hurrying it, if the end be good, need not be inquired into too closely."² A spirit of nationalism transformed the conceived scope of missionary operations. The idea of outreach during the nineteenth century was a string of denominational stations stretching from coast to coast.³

The third factor which led to the growth of missionary activity was described by Arthur Ekirch, professor at Columbia, as the emergence of an age in which education was considered the "universal utopia."⁴ Common-school reformers, from about 1815-1860, advocated utilitarian education, wherein property and productive industry were considered important elements, as the means most appropriate to achieve American progress. In a democratic, progressive nation an educated populace was considered to be of vital importance. That an educated populace meant a better society became accepted as almost a national truism. Education was more than an individual matter; it was the hope of society and future generations.⁵ When

these three forces came together, missionary work took on new vitality.

Proposals to better the conditions of the Indians all gave evidence of what civilization meant to the white man. Such proposals rested on what was called the Stages of Society Theory. This theory held that savagery, barbarism, and civilization followed one another inevitably. The perceived weaknesses in the Indian lifestyle, which was a state of savagery or at best barbarism, were due to environment. Therefore, if the Indian environment could be changed, the Indians would be transformed. The Indians could pass through the stages of society more rapidly than the whites had by the result of this change in their environment. Francis Paul Prucha, Indian historian, wrote that to Americans at that time civilization meant "as a minimum to lead persons who lived a natural life in the wilderness, relying upon hunting and gathering, to a state of society dependent upon agriculture and domestic acts (spinning and weaving); to this was added instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the truths of the Christian religion."⁶ A contributor to the Baptist Missionary Magazine wrote, "We contend that a true Civilization cannot exist apart from Christianity."⁷

It was to achieve these effects that the Civilization Fund was signed into law on March 3, 1819.

It appropriated \$10,000 annually for use at the president's discretion to further the education of the Indians by employing people to instruct them in the mode of agriculture best suited to their situation and to teach Indian children reading, writing, and arithmetic. The president and secretary of war decided to spend the fund through the benevolent societies already established among the Indians or through those that would be established in the future.⁸ These events led to the promotion of schools as the agencies needed to convert the Indians from what was considered a barbarous, immoral, and pagan state to one that was civilized, moral, and Christian. The prevalent thought at that time was that the schooling would be most effective once the Indians were removed west of the Mississippi, where the benefits of schooling would be untarnished by contacts with whites.

Among the eastern Indian nations removed west and destined for this sort of schooling were the Delawares. The first white contact with the Delaware Indians had occurred in 1682. The seat of the Delaware government was at Shackamaxon, near present Germantown, Pennsylvania. There William Penn found them and made the first of many treaties with them.

The steady increase of the whites drove the Indians off the waters of the Delaware and settled them on the Susquehanna. Increased contact with the whites

made it impossible for the Delaware to remain along the Susquehanna, and they moved to the headwaters of the Allegheny. They slowly spread down the Allegheny River and commenced to settle on the White River in Indiana. At the invitation of the Spanish Government of Louisiana, they continued their westward migration, crossing the Mississippi. The main body of the Delawares converged on the James River, then called James Fork, a tributary of the White River in Missouri. The Delaware were unhappy in the Ozark land because of frequent flooding, lack of wild game, and the animosity of the Osage Indians.⁹

On September 24, 1829, a supplementary article to a previous treaty attempted to address the problem of the Delaware. By the terms of the supplementary article the Delaware forfeited their lands in Missouri and were given a reservation in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers.¹⁰ The article described the lands as "the country in the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, extending up the Kansas river to the Kansas line, and up the Missouri river to Camp Leavenworth, and thence by a line drawn westwardly, having a space ten miles wide north of the Kansas boundary line, for an outlet."¹¹ The government pledged to "guarantee to the said Delaware nation forever, the quiet and peaceable possession and undisturbed enjoyment of the same against the claims

and assaults of all and every other people
12
whatsoever."

In addition, the Delawares were to receive "forty horses, to be given to their poor and destitute people, and the use of six wagons and ox teams to assist the nation in removing their heavy articles to their permanent home; and to supply them with all necessary farming utensils and tools necessary for building houses, etc., and to supply them with provisions on their journey, and with one years provisions after they get to their permanent residence; and to have a grist saw mill erected for their use, within two years after their complete removal." 13 An additional permanent annuity of one thousand dollars was included, as was a provision to sell the thirty-six best sections of land "for the purpose of raising a fund to be applied under the direction of the President, to the support of schools for the Education of Delaware children." 14 The tribe began moving to the reservation almost immediately, and by 1832 the removal was for all practical purposes complete. 15

The Delaware of Kansas, however, were once again in a position to have contact with the whites forced upon them. The first Baptist mission work in what would be the state of Kansas was begun by Reverend Isaac McCoy, whose work among the Indians pre-dated their removal. McCoy was appointed a missionary during the

Triennial Baptist Convention in September, 1817. He began his work among the Potawatomi Indians at a station called Carey, near what is presently Niles, Michigan, that same year.

When the Government began to consider the removal of Indians to a territory west of the Mississippi, McCoy was appointed an agent of the United States to accompany the Indian scouts and allocate the territory of the tribes. McCoy was asked to do the surveying for two reasons. First, he had done surveying for other tribes and the federal government. Second, and more important, he supported the governmental stand on Indian removal. McCoy wrote in his journal dated June 4, 1823, "no band of Indians has ever thriven when crowded by white population."¹⁶ On August 6, 1830, McCoy set out with a surveying party of eighteen men, including two of his sons, to survey the lands for the Delaware tribe.¹⁷ He estimated it would take him approximately three months to complete the surveying project. He was allowed five dollars a day besides expenses to cover the costs of the project. In addition he was allowed to appoint an assistant surveyor, whose compensation was to be three dollars a day.¹⁸ After McCoy completed all the Indian surveying projects,¹⁹ his total for expenditures was \$5,897.67. He then remained among the Indians in the west.

In the year 1832 the Baptist missionary contingent

for the Indian country consisted of Reverend Isaac McCoy and his son-in-law Dr. Johnston Lykins, along with their families. As a result of McCoy's preoccupation with surveying Indian lands and traveling to various Indian tribes, he was frequently too occupied to worry about the day-to-day operations of running a mission. Dr. Lykins was absorbed in the erection of new buildings at the Shawnee mission. As a result, the arrival at the Shawnee mission of the the newest missionary appointed by the Baptist Board of Missions--Reverend Charles E. Wilson from Philadelphia--was characterized by a great deal of uncertainty as to where exactly Reverend Wilson could best be employed.²⁰

This uncertainty led to the establishment of a new mission, the Baptist Mission to the Delaware, without the prior support or approval of the Baptist Mission Board. It was a mission destined to be a spiritual failure. This was because the missionaries that were stationed at the Baptist mission to the Delaware Indians, beginning with Wilson, never were able to overcome their cultural mindset. Their belief was that educating and Christianizing the Indians would cause the Indians to become assimilated into the white man's world. They never contemplated that the Indians would learn to manipulate the white man by emulating expected behavior patterns. The underlying goal of the Baptist

mission was not Christianization. It was assimilation. In this unconscious aim the mission was a success. In its purported goal, Christianizing the savages, it was an abysmal failure.

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CHAPTER 2
ATTEMPTS TO CHRISTIANIZE

When Reverend Charles E. Wilson established the Baptist mission to the Delaware Indians, he did so more to escape his responsibilities as a preacher than to propagate the Gospel. Similarly, his successor, Ira D. Blanchard, did not labor at the mission as a means to Christianize the Indians. He devoted his time to retranslating materials for the Indians who could already read. He frequently suspended his missionary activities because of what could best be described as time-consuming, everyday tasks. The English-speaking school was well attended, while Blanchard described the religious meetings as being of little interest to the natives. It was during Blanchard's tenure that the Indians were beginning to understand the importance of the mission. It was to serve as the means of teaching them the way of the whites. Once this concept was comprehended, the school was never at a loss for interested scholars. To have the all-important school, it was necessary for the Indians to put up with the mission labors.

Isaac McCoy had expressed the interest of Baptists in establishing a mission among the Delaware in a letter to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, on April 10, 1832. McCoy asked to "present requests which were allowed to submit to the consideration of the Secretary War more than a year ago for permission to establish

schools among the Delaware." ²¹ The government was slow to decide, however, and so McCoy sent another letter in March, 1833. He requested that because the Delawares were "destitute of school privileges," the "favour of an early answer" was most desirable. He stated that an acquaintance had already been formed ²² with the Indians and they desired a school.

It was not until November, 1834, that permission came from the War Department to establish a school, and then the stipulation was the school could be established only if the Delaware gave their consent. Once the necessary consent had been obtained, it appeared to the newly-arrived missionary, Reverend Charles E. Wilson, that a Baptist mission to the Delaware Indians was exactly where he was supposed to ²³ be stationed.

That there had been some confusion as to exactly where Wilson should be placed was evident in the correspondence of Wilson and McCoy. In his first letter to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, Wilson said, "It is doubtful whether my missionary labors had better be confined to the Shawnee tribe of Indians or to some other one." ²⁴ McCoy stated, "We had inclined to the opinion that Mr. Wilson ought to commence a mission among the Osages, but about this time he ²⁵ located among the Delawares." That uncertainty explained how the Baptist mission to the Delaware

Indians was started without the prior knowledge or consent of McCoy, Lykins, or the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. In a letter dated September 27, 1832, Wilson simply told Dr. Lucius Bolles, Corresponding Secretary of the Baptist Board, "All things considered, it appeared best for me to locate among the Delawares; and on the 19th inst. I left brother McCoy's for the Delaware towns." ²⁶ He was boarding with the government-appointed blacksmith, he said, but his labors would be limited until he acquired a knowledge of the Delaware language. He thought that the Board, in addition to his missionary labors, should open a school among the Delawares as soon as possible. He wrote, "That schools are great helps in ameliorating the condition of the Indians, is a fact beyond doubt." ²⁷

It was in this letter that the uncertainty of Wilson's dedication to Christianizing the Indians was first intimated. Although he had commenced learning the language, and "purpose[d] applying [himself] as closely as practicable," he expected the Board to be aware of the difficulties attendant to the acquisition of the Indian tongue and to realize that his usefulness as a missionary would be limited until he learned to ²⁸ talk to the Delaware in their own language.

