

Sample Petition Narrative

The Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA) within the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Assistant Secretary) of the Department of the Interior (Department) implements Part 83 of Title 25 of the *Code of Federal Regulations*, “Procedures for Establishing that an American Indian Group Exists as an Indian Tribe.” The acknowledgment process is the Department’s administrative process by which petitioning groups that meet the criteria are “acknowledged” as Indian tribes and their members become eligible to receive services provided to members of federally recognized Indian tribes. The acknowledgment regulations are the result of a rulemaking process that included notice and extensive public comment.

Section 83.6 of the acknowledgment regulations, “General provisions for the documented petition,” allows a petitioner to submit a documented petition in any readable form that contains detailed, specific evidence in support of a request to the Assistant Secretary to acknowledge tribal existence. A petitioner must satisfy all seven of the criteria, described in sections 83.7(a) through 83.7(g), in order for the Assistant Secretary to acknowledge tribal existence. The documented petition must include thorough explanations and supporting documentation in response to all of the criteria.

Although the regulations do not explicitly require a petitioner to submit a narrative describing a group’s continuous existence as an Indian tribe, 83.6 states, “the documented petition must include thorough explanations and supporting documentation in response to all of the criteria.” It is, therefore, often beneficial for a petitioner to submit a narrative that provides these “thorough explanations.” The process of organizing a narrative helps a petitioner understand its history and whether its materials demonstrate that it is a continuously existing Indian tribe as required by the acknowledgment regulations.

The attached narrative, the “Petition for Federal Acknowledgment of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomis Indians of Michigan,” is an example of a narrative written by a member of a petitioning group, who volunteered for the project, along with the help of other group members. The petitioner, through this narrative and additional supporting documents, demonstrated that it met the mandatory criteria for Federal acknowledgment.

Petitioners are reminded that this narrative, its structure, and its methodologies proved successful for one particular petitioner in one part of the country. Other petitioners might find that other narrative structures and methodologies work better for their own particular circumstances. Each petitioner should collect materials that it believes can demonstrate that it is a continuously existing Indian tribe as required by the acknowledgment regulations.

This copy of the sample petition narrative has been redacted for privacy issues in accordance with the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy Act.



P E T I T I O N
F O R
F E D E R A L A C K N O W L E D G M E N T

of

THE

MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH BAND OF POTTAWATOMI
INDIANS OF MICHIGAN.

(also known as:

the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians; and, or,
the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi
Indians of Michigan, Inc.)

Submitted by:

Mr. William L. Church, Tribal Historian
and
Secretary of State

on behalf of

The Elder's Council of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band
of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan

May 16, 1994



Part I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The following documents, articles, letters, maps, diaries, autobiographies, and records, etc., including an historical narrative which we have carefully researched and written constitutes the Documented Petition for Federal Acknowledgment of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, which has been submitted for your review.

Our current corporate headquarters, and research and development center for the Tribe is located near the State Capitol of Michigan in nearby Grand Ledge, Michigan.

Our Federal Acknowledgment Project address is:

The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians,
5721 Grand River Drive,
Grand Ledge, Michigan. 48837

The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians also has a local Tribal Field Office which is located in the historic Bradley Indian Mission, which is still very active, on the Selkirk Reservation. Elder's Council meetings, training efforts, planning meetings as well as Elder's Council meetings are held at the Field Office, which is located at Bradley, Michigan.

Much of the scope, materials, and the examination of the subject area which we have undertaken to document our Tribe's past and present condition, i.e., the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, is a pioneer effort. The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians who refused to sign the 1833 Chicago Treaty, the only Pottawatomi group to do so, retreated to Allegan County and their presence there had long been discounted by historians and they were labeled as Grand River Ottawa Bands until a Supreme Court ruling in 1899.

We have endeavored to factually present our Pottawatomi historical record. It was the desire of Tribe from the outset to have members Tribe itself undertake the monumental task of piecing together it's history from the many rich and varied sources which are available to document the Tribe's presence, first during the Greenville Treaty days, and later situated at Kalamazoo, Michigan, where two reservations were provided for members of the Tribe before it's placement in Allegan County, Michigan, by the War Department in 1838.

Our purpose in attempting to unravel our own history was also an initiative which we trust will empower our People, and place the history of the Tribe, in as much detail as possible

internally within the minds and hearts of the members of the Tribe itself, instead of externally within the minds of institutional researchers who would in turn possess our historical records.

Three years of dedicated effort have allowed us to create this documented petition. Mr. William L. Church, a graduate of Western Michigan University, located at Kalamazoo, Michigan, who majored there in history, organized Indian community development on a state-wide basis for 15 years, and served Governor James J. Blanchard of Michigan as Liaison to all Michigan Indians, coordinated our research effort.

To aid the effort and to maximize the effectiveness of our Federal Acknowledgment Project, Mr. William L. Church was named by the Elder's Council, the Tribal Government of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band as Secretary of State for the Tribe. In a diplomatic role for the Tribe, Mr. Church serves as the sole contact for the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band in the area of External Affairs for the Tribe, and in particular is the contact person for Federal Acknowledgment concerns between the Tribe and the United States Government.

Mr. William L. Church, Spokesperson for the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi, may be reached at:

Mr. William L. Church
(517) 627-0244 (Office)
(517) 627-3645 (home)

Mr. Church serves at the pleasure of Tribal Chief, D. K. Sprague and the Elder's Council. His appointment is effective until the next Tribal election which will coincide with the U.S. Presidential elections in 1996.

Should Mr. Church for any reason cease to function as Liaison to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and as an official spokesperson for the Tribe to the United States Government, Mr. D.K. Sprague, the elected Tribal Chief of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band, shall assume Liaison functions until the appointment of another Secretary of State is facilitated. Mr. Sprague's phone number, should it be necessary to contact him, is: (616) 531-0686.

Standard and approved procedure for the Tribe, however, until the Tribe officially notifies the Bureau of Indians Affairs of a change, is for Mr. Church, the Secretary of State for the Tribe, to act as spokesperson for the Tribe in Federal Acknowledgment matters.

Respectfully Submitted,

The Elder's Council
of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians.

Enclosure: Petition approval Resolution signed by Elder's Council of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan.

ELDER'S COUNCIL DOCUMENTED PETITION APPROVAL RESOLUTION

We, the undersigned descendants of Chiefs and Warriors of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, also known as, the Gun Lake Band of Grand River, Ottawa; the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, Inc., and commonly known as the Bradley Settlement, as duly authorized heads of extended families and as official Representatives of the Tribal community, have directed the development of this Petition, have reviewed it's contents, and by a vote of 14 yes and 0 no votes, this 14th day of May, 1994, now authorize this document to be submitted to the United States by William L. Church, Secretary of State for the Tribe, to be considered as the Documented Petition.

Mr. D. K. Sprague, Band Chief *D. K. Sprague*
Elders Council Chairman-Michigan At-Large Representative.

Rev. Lewis White Eagle Church *Lewis White Eagle Church*
For the Penasee-Church Descendants at Salem, Past Head Chief.

Rev. Joseph Sprague, *Joseph Sprague*
Penasee-Sprague Descendants from Mt. Pleasant-Methodist Elder.

Mr. Richard Sprague, *Richard Sprague*
For the Penasee-Sprague Descendants of Kekafamazoo.

Mr. Roger Sprague, *Roger Sprague*
For the Penasee-Sprague Descendants at Grand Rapids.

Mrs. Margaret Sipkema, *Margaret Sipkema*
Penasee-Sprague descendants at Moline, Liaison-Bradley Mission.

Mrs. Anna Mae Chlebana, *Mrs. Anna Mae Chlebana*
Gun Lake District Representative.

Mrs. Ardis Badger, *Mrs. Ardis Badger*
Rabbit River District Representative.

Mrs. Luella Collins, *Mrs. Luella Collins*
Penasee-Sprague Descendants at Grand Rapids.

Mrs. June Fletcher, *June A. Fletcher*
For the Stevens-Marks Descendants at Wayland, Bradley and Salem.

Mr. Rudolph John Bush, *R. J. Bush*
For the Bush-Jackson Descendants at Bradley.

Mrs. Mary K. Grigsby, *Mary K. Grigsby*
For the Shagonaby-Johnson Descendants at Allegan.

Mrs. Wanda Ritsema, *Wanda Ritsema*
Elders Council Treasurer-Gun Lake Representative.

Mrs. Carol Barker, *Carol Barker*
Gun Lake District Representative-Reservation resident.

INTRODUCTION

Now that a basic history of the of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians has been written I look back and wonder why it has not been done before. Why?

I would appear safe to say that since we as a Tribe are the first to gather the multitude of literature upon which we are recorded to weave it, fashion it, like one of our own baskets, into a lasting product that maybe only we knew how. Maybe only we knew we were still here, sprinkled around our own lost reservation, sitting in the same pews of the Indian Missions which our own Grandfathers and Great-Grandfathers built. Maybe everyone had accepted the common notion that "all the Pottawatomies were removed from Michigan after 1833".

Maybe our own thoughts are captives within us as a People. Even though we have been "educated" for the past century I recall what seems only a few short years ago when I was a youth attending Western Michigan University. I had a BIA scholarship. A Mr. Armstrong from the Great Lakes Agency came by the school to visit me, to see how I was doing. In the course of that visit he mentioned that I was one of only ten Indians going to college in Michigan. The year was 1964. If it takes a college education to be believed, to write with authenticity, to be cognizant of the research method, to be accepted by one's peers and allowed to be one of the, "he's a good guy" club, then in 1964 there were only 10 of us who had one leg up on the platform.

I had applied to the Great Lakes BIA Agency for help, for a scholarship, because I was an Ottawa-Pottawatomi Indian. I filled out the papers and eventually the scholarship arrived in my second year of school. Under Tribe it said, "Stockbridge-Munsee". I assumed it was some branch of the Ottawa or Pottawatomi Tribe I had never heard of and did not immediately give it a second thought. When the year was over I asked all the Elders who the Stockbridge-Munsee were, and no one knew. They informed me we were Grand River Ottawa, Pottawatomi, and maybe some Chippewa. They had the curious way of reciting who begat whom for many generation back, farther back and more information that I could absorb. No Stockbridge-Munsee.

The following year when the foreign term showed up on my papers again I called the BIA to tell them I was Ottawa and Pottawatomi, and not Stockbridge-Munsee. My Elders had told me and suggested that I set the record straight. I followed their instructions and in a matter of months my scholarship

was canceled I was informed that my Tribe was not federally recognized. There must then have been 9 little Indians left in college in Michigan.

My point is that the opportunity to attend college, to even have access to an economic vine to do, was rare. In the Salem community where I came from, few had graduated from high school, many if not most had dropped out after the 8th grade. They were not likely stock to be writing books. Their method was to remember it all in their heads, not write it all down.

Even if we did write about ourselves we are also captive to historical method and the economic interpretation of history and how it is applied to the study of Indians. To visualize this historic method one may follow my train of thought on the subject. On a quiet day from a river bank one can toss a pebble into the water. "Ker-plunk" is the sound of a rock (about three inches in diameter), followed by the residual splash, and then the concentric circles appear which travel outward from the source of the disturbance on the ecosystem, my rock. The study of the history of Indians is studied in the same fashion as my rock breaking the surface of the water. History is examined from the center (where the disturbance or economic activity appears), and moves outward from it.

In Michigan the great hub of trade activity at Mackinac centuries ago has charted an historic path and procedure whereby the study of Indians, like the concentric circles from my rock and ensuing ripples, have been studied outward from the center of Trade. The core is most studied; the perimeter is least studied. The Tribes which are near the center of the trade are more well known, popular if you will, with writers and historians whose lock-step adherence to the research method requires them to move outward in their examination from the Mackinac region as they examine the influence of trade. Their published works reflect this pattern.

In the process of following literary tradition these writers have published works which institutionalize information about the Tribes they illuminate for us in their works; some works near the trade centers are very old. In the case of the Mackinac example writers have turned over every rock and leaf to gather new facts, develop new theories, and publish fresh insights about the contact period and the trade that followed. Less attention was paid by these early writers, even in the primary sources, to the migration and forced migrations that were concurrently taking place diluting the aboriginal populations.

In Michigan the phenomena of American population growth in the Detroit region correlated with the exodus of Tribal populations outward from this region. These migrations and pre-removal policy displacement of Indians forced Native populations in a westerly direction between 1795 and 1833, and northward from 1833 to 1856. The population growth in Michigan had reached the point by 1827 where the next open areas for removal of Indians within Michigan were logically and legally executed north of the Grand River.

Writers and historians seeking fresh material to publish were forced to move away from the trade center (Mackinac) in

ever widening circles and by the 20th century had begun to capture the essence of the remaining Indian population centers in northern Michigan, focusing on the "Ottawa" populations that seemingly had existed there for centuries. What had not been factored in to the historical equations of nearly all writers who have published works and studied the "Tribes of Northern Michigan" is the patterns of Indian population migration and removals, as the result of treaties, and population pressures of Whites forcing other Tribes **into and towards** the centers of trade being studied by scholars. By studying Indians from a north to south examination one cannot realize that migrations had taken place and they were, of course, coinciding with treaties established with the Indian Tribes.

In effect, the permanent Tribal populations which have been so well written about in Northern Michigan are in reality not so northern at all. It has been supposed, as a scholarly theory on a grand scale, that Northern Michigan is now populated typically by Ottawa and Chippewa Indians. If Pottawatomi Tribes were forced westerly from Detroit, did not remove to Kansas, and no longer exist in southern Michigan, then where did they go? Where are they? To put it another way if Michigan's three dominant Tribes, the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi were the primary colors of red, yellow, and green, what color would be representative of Northern Michigan's Indians today?

What this all has to do with the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band is that history, in terms of published works have moved in a northerly to southerly direction. The great bulk of new works in Michigan are detailing the "northern" Ottawa today. In southern Michigan the trend since the late 1950's has been to move outward from Detroit to southwest Michigan, then to Kansas. Today's Pottawatomi scholars are just now re-entering Michigan to revisit the Pottawatomi homelands their subject came from. Their trail ends when they reach the northern boundaries of their subject area.

The land area in between the Grand River on our Tribe's) Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band) northern perimeter, and about thirty miles to the south of the Kalamazoo River have not been thoroughly investigated in detail by any scholars. This is why we are the first to be able to investigate the subject on any large scale.

The study of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band has been a rewarding process because the community held so many discolored and frayed documents from their own past which they brought forward to me. Others brought newspaper clippings, old deeds, and pictures, and court documents. Many others held precious memories which have been written no where else but on the pages of their own minds and now on the pages of our history.

When I visited the National Archives and found the reams of written references to our community's past, coupled with the wealth of materials in the State Historical Society publications, I also asked myself why we hadn't been the subject of a book before this time. It is apparent that the answer is no great mystery. Scholars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries increasingly focused their attention in Michigan on

the remaining Indian leaders. Leaders who were fluent, articulate, educated, and who then lived within the mainstream world. Those few in the learned category gained an enormous amount of attention and print. This may account for the legendary qualities attributed to Indian leaders such as Leupold Pokagon and his son Simon.

With all due respect to our Chiefs Sagamaw, Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, and Penasee, the records from the period that they led their people report that these Chiefs didn't generally use utensils to eat their food, were still clad in skins until the mid-1850's, and could not read nor write. They had also burned villages, sacked forts, and killed intruders in defense of their homelands. In Michigan our Chiefs were those who defied removal. They were like the Apache Geronimo 50 years before he gained fame from using many of the tactics employed by Match-e-be-nash-she-wish and Penasee. A half century later with the aid of a bevy of writers who documented his exploits, evidence of Geronimo is easily found in a litany of published accounts.

The men who were our Chiefs, Match-e-be-nash-she-wish and Penasee, men who did not sign the last great treaties and agree to remove, have all but been removed from the texts of history by the erroneous publications of those who believe that all the Pottawatomi Indians were removed from Michigan. No they were not all removed. And not all those who stayed migrated to northern Michigan. Granted, most of them did, but not all of them. Some of them remain in their precious homeland.

This is the story of the lost Tribes of Pottawatomi Indians who remained in and around Allegan County, Michigan.

Mr. Bill Church



Part II

H I S T O R I C A L O V E R V I E W O F T H E G R O U P

"The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band
of Pottawatomi
Indians of Michigan"

Written by:

Mr. William L. Church

Research:

The Elder's Council
The Bradley Settlement Indian Community
Mr. William L. Church

History Review Committee:

Mr. D.K. Sprague, Chairman of the Elder's Council
Rev. Lewis White Eagle Church, Mission Pastor and Oral Historian
and Mrs. Gladys Church
Mr. Roger Sprague, Elder's Council member
Dr. William T. Cross, Phd., Cross & Associates.

**THE MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH BAND OF POTTAWATOMI
INDIANS OF MICHIGAN**

By William L. Church

Indians have hunted, trapped, fished, gathered foods and otherwise used the land which makes up Allegan and Barry Counties for well over 8,000 years.¹ Although the land was still changing shape, and a huge glacier stretching from present day southern Michigan to the Arctic was still retreating northward in those early years of Indian history, it was the shoreline of a huge glacial lake which brought Indians here. As time passed it was the water flows in the valley which took the place of the lake bed which became the geographic feature that set this region apart and made it attractive to later Indians. What was once shoreline to the early glacial lake later became hills bordering lowlands which contained a massive river system.² By the 16th century Late Woodland period Indians were frequently using the rivers of the region to move inland and out by canoe to gain access to the giant lakes which surround most of Michigan.³

The Indians who inhabited Allegan and Barry Counties at the dawn of American history are the ancestors of the only Indian Tribe which remains in the Grand and Kalamazoo River Valleys today.⁴ The Grand River, known as "Wash-te-nong"⁵ to the Algonquin speaking Indians of the region before the Europeans came, is larger than the Kalamazoo River. Together, the rivers cradle the counties of Ottawa, Allegan and Barry,⁶ with a 40 mile wide strip of land in between them. The Rivers are fed by a large inland lake which was well known in early times which is located 45 miles distant from and east of Lake Michigan.⁷

Like a huge motherly arm the Grand River on the north forms a natural watery elbow at the forks of the Grand and Thornapple, while at the south a branch of the Kalamazoo River bends northeasterly to form the Gun River. The large inland lake protected between these major Michigan watersheds is Gun Lake. This is where our story takes place. It is the land in between where the "People of the Forks", the Nassauaketon Ottawa gained their name⁸ and later blended naturally with the culture of the Pottawatomi who were became their southerly neighbors.

Local history relates that the Gun Lake got it's name from a local Indian Tribe who threw their guns to the bottom of the lake as a symbol and promise to live in peace. This event refers to the confederation of the Ottawa from the north with the Pottawatomi from the south who allied with the Chippewa to drive the once dominant Sauk and Fox Tribes out of Michigan⁹ in the early 1700's. A major battle between the Pottawatomi and the Fox, when the "streams flowed red with blood of the Fox", is the source of the name for the nearby city of Battle Creek.¹⁰ So there is more than a thread of truth to local "myths and legends".

Gun Lake is one of the largest inland lakes in the state of Michigan as measured by actual shoreline. Its shoreline has many high ground peninsulas which stretch towards the center of the lake making the shoreline very irregular. It also formed a beautiful encampment area well known in early times with many natural protected harbors.¹¹ The lake, a sandy bottom shallow lake, is a frequent resting stop for waterfowl on their migration

routes. In a like fashion the Indians of the region, known for their usage of the Algonquin dialect, also migrated to and from the region using the river systems¹² until overland travel by horse became the choice. The Indians of the region possessed and utilized the horse by the early 1800's and possibly much earlier.¹³

The Indians called themselves "Nish-nah-bek"¹⁴ (We People, or man put here by God; made from nothing). There were no tribal names to identify them as different from each other. It was the early historians, traders, and treaty negotiators who began the practice of identifying Indian groups by their physical differences and their locations, the differing names of which have lead to the separate designation of today's tribes following 200 years of treaties with the French, later the British, and finally, the United States.¹⁵

Some Indians who wore their hair in a particular fashion and who were also highly ornamented and tattooed became Ottawa (traders; those who trade) in the logs of early explorers.¹⁶ Others became Chippewa (like burnt meat; puckered like roasted meat) because of the design of the gathered toe of the one piece moccasin design they wore.¹⁷ The term "Ojibwe", from which the word "Chippewa" has also been derived, actually came from an ancient form of the word, "od-jib-we", which translated to "those who write on bark".¹⁸ The Pottawatomi Tribe gained their name from their position as "keepers of the Fire" at ceremonial gatherings of the early inhabitants of the region, the Chippewa, the Ottawa, and the Pottawatomi.¹⁹

In 1615 Champlain met "three hundred men of the Tribe named by us as the *Cheveux releves*" at some place between French River and the Huron Villages that he was going to visit, which would most likely have been the eastern shore of Georgian Bay.²⁰

In 1640 Vimont wrote that Manitoulin Island was "inhabited by the Outaouan; these are the people who have come from the nation of the raised hair".²¹

The general usage of the term "Ottawa", includes four bodies, or main historic divisions, designated by Beschefer as "the Kiskakons, and three other Tribes." The names of the three other contact period "Tribes" designated as Ottawa were the Sinago, the Ottawa of Sable, and the Nassauaketon or People of the Fork.²²

Briefly, the time in between the first contact with the Ottawa in 1615 until 1760 may be divided into three periods: 1615-1650, 1650-1700, and 1700-1760. In the first period the Ottawa were dwelling along the shores of Lake Huron and on the islands in that lake and left the region toward the close of the period to escape the Iroquois. They divided into two groups in the second period.²³ These followed the same general course--first to the mouth of Green Bay, where one group went westward to the Mississippi River and then north to Lake Superior and Chaquamegon Bay; the other did not go as far west and arrived earlier on Lake Superior at Keweenaw Bay. Both then moved to the eastern end of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, establishing their habitation center at St. Ignace,²⁴ and for a short time on Manitoulin Island. In the third period Detroit

became a center for the Ottawa;²⁵ Saginaw was also a place of residence for them, being occupied from 1712, or possibly earlier, to 1751; Mackinac continued as a dwelling site in more or less favor until it's inhabitants moved to L'Abre Croche in 1742, the location occupied now by their descendants.²⁶

In general when offering insight to the Ottawa it is a matter of record that the Ottawa Tribe contains four names of contact Tribes that have been understood to comprise total Ottawa body.²⁷ Three of these major groupings are well known and had more contact with early explorers. The fourth, the Nassauaketon or the people of the fork, are less known. The first and the largest are the Kiskakons. Other Ottawa divisions which more often than not historically linked and interacted with the Kiskakons were the Sinago, and the Ottawa of the Sable. The fourth grouping, the Nassauaketon, or the People of the Fork, have a history which at times melds with their more northerly brothers. At other times the existence of the Nassauaketon, such as the period at Detroit from 1701-1750, suggest a markedly independent Tribal structure. Not much is known of the Nassauaketons from published written works but it is likely that the Ottawa who gathered at Detroit from 1701-1750, and remained in the region and moved inland in a westerly direction thereafter were the Nassauaketon, or the People of the Fork.

Great numbers of Ottawa moved to points west of Lake Michigan around 1650 either as a direct consequence of the Iroquois hostilities directed at Huron and Ottawa trade networks in Michigan as competition for dominance in trade increased,²⁸

or because the Ottawa were moving closer to the sources of supply from which they were receiving furs. Historians generally report the Ottawa movement westward principally as flight from the Iroquois, but some Ottawa were still reported in the Michigan region giving credence to the notion that protection of trade sources may have also propelled the Ottawa into the western Great Lakes region.

The "Iroquois Wars"²⁹ had the net effect of pushing the Ottawa, Pottawatomi and Huron, almost completely out of Michigan and west of the Great Lakes and the Chippewa northward and westward from Sault Ste. Marie. By 1742 the Ottawa (Kiskakon, Sable, and Sinago) had completed a large circular migration from Green Bay to Keewenaw, and later to Mackinac and Manitoulin Islands before finally permanently removing to L'Arbre Croche (Cross Village) in 1741. The Ottawa had already permanently split into two populations in 1701 with the Nassauaketon locating at Detroit with Cadillac when St. Ignace was abandoned.³⁰

The numbers of Ottawa in the Great Lake region are a matter of considerable debate. However in 1736 the warriors at Detroit, Saginaw, and Mackinaw were enumerated at 480 not counting women and children. Dablon in the *Relation* of 1669-70 stated that the three Ottawa Bands and the Huron at Chaquamegon Bay numbered more than 1500 souls and in 1721 it was recounted that the Ottawa of Michilimackinack were formerly 3000. In each case³¹ these counts reflect Ottawa who were in direct contact with explorers and traders and at least offer us a glimpse of the numbers of Ottawa in Michigan at contact and the years shortly thereafter.

It was possibly the direct contact by Indians to explorers, and the diseases³² which resulted, which decimated Native populations by possibly as much as 50% following initial contact. Indians had no immunity to the new diseases unwittingly carried by explorers. The resultant counts by others in the years following first contact were not consistent with earlier reports and the explorers had no inkling that they had inadvertently reduced the Indian populations they had earlier visited. It is only now, in the 20th century, that the impact of diseases on these early Tribes is becoming apparent. One must note the separate counts of Michilimackinac Ottawa and Ottawa at Detroit denoting the divisions among the Ottawa that began much earlier and were still evident at Treaty times.³³

In 1756 the French were defeated by the British. The British curtailed "gift giving" and provision of supplies at Detroit. The Ottawa, and other Tribes at Detroit were forced to radically change their way of life and basis for their economy. Many Ottawa simply moved inland with other Nassauaketon who already had established year round villages on the Grand³⁴ River east of present day Grand Rapids. The forks of the Grand and Flat Rivers at Lowell, Michigan, at the Grand and Thornapple Rivers at Ada, Michigan,³⁵ and at the Forks of the Thornapple River itself near Middleville 10 miles northeast of Gun³⁶ Lake account for the continued reference to **People of the Forks**.

The Nassauaketon Ottawa of the Grand River and the northern Ottawa (Kiskakon, Sable, and Sinago) represent two verifiable groupings in the structure of the Ottawa at the time of the

close of the Revolutionary War in 1780. It is likely that due to the fact that so few English speaking traders and explorers ventured in the interior that the obvious lack of information regarding the Nassauaketon Ottawa exists.³⁷ Much information written in French still remains to be translated and is located in Canada and in Archives in France.

The first indication of the existence and whereabouts of the Pottawatomi is found in Champlain's statement in 1615. While the Ottawa were located two day's journey north of the Neutrals on the shore of Georgian Bay at least some of the Pottawatomi were located ten days journey, or two hundred leagues westward from the Ottawa, beyond the Fresh-water Sea (Lake Huron) and were then known as the Asistaguerouon.³⁸ Sagard made a similar report eight years later, but gave the Huron name as "Assistagueronon." The Huron term has the same significance as the present term Pottawatomi,³⁹ which is derived from Potawatamink, meaning "people of the place of fire" in Chippewa."

The Pottawatomi, Nassauaketon, and the Sauk were reported by Vimont in 1640 as living near the Winnebago, on the shores of the second Fresh-water Sea, (Green Bay), beyond the Menominee. This was on the information of Nicolet,⁴⁰ who had visited that region about 1634. In 1642 Lalemant said that he had learned that some Pottawatomi who had abandoned their own country had taken refuge with the inhabitants of the Sault. Rageueneau in 1648 located the Pottawatomi again near the Winnebago, probably on the reports of other Indians.⁴¹

The interior of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan was still

unexplored territory when the first reports of the Ottawa and Pottawatomi of Michigan were written.⁴² The two groups spoke similar forms of the Algonquin language with the Ottawa and Chippewa utilizing the Northern Algonquin dialect while the Pottawatomi exhibited usage of the Southern Algonquin dialect.

The travel routes of the Indians, and in particular the Ottawa, were on an east-west axis and thus there is little mention of how far south, or north, the Pottawatomi range may have been at contact. It is evident that the Pottawatomi and the Nassauaketon Ottawa were in contact and cooperating with each other. What is also well known is that shortly after contact, about the year 1650, territorial disputes between the Pottawatomi Indians inhabiting the Michigan region and the Iroquois also grew into open warfare.⁴³

In 1667 Radisson reported the country of the Pottawatomi as lying along the western side of Lake Michigan. The total number of persons designated as Pottawatomi shortly after 1650 probably did not exceed three thousand and may have been closer to two thousand to twenty-five hundred.⁴⁴ The Iroquois Trade Wars in 1650 and the years following had a disruptive impact upon the Indians who had begun to use the land and resources from the area which we now call Michigan. The Pottawatomi had previously extended their range in Michigan's Lower Peninsula northward from the St. Joseph River region at Michigan's southern border beyond the Grand River after the conclusion of the Iroquois hostilities.⁴⁵

After 1742 when the main body of Ottawa at Michilimackinac

removed to L'Abre Croche the Pottawatomi range adjusted southward to an area whose northern boundary was approximately the Grand River and it's tributaries both north and south. Much of the interior at the center of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan north of the Grand River lay largely uninhabited by Indians due to the enormous stands of White Pine Forests which crowded out light and consequently limited the growth of vegetation on the forest floor. While the travel was easy the light, a necessity for plant growth, limited food supplies for the stocks of large game and fur bearing animals required by the Indians.

Other Pottawatomi who had increasingly allied with the British at St. Joseph moved eastward on the St. Joseph River⁴⁶ and eventually reached Detroit, while the main body of the Pottawatomi located themselves in a concentration on the upper St. Joseph River at the Mouth of the St. Joseph River. The river empties into Lake Michigan at St. Joseph and a fort had been located there before it also was abandoned during the French period. When the fort was abandoned by the French after 1700 the British gained unimpeded access to the Pottawatomi on Lake Michigan.

The Pottawatomi who continued eastward toward Detroit eventually rejoined Pottawatomi who had long before associated themselves with the French Ottawa and Huron Tribes from St. Ignace. When post at St. Ignace at the Straits of Mackinac was abandoned in 1701 the Pottawatomi Indians allied with the French, like the Ottawa, migrated to Detroit with Cadillac.⁴⁷ Thus the Pottawatomi, in addition to the Ottawa, had artificial

divisions to the Tribe which had formed due to the influences of trade and movement of the French and British in North America.

The Chippewa previous to contact had traversed the shorelines and waterways on the eastern portion of Michigan's lower Peninsula from Sault Ste. Marie to the Saginaw Bay region and beyond. Their linguistically close relatives, the Ottawa co-mingled with the Chippewa on the eastern shorelines of Michigan sharing nearly 500 miles of waterway inlets providing access to Michigan's interior from a point north of modern day Detroit through the Straits of Mackinac on both shores of Lake Michigan to the Green Bay region.⁴⁸

The Chippewa eventually defeated the Iroquois near present day Brimley, Michigan, and regained their former position on the western shore of Lake Huron and again located themselves in Michigan from Sault Ste. Marie to the Saginaw Bay region after 1662. The interior of Michigan, and especially the south-central portion of Lower Michigan, from a period prior to 1650 which extended into the mid 18th century, had been peopled by Tribes such as the Sauk, the Fox, and the Mascouten.⁴⁹

The Chippewa drove the Sauk inland from the Saginaw Bay region westward and attempted to totally annihilate them. The Sauk were thus drastically reduced by the Chippewa. The Ottawa in turn reduced the Mascouten presence in south-central Michigan and the Fox were driven from southern lower Michigan by the combination of the French and Pottawatomi between 1700 to 1750. In this way the Tribes which had previously dominated the interior region between the Saginaw Bay region and the Grand

River were either exterminated or forced southward out of the Great Lakes region by Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi warriors. The war on the Foxes was finally completed by Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi cooperation with assistance from the French during the French period at Detroit.⁵⁰

The formal confederation of Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi from the Michigan region, which formed after the interior of Michigan was occupied jointly by them, became the basis for scores of Treaties⁵¹ with this combined nation from 1795 to 1833. By 1838, only the Indians who were formed into the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony by the U.S. remained as evidence of the once powerful Three Fires Confederation. In 1846, the formal name of the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi outside of Michigan, was formally done away with in a treaty.⁵² None of the Gun Lake Band Chiefs signed the 1846 Treaty and no specific Treaty was ever concluded between the U.S. and the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi remaining in Michigan to quiet the claim of the Gun Lake Band to continued use of the name although the majority of the Chippewa removed to Isabella County after the 1855 Chippewa Treaty.⁵³

The Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Tribes are commonly referred to by historians as "The People of the Three Fires". They inter-married, allied with each other, spoke a common language, shared the land by having system for reserving hunting lands for specific use by distinct branches of the tribes. They have also inter-mingled peacefully with each other since before the French period at Detroit.⁵⁴ Their being designated

as "Tribes" by literature with specific chiefs at their head tends to infer that these groups were totally separate from each other. History proves that this was not the case.

The semantic division of the Indians of the Grand and Ke-kalamazoo,⁵⁵ (Kalamazoo River as it was then known) Rivers, into categories, like one studies and classifies the birds, based on how the Indians physically appeared differently from each other and where they were located has had a profound effect on the descendants of these early "tribes". These differences have now been legally institutionalized by the application of treaty law and subsequent the ethno-historical study of these "tribes".

By naming the various bands as separate units for treaty payments the United States divided the cooperating families of "Nish-nah-beh" (which literally means "we People") into many small and seemingly independent entities. The descendants of these early cultural groups would later be forced to prove their claims to the land in spite of the fact that their continued occupation of the region in which they are found extends a century beyond the date when the first explorers "found" them. Such is the case for the Indians nestled near to the Methodist Indian Missions today in Allegan County, Michigan.⁵⁶

The Indians of Allegan County and adjacent Barry are the descendants of those Indians who were the first to make contact with the traders and settlers in the 1830's who recorded these interactions in their diaries and histories.⁵⁷ The ancestors of the local Indians who dealt with the traders continued their

cooperation and jointly made war on the United States when settlers began to encroach on their lands and the lands of their allies to the east in Ohio and Canada.⁵⁸

The Indians of the Allegan and Barry County region can be historically labeled as antagonists of the American Government and allies of the British to some degree until the September 8, 1815, Peace Treaty was signed after the War of 1812 which restored their rights to those guaranteed by the 1795 Greenville Treaty.⁵⁹ Between 1815 and 1838 the Indians of south-central Michigan continued to retreat from and resist American authority while the U.S. attempted to dissolve their treaty rights piece by piece by new agreements, and their great war leaders expired naturally, one by one.

