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Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud. By William E. Unrau and H. Craig Miner.

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white men" and Seriland as "never trod by white man" until McGee's expedition of 1893-94. This statement, while presented in quotation marks, is repeated on p. 144 of the text, but at no point is its falseness made clear. For the record, the Seri were contacted and missionized as early as the 17th century by Spanish Jesuits, although many managed to evade outward signs of acculturation because their homeland lay outside the mainstream of colonization until the mid-19th century.

Aside from these few criticisms, *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* is a welcome addition to the ever-growing bibliography of Native American photographic documentation. The authors have brought a depth of knowledge to the subject resulting in a volume rich in accuracy and detail. Many of the images have never appeared before in print, and we are indebted to these scholars for making them available to a wider public. The book's appeal as a balanced and well-written introduction to the subject as well as a thoroughly researched reference tool makes this volume an essential addition to any scholar's library.

*Bill Cohen*  
Los Angeles

**Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud.** By William E. Unrau and H. Craig Miner. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985. xii + 212 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.95 Cloth.

There were nearly ten thousand Indians living in eastern Kansas in 1854 when President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act into law; by the 1870s only about one thousand remained. The Kickapoos, Potawatomis, Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares, Ottawas, Sacs, Foxes and others had all moved to the region from the East as part of Andrew Jackson's Indian removal policy. Although government officials had promised that Kansas would be theirs "as long as the grass grew or water run," by mid-century white settlement had reached the Missouri River and pressures mounted to move the emigrants again. In 1853 and 1854, Commissioner of Indian Affairs George Manypenny convinced most bands to relinquish at least part of their reservations.

Manypenny's goals were to open reservation lands to settlers and businessmen and to bestow upon Indians the "benefits" of American civilization. To achieve his aims, he sought to break up tribal cohesiveness and authority, give individual Indians title to their own farms, and to dispose "surplus" tribal lands through orderly sales to white citizens.

The result of this policy was anything but orderly. Following passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, settlers, railroad agents, land speculators, and others rushed to stake claims in the new Kansas Territory. Refusing to recognize that Indians had rights, whites fought over the best lands, helped themselves to timber, game, and other resources, and harassed Indians who tried to protect their homes and farms. As increasing numbers of whites invaded Kansas in the late 1850s, competition between settlers and businessmen for control of tribal lands intensified. Unscrupulous Washington bureaucrats, congressmen, entrepreneurs, army officers, federal agents, and even tribal "chiefs," formed loose coalitions called "Indian Rings" that connived to steal reservation lands. Preoccupied first with slavery and then the Civil War and Reconstruction, successive Washington administrations were unwilling or unable to protect the Indians from the forces arrayed against them.

William E. Unrau and H. Craig Miner, professors of history at Wichita State University, have already analyzed these events in *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871*, published in 1978. Their latest book, *Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud*, includes some previously overlooked actors in the massive swindle of Indian lands—the Christian missionaries. In this case study, Unrau and Miner demonstrate how members of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society conspired to cheat the Roche de Boeuf and Blanchard's Fork Ottawa bands out of their entire reservation. The Baptist scheme involved the building of a university for the Indians' "benefit" in exchange for legal title to tribal lands. Like other men and women of the cloth, the Baptists had come to Indian country professing Christian morality, intending to remake "savages" into "civilized" Christians. Firm believers in the American melting pot, honest men like Isaac McCoy were sure that acceptance of Christ's teachings would radically improve the Indians' way of life. But while the missionaries brought their Bi-

bles and good intentions to Kansas, many also recognized the value of the fertile Indian lands. Touring the region in 1860, nascent anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan noted that Methodist, Quaker, and Presbyterian groups had somehow acquired hundreds of valuable acres from their Indian wards. Morgan noticed that Indians resented the preachers' actions, and he found it "painful to hear and see so many and such constant evidences of mistrust in the Indian mind, of white people and their motives" (Lewis Henry Morgan, *The Indian Journals, 1859-62*, 1959: 102).

Unrau and Miner point out that although missionaries were generally dedicated and honest, some, like Baptist preacher Clinton C. Hutchinson, had less than honorable intentions. Hutchinson was an "ethical chameleon," Unrau and Miner write. "For him the present was never fixed—the real world was a place where advantage was to be grasped by those willing to shift position as opportunities presented themselves, regardless of human consequences" (p. 8). In 1861 Hutchinson was appointed agent to the Ottawas, and it was not long before he was conspiring with an equally unscrupulous Baptist named Tauy Jones, a man of Chippewa and white descent with considerable influence among the more acculturated Ottawa factions. In 1862 the two men persuaded the Ottawas to surrender 20,000 acres for a Baptist "university." The agreement also called for the allotment of lands to individual Indians, the sale of excess lands to whites, and the building of a new town.

The success of their scheme was assured with the arrival of Baptist minister Isaac S. Kalloch, whose fondness for women, whiskey, and money was legendary. Accused of drunkenness and adultery, Kalloch had left congregations in Boston and New York for easier pickings in Kansas. In 1864 he was elected president of the Ottawa University board of trustees; Hutchinson was named vice president. The two immediately formed a corporation that did a brisk business selling tribal lands. Along with their partner Tauy Jones, they had no intention of sharing the proceeds with the Indians; neither did they ever intend to educate Ottawa children.

Their plan was so blatantly dishonest that government investigations soon followed. In 1867 officials discovered that proceeds from land sales of over \$40,000 could not be accounted for, and

they accused Hutchinson of stealing the money. The result was a complicated and confusing chain of events that saw Hutchinson's dismissal from the University board, Tauy Jones' expulsion as a member of the Ottawa tribe, squabbling among various Baptist officials, inaction from government bureaucrats, and the dispossession and removal of the hapless Ottawas from Kansas by 1870. Using their political clout to its fullest advantage, the Baptists retained control of the University. But legal maneuverings on the matter simmered for nearly a century; on February 11, 1965 the Indian Claims Commission awarded the Ottawas of Oklahoma over \$400,000 compensation for the loss of their Kansas reservation. "Legal atonement, if not absolute restitution," Unrau and Miner write, "had finally been achieved" (p. 175).

Because it was carried out under the banners of Christian morality and education, the plunder of the Ottawas stands out among the most despicable examples of fraud ever undertaken against Indians. Unrau's and Miner's book is an excellent analysis of that very complex story. Their refusal to waver in passing moral judgment on the major perpetrators of the swindle makes their analysis even more compelling. "The Ottawa case encourages moral analysis," insist the authors. "The devices that were used in forwarding the establishment of Ottawa University were just those elements of culture most revered by the dominant white society at that time: education, religion (that is Christianity), and the law" (p. 8).

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**Indian Self-Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations From Roosevelt to Reagan.** By Kenneth R. Philp. Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986. 343 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$21.50 Cloth. \$12.50 Paper.

*Indian Self-Rule* is the edited proceedings of a major conference held in 1983 at the Institute of the American West that focused on the Indian Reorganization Act and its impact. Kenneth R. Philp has done a valuable service molding the transcript of this historic meeting into book form. The conference provided important personal and professional reactions by tribal leaders, govern-