Wilson, in his next communication to the Missionary Board, provided another excuse for his

limited missionary labors. He wrote he was willing to be relocated among the Choctaw Indians. He believed it was doubtful that he should remain among the Delaware. He desired to learn the language of the tribe to which he was stationed, and since the Choctaw outnumbered the Delaware, his efforts would be more productive among the Choctaw.²⁹

By December 12, 1834, Reverend Wilson was informed he would be sent to the Choctaw Indian tribe. He wrote the Board that although they did not desire his immediate departure, little could be done for the Delaware anymore during the winter because of the lack of an interpreter. Therefore, he was leaving immediately to go to the Choctaw nation. A second reason for his immediate relocation, he added almost as an afterthought, was that this would result in his saving the expense of an express to convey some money.³⁰

After his relocation to the Choctaw nation, Wilson finally explained why he did not spend his time rigorously trying to Christianize the Delawares or the Choctaw. In a letter dated May 24, 1833, Wilson informed the Board that after becoming licensed to preach the gospel he became "fully convinced, that I was not a Christian: nor have I had any reason from that time till the present to question the truth of the conclusion to which I then came in reference to my

christian character."³¹ The reason Wilson gave for the belief that he could not be a Christian was he could not rid himself of the conviction that he should be baptized again, since his previous baptism had occurred before he "experienced religion."³² Although Wilson did not believe that baptism was a saving ordinance, he did not expect any person to get to Heaven who was unwilling to submit to something that was believed to be personal duty.

He explained that to remain in Philadelphia would have required him to "attend to the external duties of religion, which my station in the church required."³³ This, he said, he could not do "without incurring much guilt."³⁴ He continued, "To have wholly neglected them would have led to a development of my hypocrisy, to which I was so much averse."³⁵ His solution was to "go to some place, where I might omit many of the christian duties, without leading anyone to question my being a christian."³⁶ Wilson's lame excuse of needing to learn the language to be an effective missionary was shattered. The truth was he thought he would be less accountable to the larger Choctaw tribe. Wilson concluded, "With such feelings and views did I offer myself to the Baptist Board of Foreign Mission to receive an appointment as missionary."³⁷ Wilson left the Choctaw reservation in April, 1834, and on February 7, 1835, was officially relieved of his missionary duty

to the Indians and to the Baptist Board of Foreign
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Missions.

McCoy still was determined to establish a mission
to the Delaware and wrote, "We resolved, however, not
to abandon the Delawares but to afford them such
assistance as our opportunities would allow."³⁹

Between February 23 and 25, 1833, Lykins and Daniel
French spent three days among the Delaware with the
express purpose of instituting regular preaching and
40
establishing a school.

During this trip Lykins first met Ira Derestus
Blanchard, who was living among the Delaware.
Blanchard had had some contact with the Delaware
previous to their removal west. He desired to move
west with them and as early as 1831 sought Baptist
support to make the move. A letter of introduction
written to Dr. Bolles, Corresponding Secretary of the
Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, said Blanchard
desired to mingle with the Delaware Indians for the
41
purpose of instructing them.

For reasons unrecorded, Blanchard did not receive
the support of the Board. He did, however, move to the
Delaware lands in Kansas and reside among the Indians.
He studied the Delaware language, and though not a
member of the Baptist church until April 21, 1833, was
42
recommended by Lykins to be a teacher.

The mission was commenced in 1832 and was

connected administratively with the Shawnee mission. It was under the superintendence of Lykins, missionary to the Shawnee. On June 9, 1833, McCoy received notice from the Board that it had approved the erection of a school and meeting house. As a result Blanchard, McCoy, and Lykins built two small log dwellings, a school house, and some smaller buildings.

By 1834 the buildings were completed. It was then that Lykins made application to the government for the appointment of Ira Blanchard as a teacher. Blanchard had been teaching prior to this, however, as indicated in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1833. The report stated that Blanchard had fifteen pupils.⁴³

In February, 1834, Blanchard left the Delaware station to return to South Reading, Massachusetts, and marry Miss Mary Walton. The wedding took place on April 27. They returned to the mission on May 15.⁴⁴

Although the government had approved of a school as early as 1834, the Baptist Board delayed until 1835 to appoint Blanchard a teacher. Besides teaching Indians at his residence, Blanchard by this time taught in three other places on the reservation and gave lessons to a total of forty adults and children.⁴⁵

The Baptist Board thereupon appropriated five hundred dollars to provide the new buildings necessary for the permanent establishment of an English school. The first of these buildings was a dwelling house,

twenty feet by eighteen feet, one and one-half stories high. It was made of hewn walnut log walls, a stone chimney, a clapboard nailed roof, two glass windows, shutters, two doors, and plank floors. Its value was estimated at three hundred dollars. Another contract was provided for a one-room school, with a stone chimney, furnished similar to the dwelling house. It was valued at two hundred dollars. In addition one kitchen, sixteen feet square, was to be built of the same general description as the other buildings. It was valued at one hundred dollars. The garden and yard enclosures were worth twenty-five dollars.⁴⁶

The Delawares lived in similar houses. They were described as "hewn log cabins, tolerably furnished."⁴⁷ The Delaware kept horses, pigs, and oxen and they planted crops and garden vegetables.

The Delaware advanced in other areas as well, one of which was reading. By 1835 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported that the Shawnee press had printed 15,000 pages in the Delaware language. The 1836 report, however, was discouraging. It stated simply, "In consequence of the attention required in the erection of a school house, and other buildings, and the necessary absence of the teacher the former part of the year, and of sickness in the latter part, little has been done in the matter of instruction."⁴⁸ The school, which was expected to be opened shortly,

was to teach classes in English. The Board had appropriated funds of up to two hundred dollars so that Blanchard could afford to feed his scholars dinner.⁴⁹

The report for the year 1837 was more favorable. Although the school was supposed to open in September, because of opposition by some of the chiefs and the severity of the winter, opening day had to be delayed until December 26. The report showed that attendance averaged around seven.⁵⁰

Blanchard operated the school under a system of writing called the New System. The system of writing was based on a discovery by a Cherokee called Mr. George Guess. Guess, whose Indian name was Sequoyah, found that the Cherokee language could be written with about eighty syllabic characters.

Jotham Meeker, pioneer printer and missionary, altered the system somewhat to allow the characters to designate not syllables but certain positions of the organs of speech. Under the New System, spelling was rendered unnecessary. Every sound was indicated by a character, which in Indian languages numbered about eight or ten. The greater part of these were vowel sounds. The other characters indicated the position of the organs of speech, preceding or following these sounds, by which the beginning or ending of sounds was modified.⁵¹

By 1840 not more than twenty-three characters had

been found necessary in writing any Indian language. As soon as the Indian student had learned the use of the characters, reading was possible. McCoy wrote, "By placing the organs of speech, as indicated by the characters severally as they occur, and uttering a sound, as is in like manner denoted by a character, he necessarily expresses a word."⁵²

The Baptists took great pride in the New System. McCoy claimed, "Many instances have occurred, in which adult Indians ignorant of letters, have learned to read their own language upon this system, by merely occasionally falling in company with some of their people who had learned to read, and receiving a little instruction from them."⁵³ Baptists used the New System to prepare passages of Scripture and religious tracts. They predicted the New System would obviate many of the obstacles of Indian reform.⁵⁴

The New System had its critics, however. Beneficial as the Baptists claimed the New System to be, Blanchard wrote that opposition came from the Methodist missionaries and blacksmiths and Presbyterian missionaries. The opposition was due to jealousy. Even given this opposition, he stated, "the cause has been and still is gaining ground and the number is slowly increasing that are prepared to read of the unsearchable riches of Christ and it must continue for it will finally commend itself."⁵⁵ The Methodists

later adopted the New System method, more from the necessity of gratifying the desire of the Indians than because they recognized the benefits of the system.⁵⁶

Additional help came to the school on January 1, 1836, when Miss Sylvia Case was appointed assistant teacher at a salary of fifty dollars per year. Case was a relative of Blanchard's from Ohio. She had promoted and labored for the mission and now wanted to be under the patronage of the Board.⁵⁷

Henry Skiggett, a Delaware Indian, was appointed to be a Native Assistant on June 26. Native Assistants were defined by the Baptist Missionary Board as "native preachers, translators, and school teachers, but none whose service was chiefly mechanical, such as printers or binders for the missions, or who are employed for private purposes by individuals."⁵⁸ The Baptists explained the importance of Native Assistants: "the history of the church, from the earliest times to the present, abundantly shows, that the divinely appointed agency for its perpetuation and enlargement, in whatever country it is once propagated, is the sanctified talents of the native population."⁵⁹ The missionaries were responsible for directing the Native Assistants and reviewing their services on a yearly basis to ensure that the assistants discharged their duties faithfully.⁶⁰

The Baptists soon claimed their first converts

among the Delaware: one was baptized on February 5, the other on March 7. Blanchard reported he had translated a Delaware hymnbook of twenty-four pages, a Bible summary, and the First Reading Book and had started work on a retranslation of Harmony of the Gospels, which was a compilation from the four gospels of all that they contained about Christ, expressed in scripture language. It was originally translated into Delaware by Reverend David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary. Blanchard was doing the retranslation to conform the work to the language idioms of the time. ⁶¹

Blanchard, because of his various duties, requested that the Board send another man to help. He reported that he had to hire a farm hand to help around the school because he could not find time to chop his own firewood. The Board refused this request. In May of 1837 Blanchard wrote that although the native teaching was prospering, the English school had to be suspended because of other duties. ⁶²

The reply of the Board to Blanchard's closing of the English school was a clear indication of what the primary purpose of the Baptist mission was to be. Bolles wrote to Blanchard, "Now, it is obvious, that scores of books in the Indian language would be of little or no use, till the people are taught to read. We therefore think that the school should not be given up, in favor of any other form of effort." ⁶³ Bolles

continued, "Besides, next to school-teaching, we wish you to employ yourself in instructing that native in the great matter of their eternal salvation."⁶⁴ This was at the expense of the Harmony of the Gospels. Blanchard's reply to this letter was dated September 23, 1837. He believed it was wrong to spend his time teaching a few Indians to read English while so many who could already read their own language wanted the Gospel. The English school only averaged six to seven students. The suspension of the school was only intended to be temporary. An effort had been made in June, after the Indians had finished their planting, to reopen the school. Because of continued opposition by some of the Chiefs only three to four children attended, and these had to be boarded. He concluded that there had never been another time when the English school could be reopened. He believed there was little prospect of improving the Indian's spiritual condition by using an English school.⁶⁵

Over the years, two schools of thought developed among the Delaware toward the school. First, there were the traditionalists, who would not accept the white man's lifestyle, and who fought to preserve the elements of the Indian way of life. They conducted family feasts and ceremonies, spoke the Delaware language, and tried to preserve tribal customs. Meanwhile they did not object to using the tools and

weapons of the whites, which they recognized as improvements of the Indian methods.