The Allegan and Barry County Ottawa and Pottawatomi Tribes are the Indians whom Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Michigan Agency, personally added to the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty which was modified in 1838 by the War Department⁶⁰ and a Treaty of Friendship⁶¹ was signed with the Grand River Ottawa. Following the Compact of June 5, 1838, reservations were created using newly created policies incorporating missions into the lives of the Indians to "aid the civilization" of those gathered in Allegan County and nearby Barry County.

Part of the reason that the assistance of the "Missions" was so necessary in 1838 had to do with a failed removal policy that was not being acknowledged to the public. The Panic of 1837, in which many banks failed, had already swept through

Michigan and economic recovery was based on land sales. It would not have been politically wise to announce to would be land purchasers that Indian Warriors were concentrating in the Allegan and Barry County regions.⁶²

The Indians concentrating in the Grand River valley region had however already been the subject of private discussions in Washington by Secretary of War Poinsett in 1838. He had been purposely met to discuss removal and was briefed on the potential for success for removing the remaining Indians of Michigan. He was fully aware by 1838 that there was a large concentration of Indians in southern Michigan who had already made it clearly known that they would not remove. The discussions in 1838 also estimated the number of U.S. Troops it would take to effectuate a forced removal of Indians below the Grand River. It had been estimated that 2000 soldiers would have to be called in to successfully remove the Indians of the region.⁶³

An alternative plan was developed. Issac S. Ketchum, an Indian Agent who had attended the 1838 meeting in Washington, received a contract to go to Michigan as a Special Agent and convince the Indians to remove. He relocated to region where the Indians were located and began to live among them and communicate to the Indians the policy of the Government, and the necessity to remove. His method was to be friendly and gain their confidence. His ultimate goal was to convince the Indians to peacefully remove and he would also receive payment for escorting them from the region. In order to achieve this

goal he had to first become fully aware of exactly how many Indians were in the region, find out where they were located, become knowledgeable about know who their leaders were, and meet with them to reach agreement by them to gather at an accessible to begin removal.⁶⁴

Ketchum became the U.S. Government intelligence in the region and regularly corresponded with the War Department providing information to his superiors that he had gained from the Indians. His letters show that he regularly met with Indians in an area of southwestern Michigan south of the Prairie Ronde Reservation. He shuttled between Prairie Ronde, the St. Joseph, and Nottawaseppi Reservation regions. His letters and reports, now on file in the National Archives, show that the United States knew the approximate size of the warrior groups who remained in the Gun Lake region as early as 1838. Although the War Department knew of the Indians in the region no attempt was made to pay them permanent annuities guaranteed them by numerous Treaties.⁶⁵

In 1837 some Ottawas, principally those from Ohio,⁶⁶ journeyed to Maumee from other points to begin a voluntary removal to the Mississippi region. After the Maumee delegation removed (174 Ottawa in addition to the 200 who had migrated west in 1835)⁶⁷ the official position of the War Department in 1838 was that there were only 92 "Michigan Ottawas" who remained in Michigan.⁶⁸ Unofficially, the War Department knew there were many who had not agreed to remove and the U.S. monitored the troop strength of the remaining United Nation

Indian forces under the active command of the Chippewa of the Grand River region to which Penasee had also relocated.⁶⁹

The sheer numbers of the Indians who would not submit to removal made it imperative for a plan to be constructed to avoid war at all costs because the U.S. was already at war with the Indians of Florida. To complicate matters only two military commanding officers were located in the Michigan region between Detroit and Chicago! It should be pointed out that in 1838 there was an official distinction between those known as "Ottawa", those known as "Ottawa and Chippewa", and those Ottawa listed along the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomi on War Department correspondence and annuity payment documents.⁷⁰

The Ottawa and Chippewa were then understood as those resident north of the Grand River. The Ottawa were those who were once resident at Detroit and the northern Ohio region who after 1838 had been declared "removed" through Maumee. These Ottawa (as well as the Chippewa, and Pottawatomi among them, also formerly from Detroit) had prior rights dating all the way back to 1795.⁷¹ The Grand River Ottawa portion of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomi were those who had recently been party to the 1821 Treaty and were primarily from the 1821 treaty zone.⁷²

After the "Ottawa" from Maumee had decided not to remove west they retreated north toward the Grand River and relocated themselves near Gun Lake (in the 1821 treaty area) among the "Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomi Indians", south of the 1836 Ottawa and Chippewa treaty region. There they remained

officially hidden from public view and under the watch of Ketchum and others designated to report their movements.

The Ketchum correspondence retrieved from the National Archives clearly establishes that the War Department knew that Penasee, Sagamaw, and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish (Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Chiefs) and their followers had not removed, and like the "Ottawa" (from Maumee) were also owed annuities for the treaties of 1795, 1807, 1818, and 1821. Ketchum began to make direct contact with the leading Chiefs into the region and attempted to convince the remaining heart of the United Nation war machine to remove.⁷³

It is evident that Henry Schoolcraft did not know exactly how many Indians there were in the region, being a civilian, and was instructed to prepare a census only after he became responsible for paying the Indians.⁷⁴ The degree to which Schoolcraft had been briefed on the entire matter is not known. His excursion to New York in the early Spring of 1838 was without doubt to prepare the ground work for a "Mission" plan which was then being discussed as one measure to solve the problem of confining Indians who had not removed.

In 1837 Henry Schoolcraft had completed an initial census of Michigan Indians. Schoolcraft's census map and notations, dated September 15, 1837, lists the "Pottawatomies, Chippewa, and Ottawas south of Grand River" as "500". He also notes "the Ottawas of Maumee, in Ohio.....200".⁷⁵

By 1838 Henry Schoolcraft already had a basis in law for mission colonies to be supplemented by the "Indian Civilization

Act" of 1819. After 1838 when the Missions were authorized by the President these Indian Missions became the first institutional church organizations in the area, received treaty funds, made reports, gathered census data, taught Indians to farm, educated them, and became the functioning government of the Indian Tribes after leadership was convinced to adapt tribal lifestyle to accommodate the great changes taking place all around them.⁷⁶

After 1843 the numbers of "Ottawas" who had not removed from Maumee who had retreated north to the Gun Lake and surrounding region and subsisted there among Sagamaw's Pottawatomi and Noonday's Ottawa were corrected,⁷⁷ and the "Ottawas" who were there, in addition to the resident colonies of Griswold and the Ottawa Colony were also paid by the U.S. The conglomerate simply became known and were paid as the "Grand River Bands".⁷⁸

Reports from the Colonies indicate the presence of the additional Ottawa and Pottawatomies and in 1843 the War Department began paying the "Gun Lake Bands" at Noonday's Colony at Prairieville.⁷⁹ In 1843 Pottawatomi who had not been removed from Michigan were also paid. These were principally the Kekalamazoo, Huron and Pokagon Bands in Michigan.⁸⁰ The 961 "Ottawa", whose \$1700.00 payments were also begun in 1843 by 1853 had increased in number to 1237 Ottawa Indians.

In July of 1843 Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs Robert Stuart sent a letter to T. Hartley Crawford correcting the annuity payment for 1841, noting that a mistake was made

on the number of "Ottawas" remaining in Michigan that year. After the War Department shake up in 1838 and Schoolcraft's unfortunate expulsion in 1842 his successor, Robert Stuart, indicated that a meeting was held in 1842 and that the proper number of Ottawa to be paid annuities was established.

In the payroll of 1842 the mistake was, however, repeated and an official letter was written to Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford by Stuart to clarify the number who should be paid.⁸¹ He wrote, "in place of there being but 92 Ottawas remaining in Michigan, entitled to these annuities, there are 961, as may be seen by reference to their pay Roll of last year".

A review of the payments of 1843 for both the Pottawatomi and Ottawa will verify that the Gun Lake Band has ancestors on both of these documents. Generally after 1855 the "Michigan Ottawas" were co-mingled in with the Grand River Ottawa, or the Saganaw Chippewa, and removed from the Gun Lake Region.⁸² Some, however, married into the Griswold Colony and remained with Sagamaw, Penasee, and later Sha-pe-quo-ung. A review of the 1853 Ottawa Annuity Roll will verify this point.

The Allegan County Indians now find it necessary prove to the Bureau of Indian Affairs that they were treated with as a Tribe of United Indian Nations by the United States, not once but repeatedly,⁸³ were not removed west of the Mississippi by the United States Government in the 1830's, and have maintained a continuous community and functioning governmental institutions until this day.

Residents of Allegan and Barry Counties know the descendants

of "Sagamaw's Band of Ottawa and Pottawatomi Indians" well.⁸⁴ Their present leaders are known.⁸⁵ Their local history is well recorded by the earliest residents and public officials until the present.⁸⁶ The progression of their Chiefs and leadership is historically recorded. Quite remarkably it is the federal government which has somehow forgotten that this Indian Tribe exists. This is most likely due to the frequent name changes by which the Tribe was known, frequent changes in BIA policy by the men who administered them, and little awareness of the treaty rights reserved by these Indians from former treaties with the U.S.⁸⁷ They are the "lost tribes" of Allegan and Barry Counties in Michigan.

The Indians of the Gun Lake region formerly used the Grand and Kalamazoo Rivers to travel in both eastern and western directions. After 1763 the influence of the French on the region was greatly reduced by the British at the conclusion of the French and Indian War. Prior to 1750 the "Nassauaketon" Ottawa, Huron, and Pottawatomi Indians ancestors of the Allegan County Indians had been living near the fort at Detroit in great numbers.⁸⁸ After 1756 the great amounts of gifts, blankets, jewelry, arms, ammunition, metal ware, tobacco, and other provisions paid to the Indians to solicit their friendship, and military support, were no longer lavished on the Indians when the British gained a monopoly on control of the region. The British monopoly of the region lasted until 1795.⁸⁹

After 1756 Detroit Ottawa, Pottawatomi Indians began to remove into the interior following the vast river systems

connecting early Detroit to the Grand and Kalamazoo River valleys and settled at various points on the Grand, Kalamazoo, and the Thornapple Rivers in ever increasing numbers.⁹⁰ Although the great migrations of Indians (Kiskakon, Sable and Sinago Ottawa) from the northern part of Michigan south for the winter months continued until 1840,⁹¹ more and more after the 1760's, the former Indian allies to the French made new villages in the interior by migrating westward from Detroit, or by government removals by treaties which opened up Indian lands in southeast Michigan to settlement.⁹²

Already permanent villages increasingly became large settlements on the interior of the Grand, Kalamazoo and Thornapple, and other forks of tributaries, for the refugees from Detroit. These large villages of warrior bands served as buffers to, as well as temporary destinations of, northern Ottawa who migrated south into the region in winter. The inland migration of the northern Ottawa extended only about 50 miles inland which they accessed by way of the river systems.

The Indians who journeyed to these remote places on the Grand and Kekalamazoo seasonally lived among the Nassauaketon Ottawa and the Pottawatomi who lived there year round. The Ottawa, Pottawatomi, and sometimes Chippewa Indians who lived at these permanent interior villages hunted, trapped, grew corn, and other vegetables in gardens and fields laid out especially for this purpose.⁹³ Along the Kalamazoo River a grove of peach trees was already recognized as an orchard by the first settlers. They had been raised from pits and were a product of earlier

trade with the French and British.

The vacuum in the interior of the lower peninsula of Michigan and the lower Grand River Region, created by the elimination of the Sauk, the Mascouten, and the Fox Tribes directly led to the confederation of the Ottawa, Pottawatomi and Chippewa of Michigan. The three Tribes that ethno-historians now identify casually as the People of the Three Fires became allies in a common cause. When the campaign was completed they lived side by side and controlled nearly all of what now makes up the Upper Peninsula and all territory in the Lower Peninsula with the exception of the land surrounding the southeast portion of Michigan.⁹⁴ This is the Detroit region.

The Detroit region, to a greater or lesser degree, was in the hands of Tribes who had become allies because of the continued presence of the French, the British and later the American traders who used Detroit to set up the pioneer governments of their foreign nation in North America.

The expulsion of nearly all Tribes except the Three Fires was by no accidental achievement. It was orchestrated in the early years following the contact period by Ottawa leadership who by their vast trade network and previous communication with the regions Tribes knew all parties to bring together at precisely the time when cooperation became a necessity. That time was urged forward by the decision by the British to reduce or curtail entirely the supplies, lead, powder, blankets, and metal goods, etc., that had freely been supplied to them by the French.⁹⁵ The gifts and provisions had been a centuries

old system to induce favors from the Indians and to maintain peace between Tribes so that trade could be efficiently conducted.

The provision of goods to Indians also, when necessary, encouraged Indians to wage war against an enemy; for the French it was the British and it was achieved without the necessity for France to maintain a standing army. In essence the Indians had become a source of mercenary soldiers for foreign powers for nearly a hundred years before the defeat of the French in 1756. The long war had seriously drained the national economies of both the French and the British. Once a monopoly was established by the British the necessity for maintenance of a standing "militia" of Indians around the forts was no longer necessary, or feasible. After 1756 and the defeat of Montcalm the Indians were no longer courted for favors by the British, or the French. The Indians who had become dependent and subservient to the policy of Indian gift giving were not pleased with the new order.⁹⁶

As a reaction to the cessation of necessary provisions items which also met the basic needs of the families of the warriors themselves, the Indians came to increasingly despise the British, their new Father. One Indian, Pontiac, a Grand River Ottawa (in reality half Chippewa), and powerful orator began to galvanize the discontent with the British into an armed campaign of resistance aimed at expelling the British from their regions as an attempt to re-establish the flow of desired goods to the Indians. In a well planned coordinated attack in 1763

nearly a dozen major forts, nearly all the forts held by the British in the interior of America,⁹⁷ fell to Pontiac and the confederation of the Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomi, and others.

Beginning in the 1750's and continuing until 1838, the area between the Grand and Kalamazoo Rivers approximately in an irregular rectangle whose boundaries stretched approximately from Grand Rapids to Kalamazoo to Marshall to Portland and back to Grand Rapids⁹⁸ had become a major occupation zone of warrior bands and their Chiefs.⁹⁹ The area within this four sided enclosure was the most impenetrable land area remaining in Lower Michigan. It was also rich in game and could provide subsistence for a large number of Indians gathered together[?] whom ordinarily would put stress on or deplete game animals as food supplies.

The western perimeter of the Thornapple River and Gun Lake region was totally guarded by a dense swamp which covered the eastern half of Allegan County. The eastern perimeter contained no direct access by water except by long overland portages. No white men had yet ventured into the interior north of the Grand River occupation zone above the natural fortress, and the thickly Pottawatomi populated area beyond the southern border of the warrior sanctuary offered additional protection.

The only way in to this giant forest, pock marked with ponds and swamps, hills and lakes, an area so irregular that only the Indians would venture there, was by way of the Forks of the Grand.¹⁰⁰ The guardians to this "Butch Cassidy and Sundance Kid type Hole in the Wall Hide out" were the Grand River Nassauaketon Ottawa. It is here, inside this

region that the Michigan raids which were part of the 1763 campaign were planned by Pontiac.¹⁰¹ Later the heart of Tecumseh's resistance which came from Michigan was drawn from this region. It is from the Gun and Thornapple Lake region that "troops" for Indian raids which reached out to Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Ohio were also amassed and launched.¹⁰² When the British at Detroit later wanted Indian warriors to aid it's cause against the Americans, it sought the assistance of the Indians in the Gun Lake region.¹⁰³

After the death of Pontiac in 1769 resistance to intrusion into the Old Northwest region was temporarily halted by the Revolutionary War in which the old system of gifts again surfaced and served the needs of the Indians once again. By 1780 the British had been defeated on the eastern coasts of America but still held Detroit and Mackinac in Michigan. It was in this time period that our Chief, a twenty year old "renegade" who migrated to Michigan from Milwaukee began to emerge.¹⁰⁴ In the time space of next 40 years he became known as "the last of the Great Warriors of the Old Northwest".¹⁰⁵ His name was Sa-gah-naw.¹⁰⁶

In 1781 Sa-gah-naw (as Schoolcraft noted it on the 1839 Gun Lake Village Band annuity roll) left his Lake Michigan Pottawatomie home at Milwaukee and ventured back into the Michigan region his people has removed from a century earlier. He increasingly led raids on the British, first at the old fort located at St. Joseph.

"Sigonauk, sly Sigonauk",¹⁰⁷ as one British verse assailed

him, in a short time became notorious among the Pottawatomi of southwest Michigan. In reality Saginaw, or Sagamaw as he was eventually to become known,¹⁰⁸ was of both Ottawa and Pottawatomi extraction. By 1789 he had modified and refined his military campaign. He was by this time well established in the southeast Michigan region and served as liaison to the British at Detroit against the Americans who had by this time become the greater of two evils.

Sagamaw was later described as "the best specimen of an Indian that I ever saw"¹⁰⁹ by one of his late admirers. He was well over six feet in height, heavily muscled, and tenacious in battle. "Saggununk" (as his name appears on the 1795 Greenville Treaty) 20 years later became one of the most trusted personal allies of the famed Shawnee leader, Tecumseh.¹¹⁰

In 1794, the renewed Three Fires confederacy which again resisted American occupation of the Old Northwest suffered a crushing defeat. It could be compared to the recent defeat of the Iraqi Army in Desert Storm. The mounted infantry of General "Mad" Anthony Wayne, and the new "high technology" cannons which in actuality killed fewer Indians than their thunderous roars scared, spelled the end for the resistance of the Indians seeking to drive the Americans out of the Northwest. By 1794 the Americans were also looking for a peaceful solution to end the vicious and inhumane hostilities between the Indians and the Americans.

In 1794 General Wayne secretly met Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish (Bad Bird) at Kalamazoo,¹¹¹ his village, and a major trading

center, to discuss his proposal of peace. Bad Bird was a Chippewa. He and his descendants later married into the Pottawatomi of southwest Michigan.¹¹²

General Wayne convinced Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish that he should use his considerable influence and call the Indian War Chiefs and leaders of Michigan together to discuss Wayne's peace proposal.¹¹³ Bad Bird consented and the fall of 1795 was then targeted for a major treaty council which would be held at Greenville, Ohio. Saginaw, or Sagganunk, as he is named on the Treaty, was one of the Chiefs to be invited to attend the treaty council by Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish. Sagganunk used his considerable influence to widen the scope of the peace proposal and also bring Indians from Illinois and Wisconsin into the Council at Greenville.¹¹⁴

The 1795 Greenville Treaty meeting was held on August 3, 1795. Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish served as the spokesperson for all of the combined Michigan Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Chiefs.¹¹⁵ The Treaty, once concluded was a "recognition treaty"¹¹⁶ and numerous Tribes have used it since as a basis to verify their status as Tribes worthy of recognition by the U.S. Sagganunk signed the treaty along with the Pottawatomi of St. Joseph. His friend Wab-me-me (White Pigeon who would later join the Gun Lake-Griswold Colony), and Naw-way-qua-ge-zhick (Noonday) also signed the treaty along with Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish.¹¹⁷ Then they returned to Michigan.

Subsequent treaties to the Greenville Treaty took place in 1805 and 1807. Sagamaw, formerly known as Sagganunk on the

1795 Treaty, signed both these treaties.¹¹⁸ In 1807 while attending the treaty session at Maumee, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, the Elder, died. Sagamaw's eminent position was strengthened among the southwest Michigan Indians after this event and he continued to cooperate with Matchi-pe-nashi-wish, the son of the old Chief.¹¹⁹ Sagamaw signed the 1807 Treaty along with other Chiefs to relinquish his claim southeast Michigan and cede the land to the United States for additional permanent annuities.¹²⁰ It became increasingly apparent however that the promised annuities came few and when they did come they were years late and the Indians, including Sagamaw, became anxious.

Tecumseh and his brother the Shawnee Prophet, gained Sagamaw's support and that of many other of the Old Northwest Indians.¹²¹ By 1812 the Indians were again being courted by the British. The tensions along the 1000 mile long border between the new American Republic and Britain burst into the flames of war again in 1812. The United States formally declared war on England. As a result Indians were drawn into the conflict. Tecumseh, became a commissioned General in the British Army and Sagamaw became one of his staunch supporters.¹²² In 1812 and 1813 Sagamaw led or participated in numerous bloody battles with the American Militia and U.S. Regulars. On numerous occasions Sagamaw commanded the battles.¹²³ The war was marked by high casualties by Americans and numerous Indian victories, but in the end the British and the Indians were defeated.

In the process Tecumseh's life was snuffed out and aging

War Chiefs like Sagamaw could envision what the future held for them. After Tecumseh's death in 1813 Sagamaw was next reported in Wisconsin with the British. He then returned to Michigan when the Peace Treaty of 1815 (September 8, 1815) was concluded.¹²⁴

Match-i-pe-nash-i-wish's son, Paanassee¹²⁵ (or Penasee, known as "The Bird", who also eventually became part of the Gun Lake-Griswold Colony), signed the document. The treaty was also signed by Noonday from the Grand River Band. When the Treaty was concluded Sagamaw was requested by the British to take the Pipe of Peace among the Indians of Michigan and the Grand River Ottawa to secure their promise for an end to hostilities.¹²⁶ The 1815 Treaty restored the right of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Tribes to their former status as guaranteed by the 1795 Treaty as though the War of 1812 had not happened.¹²⁷ Sagamaw then removed to Prairie Ronde (present day Schoolcraft, Michigan), a few miles south of the village of his friend, Match-i-pe-nash-i-wish at Kekalamazoo Village.¹²⁸

In 1819 the Chippewa ceded much of central Michigan, including the Thornapple Lake hide out of the Grand River Ottawa, which had long served as the center for organization and resistance of the Chippewa and Ottawa since the time of Pontiac. Dissident Chippewa moved westward beyond present day Hastings, closer to Gun Lake and the Grand River Nassauaketon Ottawa villages dotting the lower Thornapple River south and east of Middle Village (Middleville, Michigan).¹²⁹ This was an area which heavily populated by Chippewa seeking relief from the

Treaties of 1819 and 1837, particularly in Leighton Township. Prairieville, which was not far to the south, was later to become the site of the Ottawa Colony for Noonday and his Grand River followers after the March 28, 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty.

In 1821 the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomi of southwest Michigan had concluded a Treaty at Chicago (29 August, 1821) which ceded all the area south of the Grand River east to that already ceded by previous treaties. Ke-way-goosh-cum, Head Chief of the Grand River Ottawa was the first Grand River Ottawa to sign.¹³⁰ It was not a popular treaty with the Indians. It cost Ke-way-gooshcum his leadership of the Grand River Band of Ottawa, a position he had held for over 40 years. It eventually cost him his life as he was killed many years later by Sagamaw in retribution for his signing of the 1821 Treaty. It was concluded that this was an Indian form of justice.¹³¹ While Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish signed the 1821 Treaty, Sagamaw did not. Indians south of the Grand River have never fully been compensated for this treaty, even today.

The Treaty of 1821 was concluded on 21 August at Chicago. Sagamaw and his band of Pottawatomi were conspicuous by their absence from the agreement. By that time in history he was a famous War Chief and adversary of United States policy and it's ambition to remove Northwest Territory Indians westward. His absence in this treaty is particularly noteworthy because his place of residence since his removal from southeast Michigan (Detroit) after the 1807 Treaty had become Prairie Ronde.¹³² There he located himself close to his long time allies at

Kekalamazoo, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and Penasee.

Only two "Chippewa" leaders signed the 1821 Treaty. One of those was Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish.¹³³ The majority of those who signed the 1821 Treaty were listed as Pottawatomi and numbered 55 in all. Sagamaw's Ottawa and Pottawatomi followers, already primary parties to the 1795 Treaty at Greenville, however were eventually to become part of the agreement in the face of his absence. Sagamaw's Band of Ottawa and Pottawatomi, without doubt still contained Detroit Ottawa and Pottawatomi among them, and numbered over 150. (Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish's Band from Kekalamazoo, by their Chippewa lineage retained some rights on the 1807 Treaty region until 1837 when Penasee relinquished any claim to the land as a supplementary participant in the 1837 Chippewa Treaty).¹³⁴

By the 1821 Treaty the area where Sagamaw resided, Prairie Ronde, was granted reservation status.¹³⁵ This was likely done by the U.S. to comply with the 1807 Treaty in which Sagamaw ceded southeast Michigan lands which necessitated the U.S. Government to provide him with space in the 1821 Treaty, whether he signed it or not.

Sagamaw's friend and ally Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish had been party to the 1821 negotiations and his presence, also from Kekalamazoo, made things easier for the government as Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish was recognized as Head man from the Kekalamazoo region. It is likely that Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish made sure that Sagamaw's Band was also granted land. After this Treaty Sagamaw became commonly known as the Chief of Kalamazoo County

Pottawatomi¹³⁶ likely because of exercising his right to withhold his signature from the treaty.

Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish likely suffered the same fate as his counter part Keway-goosh-cum on the Grand River by signing the Treaty of 1821. Ke-way-goosh-cum, the long-time Grand River Ottawa (also later included in the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony by the U.S. under Sagamaw) immediately and swiftly lost his standing among the Grand River Ottawa after conclusion of the 1821 Treaty. In 1821 Noonday became the Principal Chief of the Grand River Band. In this fashion two of the most noted warrior Chiefs from the Michigan region under Tecumseh then controlled Grand River Ottawa, and Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi populations in Allegan, Kalamazoo, Kent, and Barry Counties in the same fashion as their predecessors had when the Thornapple Lake region was still intact.¹³⁷ Gun Lake as a sanctuary for Indians remained under Indian control for over 15 years following the 1821 Treaty.

Sagamaw (other times spelled, Sah-ge-naw, Sawgamaw, Saguemai, Sigonak, Shekomak, Sau-kee-maus, Sou-ka-mock, Saw-ge-maw, and Sauk-e-mau) had signed numerous treaties after Greenville in 1795. After 1807 he principally signed Pottawatomi or United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi treaties, but it is known that he was a Pottawatomi/Ottawa.¹³⁸ His signature on the 1805, and 1807 Treaties at Detroit clearly establish his early leadership status. The courts have since ruled that only those who were primary parties to the 1795 Treaty were allowed to become part of the subsequent 1807 Treaty.¹³⁹

After the 1807 Treaty the numbers of Detroit Ottawa and other Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi in southwest Michigan was substantial.

It is also evident from a review of the treaties from 1795 until the 1821 Treaty that those assigned land in the 1821 negotiations were provided so not because of Pottawatomi heritage and location in southwest Michigan but to allow the U.S. to fulfill prior commitments to Chiefs who had rights from prior treaties.¹⁴⁰ Noonday at Grand River; A-mic-asaw-bee at Coldwater, Sagamaw, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, Mognuago, and the St. Joseph Band under Topenabee (and Pokagon, who was promised support by President Jackson) who had also signed the 1795 Treaty.

The legal implications of the array of War Chiefs whom had to be compensated by the U.S. from 1821 to 1833, and beyond, as in the case of the Gun Lake Band, calls to question whether Topenabee in fact is be considered Head Chief in the 1833 Treaty. He was however most certainly head of those Pottawatomi from the region who were not under the leadership of anyone else who was part of the earlier treaties. Topenabee, the noted Pottawatomi Chief had died in 1827. Topenabee's son signed the 1833 Treaty and had to remove to northern Michigan as a result.¹⁴¹

While Topenabee was obviously head Chief of the Pottawatomi, many other Chiefs including Topenabee's father were owed compensation from prior treaties, and it stands to reason that the reservations accorded them in 1821, and earlier treaties,

came as a result of this obligation. Many of Topenabee's apparent Pottawatomi flock from the southwest Michigan region removed to the sanctuary of remaining reservation land spaces and became temporarily part of new bands under the leadership of men such as Sagamaw and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, Chiefs of the Prairie Ronde and Kekalamazoo Pottawatomies, respectively.

The 1821 Treaty named and established seven major bands of Pottawatomi which remained in Michigan¹⁴² and placed southwest Michigan Pottawatomi under the leadership of many Chiefs from outside the region whom had prior rights from the 1795 and later treaties. As a reserved right derived from the 1795 Treaty, those who were primary parties could also hunt, fish, gather, and live on lands included within the 1795 Treaty boundaries not yet sold to the public.¹⁴³ This right would not come into play until the late 1830's following the 1833 Treaty.

Because the phenomena of the expansion of population growth of settlers expanded from Detroit to Chicago (east to west to the Lake Michigan shore) and then pushed north, Indians seeking unceded lands likewise were first pressured west; then north. After 1821 Sagamaw was a fixture in the Prairie Ronde region located just south of Kalamazoo, Michigan, and is referred to routinely as a Pottawatomi Chief.¹⁴⁴

Sagamaw's recollections of the Prairie Ronde region provided by first hand informants show that he had intimate knowledge of area's role in the War of 1812. In that war Prairie Ronde was a secret hide out for over 600 Pottawatomi loyal to the British where blacksmiths repaired their weapons.¹⁴⁵ It also

shows that Prairie Ronde was his permanent location after leaving Detroit. Ironically, Sagamaw was later recorded as a friend by the white settlers in the late 1820's. He led the first settler, Basil Harrison, into the region in 1828.¹⁴⁶

In the Treaty of 1821 five specific tracts of land were reserved. "One tract at Mang-ach-Qua Village, on the river Peble, six miles square; one tract at Mick-ke-saw-be (Coldwater), of six miles square; one tract at the village of Na-to-wa-se-pe, (Mendon) of four miles square; One tract at the village of Prairie Ronde of three miles square; and, one tract at the village of Matche-be-nash-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo River (Kalamazoo). This tract of land was also three miles square.

In 1827 each of these reserves underwent drastic change. Four reservations were eliminated in the cession of September 19, 1827, with the Pottawatomi and 99 sections of land were added to the north and west perimeter of the Na-ta-wa-se-pe reserve from the 1821 Treaty "in order to consolidate some of the dispersed bands of Pottawatomi Tribe in the Territory of Michigan at a point removed from the road leading from Detroit to Chicago, and as far as possible from the settlements of whites,...".¹⁴⁷ This time Sagamaw signed the treaty. So did Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish. Mick-a-saw-be (now spelled Mix-sa-be on the treaty) also agreed to the cession. Mic-a-saw-bee later joined the Old Wing Colony made up of northern Ottawa Indians from Cross Village who also moved to Allegan County to become part of a third "Colony" created by the War Department.¹⁴⁸

His descendants are now sprinkled throughout northern Michigan as he removed north with remnants of the Old Wing Colony after it moved to Waukazooville, later named Northport in 1848.

Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and Sagamaw were never fully compensated for their treaty cessions from 1827.¹⁴⁹ The wording of one of the orders to Bishop McCoskry on behalf of the War Department to Rev. James Selkirk as he situated the Griswold Colony bears striking resemblance to words from the 1827 Treaty requesting him to settle the Indians as "far as possible from the settlement of the whites". It may have been an attempt to rectify the oversight from 1827, particularly for Match-i-pe-nash-i-wish, who did not sign the 1833 Treaty and has yet to be compensated for his Kekalamazoo reservation.¹⁵⁰

The Griswold Colony, and eventually the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians, a Pottawatomi band administratively added to the Grand River Band by virtue of the Compact of June 5, 1838, were principally made up of Kekalamazoo Pottawatomi, and a few Grand River Ottawa, and Detroit "Ottawa" (Ottawa who did not remove at Maumee in 1838).

By 1815 a policy of removal had been clearly outlined by the U.S. and by 1824 was being implemented by key figures in U.S. policy making.¹⁵¹ These included Lewis Cass, Andrew Jackson, and John C. Calhoun. The treaty process after 1821 suggests an internment phase supporting outright removal later was contemplated by the U.S. Government where Indians were concentrated away from points of settlement to await removal.

In October, 1832, another treaty was concluded with the

Pottawatomi.¹⁵² It ceded lands in Indiana and Illinois and fixed the borders of reservations at Pokagon's Village and the large reservation then evolving at Notta-we-sipe where all southern Michigan Indians were expected to congregate. The wording said "agreeably to the treaties of1827 and 1828". All Indians in the Michigan Territory south of the Grand River were being concentrated into one major staging area located on the St. Joseph River. Government contracts had already become an integral part of the regional economy. From the river's edge steam boats would transport the Michigan tribes to Missouri. One must recall that the Indian Removal Act of 1830 would soon become law and be implemented.¹⁵³

There were also those within government service who were adamantly opposed to arbitrarily removing Indians who had prior treaty rights. Some treaties concluded during the post 1830 period had allowed the United States to provide lands for Indians within the territories they had ceded. This aroused the passions of those who favored outright removal. This precipitated a state's rights crisis in South Carolina.¹⁵⁴ This case eventually went to the Supreme Court. By 1825 the removal process of the U.S. had taken a clearly discernible form and by 1830 it was crystallized into law.

A few years prior the Prairie du Chien Treaty of 1825 had been concluded. The lands ceded by it to the federal government had been targeted by supporters of Indian removal for concentrating Indians located east of the Lake Michigan shore (Michigan) to points west of the lake. In 1829 the Prairie

du Chien lands themselves became ripe for settlement and the Treaty of 1829, concluded at Prairie du Chien on July 29, 1829, with the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi, ceded these lands to the United States.¹⁵⁵ Sagamaw was present.

In 1830 The U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act. This legislation required all Indian tribes remaining east of the Mississippi to be moved to the west of it. Not all Indians east of the Mississippi were willing to peaceably remove. Indian leaders and their remaining warriors began to draw lines in their remaining sand.

The Black Hawk War was just one of many skirmishes to confront Americans on the frontier in the 1830's. In fact in 1832 a major four day meeting near Gun Lake (Gun Plains) was held by United Nations Chiefs to determine whether they would intervene in the Black Hawk War with Black Hawk.¹⁵⁶ By 1832 Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and his Band had removed from Kekalamazoo to Plainwell, then called Gun Plains where he, and Penasee were certain to have been present. Although the meeting was held by the Indians, one white man, Samuel Foster, was allowed to attend with the purpose of warning nearby residents should the Indians of Allegan County again go to war. Four days later the Tribes gathered decided they would not intervene in the Black Hawk affair.

As part of the treaty agreements for each of the treaties of 1795, 1807, (1819 Chippewa) 1821, and 1829, permanent annuities were included.¹⁵⁷ This provided the inducement for chiefs like Sagamaw, or Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, or A-mick-asaw-bee

to sign these treaties. In three of these treaties the terminology was, "annually forever". Up to and including the year 1829, three of the Gun Lake Band (Griswold) Chiefs, Sagamaw, Keway-goosh-cum and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and their warriors and bands were supposed to receive annuities "annually forever" from five (5) different treaty sources.¹⁵⁸ A fourth member of the Gun Lake Band, Penasee (The Bird), signed the 1815 Treaty, and various other treaties. A sixth member, Wab-me-me, also was later part of the Griswold Colony. Like Sagamaw, Penasee did not sign the 1821 Treaty most likely because his father was Principal Chief at Kekalamazoo; or, he also did not agree.