In contrast to these were the modernists, who sent their children to the mission school and attended the church. Many of them were bilingual, speaking both English and Delaware. They had succeeded in learning to read and write. The extreme modernists believed the welfare of the Delaware depended upon their adopting the customs of the white man. At the same time, they wanted to preserve their identity as Delaware. The forces of assimilation and Christianization struggled among the Delaware.⁶⁶ Assimilation was stronger, as shown in the religious report of Wilson that year. He stated that worship was held every Sunday at the school house. One Delaware man was baptized on August 27. Blanchard closed his report by stating the services declined in attendance because an unidentified Indian chief gave orders that no one was to attend the meetings.⁶⁷

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported in 1838 that the Delaware tribe numbered about 1050. Of this group, Blanchard reported that more than forty could read everything that was printed in their language, and half as many more were learning to read anything printed in the Delaware language. He was able to resume operation of the English school in October, 1837, when the chiefs who were in opposition the the

school left to fight the Seminoles. The number of scholars averaged only about six. The public services at the school were regularly attended. The congregation was described as small "but quite interesting."⁶⁸

Blanchard felt the religious prospects had become better, since one man had been baptized on August 27,⁶⁹ and one woman was asking for baptism.

The New System of teaching was not progressing as rapidly as in the past. Blanchard believed this was due partly to his time being taken up with other duties and partly to the fact that the young Indian men had gone to war. Blanchard wanted to correct false information supplied to the Baptists in the last annual report. He stated that there was no book titled Life of Christ printed in Delaware, but that there was a book of twenty-four pages. The first twelve contained the alphabet and all two- and three-syllable letters in the Delaware language. The remaining twelve pages consisted of easy reading lessons. A book of forty-eight pages contained a summary account of the creation, the fall of man, the flood, and the giving of the law; a translation of the Ten Commandments; a history of the Jews to the coming of Christ; and the story of his birth, death, and resurrection, and teachings. A third book contained twenty hymns, and the fourth was the Harmony of which eighty pages were completed. The book was expected to

be between two hundred and two hundred twenty-five
70
pages.

By April Blanchard was able to report ten students in the English school. He claimed that because the school was organized contrary to the influence of the chief, it could only be kept up if he were to receive a male assistant. He stated that because he had to attend to the school, it was at the expense of his missionary labors. By December of 1838 he was able to report one hundred twenty-eight pages of the Harmony in print and being circulated in pamphlet form. Thirty to forty more pages were ready for the press. The hymnbook had been extended to forty-eight pages
71
containing forty-four hymns.

The English school was suspended in June because of the ill health of Blanchard's family, but it resumed regular operation after that time. The number of scholars was listed as twelve. The New System method of teaching had been kept up, although the method was time-consuming, because it required that the teaching be done in the homes of the Indians. The school at the mission had been established as strictly an English-
72
speaking school.

The meetings were described as "tolerably well
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attended." Two women had been baptized, and Blanchard was considering holding one or more prayer meetings each week at suitable places on the

reservation. Religious services on the Sabbath were attended by anywhere from ten to one hundred people. Approximately twenty to thirty Indians knelt at the close of the services. Blanchard wrote that kneeling was ridiculed by native traditionalists; when an adult knelt in prayer "we think we are safe in the inference that he is at least beginning to feel that the frowns of God are more to be feared than the scoffs of men."⁷⁴ Three natives had been baptized since March.⁷⁵

Blanchard, although seemingly pleased by the irregular attendance at church, was quite distraught when the Board suggested the English school meet for only three or four months a year. He said that when Indian children were at home they were in the midst of ignorance and superstition and have no stimulus to abide by the benefits taught them at school. He continued that, "if we intend to benefit the Indians by an English school, it should be kept as constant as circumstances will possibly admit."⁷⁶

The year 1839 saw few advances in civilization for the Delaware. Two Delawares were baptized and nine joined the church. Blanchard was able to complete his Harmony of the Gospels. It was one hundred and twenty-five pages in length.⁷⁷

In 1840 Blanchard was able to make some major advances in civilizing the Indians, but not much progress in Christianizing them. He reported that

meetings were full, and that on one Sunday in January
"all could not find seats,"⁷⁸ until in June, when he
was ill and could not conduct his missionary activities
for a period of ten weeks. "Those promising⁷⁹
appearances soon faded away," he stated. The
scholars numbered sixteen, but the school was at a
standstill until new books could be printed.⁸⁰

There was no slavery among the Indians, but
Blanchard felt it was his duty to remain silent on the
topic. He hoped the Board would do nothing to require
them to take a stand in this matter. Blanchard himself⁸¹
was a staunch abolitionist.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report of 1840
showed just how far Blanchard had come in civilizing
the Delaware. The school consisted of fourteen
scholars, ten males and four females, between the ages
of seven and fourteen. Instruction was in English. They
had been instructed in reading, writing, and geography.
The boys were engaged in farm work when not in school,
and the girls did household chores. All were fed and
lodged at the expense of the Baptists. A barn,
including a stable, had been erected. It was thirty-
two feet by twenty-two feet, and had a plank floor.
Eighty dollars had been spent on improving original
buildings. Attention to religious matters was good.
Johnston, who had written the report, concluded, "I am
happy in expressing the opinion that the transition of

one nation from savage to civilized life was never more rapid than that of the tribes within your agency." ⁸²

The year 1841 was a tumultuous one for the Delaware mission. On January 1, 1841, the Delaware Indians, who had been attending the Shawnee church, expressed a desire to form their own church. The decision was delayed until the next meeting, when McCoy and Lykins would be present. The next meeting was in April. When Reverend Lykins was asked to write the letter of dismissal for the individuals who wanted to form their own church, he declined to do so and tendered his resignation as clerk. The church then elected John G. Pratt, missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, as clerk and Jotham Meeker as moderator. The following day the Delaware were constituted as a church. ⁸³

Blanchard stated that sentiment among the natives was that each station should be responsible for the church affairs connected with it. Prior to the organization of the Delaware Baptist Church, the Delaware affairs had to be settled at the quarterly meetings of the Shawnee or Ottawa churches.

Blanchard also stated that the church and covenant privileges accorded to the Delaware by these churches were casual and that the spiritual welfare of Delaware members was adversely affected. Blanchard hoped to secure more frequent visits from the missionaries

located at the other stations. He stated that missionary visits had doubled since the formation of the church.

Blanchard also took this opportunity to explain the unusual circumstances surrounding his licensing to preach, which had occurred on April 1, 1838. He stated the Indians had been told, when he had first come, that he was not a licensed preacher. Being licensed meant Blanchard was commended by the local church to preach the scriptures, but he was not a minister. The Indians believed because he was unlicensed, he was not allowed to preach among the whites, and this belief had diminished the numbers at church meetings. He explained this situation to Reverend Rollins, a fellow missionary, who brought the case up at the next church meeting. His license was then granted.⁸⁴

Jotham Meeker shed additional light on the church controversy. He stated the new church was in a prospering state. Since the previous April, four Stockbridge and six Delawares had been added, and another Delaware was ready for baptism. Their petition to the Shawnee church for dismissal from that church to start their own had been unanimously granted at a full meeting of the church body. The only reason presented for not allowing the new church to be formed was that McCoy was not present at the meeting.

Meeker concluded by saying he had known Blanchard

eight years and never believed Blanchard aspired after promotion. Blanchard was "more laboriously engaged in the service of the Board than any other missionary among the Indians."⁸⁵ Not only was Blanchard preaching at the new church, but also at seven other regular places, where he preached from five to seven sermons a week which required him to ride an average of sixty-four miles a week. He had also just recently started services among the Stockbridges.⁸⁶

McCoy, who was frequently charged with interfering in affairs that were out of his jurisdiction, opposed the formation of the new church. He reported Blanchard and two fellow missionaries, Francis Barker and Jotham Meeker, to the Board. The Board, based on what McCoy had said, wrote the missionaries that it would not be associated with the new church.⁸⁷

The Board wrote Blanchard that its "conviction is full and abiding that, to effect the most of which you are capable for Christ and his cause, you must not seek a situation more open and attractive to the public gaze than the one you occupy."⁸⁸

Meeker wrote to the Board and warned, "Knowing, as I do, the peculiarities of the Indians, I should much fear disastrous consequences from an attempt to induce them to return."⁸⁹ Meeker urged the Board to reconsider its stand and added, "I must hope that nothing will be done which will tend to introduce

confusion and discord among these disciples." ⁹⁰ He ended by referring the matter back to the Board with a prayer that the Lord give them wisdom.

Pratt, too, requested that the Board reconsider its stand that the church must be disorganized and its members reinstated in the parent church. He was afraid the members would identify themselves with the Methodists, whom he described as "eagle-eyed, watching ⁹¹ opportunities to invade our feeble ranks." He was worried the entire region would convert to the Methodists, he stated, "And no Baptist would even consent to vie with them in underhanded measures to accomplish their object." ⁹²

Finally, by July 6, 1843, word was sent that settled the church matter. On June 12, 1843, the Board met and decided to approve the division of the Shawnee church into two branches, provided it would be expedient in the judgment of the missionaries. The ordination of Pratt and Blanchard was referred to the ⁹³ missionaries also.