The 1833 Treaty was next to be concluded. For Michigan's Indians located below the Grand River, the 1833 Treaty was to become the cornerstone of the U.S. removal process. The treaty was to be agreed upon in one day's time. The "26th of September, in the year of our Lord, 1833", is affixed to the treaty's preamble. Michigan Pottawatomi remember this treaty in the same way that Americans remember December 7, 1941. It was also a day to go down in southwest Michigan Indian community history as "a day of infamy", and disagreement.

The 1833 Treaty session at Chicago was extended to the 27th of September when many important Chiefs, dissatisfied with the negotiations and the agreement seemingly reached on the 26th of September, refused to sign the treaty. At the close of the first day's session, 77 individuals and chiefs, mostly Pottawatomi, had signed the treaty which would cede an area that contained over 5 million acres. The 1833 Treaty session

did not relieve the United States from the responsibility of paying for former permanent annuities as a result of signing the Treaty.

The problem that had to be circumvented by the treaty negotiators was that many of the chiefs did not desire to leave their homeland. Others like Sagamaw and the other 1795 Chiefs and their bands felt they still would not be required to leave but could simply remove north. Many others had already resigned themselves to finishing out their lives and to be buried in the sands of someone else's ancestors. Still others who had yet to receive annuities from earlier treaties saw the treaty as a means to survival even if it meant being uprooted.

On the 27th of September a compromise was reached. An agreement was struck in the form of what has become known as the Supplementary Articles. In that agreement, the Notta-we-sepi reserve and the 99 sections of land attached to it by the 1827 Treaty for "other bands of Pottawatomi (including Kekalamazoo and Prairie Ronde Pottawatomi) to it were ceded, as well as the 49 sections where the villages of To-pe-ne-bee and Pokagon were located.¹⁵⁹

For agreeing to the supplementary agreement the tribes became full parties to the agreements of the 26th of September. In addition they would receive an additional \$100,000.00 plus \$25,000.00 in goods, provisions and horses, and to have other various debts consolidated and paid by the government. Additional annuities were also to be paid to the tribes assembled there over a 20 year period.¹⁶⁰

Eight of the chiefs asked for an exemption from removal and received, "on account of their religious creed, permission to remove to the northern part of the peninsula of Michigan" and to receive their payments for all their past annuities due them there. This clause was to be eventually to be expanded in a ruling by the courts to also include those Indians Tribes who received annuities during the period from 1843-1866.¹⁶¹ The Kekalamazoo Band of Pottawatomi was one of the bands who participated in the 1843 payment and in 1899 the Supreme Court ruled that Allegan County Indians from the Kekalamazoo Band were to be allowed to participate in the judgment award for the Pottawatomi of Michigan and Indiana.¹⁶²

As a result of this judgment the Taggart Roll was created.¹⁶³ It includes the names of members of all bands of Indians who remained in Michigan had rights from the 1832 Notawasepi Reserve, and not just the Huron Pottawatomi. The Allegan County Indians, the Prairie Ronde and Kekalamazoo Pottawatomi, had successfully reminded the U.S. that they were still in Michigan and had not been removed after 1830.

The judgment of the Supreme Court in 1899 held that funds should be awarded to "Notawasepi and other bands" of Pottawatomi in Michigan and Indiana in addition to those identified by the Pokagon Band of Pottawatomies. The Pokagon Pottawatomi Band essentially held they were they were the only remaining band who could intervene in the case. Since the Kekalamazoo Band (or Penasee and Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band of Pottawatomi at the Griswold Colony) was also paid in 1843-44 they were also rightful

parties to recover from the suit and it was held they should also share in the claim as they fit the criteria of the Supplementary Articles of the 1833 Treaty¹⁶⁴ as previously identified by the courts and overturned a decision by the Secretary of the Interior which had declared quite the reverse.¹⁶⁵ Thus the Nottawaseppi, and other bands, were added.

The names of Allegan County, Indians (i.e., "Notawasepi, and other bands of Pottawatomi") now appear on the Taggart Roll which was prepared to compensate 272 of those who were eligible, equal to the 272 on the Cadman Roll¹⁶⁶ submitted by the Pokagon Band on behalf of the Pottawatomi of Michigan and Indiana. The Taggart Roll now contains 268 persons.¹⁶⁷

The 1833 Treaty was the last treaty that Sagamaw signed with the United States Government. It is also important for the "Gun Lake Band" to note that Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish did not sign the 1833 Treaty. Following the 1833 Treaty Sagamaw and his people moved north to Allegan-Barry County lands that were yet not settled at Gun Lake. They were free to do so based on prior rights from the 1795 Treaty where parties to the treaty could live on on lands not yet sold to the public. Allegan County was largely not yet surveyed or sold.¹⁶⁸

The Indians were determined to not be removed from their homeland and the War Department knew it. The Kekalamazoo band next removed to Allegan County. They moved from Kalamazoo, to Plainwell, to Martin, and finally to Wayland Township. Their path was recalled by Selkirk Sprague in a meeting before the Allegan County Historical Society in 1957.¹⁶⁹ The History of

Allegan County has an additional account of the band as it settled in Martin Township and possibly an account of the death of their Chief after 1842 (Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish).¹⁷⁰

Even though the 1833 Treaty was signed and removal was supposed to take place within three years for those who had agreed to removal, it would in reality be five years before any action would be taken at all. A bitter debate over state's rights had ensued in Georgia and court action by the Cherokee Nation delayed removal there; and consequently, in Michigan. In Washington the debate centered on whether a forced removal of Indians, not voluntarily agreeing, could legally be undertaken, and, if so whether ethically this should be done. These discussions by our nation's policy makers, the Congress, and the Executive Branch, came at a time when our national economy was just crawling out of a major depression. The entire removal process eventually went into a stall and removal action was postponed in Michigan for Indians below the Grand River until after 1838.

In 1836 the Ottawa and Chippewa located above the Grand River signed a treaty (March 28, 1836)¹⁷¹ which also contained removal language. They had five years in which they could retain their reservations and were then also supposed to also be removed. In November of 1836 President Andrew Jackson was defeated in the election by Martin Van Buren of New York and government policy that seemed bent on removal received a new administration. This meant there would also be a new Secretary of War, and possibly new policies on removal and other matters.

In 1838 the new Secretary of War was made aware of the remaining "hostile" United Nation element in south-central Michigan.¹⁷²

On the border between the United States and Canada a war threatened to ignite. The name in internal War Department documents for this threat was the "Patriot War".¹⁷³ There were fears that it could follow the pattern of the War of 1812. Since the U.S. secretly knew there were far greater numbers of Chiefs and Warriors in the lower Grand River region than those being publicly acknowledged they had ample reason to be concerned. The U.S. Government secretly assessed to which side the warriors remaining in Michigan, and particularly, those in the Grand River region, might choose; and which Indians might be loyal. The British took advantage of the situation and offered 5 years of annuities for Indians who would remove to Canada; some took advantage of the offer and left.

The War Department kept close watch on the movement of the Indians remaining in Michigan, especially those who were known to have been capable warriors. Payments to Michigan Ottawa who had been hoped would remove with the estimated 200 Maumee Ottawa who were known to be adverse to removal were not paid their annuities as an added inducement force the Indians to remove¹⁷⁴. Only 374 Ottawa eventually removed from Ohio and Michigan between 1830 and 1838.¹⁷⁵ The official position became, so as not to disturb land sales, that all had been removed.

The Allegan and Barry County Indians particularly came under scrutiny. Some of the most respected warriors who remained from the Old Northwest had by now concentrated themselves in

the lower Grand River region.¹⁷⁶ The times were ripe for an explosion. At the very time when the War Department should have been poised for decisive action in carrying out treaty provisions and voluntary removals a scandal also erupted within the War Department agency which dispersed payments to Great Lake area tribes under the supervision of Henry Schoolcraft. Schoolcraft, a civilian and Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Michigan Agency, did not have authority over which Indian tribes were paid. That was in the jurisdiction of the War Department itself and the commissioned officers, Garland and Sibley, who were located there.

To complicate matters it was discovered that the Grand River Band of Ottawa had not been fully paid since the last treaty was concluded due to a situation where wooden barrels and salt were being provided for Grand River Ottawa to pack fish when they were not fishermen. One of the functions of the Compact of June 5, 1838, was to align those Tribes whom fished into one specific category for payment along with those who also fished. The Grand River Ottawa had rejected the barrels two years earlier and had been promised silver in exchange but had not yet received a settlement.

And to make matters worse, in early April, 1838, a family of settlers was murdered near Ionia, Michigan.¹⁷⁷ This was the final straw that broke the back of the grid lock in Indian affairs administration. The murders were dubbed, "the Glass Affair". The Grand River Ottawa, unhappy and capable of retribution (as part of the 961 other "Ottawa" in the region

who had not received their annuities since 1836), were suspected of the atrocity.¹⁷⁸ Henry Schoolcraft was ordered to investigate the matter. This single spark ended the lengthy crisis of Indian policy debate caused by possible war between the U.S. and Britain. The Indians who remained in the lower Michigan region, already uneasy, prepared for the worst. They realized that the Ionia murders were thought to have been committed by them. The Chiefs adamantly denied any role in the offense.

The Grand River region by this time contained nearly all of the remaining "war lords" who remained in Michigan. (The evidence for this became apparent in the negotiation of the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty where the Grand River Ottawa Band Chief led by War Chief Muc-tay-o-shay (Blackskin; Medawis) and Noonday, who, along with other Grand River Chiefs would not assent to the wishes of the northern Ottawa and Chippewa Chiefs and did not sign the treaty agreed to in 1835 at Washington until their demands were addressed. There were cries from all quarters for a solution to be agreed upon and a course of action undertaken. The time for decision had arrived.

Action was finally came in June of 1838. First, a shake up in the War Department occurred, Sibley and Garland were reassigned, and Schoolcraft was given the responsibility to reconcile the past due annuities for Michigan tribes.¹⁷⁹ Second, rules for securing the necessary agents to work directly with the Indians were relaxed and Schoolcraft was given the latitude to hire those he needed to implement both removal planning and payment of annuities. Third, official debate about removal

ceased. Tribes were contacted and ordered to travel to strategic destinations on rivers to receive their partial annuities and to climb aboard steam boats for a permanent trip to Missouri; if they agreed. Removal had started.¹⁸⁰ Fourth, an exploratory mission to the Mississippi region for the lower peninsula Ottawa and Chippewa, was approved. It was headed by James Schoolcraft, brother of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft.¹⁸¹

Suspicion for the murders was lifted from the Grand River valley Indians after the investigation by Schoolcraft concluded that it was not likely the Indians had committed the action, although, as he informed the War Department, they had cause. A Treaty of Friendship between the U.S. and the Grand River Band was agreed to as part of the Compact of June 5, 1838, which put an end to the matter.¹⁸² It also provided the legal mechanism for a solution to the problem of hostile warriors amassing in the Grand River region. They would be attached to the Grand River Band temporarily before their still hoped for removal to Kansas.¹⁸³

Schoolcraft used the remainder of the Summer to thoroughly review treaty stipulations to verify whom had rights, and how much was owed to Tribes. The Winter of 1838 crept up on the removal process. The remaining Indian bands would soon scatter to their various Winter camps. This would make removal virtually impossible to accomplish until the Spring melt, and only after Indians returned from their sugar camps.

Agents in the field suggested to Schoolcraft that Missionary Societies "could be used" as an extension of

government policy if funds could be channeled and lands purchased to concentrate Indians at various points thus making removal easier to achieve in the Spring. Schoolcraft had already begun meetings with Christian denominations in the East in the Spring of 1838 and was planning on a similar course of action which would offer permanent residence and schooling for the Tribes. His rationale for providing the Indians with a Mission Home probably had more to do with his recently acquired religious convictions which overcame his responsibility to remove Indians. The War Department and the President, Martin Van Buren seized the opportunity to implement the idea. The President directed the War Department to authorize five Christian denominations to work with the War Department and assist with the settlement of Indians remaining in Michigan.¹⁸⁴

Schoolcraft proceeded to appoint missionaries as sub-agents to assist the government to implement new policies.¹⁸⁵ During the Summer and Fall of 1838 Henry Schoolcraft had already met directly with Bishop McCoskry of the Episcopal Church on numerous occasions.¹⁸⁶ Their topic was the creation of an Indian "colony".¹⁸⁷ As a result Congress appropriated funds to fund the plan. The Bishop was named as sub-agent and he in turn contacted Rev. James Selkirk to implement the plan.¹⁸⁸ Rev. Leonard Slater was also appointed by the War Department as sub-agent for the Baptists to implement a colony for the Grand River Ottawa.¹⁸⁹ The official roles of both Selkirk and Slater as "sub-agents" was quickly melded into roles as Indian School Superintendents.

The Grand River Bands, and other Indians nearest to the point (Tribes gathered on the forks of the Grand and Thornapple Rivers) where the recent uproar over the murder had erupted, were primary targets for the 'Colonization' plan.¹⁹⁰ Noonday at Grand Rapids, Sagamaw at Gun Lake and Cobmoosa at Ada were visited and offered the opportunity to remove to the new colony. The 961 other "Michigan Ottawa" who would later be acknowledged to exist in 1843, were already in the region. They would later fall under the Chiefs of the Grand River. Some of these were Chippewa who had removed "west" from the 1819 and 1837 Chippewa Treaty areas. An example of this is Wasso, or Wah-so, as he appears on the 1851 Griswold Census.¹⁹¹ He is a Chippewa, former Chief on the Shiawassee River at what is known today as Owosso, which is named after him. He removed after 1819, finally was provided land in 1853 and had by then been absorbed by the Pottawatomi. There are many more situation like Wah-so. They appear in the 1836 Ottawa Chippewa Treaty as Chiefs of the third class. Peet-way-wee-dum is another.¹⁹² Penasee is another.¹⁹³ Mrs. Gladys Church, daughter of a Chippewa/Ottawa from Kewadin recalled her father's assertions 100 years after the Treaty of 1836 that, "Penasee should have never been allowed in the 1836 Treaty; he was a Pottawatomi!" She remembers this oral tradition as shared by her father vividly to this day.

With the 1819 Civilization Act as a legal base Schoolcraft proceeded to create a radically different alternative to outright removal. The War Department's approval of "Colonies" of Indians, concentrating the warrior bands into villages, and the

President's appointments of the five participating denominations, was concluded by trust agreements being created with the five specific Missionary Societies. These Missionary Societies would in turn hold land "in trust, forever" for the Indians,¹⁹⁴ build schools and churches, clear and fence fields, teach farming techniques, and make blacksmiths and mills available to the tribes. They would also provide supervision for the proposed Colonies on a day to day basis. The stated and avowed purpose of the colonies under missionary societies was to provide "moral and religious instruction"¹⁹⁵ to the Tribes. The missionaries saw it as an opportunity to "civilize" Indians, educate and Christianize them, locate them on specific plots of land, curtail their love of hunting and "the chase"; and make them farmers.

The Supplementary Articles of the 1833 Treaty had offered some Indians the legal opportunity to stay in Michigan. The Pokagon Pottawatomi were the initial object of this plan from the 1833 Treaty. When their removal to Cross Village was rebuffed by the Northern Ottawa¹⁹⁶ the Supplementary Articles remained to be implemented. After the 1836 Treaty when the Cross Village Ottawa themselves were required to remove the Supplementary Articles for the southern Michigan Pottawatomi appeared impossible to fulfill. The Colonization plan allowed the U.S. Government a means to effectuate the exemption from removal.¹⁹⁷

Eventually Cross Village Chiefs from Northern Michigan were also paid as Grand River Ottawa under the Old Wing Colony.¹⁹⁸ Other Chiefs, formerly from southeast Michigan,

and their followers already had prior reserved rights from the 1795 Treaty that had to be taken into consideration. The die was cast. In November of 1838 Sagamaw's remnant band of United Nation Chiefs and warriors left Gun Lake and removed west a few miles and became the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony.¹⁹⁹

Today the descendants of the Sagamaw's Griswold Colony still live within a few miles of the Mission, which is still active, created by the U.S. where the Indian leaders of the Mission maintain their own Indian grave yard.²⁰⁰ They signed no treaties or agreements giving up rights to the permanent annuities guaranteed "annually forever". Sagamaw and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish's Band were co-mingled with Grand River Bands in the 1839 Annuity payments.²⁰¹ After 1843 they were co-mingled with the 961 other "Michigan Ottawa" who were identified and remained in the region after the Maumee removal.²⁰² As the "Griswold Colony", which was attached to the Grand River Band of Ottawa Indians annuity payment rolls, the members of the Gun Lake Band as well as the 961 other "Michigan Ottawa", which in reality were Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi originally from southeast Michigan, who were listed on Government documents and later assumed to be part of the Grand River Ottawa Bands.²⁰³

By 1838 the remaining confederated bands of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomi Indians who had become concentrated in south-central Michigan region near Gun Lake, Michigan, had become the sole remaining evidence of the once powerful Three Fires Confederation in Michigan. Until 1838 the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi had existed as a distinct

entity in Michigan. After 1838 when four major Chiefs from the former confederacy were organized by the U.S. into the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony under Chief Sah-ge-naw and paid at the Grand River Band payment site, the confederacy of Michigan Three Fire Indian Tribes continued; but under another name. That name was the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony.²⁰⁴

When the "Griswold Colony", as it commonly became known, was officially formed land was purchased from 1836 Treaty funds for the Tribe in 1839.²⁰⁵ Then a Mission and school were built. The United Nation became administratively attached to the Grand River Annuity Rolls. Thus the problem of dissident War Chiefs, numerous warriors, suspected murderers of settlers, and Indians who refused to remove, was neatly papered over and side-stepped by the new Colonization plan of the U.S.

The Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony remained a Pottawatomi Band under Pottawatomi Chief Sa-gah-naw (as it was written on the 1839 Gun Lake Village Band Annuity Payment Rolls) and for a 20 year period was reported in War Department, and later BIA documents, as an Ottawa site. There have been no treaties which canceled the permanent annuities due Sagamaw and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and their Pottawatomi followers.

The addition of Ke-way-goosh-cum, former Head Chief of the Grand River Band, to the Griswold Colony also gave him sanctuary.²⁰⁶ As previously stated, Ke-way-goosh-cum suffered greatly from his treasonous signing of the 1821 Treaty. After 1821 the name "Ke-way-goosh-cum" became infused with many other bands from the Grand River north to Traverse, everywhere but

at Grand River. He was effectively banished from his home region and ended up at the Griswold Colony because of his earlier support to the U.S. in 1821.

The U.S. purchased an additional 160 acres of land adjacent to the Griswold Colony in 1840.²⁰⁷ The 200 acres purchased in 1839 for Sagamaw's Pottawatomies at the Griswold site, also from treaty funds, was thus increased to 360 acres of land for the Pottawatomi at Griswold under Rev. James Selkirk.

Also in 1840, or "in the second year", James Selkirk wrote in his autobiography, Noonday came over and "made another Chief" and gave instructions to he and his wife. This indicates that even though Sagamaw and his Band were Pottawatomi and were resident at Griswold that Grand River Ottawa also resided among them. One of them was noonday's adopted son who married a Griswold woman. Noonday was unquestionably still the Principal Chief of the Grand River Band in 1840. Records from the National Archives indicate that the Noonday's Ottawa Colony was later determined to be a part of the Grand River Band.²⁰⁸ No such documents exist for the Griswold Pottawatomi. In effect, the Pottawatomi had been administratively attached to the Ottawa Treaty by decision of the President and lands had been purchased for both Griswold Ottawa and Pottawatomi signed by the hand of the President.²⁰⁹

Shortly after the Griswold Colony was implemented, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish died. Penasee succeeded him as head of the Kekalamazoo Band of Pottawatomi members under Sagamaw. Penasee was the son of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish. In October of 1839

Ke-way-goosh-cum, the Grand River Ottawa Chief, died while attending the annuity payments at Grand Rapids.²¹⁰ Noonday's visit to Griswold in 1840 was likely to give instructions to Ke-way-goosh-cum's replacement. In 1845 Sagamaw died while involved in a domestic dispute with his son-in-law who struck him on the head with an iron fire poker and an "iron knot" had crushed his skull. Penasee, or Panasse as he was sometimes identified, became Chief of the Griswold Colony Pottawatomi.²¹¹

In 1843 the U.S. began payment for past due annuities for both Pottawatomi, and Ottawa.²¹² In 1847 the third Colony created by the War Department below the Grand River at Black Lake, 40 miles west of Griswold, was over run by Dutch settlers and it's Chiefs and their followers were removed to northern Michigan.²¹³ About half of the Old Wing Band Colony were Cross Village Northern Ottawa under Wakazoo, or "Old Wing", (the grand father of Andrew Blackbird so well known today among the Little Traverse Ottawa). A-mik-a-saw-be and his Coldwater Pottawatomi from the 1821 Treaty also were attached to the Old Wing Colony. 1320 acres of land were secured for this colony with U.S. treaty funds. Many of the Old Wing Pottawatomi did not remove north with the Ottawa A-mik-a-saw-be. Some moved to Griswold and other simply remained in the western Allegan County region

In his reports to the Acting Superintendent in 1848, Rev. Selkirk notes that "100 Pottawatomi joined us this year", an apparent reference to the Old Wing Band failure and subsequent removal. War Department correspondence from T. Hartley Crawford to Indian Agents in 1843 encouraged them to attach "roving bands

of Pottawatomi" to the Missions.²¹⁴ There were also concerns being brought to the attention of the War Department of "Pottawatomi being paid"²¹⁵ among the Grand River Bands.

In 1851 a census of the Griswold Colony was conducted by former military officer and surgeon David Bradley who became postmaster of the Post Office then located on the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Reservation.²¹⁶ Penasee was enumerated as Chief and 199 members are listed on both the Griswold Census and later individually listed on the U.S. Census.²¹⁷ Rev. Selkirk, the Episcopal Missionary who was 49 years of age when the Griswold Colony was launched was listed with the Indians.

In 1853 the Ottawa Colony failed. The failure was partially due to the death of Noonday in 1846 which started a pattern of competition among the colony for leadership.²¹⁸ The death of Rev. Slater's wife in 1852 year which took what remaining fire Slater had out of his belly and he moved to Kalamazoo. Slater had regularly attempted to gain approval for removal of the colony's members to Kansas. In 1851 he had gone so far as to have the remaining Ottawa funds sent to Kansas in advance of the band. (This is apparently the cause of the alarm recorded by the Huron Pottawatomi in Calhoun County in 1851).²¹⁹ But, as the Missionary in Kansas later wrote, "we waited three years, but the Ottawa never arrived". He sent the funds back to the U.S.

Many of Noonday's Band removed to Griswold to live with the Grand River Ottawa there after his death and the death of Mrs. Slater who taught school. In 1854 Penasee died.

Sha-pe-quo-ung (Moses Foster and also son of Penasee) became Chief of the Griswold Pottawatomi and also of those Ottawa from Noonday's camp.²²⁰ In effect, by 1853, the three colonies created by the President and the War Department were combined at Griswold. Those who remained as the Ottawa Colony and appear on the 1853 "Ottawa" annuity payment Roll (January 11, 1854 at Grand Rapids) were likely Detroit Ottawa who had earlier merged with Noonday who did not desire to move anywhere. Maishcaw had become Chief of those who remained at the former Ottawa Colony site at Prairieville. They no longer received direct government services and were assumed to have been removed.

After the death of his father and his conversion to Christianity Sha-pe-quo-ung functioned as Chief of the combined members of the Old Wing Pottawatomi, the Ottawa and Chippewa, and Pottawatomi from Noonday's Colony, and the descendants of Sagamaw and Matchi-pe-mash-i-wish's Kalamazoo County Indians at Griswold and as a their pastor after 1854. The Pottawatomi under the leadership of Sha-pe-quo-ung were still the being treated as the 20 year guests of the Grand River Ottawa as they had been under Sagamaw and Penasee.

The Ottawa and Chippewa at Griswold, increased in their presence at Griswold after 1853, were led by Chief Maw-bees (Adoniram Judson, college educated and former interpreter for Lewis Cass).²²¹ Maw-bees froze to death in 1855 when an ulcer burst while he was hunting.²²² He had converted to Christianity.

Penasee, also part Chippewa but part of the Kekalamazoo contingent of Indians placed under Sagamaw, did not immediately

convert to Christianity, if at all, before his death. He had gained his status with the U.S. as a War Chief. By 1853, with peace achieved between the U.S. and the United Nation, he remained influential and Chief of the Pottawatomi but the educated Indian leaders and Mission pastors such as his son Sha-pe-quo-ung had assumed leadership of the Griswold Colony. Sha-pe-quo-ung's younger brother Cau-se-qua²²³ (D.K. Foster) was later educated in a BIA school and would later succeed his older brother Moses Foster as leader of the Pottawatomi of Allegan County.²²⁴

By 1854 it was evident to those who were part of the Griswold Colony that a change in the relationship of the Colony to the U.S. government was in the winds. In June of 1855 Rev. James Selkirk, Episcopal Missionary to the Griswold Colony and the school's Superintendent, and the Tribe's Chiefs directed a letter to the Secretary of the Interior pleading for a continuation of the funds to the Gun Lake-Griswold Colony.²²⁵ Selkirk suggested the great strides the Indians had made might be wasted if funds were not continued. In 1855 Maw-bees, another leader at Griswold who had originally been with Noonday and the Ottawa Colony before it folded in 1853, also joined Selkirk and Sha-pe-quo-ung and sent a letter to the Secretary of the Interior.²²⁶ The two Chiefs composed and wrote the letter themselves. Their request was to have the 360 acres of land in trust with Bishop McCoskry placed in trust with the U.S. Government.

Maw-bees, who had been educated at the urging of Lewis

Cass and had later served as his interpreter, was part of the multiple Chief structure at Griswold. The multiple leadership structure has been a constant tradition since the days of the United Nation war years.²²⁷ In another communication in 1855 Rev. Selkirk made references to claims by descendant and member of the Gun Lake Band (of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, 1821 Chief of the Kekalamazoo, and his unresolved claim to the three-mile square reservation), indicating that his people had not been compensated for the land they ceded in 1821. In that same communication Rev. Selkirk notes that he was aware "that Slater (Rev. Slater) recently received "\$7000.00 for the Ottawa Colony", an apparent reference to the funds directed to Kansas for Noonday's Ottawa who did not remove there.²²⁸ Selkirk asked for the BIA to look into the matter.

Letters received and letters sent on file at the National Archives indicate that much the correspondence from Griswold does not appear to have been answered although they were referred to other BIA divisions. In the Spring of 1855 Henry Gilbert, Area Superintendent for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, finally responded to one of Selkirk's earlier letters and sent word by letter to the Griswold Colony that it was too late for any changes to be made which would allow the Griswold Colony to continue beyond the 20 year agreement.

The date of the new treaty to be negotiated at Detroit (July 31, 1855) grew near. It had been scheduled for May and then was pushed back to July by Commissioner Manypenny. The Pottawatomi at Griswold had no knowledge of the impending treaty

negotiations. They were not approved by the Secretary of the Interior to be invited to attend until just days before the treaty was to take place. On July 14, 1855, Secretary of the Interior reversed the earlier decision of Manypenny and directed a communication to Henry Gilbert and directed him to contact the Griswold Pottawatomi and Huron Pottawatomi arrange for them to also send limited delegations to the 1855 treaty negotiations.²²⁹

There is no record to indicate that Gilbert ever transmitted this BIA decision directly to either of the Tribes. Based on the correspondence from Griswold leaders following the treaty session at Detroit it would appear that he did not. Two weeks prior to the treaty negotiations George Manypenny contacted Gilbert and requested to meet with him in Detroit to complete arrangements for the treaty negotiations. He indicated when he would arrive and that they would have ten days to prepare for the negotiations.

Five days prior to the 1855 Treaty, on July, 26, 1855, the Rt. Rev. Samuel McCoskry, Bishop of the Western Diocese of the Episcopal Church of America entered the Wayne County Court and entered a sworn declaration of Trust into the public record.²³⁰ The statement describes the responsibility of his Trust to the Indians under the leadership of Saginaw and describes the land and his purposes for holding such for the U.S. His sworn statement indicated, "I am seized in fee of the following lands....".

Since Bishop McCoskry received a direct land grant from

compensate the Christian denomination leaders, had alleged that McCoskry had misappropriated treaty funds, paid his own clergy, and had not paid Selkirk for his services. An investigation ensued.²³³ When it was completed McCoskry was ordered to repay some of the funds he received. He appealed the decision and the order was overturned and McCoskry was eventually cleared. Apparently the War Department agreed to the support of the allied Christian denominations from treaty funds as an inducement to guarantee their participation.

After 1843 C.C. Trowbridge, a close associate of former Secretary War Lewis Cass who had made recommendations for mission appointments for the 1821 Treaty, became the payment administrator for the Griswold Colony. Trowbridge also handled the personal investments of Lewis Cass while he was in government service.²³⁴ After 1843 the funds from the U.S. Treasury for each colony served by the War Department, except Griswold, was directed through the Board of Foreign Missions at Boston.

The Griswold funds flowed from the Treasury Department to Trowbridge.²³⁵ The funds were then transferred by draft to the Griswold administrator in Grand Rapids. After 1843 War Department and later Bureau of Indian Affairs records may suggest they no longer provided support to the Griswold Colony because the funds were handled separately from the other colonies. Documents from the Treasury Department prove however that the system was merely routed through Trowbridge at Detroit.²³⁶ This is one of the many circumstances which led to the Griswold Colony tribes and their reserved rights from former treaties

being compromised or lost in government bureaucracy.

The colonies in Michigan appointed by President Van Buren each had a similar structure and funding coordination process. After appropriations were made by Congress and agreements were made by the War Department (and after 1849 the BIA) the Treasury Department transferred funds to the American Board of Foreign Missions in Boston, Massachusetts. Due to the lack of Indian Service personnel available in the War Department when the Colonies in Michigan were begun in 1838, the American Board of Foreign Missions became coordinator for the War Department Indian Mission programs. After 1849 they handled these same responsibilities for the BIA.

Reports from the field for the "moral and Christian education" and Civilization Fund projects were sent directly to the BIA.²³⁷ However, frequent changes in the Acting Superintendent of the War Department and BIA between 1836 and 1857 (Schoolcraft, Stuart, Richmond, Babcock, Sprague, to Gilbert) and from Commissioners Harris in 1838 to Manypenny in 1857, did not serve to allow them to monitor the continuity of the Tribes and their progress, or protect their rights effectively.

In 1857 in Manypenny's last report to Congress he indicated the problem of administration of the BIA, the growth of secretarial staff, and BIA staff in general and still not being able to keep up, and indicated that as a result no more Tribes could be provided lands.²³⁸ This is likely why the Griswold Pottawatomis did not get a separate treaty after the 1855 Treaty

like the Saganaw Chippewa had received. In 1857 George Manypenny resigned from the BIA.

When the 1855 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty negotiation took place on July 31, 1855, Griswold Chief Sha-pe-quo-ung is shown to have affixed his name to the treaty as part of the Grand River Band.²³⁹ The Treaty itself, as a matter of record, was between the U.S. and the parties of the March 28, 1836, Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty. The Pottawatomi were not part of that Treaty but were added as a pacification process after the fashion of the Compact of June 5, 1838. Sha-pe-quo-ung had succeeded Penasee as Chief at Griswold in 1853 when the Ottawa Colony merged with the Griswold Pottawatomi. In 1854 he signed his first letter to the Secretary of the Interior as Chief.²⁴⁰ It is likely that educated Indian men, as interpreters for Selkirk and Christians Indians who could read and write were called upon to protect the interests of the Tribe in 1854.

When Sha-pe-quo-ung signed the 1855 Treaty along with Chiefs of the Grand River Band his signature did not cancel any obligations to the Pottawatomi from former treaties. It was an Ottawa and Chippewa treaty. Once again, after 1855, it is evident that the Pottawatomi had been administratively added to an Ottawa Treaty and the document makes no reference to any cessation of Pottawatomi rights. And since the Griswold Colony Chief Sagamaw had also not signed the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty there is no doubt that Pottawatomi rights or obligations had not been canceled any earlier.

The U.S. Government policy behind creation of the Griswold

colony was to pacify the Pottawatomi and Ottawa in the region and to Christianize the Tribe. By 1854 the pattern of Mission Indian pastors speaking for the Tribe (Sha-pe-quo-ung was a pastor) had begun. Penasee did not wholly convert to Christianity although, according to Selkirk's Diary, Penasee had ceased his habit of drinking alcohol²⁴¹ and his son's were looked upon as leadership material for the Tribe by the Missionaries.

It appears that many persons may have thought the Prairie Ronde and Kekalamazoo Band of Pottawatomi had formally become part the Grand River Bands by virtue of the creation of the Griswold Colony or by being provided access to the provisions of the 1855 Treaty. The BIA purposely inviting the Pottawatomes to the negotiations proves the Pottawatomi were still considered a distinct Tribe separated from the Grand River Ottawa from Noonday's old colony who then also lived at Griswold. 1854 annuity reports also suport this conclusion.²⁴² Sha-pe-quo-ung was Chief of the Grand River Ottawa at Griswold in addition to his leadership over the Pottawatomi. His signature on the 1855 Detroit Treaty is without doubt on behalf of the Grand River Ottawa resident at Griswold with the Pottawatomi question again not directly addressed.

A few months after the treaty was concluded Rev. Selkirk again appealed to the BIA stating that the Pottawatomi from the Griswold Colony had no prior knowledge, and were not invited to attend the treaty negotiations! C.C Trowbridge also wrote a letter and offered his insight stating that the Indians had

not even signed the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty! Rev. Selkirk informed the BIA that Superintendent Gilbert had visited the Griswold Colony six months prior to the date when the treaty council was held and that Gilbert had not mentioned anything about the Detroit treaty negotiations to the Tribe.²⁴³

Sha-pe-quo-ung, it is evident, signed the 1855 treaty on behalf of the Grand River Ottawa at Griswold rather than as an informed consent on the part of the Pottawatomi at the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony. One year later on July 31, 1856, the amendments to the 1855 Detroit Treaty were signed by the Grand River Band, including Griswold Pottawatomi Chief Sha-pe-quo-ung. By that time he may have known that the Pottawatomi were being added to the 1855 Treaty as was the case in 1838. By 1870 the Grand River Ottawa Rolls show extensive Pottawatomi membership and Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band from Griswold is still intact.²⁴⁴

No record has been located to show whether the Huron Pottawatomi were ever contacted regarding the 1855 Treaty negotiations or a new treaty. Even without a separate treaty many Huron, Pokagon, Prairie Ronde and Kekalamazoo Band Pottawatomi became enumerated among those who benefited from the 1855 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty.²⁴⁵ This indicates that the BIA used the 1855 Treaty as a legal basis to include the Pottawatomi residing with the Grand River Ottawa, likely based on the Compact of June 5, 1838, and removed them along with the Grand River Ottawa to Oceana and Mason Counties and included them as if they had been Grand River Ottawa again.²⁴⁶ Many

of the Pottawatomi who removed north and most of the Grand River Ottawa never came home. Today their descendants are inter-married with the Northern Michigan Tribes.²⁴⁷

A review of Huron Pottawatomi participation in the 1855 treaty provisions at this point, dispersed and few as they were, throughout the many Grand River Bands, is important for one to gain a clear understanding of how the histories of Sa-geh-naw and Penasee's Band of Pottawatomi at Griswold, and some of the Pottawatomi of Calhoun County became cooperating entities from 1839-1892. The interaction of the Allegan County Pottawatomi (Prairie Ronde and Kekalamazoo Bands of Pottawatomi) administratively attached to the Grand River Ottawa and named the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony, and a few Huron Pottawatomi can be broken into three distinct time periods. The first time period is the Grand River Ottawa Treaty periods, (1836-1877). The second distinct period extends from 1878 to 1892. During this period some Huron Pottawatomi were combined with Bradley Indians in Allegan County for as long as a generation after they returned from Oceana and Mason Counties and sought the sanctuary of the reservation lands at Bradley.²⁴⁸ The third time period is the "post Court Case" period from 1892 to the present. This time period is characterized by a complete divergence again into separate Tribal entities and the maintenance of separate institutions and governing structures.

Many Huron Pottawatomi whom are well known to historians and genealogists today also were attached to the Grand River Band, in addition to the Griswold Colony, as an eventual policy

result of the Compact of June 5, 1838 and the Supplementary Articles. In 1843, Selkirk's reports indicated that "Huron Pottawatomi returned to Nottawaseppi this year"²⁴⁹. This report indicates that Huron Pottawatomi were present among the Grand River Bands and those at Griswold. This is significant in that it is our contention that the roots of our Tribe's most recent legal link to Tribal status and past recognition by the U.S. Government is from our ties with the Kekalamazoo Band from the 1821 Treaty and not from the Huron Pottawatomi located at Pine Creek.²⁵⁰ They were removed by Gen. Brady in 1840. Some of the Huron Pottawatomi who were not removed averted this action by seeking sanctuary among the Indians in the Grand River region. Thus the Allegan County Tribe and legal status does not emanate from the Pine Creek Reservation; quite the reverse is true. Huron Pottawatomi, the record shows, sought refuge in Allegan and Barry County and eventually re-established themselves as a Tribe in Calhoun County where some other members of the Huron and Nottawaseppi Pottawatomi Bands had taken up residence with the assistance of Methodist Missionaries after the 1843 annuity payment period made up of Huron, and Nottawaseppi Bands.

That two separate divisions of Huron Pottawatomi populations existed are acknowledged by Henry Gilbert in correspondence to Manypenny in 1855. One division of the Huron Pottawatomi, of course, was the Huron Band in Calhoun County who were led by Chief Moguago. These Pottawatomi Indians had been forcibly removed from Michigan by General Hugh Brady and U.S. troops. They escaped and had returned to Michigan. Eventually, after

1843, they purchased land and settled in Calhoun County. They were later assisted by the efforts of Henry Jackson,²⁵¹ a Chippewa interpreter hired by the U.S. who lived at Griswold. He was also the Methodist pastor of the small fledgling Huron Pottawatomi flock at Bradley in the early 1850's. After 1843 the Huron Pottawatomi gained their own "Mission" under the leadership of the Methodists in Calhoun County and Rev. Mannassah Hickey. The Colony in Calhoun County was based on the existing model created earlier among the Ottawa and Chippewa from the 1836 Treaty and placed near Gun Lake.

The second division of Huron Pottawatomi were the Hurons who lived independent from the Nottawa Mission, and were not functioning members of the original six families and 61 Hurons recorded by the Census of 1847.²⁵² Some were Huron Pottawatomi who were among Sa-gah-naw's Band of Pottawatomi at Griswold, or lived in other places, in Allegan, and other Counties.

Missionary Reports of the Nottawa Mission indicate a small number of Huron Pottawatomi were attending a Methodist Mission at Griswold in 1853-55. Since 199 persons were enrolled in the Episcopal Griswold Colony in 1850, and 10 Huron persons and 5 baptisms of children were reported there,²⁵³ it is possible there could have been as many as 25 Huron Pottawatomi at Griswold if each family had three children.

In addition to the Hurons at Griswold, a third category of Huron Pottawatomi, or "other scattered Huron Pottawatomi", participated in the 1855 Treaty, and are included with at least four Grand River Band Chief's rolls following the 1855 Treaty

at Detroit. The Mackety's, (Mu-co-tay) had been part of the Griswold and Ottawa Colony since 1839.²⁵⁴ Mu-co-tay, had a son Samuel who married the daughter (Susan) of James and Sarah (Caw-Cawbe) David. James David was also on the 1853 Grand River Ottawa Annuity Rolls (David was half Ottawa and half Matchipenash-i-wish's Band)) as part of the Fish Creek Band.²⁵⁵ Other Huron's were dispersed throughout post 1855 Grand River Rolls including names which were part of the Grand River Ottawa Bands of Chief Aish-ke-baw-gosh, Chief A-ken-bell, and Chief Me-tay-o-meig's Band (he was paid in 1843) and they are listed as part of the 1870 Grand River Band Ottawa Annuity Rolls.²⁵⁶

Huron Pottawatomi also appear on the 1872 Grand River Band land selection lists from the 1855 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty and include: Joseph Mendoka, Aw-zhe-tay-aw-sung (James David), Maw-caw-tay (Mackety), Kay-ka-ke, We-zo, Eto-wah-ge-won, and Mac-key, and Me-tay-o-meig.²⁵⁷ The land selections for the Grand River Band did not take place until final lists were completed. The process was delayed for years because lists assembled by the Indian agents in the field were judged unacceptable to the BIA. The final list was supposed to be completed in 1856. This list was to serve as the basis for land selections by Ottawa in Mason and Oceana Counties. The list was not completed until 1872. By then the statutory time for the U.S. to comply with the treaty had expired. It is entirely possible that the Pottawatomi whom had not signed the treaty but later had to be included in the treaty were one of the reasons that the lists were unable to be completed. The other

reasons were the complexity of the process itself.²⁵⁸

Between 1857 to 1862 major policy shifts occurred within the BIA itself which affected the Michigan Pottawatomi. In George Manypenny's Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated November 22, 1856, he outlined the problems the BIA faced in fulfilling agreements that already existed with tribes whom had achieved treaties since 1853.²⁵⁹ He stated the enormity of the problem of Indian administration of the existing treaties which foretold consequences for the Pottawatomi of Michigan with whom new treaties had been promised.

Manypenny's address also indicated that the 32 new treaties after 1853 had acquired 174,000,000 acres of land and extended the jurisdiction of the staff of the BIA, with 13 new agencies and 9 sub-agencies, over an additional territory of four to six thousand square miles. ".....Since the 4th of March, 1853, fifty-two treaties with various Indian tribes have been entered into..... The increased labor which has thus been devolved on the Commissioner and the entire force of the Bureau.....and has swelled the business connected with our Indian Affairs to an extent almost incredible.....While the labor of the branch has doubled since 1852 the permanent clerical force is the same as March 4, 1853.....The business of the office....cannot be done thoroughly without a small permanent increase in the clerical force".

In addition to an insufficient labor force Manypenny cited "...the existing laws for the protection of the persons and the property of the Indian wards of the government are sadly

defective.....The rage for speculation and the wonderful desire to obtain choice lands, which seems to possess of those who go into the new territories, causes them to lose sight and entirely overlook the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants...." Manypenny's address concluded that the Indian was being surrounded by growth and progress and that, "...suitable tracts or reservations of land, in proper localities, for permanent homes for, and provide the means to colonize, them thereon".

On November 6, 1858, Manypenny's successor, Charles E. Mix, in his annual address²⁶⁰ stated, "...Our present policy... is to permanently locate the different tribes on reservations embracing only sufficient land for their actual occupancy; to divide this among them in severalty, and to require them to live upon and cultivate the tracts assigned to them; and in lieu of money annuities, to furnish them with stock animals, agricultural implements, mechanic shops, tools and materials, and manual labor schools for the industrial and mental education of their youth...." The stated provisions of the BIA were precisely those which the Griswold Colony had provided until it's end after 1855.

The constant badgering of the Catholic Missions of the Northern Ottawa and Father Frederic Baraga which for ten years had assailed the BIA for primarily serving the Grand River Colonies, and over looking Northern Ottawa education needs, after 1855 had their effect. By 1872, treaty provisions from the 1855 Treaty had produced only the Catholic Pay-ba-me Colony schools and funds to implement the avowed policy of the BIA

on the Oceana and Mason County reservation by 1872.

Over 1300 Indians had migrated to the Mason and Oceana County reservation in 1857 and 1858. More arrived after 1860 when most of the Grand River Band removed north.²⁶¹ Without doubt hundreds of Pottawatomi whom were without their promised treaty, nor legally attached to the 1855 Treaty, were among them.²⁶² A review of the Allegan County Census for 1860 however shows that many former Griswold members had stayed behind and the reservation was not abandoned.²⁶³ Others had removed north, befriended again by their Grand River Ottawa hosts to gain continued access to schools for their children.

The bulk of the Griswold Pottawatomi who removed north lived under the legal protection of Pottawatomi Chief Sha-pe-quo-ung for the next 20 years.²⁶⁴ Other Ottawa and Chippewa whom were not original occupants at Griswold but had come over from the Old Wing Colony when it closed, removed north along with the relatives of Cob-moo-sa and settled at Walkerville, Michigan. Cob-moo-sa, who had not removed to Gun Lake, inherited his son's band (O-Mah-bees), on paper at least, from Griswold after Maw-bees had frozen to death on a hunt in the Winter of 1855 after an ulcer had burst. His death was a major loss to Griswold leadership at precisely the moment in history when educated and articulate leaders such as Maw-bees were necessary to the challenge of their treaty rights.

In 1862 rumors of Indians massing for a new war spread across the Michigan frontier. Old war leaders were called together. It proved to be a false alarm. By 1862 BIA policy

regarding no new treaties had become an evident policy.²⁶⁵

The Allegan County Pottawatomi after 1854 were under the leadership of Penasee's son Sha-pe-quo-ung. It did not seem possible that the former Pottawatomi Indians from the Kekalamazoo and Prairie Ronde Reservations in Kalamazoo County, who were only meant to be a temporary administrative part of an Ottawa-Chippewa treaty process in 1838, by 1855 could still have been kept in waiting without a new Pottawatomi treaty.

In 1855 Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band, like Sagamaw's Band 20 years earlier, had thus been administratively added and included in the 1855 treaty provisions again as if they were Grand River Ottawa. It was a BIA policy maneuver which could have dissolved all of the Michigan Pottawatomi among the Grand River Ottawa in Oceana County and banished them to northern Michigan places forever if the U.S. had kept it's promises.²⁶⁶

The total dissolution of the Pottawatomi in northern Michigan may have been successful had the land provisions of the 1855 Treaty been carried out. They were not. One of the largest shams ever perpetrated on Michigan Indians and it was almost as unknown then as it is now.²⁶⁷ The reservation land patents that were promised Grand River Ottawa, Michigan Ottawa from Detroit, and Pottawatomi, whose names all appear on the 1872 land selection list were never delivered and the land was later "legally claimed" and purchased by whites!

In 1872 funds from the 1855 Treaty finally reached Crystal, Michigan, where Shape-quo-ung and D.K. Foster and their followers were gathered. Permanent annuities under a host of former

treaties which had not been extinguished had been quietly pushed aside.²⁶⁸ To further complicate legal matters for Michigan Pottawatomi still among the Grand River Ottawa, in 1872, the BIA retreated from direct involvement in Indian Affairs in Michigan and the Michigan Agency was assigned to the Methodist Church.²⁶⁹

The practice of using Religious Societies in charge of Indian Affairs in lieu of department regulars had previously been utilized with Michigan Indian Colonies such as Griswold in 1838. It again became the practice. Manypenny's fears of an over abundance of agreements to be carried out with an insufficient work force staff had come to pass. Any lingering hope for a separate treaty by the former Griswold Pottawatomi was crushed on March 3, 1871, when Congress abolished the power to make new treaties and recognize additional Tribes.²⁷⁰

By 1877 the land patents for over three hundred of land selections made by the Grand River had not been delivered by the U.S. White settlers claimed the land. Within a few short years the Grand River Band lost all of it's reservation, not to taxes, and not to ignorance, but because the patents were never delivered to those who held land certificates and thus the land selection process in Oceana County was never legally completed by the United States Government.²⁷¹

When the land patents were not delivered, Pottawatomi Elders and their families had little choice but to return to Allegan County to the sanctuary and safety of 360 acre Pottawatomi reservation which was still in trust with Bishop McCoskry.²⁷²

The former Griswold Colony, now a Methodist enclave, was now actively led by D.K. Foster, an educated Methodist pastor, brother to Moses, and also a son of Penasee. He had been educated in BIA schools and had taught school while at Crystal in Oceana County. He had knowledge of many treaty rights still owed to Michigan Indians. He is listed on the Taggart Rolls as a brother to Moses Foster.²⁷³

The return to Allegan County was accompanied by latent hostility towards the U.S. Government that even the Christian Missions could not mask or contain. The intention of the Allegan County Indians who returned to "Griswold" was to use it as it's land base and continue to pursue government to government relations with the United States. But the Pottawatomi once again were blessed with adversity. The timing of the return from Oceana County coincided with court action by Allegan County and the reservation land was put up for sale for back taxes.²⁷⁴ It is apparent that the reservation members who had remained behind in Allegan County refused to pay taxes because of treaty rights. The Court eventually acted. In 1884 it broke the McCoskry Trust without consent of the President, Congress, or the Secretary of the Interior and sub-divided the reservation.²⁷⁵ It was a clear violation of the Non Intercourse Act that remains to be remedied.

Another group of Indians also returned to Bradley with the former Griswold Colony Ottawa and Pottawatomi. It was the dispersed Huron Band members listed among various Grand River Bands.²⁷⁶ They finally consolidated in Allegan County after

1878. Members of the Metawis Band including their Chief, and his sons, also joined Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band in Allegan County. During the next 20 years these 3 groups cooperated together in Allegan County under the leadership of D. K. Foster and they frequently inter-married with each other. After 1860 they had all become adherents to the Methodism they had inherited from the government while at the Grand River-Oceana reservation.

When the former Griswold members returned to Allegan County from Oceana they gathered at the reservation. It is evident however that it was not their only residence. U.S. Census data shows that Pottawatomi also lived, or worked, in many other areas of Allegan County as well.²⁷⁷ Many took jobs as farm laborers for farms and agricultural operations around the county putting to use the skills they had learned at the Grand River Reservation²⁷⁸ where without much government assistance they had developed fine orchards, grain and vegetable fields, as well as continuing their hunting, trapping, and fishing. Once back in their homeland some purchased land and operated farms large enough to sustain their families. The skills they had developed during their years as reservation Indians were now put to the test.

The regular meeting habits of the Pottawatomi acquired from the years under Methodists allowed the dispersed Allegan County Indians to continue interact as a single community.²⁷⁹ They had no church building during those years. Their former Episcopal Mission was gone. The Methodist meeting place from the 1850's had been little more than a bark lodge. A pile of

rocks on the reservation marks the spot where it once stood.

The meetings of the Allegan County Indians occurred in individual family homes from Hamilton to Salem to Shelbyville to Bradley to Dorr to Burnips. Social occasions were held in addition to the church meetings. The places where meetings were held give a geographic outline of the Tribe's settlement pattern. It also marks the proximity to farms and orchards which the Indians labored upon. The 1939 BIA Holst Education Report shows the outline of the Allegan County settlement pattern.²⁸⁰

Some of the rights the Pottawatomi of Allegan County had been denied by not being part of the 1855 Treaty were eventually achieved through marriage. The Oceana County years created a bond among the children of the former United Nation warriors who returned from the north. The Tribe also gained a fresh gene pool. The families of Chiefs D.K. Foster, Joe Metawis, and others inter-married. The patterns of familiarity with each other that had begun in the villages on the northern Michigan reservation eventually led to an amalgamation of the Sagamaw and Penasee Pottawatomies, the Metawis Grand River Band family, with the Indians who had remained in Allegan County.

Lewis Medawis, son of Grand River Ottawa Chief Joe Medawis married Lydia, one of Penasee's grand daughters and eventually became a spiritual leader of the Allegan County Methodists.²⁸¹ He traveled far and wide in his role as a Methodist Circuit Rider. As grand son of Grand River Ottawa War Chief Muc-tay-woo-shay (Blackskin), Medawis's ties with the United

Nation as it existed after 1872 was in step with tradition.

In addition to Allegan County Indians who returned home some of the Calhoun County Huron Pottawatomi, also displaced by the dissolution of the Grand River Reserve, sought refuge at Bradley. Former Huron Pottawatomi Chief David Mackety's father Albert was born at Bradley. The Mackety's inter-married with other Pottawatomi after their return from Oceana County. Albert's mother and James David were lengthy residents of Allegan County.²⁸² Joe Mendoka was another Huron Pottawatomi who had purchased Bradley reservation land.²⁸³ Mocca and Meme Shaw-go-quette and their large families had also been in Allegan County in Cheshire Township after 1860 adding to the number of the "original six families" who had migrated to Allegan County.²⁸⁴ Mocca Shaw-go-quette is the daughter of Mrs. Shaw-go-quette whom the Huron Pottawatomi petition suggests was "lost to history". It is evident that Meme, Mackey, Mendoka, and Mocca were all at times present in Allegan County from 1839-1900. Although present in Allegan County the Hurons as a majority were not located among the Griswold Pottawatomi.

The last annuity payments to the Huron Pottawatomi were paid in 1889. The Grand River Bands had exhausted their annuities a few years earlier. In 1890, some 60 miles to the south west of Allegan County, the Pokagon Band and later Phineas Pamptopee and his Nottawaseppi Pottawatomi filed duplicate cases in federal court for land claim payments as a result of passage of a U.S. law allowing the "Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan and Indiana"²⁸⁵ to receive a payment from the U.S. for past

annuities. Allegan County Pottawatomies, such as Penasee's Kekalamazoo Band, and others, asked to be included in the suit under "other bands of the Nottawasepi", which had also been paid in 1843. The duplicate legal actions of the Pokagon and Nottawaseppi, and other Bands, were combined into one case by the courts. When an appropriation for the Pottawatomies came only the Pokagon Band was paid due to a BIA decision. The BIA had applied it's understanding of the court ruling and paid only members of the Pokagon Band. Judge Shipman, retained by the Allegan County Indians, sought to have the 1372 Indians from Pam-to-pee's suit also paid in addition to the Pokagon's.

Allegan County Indians, and others, pressed for relief on the issue and by 1899 the case was finally decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court ruled that "other Bands of Pottawatomi, as well as Pokagon and Nottawaseppi Pottawatomi, paid by the U.S. in 1843 were also eligible to share in the judgment. 272 individuals were added to those already paid.²⁸⁶ A roll to enumerate the additional Pottawatomi Bands authorized to share in the judgment was developed. It is known as the Taggart Roll and contains 268 Pottawatomi Indian names, many of whom are the descendants of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish's Band.

The successful conclusion of Pottawatomi claims after the Supreme Court judgment marks the point of final division of the Huron Band members from their Allegan County hosts. After 1900 many of the Huron Band members whom had been located among the Grand River Bands in 1838 and later in Oceana and Mason Counties in northern Michigan for over a half century

had the opportunity to return home.

The court ordered payments to the Pottawatomis were made in 1904. Coincidentally James David's wife Sarah inherited 40 acres of the Pine Creek reservation in 1905. Others moved onto parcels of land available near Pine Creek Reservation. The "reservation" was originally purchased by Huron Band members who pooled their 1843 annuity funds,²⁸⁷ purchased the land and named Michigan Governor John S. Barry as Trustee. The State of Michigan has no record of the trust and the 120 acre parcel of land remains a curious non-taxed landmark in Calhoun County.

In 1903, D.K. Foster, the long-time leader of the Ottawa and Pottawatomis Indians of Allegan County died. He was buried in the Bradley Indian Cemetery on land he had preserved on the former 360 acre Griswold Mission Reservation.²⁸⁸ When he died he held title to 95 acres of the original the reservation. In 1913 only 65 acres remained. He had secured 5 acres of the land for cemetery and Mission purposes, the site of the Bradley Indian Mission Cemetery today.²⁸⁹ This is the plot that Bishop McCoskry had marked off with a stick in 1839 for burial purposes.²⁹⁰ Foster had hoped to see the time when the reservation and the Tribe would be finally recognized by the United States. His grand son, John Foster, son of James, summed up the land loss drama in 1984 before his death by saying, "this (land) was supposed to become a reservation, but it never materialized". D.K. Foster had lived 64 years, one year short of receiving his "meen'-dum".

D.K. Foster's forty years of teaching and advising the

Ottawa and Pottawatomi began in Oceana County in 1857 after he received schooling from a BIA school. After 1877 he returned to Allegan County. Both D.K. Foster and his older brother Moses (Sha-pe-quo-ung) appear on the 1880 U.S. Census from Allegan County. What appears to be a separate enumeration of Indians in Allegan County from 1850 to 1880 on the U.S. Census actually documents Indian households in Wayland Township and shows the effect the reservation had on the settlement patterns of the Indian community during those years. The Indians lived in an Indian community. The census takers did not have to do extra work to gather the Indians names together in Wayland Township; the Tribe lived together.²⁹¹

D.K. Foster had an excellent grasp of Indian treaty and the reserved rights of the Indians he led. He also had an excellent understanding of who the Tribes were which had been merged into the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony by the U.S. in 1838 and had heard from the elders where they had come from before settling in Allegan County. His father was Penasee and this certainly assisted him to lead the community. He was particularly bright, even as a child,²⁹² and was sought out by the Mission leaders to go to school and prepare to lead the community. Education has been a respected foundation for Indians leaders of Allegan County Indians since the schools were placed there by the War Department.

D.K. Foster's personal leadership in Allegan County during the period 1895 to 1899 and successful liaison with the state's Pottawatomi community led to 268 additional names being added

by a Supreme Court ruling²⁹³ ("Notawaseppi, and other bands") in addition to Pokagon's Band approved for payment of claims in an earlier court ruling. He had, along with many other Indian Pottawatomi Indian leaders, been a champion of the rights of Allegan County Pottawatomi, and the dispersed Huron Pottawatomi. In the action Moses, and D. K., Foster defended the right of Nottawaseppi, and other bands of Pottawatomi, then located in Allegan County (even Joe Mendoka and Albert Mackety's mother then owned land at Bradley), to be added to a short list of Nottawaseppi Band Indians earlier submitted to the government by the Pokagon Band.²⁹⁴ The Allegan County Pottawatomi as a majority were made up of descendants of Pottawatomi Indians who were formerly located in Kalamazoo County.²⁹⁵

1372 Michigan Pottawatomi living throughout the state were also listed in the body of the court suit²⁹⁶ but the court ruled that only 272 would be paid, a number equal to the Pokagon Band claim that had been paid earlier. An annuity roll named the Taggart Roll was then created by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and 268 Indians from Allegan and Calhoun, and Pottawatomi from other locations, were paid in 1904. The Indians of Allegan County today remain as a majority descended from former Kalamazoo County Bands which were under the leadership of Sagamaw, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, and Penasee.

After the death of Foster the yoke of leadership of the Allegan County Indians next fell to Lewis Medawis and Selkirk Sprague, both pastors. Medawis had married Penasee's grand daughter and joined the Pottawatomi in Allegan County as their

Methodist pastor.²⁹⁷ The community tradition of the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Band Tribe since before 1855 had placed the leadership of the colony in the pastor of the Indian Mission, who often also served as interpreter for the Missionary, and pastors thus gained influence when decisions needed to be made among and between the Government, the Missionaries, and the Indians themselves. Multiple leaders were also a tradition.

After the Methodist Church became the visible arm of the Bureau of Indian Affairs institution in Michigan in 1872 the tradition of leaders being Mission pastors was strengthened even further.²⁹⁸ As a side note Lewis Medawis in oral tradition recalled by Medawis's grand son Lewis Church, Methodist pastor currently serving the Indians of Allegan County, recalled that his elders had said, "Lewis Medawis was a small man. His bride's mother worried that he was too small to cut wood or support her daughter and a family. What Medawis lacked in size he made for up in spirit". Medawis had married Penasee's grand daughter Lydia while the Tribe lived in Oceana County.²⁹⁹

After the Methodist Church became the functioning body of the BIA in Michigan in 1872 Lewis Medawis became a pastor of an Oceana County Indian Mission. Lewis Medawis thus joined Sha-pe-quo-ung among the ranks of those who functioned as active Indian Mission pastors among the Grand River Ottawa people in Oceana County.³⁰⁰ Medawis later moved to Allegan County with his wife after the reservation swindle in Oceana County left all of the Ottawa and Pottawatomi there without land.

Medawis died in 1924 as the result of a horse and buggy

accident and Jim White Pigeon, husband of Medawis's oldest daughter, became the leading spokesperson for the Salem Pottawatomi. After the death of Medawis, Selkirk Sprague became the Tribe's strongest spokesman and advocate. Leadership styles in Allegan County developed as a reaction to the corrupt dealing they had endured under the U.S. The religion of the Indians was fed by the tests to their being that the U.S. Government had put them through. They learned self-reliance.

Just prior to D.K. Foster's death the news of the successful "Pottawatomi Meen'-dum" (gifts, or annuity payment) ruling by the Supreme Court in 1899 sent a wave of excitement through the southwest Michigan Indian community. The excitement temporarily over shadowed the news from the government in 1890 when it became apparent that Indian Tribes would receive little or no new support from Washington.³⁰¹ After 1890 the BIA espoused a new policy. The policy was outlined by Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1889, in his Annual Report to Congress Thomas Morgan recommended that, "The Tribal relations should be broken up, socialism destroyed, and the family and the autonomy of the individual substituted....the development of a personal sense of independence and the universal adoption of the English language are means to this end". He pointed out that, "the reservation system belong to a vanishing state of things and must cease to exist". He believed that, "The logic of events demands the absorption of the Indians into our national life, not as Indians, but as American citizens"....

Morgan believed that "Indians must conform to white man's

ways, peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must". On administration of the BIA he stated, "The best system may be perverted to bad ends by incompetent or dishonest persons employed to carry it into execution, while a very bad system may yield good results if wisely and honestly administered".

It may have been fortunate for the Allegan County Indians that they were largely forgotten by the U.S. Government. After the "boondoggle" in Oceana County where at least 318 land patents for 80 acres each, or 25,440 acres,³⁰² were never delivered to Indians the Allegan County Ottawa-Pottawatomi community turned inward away from the U.S. Government for leadership and guidance and even more so after the death of their last Griswold era Chief, Moses Foster, to envision a a future lifestyle for the Tribe. The central organizing unit to their survival as a community however was their Mission structure. It served as an ironic replacement for the former war councils which had governed their ancestors since nearly the entirety of the Allegan County Indian population were a warrior element.

The exodus of many of the Huron Pottawatomi individuals who had returned to Calhoun to join the Nottawaseppi Band Pottawatomi there after the Supreme Court ruling³⁰³ after 1904 returned the Allegan County Indians to the membership roots contained from the Griswold-Ottawa Colony years.³⁰⁴ In the Griswold years the Tribe was Ottawa, Pottawatomi, and Chippewa. After 1855 the Saganaw Chippewa, whom the Indian Claims Commission found to be the Chippewa portion of the Ottawa, Pottawatomi, and Chippewa confederacy,³⁰⁵ received a separate

treaty and removed to Mt. Pleasant. The United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi had as a majority become an Ottawa and Pottawatomi Nation.

Even Lewis Medawis, the unassuming Methodist Pastor and leader of Allegan County Indians, was in actuality, a descendant from the Griswold Colony years.³⁰⁶ His father, Joe (Muck-tay-wooshay, Metaywis), had been a member of the nearby Ottawa Colony under Noonday. After 1843 the Griswold and Ottawa Colonies received payments together. After 1853 the colonies merged and Sha-pe-quo-ung also became Chief of the Ottawa Colony members who had removed to the Griswold Colony as well as a Chief and spokesperson for the Pottawatomi in his role as pastor.

After the retreat of numerous Huron Pottawatomi to Calhoun County as well as the removal of Pokagon Band members who returned to Van Buren County after the payments to the Pottawatomi, Medawis and the Methodist Indians who remained in Allegan County then possessed a greatly diminished land base from what they had enjoyed just a few years earlier.³⁰⁷ The return of the dispersed Pottawatomi with D.K. Foster to Allegan County after 1878 from Oceana County had been because of the existence of the reservation lands at Bradley. After 1878 until about 1900 the "Selkirk Reservation" became a multi-tribal reserve made up of Kekalamazoo, Prairie Ronde, Huron, and Pokagon Pottawatomi Band members. The U.S. Government and BIA failure to complete the list of names so land patents could be delivered chased the Indians from their rightful lands. Shortly thereafter the Tribal members purchased the Allegan County Indian

lands when the court broke the McCoskry Trust in 1884.³⁰⁸

The Pottawatomi Indians who settled in Allegan County seeking sanctuary after 1878 had no inkling that they would soon receive a favorable Supreme Court ruling and themselves be enabled to return to the homelands they once lived in three quarters of a century prior to their arrival to Allegan County. After 1890 Pottawatomi residing in Allegan County began hearing the news of the claims settlement and realized they might receive funds from the United States. By 1895 the Pokagon Band had already received their funds. By the time the Supreme Court decision of 1899 took place, Huron and Pokagon Band Pottawatomi, and many others from the ranks of "the reservation land owners" had sold their stake in the Allegan County reserve. After the Supreme Court ruling Pottawatomi families made decisions about which Pottawatomi band they actually belonged to and removed to join their respective "Tribes" even though the U.S. Government had not recognized them.

The return of Pottawatomi Indians and their families to areas south had a serious impact upon the Indians of Allegan County. On the positive side, although some strong and respected individuals had removed south, none of them had been the primary leaders of the Allegan County Indians. On the negative side, much of the acreage of the reservation had fallen into non Indian ownership after the sale of the land by Pottawatomi who splintered off and returned to their historic homelands.³⁰⁹ By 1895 D.K. Foster with his 95 acres remained as the owner of the largest block of land from the former reservation that

was left.

Concern among the remaining Allegan County Indians after the turn of the century arose about where they were now going to live. In some cases competition for the remaining reservation land began to appear. The answer to the problem became obvious. It is likely that the Pottawatomi who left Allegan County reached the same conclusion. The Bradley Indians needed to secure additional land themselves after they received their "Meen'-dum".

The Bradley Indian Community used the 1904 Pottawatomi funds they received in various ways, not the least of which was to expand their land base. Lewis Medawis led the way. The Supreme Court judgment of 1899 and the 10 year period which preceded it allowed the community to understand that their "Grand River Band Ottawa years" were finally over. The court decision, to the community, meant that they had finally been recognized by the government to still exist and caused a backlash. Within the community ranks those who were descended from the original members of the Griswold Colony guarded the Bradley land base that remained from "outsiders". Even though Medawis had been former resident of the region and was descended from the nearby Ottawa Colony, he was forced to find additional land in the community besides the reservation.

The old reservation now exceeded it's capacity after Huron and Pokagon Pottawatomi land owners sold their land and moved. If those members had waited for their Pottawatomi funds to arrive Bradley Indians might have preserved more of their reservation

for themselves. However, they did not. As a result, the Ottawa and Pottawatomi had to decide what to do to solve the problem. Under the leadership of Lewis Medawis the combined Grand River Ottawa and the descendants of Penasee they had married purchased the best land they could find that was available near the reservation. Eventually they moved 10 miles west to Salem Township³¹⁰ and created an addition to the Sha-pe-quo-ung Pottawatomi Tribe, or colony, as it existed after 1900.

Medawis and his wife had six children. The marriage of two of Lewis and Lydia's (Sprague) five daughters to the grand sons of Chief Wab-me-me (White Pigeon), another signatory to the 1795 Greenville Treaty, had earlier called attention to the crowded situation at Bradley. Martha, the oldest, married Jim White Pigeon and her sister Mary was wed to John. Wab-me-me had also been a part of the Gun Lake Band Griswold Colony. His family however had remained at Bradley when the tribe ventured north to Oceana County. It is likely that because he had signed the 1846 "Council Bluffs" Treaty that he no longer qualified for inclusion in northern 1855 Treaty provisions with the other Pottawatomi of the Grand River region.³¹¹ They lived on a hill over looking the northwest shore of Indian Lake.

The third daughter of Lewis Medawis and his wife Lydia, Nancy, married James Foster, the son of D.K. Foster. They remained at Bradley. The fourth daughter, Sarah, a practicing Mediwin Medicine Woman married a Whiteman, possibly the first Indian to white marriage among the Allegan County Indians in 1914 and one of the few to occur until the 1950's among members

who remained in Allegan County.³¹² Sarah's husband's name was A. E. Church, a farmer and drover. He wasn't readily accepted by the Indians but a cash purchase of 120 acres of land for he and bride to live on impressed the Indians and showed that his intentions were honorable. He was also an expert horseman. His horses provided stud for Indian horses throughout the region.

Medawis's fifth daughter Eliza married Sampson Pigeon (We-we-say). A sixth child, Henry, eventually married a Huron Pottawatomi from Calhoun County and move to Calhoun County where the Grand River Ottawa Medawis name survives today as a Huron Pottawatomi surname; only the elders recall it's Ottawa source.