In 1841 the Baptist Foreign Missionary Board allowed an increase in the funds to the Delaware mission. This was at a time when funds were getting more difficult to raise. In January, 1841, the Baptist Missionary Magazine reported, "The missions are again sinking into the embarrassments which compelled the ⁹⁴ reduction of our operations a year ago." The

Baptists needed \$8,000 a month to meet current obligations. In December, 1840, the Board received only \$1,600. From 1826 to June of 1842 the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions expended \$131,888.56 for missions. Government support was listed at \$72,184.24. The excess of expenditures over federal aid was \$59,704.30. Of the amount received from the government, \$53,529.75 was received specifically for schools, while the expenditure for schools was \$73,197.49. This showed an excess in school expenditures of \$19,667.74.⁹⁵

The extra funds were at least partially justified by the March 15 report of Blanchard. Sixteen were reported added to the church body by baptism, one additional member was added by letter. This brought the total church membership to twenty-six. One member had been suspended, and one had died. Opposition by the chiefs remained strong, and Blanchard complained that "none attend our meetings but those that are decidedly pious or anxiously inquiring."⁹⁶ Blanchard said poor health had restricted him from preaching much outside the mission. The English school was still in operation, but the number had to be dropped from sixteen to six board scholars, for lack of funds.⁹⁷

By August Blanchard reported the conditions at the station were improving. The meetings were well attended. He added, however, that the entire Delaware

country was laboring under an influenza. In addition to the flu, the "fall fevers" were just getting started. The school was prospering. In his report to Major Cummins, United States Indian Agent, Blanchard explained that the English school was taught upon the plan of primary schools. Six hours a day were devoted to reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, and natural philosophy, with some attention given to drawing and vocal music. In addition to the day school, there was a Sunday school. One house, eighteen feet by twenty feet, one and one-half stories high, had been added to the mission. There were twenty-three pupils, twelve boys and eleven girls.

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The confusion resulting from the organization of the new church limited the amount of reporting that was done in the Baptist Missionary Magazine. The only statement relating to the Delaware station said that ten church members were added by Baptism, one member was excluded, and one had died. The church had thirty-four members, of whom thirty-one were natives. Preaching was done at five places in that station. Five hundred copies of the Delaware First Book were reprinted.

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The final report for the year ending December 31, 1843, was not promising. Blanchard reported the English school had been kept in operation with an average attendance of fourteen--eight boys and six girls.

little teaching had been done under the New System because of his other duties. Religious services were held regularly at three places and occasionally at three others. The new church had been severely tried because of the confusion the previous year. Four members were excluded, others were not yet reclaimed. Four were suspended, two had died, and three were added by baptism. The present number was twenty-eight. Blanchard stated, "I do not discover any particular change in the moral aspects of the nation."¹⁰⁰

The most influential occurrence for the Baptist mission to the Delaware while it was under Blanchard's direction happened in 1844. Blanchard wrote Peck, the corresponding Secretary of the Baptist Foreign Missions Society, that spring had started early, but after about three weeks of pleasant weather, the rains had commenced in March and continued until the first of June. One week of pleasant weather in June was followed by two more weeks of torrential downpour. The Kansas River rose twenty feet above the high water mark and carried away houses, farms, cattle, and horses. The mission grounds, three-fourth of a mile from the Kansas, were unharmed, but the Delaware village was all but destroyed. All their stock and planted crops were lost.¹⁰¹

Blanchard expected that the village would be abandoned and that the mission would have to be moved.

The land around the mission was hilly and broken, and he believed no settlement could be nearer than four or five miles from the mission. Meetings, held at only two places, were thinly attended. Church membership had decreased to twenty-eight.¹⁰²

The school was kept together with great difficulty. Blanchard was convinced that educating Indian children without co-existent parental training made it "almost futile to hope for any positive good as a result from intellectual culture."¹⁰³ As a result Blanchard endeavored to give the mission more the character of a private family than that of a public school. This meant that the students were boarded at the school. Work responsibility was divided according to the gender division of the white society. Blanchard did not change his opinion that a family-type school was better adapted to Indian wants than a common school.¹⁰⁴

There was a renewed interest in the school, and by January, 1845, it was reopened with nineteen boarding scholars. Ten to twelve applicants had to be refused.¹⁰⁵ When compared with twenty-eight church members it was obvious in which area the Baptists were most effective.

In another letter Blanchard wrote that because of the flood, the Indians were in a severe state of want. Fevers had again ravaged the tribe. The school house

and one room of Blanchard's house had to be opened to accommodate the sick. While his entire family was down sick, Blanchard had to hire a female assistant at the price of two dollars a day. Blanchard thought the high expense was justifiable because if the Baptist school were to close, the Methodists would take over. As a response to the plight of the mission the Board authorized two hundred dollars to help meet the expenses caused by the flood.¹⁰⁶

In January, 1845, Blanchard wrote to the Board that only five families remained by the old settlement, and these were expected to move before planting season. The nearest group of Indians were moved six miles away from the mission. Building a meeting house was their first priority.¹⁰⁷

Blanchard was not satisfied with the school. He received two hundred fifty dollars with the understanding he could sustain ten Delaware children. He had nineteen boarding scholars and five of his own children. In the past ten months he had refused ten to twelve applicants. He asked the Board, "Is it not desirable that our school shall be kept up with the advance of other things."¹⁰⁸ He closed his letter by saying he had been so busy with his multiple duties that he had little time for systematic evangelical labor. The congregation was small. Meetings were held in two places.¹⁰⁹

By June, 1845, Blanchard was able to report that the Delawares had commenced building the meeting house, and he asked the Board for one hundred fifty dollars to complete it. With twenty pupils, he expected completion of the house by September 1, 1846. The school was considered successful. Miss Abigail Walton, Blanchard's sister-in-law, arrived at the Delaware station to help with the teaching on June 8, 1845. Religious meetings were thinly attended, and church membership was listed at twenty-eight.¹¹⁰

By November Blanchard was seriously considering moving the mission to the new site of the meeting house for three reasons. First, the Indian settlement was permanently broken up around the mission. Second, people seemed to be particularly susceptible to sickness at the present site of the mission. He stated, "In our present location we cannot expect to do anything from the 1st Aug. to the middle of Nov. but take care of our sick family."¹¹¹ Third, Blanchard said that the travel time to visit the Indian families consumed more time than he was able to spend once he got there. Also, the stench from thousands of drowned buffalo was overwhelming.¹¹²

By August of 1846 the meeting house was far enough along that a protracted meeting was to be held in it from August 14 to August 17. On the latter date Blanchard baptized four Delawares--one man and three

women. Two other women presented themselves for baptism. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report stated that the Delaware improvements were "evidently attributable to the happy influence exercised over them by their missionaries with their schools."¹¹³

The meeting house was finally completed in December. It was a frame house, thirty-six feet by twenty-six feet, with twelve-foot posts. The body of the house was white, the roof red. The inside walls were ceiled and arched. The arch was plastered. The roof at the point of the arch was fifteen feet high. It was capable of seating three hundred people. The cost was about four hundred fifty dollars, and included one hundred sixty-one dollars contributed in labor by the Delawares. Blanchard contributed almost seventy-five dollars. The new pulpit cost twenty-eight¹¹⁴ dollars.

On April 7, 1847, the Baptist Board consented to moving the mission. Blanchard, however, was not allowed to complete the move. Sometime between January 7, 1848, and January 15, 1848, Blanchard was dismissed by the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. The Baptist Missionary Magazine stated simply, "The late occupants of Delaware station having been dismissed on account of immoralities of two of its members, it has been put in charge of Mr. Pratt, who has been authorized to remove¹¹⁵ from Stockbridge for this purpose." Blanchard and

his family, Sylvia Case Tolles and her husband, and various family members moved to the Council Bluffs area. They intended to establish "a new religion."¹¹⁶

The first phase of the Baptist Mission to the Delaware Indians had drawn to an ignominious end.

39. McCoy, History of the Baptist Indian Missions, p. 456.

40. Ibid.

41. Letter, L. Slater to Lucius Bolles, April 2, 1831, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

42. Letter, Johnston Lykins and Robert Simerwell to Lucius Bolles, April 25, 1831, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union; Personal paper of Ira D. Blanchard, December 20, 1842, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union; McCoy, History of the Baptist Indian Missions, p. 456.

43. Baptist Missionary Magazine, 14 (June 1834): p. 231; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Reports, 1833, p.193; Letter, McCoy to Bolles, June 9, 1833, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

44. Personal paper of Ira Blanchard, December 20, 1842, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union; Letter, Meeker to Bolles, February 10, 1835, Jotham Meeker Papers, (Microfilm Edition).

45. Solomon Peck, History of American Missions to the Heathen from Their Commencement to the Present Time (Worcester: Spooner and Howland, 1840), pp. 354-620.

46. Baptist Missionary Magazine, 15 (June 1835): 224; "The Value from a Knowl'ge of Local History," Kansas City Sun, 18 June 1915, found in Wyandotte County Clippings, Volume 5, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka Kansas; W. A. Seward Sharp, History of the Kansas Baptists (Kansas City: Kansas City Seminary Press, 1940); Report, McCoy to Cummings, September 10, 1835, John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm Edition), Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

47. Peck, History of American Missions, pp. 354-620.

48. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports, 1835, p. 285; Baptist Missionary Magazine, 16 (June 1836): p. 129.

49. Letter, Bolles to Blanchard, June 1836, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

50. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, January 26,

1837, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

51. James Horan, The McKenney-Hall Portrait Gallery of American Indians (New York: Crown Publishers, 1972), p. 264-266; Isaac McCoy, Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missions within the Indian Territory for the Year Ending December 31, 1836. (Shawnee Territory: Shawnee Mission Press, 1837), p. 17.

52. McCoy, *Ibid.*, p. 17.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, January 26, 1837, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

56. McCoy, History of the Baptist Indian Missions, p. 456.

57. Letter, Bolles to Blanchard, September 15, 1836, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

58. Baptist Missionary Magazine 17 (June 1837): 125-126; Baptist Missionary Magazine 21 (June 1841): 168-169.

59. Baptist Missionary Magazine 21 (June 1841): 168-169.

60. *Ibid.*

61. Baptist Missionary Magazine 16 (June 1836): 129; Baptist Missionary Magazine 18 (June 1838): 139.

62. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, May 4, 1837, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

63. Letter, Bolles to Blanchard, August 2, 1837, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, September 23, 1837, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

66. Weslager, The Delaware Indians, p. 419-420.
67. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, September 23, 1837, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.
68. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1838, p. 505; Baptist Missionary Magazine 18 (June 1838): 139.
69. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, May 4, 1837; Letter Blanchard to Bolles, September 23, 1837, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.
70. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, January 1, 1838, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.
71. Ibid., Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, April 16, 1838, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.
72. Baptist Missionary Magazine 19 (June 1839): 126; Letter, unsigned, September 10, 1835, John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm Edition).
73. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, December 14, 1838, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.
74. Baptist Missionary Magazine 19 (June 1839): 126.
75. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, December 31, 1838, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.
76. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, December 14, 1838, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.
77. Baptist Missionary Magazine 20 (June 1840): 127; Peck, History of American Mission to the Heathen, pp. 354-620.
78. Baptist Missionary Magazine 20 (June 1840): 127.
79. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, June 27, 1840, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.
80. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, January 5,

1840; Letter Blanchard to Bolles, June 27, 1840, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

81. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, June 27, 1840, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

82. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1840, p. 374.