The land purchased in Salem Township by the extension to the Bradley community was well drained, sandy but fertile, soil located among the many tributaries of the Rabbit River.³¹³ It could produce satisfactory crops and was also close to excellent hunting and fishing. Pete Medawis, a brother to Lewis, also removed to Salem with his wife Margaret.

The Salem Community purchased approximately 500 acres of land in individual parcels from those available on the market and located in a 2-mile radius from each other whose center was the middle of the common north/south border of section 34 and 35 of Salem Township.³¹⁴ The land they chose was located on an old trail that formerly led from Allegan to Grandville, the former home of the Medawis grand father, Blackskin (Muck-tay-woo-shay). The new Pottawatomi community initially included seven families but grew as time passed.

Pete Stevens, adopted son of a Pokagon Pottawatomi (Alec

nee Green "Pokagon"), whose mother was a daughter of Wab-me-me, and his wife Angeline Mark, from Bradley, also joined the Salem community. Although Pete Stevens is listed as a descendant of Pokagon, his ancestors were among the Grand River Band since the creation of the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony and are the descendants of Leopold Pokagon's first family.³¹⁵ It is obvious that even Pokagon Band members suffered because the Supplementary Articles were not effectuated before 1843 and thus even Pokagon Band members sought sanctuary in Allegan County. The children of Pokagon's second family are more commonly known, especially Simon, who owned land and lived in Lee Township³¹⁶ of Allegan County. When the reservation at Bradley was sold in 1884, Pete's father, Alec, purchased one of the parcels.³¹⁷

In 1907 Lewis Medawis and the Pottawatomi of both the Bradley and Salem Settlements decided that they should build a Mission Church for their own use.³¹⁸ It was decided that the Mission should be placed at the site of center of their world; the former Selkirk Reservation. The community raised the funds for the construction of the church themselves through numerous socials, black ash basket sales, assessments to family heads by the Tribe, and contributions of the members themselves as individuals. Members of the Tribe themselves then built the Mission and in 1914 the building was completed. It remains today, slightly expanded, neatly painted, and has an active Indian Methodist congregation made up of United Nation descendants. The Mission institution has served as the social and religious center for the community since treaty times.

In the years following the separation of the Bradley Indians and the scattered Huron Pottawatomi who returned to Athens after 1899, the Indian families remained close frequently called on each other.³¹⁹ In the post "Oceana County years" many of the Huron Pottawatomi and the Bradley Indians had inter-married. The Bradley Indians had inter-married with the Hurons more than the Salem Indians had. Sam Mendoka's first and second wife were from Bradley. His second wife, Mary Walker, was Grand River Ottawa and grand daughter of Chief Cob-moo-sa. The Walker, and other Grand River blood lines more often than not are the inter-connection between the Allegan and Calhoun County Indians, often from the Oceana County years.

In Athens it has long been supposed that the Sprague family was Huron Pottawatomi but research indicates their blood lines are Chippewa, in addition to Pottawatomi, as they are descended from Chief Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and his band who was provided a reservation in the 1821 Treaty.³²⁰ The Sprague family is the most numerous of the Allegan County Indians in the Tribe today. It is of interest to note that Henry Sprague played Triple A baseball in the New York Giants farm system until 1906 when an arm injury cut his career short. He later served as an athletic instructor at Carlisle. All of Sprague's sons took up the white ash war club and challenged other Indian communities to "play ball".³²¹ It was a new form of battle for the former United Nations warriors who had not escaped the thrill of combat.

The Sprague name first appears after 1850, at about the same time that William Sprague served as Superintendent of the

Michigan Agency. Previous to that time Sprague had served as a Indian Agent whose headquarters had been at Kalamazoo. Some of the Pottawatomi who joined Griswold from Kekalamazoo became known as "Sprague's Indians", or Sprague, (Spregg on the 1860 Census)³²² when their first English name was provided. Since most of the marriages were Indian to Indian few surnames will be found on passenger manifests but rather are to be found in the names of leaders of the time. Lewis Cass begat the many "Lewis" names. The Biblical name David which appears early in the 1850's comes from the name of the first Bradley postmaster, "David" Bradley. Selkirk from James "Selkirk", Foster from Samuel "Foster" (a local doctor) and so on. The idea that the names emanated from marriages outside of the Indian Tribe is not supported by any records of other evidence. In a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1853 it is noted that the "Griswold Indians are making substantial improvement. They now sit on chairs, sleep in beds, and eat with utensils". There is no mention of white neighbors wanting to join their rustic lifestyle or mixed marriages.

The Bradley and Calhoun County community interaction continued regularly between the inter-married Bradley and Athens families until the conclusion of World War I. The second generation of families of the Bradley and Calhoun County Indians, children of parents who had successfully fought the United States Government together and had won, increasingly turned their interests inward towards building their individual communities after 1920. The Allegan and Calhoun County Indians have

continued however to venture to each others yearly camp meetings,³²³ funerals of family members,³²⁴ and various other occasions, but on a less frequent basis now than the days when the Mackety's, Mendoka's and Pamptopee's, and the Foster's, Sprague's, Jacksons, White Pigeons and Medawis's shared the common experience of being part of the same community in Allegan County after the Oceana reservation years.

Part of the reason for the gradual change in relations between the Allegan and Calhoun County Indians was due certainly to the death of significant common family members. But a second, and more fundamental reason, was the development by the Bradley Indians of it's own institutions, it's Indian Missions, which allowed the Indians to close their ranks and draw the Allegan County Indians politically together. As the years passed the local community affairs absorbed more and more of their time. After their families reached adult ages they also became active community members, and had families of their own.

During the 1905 to 1920 era the leadership of the Bradley Community, like Salem, was provided through the extended families descended from Penasee. At Bradley the Spragues, Jacksons, Walkers, Marks, and Fosters remained as the core community under the leadership of Selkirk Sprague who emerged as the Bradley Indian leader³²⁵ a few years after his return from Indian School at Haskell in Lawrence, Kansas. The two communities functioned more or less as one although two local pastors were present.³²⁶ Sprague, however, repeatedly wrote the BIA behalf of the Tribe.

A significant difference during the post 1920's era from

the past was that the Bradley and Salem communities were closely related enough that marriage among members of the two communities became increasingly difficult to achieve without marrying cousins which has traditionally been a social taboo. Once again marriage brought new Indian blood into the communities.

In 1921 the Salem Indian Mission was begun by the Salem Pottawatomi. The community built the foundation, and the Methodist Church provided \$300 towards the building. It was completed by 1924. Like the Bradley Mission it is still functioning on a regular basis, is still Methodist, and still has a stable of Indian pastors. When the Church was built John Paul (Maishcaw,) a Grand River Ottawa whose grandfather was Chief of Noonday's Band who did not remove to Griswold after 1848. Paul, who later had married a Huron Pottawatomi and resided at Athens, was paid by the Salem Indians to supervise the construction.³²⁸

The new Mission was located in the approximate center of the Salem community on land purchased by the community from Henry Medawis after he moved to Athens in 1918. The building was a rectangular construction over a cement foundation with the main door which faced east. The large timbers used to frame the 24 foot by 48 foot building with a 12 foot interior ceiling were hand hewn with axes by the community members themselves. A belfry and bell was located above the entrance. Three two foot by four foot double hung windows were placed on the north and south walls. The siding was beveled pine and the roof 6-12 pitch roof was covered with cedar shakes. Oil lamps spaced

about the side walls lit up the room for night meetings and a single stove placed midway between the front door and the pulpit on the north side of the room provided heat for the congregation. The pulpit area was a 12 inch platform measuring 8 feet from front to back and a simple 2x4 dimension lumber rail served as a altar. The Bradley Mission was essentially the same except it has a Michigan basement and slightly smaller in overall dimensions.

When the building was finished four Maple trees were planted in a east west row beside the south side of the Church by community leaders representing both settlements in a celebration to mark their commitment to each other. Selkirk Sprague, Jim White Pigeon, A.E. Church, and Alec Chippeway planted the trees and they remain there today, 70 years later.³²⁹ A hitching rail was located outside the church on which the horses were tied.

By the time the Missions were built the Allegan County Indians had continued their own "horse culture" they had inherited from their warrior ancestors.³³⁰ In 1851 BIA school reports record that the Griswold Colony members had 61 ponies. By the time the community was organized in Oceana County the number of horses had swelled to 131. The horses of the Pottawatomi were first brought into the community in southwest Michigan after 1794 when General Wayne astounded the United Nation with his use of mounted infantry. After the 1812 War the horses became a fixture and overland travel increased. So struck were the Pottawatomi with the mounted horsemen that

nearly every treaty after that included horses to some of the participants as part of the agreements.³³¹

By 1920 every family of the Salem settlement had one or more horses and a functional buggy. The Bradley Settlement also had many horses but civilization had generally surrounded Bradley after the turn of the century. Consequently the Bradley Indians spent less time on horse back than the Salem Indians until automobiles became prevalent. The lack of land and farming operations after the court ordered break up of the reservation accounts for this difference in community organization. The larger land base and open pasture spaces between homes became the strength of the Salem Community. The horse and buggy transportation could cover the distance from Salem to Bradley in a couple hours including hitch up time.

After 1860 a railroad passed through Bradley one half mile from the reservation and linked Kalamazoo with Grand Rapids. The Post Office was moved from the reservation to it's present location at Bradley, one half mile to the west. The home of the Bradley Chief was also moved to "town"³³². By rail it was also only a matter of a few hours between Bradley and Athens with interchanges at Kalamazoo and Battle Creek. Horses also made the trip between Allegan County and Calhoun Counties and thus the communication between the Allegan and Calhoun Indians was never by smoke signals. By 1930 cars began to appear with Indian drivers. The horse tradition was a hard habit to break however. The last Pottawatomi horse in use by the Bradley-Salem Indians was by Lewis Church at Salem in 1953.

The members of the communities used the horses to race, to carry them to the frequent baseball games they played, to court, and to carry them to the social functions and church gathering they held.³³³ In the old days, if one were to slip or "fall off the wagon" the horse would always return to it's barn. The horses were like homing pigeons and designated drivers all rolled into one and thus even the sleeping Indian could get home safely in any condition. Unfortunately more than one story exists where the horses returned to a barn with a low roof with a buggy with a high roof in tow. The horses are described by the elders as being a mustang variety with a neck that stuck straight forward from the shoulder and were markedly different in appearance from today's quarter horses. Brown was the classic color.

Drinking of alcohol however by this Tribe's community members has been frowned upon by the communities missionaries and leadership especially so since the death of Chief Sagamaw in 1845.³³⁴ The effect of the tragic death of Sagamaw left it's imprint upon the Allegan County Indians permanently. The social prohibition on alcohol use by Tribal members became a criteria for mission leaders to abide by and to promote. The leadership has demonstrated it's authority on group members over time. In Allegan County there have been no requests to local or state bodies for alcohol or substance abuse programs as the leadership of the community have retained a curb on alcohol use by members. Those who do not eventually subscribe the norms have usually been the subject of scorn, or forced

to eventually leave. The pastors were expected to be the individuals to hold council with the errant member.

The Indians of Allegan County have more in common with the Amish or Mennonites possibly than any other Indians of Michigan. The horses were used for farm chores as well as transportation. Communal activity existed in haying, or corn picking, which was done by hand, or building homes which was done as a group activity. While the men worked the women would create quilts, prepare meals, and care for the children. The horses were also used to haul wood to heat homes and carry groceries from town to home. Gradually after 1930 the horse and buggy and noisy autos shared the same roads. Between the Salem Mission and the homes to the north where a separate trail for the horses existed beside the car road and these trails were evident long after the horse era was gone. A golf course at Lake Monterey now has filled in and blotted out the old Indian horse and buggy trails that were created by their passage between home and the Mission meeting house.

At about the same time the horse was gradually being replaced by mechanical transportation, the transfer of leadership and community activity gradually shifted from Bradley to Salem. This was greatly due again to the larger land base created there after the loss of the reservation. The population growth patterns in Allegan County also provided more opportunity for buying land at Salem and in townships west of there because of availability.

The period of time when the Bradley Indian reservation

was sold to the Huron and Bradley Pottawatomi who had returned from northern Michigan who combined with those who remained on or near the reserve it marked the high water mark, or "zenith" of Tribal cooperation and interaction among the Indians of southwest Michigan. The large number of Huron Pottawatomi and the names of those once associated with the Griswold Colony and the Grand River Bands from 1839 to 1899 give ample reason for the Gun Lake Band to claim that today's Huron Pottawatomi is a splinter group from the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony and the Grand River Ottawa which preserved both of them until the Tribes were able to return to their homelands.

The Holst Education Report from 1939 gives an accurate picture of the geographical area and size of the three southwest Michigan Indian communities.³³⁵ It does however appear that the BIA selectively noted only those families who attended the Mt. Pleasant Indian School. Although the Mt. Pleasant Indian School was intended for all lower Michigan Indians, in reality it served only a fraction of the children. The reunions of the former students themselves indicate that the primary focus was those who had broken families; or no parents. However, the Holst study serves to verify that the Bradley-Salem Indian Community, or Gun Lake Band members, were indeed included in government programs in Michigan as they existed on par with the federally recognized tribes until 1934.

The Pottawatomi leadership of southwestern Michigan has tended to be quite parochial about who they feel the Pottawatomi are. The Gun Lake Band has often been thought and expressed

as if it were Ottawa. The attachment of the United Nations of the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony by the U.S. has blinded some Pottawatomi Tribal members to the fact that no Treaties were signed by the Pottawatomi of Allegan County relinquishing their Tribal status.³³⁶ They had many prior rights from treaties extending back into the 1700's. The Nassauaketon Ottawa which later became the basis for the 961 Ottawa not paid in 1843 and the Pottawatomi who lived to their south have had a long history of cooperation. If the Allegan County Pottawatomi are different it is likely because their ancestry was based or drawn from the Detroit region and was removed westward and northward in successive treaties³³⁷. The blood lines of the Pottawatomi of Allegan County also are frequently descended from Chippewa due to their close proximity to the western border of the 1819 and 1837 Treaty areas.³³⁸ There Chiefs who did not remove to reservations also sought the sanctuary of lands in Barry and Allegan Counties not yet surveyed just as Sagamaw did, and inter-married with the Pottawatomi and became members of the Griswold Colony.

When the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was passed discussions between the Allegan County and Calhoun County Indians again resumed. With the death of Sam Mendoka in 1934 Albert Mackety effectively became the Huron Pottawatomi leader. Albert was born on the Bradley reservation.³³⁹ He was educated at Mt. Pleasant Indian School after his father Sam died. He returned to the Pine Creek Reserve when the 1904 judgment was completed and his wife inherited land there. The reality of

the IRA years and the discussions between Bradley and Athens was a "catch 22" situation in that the Huron Pottawatomi of the 1930's had a memory of a history that included not only it's own Calhoun County history, but because of the "Allegan County-Grand River Band experience" of 1839 to 1892 the history in the minds of the Calhoun County leadership over-lapped with that of Bradley Settlement.

The continuity of the Huron Pottawatomi community during the years preceding the year 1892 are somewhat dependent upon the Huron Pottawatomi Tribe also drawing upon the historical experience of the Bradley Indians or the Grand River Ottawa experience from 1839 to 1878 where the Huron Pottawatomi, like the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Indians, were protected by the provisions of the 1836 and 1855 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaties. Few, if any, of the Huron Pottawatomi leaders of today recall the years before 1900 when Huron Pottawatomi found sanctuary with Bradley Indians and were forced to take a stand along with Allegan County Indians until the 1899 Supreme Court decision expanded the payments to include more than the Pokagon Band the BIA had approved and paid in 1895. The Court deposition of Huron Band Chief Phineas Pamptopee describes the band structure as being "scattered all over and being about 50 in number".³⁴⁰ By 1900, Albert Mackety, future Huron Band leader, born at Bradley, was away attending school at Mt. Pleasant.

The close cooperation of the Allegan and Calhoun County bands of Pottawatomi Indians of the pre-1900 era that had led to the expansion of the Taggart Roll had been largely been set

aside by 1934. The differing aims of the two communities caused the two Tribes to ultimately proceed again as two individual Tribes they in reality and historically are.

For the Allegan County Indians the court wars to cause the U.S. Government to finally abide by their treaties were also replaced by a new reality. During the Mission years Sha-pe-quo-ung's descendants carried on largely without the U.S. Government. Increasingly the one single issue that has continued to rile the two communities is the item of land. The possession of land has become so precious a right that it divided even brothers. At Athens the tradition of the land being purchased by six original families is the fundamental criteria for possessing a spot on the reserve.³⁴¹ At Bradley, the 360 acre reserve that has been stolen and the land rights, even hunting and fishing rights that have not been severed, provide tribal members with a common bond. Two different pieces of reservation land created under two different sets of circumstances. Two distinctly separate Tribes are evident.

Silas Bush, a Huron, Pokagon and United Nation descendant and resident of Bradley, helped to organize the 1930's campaign of the Allegan County Indians for IRA Tribal designation. He realized the importance of the court cases. But he and the Bradley Indians looked to achieve "Pottawatomi status" based on the Bradley Indian land rights and looked to the courts³⁴² to achieve those claims. The IRA was not voted down by the Allegan County Indians. It appears that the opportunity to use the IRA process closed so quickly for Michigan lower

peninsula Indians that some communities where minds were not made up were not able to consider the prospects. The sorry record of the Government from the past century had not been forgotten by Allegan County leaders and they were not convinced that things were going to be any different.

By the late 1930's the Federal Government scarcely knew that Bradley Community existed even though it had provided the Tribe with Treaty land and had provided it with its stable government, the Methodist Missions. By 1942 the U.S. finally wrote the Indians of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan off suggesting the Indian had become assimilated.³⁴³ Within a few short years after the development of the IRA it became evident that tribal status was not going to be provided to any of the lower Michigan Tribes except Mt. Pleasant who based their petition on their being part of the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi. They were successful. The Bradley Indians moved forward, minus their historical Chippewa element.

After 1819, and increasingly after 1837 in the lower peninsula of Michigan Chippewa treaties ceded lands. The U.S. had hopes of removing the Saganaw, Swan Creek and Black River Chippewa to Missouri. A large contingent of the Chippewa who later became the Saganaw Chippewa after 1837 were located a few miles north of Gun Lake, near Middle Village, or Middleville, as it is known today. They have since removed back to their original homelands after their stint in Oceana County like the Bradley Indians.

In 1837, Chief Penasee was paid from Schedule "B" of the

Chippewa Treaty³⁴⁴ denoting he had a prior claim to the Detroit (southeast Michigan region). Pe-tway-wee-dum and Penase-way-wa-gezhick, also Chippewa Chiefs, also removed through the Grand River region and eventually to northern Michigan.³⁴⁵ Aken, another Chippewa, was at Griswold along with Wah-so, or Wasso, formerly from the Shiawassee River. The Chippewa were among the 961 Indians "discovered" by the Stuart and the War Department in 1843, the same year the Pottawatomi past annuities were reconciled.³⁴⁶ The Chippewa, the Pottawatomi and the Michigan Ottawa, all now in the Grand River region, became known as Grand River Ottawa for payment purposes for the 1795, 1807, 1818, and 1821 Treaties because of the placement and agreements of the U.S. with the Indians regarding payment sites. This is precisely how the greatest body of Indians who had permanent annuities lost their payments. They became listed under the Grand River Bands and the Grand River Chiefs signed treaties and it was assumed everyone with them was Grand River.³⁴⁷

The 1855 Treaty for the Chippewa, concluded five days after the July 31, 1855 Ottawa-Chippewa treaty at Detroit removed the Saganaw, Black River, and Swan Creek Chippewa out from under the Michigan Ottawa.³⁴⁸ They had been included in the "Michigan Ottawa" of 1843 who became known as the Grand River Band and paid as such. The August, 1855, Saganaw Chippewa Treaty provided them with nation status as their own entity and no longer came under the jurisdiction of Chiefs from the Grand River Band. Then the reservation lands were marked off at Mt. Pleasant and the Saganaw's removed there after 1855. All Michigan Indians

were initially intended to go there but some refused and the Oceana lands were set aside.³⁴⁹

The late 1930's marked a "leadership change over period" for Salem and Bradley Indians. Both of the Missions, although active, were in need of an avenue for new leadership to emerge without threatening the status quo of the Missions and their existing leadership. The war effort after 1939 increasingly became the focus for the community. Many of the Bradley-Salem men left home to go to war to defend the U.S. Individuals from every family branch were involved. Fortunately, most of the men came home. Many had been wounded, or maimed in action, both physically and psychologically. The men who did come home brought with them a far different view of the world than the one they had possessed when they left.

After the war the men increasingly left the small farms they been weaned on and took jobs in the new industries that increasingly become the economic base of Western Michigan. Many left the reservation at Bradley and moved to Grand Rapids. Others moved to Holland, Detroit, or any other large metropolitan area where good jobs could be obtained. The population at Bradley shrunk periodically and the outline of the community expanded northward to Grand Rapids where many of the Tribe's members increasingly located themselves. It was the Bradley settlement, and not the Huron Pottawatomi, who moved to Grand Rapids and are now located there. Many of the Grand Rapids Indians think they are Huron Pottawatomi but when they die they are still buried in the Bradley Mission Cemetery, a sure sign

they trace back to the Griswold years because the cemetery originated from the Griswold Colony.³⁵⁰ The Grand Rapids community was a natural extension of the Bradley Indian community.

In reality two historical divisions exist among the Huron Pottawatomis who live at Athens. They are: 1) those whose ancestors were part of the northern experience from 1839-1900; and, 2) those who stayed in Calhoun County after the colony and school established there became operational at the Nottawa Mission in 1846 and are descendants from the original six families.³⁵¹ The divisions were in evidence and showed themselves in the late 1880's when the Huron Pottawatomis filed their claim without the addition of their brothers and sisters in Allegan County.³⁵² They also were still remembered when the northern and southern Pottawatomis of Allegan and Calhoun Counties attempted a merger³⁵³ from 1987 to 1991 and are evident today as this history is being written. Their roots are deep in history.³⁵⁴

The Allegan County Indians have a like community division. The active Mission Boards, however, have provided a mechanism to discuss issues common to both communities and to solve problems before they become major issues. Also due to the large land base held by members of the United Nation Tribe of Allegan there has been less controversy involving land issues which seems to be at the root of most controversy in southwest Michigan Indian circles.

The Bradley Mission has exhibited a tradition of Sprague

leadership from it's inception in 1914 to the late 1940's, and to some degree into the 1950's when Selkirk Sprague's adopted son Fred became the Mission pastor at Bradley for a time.³⁵⁵

The outflow of individuals away from Bradley following the war tipped the balance when the out flow of members to Grand Rapids seeking jobs reduced the local Indian population. The core of the Bradley community, while still evident and vital, were few in number.³⁵⁶

At Salem the lives of the, White Pigeon, Stevens, and Church families, whose children were all descendants of Penasee, some directly and some via marriage, also revolved largely around the activity of the Mission. During the post World War II period the center of activity for the Allegan County Indians increasingly shifted from Bradley to Salem Township. The larger land base and concentration of Indians there made it attractive for Bradley Indians to also live there and many families moved westward and settled with their "cousins" in Salem Township. Some moved west to attend schools there with other Indians.

The Salem Community was not as profoundly affected as Bradley by the changes in the American society surrounding the Indian community because it's leadership found jobs in the County. The center of leadership gravitated to where the larger numbers of Tribal members lived. Finally, in the 1950's the historic Mission at Bradley fell into dis-repair and nearly closed. Lewis Church led the effort to rebuild the Mission at Bradley as the Indians had done at Salem and these efforts served to bring the communities closer together.

Thus the two divisions of the Pottawatomi which remain in Allegan County have become part of a system of a loyal opposition to each other. The communities each have their own Missions and their own lands. After much study it is evident that the Salem Indians hold Grand River Ottawa blood lines in their community in addition to their Pottawatomi ancestry. But it is the Missions and the ancestors that provide the ties that bind them together.³⁵⁷

In 1948 the leadership of the Bradley and Salem Missions were combined for this first time since they were built by their respective communities. Even though it was not universally accepted at first, but the leadership structure has remained to the present day. It was an accommodation to the changes taking place within and without the communities. As the population of Tribe spread outward from Bradley, south to Kalamazoo, north to Grand Rapids, west to Hamilton, and east to Hastings, the membership of the Missions also fluctuated.

It was around that same period of history, 1948, that the historic Nottawa Methodist Mission at Athens closed forever ending the role that the Methodist Mission had played in the survival of the Tribe since it's beginning in 1843. Another non-denominational Church took it's place in sight of the old mission which was across the road. Bradley and Salem were combined after that year.³⁵⁸

In Allegan County the official combination of the two Missions under common Indian leadership was a reality that the communities were both from the same roots. It also signaled

a change within the institutional church that had been thrust upon the Pottawatomies by the U.S. Government. The Bradley and Salem Indians Missions had by 1950 become an historic part of Michigan Methodism. The institutional church had forgotten how the Indians came to be attached to them and began to exert pressure on the Missions to conform to the standards of the mother Church and of the structure of the Methodist hierarchy.

Increasingly, pressure was exerted on the Indian leaders to seek training and degrees and to change the rituals and service structure of the Missions which probably still mirrored the 1860's minus the oil lamps and wood stoves. None of the pastors wore robes then, or generally got paid more than a few hundred dollars for the total year for their labor of love. Their role as traditional leaders was still intact even though there were fewer coming forward to lead the Missions and fewer of these eventually became trained Indian pastors.

Lewis Church became the Indian pastor at both Salem and Bradley in 1949. After 1949 Lewis Church and Joe Sprague, both descendants of Penasee, became ordained Elders in the Methodist Church and have carried on leadership within the Methodist Missions and have now expanded their leadership well beyond these two Missions due to the absence of Indians choosing the ministry as a profession.³⁵⁹

The Indian communities of Bradley and Salem and their Missions have been slow to change their structures even in the face soaring costs that have also threatened their existence. Old ways and old traditions, even in modern times, die hard.

In the 1940's another facet of the historic tradition of the Ottawa and Pottawatomi Indians of Allegan County temporarily submerged and re-emerged as an accommodation to the modern society. It was in the field of traditional medicine. The last Medicine Person died taking with her all her herbal knowledge. Sarah (Medawis) Church died prematurely at the age of 56 because of Sugar Diabetes. In 1914 when she married Alton E. Church, who had a long history within Methodism, she put her sucking horn, her bundle, and her chants away. She did not, however, put her knowledge of herbs and their use away. She continued to learn and put her knowledge of medicine to use and was the doctor and mid-wife to Allegan County Indians and surrounding counties. (b) (6), recalling his childhood and his mother's obligation to her people recalled, "Mother kept all her medicines up stairs where the hung and dried. If she went up the stairs and she turned left she would be home in a few hours. If she turned right she may be gone for as long as ten days".³⁶⁰

The tradition of medicine and the profession of medicine has become one of the exemplary elements of continuity among many changes in the fabric of the Allegan County Indian Community. If one has recently been operated on in (b) (6), it is likely that (b) (6) handed the surgeon the tools of his trade. If one has medicine proscribed for them there it is likely (b) (6). Dr. (b) (6) is the (b) (6) at (b) (6). (b) (6),

Many other Indian nurses are employed in hospitals in the region. Medicine has been the profession of choice for many Allegan County Indians, particularly those at Salem. It is intriguing how the continuing line of "Medicine People" among the Allegan County Indians has transcended the bridge between two side by side worlds.

When Holst visited Allegan County he and his associates obviously encountered basket makers. He said so in his reports. He and his associates observed the material aspects of the culture of the Allegan County Indians with whom they casually interacted. If they would have come in Winter he would have found the Sugar Makers. Tapping maple trees and boiling the sap was conducted by the Allegan County Indians and Michigan Indian communities below the Straits of Mackinac well into the 20th century.

It was only recently that the last Maple sap was harvested, boiled, and prepared over an open fire. Only the Indians ever really knew when and where it took place as it was not done as a business and they took the yearly traditional practice quite for granted. Land ownership of a "Sugarbush" obviously preserved the tradition in Allegan County beyond it's demise in other Indian settlements. Pottawatomi boys going away to college became the final blow to the Spring-time sugar making activities. The Church's at Salem were the last to make sugar

on a regular basis. Now it is said that it is easier to buy Maple Sugar. The Allegan County Indians still know how it is made however.

This year (1994) another fine and old art is passing from the scene. Since treaty days, and possibly long before, the Indians of Allegan County have pruned and nurtured fruit trees for themselves and as a profession for fruit farmer throughout the region. For some it was nearly their total livelihood. For others it was extra money or seasonal work. These last to practice a dying art in the Indian community don't even seem to realize that cutting back fruit trees is traditional hold over from the colony experiences of a hundred fifty years ago.

(b) (6), a victim of Sugar Diabetes who had his leg removed in 1992, was one of the last to practice the art. Others who still possess the skill to prune and make trees produce are now too old to climb.

The Missions also served to preserve another major facet of Ottawa and Pottawatomi lifestyle. The missionaries of the Gun Lake Bands followed suggestions imparted by Henry Schoolcraft and began to create Bibles, song books, and Indian language literature³⁶² and learn the language as early as 1840. The use of the Algonquin language rather than English greatly enhanced the participation of Indians in the schools and Missions. The U.S. Government also provided "interpreters" to the colonies to assist the missionaries with their multiple roles as teachers, preachers, and government sub-agents. When funds were made available by the War Department for books to

be written in the Indian language it promoted the maintenance of the Indian tongue as a living language.

The Missions did not cease to use the Indian language, even though Commissioner Morgan in 1899 thought it should be done.³⁶³ After 1877 the Methodist Indian Missions were generally on their own and as such were under no obligation to abandon the language. The Indian language was the language of choice for Michigan Indians in their religious and communal activities well into the 1940's. In 1954 the Indian Missions from Michigan, seven in number, under the leadership and vision of Amos Kahge, decided to organize their own conference. The children had by then started public school. The English language was increasingly used in the Missions and thereby supported the education the children were receiving in the many one room country schools that dotted the face of Michigan.³⁶⁴

The Indian language is still in use in Allegan County. The last speakers are now in their middle 70's and have fewer persons to share their thoughts with in Indian. In 1987 Lex Lewis, Josie Shagonaby, and Gladys Church carried on a long and jovial conversation with each other at the home of Lewis Church after a dinner. Lex spoke Chippewa, Josie spoke Pottawatomie, and Gladys spoke Ottawa. Their discussion was laced with laughter as the subtle differences of the three languages struck their funny bones, as they exchanged ideas, cherished memories, and how they were feeling about getting older. When Josie was ready to leave she tried to get up and slumped backward in her Lazy Boy, laughed and said, "Gwa-gwin".

They all laughed. It meant "like a rusty gate" in Indian.³⁶⁵ Josie and Lex Lewis have now passed away. But the language remains and is being taught to a few by Mrs. Church, and other language speakers.

The government tried to teach the Indians to give up the chase; the hunt, as it were. They failed miserably on this aspect. It may have been more successful if the Indians were allowed to keep the treaty lands they farmed, some very successfully; the need to hunt would have decreased. Some of the best and most knowledgeable of the Indian hunters are still stabled in the Gun Lake Band. Lewis White Pigeon was without peer in the art. He hunted everything in a seasonal sequence and taught trapping to the young ones who were interested in making some money from selling pelts. In the days when before refrigerators, Lew White Pigeon provided fresh fish and game to the community on a regular basis. His love of hunting and fishing supplemented most of the meals of the community at one time or another. He seemed to have a special role in the community, that of watching for those who needed a little meat; and it was delivered. He was also the Mission janitor where the pastor may have told him who was in need. If nothing else could be had Suckers (fish) were always available from the River. Everybody ate a lot of Suckers. Lew White Pigeon is dead now. He died of Sugar Diabetes.

Deer hunting remains a favorite tradition among the southern Michigan Ottawa and Pottawatomi.³⁶⁶ Fishing, trapping, and hunting small game are still practiced, generally without a

dog, by the Allegan County Indians. The many regulations stifle the teaching of the art however. A few pay no attention to the regulations, except the tradition of hunting animals only after they have mated, especially when their family is in need.

The pastors passed out the spiritual medicine, the Medicine People passed out the herbal cures, and the men who didn't give up the chase put food on the table. Their roles were interlaced as part of the fabric of the old ways. Now you have to have a license to preach, extensive training to cure the sick, and purchase a tag for every season when the game is ready to be harvested! We tested our treaty rights in 1957. Eventually the case was thrown out of court.³⁶⁷ It appears the treaty rights are still in force. Meanwhile the hunters have not given up the chase and can read "sign" in the woods with the best.

The homes that Holst visited were all built by Indian labor and hands, all traditions learned from the colony days of the treaty years and passed on. These skills still exist. There are no schools that the Indians attend to acquire this knowledge. They have the skill passed from one generation to the next by building things. This is how the neat churches have been kept up, or homes have been acquired on the wages which ordinarily would not support home ownership. Holst sat in front and maybe inside of two of these homes when he visited Michigan and Mr. Church and Mr. Bush. Unfortunately he only remembered the basketry. His remarks on land ownership are comical and filled with irony. If he had been pushed off, cheated, swindled, and tricked out of land as much as the United Nation community has

he would have gained a full appreciation for gathering as much land as he could. Having land did not mean the Indian "assimilated" and disappeared into society; it actually kept the Indian fed and from disappearing from the face of the earth. The Allegan County Indians continue to own and preserve their lands, another tradition they gained from the colony experience

Taxation of land has had a modifying influence on the philosophies of land possession and use however.³⁶⁸ We used to desire to have a forty or eighty and now a few acres are all one can afford. It is probably a blessing that Salem and Bradley are midway between two of the largest state owned land and hunting preserves in the lower Peninsula of Michigan. It has served as a buffer to settlement in the region until recently. Now white folks travel forty miles from Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids and build homes "to get away from things". Every nice home they build just drives the tax base upward. One community member, upon hearing an Anglo individual complain about a neighbor who came in and changed a neighborhood, interjected, "We have had that problem to out in Salem, too. We used to have such a nice community until the white's started moving in". The Indians laughed and the complaints fell silent.

The post World War II years were the beginning of the modern age for Allegan County Indians. The changes that we have been describing appear to have been a by product of the post WW II years and the lock step hold that America has on pocket communities such as Bradley and Salem. Lewis Church was being considered at Salem to become the next community leader and

his entrance into the ministry was expected. In 1947 Adam Sprague asked the Methodists to provide a licensed pastor at Bradley.³⁶⁹ One who could marry and bury community members. Leadership was placed in the hands of Lewis Church who became pastor and unified Bradley and Salem communities.

The younger Indians of the late 1940's Indian community increasingly gravitated towards more charismatic leaders. Leaders such as the brothers, (b) (6) and (b) (6) of Athens. (b) (6) and (b) (6) were some of the finest orators that the Tribes of Huron and the Sha-pe-quo-ung Band have experienced in modern times. They also seem to have charted a separate pathway at Athens, obviously hampered in their desire to lead their communities from behind the pulpit there. They retreated from Methodism at Athens, became adherents to the "Lower Light" organization, and began an evangelical campaign that catapulted them to national eminence and unfortunately away from leadership in the Tribe.³⁷⁰ (b) (6) and (b) (6), another Methodist Mission Pastor and kin of Penasee, all rose to prominence from a youth movement that began in the late 1940's.

Many leaders emerged in the 1940's. There were only a few pulpits to practice the form of leadership the Huron, Kekalamazoo, and Grand River Indians had become captive to, and some became Missionaries to other Indian Communities. It produced an outflow of talent from both the Huron and Bradley Settlements which these communities have not yet recovered.

At Athens the Methodist movement withered and died. The

historic Nottowa Mission closed.³⁷¹ The abundance of leadership available in the Indian communities caused the younger leaders to side step their elders, leave their homes, and become leaders in other regions. (b) (6)

. They raise their families in other lands; some died and never came home; others returned but did not go back to the reservations. The Methodist Indian Mission movement in Michigan is still functioning in Michigan largely because Joe Sprague and Lewis Church followed the example of their Chiefs and stayed in their communities.

In late 1940's to the late 1950's the Claims Commission hearings rekindled interests in the rights and obligations that were still owed to Indians by the U.S. Government. After the 1899 Supreme Court case, death of D.K. Foster and successful era of the Indian Missions, it had taken 75 years for the community to launch a new campaign to claim lost rights. The electric awakening of the 1899 Supreme Court era was not to be duplicated however for southern Michigan Indians during the Indian Claims Commission period.

The leadership of the Gun Lake Band, its former attachment to the Grand River Ottawa, as well as the improved prospect for winning claims brought the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association into southern Michigan.³⁷² There they created an alliance between themselves and Grand River Ottawa and Pottawatomie leaders at Bradley and Salem. The Northern Michigan Ottawa Association became an absolute wet blanket to the hopes

southern Michigan Pottawatomi during the claims period. The Grand River Band in former years had shown power and prestige; the leading Michigan Chiefs came from the region. Washington treated with our head men.³⁷³

The descendants of former Grand River leaders had been removed and lived among the Northern Michigan Ottawa and a new slant on Michigan Indian history evolved. The "new treaties" were being negotiated by northern Chiefs at the expense of southern populations. This time the descendants Sagamaw, Penasee and Muc-day-o-sha and their people were silenced by parliamentary procedure and councils where a majority ruled.³⁷⁴ Even though the Pottawatomi had been generously sprinkled into the Northern Michigan Indian gene pool, the Pottawatomi of southern Michigan were stifled in their every attempt to gain support for their agenda.³⁷⁵

Lewis Church was formally elected Chairman of the "Indians of Allegan and Ottawa County" in 1951. The organization was comprised of Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band,³⁷⁶ the same families as the Griswold Colony of 1851. The community organized as best it could but could not legally intervene; the opportunity never arose. The Pottawatomi were only able to become involved in Michigan Claims seemingly after the Ottawa judgments were rendered. The Missions had preserved leadership but the Methodist structure failed to prepare them to organize in opposition to injustice. After the opening salvo of the Claims Commission process the Allegan County Indians selected additional leadership to represent their interests in the NMOA meetings.

In matters specifically involving the NMOA Claims Commission Silas Bush became a Pottawatomi representative for Bradley.³⁷⁷

Southern Michigan Pottawatomi Indians finally became a force in the latter part of the Claims Commission hearings process. Their success was not linked to their past association with the Grand River Ottawa, but as Pottawatomi Nations being awakened. Jacob Sprague, grandson of Penasee, was next elected as Chief.³⁷⁸ He and Jack Foster, grandson of D.K. Foster, a wood cutter by trade, promoted the rights of the Bradley Indians. Josh Shagonaby also provided capable leadership to southern Michigan Pottawatomi as they experienced a political renaissance. These men cooperated with historic Missions created by the Government treaties. The Mission leaders and their Councils representing the Tribe were "rediscovered" by Indian leaders who had overlooked the role of the Methodist Church in examinations of Federal Policy and the rights of Indians.³⁷⁹

The Missions themselves grew during the Claims Commission period as it became more and more apparent that Indian pastors of the Missions spaced throughout the state of Michigan were, in fact, leaders of sheltered Tribes preserved by the presence of the Missions. A 1970 Touche & Ross survey of Michigan's Indians showed that 80% of Michigan's Indians said that they were Methodists. Remarkably 7 of the original Indian Mission and their communities remain. Bradley (Griswold Mission) and Salem are the only two located in southern Michigan. The Pottawatomi Tribes since have studied treaties, maintained their Councils, and become more knowledgeable about Indian Law.

A tradition which has persisted in the Sha-pe-quo-ung Indian Mission community is the use of oral tradition to communicate the history of the Tribe from one generation to the next. Oral traditional methods of historical recollection have been preserved and aided by the existence of the institutional framework of the Missions introduced to the Tribe by the U.S. Government. The stories as they are now spun are no longer told in specific seasons of the year. Camping by the Indians is now limited to hunting and fishing seasons and vacations from school. The highly social nature of the Indian Missions with their many dinners and "gatherings" which have provided a back drop for story telling just as in the old days when bark lodges were the gathering places.³⁸⁰

In the early 1950's, one such story, a century old oral story about the Indian lands owned by the Sha-pe-quo-ung Band again surfaced, preserved by oral tradition. The story, a reference to the three-mile square Kekalamazoo Reservation provided by the U. S. to Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band in the 1821 Treaty, recalls accurately that he was never compensated fully for it by the U. S. even though it was ceded in 1827 in another U.S. Treaty. The stories recall a famous long ago court case which demonstrated the authenticity of the claim, and obvious reference to the 1899 Supreme Court Case which allowed the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band to be paid along with the Pottawatomie as Indians whom had not been removed under the 1833 Treaty.³⁸¹

Federal records verify that Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish did not sign the 1832 or 1833 Treaties and thus did not cede the Band's

claim to a large reservation created by the 1827 Treaty when 99 sections of land in size was tacked on to the already existing four-mile square Notaweseppi Pottawatomi Band Reservation from the 1821 Treaty. The new "99 sections" reservation was also referred to as "the Notawasepi Reservation", even though it was created for at least 5 distinct southern Michigan bands. Among these were the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and Prairie Ronde Bands; and the Huron Band of Pottawatomi. After 1892 the scattered Huron Band merged with members of the four-mile square Notaweseppi reservation and now make up the Nottaweseppi-Huron Potawatomi, essentially representing what had been two distinct Tribes under separate Chiefs with separate reservations.

In the early 1950's, as the Indian Claims Commission period extended it's focus beyond Michigan Ottawa and Chippewa from the 1836 Treaty, Elders and their remembrances of the past became important historical references for the Tribe once again. As land issues surfaced during hearings with Tribes in other states, Bradley Indians recalled the details of debts still owed them that had been passed down through time, and recorded in memory, as they came from their elders. For the Sha-pe-quo-ung (written as he spelled his name on a document sent to the BIA in 1854) Band, the story of lost rights to Indian land centered around the Kalamazoo region as the Tribe's elders recalled their own three-mile square reservation from the 1821 Treaty.³⁸²

Although the 1821 Kekalamazoo Reservation was ceded in 1827, "99 sections" of land added to the four-mile square Notaweseppi Reserve and situated adjacent to the Notaweseppi

/

Band's reserve provided space for Bands from Maug-ach-qua, A-mik-a-saw-bee, Prairie Ronde, and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish. A fifth Pottawatomi band, the Huron Pottawatomi, was also provided access to the 99 sections. In 1833 Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi Chiefs from southern Michigan again traveled to Chicago for another Treaty. By 1833 only three Michigan Pottawatomi reserves remained. Chiefs of 4 Pottawatomi Bands from the "99 Sections Reservation" participated in the September 26, and 27 Chicago Treaty. A fifth Chief, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and his powerful son Penasee did not sign the 1833 Chicago Treaty, the only leading Chiefs to not sign, but they remained in Michigan with hundreds of their people. The sons of Penasee later became Chiefs of the Tribe and led the Tribe through the Supreme Court case period, but died before they received their payment for past annuities, or reclaiming the Kalamazoo land.

The Supreme Court in 1899 ruled in favor of payment for bands from the "99 sections reservation" and ordered a census of Indians who remained in Michigan who were not removed by the 1833 Treaty. When it was completed in 1904 it was called the Taggart Roll.³⁸³ The Huron Pottawatomi have since used this document as their base roll document after it was mistakenly judged to be made up of only Huron Pottawatomi instead of "the Notawasepi, and other Bands" from the 99 sections reserve (at least five bands) identified by the Supreme Court in 1899.

In 1954, sixteen years before the Huron Potawatomi of Calhoun County held their first modern Tribal election, the Bradley Indians¹ held Tribal elections.³⁸⁴ The elections were

assisted by the Indian Mission where the leadership of the Tribe had been maintained. Jacob Sprague, grand son of Penasee and great grand son of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, was elected as Business Chief for the Tribe. Jacob and the Tribal Council then formally pursued justice for the claims recalled by Tribal Elders for the Kekalamazoo Reservation, and other later lands for which they had yet to be compensated.

The Tribal Council of the "Shawbecoung Band" elected in 1954 was made up all residents of Bradley except one. Albert Mackety, sometimes named as Huron Potawatomi Chief of the period, served as Secretary for the Bradley Indians (Shawbecoung Band). The Tribal Council of the "Shawbecoung Band" was composed of Selkirk Sprague, Treasurer; Councilmen at-Large were Joe Sprague, Raymond "Jack" Foster, Adam Fox, and Herman Sprague. Frederick Sprague, son of Selkirk and the local Bradley Mission pastor, was made assistant secretary. Secretary of the Shawbecoung Band Tribal Council was Mackety.

On September 25, 1954, the Tribe began a concerted drive to regain their lost lands. The stories, as they had been remembered, were retold and the various family papers which remained in possession of Tribal leaders were reviewed. Tribal rolls were researched using County records and Tribal leaders held many large gatherings to focus on the issue. Tribal members raised funds to send leaders to Washington and numerous trips were funded with Mackety often making the journey instead of Sprague, afflicted by mustard gas poisoning from WW I action.

By December 1954 the Tribe made a concerted effort to

produce enough evidence to validate the local traditional oral claims of their ancestors. They journeyed to Kalamazoo to research their claim in Kalamazoo City records. Unfortunately, they did not find the records they needed to successfully initiate the return of their lands. By the early 1960's most of the Tribe's key leaders had died, and the necessary documents to affirm the claim were not located until long after their deaths. Thus the story told from generation to generation, that the Tribe owned a substantial pieces of real estate in Kalamazoo and Allegan Counties, remains as an oral tradition of the Tribe.

By the mid-1950's the Calhoun County Pottawatomi had not yet reorganized their leadership into a formal Tribal Council after the devastating loss of a popular pastor, Chuck Pamp, who died in 1951. The participation of some Calhoun County Indians on Bradley's Tribal council served to assist in the later formal development of the modern Huron Pottawatomi Band which was created in 1970 to seek judgment funds.

In the same year as the election of Jacob Sprague as Chief at Bradley, 1954, Albert Mackety began promoting membership in another group under his name, Now-Qua-Um,³⁸⁵ an organization which was the fore runner to the modern Huron Pottawatomi Tribe. It contained 275 members and became a distinct body separate from the Shawbecoung Band at Bradley which promoted Huron Pottawatomi claims after the Kalamazoo documents could not be located. The Now-qua-um claims stemmed from the 1846 Treaty. The 1846 Treaty was a Treaty which the Bradley Indians under their great grandfather, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, did not sign.

The Bradley Tribe was located in Allegan County Michigan in 1846, and Penasee had become Chief of the Tribe by then.³⁸⁶

The bitter memories of the Tribal elders and how they once "owned Kalamazoo" are still recalled. Increasingly they are recalled today by younger leaders of the Tribe. The documents verifying the dim memories of the Elders prove their claim that the U. S. gave the Tribe lands. What is also evident is that even after the close of the Indians Claims Commission the Tribe had not been compensated for their "Indian land". In 1839 another piece of land was provided to the Tribe by the U. S. based on the Authority of the Compact of June 5, 1838. By 1838 the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band had joined Chief Sagamaw and his people who had also moved to Allegan County where they still enjoyed rights gained from the 1795 Greenville Treaty.

Most of the Pottawatomi who were removed from Michigan under the 1833 Treaty were removed between 1835 and 1840. Records of the Chicago Agency show the names of those whom removed and detail the efforts of the War Department to induce others to remove. They also indicate the presence of 500 to 1000 Indians at the "99 sections" reservation at Notawasepi whose presence was also reported by War Department records which detail an 1839 meeting to initiate Pottawatomi Removal efforts. The meeting lasted from August 1-21 while Indians gathered. Chief Penasee, son of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, was the leading spokesperson for the Indians who vowed "to never remove".³⁸⁷ They never did remove and remain this day at Bradley, Michigan, remaining near the same reserve provided the the U. S. in 1839.

Many of the Pottawatomi claims still lay dormant; now however they need the authority of Congress to provide justice now that the Claims Commission era has expired.

Albert Mackety, his campaign, and the cases he intervened in for the Huron Pottawatomi were admirable. In Allegan County Jack Foster and "Josh" Shagonaby sought to have Allegan County Indians considered along with other Pottawatomi. However the 1899 Court Case lesson of the continued existence of three Tribes of southern Michigan Pottawatomi was largely forgotten, and as competition between the Huron and Pokagon Bands once again surfaced, the aims of Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band were lost in the exercise.³⁸⁸

When judgments were won, such as in the Grand River Ottawa case which applied to Penasee and Sha-pe-quo-ung's Pottawatomi, the courts ordered 1/4 Grand River Ottawa Blood requirement to become a party to the judgment buried Bradley claims. This was largely due to the northern Michigan Indian lobby who parleyed the necessary support to side step the Pottawatomi concerns in the democratic process.³⁸⁹

The 1970's for Allegan County Indians were characterized by a continued insistence that the government could not be trusted. The community had been maintained, it was said, not by the government but by the Mission structure and by the participation of the community. It was not until 1972 that any substantial entry into claims process was to opened to southern Michigan Pottawatomi. The Huron and Pokagon Bands created a Michigan Corporations and unsuccessfully attempted

to receive judgment funds as tribes.³⁹⁰ Twenty years earlier the Allegan County Indians had considered the same tactic.

In 1972 the Huron Pottawatomi placed their tribal organizational meeting at Hopkins' deep in Sha-pe-quo-ung Pottawatomi Band territory. Leaders from Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band did not enroll with the Huron Band even though it would have been possible to do so based on the criteria for membership. Lewis Church, Indian Pastor at Bradley, personally maintained an aloof stance. "Carry a big stick and paddle your own canoe", was one of his admonitions to the community.

The Allegan County Indians knew that the Taggart Roll of 1904 was not a Huron Pottawatomi membership Roll,³⁹¹ but merely an annuity payment Roll. The Tribe knew it had been it's own body in former times. Some of the band members knew that the Kekalamazoo Band received payment in 1843 along with other Michigan Pottawatomi and had been accorded Tribal status and added to the Taggart Rolls. Consequently many individual Allegan County Indians did enroll in the Huron Pottawatomi.

The strategy of some of the Allegan County Indians to access a share of the funds after 1972 was to sign up with the Huron Pottawatomi because both Allegan County and Calhoun County Pottawatomi were listed on the Taggart Roll. By 1978, Pokagon and Huron Band attempts to intervene as Tribes in the claims process were null and void. The Allegan County Indians who had signed up with them to get their share of the "meen'-dum" now appeared on the Tribal Rolls of other Tribes.

When the Michigan Agency of the BIA was created they then

got the impression that Sha-pe-quo-ung's band was non-existent and the presence of Samuel Mackety, a Huron Pottawatomi, within the agency at Sault Ste. Marie pushing for Huron Pottawatomi concerns (and his knowing his father and relatives were from Bradley and part of Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band may have presented a major personal conflict of interest on his part) served to buffer Allegan County concerns and development.

The BIA at Sault Ste. Marie today has a only a partially realistic view of southern Michigan Indians as a result of their work on annuity payments where they incorrectly assumed the Sprague's were Huron Pottawatomi and took a different position than the Supreme Court in the 1899 decision when the Taggart Rolls were created.³⁹² The Allegan County Indians do not believe they are as much Huron Pottawatomi the BIA indicates. If Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and Penasee could speak they would also agree. Clearly the grandfathers of the Bradley Indians were band Chiefs who had rights in the 1821 Treaty and were the leaders of the band which the Supreme Court determined in 1899 was a Tribe other than Huron Pottawatomi.³⁹³

In 1978 the Courts ruled that all Pottawatomi, regardless of Tribal affiliation, would receive a share based on lineal descent. The Allegan County Indians retreated back to the confines and sanctuary of the Bradley and Salem Missions. At home the Tribe promoted education for it's members. Allegan County Indians have without doubt the lowest drop out rate for any Tribe in the State of Michigan. There is no number lower than zero. Allegan County Indians do not typically drop out

of school, and do graduate. This is undeniably due to the long tradition of supporting education first introduced by the War Department "moral and Christian education" efforts. The new strategy of the elders was clear. The empowerment process for the Tribe and community was to be achieved by the same route that D.K. Foster had utilized in the past century. Lewis Church often explained to his own little boys who wondered why they should go to school to, "get a good education; that is something the Whiteman can never take away from you".³⁹⁴

One hitch in the new Allegan County empowerment strategy that was not immediately evident but later came about. Many of the best and brightest Indians who graduated from high school and went on to college got jobs and relocated elsewhere. The same out flow of leadership that had typified the late 1940's had begun again. It coincided with the BIA relocation program efforts. This time, for the Allegan County Indians, it was because there were no jobs for the professional Indians to access in their home communities.

By the early 1980's the Allegan County Indians seriously began to consider filing for Federal Acknowledgment as a measure to create jobs and upgrade housing. Following the settlement of the Treaty Fishing Controversy in Michigan which seriously hampered small non-fishing Tribal development, the Gun Lake Band was finally ready organize beyond the Mission. While the war over the 120 acre parcel split the Athens Indians into two competing and hostile elements, Sha-pe-quo-ung Band Indians waited.³⁹⁵

In 1986 David Mackety approached Mr. Bill Church who then had been appointed by Michigan Governor James J. Blanchard as Executive Director of the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs to discuss a political merger of the Allegan County Indians with the Huron Pottawatomi. Church had by this time received support from the Michigan Governor's Office for Bradley's Tribe on community development and had promised to review the rights of the Tribe as they pertained to treaties.

In 1987 Bill Church also privately met with several Huron Pottawatomi community members to encourage them to return missing files from the Huron Pottawatomi offices, including the enrollment records, to get the Huron Pottawatomi Acknowledgment Petition back on track. They were returned. Later that year Dave Mackety approached Bill Church and asked if he would present the Bradley Indians Community with a proposition from the Huron Pottawatomi. The Huron Pottawatomi were willing to open membership to the Tribe because, as he stated "the Northern Community has leaders"³⁹⁶.

The opening of membership of the Tribe was necessary because the Huron Pottawatomi had become locked in a stand off over a land issue that had stopped all progress in Tribal development as well as their petition for federal acknowledgment. Mackety suggested that if Allegan County leadership become involved that the log jam might be broken. In return for opening up the Tribal Rolls,³⁹⁷ and joining the Tribe the Allegan County Indians would be provided an equal role in the Tribal government, a new representation plan for decision making process would

be created, and the Pottawatomí Tribes of Sha-pe-quo-ung's Band and the Huron Band would merge.

In 1988 an ANA Grant was awarded to the Huron Pottawatomí so they could redevelop their constitution to accommodate the necessary changes. To allow progress to begin in Tribal development the main office was established in Allegan County, away from the hot spot reservation. The ANA grant was written by Church and provided Tribal staff training and grant management training. A second ANA grant in 1989, also authored by Church, Mackety, and the Tribal Council, was funded to allow the Tribe to clarify it's petition for Federal Acknowledgment.

A key determination and assessment of the cooperative effort reached by Mackety and Church as they organized the combined Allegan and Calhoun County Indians was that the sheer numbers of the Sprague family would provide stability to a Tribe that had become so polarized that it could not function effectively by itself. The Sprague's were given key roles in the Tribe. D.K. Sprague was suggested as a future Huron Pottawatomí Tribal leader and was approached by David Mackety.³⁹⁸ Eventually Sprague was hired by the Tribe to begin on the job training and learn Tribal management.

The land issue continued to boil over. In 1991 Mackety and the Tribal council agreed to take the core of the issue, the 120 acre reservation land, out of consideration for trust land if Acknowledgment was achieved. Another land base would be purchased to serve as Trust land thus side stepping the prickly pear issue altogether. This was done.

The plan worked. Next Church recommended the hiring of (b) (6), to coordinate the development of the combined Tribes Rolls. The membership plans were effectuated.³⁹⁹ Next the Obvious Deficiency response was completed. In April of 1991, Mackety was defeated in an election and the constitution clause which outlined membership criteria was legally re-interpreted by the new Tribal Council to mean that only 1/4 Nottawaseppi Hurons could be members of the Tribe. Some of the older Bradley community members could no longer qualify for membership; and fewer of the young children. (In effect the rolls of the Huron Pottawatommi from 1991 to the present are not in synch with the Tribe's Consitiution). A protest of the new rules failed.

In 1991 the Tribal merger that had been nurtured since 1987 came under fire. By mid summer the Tribe had been taken over by new hard line leadership. The Huron Pottawatommi put the land question back on the front burner. The new Tribal Council pressured Margaret Sipkema, newly elected Chairperson, to resign in a secret meeting. The Bradley Indians privately discussed what to do. The Allegan County Indians asked the Tribe for a public airing of their differences, received it, and used it as a platform to protest the Council action, particularly the change in membership criteria. It was to no avail. Margaret Sipkema, and other Bradley Indians resigned.

The Allegan County Indians then met themselves and resolved not to get involved in the Huron Band structure again. After a number of private meetings the Allegan County Indians withdrew

from active participation in the Huron Pottawatomi Tribe. The merger era was over. It is likely that both the Huron Pottawatomi and the Gun Lake Band knew that the merger was impossible to achieve but concern for the Pottawatomi Indians of southwest Michigan required an attempt to solve the problem.

In 1992 the Allegan County Indians met to consider their own options. Bill Church explained that if the Tribe were to set aside it's grievances with the U.S. from the policies of the past century that there was an organization, the BAR, which was designed to assist Tribes such as Sha-pe-quo-ung's Pottawatomi Band. The community meeting identified that the Mission was the ruling organization in the community. It was decided that a special meeting should be called to consider whether the Tribe should seek the formal removal of governance activity that had by now rested in the Indian Missions since treaty times.⁴⁰⁰ The community was asked to think about the matter and come to a decision.

Subsequent meetings were held to fully discuss what the next steps were, if the Mission leaders, including Lewis Church, were willing to proceed. In February, 1992, the Methodist Mission Board agreed to relinquish it's governance role in community affairs and appoint a transition Council of Elders which represented the total community interests.⁴⁰¹ The function of the transition government was for the new Elders Council to receive the authority for governance from the Mission Board, create a permanent Tribal Council, and develop long rang plans. One of the plans agreed upon was to carry forth the development

of a Petition for Federal Acknowledgment.

The removal of the leadership authority of the Mission Board control over the community was agreed to on one condition. It was agreed that if the Tribe became federally acknowledged that a casino or gambling would not be brought into the Allegan County Indian Community. It was agreed that this would become part of the Tribe's proposed new constitution.⁴⁰² Next, a state chartered non profit organization was established to be a fiduciary arm of the Tribe. It was agreed that the Tribe would promote the development of programs for all members of the community and since history of the Tribe showed that it was a "United Nation",⁴⁰³ that the Tribe and it's council would be structured as such. Bylaws for the Tribe were organized over a six month period to replace the temporary bylaws drafted to launch the modernization of the Tribe.

It was agreed that the Tribe would seek Federal Acknowledgment as it's own entity and that it initially would be known by the name that the U.S. Government had given the Tribe in 1839, the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians, so the Tribe could use it as a beginning point to teach the U.S. Government who the Allegan County Indians really were.⁴⁰⁴ The warrior societies who roamed Allegan and Barry Counties and Chief Sagamaw and the Tribe's beginning history had long been known in the local community. Since the Indian Tribes who were banded together in Allegan County by the government were from three Tribes, the Pottawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa, it was agreed that at some future time the name, Gun Lake Band,

would be modified to represent the United Nation interests of the tribe.

On March 28, 1992, the Tribe filed for Federal Acknowledgment. It's Undocumented Petition was approved. ANA funds were achieved, the history was researched, and a draft for the documented petition was developed as well as the criteria for the Base Roll of Membership. The historical research verified that the Tribe was not a Huron Band Tribe. A decision of the Supreme Court in 1899 had shaped the modern form of the Tribe. The Tribe had already understood that it was a Pottawatomie Tribe attached somehow to the Ottawas. It later learned conclusively that it had never been formally created or designated as an Ottawa band but had been created at the direction of the President.⁴⁰⁴

By September the Gun Lake Band received permission to be considered for acknowledgment along with the Huron Pottawatomie because of the "long standing relationship with the Huron Pottawatomie" Nation.⁴⁰⁵ BAR and the BIA agreed to the request and it was clear that the petitions of the two Tribe would be for separate entities. The Tribe continued research into it's past and uncovered other long lost Allegan County records which verified a U.S. Trust with the Tribe for it's land base had been broken by a state court, a clear violation of the Non Inter Course Act.

The Tribe next began it's genealogical research again as the Huron Pottawatomie Tribe Council controlling Calhoun County Indian affairs would not release records to the Gun Lake

Band. The Elders' Council decided to perform the research over again since most of the difficult portions were still in recent memory. In 1993 the Tribe's Base Roll of Membership was completed.⁴⁰⁶

In 1994, the Tribe's Interim, or Draft Constitution, was developed and accepted by the Elder's Council. It is with great pride, and a spirit of renewal that our once Warrior Band of Pottawatomi today approaches our National Government to seek Acknowledgment as a Federally Acknowledged Tribe. Much care has been taken to research the Tribes's history, and past leadership,⁴⁰⁷ continuity and membership.

We have been pleased by the cooperation we have received, when we have required it, and the kind and courteous manner in which our requests have been answered and facilitated. We ask that we be granted the right to take our place as a Tribe as we were in the time of our Great ancestors, Chiefs Sagamaw and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish. We realize that were long regarded a hostile nation. We understand the policy of bridling our Nature that was undertaken jointly by the Government and Churches in 1839; it has worked. Our warriors now fight for the U.S. We have been denied rights we were guaranteed in our treaties. We simply ask to be allowed to Be; and to be allowed to be known as a Tribe, subject to the same body of law which governs the other Acknowledged Tribes in this Great Nation. Me-gwetch ("thank you, I owe you") and Me-gwan ("there, it is done").



Part III

DESCRIPTION OF THE CURRENT GROUP

"The Bradley and Salem Mission Indians of Allegan County".

THE ELEMENTS WHICH BIND THE COMMUNITY TOGETHER TODAY.

Not all members of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band attend the Indian Missions. The choice of religion is not forced upon the community's membership and some members of our community retain beliefs in Traditional Ways, and continue to hold ceremonies at the appointed seasonal cycles of the year. In life the community is spiritually diverse; in death the community is joined in a common Indian cemetery which was marked out for us by a Bishop and initiated as an Indian Cemetery in 1840. The Cemetery is noted on County records as an Indian Cemetery.

Because we have suffered the loss of some grave markers we keep a low profile for the Cemetery. In only a very few exceptions has anyone but our Tribe been buried there. The original radio Tonto rests here with our approval. One Huron Band Activist and Traditional Ways believer who was refused burial by the Huron Band reposes in our Cemetery. So does the last Chief of the Huron Pottawatomi who died not knowing he was Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band but the choice of burial sites verifies the fact. The Huron Band Cemetery is in Calhoun County.

The Missions and our Cemetery are at the physical center of our community. If you would refer to a map and review the perimeter boundaries which our membership lives within, the Missions and the Bradley Cemetery are at the center.

CONTEMPORARY INITIATIVES OF THE TRIBE REFLECTING COMMUNITY WILL

In the past few years the Tribe has gathered together and organized the resources from within the Tribe to purchase two parcels of land for Tribal and Mission purposes. In addition a local individual who owned a piece of our former reservation donated an approximate ten acre parcel back to the Tribe. The land base will be partially used to place into Trust when the Tribe attains Federal Acknowledgment. The members share the burden for payment of the land and communally own the lands. More land purchases are contemplated. The Tribe's Constitution bans Casino gaming business located with our heartland. The definition of heartland is any county of Michigan contiguous to Allegan County that contains at least 20 per cent of our Tribe's total membership.

THE COMMUNITY CENTER GROUND BREAKING

In 1994 ground will be broken for the new Community Center and Elder's Council Meeting Hall which will be built by the membership in the tradition of the Mission erection. Federal or outside funding is not being sought to initiate the project. A site has been located and the Community has resolved to undertake the task as a larger Tribal meeting place in needed. The building will be built on the former Selkirk Reservation land and be large enough to hold 200 persons, the size of our Tribe's membership. An adjoining Elder's Park has been planned.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE UP THE TRIBE

One U.S. Census document stands out among the many which can relate who the community has been over a continuum of time from our beginning to the present. That document is the 1850 U.S. Census. A tandem document is the Census of the Griswold Colony of 1851, 199 persons, matching the U.S. Census and shows the Tribe in it's formative stages as a religious community founded by the United States and sustained over a 40 year period of time by treaty provisions. The names on these lists are the Grandfathers and Grandmothers of those who appear on the 1905 Quarterly Conference Report in our Church records which illuminates a 150 year-old vine that follows our roots to the present. We, I would suppose are only the latest fruit.

WHAT TRIBE, OR TRIBES, MAKE UP THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMUNITY

The community has always been a United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi. While the U.S. may have documents to verify the destruction of our confederacy in 1833 at Chicago it may have overlooked that our Chiefs did not sign that treaty. Every other Principal Chief but ours signed the removal document. In 1846, at another treaty in Iowa, those who removed negotiated away the United Nation title there and disbanded the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi, and the former confederacy became known as the Pottawatomi Indian Nation. Our Chiefs did not attend nor sign this document either. We were still in Michigan under protection of, and in relations with the United States, are listed on War Department Census Rolls, made up of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians.

In a legal sense we feel we retain the right to call ourselves the United Nation as for our People, it has not been legally extinguished. From a community sense, even though we are a body of mixed-blood Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi, a Supreme Court case in 1899 ruled that we had remained behind separate from the Pottawatomi Indian Nation and added us, as members of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band, to a Pottawatomi Census called the Taggart Roll, along with some Huron Band of Pottawatomi, Nottawaseppi Band Pottawatomi, and other bands. Thus even though we claim ancestry to each of the three Tribe prevalent in Michigan, in a legal sense we are Pottawatomi.

Our genealogical descent to Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, who was provided a reserve in the 1821 Treaty, an act by the U.S. that completed our legal recognition after our participation in the 1795 Greenville Treaty. The very act of measuring out what we retained and relinquishing in that treaty became an important point of law. That Reservation was called the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Reserve and was located at Kalamazoo, Michigan. We have in our possession a map of this surveyed reservation which was completed in 1825. So were are a Pottawatomi Tribe made up of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians, have an established Census due to a Supreme Court ruling and have continuously been identified as Indian ever since.

The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band today

As we developed our Acknowledgment Petition we reached a full realization of some things about ourselves that we knew, but seldom thought about, and took for granted. Many things that are part of our lives, our extended family structures, the Indian language which can still be heard, our strong beliefs in the Creator, our Indian Cemetery and reserve lands, our community gatherings in celebration, and the support for our living during bereavement, our brown skins, and the place we are located on earth; we have very much taken these things for granted.

We, as a group, knew we were a community. In fact we are two communities tied together by blood, and our Indian Missions. But in our minds and in activity, our routine rituals that we have come to realize exemplify community activity, we were just being Indians and it was nothing special. It has never been necessary for us to prove that we were a community to any one. No one, and I mean no one, has ever asked us to define what being a community means.

Thus our examination of ourselves has been a healthy experience. The exercise of developing this petition has been a very important event and support for the spirit of our community. By our process of studying ourselves, we now have a reference point reflecting what we are now, and who we once were. It goes without saying that if one knows where one has been, and where one is, it is all the more likely that one can decide where one is going. This also applies to a people.

After researching our past, revisiting the souls of our great and resolute leaders, viewing ourselves as a unique grouping of people as if we were outside ourselves looking in, We who make up the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band can ascertain that we are at the beginning of a great time of trial. The society around us is closing in rapidly. As the society around us changes, and it is changing, it is only natural that we must adapt ourselves to the changes, or experience unknown consequences. Just at a time when we finally have been able to attain and use the power and "medicine" called education, we quietly also ourselves, "is not the power of what it holds chipping away at our community structure?" Is it taking our brightest and those whom are motivated among us away. We teach them to go to school and they have no jobs, as professionals, to come home to.

The landscape around us is becoming crowded with houses. Our hunting lands are now just a memory, the runways where the deer once ran are now cleared, and the deer have receded to another sanctuary. Are we supposed to follow? The Diabetes very quietly ravages our community and only we can see it's pattern. It is a distinct and subtle menace that is also part of the fabric of our community. We talk of "Sugar" as if were an abusive relative rather than the killer it is; we are numb to it's presence. Whose leg will it take next?

Our leaders are themselves aging; there must be new leaders to take the place of those who have reached their time to "move

over". It is time for those who write this document to lead. Our modern constitution was an important step which blended our routine rituals into a written code of community law. Will we be able to protect our community as successfully using this document as those we are replacing?