83. Letter, Pratt to Bolles, December 3, 1841, John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm edition).

84. Personal paper of Ira Blanchard, December 20, 1842; Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, December 15, 1841, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

85. Undated letter to unknown person [Bolles], Jotham Meeker Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, (Microfilm Edition).

86. Ibid.

87. Letter, Jotham Meeker to S.W. Lynd and H. Miller, September 26, 1842, Jotham Meeker Papers, (Microfilm Edition).

88. Letter, Bolles to Blanchard, November 8, 1841, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

89. Undated letter to unknown person [Bolles], Jotham Meeker Papers, (Microfilm Edition).

90. Ibid.

91. Letter, Pratt to Bolles, December 3, 1841, John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm edition).

92. Ibid.

93. Letter, Francis Barker to Jotham Meeker, August 1843, Jotham Meeker Papers, (Microfilm edition).

94. Letter, Bolles to Blanchard, February 8, 1841; Letter, Bolles to Blanchard, July 24, 1841, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union; Baptist Missionary Magazine 21 (January 1841): 23.

95. Baptist Missionary Magazine 22 (June 1842): 148.

96. Letter, Blanchard to Bolles, March 15, 1841, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

97. Ibid.

98. Letter, Blanchard to Peck, August 15, 1843, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union; Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1843, pp. 314-315.

99. Baptist Missionary Magazine 22 (June 1842): 161; Baptist Missionary Magazine 23 (June 1843): 139.

100. Baptist Missionary Magazine, 24 (July 1844): 181-182; Letter, Blanchard to Peck, February 12, 1844, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

101. Letter, Blanchard to Peck, June 30, 1844, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

102. Letter, Blanchard to Peck, June 30, 1844, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union; Baptist Missionary Magazine 25 (July 1845): 162-163.

103. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844, pp. 54-55.

104. Ibid., 1847, p. 205.

105. Baptist Missionary Magazine 25 (July 1845): 162-163.

106. Letter, Blanchard to Peck, November 26, 1844; Letter, Peck to Blanchard, January 3, 1845, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

107. Letter, Blanchard to Peck, January 28, 1845, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. Letter, Blanchard to Peck, June 10, 1845; Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Letter, A.J. Paddock (granddaughter of Blanchard) to William E. Connelley, May 28, 1930,

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111. Letter, Blanchard to Peck, November 6, 1845;
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Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary
Union.

112. Papers of William E. Connelley, "The
Historical Background of Wyandotte County," Kansas
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113. Letter, Blanchard to Peck, August 28, 1846,
Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary
Union; Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian
Affairs, 1846, p. 44.

114. Baptist Missionary Magazine 27 (July 1847):
259; Letter, Blanchard to Richard E. Eddy, February 8,
1847, Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary
Union.

115. Letter, Peck to Blanchard, April 7, 1847,
Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary
Union; Baptist Missionary Magazine 28 (July 1848): 281.

116. Letter, Pratt to Meeker, February 21, 1848;
Letter, Meeker to Peck, February 28, 1848, Jotham
Meeker Papers, (Microfilm Edition).

CHAPTER 3
EVIDENCE OF ASSIMILATION

During Reverend John G. Pratt's tenure at the Baptist mission to the Delaware, the Indians came to comprehend more completely what they had begun to recognize under Blanchard. During Pratt's superintendency the Indians realized the true value of the school as a means of learning to function successfully in the white man's world. The school increased significantly in number of scholars, while the mission was still regarded as a relatively unimportant appendage of the school and retained low membership.

Pratt's report implicitly acknowledged the significance of the separation of the assimilation function from the Christianization function. He reported in great detail how the students were becoming increasingly like white men. At the same time he furnished less detailed and frequently contradictory reports on the religious state of the Delawares. It was the recognition by the Indians of the assimilation purpose of the school that provided a correct frame of reference to interpret Pratt's seemingly contradictory reports. The reports showed the struggle between assimilation and Christianization. The actual purpose--assimilation--eventually triumphed.

John G. Pratt was assigned to the Delaware mission on March 7, 1848. Prior to this assignment to the

Delawares Pratt had been laboring among the Stockbridge Indians. Pratt was one of the best known of all the early missionaries to the Indians. He was born at Hingham, Massachusetts, on September 9, 1814, and graduated from Andover Seminary in 1836. On March 29, 1837, he married Olivia Evans. They arrived at the Shawnee mission on May 11, 1837. He was ordained a minister on November 19, 1843. Pratt remained at the Shawnee mission until 1844, when he took charge of the Stockbridge mission near Fort Leavenworth. The Stockbridge mission was abandoned in 1848, and in an effort to still the turmoil at the Delaware station, Pratt was sent to revive the Baptist mission at that station.
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The Board recognized that the revival of the mission would cost money. Pratt was allowed twenty dollars to defray the cost of removal, expected to complete the mission building at an expense not exceeding two hundred dollars, and allowed fifty dollars for stoves for the mission building. He was instructed to reopen the school with the number of students to be less than twenty-five. Finally, Miss Elizabeth S. Morse was to be transferred to the station to serve as a school teacher.
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Morse was originally sent to Indian territory in 1842 and assigned to the Cherokee by the American Baptist Missionary Union. She was then moved to the

Ottawas, until the Board determined that they were too dispersed to support a school. Moved again to the Delaware mission, she reached there when the buildings were not yet complete and the school had to be suspended for a time.¹¹⁹

The removal process and the completion of the mission building cost the Board \$511.74. Pratt himself moved the logs from the site of the old mission to the new site. He erected it in the same form as when it had stood by the river. Eventually this portion would serve as the middle section of the Pratt household.¹²⁰

The Board members wanted Pratt to know exactly how they felt about the mission. Peck wrote that the Board was looking forward to the re-establishment of the mission, and that if the Board received full information of what was happening, he believed Pratt would "not find them backward to do all for the school that could reasonably be asked for."¹²¹

The Methodists took advantage of the trouble at the Baptist mission to offer the Delaware the opportunity to unite with their church. Pratt met with the Delaware, who decided to postpone joining the Methodist church until the Baptists decided whether the school should be reopened or not.¹²²

In 1847 the Baptists bought a frame, partially-completed house from a Mormon elder. When it was fixed, it became the mission house. The other

buildings on the mission site consisted of a dwelling house (thirty-six feet square with a kitchen), the usual outbuildings, and the school. The school was reorganized under the American Baptist Missionary Union and was reopened on the first Monday in July, 1848. It housed twenty-eight pupils.¹²³

When the school was reopened the pupils, with one exception, were not advanced beyond the first principles of an English education. Much attention was given to reading and spelling. Pratt and Morse felt gratified with the success they were able to achieve. By September they claimed that a desire among the Indians "to maintain a respectable standing" influenced their desire to learn.¹²⁴ Pratt and Morse saw no reason to doubt the ability of many of the Indians to pass on to higher learning.¹²⁵

Morse later was to reminisce about her experience as a teacher at the Delaware mission school in an interview with James H. Canfield. Morse stated that the Delaware Indians had the keenest intellects of all the Indian tribes with which she had been associated. They were also the most ambitious. They acquired the English language quickly and, Morse added, "of course acquiring all the bad words first."¹²⁶ The Indian boys attended school with a degree of regularity, but it was more difficult to keep the Delaware girls in school. A Delaware chief explained that this was because educated

girls no longer wanted to chop wood, plow, or hunt ponies. All they wanted to do was housework. Indian boys made good use of their education. They seemed to have considerable ambition to be clerks for the white man. The Delaware also made good farmers. Morse stated, "Their training showed itself, also, when they removed to the raw prairies of their new home. In an incredibly short time they had changed the aspect of the whole country."¹²⁷

The two "opposing elements" in the Delaware education were whiskey and degenerate whites. Futile attempts were made to keep whiskey away from the Indians. Whiskey reached the Delaware by one of three methods. It was shipped from the Missouri shore and hidden in bushes, or Indian traders would take it to the middle of the stream and the Indians would row out to get it. Indian agents also treated the chiefs to a drink to insure or hasten a good trade. The effect was demoralizing. One example Morse cited was when some military officers found barrels of whiskey and had it poured out on the ground. The Indians dug little wells for the liquor to settle in and "managed to secure¹²⁸ enough to make them uproariously drunk."

On August 12, 1848, the mission church was officially re-opened. It was during a three-day meeting that the Stockbridge church voted to disband and unite with the Delaware church. Only the names of

people known to be in good standing were enrolled. The number of Delaware church members was eight. Total church membership was twenty-six. Morse was added in 1849.¹²⁹

The church had a rigorous code of behavior and entrance requirements. Only baptized believers were allowed to join. The church had a right to exercise extensive and thorough supervision over its members, to investigate and judge their beliefs, conduct, and religious or moral characteristics. Church discipline was to reclaim the fallen, to maintain the purity, honor, and usefulness of the church, and to prevent sin in others. Consequently all members were expected to be at the church meetings that dealt with cases of discipline. Communion was the second Sunday of every alternate month. Services were to be held every Sunday. Couples wishing to get married had to do so publicly. Drinking intoxicating liquors was regarded as a sin. Once a month a special offering was taken to send the Gospel to nations that had not heard of Jesus. Finally, the church rules stated "no member shall tell to the world the business and doings of the Church."¹³⁰ For ensuring that the church members did all this,¹³¹ Pratt was allowed a salary for \$400 a year.

Pratt submitted a brief report for the year 1849. Cholera had broken out, and school had to be dismissed from July 7 to September 10, but nevertheless the

school was described as in a "very promising state."¹³²
Three had been added to the church by baptism. Church
membership was maintained at twenty-six.¹³³

The promising state was more fully described by Pratt in the 1850 report. He said some of the youth showed an "inclination to the serious study of scriptural truth."¹³⁴ These were regarded as having the potential of usefulness in the future. The religious attitude of the Delaware was less encouraging due to what Pratt vaguely referred to as "temporary and adventitious excitements."¹³⁵ Once the events that had distracted them subsided, a three-day meeting was held among the Delaware in August. Attendance was large, and many of the Indian leaders came. The meeting resulted in a contradictory report from Pratt. Although no exceptional results followed, the three-day event was viewed as hopeful. The mission was regarded with favor by the Delawares despite the fact that three members had seceded to the Methodist Church.¹³⁶

By 1851, the Baptist school, still the only school within the limits of the tribe, had twenty-five students, eight boys and seventeen girls. The children were required to do mental arithmetic, geography, elements of astronomy, reading, spelling, and singing. The girls, in addition, were taught plain and ornamental needlework. In Sunday school the students were required to memorize, recite, and demonstrate

understanding of scripture verses. They were described by Pratt as serious, prayerful, and very attentive to religious instruction. He regretted that due to lack of funds more Delaware children were not students. He believed that if the number of students could be increased, and these graduates could settle among the older tribal inhabitants, "the example of improved tastes and habits would, sooner or later, have an influence to elevate the mass, until all shall be happy partakers of the comforts of civilized life and domestic happiness."¹³⁷

The religious meetings had to be confined to sites close to the station and were held less frequently than in previous years. This was due in a large part to the government annuities paid to the Indians that enabled them to "gratify their appetite for intoxicating liquors without restraint," Pratt said.¹³⁸ Intemperance, coupled with increasing trading excursions, rendered the Indians unfavorable to religious instruction.¹³⁹

By 1852 the importance of schooling was evident to the natives, according to Pratt, who said there was no difficulty in obtaining scholars. He listed the classes with the number of pupils in each. The first class in geography had ten students, the second class in geography had five. The first class in arithmetic had four students, the second class had five, and the

third class had five. Elements of astronomy had fifteen students, composition had eleven, writing had eighteen, reading and spelling boasted twenty-seven,¹⁴⁰ and alphabet had one.

Preaching was done regularly on the Sabbath. Ten new members, the majority of whom were students at the school, were added to the church. Four previous members of the church were restored to fellowship, and three members died. The total number of church members¹⁴¹ was twenty-nine.

In 1853 visual aids were added to the school supplies. These were a terrestrial globe; an orrery (a mechanical apparatus which illustrated with balls of various sizes the relative motions and positions of the planets in the solar system); a microscope; maps of the world, United States, Asia Minor, and Palestine; and dissected maps and pointed plates representing the inhabitants, costumes, beasts, birds, and plants of various portions of the earth. Textbooks were the Bible, Emerson's Third Reader, McGuffey's First and Second Readers, Mitchell's Geography, Emerson's Arithmetic, Greenleafs Arithmetic, an illustrated primer, a tract primer, and a school manual. Classes were held in reading, spelling, writing, geography, and oral and written arithmetic.¹⁴²

Morse and Pratt noticed a major change in the Indians as a result of the school--not as a result of

the church. They stated, "There is a change, if in no other way, in the condition of the Delawares, that a class of young persons are growing up, and are beginning to exert an influence, who have more or less mental culture, and whose tastes and habits if not improved, are of a kind quite in contrast with those of the parents."¹⁴³ This was expected to be more prevalent as the opportunity of education was continued.¹⁴⁴

Preaching in 1853 was done on Sundays and Wednesdays. A three-day meeting was held in September "during which some professed to have met with a change of heart,"¹⁴⁵ Pratt reported. Two men had been baptized and two members of the church had died. The number of church members was twenty-nine.¹⁴⁶

In 1854 the Delawares proposed to increase the amount of funds appropriated to the mission from the school funds held for them by the United States. This would allow an enlargement of the school. But the basis of the school remained unchanged because not all of the conditions of the federal government had been met. Pratt was required to spend a great deal of time in negotiations between the Delaware and the government. The government had initiated attempts to try to convince the Delaware to sell their lands. Pratt, because of this commitment, limited the work he expended in missionary labors. The Board received no

yearly report on the state of the church, nor the religious interests of the people. Only the fact that the school had twenty-seven Delaware children and three Stockbridge children was reported.¹⁴⁷

By 1855 the congregation grew increasingly large for in the early part of the year, Pratt wrote, the station "was favored with the special influences of the Spirit."¹⁴⁸ The result was the conversion of several of the pupils and a few adults. Ten were baptized. The number of resident members was thirty. This number did not include members who resided among other tribes but still retained their Delaware church membership. The Indians were still striving to enlarge the school. The number of pupils was at thirty. Its influence was beginning to be felt by the traditional elements of the Indian nation. Pratt was given a raise to five hundred dollars. Morse was allowed two hundred and fifty. Four domestic assistants, hired to help with various duties around the mission, were paid one hundred and twenty-five dollars apiece. The native assistant was also paid a salary of one hundred and twenty-five dollars.¹⁴⁹

The expansion of the school was completed in 1856. It was still not considered sufficiently large to meet the educational needs of the Delaware. Miss Harriet H. Morse, previously stationed at the Siam mission, was appointed matron of the boarding school. Fifty

boarding pupils attended the school. The Board voted an appropriation of two hundred dollars for new furniture for the addition. The underlying purpose of the school was clearly stated by Pratt in the 1856 report. It said, "The school is the means of increasing the number of hearers on the Sabbath; the friends of the pupils come to inquire after their welfare, and are thus brought to listen to the gospel."¹⁵⁰

The mission church did not have an effective outreach. It added no new members. The Board finally approved the name "Delaware" for the mission.¹⁵¹

Around the Delaware mission in 1856 armed companies of men from both pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions were daily seen. The Delaware, however, observed a strict neutrality of character. Although the Delaware owned three or four Mexican slaves, they were generally allowed to marry Delaware women and were then almost entirely free. Indians who wandered onto the Delaware reservation and were not from the Delaware tribe served in the capacity of hired servants.¹⁵²

Neutrality in the slavery controversy was the official position of the Baptist Board, adopted in November of 1840. The Board stated, "During the whole of our proceedings since the first agitation of the subject of slavery, it has been our earnest endeavor, as

it was our avowed policy to mind exclusively the
missionary duties to which we have been called." ¹⁵³

The Board refused to to take sides in the slavery controversy and expected its missionaries to adopt the same stance.

By 1857 the civilizing ability of the Delaware school was evident. Pratt noted a general desire among the Delaware to educate their children. The Baptist school, although enlarged, was still regarded by him as insufficient to meet the educational wants of the tribe. The boarding school averaged an attendance of from fifty to fifty-five. Whenever a vacancy occurred, the chiefs were notified, because they had generally selected the children they wished to be placed in school. Most pupils were young. The older pupils had returned home. Six members were added to the church, ¹⁵⁴ three of whom were graduates of the school.

The mission school averaged a daily attendance of fifty-five in 1858. Pratt stated the school could be increased if an additional teacher could be obtained. The Board supported Pratt's desire to obtain additional help. The trouble, wrote the Board, was in finding a ¹⁵⁵ teacher who could sing.

1859 brought the the retirement of Harriet Morse and the addition of Miss Clara M. Gowing to the Baptist mission. Gowing was born on May 22, 1832. She received her education in Concord, Massachusetts.

Gowing engaged herself in mission work after hearing a sermon on the subject. In October, 1859, she accompanied Morse on a visit to the Baptist mission. Gowing was a prolific writer and recorded many aspects of Delaware life.¹⁵⁶

She described the mission as she found it on her arrival. The mission consisted of five houses and the stables. Pratt and his family occupied a large, "L" shaped house. The lower part of the house was a dining room. Over the dining room was a bedroom. Beyond the dining room was the kitchen. Another large, square house was the dormitory for the school. The long schoolhouse was divided by folding doors. All of these were frame buildings facing south. The small house that was formerly the school was used as a wash house. There was the usual smokehouse and a stable built of logs. The location was on rising ground on the border of timber land and rolling prairie. A quarter of a mile away, on a hill, was the chapel. It was also a frame building.¹⁵⁷

Morse detailed the typical school day at the mission. She was to be in charge of the boys and Gowing was to be in charge of the girls at the mission. Daily attention was given to "hunting buffaloes", the term used by the boys for the daily process of checking for lice in the students hair.¹⁵⁸

Indian children were brought to school by a family

member, sometimes in a wagon but most often on horseback. Indian children who were not tidy were given a bath, clean clothes, and a hair cut. An English name was given to the students who had none for two reasons. First, the aim was to have them leave behind Indian habits and ideas as much as possible. Second, Indian names were sometimes unpronounceable, or if they were Anglicized they did not always have the proper connotation. Common names were Rattlesnake and Big Bear. One father named his child Best-Quality Superfine after he read the words on a can of tobacco and decided he like the way the words sounded. The children were awakened at five in the morning. Breakfast was served at five thirty in the Pratt home. Students old enough to study Scripture had to recite a verse learned the previous day in school. Pratt then said a short prayer.

There was some time allowed for recreation before school started at eight thirty. Most students did not get beyond the basics in education. When girls entered their teens they were considered marriageable. By the time the boys were teens they preferred hunting and fishing to carrying water, splitting wood, and working in the fields of the mission. The girls were taught to sew and do bed room and dining room work.

Few of the children spoke English. To complete schoolwork an interpreter had to be used. Usually this

was a child from one of the Christian families. The girls were not ambitious to learn English. They said if they spoke it people would call them "old white folks." Average attendance was around fifty-five. The age span was from six to fifteen.¹⁵⁹

The girls got out of school on Wednesdays for sewing. No school was held on Saturdays but this was a time of general clean up. Sunday clothes were laid out in preparation of services the next day.

Sunday school instruction was from nine to eleven in the sitting room of the dorm. Lunch was then eaten. Following lunch the students went to chapel. Christian Indians came, followed frequently by dogs who walked behind them into the chapel. Pratt would give a simple sermon through an interpreter. The rest of the afternoon was spent in reading and singing. Church members numbered thirty-five.¹⁶⁰

Dinners were usually soup and warm corn bread. Supper consisted of white bread and molasses. Breakfast was white bread, warmed up soup, and coffee. Sunday morning they had cookies and a piece of apple pie. Sunday supper was warm biscuits and butter.

Gowing and Morse tried to avoid corporal punishment as much as possible. To keep the young students from annoying each other they would pin their aprons over their head, tie their hands behind them, or blindfold them. If a student did an excessive amount

of talking a chip was put between the teeth. Around the mission were tree stumps, two to three feet high, where boys who were fighting were sent to stand, "living statues adorning the grounds for awhile."¹⁶¹

It was through the courtesy of Thomas Sykes, Indian Agent, that the mission members were allowed to attend an Indian payment at Stranger Creek in 1860. Gowing said the payment was because of lands the Indians had sold to the government. The government was paying them yearly interest on the amount instead of one sum at the time of the sale. The payment process lasted almost a week. Youngest to oldest enrolled and received the same sum with the payment going to the head of the family in alphabetical order. The difference in dress style, which Gowing detailed, proved the forces of assimilation and traditionalism were still present.