As southwest Michigan de-industrializes and re-shapes it's economy, the stability we briefly enjoyed for a few generations when we left our day labor jobs is now being threatened. What will our children do? They can no longer pick berries, or cherries, or trim trees. How will they feed their families? How will they buy land? How will they afford homes for their families? Will they finally be swept away into the mainstream like so many other Indian communities that we all once knew? Are the Universities the "boogey man, the Man-doh-zah, the "bear walk" that slips into our homes and takes our children one at a time while we all smile and give them praise. What is to come of our People?

These are some of the questions we are asking ourselves. In the following pages we will describe who "we" are, not only for your benefit, but for the benefit of ourselves and if we pass away as a community of People they once knew as the "Bradley-Salem Indians" then this thesis on community is also for posterity. This is who we are.

THE LOCATION AND EXTENT OF OUR GEOGRAPHIC COMMUNITY.

A quick review of our resolution for adoption of this Acknowledgment Petition which we prepared for approval by our Elder's Council reveals a pattern which demonstrates our community's natural contemporary borders. In the north we extend no farther than the Grand River as it winds it's way through Grand Rapids. Our members there all live on the south side of this river. To the south we extend a few miles beyond the city of Portage on the south side of Kalamazoo. To the east we extend nearly to Hasting's, Michigan. And to the west we extend to Hamilton and a few miles beyond.

The range of our when plotted on a map resembles the shape of an egg, or our olden days wigwams which were patterned after the pregnant wombs of our Mothers. The geographic size of our community has neither increased or decreased in nearly 100 years. In fact, by superimposing our contemporary community's outline over the villages in which we lived in 1900 one can graphically see that we are still in our homelands.

If we extend our graphic outline back another 50 years, to 1850, we are still in our homeland given to us to possess forever by the United States. There are however far fewer of us living in the region today than there once were. In 1850 over 2000 Indians called our homeland their home, albeit temporary, after they had migrated here from other places and later removed to northern Michigan.

We do have one sizable family branch at Mt. Pleasant, where (b) (6) moved and found a livelihood, and raised their large families. Those families now have

children and grand children. They have now married into the Mt. Pleasant Saginaw Chippewa Tribe and while they qualify for Tribal membership in our Tribe, and we count them on our fingers as part of our community by our defined criteria, the permanent imprint on their minds and what they call "home" is quite logically not what the rest of us perceive. Thus our community does not extend to Mt. Pleasant, by any stretch of the imagination, even though our membership potential does.

Allegan County has about 400 Indians living there today according to the 1990 Census. About 100 of these are our practicing Tribal and community members. Others from that U.S. Census number are mixed bloods who are generally Ottawa and Pottawatomie, and self acknowledge they are Indians, but have no other knowledge or reference to their Indian heritage. Not all of Allegan County's Indians are part of our community. Others are members of the Pokagon Band, and a few are Huron Band. Some even claim Cherokee and the blood of other Tribes.

A PRACTICAL REFERENCE TO MODERN COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP.

A very practical aid to discerning whom is part of the Bradley-Salem communities are to be found in the formal records from the Missions themselves. The oldest modern record is a Quarterly Conference Report Book, which was begun in 1905 and briefly details the membership of the community by listing names of those whom are speakers, and who has supported and given funds which the community used to erect the Bradley Indian Mission. This structure was completed in 1914. The Grand children of those listed in 1905 now make up the Mission Board, are all Indians. We who write this report are their children and all of our names and faces can be found as children in Mission logs, reports, pictures at events, at funerals, and among those baptized by our Elders. If there is a genealogical core to our community, then there is also a physical core; that would be the Missions.

One must not mistake the existence of the Missions and deduce that we are a profoundly devout religious group to have persevered so long. On the contrary, we built these Missions ourselves. When we enter these buildings, if we let our minds wander for a moment, we can see our Grand fathers. We hear their names, how they struggled to build these havens. The wood and stone of the Missions are as much a part of our understanding of religion as the Methodism which supplements our faith. We gather principally within these building, maybe part of it is out of habit, but certainly it is also out of Tradition. Our Tribal structure and governing body meets in the multi-purpose rooms of these building today. These building are our bones, we are the flesh, and together we are the Spirit of our People that has remained in our Homeland. The Mission leaders are very influential in the politics of community maintenance and design. No plans is worth it's weight in salt without the blessing of Mission. It was the Mission leaders who created our modern government and made our constitution.



Part IV

R E S P O N S E T O C R I T E R I A

25 C F R P A R T 8 3

The Petitioners, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, 695-128th Street, Shelbyville, Michigan, 49344, and it's Council of Elders, and members of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band respectfully submit the following responses to satisfy 25 CFR 83.7, **Mandatory Criteria for Federal Acknowledgment**. All contact and correspondence regarding this Documented Petition should be directed to Mr. William L. Church, the Tribe's official liaison to the BIA, through the Tribe's Federal Acknowledgment Office at: 5721 Grand River Drive, Grand Ledge, Michigan. 48837 (517) 627-0244.

1. Pursuant to 25 CFR 83.7 (a), the Petitioners have been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. The Tribe has been known as "American Indian", "Michigan Indian", "Bradley Indians", "Shaw-be-coung's Band", "Bradley Pottawatomi", "Bradley Mission Indians", "Griswold Ottawa", "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians", "the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians", in addition to as "Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Band".

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (a), subsection (1), the Tribe has been identified as an Indian entity by Federal authorities. During the IRA period the Holst Education Report was initiated by the BIA. The report shows the Bradley Pottawatomi Indians were visited, census estimates gathered, and a review of the community and it's leadership structure was conducted. Previous to that Tribe was enumerated by the BIA in the development of the Durant Ottawa Roll of 1908. The band appears as Shaw-be-coung's Band of Grand River Ottawa. Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's descendants were also enumerated as part of the development of the Taggart Roll of 1904 as one of the participating Pottawatomi Bands awarded judgment funds as the result of Federal legislation. The Tribe often referred to during this period as the Match-e-be-nash-she-wis Band in Court testimony (Chief of the Tribe from 1795 to 1843. His son Penasee was the next Chief of the Tribe. He died in 1854 and his son Shaw-be-coung became Chief). The Taggart Roll was developed following conclusion of the Pam-To-Pee v. United States (1899) in which the Allegan County Indians (Shaw-be-coung's Band) successfully challenged the United States using the Supreme Court to be allowed to be parties to judgment funds paid to Pottawatomi Indians and were thus included in the Taggart Roll of 1904.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (a), subsection (2), The Tribe has been recognized by the State of Michigan. The Tribe has long been known by the State of Michigan as the Bradley Indian Community and after it filed for Federal Acknowledgment as the Gun Lake Band Grand River Ottawa (Penasee's Band and Shaw-be-coung's Band were routinely referred to as Grand River Ottawa until the Supreme Court decision finally added the Band to the Pottawatomi judgment via the Taggart Roll of 1904. The Tribe, also known as the "Gun Lake Band", and the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians, as a State Recognized Tribe is also the recipient of funding from the State of Michigan designated for State Recognized Tribes as a participant in the Community Services Block Grant Program by the State Department of Labor. The Tribe has formed itself into a non-profit organization and has been incorporated with the State of Michigan, Department of Commerce as a non-profit, tax exempt, organization and is known as the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, Inc.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (a), subsection (3), deeds to Tribal land held by the Tribe are noted in official records of the Allegan County Registrar of Deeds as the Gun Lake Band, and

the "United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians, Inc.", the state-chartered corporation of the Tribe. The Tribe has also requested a waiver on land taxes based on its Tribal status for a 10 acre parcel of the former Selkirk Reservation recently acquired by the Elder's Council for the Tribe.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (a), subsection (4), The Allegan County Tribe who is petitioning for Federal Acknowledgment as the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians, also known as the Bradley Indians, and the Griswold Indians of Allegan County, two other names by which the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Band has been known as, have frequently been identified by scholars and anthropologists including those of the Smithsonian Institution; in publications of the State Historical Society, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, and the Michigan History Magazine; and by Dr. James Clifton, the foremost expert witness in the nation on the Pottawatomi of southwest Michigan; the Methodist Episcopal Church maintained records which include the Pottawatomi at Bradley in Reports of the Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church-Missions to the Indians, 1842-1866, (Selkriege's Mission). These records are located at Adrian College at Adrian, Michigan.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (a), subsection (5), The Indians of Bradley, Michigan, have frequently been mentioned as an Indian entity in articles of the Kalamazoo Gazette and the Grand Rapids Press; also are referred to in the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 15, Indians of the Northeast.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (a), subsection (6), The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi, also known as the Gun Lake Band, is recognized by the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs; The Inter-Tribal Council of Michigan; The Confederated Historic Tribes of Michigan, which includes the Burt Lake Band of Ottawa and Chippewa, the Pokagon Band of Pottawatomi, the Little River Band of Ottawa Indians, the Little Traverse Band of Odawa Indians, and the Nottawaseppi-Huron Band of Potawatomi Indians. In addition from before the turn of the century to 1934 many Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Pottawatomi who were listed on the Taggart Roll attended the Mt. Pleasant Indian School operated by the BIA and located at Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

2. Pursuant to 25 CFR 83.7 (b), a predominant portion of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians has comprised a distinct community and has existed as a community continuously from historical times to the present. The Tribe was provided a reservation at Kalamazoo Michigan in the 1821 Treaty, ceded the lands in 1827 in a treaty which then provided them lands as part of the "99 Sections Reservation" adjacent to the 4-mile square Nottawaseppi Pottawatomi Band Reserve. When all the other Pottawatomi Chiefs and Bands ceded their lands in southwest

Michigan in the 1833 Chicago Treaty (a treaty not signed by Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, or Penasee) they removed northward. From Kalamazoo they moved to Plainwell, then Martin, then to Gun Lake where they were enjoined with Sagamaw's Prairie Ronde Pottawatomi and were formed into the Griswold Colony by the Superintendent of Indians affairs from the War Department after Presidential action under provisions of the 1836 Ottawa and Chippewa Treaty.

20 years later, as Pottawatomi still attached to the Grand River Ottawa, the Tribe under the leadership of Shaw-be-coung was included in the 1855 Ottawa and Chippewa Treaty. Some of the band removed to Oceana County, then later returned to their Reservation land in 1878. Their return was noted by the Smithsonian Institution publication, Handbook of North American Indians. In 1890 the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band enjoined with other Pottawatomi in a Supreme Court suit and were judged to be Pottawatomi and were enumerated and paid after the Taggart Roll was completed. During the past 150 years a substantial proportion of the community had been living together as verified by U. S. Census records from 1850 to 1990 and with a few years when a portion of the Band removed to Oceana County with the expectation that land would be provided, which was not, the Band has resided in Allegan County.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b), subsection (1) (i), significant rates of marriage including marriages within the Band and patterned out-marriages between Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band members and members of other Tribes have taken place continuously from historic times to the present. Rates of marriage within the Band itself have lessened in the past two generations because of the closely related nature of the Band. Interaction with the Grand River Ottawa (1838-57) at Griswold, and (1858-78) in Oceana County and the period when the Band returned to Allegan and were joined with Grand River Ottawa, and Huron, and Pokagon Band Pottawatomi brought a fresh gene pool into the Tribe during those periods. Since then the Tribal community has become increasingly isolated Allegan County.

Since 1900, because of the presence of the Mt. Pleasant Indians School, marriages were more out-pattern marriages. After the closure of the Mt. Pleasant Indian School the Bradley Tribal Community had less opportunity to meet other Indians and the Indian Camp Meetings then became the mechanism for the Tribal members to meet potential mates. It is only in the past generation where Indian-white marriages have occurred with any regularity. Because of Tribal sanctions against marrying close cousins more incidences of marrying whites have occurred, particularly after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (1) (ii), the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band members have historically remained a close knit community because of the close association of the Tribe's Indian children through the activities of the Indian Missions. The Missions were wholly operated by the Band and it's Mission Board rather than from the outside from a Protestant Church

Missionary Society. The concentration of community interaction and related activity into the Missions was particularly true in the era after the closure of the Mt. Pleasant Indian School when the Indian inter-community activity which had always been prevalent was channeled in to Camp Meeting activity carried out by the Missions and a week long gatherings were held nearly every week of the summer in a different Indian Mission's community. As children, Indians interacted primarily with other Indians because of the structure of the Mission related community activity which centered around the Mission calendar and the summer Camp Meetings. The Camp Meetings were highly social in addition to spiritual. The Camp Meetings in northern Michigan often coincided with cherry picking season and thus, work, socializing, and spirituality were conveniently mixed together.

In addition, because the Bradley and Salem communities and their populations were concentrated in two clusters, the Indian children were schooled in one room country schools where they were often the majority of the school's population. Such was the case at the Dallas School, District #9 at Salem and at the Bradley K-8 School. This channeled and extended Indian child interaction with other Indians beyond the Camp Meetings of the summer into the school year, supplemented by the Sunday activity and related social activity. It was not until the 1960's when the need for employment changed the tenor of Indian community life, caused migration to the cities for better paying jobs, and decreased the concentration of populations of the Indian community. The responsibility of the 40 hour work week challenged the dynamics of the Camp Meeting structure and attendance waned.

By the mid-1960 the one room country schools were closed in Allegan County and the opportunity to be exclusively with other Indian children largely became a function of the Sunday worship time and social activity associated with the Missions. The integration of Indians into society and the gradual chipping away of clusters of Indians in the Allegan county population has only been a recent phenomena. Indians seeking jobs in the 1960's changed the community structure because of the mobility of the families who had formerly remained as part of a distinct Indian community. The community's reaction was to attempt to create Missions within the urban areas where their Tribal members lived. This is how the Indian Mission at Grand Rapids was developed. It was spawned by an unsuccessful attempt in the late 1960's which broke ground in the area. The Mission is now a successful Indian sister Mission of the Bradley-Salem Missions and are grouped together as one by the Methodist hierarchy.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (1) (iii), The Bradley and Salem Indians of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band have successfully channeled their former warrior and combative nature into recreational and competitive games. The Tribe has had a baseball team of it's own longer than the National and American Leagues. Sports were once a major part of the activity at Mt. Pleasant Indian School and helped to institute Baseball into the Indian

communities state-wide, for those who were athletic, and the love of sports has carried over into today's Bradley Indian community. Nearly every Indian boy and girl are involved as children on team sports of some kind, particularly baseball and softball. Henry Sprague is fondly remembered as the man who inspired the Bradley Indians to play the game as it was designed to be played. It has helped attendance at school, and has been a proving ground for young ball players who later will likely play for the Bradley Braves, the latest version of Henry Sprague's all Indian ball teams.

In other seasons of the year the Indian community of the Match-e-be-nash-seh-wish Band, (in cooperation with other Indian Communities) host all Indian golf tournaments (recently white spouses married to Indians have been allowed to play). In the winter bowling becomes the sport of choice. Basketball is more of a spectator sport, except for Indian high schoolers, and no Bradley-Salem Indian has gone on to play basketball in college, quite the reverse of football and baseball. The sports games of the men in particular provide a time for the community to get together to laugh at their mistakes, particularly when the "Old-Timers" play. The Tribe takes pride when an Indian Championship takes place (beating the white guys has been a continuous tradition for the Band; now it is carried out in fun). Of late more teams are involving our Indian women, but there is no all Indian women's team in our community yet. The society is patrilineal, but is slowly taking part in the Women's movement.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (1) (iv), the sports and spectator aspects of athletics has taken the place of the highly social aspects of the former Sugar Bush, the weeks (and camping) which used to be spent picking huckleberries, cherries (and Camp Meetings), peaches, topping onions, picking beans and celery before apples ripened as the last collective work where Indian families would get together before Deer Season. The introduction of large scale migrant labor into Michigan had it's effect on our community. Jobs became scarce. One week end of the year used to be set aside for the Pottawatomi Home Coming at Hasting's which was a cultural showcase event for our community. Now the many Pow Wows have crowded out this event, possibly forever, because of the introduction of prize money for the participants at Pow Wows. Thus collective work, which used to be done to take care of necessary item like buzzing up wood for the winter (although many Indians of the community have wood stoves, oil and gas are the preferred heat sources) putting up the hay (the hay was for horses and they are only a memory) and boiling the sap at the Sugar Bush.

Collective work of the community now is channeled into work events such as the yearly Cemetery clean up which is hosted by the Sprague Clan. The Church family and the Salem Indians are particularly adept builders and carpenters and have supervised the up keep and additions and renovations of Indian homes and both the Missions. The Bradley and Salem Indians are "affluent" enough today so that the time formerly allotted

for community collective work has been largely replaced by collective recreation. Collective work was formerly carried out to provide for necessities. Now collective work is carried out to maintain Tribal possessions, such as the Missions, the Cemetery, and the Tribal lands.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (1) (v), the Tribe wishes to relate that the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band recognizes that discrimination does exist, but likely because the community has so many of it's own events it has not been as devisive a problem for the Bradley-Salem Indians as in other Tribes. The gifted Pottawatomi athletes in school helps them to be accepted, likely because of their success in sports and games. They also excell in academics which promoted by our leaders. The most subtle and destructive discrimination is suffered by those Indians who have Sugar Diabetes who wish to compete in the job market. The discrimination may be directed towards the disease, but since the Indian is 40 times more likely to have "sugar" than the surrounding non Indian society, discrimination is prevalent in this area. Every, underline, every member of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band is a potential Diabetic. It is part of the fabric of the community.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (1) (vi), The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band indicates that Indian funerals are likely the most attended Indian events in the community where one might say "most" of the community attends, followed by weddings of Tribal members and possibly Championship Games of the Tribe's team; Other community event honoring an esteemed Elder are also big events. The most successful events are those staged around food. This tradition obviously exacerbates the Diabetes dilemma.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (1) (vii), The Bradley Indian Community and Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band can proudly say that it was cradle of Michigan Pow Wows that now occur around the state and are hosted now by wealthy federally acknowledged Tribes. Most likely because the Elder's of the 1950's still had a collective memory of the large population concentration in the Gun Lake region in the treaty days in the mid-1800's, a Pottawatomi Homecoming week was held at Charlton Park, Michigan (near Hasting's). This was once the largest and oldest known Indian settlement in southern Michigan (when it was discovered in the 1700's) and is located at the intersection of three main trails which converged at Thornapple Lake. A State Historical marker is there to indicate this fact, but a Tree and bushes have over grown the area where it is placed; so only the Indians now know it is there.

In the hey days of Pottawatomi Homecoming Whitney Alberts and Eli Thomas were the main cultural draws and Sunday the Henry Sprague's Indians faced off in Baseball War against a white semi-pro team. The Bradley Indians were known to pick up a washed up big leaguer once in a while, but usually only one. The rest were all Indians and the fans enjoyed the quality of the play. When the park began to charge the Tribe for the event

the character of the event was changed and eventually quashed. But by then the Pow Wows had taken hold.

Now the Tribe's population which desires to take part in a Pow Wow can travel somewhere in Michigan every week end and take part. Some members of the community still supplement their livelihood by making baskets and selling them at Pow Wows. Indian golf tournaments are often staged in conjunction with pow wows in other communities and the athletes of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish are likely to show their skills in competitive games. Indian naming ceremonies, traditional "give aways", and sweat lodge ceremonies are also held along with these event. The Allegan County Indians quite often are named Head Dancers and lead Grand Entry at Pow Wows on a State-wide basis and the Bradley Settlement is well known for a few of it's Elder cultural standard bearers. Frank Bush is our most well known Cultural Elder.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (1) (viii), The Allegan County Indians of Michigan are synonymous with the Indian Missions. The Missions are synonymous with the Tribe. The U.S Government policy installed the Indian Mission among the Indians who remain in Allegan. The Bradley Indian Mission was built by our Tribe (not the Methodists) in 1914 and has been active as the central hub of the community there ever since. At Salem a second Mission was completed by the community in 1924. It is also still very active. The common thread is the bloodlines of Match-e-be-nash-seh-wish through his son Penasee whose children are generally all of our community's great-great, or great-great-great grandparents, depending on how old one is today. Since the Missions were introduced among us to pacify our warriors in 1838 they have been continuously among us for over 150 years.

In 1954 and all Indian organization called the "Indian Worker's Conference", a formal confederacy of the remaining Indian Missions was formed by Amos Kahge and members of the Bradley and Salem Missions. His death shortly thereafter placed the leadership in the hands of Rev. Lewis Church of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band for the next 40 years. His retirement last week has now placed the leadership in the hands of Rev. Joseph Sprague, another Bradley Settlement member. Thus the center of the state's Indian Mission survival, somewhat like the Pow Wows, were centered and supported by Bradley Indians and Salem Mission Indians.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (1) (ix), the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish wishes to detail a two very subtle, but culturally relevant phenomena, led by the community's leaders, which show the capacity of our leaders to influence their Indian followers. In an age when Indian children are known for failure in public schools and alcohol abuse is rampant on Indian reservations and in Indian Tribal Communities, even with the application of massive amounts of funds to combat these social ills, the Allegan County Indian leaders have had a different campaign. It's effects are remarkable. In the area of education for Indian

children of the Band who now attend mostly all white schools, there are **no drop outs** from high school. Federal Programs which were installed in the schools in the early 1970's were scrapped by the community because they caused dissention among the Tribes members because distribution of funds conflicted with the community's established mechanism for assisting members in need. The community decided not to accept these programs and instead supported the schools and education from within the communities themselves. The leaders often speak directly to the community from the pulpits of the Missions to support education, and the example of the Pastor-Chiefs themselves, going back to school and attaining degrees, speak volumes more than piece meal special programs. They encourage the children and parents to support schooling. They quietly said, "Get yourself a good education; this is something the Whiteman can never take away from you". The leaders asked, then showed the way and the community followed.

In the area of Alcohol abuse the pastors have, for the past 150 years, been the agents of change and maintenance of standards for the community. In this area, it also requests no Federal or state funds, and the leaders continually speak and show by example what is expected. Their views on the subject are well known and their respect levels are such that no one challenges their position on the subject. Part of the reason for this was the example of our famed Chief Sagamaw who was killed by a family member in a drunken dispute. That event left its mark on the Tribe, our ancestral community, and our present Chiefs. While alcohol use has not been eliminated, there are no requests for programs from the outside to combat the problem. The leaders are the program.

A third, and more pronounced area for examination of a contemporary phenomena is the request of the Chiefs to support the purchase of community lands by a tax on membership. The land purchase being undertaken now is the initiative of the Indians leaders and the community has supported and followed the will of the Chiefs. Two parcels of land are being purchased in this fashion. The community calls it having faith. It is an apparent following the leaders and their visions as \$40,000.00 have been required to be raised. The leaders are now asking for a Community Center and a site has been pointed out and ground will be broken in the Fall and the Chiefs, with the support of the Community, and the Missions, and the Elder's Council, will most likely be followed. The land purchase is based on the reason that Tribal members can afford \$5.00 per month to be a Tribe member; apparently they can. Many "Specetti" and baked bean type fund raisers are also part of the menu. The land base is the result of the leaders requesting the Tribe to contribute. There is no federal funds or persons underwriting this effort. The Chiefs recall the Biblical story of Peter having the Faith to Walk on Water. The Community Center Project is dubbed the "Walk on Water Project".

25 CFR 83.7 (b) (2). The Allegan County Indians have been recorded as a continuously established Indian community from

1839 to the present. Elder's Council has provided the following statements to verify that it is a community under the Mandatory Criteria.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (b) (2) subsection (iv), The Band verifies that it meets this criteria through its Indian Missions and their organizational structure which were the major organizational hub within the Community until 1992. In 1992 The Missions met with all members of the community to decide whether it should create a "Transition" government and officially move the leadership of the community outside of the Missions. This could only be done if the Mission leaders supported it. It was discussed within the Mission leadership and agreed upon. A transition leadership body of Mission and community representatives was appointed. That body created the non-profit organization called the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi Indians, Inc. The Federal Acknowledgment Petition was begun by this community body. The Transition government strengthened its representation plan by identifying community leaders to represent every historic family and geographic area. A tribal election was held and Mr. D. K. Sprague was elected Chief of the Tribe, replacing Rev. Lewis Church who, as part of the older generation Mission structure wished to step back and allow next generation in the total community now take control of community planning. By-laws and a constitution were drafted and are in use.

The Mission leadership has not been allowed, by the will of the community, to totally step back. It is a valued part of the new community structure and the constitution has portions developed within to address the concerns of the Mission leaders long after they will have departed this earth. The belief of the total Tribal community cannot simplistically be called Methodism. The Methodists have assisted the Missions for generations. But the fact remains that the Indian Pottawatomi Community, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band created its own Missions, developed a leadership process, maintained and renovated these institutions for the community, used them to transmit the values and mores of the Tribe to maintain. They have now spread their influence to areas well beyond the Bradley Settlement.

The Pottawatomi Indian Mission within the Tribe itself is a distinct cultural pattern that has been supported for the past 150 years, and while other communities have let their Mission structure fail, such as is the case with the Huron Pottawatomi in 1947, the Bradley and Salem Missions have succeeded and are now on the threshold of the 21st Century. The Indian language is used each Sunday in some portion of the worship, or songs, and words or phrases of the language can be heard on any day of the week as some of the Indian language is interspersed with the English that is the predominant method of communication today. Two of our Elders speak the Indian language fluently and many others can communicate with each other in Indian. Federal assistance will be sought to preserve the Indian language.

3. 25 CFR 83.7 (c). We have, as a Tribe, maintained political influence or authority over our members, the members of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomí, from historical times to the present. Some of the existing institutions through which we have exercised our authority have been those provided to us by the U.S. during treaty times, such as the Missions, and other institutions we retained as the result of not being scattered all over the face of the earth like so many seeds and have retained influence over our Tribe as a result. Our line of succession of leadership has been intact for a century and a half and our leaders can be named and their deeds and beliefs documented by U. S. records and scholarly publications. Although we trace our leadership to 1795 with our Chief Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, the Elder, we have chosen to begin in 1821, the period when the U.S. recognized the Band to begin our leadership review.

Match-e-be-nash-she-wish was our Civil Chief from 1821 to 1843, followed by his son Penasee from 1843 to 1854; his son Shaw-be-quoung was Chief from 1854 to 1902; and in essence although D.K Foster (Shaw-be-coung's younger brother) was a key leader and Sub Chief, could read and write, and is known in oral tradition as our "last Chief from the treaty period", he was only Head Chief for a brief period. He died in 1903. In fact the death of Moses Foster (Shaw-be-coung), D. K. Foster, and Pay-she-geh-she-g-quay (Mrs. Sprague) in a period of one year created a leadership crisis in the Bradley Settlement in the period just before the 1904 Pottawatomí payment. It also paved the way for the Tribe's leaders to develop the Missions to fill the void and formalize the leadership once again as the result of the slack. Lewis Medawis, a Grand River Ottawa who had married into the Band and Selkirk Sprague jointly spear headed the creation of the Bradley Mission which was agreed to in 1905 and finally completed in 1914. Thereafter Selkirk Sprague led the community along with Lewis Medawis, the Methodist Elder, until Medawis's death after 1920 when Selkirk alone was recognized as the established leader of the Bradley Indians. He often corresponded with the BIA during his leadership and worked along with his cousin, and son of the last Chief, Raymond "Jack" Foster to try to gain the attention of Washington and establish formal Tribal relations again. In 1954, Jacob "Jake" Sprague, a World War I Veteran was elected Chief but died a few years later without managing to gain the return of our lost reservation lands. Lewis Church had been elected leader of the Allegan and Ottawa County Indians in 1951 and thus assumed leadership over Salem, the bastion of Grand River descendants who were also descended from Penasee, and after the passing of Selkirk Sprague, Church assumed the responsibility of maintaining the Indian Community for both Match-e-be-nash-she-wish communities, greatly aided by the fact that the two Missions were under one pastorship (under the Methodists) and the fact that he had also become the Chairman of the "Indian Workers Conference", a state-wide Indian Mission maintenance institution.

In 1993, at the age of 76, Church nominated D.K. Sprague

as successor Chief of the Band. Sprague was then elected by the Elder's Council in the summer of 1993 in a meeting at the home of Margaret Siphema before one of the Tribe's Ball games where the Elder's Council at times gathers for special meetings. No fanfare was made of the event although all Elder's Council members were in attendance. D.K. Sprague, so named after D. K. Foster, is the current Chief. The next election is not constitutionally slated until 1996.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c) (1), the Tribe wishes to relate that it has always had a ruling body by which it conducted its community affairs, even in the interim period when the official Indian Affairs of the Tribe were curtailed by the United States from 1890 to 1934. Under 25 CFR 83.1 the Band asks the B.I.A. to give consideration to the fact that while the Indian Missions created by U. S. Government for the Pottawatomis in Allegan County have been Methodist (for the first 20 years the Episcopal Church facilitated the Missions under an Ottawa treaty), because the Tribe had become affiliated with the Methodists by U.S. policy design after we were assigned to them by the B.I.A. in 1872. The Mission leaders were always the heads of extended families of the Tribe who gathered together within the Mission structure and directed community affairs. Thus, in the modern times, the period after 1900, and particularly after 1905 when the Tribe began fund raising and planning of the physical Mission structure, the Mission Council and leaders directed the affairs of the community after they were discussed with the Mission Community, the "Council of Elders". After the death of D. K. Foster in 1903, a crushing blow to the political affairs of the Tribe, particularly devastating after losing the Head Chief just prior to that time, the Tribe was without direction from those who previously had direct communications with the United States Government.

The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band, then located principally at Bradley, Michigan, reacted with construction of a Mission at Bradley and then later a second sister Mission in Salem Township 10 miles to the west. Each of these two original Missions had Elders, heads of families, who made up a community council, wholly of Indians, and these councils then nominated pastors to operate and lead the Missions. It is likely that God did not choose the Pottawatomis Pastors. Unlike the Biblical Paul, Pottawatomis pastors were not struck blind by a light to become adherents to the Church. Instead young men were selected by their Elders, their parents were approached, and then they were groomed and given the right to speak within the Missions and for the Tribe. They were made to understand the values and mores of the Tribe, uphold them, and if they should not be able to keep these covenants they were dismissed.

When a leader is selected among the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Tribe that leader usually leads until death or illness provided the Tribe the need to select another leader. Rev. Lewis Church was picked by the Mission to lead the community at Salem at age 15 and was groomed and learned his role from Selkirk Sprague who served in a "mentor" capacity. God was

Selkirk Sprague who served in a "mentor" capacity. God was expected to accept the nomination of Pottawatomi pastors primarily because the Missions were the Pottawatomi Community's institution and no one else's.

These pastors performed marriages of community members, burial rites for the dead, settled disputes among the families in a diplomatic manner, and intervened with individual Tribal members directly, with the support of the community, when the accepted values of Tribe were breached. This was the case, for example, when persons were living together out of wedlock which was not acceptable to the community. It was the pastor who was expected to intervene in his role as Pastor, or "Chief". Thus the Tribe has had its own council which was in place in the late 1940's when Methodism encroached upon the Missions decision making process, and requested that the pastors who married and buried be licensed preachers within the Methodist Church, if they were going to call themselves Methodists.

Lewis Church was one of the few to undertake the lengthy process of formal training provided by the Methodist Church. (In summers he attended Garrett Theological Institute at Evanston, Illinois). The formation of the Indian Worker's Conference in 1954 was a recognition by the Indians that the Indian Missions, if they were to be Methodist and be licensed, would need funds and a process to gain additional training. Even the Indian Worker's Conference was an all Indian Board made up of the pastors (Community selected leaders, i.e., Chiefs) which negotiated with the Methodist Church to carry out the projects necessary.

When the Methodist Church began to regulate the spiritual affairs of the Indian community, the reaction by the Tribe was predictable. It moved to also organize, with the assistance of the Mission, the secular Tribal Affairs of the Tribe. In the same year that the Indian Worker's Conference was created by the Missions, the Match-eh-be-nash-she-wish Band (which referred to itself as the "Shawbecoung Pottawatomi Band") elected its own Pottawatomi Community Council. In effect, in 1954 the Band created a secular council to pursue claims under the Indian Claims Commission, and to protect its sovereignty.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c), subsection (1) (i), The Tribe is able to mobilize significant numbers of members and significant resources from its members for group purposes. Formerly all of the homes of the Community members were built with assistance from each other. The Missions were built by the community. They have been kept up by resources raised by the Community. The Cemetery is kept up by the Community. The Tribal lands being purchased, or formerly acquired, were the product of mobilization of the Community's resources after the Elder's Council in the Mission made the decision to move ahead on a projects. The funerals of the Tribal members are another indication of Tribal mobilization, even the Tribe's sports teams, and the Community dinners and events staged to pay for the internal improvement projects of the Tribe.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c), subsection (1) (ii), most of the Tribe does consider the issues acted upon by group leaders and governing bodies to be of importance. The method of information transmission is from the Elder's Council outward through their families, and then to extended families. In this respect the information is geared to the adults of the Tribe and the Tribe's youth learn of the actions of the Tribe from their parents (and also learn the biases of their parents or families on specific issues), to maintain a continuity of decision making from generation to generation within families.

The Tribe's Constitution has been constructed to represent geographic areas of the Tribe, and may curtail, in time, some of the individualism of the extended families on Tribal decision making in that three major geographic areas have been created and the element of a popular vote has been integrated into the decision making process to satisfy U. S. Government requirements. The compromise by the community in this issue is understood and has been accepted with some reservations.

At the present time there is confusion among the Tribe's membership because of the two separate Huron Band Tribal Groups who are also contacting our members and trying to get them to sign up for their efforts. A relinquishment process has been initiated by the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band internally to address this issue. Tribal members will be required to acknowledge the Band as their representative government at the exclusion of others. This will also show that they consider matters and decisions of the leaders and the Tribe important.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c) (1), subsection (iii), the Tribe reiterates that because of the construction of the Elder's Council which has traditionally been the Heads of Extended Families, the information regarding Tribal matters filters directly into the community in a distinct process. They don't usually see it on TV. In addition the Federal Acknowledgment Project of the Elder's Council does periodically send newsletters to community members, and they receive a newsletter from the Missions they are members of in their local areas.