Gowing described the Indian women as having a "pappoose hung on their back in a shawl, and a pipe smoking in their mouths."¹⁶² Some dressed like whites, while others retained the leggings and moccasins made of skin and trimmed with beads of all colors. A strip of broadcloth went straight around the hip and hung as low as the ankle. Over this were anywhere from one to three loose dresses of different colors and patterns. These were opened at the neck. Over this was a cap, trimmed with silver ornaments all around the edge and

fastened with a silver brooch. The brooch in some instances was as large as a tea plate. The coarse, black, greasy hair was gathered loosely in a bunch and confined with silver combs. The favorite article for the head was a silk handkerchief tied under the chin.

The wilder Indians would omit the dress and add a blanket over the shoulders to the broadcloth and leggings. Finger rings, often an inch and a half wide, and bracelets of silver and brass would be added.

Gowing described one of the wildest chiefs. "One was a most loathsome looking object," she recounted, "his gross greasy face was bloated and seemed full of corruption, his large nose was of deep red, but was decorated with a nose jewel of silver, formed like a lady's hooped earring, the size of a quarter of a dollar."¹⁶³ He was dressed in fringed leggings and moccasins with a strip of broadcloth fastened between his legs and fastened onto a leather belt. This left his thighs exposed, which Gowing described as the "color of bacon rind."¹⁶⁴ He wore a hunting shirt of bright calico with a broad sailor collar turned back and trimmed with a ruffle. Over his shoulder was his tobacco pouch. Instead of a hat he wore a dirty white shawl, tied around his head, with the long ends streaming down his back. He had a necklace of wampum, a disk knife in his belt, and a tomahawk. Gowing described this as "a small hatchet

with a pipe where the hammer part is usually found, the end of the handle is the mouthpiece. This one article serves the double purpose of scalping an enemy, or smoking the pipe of peace."¹⁶⁵

During the spring of 1860 Pratt's son, Lucius, married the daughter of Chief Charles Journeycake. Gowing described what the Indians called a "strong" or white marriage.¹⁶⁶ Typically, an Indian marriage consisted of the mother, grandmother, and aunt or some friend of the bride-elect taking her to the home of the groom and leaving her. No ceremony was required. A marriage to a white man was different. The bride verbally invited all the guests. No one in the bridal party was sure who the groom was supposed to be. The wedding was set for a Saturday afternoon at the mission house. The groom arrived late at the wedding, about six in the evening, because he was being sworn into the ranks of the Union army. The wedding was attended by a dozen or more whites, including one or two military officers, Indians in civilized dress, and Indians in the wilder dress of beads, leggings, and moccasins. The bride was dressed in white muslin, with white kid gloves, lace veil, and orange blossoms in her hair. Supper, "without which the marriage would scarce have been deemed strong" was roast turkey, chicken, tea, coffee, cake in pyramids, and cake in single loaves and slices.¹⁶⁷

The approach of the Civil War had an influence on the Delaware mission, Gowing recounted. Both sides were suspicious of Pratt. Southerners were suspicious because he was from the east; Northerners were suspicious because of his discreet reticence. Pratt took no part in politics. He never voted. Spies were sent to his meetings to try to gather information against him. Carpenters working at the mission had to sleep in the woods so they would not be surprised and captured. For a period of three weeks the mission members slept in their clothes. Clothing was packed. When a crisis appeared inevitable, the horses were kept harnessed to the wagons and at the gate for two days, ready for a rapid flight. Nothing ever happened,¹⁶⁸ however, to the mission or its members.

Gowing even recorded the Delaware belief about heaven. Heaven lies westward, the Indians said, and at death the spirit would fly west. It would come to a body of water full of logs. At a distance was an island that had to be reached by jumping from log to log. A wicked person's spirit would fall through the logs and be drowned. A good person's spirit would reach the island. There was a wall on the island with a gate at the entrance and a red stone with a hole in it. The hole held water. Each Indian would have to reach in and rub the stone. If the Indian had been faithful and painted while alive, the color would rub

off, and the Indian could enter heaven where there was plenty of game and water. If the Indian had not painted, the color would not rub off, and the soul would have to go to the white man's heaven. Naturally the Indian's spirit would not be allowed in, and it would be sent back to Indian heaven. The spirit would be condemned to wander back and forth between the two heavens forever.

The Delawares also had two beliefs about the origin of skin color. The first belief was that God made the black people. He was not satisfied so he made the Indians. He still was not satisfied so he made the whites. The second belief was that when Noah was drunk and his three sons went in to cover him up Shem turned partly around so he was turned dark. Ham turned and looked directly, so he was turned black. Japeth did not turn, so he stayed white. Blacks were made to do work because they had the strength. Indians had bows and arrows, so they were meant to have freedom. Whites were given books, so they had wisdom.

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In 1860 there was still just one regularly established school located on the Delaware reservation. The government paid seventy-five dollars per scholar per year. Average attendance was one hundred and ten. Although the younger Indians had some interest in religious instruction, Pratt was forced to conclude that "Religious interest has not been manifested by

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them, as a tribe, at any time." A woman named R.F. Williams was added as matron at a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars a year. Pratt's salary in 1860 was six hundred and fifty dollars. Gowing and Williams were employed at two hundred and fifty dollars. The four domestics still received a combined salary of five hundred dollars.¹⁷¹

On October 1, 1861, F. Johnson, who became Indian agent when Thomas Sykes entered the Confederate Army, drew up an agreement with Pratt. Pratt was to be paid one thousand dollars a year to be the physician of the Delaware tribe. The agreement was to last for four years but could be renounced by the Indian agent at any time.¹⁷² The school was well attended in 1861, with an average number of seventy-eight. The religious meetings were not as well attended, and the church could only claim thirty-one members. The agent reported that the Delawares were making adequate strides in the process of civilization. The Indian Agent termed the Delaware "Farmer Indians" as opposed to "Blanket Indians."¹⁷³ Farmer Indians were those trying to attain civilization and cultivating the soil. Blanket Indians regarded the Farmer Indians, Johnson explained, as "innovators upon their ancient customs, wanting in manliness, a discredit to their race, and (to use a hackneyed expression) 'degenerate sons of noble sires'."¹⁷⁴ The agent reported that the

opposition to the Farmer Indians was so great that it required great moral courage, as well as the countenance and support of the government and its agents, to enable them to persevere.

The year 1862 found the number of scholars rising to eighty-two. Pratt was still complaining that the "greatest difficulty to good scholarship is found in the disposition of parents to withhold their children from school as soon as they reach an age to be of service at home." ¹⁷⁵ Pratt hoped to be less troubled in this area once the Indians saw the value of education and realized it would be the only way for them to survive in the white society that surrounded them.

By 1863 the Delawares were described by the Indian agent as ranking among the foremost of Indian tribes in wealth, intelligence, and civilized life. H. B. Branch, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, said, "It may justly be said of them that they have so far abandoned their ancient customs as to leave the question of their ultimate civilization no longer doubtful." Wigwams had completely disappeared, and the Delawares boasted one brick house, fifty-one frame houses, and two hundred ¹⁷⁶ fifty log houses.

Church services had been affected by the war. Some who attended church returned to their homes to find their premises robbed. Since the mission was in

an occupied military district, it was filled with groups of men following the army and plundering anything the army left behind. The school provided the church with the number necessary to have a respectable congregation of thirty members.¹⁷⁷

In 1864 Pratt was appointed United States agent for the Delawares at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars a year. Gowing resigned in February and returned to Massachusetts. Her position was temporarily filled by Miss M. C. Everhart of Leavenworth. The school reported irregular attendance due to the different planting, harvesting, sugar-making, hunting, and trapping seasons. Also, because of the war, the Sunday services were not attended by men, many of whom had left to fight the Civil War on the side of the Union. The Board stated that the Baptist mission could be successfully carried on without any further supervision of the Baptist Missionary Union. It was considered desirable that the Union close the connection with Baptist mission to the Delaware Indians as soon as the move could be judged "judicious."¹⁷⁸

Scholars numbered ninety-five in 1865. The ages ranged from five to eighteen, only nine being over fourteen. The majority were between seven and twelve. Eclectic school charts were introduced. Six hours were devoted to study in the summer, five hours in the

winter. Wednesday and Saturday afternoons were occupied with domestic work such as housecleaning, sewing, and mending.

By July, 1865, Lucius Pratt, who had become Superintendent of the School when Pratt accepted the job of Indian agent, was unsure whether the school would continue. On September 7, 1865, Lucius Pratt died and the operation of the school fell to his wife, Nancy. Although the arrangement did not receive initial support from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the arrangement was eventually given official sanction.¹⁷⁹

The Delaware mission was transferred from the American Baptist Missionary Union to the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Pratt and Morse resigned from the Union and decided to continue their work independently of any Baptist affiliation. The decision was viewed with mutual satisfaction by both the Baptist Missionary Union and Pratt and Morse.¹⁸⁰

By 1866, with the end of the Civil War, the government could again divert attention to the Indian tribes. The Delaware quickly learned the ways of the whites. Although Pratt complained that the Delawares desired to "remove to a home more remote, where game is abundant, and a nearer approach can be made to long-cherished and still-preferred habits of life," he overlooked the civilization of the tribe that had

occurred. Many Delaware Indians rented their farms to Negro men for a share of the produce. This had enabled them to live with comparative ease. They had planted a sufficient supply of corn, potatoes, and garden vegetables to last for the winter, and only a few Indians had been to the buffalo range.

School was taught by Morse and Ellen W. Dickenson, of Quindaro, Kansas. Dickenson had taken over for Mary Farrand of Lansing, Michigan. There were one hundred one pupils in attendance. The ages ranged from four to eighteen. The oldest were not necessarily the most advanced. The older students were frequently less advanced than the younger because of the irregular attendance as a student grew older. The Indian students fully acknowledged how important schooling was to them. One student wrote, "We must know books, for white man know much, he cheats us much."

The textbooks for the school included Wilson's Readers, Cornell's Geography, and Stoddard's Arithmetic. It also had globes, an orrery, outline maps, geographical cards, school tablets, geometrical forms, and copybooks.

The nineteenth annual report of the Delaware school, 1867, said the students had made more progress in reading than had been noted in 1866. This was due to the better visual aids available at the school. Ray's Arithmetics replaced Stoddard's. Although more

advanced in reading, the scholars were judged less capable in exercises on the writing slates. The number of scholars was listed at eighty-one. Miss M. N. Robertson was a teacher during the winter term, replaced by E. W. Dickenson. Robert Clayborne and his wife also left the Delaware school, having been employed briefly for the period of October 15, 1866, to January 31, 1867.¹⁸⁵

The last day of the Baptist Mission school to the Delaware Indians was March 31, 1868. Because of land treaties, most of the Delawares had moved to lands in Oklahoma by this time. Twenty-six students had been instructed during the three-month period of 1868. There were thirteen males and thirteen females. They differed in ages from five to fourteen.¹⁸⁶ With the removal of the Delaware Indians, now known as Farmer Indians, the Baptist mission to the Delaware Indians ended.

NOTES

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139. Ibid.

140. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1852, p. 83

141. Ibid., Baptist Missionary Magazine 33 (July 1853): 315.

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143. Ibid.

144. Ibid.

145. Baptist Missionary Magazine 34 (July 1854): 326.

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148. Baptist Missionary Magazine 36 (July 1856): 311-312.

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150. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian

Affairs, 1856, pp. 119-120; Baptist Missionary Magazine 37 (July 1857): 278.

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152. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1856, pp. 119-120; Canfield, "A Relic and It's Story," The Kansas Review.

153. Baptist Missionary Magazine 20 (June 1840): 169-170.

154. Baptist Missionary Magazine 38 (July 1858): 217; Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1857, pp. 165-169.

155. Baptist Missionary Magazine 39 (July 1859): 274; Letter, Peck to Pratt, May 13, 1858, John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm Edition).

156. Baptist Missionary Magazine 40 (July 1860): 269-271.

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173. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861, pp. 15, 60.

174. Ibid., p. 15.

175. Ibid., 1862, p. 101.

176. Ibid., 1863, p. 29.

177. Baptist Missionary Magazine 44 (July 1864): 282-283.

178. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864, p. 358; Baptist Missionary Magazine 45 (July 1865): 269-270; Letter, Charles Mix, Acting Commissioner to Pratt, April 22, 1864; Letter, William Dole, Commissioner, to Pratt, October 12, 1864; John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm edition).

179. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865, pp. 366-369; Letter, Pratt to D. Cooley, July 19, 1865; Letter, Pratt to Cooley, December 8, 1865; J.J. Lawler (Clerk for Thomas Murphy), to Pratt, March 5, 1866, John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm

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180. Baptist Missionary Magazine 46 (July 1866): 315.
181. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866, p. 247.
182. Ibid.
183. Ibid., p. 252.
184. "Record of Pupils in Attendance at the Delaware School, Delaware Diminished Reserve, Kansas, for the Six Months ending December 31, 1866", John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm edition).
185. Annual Report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867, pp. 308-309; Letter, Mrs. N.M. Pratt to Robert Clayborne, February 1, 1867, John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm Edition).
186. Letter, Pratt to Murphy, undated, "List of Pupils in Attendance at the Delaware School, Delaware Diminished Reserve, Kansas, for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1868", John G. Pratt Papers, (Microfilm edition).

CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSION

The Baptist Mission to the Delaware Indians ended with the successful completion of its goal--the assimilation of the Delaware tribe to the white man's civilization. The mission was officially disbanded with the removal of the Delaware nation. The Delaware left Kansas, according to Clinton A. Weslager's book, The Delaware Indians, as a result of four treaties. The first, concluded on May 6, 1854, was a treaty that allowed the formation of white townsites within the Indian reservation. The Delaware, because they were not considered American citizens, were not allowed recourse to the courts to protect their lands, which were being inundated with whites. Open resistance to white settlers intruding on their lands would have prompted the formation of white vigilante groups. The only practical course for the Delaware was to demand of the government that the settlers pay for any lands occupied illegally. The Delaware, by the terms of the treaty of 1854, authorized the President to sell acreage from the reservation at public auction, except for a strip forty miles long and ten miles wide known as the Delaware diminished reserve.

In the treaties of May 30, 1860, and July 2, 1861, the Delaware asked that the lands of the diminished reserve be allotted in severalty to members of the nation. This meant eighty acres was allotted to each

man, woman, or child. Thereafter the land could not be sold to anyone except another Delaware Indian, the United States, or a railroad company, unless permission was first obtained from the Indian agent. Other provisions in the treaty provided for reserving three hundred twenty acres for the mill, schoolhouse, and store, three hundred twenty acres for the Council House, one hundred sixty acres for the Baptist Mission, one hundred sixty acres for the Agency House, forty acres for the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and forty acres for the Methodist Church North.

After these allocations there remained a large surplus of unallocated lands. Railroad companies determined the most practical route in Kansas territory was directly across these reserved lands. The newly organized Pawnee and Western Railroad agreed to pay the Delaware \$1.25 per acre for 223,000 acres. Eventually three other railroad companies laid track across the Delaware diminished reserve--the Eastern Division of the Union Pacific, the Missouri River Railroad, and the Rocky Mountain Railroad.

The fourth treaty was concluded at the Delaware Agency on July 4, 1866. The treaty stated the United States would sell to the Delaware Indians land in Oklahoma recently purchased from the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee Indians. The Delaware could select a tract that met with their

approval, equal in size to one hundred sixty acres for every man, woman, or child who moved from Kansas. The Delaware would pay the same amount for the land that the government had paid when it purchased the land from the resident Indian tribes. The government would reimburse the Delaware for lands sold to the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad for which the railroad had not yet paid the Delaware. The treaty also gave all adult Delaware the opportunity to dissolve relations with the tribe and become citizens of the United States. With the conclusion of this treaty the two million acres that constituted the reserved lands in Kansas were no longer owned by the Indians. The movement to Oklahoma began in December, 1867, and continued into the spring and summer of 1868.

The removal of the Indians brought the closing of the Baptist Mission. The mission had served its underlying purpose of assimilation. Wilson's correspondence proved that Christianizing the Indians was not his ultimate goal. Wilson did not even have the ultimate goal of assimilation. He was seeking a means of escaping the duties required of a licensed preacher. As a result the Baptist Mission to the Delaware Indians was not organized for the purpose of proclaiming the gospel to Native Americans. It was organized as a means of avoiding responsibility.

Neither was it Blanchard's primary goal to Christianize the Indians. He worked to assimilate the Indians to the white man's culture. Blanchard devoted his time to a retranslation and a printing of books in the Delaware language. Blanchard, though satisfied with irregular attendance at Sunday church services, became distraught over the possibility of closing the English school. He retrenched the teaching done under the New System. The strong emphasis Blanchard placed on teaching and not Christianizing was supported by the government, which supplied the major funding for the mission. The money for the school was obtained through the fund entitled the Civilization Fund. It was to be used for civilizing the Indians. The fund was channeled through the Baptist mission only because the mission was already established, not because the government's primary purpose to to aid in the Christianizing influence of the church. The English school received the best of Blanchard's labors at the expense of his missionary labors, even after he became the designated Baptist missionary to the Delaware tribe. With his emphasis on teaching, his major purpose was assimilation and not Christianization.

Pratt was the only missionary who could arguably have been described as interested in the Christian character of the Delaware. The reformation of the church and the use of Scriptural teachings in the

school showed that Pratt was concerned about the moral development of the Indians. These actions, however, pale in significance when a comparison is made between the number of students and the number of church members. Pratt was continually seeking money, not for the expansion of the church, but for the expansion of the school. In his reports to the government and the Board, Pratt referred continually to the increasing desire of Delawares to educate their children. This increasing desire did not produce larger church enrollments. The clearest indication of the level of Pratt's commitment to the Christianization of the Indians occurred in 1864, when he resigned his position as missionary. This position had allowed him power to Christianize. He accepted the position of United States Indian Agent, which allowed him to influence assimilation, at a higher level of pay. By taking that position he could influence the Indians in the area in which the Baptist mission was most successful-- assimilation.

The descriptions used to detail the Indians departure from Kansas also proved that the underlying goal of the Baptist Mission was assimilation. The newspaper accounts stated that there was not a "blanket Indian" in the tribe.¹⁸⁸ The "brave and warlike Delaware" wore the apparel of the white man and their hair wa cut short.¹⁸⁹ They lived the lives of quiet

farmers, tilling the soil and gathering the harvest. The medicine man was a thing of the past. One sentence was all that was provided to describe the religious character of the people: it stated that the Delaware "had become sincere believers in God and many of them sincere and devout Christians."¹⁹⁰ By the time the Delaware left Kansas the true reason for the Baptist Mission to the Delaware was known, if not acknowledged. It had been an instrument of assimilation.

The Baptist mission to the Delaware Indians was not unique in its goal of assimilation. Berkhofer, in his work Salvation and the Savage, states that although denominations held different views on the relative importance of Christianity and civilization, "neither side ever precluded either the spread of Christianity or civilization to the exclusion of the other."¹⁹¹

Prucha, in The Great Father, attributes the assimilation idea to government officials in addition to mission societies. He states, "It was quietly understood, by government officials as well as by church leaders, that the American civilization offered to the Indians was Christian civilization, that Christianity was a component of civilization and could not and should not be separated from it."¹⁹² The characterization of Christianity as a component recognizes its lesser, contributory status in relation to civilization.

The Baptist mission failed because the missionaries and the government could not separate civilization from Christianization. Berkhofer writes, "The criteria for judging the experiment's success were part of the basic value system of the culture in which the judges lived. Yet the very social assumptions that determined the goals hindered their realization, for these assumptions failed to correspond with the cultural reality of the contact situation." ¹⁹³ The Delaware, the missionaries believed, had to develop the same social institutions as the whites to sustain the Baptist religion. Yet the more time spent in civilizing the Indians, the less time there was for Christianizing. The evaluation of Indian achievements was always in comparison to white American culture. The cultural assumptions held by the missionaries, the mindset in which they operated, doomed the Baptist Mission to the Delaware Indians to end in failure.

187. Weslager, The Delaware Indians, pp. 399-439.
188. Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, Kansas Scrapbook Biography P Volume 3, containing article from the Kansas City Sun Kansas City Kansas, [April or May 1900].
189. Ibid., Kansas City Star, April 1900.
190. Ibid., Article in the Wyandotte Herald, 26 April 1900.
191. Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage, p. 6.
192. Prucha, The Great Father, p. 146.
193. Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage, p. 156.

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