The necessity for accurate information is particularly acute at the present time because of the splintering of the Huron Pottawatomie Tribe into two polarized de facto government factions each making contact with our leaders to support their efforts, sending their newsletters to the community stating their positions, which causes our information grapevine to react to inform our core community to keep them informed.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c) (1), subsection (iv), the Tribe wishes to affirm that it does meet the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7 (b) on more than a minimal level.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c) (1), subsection (v), the Band wishes to call the attention of researchers of contemporary history of our recent formal separation from any political association with the Nottawaseppi-Huron Band of Pottawatomie, which has created its own set of circumstances. The widespread claims

from Hurpn Pottawatomi Tribal leaders that they are going to be Federally Acknowledged based on information gathered from visits from BAR have been particularly unsettling to our Band's members because they claim our members as Huron Pottawatomi. This has created divided loyalties and opinions as to how best to achieve a conclusion to our Federal Acknowledgment process. As a result our Tribe and it's members have relinquished any possession rights in the Pine Creek Reservation even for those who are a descendant to clear the air on their land issue.

Within the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band proper, concerns that have created levels of minimal conflict are in the area of potential Casion Gaming enterprises and fears that they would be placed within the community. The articulation of these concerns were passed to the Heads of Extended Families, and thus presented to the Elder's Council. It was feared that our local land purchases were for "Casino" purposes rather than our long overdue construction of a a Community Center (The Walk on Water Project) large enough to provide for our needs. Specific understandings agreed to in the formal constitution development which has been completed have allayed any fears.

Other internal conflicts, again which cross Tribal lines, exist in regards to heirship rights to Bradley land and are present among families which have one foot in our Bradley Band, and one within the Calhoun County Hurons by descendancy. These have been decided in favor of the Bradley members by the Elder's Council and when that decision (land ownership issue) between the one of the Sprague members v. the Chivis family was contested, it was settled in court to the satisfaction of the Bradley Sprague element of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band.

A major conflict was the very idea of seeking Federal Acknowledgment from the Government which was questioned because of the past record of the United States government in fulfilling any agreement with the Match-e-be-nashshe-wish Band since 1821. However the Tribe desires assistance with health care for it's members to gain access to a method to "Decalre War on Diabetes" by our Tribe's descendants of Chiefs and their Warriors.

Thus conflict is present, but managed, within the Tribe by the decisions of the Elder's Council and no matters which concern the sovereignty of the Tribal government are allowed to be decided by other bodies, i.e., Michigan Courts, which would show we do not have influence or authority over our members.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c) (2), subsection (i), The Tribe wishes to indicate that the Tribe does allocate land to Tribal members in two forms. The Tribe owns land which is held in common by it's Tribal members. In life, when the Tribe eventually creates Tribal housing on the lands it has purchased, if that be the decision of the Elder's Council under the Tribe's Constitution, and the decision is not countermanded by a referendum by the community, it is the Tribe that determines whom shall be housed and we hope it is everyone who has need. In death the Tribal Elders also make decisions about the burial plot and decide whom will be allowed to be laid to rest in the Bradley Indian

Cemetery. The decisions are applied in a consistent manner and the Tribe. The furthur adoption of Tribal ordinances will formalize the land use purposes of it's already acquired land.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c) (2), subsection (ii), it is likely that since the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band is in reality one large extended family as descendants of one Chippewa Chief from the 1795 Treaty, the spokeperson for all of Michigan's Indians at Greenville, who remained in southern Michigan, married into the Pottawatomies, and who was further accorded rights and a reservation at Kalamazoo in 1821, that the dynamics of the Tribe are very unique. Family disputes are generally handled within the extended families themselves. Evidence of the disputes, when they cross family lines, have also been handled by the Elder's of the Mission by seperating the disagreeing parties, and often by the parties themselves requesting public prayer on the matter. Maybe God has assisted the Tribe to settle some of it's internal matters.

In an informal manner, since land and heirship is the number one area for dispute among the Pottawatomie the community disputes are kept to a minimun by the pastor (Chief) who keep watch over unpaid back taxes and in the process of regularly knowing whose taxes are not up to date, discussions are initiated before the item becomes a devisive community problem. This has been done because the land issues faced by the Band, particularly after the death of the last Chiefs in 1902-03 split tne community, and it took a few years for the Tribe to recover from those hard feelings. The oral tradition of those conflicts happening way back in 1902, and a court case when it was settled, is still remembered by individuals, but not often discussed. Rather it is remembered as a lesson to younger leaders of how not to do things and how one must be watchful so that the White man does not end up with the Tribe's land again, as was the eventual outcome in that situation. Disputes are, in fact, settled on a regular basis by the pastor who is allowed, rather, expected to intervene in the lives of the community when a problem becomes apparent. Often the individuals privately ask for assistance. This was always done as a private matter until 1992.

In 1992, Rev. Lewis Church, who individually assisted to resolve many disputes for families as part of his role as pastor, retired. In that year the Tribe also filed for Federal Acknowledgment, and created it's own modern Tribal Government complete with it's own constitution. The disputes that have surfaced since 1992 have been solved by the Tribe itself which found itself reacting to the intrusions of the factions of the Huron Pottawatomie on the sovereignty of the Bradley Tribe, and meetings have been held to decide what to do on the matter to protect itself. At one point the Nottawaseppi-Huron Band had attempted to claim jurisdiction over the Bradley Mission grave yard as their Tribal domain and to made the decision to allow the bones of an unknown Ottawa to be buried there. The Bradley Community stood firm. Finally a decision of the Gun Lake Band Tribe who intervned with the Attorney's of Michigan Indian Legal Services, Huron Pottawatomie representation, forced the

Huron Pottawatomi to withdraw from the legal process under way. A neutral party, the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council then approached Bradley Elder's for the right to bury the bones in the Cemetery. After a meeting with all parties to consider the matter, it was agreed to by Bradley's leaders with the stipulation that the burial was not to be made a public spectacle. This was requested to keep the existence of the Cemetery of the Tribe a low key "secret" due to fears by Tribal members of graves being disturbed by curious passers-by. The Hurons exploited the matter via the press anyway and further undermined any respect the community may have had for them.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c) (2), subsection (iii), the Band wishes to report that there are norms of behavior that have evolved over a long period of historical time and some norms that have been inherited by the Band from the Government from the Treaty Period itself. The Missions were created with the premise of Missions being inserted into the Indian Tribes to modify the behavior of our People, and in particular, to eliminate alcohol from our Tribe. It was a pacification process. As a result there are strong prohibitions on the use of alcohol which remain today because of the initiatives of the U.S., and the harm that "drink" has done to our People. Nothing causes the community to become concerned more than the use of alcohol by members. Alcohol is tolerated by Methodists, and is utilized by even some members of the Methodist clergy. Drinking alcohol is socially acceptable in the dominant society (but not for Indian Mission pastors).

These values which are present within our Tribe are certainly hold overs from the values that were put into motion in our community in 1839 that have not changed since the treaty days. We have never seen or heard of one of our Indian pastors who used alcohol. This is one example of behavior that is prohibited. When this behavior has occurred in other Missions the individual pastor had to step down, and choose to reform, or move. Thus there are some sanctions that are in effect. But they are not written down on any page. They are however known.

Some individuals have been snubbed (shunned) by the community for excessive alcohol abuse, particularly if the individual is publicly intoxicated within the community at formal community affairs. It has always been wise for the excessive user to keep to him/herself and not challenge leaders in this area. One man, one who later became a pastor, before he straightened out, showed up at the Bradley Mission one Sunday and continually pestered Rev. Church before the service, making a public display. Church suggested he could give the man a ride home. The man wanted "the reverend to go into the woods and pray". Reverend Church suspected that he was the one who would "be preyed upon", and continually refused. Finally, after the service was finished, and the nuisance had not mellowed or retreated, the pastor put his "turn the other cheek" teachings aside, wrestled the inebriated soul to the ground, picked him up, and placed him into the car in full view of his People.

With a good deal of resistance the Chief took the man home. This situation never happened again. Eventually the man reformed and followed his father's foot steps and became a pastor himself at Bradley. Instances such as this have been infrequent and attest to the respect the community has for the pastors.

These same drinkers always knew they could call the Indian pastor, on the worst winter night, to be delivered home. (This had to be the individuals only resort as they avoided the pastors in this condition like the plague). The pastor would come, but likely not without his speech regarding his responsibility to his family, etc. The pastors are not taxi cabs, however.

Almost to the man, those who left and joined the military of the U.S. were rather incorrigible upon their return, and a challenge to their families and the Missions. So every time the U.S. has a war the Tribe suffers the after effects of another culture's value system.

The recent public demise of one of a neighboring Tribe's recent Chiefs who seemed to use more tricks than Nixon had to smear his opposition (at the time the opposition was a branch of his own relatives) to stay in political control of that Tribe showed how the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band community would react. Their behavior was predictable. Not one public meeting was called to react and legitimize the individual's wild claims. Meeting's however were called to support his opposition and local Tribal member with little mention of the political rival. Prayers were offered in support of the Band member being falsely accused. Privately, the individual was discussed throughout the community until a consensus was formed, without the need for a public meeting. Thus the individual was politically shunned and socially branded. Within a year he died. "Give them enough rope and they will hang themselves" was never said, but fully practiced. When our great Chief Sagamaw was beaten to death by a drunken family member when he was an old man, his attacker faced the same overwhelming community pressures and was dead within a year. It would appear that the community and it's collective conscience, and value system, is like a source of power and strength and those who dare tread on these values risk banishment, whether officially, or by the practice of shunning (it happens but we have no other word to describe it) and eventually the individual is forced to face his/her dilemma. Some leave and seldom come back except to visit; others die.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (c) (2), subsection (iv), it will suffice to provide an example of one such shared labor project which has been planned for the Cemetery clean up on Decoration Day. The "word" has been spread throughout the community that a dinner will be held, and a clean up and organization of the Cemetery will take place. The Mission bulletin, and the Indian Grapevine will call attention to the event, and likely more persons will attend than is actually needed this year. This is the same mechanism that is put into operation when a building is built; such was the case with the Mission.

When the Tribal Center is built (next year?) it will be

a challenge again for the Elder's because the younger members of the Tribe have not seen a housing bee in their time and don't know how to react, and participate, because they have to see it done by their Elder's. Thus, the builders will likely be the old men, while the women cook, with some of the younger men in tow. Eventually the younger men will take a more spirited part. The memory of the event will be planted in all however preserving the practice for when it is needed again. This is the method that has created the human power to keep the Missions in repair, the additions completed, and a few generations back, all of our homes built. The spark is alive.

In the out set of this formal response a question was asked, "how will our young build homes for their families?" This is the answer that has not deserted our Tribe for thw past century, and is likely the answer that will come again to our younger generation. Now instead of the Mission leaders, however, making the call for assistance it will be the Tribal Chief, as the constitution has now been inserted into the mix, and given time will blend itself into the Mission community of the Bradley-Salem Pottawatomi Indians.

4. 25 CFR 83.7 (d). A copy of the Tribe's Constitution has been provided and evidence of the criteria and the development of the criteria over the past two years has also been included. See document number 402.

5. 25 CFR 83.7 (e) (1). In the case of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band, the Tribe, the members are almost totally descended from the Chief of the Band at the time of the 1821 Treaty. Although he did not sign the 1833 Chicago Treaty and agree to remove, his band was merged with Sagamaw's Band, and Ke-way-goosh-cum (the former Grand River Band Head Chief) in 1838 to form the Gun Lake-Griswold Colony under the direction of the War Department under authority granted by the President of the United States, on land granted by the President, held in Trust by Bishop Samuel A. McCoskry of the Episcopal Church, and located at Bradley Michigan.

In successive years the War Department officially attached other "roving bands of Pottawatomi" to the Griswold Colony and by 1850 there were 199 members of the Tribe.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (e) (1), subsection (i). All members of the Tribe can trace their ancestry to individual whom were paid and whose names appear on the 1904 Taggart Roll.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (e) (1), subsection (ii), members of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band can all trace their ancestry to individual who were part of the Griswold Colony and whose names appear on the 1850 Census, the earliest Allegan County census document, an official U.S. Census which showed our Tribe as one body and served as a base reference point for development of the membership criteria we adopted and which appear in our

Tribe' Constitution. This document shows that our Chief was Penasee at that time in our historical past.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (e) (1), subsection (iii), we have also inserted the 1842 Census of the Indian under the Michigan Superintendency; our Tribe appears under the heading "Griswold Colony", and our Chiefs Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's and Penasee's names appear on the document, as well as on the 1839 Annuity payment Roll of the Grand River Band, where our Tribe is listed as the Gun Lake Village Band under Pottawatomí Chief Sagamaw.

Under 25 CFR 83.7 (e) (2). The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band has provided a list of names in conformity with the mandated criteria (see document number 406). The former list submitted to the BAR was the same list as the present list, but only a list of names, submitted without addresses. Thus this is our only membership list. Our Tribal membership list was prepared based on criteria approved by the Elder's Council in 1992, which was developed into a Membership Roll with a grant from the Administration for Native Americans in 1993. The names on the list were approved on October 25, 1993 and the total persons on the list were individually researched and files created, and supporting documents collected for each file, and the Base Roll of Membership was created.

6. 25 CFR 83.7 (f). The members of the petitioning group, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomí Indians of Michigan, also known as the Gun Lake Band; and the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomí Indians of Michigan, Inc.; are principally made up of persons who are not members of any Acknowledged North American Indian Tribe.

7. 25 CFR 83.7 (g). Neither the Petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship between the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band and the United States.



Part V

LIST OF SOURCES

Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band
of Pottawatomi Indians
of Michigan.

May 16, 1994

1. Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes, George Irving Quimby, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960, pages 27-33.
2. Map of Michigan showing Grand and Kalamazoo Rivers.
3. History of Allegan and Barry Counties, Michigan; D.W. Ensign & Co., Philadelphia, Pa., 1880, page 18.
4. Ibid., History of Allegan County, page 27.
5. YEARS GONE BY; Bernard, Prosper G., M.D.; An illustrated account of life in...Barry County (privately printed), PP. 35; 1967.
6. Michigan Map of area discussed.
7. 1755 French Map of Michigan.
8. The Indians of the Western Great Lakes; W. Vernon Kinietz, Unive. of Michigan Press, 1972, page 227.
9. Ibid., The History of Allegan and Barry Co., page 19.
10. Indian Names in Michigan, U of M. Press, Ann Arbor, Mi.
11. Close up map of Gun Lake.
12. Ibid, The History o Allegan and Barry Co., page 15-16.
13. The Indian and the Horse; Frank Gilbert Roe, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., 1955, pages 211-213.
14. Tribe, Nation, Estate, Racial, Ethnic, or Special Interest Group? Michigan's Indians. Clifton, James A., University of Michigan Press, 1993; page 3.
15. M-234, Roll 423, Letters Received, O.I.A., 1824-81, Michigan Superintendency, 1824-51, 1838-39 file. Doc. #'s 146-147.
16. Ibid., The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, page 234.
17. History of the Ojibway People; Warren, William, Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, 1984. See page 36.
18. Conversation of Bill Church with Thomas Graham, (deceased) of Grayling, Michign, on the ancient meaning of the word.
19. Ibid., The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, page 308.
20. Ibid., page 227.
21. Ibid., page 226.
22. Ibid., page 227.,

Page 2., Documents

23. Ibid., page 230.
24. Ibid., page 231.
25. Ibid., page 231.
26. Ibid., page 230.
27. Ibid., page 226.
28. Ibid., page 261.
29. People of the Three Fires, The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan, Clifton, McClurken, etc., Michigan Indian Press, 1986; page 13.
30. Ibid., The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, page 247.
31. Ibid., 232.
32. Ibid., People of the Three Fires, page 76.
33. Ibid., The Indians of the Western Great Lakes., page 231.
34. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15, Smithsonian Institution, 1978, page 1778, (See Documents).
35. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, (RG 75) Letters received, 1837, Michigan Superintendency, F 334, (See Documents).
36. The Indian word name of the Thornapple River is So-wan-qua-sake, or the "Forked River". Ibid., Days Gone By; page 35, (See Documents).
37. Ibid., The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, page 246.
38. Ibid., page 308.
39. Ibid., page 308.
40. Ibid., page 308.
41. Ibid., page 308.
42. No one entered the interior of what was to become Michigan, except Indians, for over a 100 years after first contact.
43. Ibid, People of the Three Fires, page 13.
44. Ibid., The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, page 310.

Page 3, Documents,

45. Ibid., Handbook of North American Indians, page 726.
46. Ibid., People of the Three Fires, page 60, (See Documents).
47. Rites of Conquest, The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans, Cleland, Charles E., University of Michigan Press, 1992; page 114.
48. Ibid., Handbook of North American Indians, page 761, (See Documents).
49. Ibid., Handbook of North American Indians, page ix, (See Documents).
50. Ibid., Handbook of North American Indians, page 644.
51. Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Volume 2 (Treaties), Washington D.C., 1904. Reprinted by Charles J. Kappler, (See Documents).
52. Ibid., Indian Affairs Laws, (9 Stat. 853, 22 July, 1846, See Documents)
53. Chippewa of Eastern Lower Michigan, Plaintiffs Exhibit No. 106, Docket No. 18 G & 57, Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Ann Arbor, 1965; page 357, (See Documents).
54. Ibid., People of the Three Fires, Introduction, page v.
55. Ibid., see document # 34, Figure 5., item 14F.
56. Bradley, Salem Missions Cling to Tradition, Penasee Press, Wayland, Michigan. Allegan County Roads: A Traveler's Guide to Allegan County, 1988, (See Documents).
57. Autobiography of James Selkirk, "The Life of James Selkirk", Michigan Historical Collection, Rackham Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Written before Selkirk's death in 1878, (See Documents).
58. The Potawatomi Indians of Southwestern Michigan, Everett Claspy, Dowagiac, 1966, pages 3-5, (see documents).
59. Penasee, later head Chief of the Griswold Colony which was settled by the U.S. in Allegan County, signed this treaty (7 Stat. 131, September 8, 1815). See document number 51.
60. M-234, Letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Michigan Superintendency, 1824-81, 1840-41, doc.# 264-5.
61. M-1, roll 37, Mi. Superintendency and Mackinac Agency,

Letters sent, 1836-1851. Doc.# 510-511.

62. M-234, Roll 425, Letters Received, 1842-45, Michigan Superintendency, 1824-51. Document #'s 410-411.
63. M-234, Roll 427, Michigan Superintendency Emigration, 1830-1848. Document #'s 309, 310, 311, and 312.
64. M-234, Roll 427, Mi. Superintendency Emigration, 1830-48, Doc. #'s 303-304.
65. M-234, Roll 423, Letters Received. Mich. Supt. 1824-51. Doc. # 524.
66. Schoolcraft noted in Census of 1837 (see document number 35) that 200 Ottawa remained in Ohio.
67. M-234, Roll 487, Letters Received, OIA, 1824-81. Report shows that only 374 Ottawa removed from 1832-1838.
68. Ibid., (see document number 62).
69. Ibid., (see document number 63, #310).
70. Ibid., (see document number 65).
71. Ibid., (see document number 51), Aug.3, 1795 Treaty (7 Stat. 49)
72. See document entitled Indian Land Cessions, 1795-1837. The Compact of June 5, 1838, determined the bands to be included by the War Department under payment as Grand River Bands (also see document number 61).
73. Ibid., (see document number 64).
74. M-234, Roll 423, Letters Received, OIA, Michigan Superintendency, 1824-81, 1838-39. Doc. # 471. By Sept.30, 1839, the Census had been achieved. It was developed from the 1839 Annuity Payment of the Ottawa which shows "Gun Lake Village" with the Grand River Ottawa.
75. Ibid., (see document number 35), this is an enlargement of Schoolcraft's estimate's for Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi south of the Grand River. We have also provided Schoolcraft's Census figures from 1840 (M-234, Roll 424, Letters Received, Michigan Superintendency, 1824-51, 1840-1841, document number 263). This 1840 Census is just prior to the southwest Michigan removal carried out by General Brady.
76. M-1, Roll 37, Letters Sent, Mich. Superintendency and

- Mackinac Agency, Documents 399-400. An additional document (M-1, Roll 37, Mich. Supt. & Mackinac Agency show that by November of 1836, Samuel McCoskry, of the Episcopal, (who later cooperated with the U.S. on the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony) was already being used as a reference by Schoolcraft, two years before the President's approval.
77. Ibid., (see document number 62). We have also included the Census of Indians within the Superintendency of Michigan in 1842 which lists the Griswold Colony (Gun Lake Village Band as per 1839 Annuity payment) under Chief Sagamaw, and also list Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, and Penasee who remained in Michigan after not signing the 1833 Treaty (7 Stat. 431, September 26-27, 1833).
 78. Although the Compact of June 5, 1838, created and mandated that the Gun Lake Band-Griswold Colony would be paid at the Grand River site along with the Grand River Bands and may have been thought by some to have been Grand River Band Ottawa, the Annuity Payment of 1853 of \$1700.00 compared with Michigan Superintendent Henry Gilbert's records show that the Griswold Colony was paid out of Ottawa Annuities of \$1700.00 from permanent Annuities from 1795, 1807, 1818, and 1821. (See documents 420-21, and 423, M-234, Letters Received by OIA, 1824-81, Roll 404).
 79. M-234, Roll 425, Letters Received, 1824-81, Michigan Superintendency, 1842-45, Document number 78. This document also provides Indian census information of the Grand River region where the former Warrior groups had concentrated.
 80. Government document forwarded to Court of Claims showing Pottawatomies paid in 1843 who remained in Michigan. The Kekalamazoo Band had joined Sagamaw and were paid along with the Griswold Colony under the category of Michigan Ottawa with permanent annuities from 1795, 1807, 1818, and 1821.
 81. Ibid., (see document number 62).
 82. Ibid., see document number 51, (11 Stat., 621, July 31, 1855 Ottawa and Chippewa Treaty. By approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the Griswold Pottawatomis were allowed to be a part of the treaty, even though it was an Ottawa and Chippewa Treaty, and the Tribe lived well outside the jurisdiction of the Treaty boundaries itself.
 83. The Pottawatomies who make up the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band all trace their ancestry to Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, their Chief at the time of the 1821 Treaty. He did not sign the 1833 Treaty (7 Stat. 431, September 26, 27, 1833).

Page 6, Documents.

We have included a survey of the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Reserve (RG 60-8, Records of the Michigan Department of Conservation, Lands Division) which was provided to our Tribe as part of the 1821 Chicago Treaty (7 Stat. 218, August 29, 1821), and also a 1979 B.I.A. Land Claims Map. (Also see document number 72).

84. The Diocese of Western Michigan, A History; Smith, Franklin Campbell, Diocesan Historical Commission, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1948. The appendix of this work contains a condensed history of the Griswold Mission to the Ottawas. (See pages 665-669). Also see document number 76.
85. Grand Rapids Press, December 1, 1992.
86. Various documents published by earliest residents to present time. They are: History of Allegan and Barry Counties, 1880, pages 41-42, 354-355; Six Months Among Indians, Wolves, and Wild Animals, Historical account of the winter of 1839-40, Cook, Darius B. 1889; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Vol. XXXII, 1903, pages 381-383; Michigan History Magazine, Michigan Historical Commission, Indians of Oceana, Spooner, Harry L., Vol. XV, 1931, pages 655-665; Kalamazoo Gazette, December 14, 1954, Claim Big Chunk of Kalamazoo; Kalamazoo Gazette text of article from 1957 as provided by Michigan Historical Collections; Indian Mission Wanes, Grand Rapids Press, April 7, 1957; Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XLIV, Michigan Historical Commission, 1960, page 399 and accompanied by partial Wayland Township map for reference; Handbook of North American Indians, Smithsonian Institution, Indians of the Northeast, 1978, pages 780 and 784; River & Lake, a sesquicentennial history of Allegan County, Michigan, Joe Armstrong and John Pahl, 1987, Allegan County Historical Society; Penasee Globe, Wayland, Michigan, June 29, 1988, page 11, picture article on former Indian Camp meetings/Mission; Allegan County News & Gazette, Native Americans and Bradley Linked, December 23, 1993; page 1. (Also see document # 57).
87. Ibid., (see document number 15).
88. Ibid., The Indians of the Great Lakes, Kinnietz, W. Vernon, 1972, pages 229-230; 247-248. (See document number 35).
89. Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts, The Northern Colonial Frontier, Jacobs, Wilbur R., Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1950, pages 181-185. (Also see 7 Stat. 49, Aug. 3, 1795 Greenville Treaty in document # 51).
90. Ibid., (See document number 34).

Page seven, Documents.

91. Ibid., History of Allegan and Barry Counties, 1880, pages 40-41. (See attached document).
92. See map from Helen Hornbeck Tanner's Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History for the 1830 period.
93. Historic Michigan, Land of the Great Lakes, edited by George N. Fuller. (see document entitled Indian Trails, Mounds, Earthworks, Villages, and Cemeteries in Kalamazoo County. pages 121-123.
94. See document number 92.
95. Ibid., Wilderness Politics, etc., Jacobs, (see number 89).
96. Ibid., Wilderness Politics, etc., (see number 89).
97. History of Kent County, Michigan, Chapman & Co., Chicago, 1881, page 143 (see document).
98. (See document number 92).
99. (See document number 34).
100. (See document: Michigan Travel Map with outlines of "Sanctuary" and the Forks of the Grand and Thornapple Rivers. Note the three major branches. Please refer to document 88 and reference to "three branches").
101. (See document 97).
102. These raids are described by Sagamaw and Noonday and were written as part of Darius Cook's, Six Months Among Indians, Wolves, and Wild Animals. (See document # 86).
103. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Vol. XXX, 1906, pages 172-190 (see document).
104. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Vol. XIX, 1892, pages 415-416 (see document).
105. Ibid., Historic Michigan, Edited by George N. Fuller, Phd., Harvard, published by the National Historical Association, 1873, pages 142-144 (see document).
106. History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan, Everts & Abbott, Philadelphia, 1880, pages 78 and 435 (see documents).
107. Historic Michigan, Kalamazoo County, Edited by Charles A. Weissert, National Historical Ass'n, pages 86-89; Southwest Mich, Vol. III, pages 109-112 (see document).

Page eight, Documents.

108. Michigan History, Vol. XXXI, Michigan Historical Commission, 1947, pages 88-90 (See Document).
109. Ibid., (see document number 108).
110. Ibid., (see document number 108).
111. Historic Michigan, George N. Fuller, Editor, 1873. with an account of southwest Michigan Edited by Charles A. Weissert, pages 127-141 (see document).
112. Michigan History Magazine, Vol. 29, No. 2, April-May-June, 1945, published by the Michigan Historical Commission, pages 214-216 (see document).
113. Ibid., (see document 111).
114. Keepers of the Fire, Edmonds, Ronald.
115. Ibid., (see document 111).
116. In the case of Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan v. United States 22 Ind. Cl. Comm 504 (1970), the Claims Commission ruled that while the Greenville Treaty recognized the title of the signatory Indian Tribes, such recognition was subject to a later determination of precise boundaries of the lands which had been relinquished to or recognized in the respective Indian Tribes. In the instance of the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band of Pottawatomi, the measuring out of the three-mile square reservation by metes and bounds at Kekalamazoo in 1821 described the lands which were ceded to the United States (see document 83). Recognition was thus completed by the 1821 Treaty. (See document 24 Ind. Cl. Comm. 50, Red Lake and Ottawa and Chippewa v. U.S., pages 50-54).
117. Three Chiefs who became attached to the Griswold Colony in fact signed the 1795 Greenville Treaty (7 Stat. 49, Aug. 3, 1795) We purchased a photo of the original treaty signature page and have highlighted Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, Sug-ga-nunk, and Wab-me-me. Wab-me-me, or White Pigeon, removed and later returned to Michigan. He signed the 1846 Treaty at Council Bluffs). (See photo document and Archives correspondence).
118. See document number 51 (7 Stat. 105, Nov. 17, 1807 Treaty).
119. In 1821 both Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and Sagamaw were provided three-mile square reservations at Kalamazoo and nearby Schoolcraft, Michigan, where they continued to cooperate. Penasee, the son of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish became the activist (War Chief) and he and his father

Page nine, Documents.

- did not sign the 1833 Chicago Treaty (see document #51).
120. (See document number 51 (7 Stat. 105, Nov. 17, 1807).
 121. *Nine Months Among Indians, Wolves, and Wild Animals*, narrative of the winter of 1839-40, a first hand account by Darius Cook who wrote a book and had it published in 1889 contains his interviews with Sagamaw and Noonday. (Refer to document number 90 for more in depth review).
 122. Darius Cook wrote that Sagamaw had Tecumseh's ornate smoking pipe when he visited the Selkirk Mission at Bradley in 1839 and described it in his book. (See document 90).
 123. *Ibid.*, (see document 90). Many accounts and newspaper and historic documents by historical societies are based on Cook's 1839-40 winter visit.
 124. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, pages 291-292 (see document).
 125. Penasee is not well known but it is evident that had the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi been able to sustain war beyond 1795, or 1812, Penasee would have been a well known leader. He later would lead approximately 500 Indians who gathered at Nottawasippe for a Council with the U.S. (and agent Ketchum) to defy and defeat plans to have some southwest Michigan Pottawatomi voluntarily remove to the Mississippi region. (See document # 63).
 126. Meanwhile Penasee was at the 1815 Treaty which he signed along with Noonday (naw-way-qua-gee-zhick) and while he carried on active resistance to removal and did not sign the 1833 Chicago Treaty, he did not go to war again after he signed the 1815 Treaty (7 Stat. 131, September 8, 1815). Refer to document number 51.
 127. (See document 51).
 128. (See documents 92; 106).
 129. This is at the forks of the Thornapple. The forks of the Thornapple reflect this Chippewa ancestry in Forks of the Thornapple Bands 1; and 2, as recorded on the 1853 Annuity Rolls (see document number 78). Refer to document 106 to note close proximity to Gun Lake Village as noted by Helen Hornbeck Tanner in her Atlas.
 130. Gun Lake Village Band (Griswold Colony) list from 1839 Annuity Payment (see document number 74 for other bands).
 131. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection*, Vol. XXX,

Page ten, Documents.

Lansing, Michigan, 1906, pages 180-181 (see document);
Also see document number 97, page 154-157.

132. See document 106.
133. See document number 51 (7 Stat. 218, Aug. 29, 1821).
134. See document number 51 (7 Stat. 528, Jan. 14, 1837).
Although he was paid out of Schedule B, he was not an active leader with the Saganaw and his signing appears necessary to clear up claims from the 1827 Treaty where other Pottawatomi had relinquished claims but Penasee had not.
135. See document number 83 for location of survey.
136. See document 105.
137. When Ketchum refers to the Pottawatomes who gathered at Nottawasepi Village (the former 99 sections reservation) listened or took direction from the Chippewa on the Grand River he was referring to Penasee and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish who had with held their signatures from the 1833 Treaty and were under no obligation to remove to the Mississippi region. This event took place in 1839 M-234, Roll 427, Mich. Suptc'y Emigration, pages, 306-307 (see document).
138. His father was Ottawa and Pottawatomi.
139. During the Claims Commission period the Bradley Indians knew so little about Indian Law and historically have traced their ancestry to Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish rather than Sagamaw that they did not intervene in the hearing on this item.
140. Prior rights and a subtle policy of removal created a situation where major Chiefs were provided reservations only to have them reconsidered a few years later. The Origins of Indian Removal, 1815-1824, copyright 1970, Michigan State University Press, may be of interest in seeking to understand the reservation policy of the U.S. during the period of time when our Chiefs were provided reservations themselves which were ceded a few short years later. Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish was never compensated for the Kalamazoo reserve, likely because he did not sign the 1833 Treaty.
141. See document number 74 and locate the Cheboigan Band of Chippewa Indians. This is where Topenabee ended up.
142. See document number 51.

Page eleven, Documents.

143. M-1, Roll 37, Mich. Superintendency and Mackinac Agency, Letters Sent, document number 163. This document and the legal ruling it implies allowed Pottawatomi from the 1821 Treaty to freely move north to Allegan County which was not yet fully surveyed and thus open to Indians with 1821 Treaty rights. This complicated the removal plans of the War Department but it appears that the Indians knew their rights clearly on this issue. It also explains the large emigration of Pottawatomi to the Gun Lake (Allegan County) region after the 1833 Treaty. (see document).
144. Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan, A study of the settlement of the lower peninsula during the territorial period, George N. Fuller, Lansing Michigan, 1916. See map document.
145. Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, Helen Hornbeck Tanner,
146. Indians Guided First Settler to New Home, Kalamazoo Gazette, no date (see document).
147. See document number 51 (7 Stat., 305, September 19, 1827).
148. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Vol. XXX, Lansing, Michigan, 1906, pages 199-200 (see document).
149. The Grand Rapids Press, December 15, 1954. Indians Seek Old-Timers. The descendants of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish's Band were still seeking their compensation for the Kalamazoo Reservation in 1954. Also see document number 83; and 86.
150. M-234, Roll 404, Letters Received, Mackinac Agency, 1828-1880, 1853 to 56 file, document number 329 (see document).
151. See document number 140.
152. See document number 51, (7 Stat.399, Oct. 27, 1832). Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish did not sign this treaty.
153. Michigan History Magazine, Volume 36, September, 1952, number 3, pages 292-297; (see document).
154. Documents of United States Indian Policy, Edited by Francis Paul Prucha, Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1975, pages 60-62 (see document).
155. See document number 51 (7 Stat. 320, July 29, 1829).
156. History of Allegan and Barry Counties, Michigan, Ensign

Page twelve, Documents.

& Co., Philadelphia, 1880, pages 31-32 (see document).

157. See document number 65.

158. See document number 51.

159. See document number 51 (7 Stat., 431, Sept. 26, 1833).

160. Ibid.

161. 62nd Congress, Senate Documents, Vol. 27, Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties, Vol. 3, Page 56 (see document).

162. 1904, May, Newspaper article "the old government claim won by the Indians in Allegan County a few years ago" (see document). Reference of Allegan County Indians is to the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band, then called Sha-pe-co-ung Band, the Indian name of Chief Moses Foster, son of Penasee, who was the son of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish.

163. See document entitled Taggart Roll.

164. It was proven that the Allegan County Indians did not remove to Kansas, or sign the 1833 Chicago Treaty, and that the band was still in residence in Allegan County and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band was paid along with those who were allowed to remain in Michigan under the Supplementary Articles.

165. Background of the Judgment in Indian Claims....(see B.I.A. document).

166. Census of the Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan and Indiana taken by John Cadman, 1895, Michigan Stat Library (see document).

167. See document 163.

168. 1831 Map of Allegan County region showing lands which had been surveyed. Thus the land was open for Indians with prior rights (such as the 1795 and 1821 Treaty) to utilize until the land was sold. The Allegan County history relates that some lands had not yet been sold in the 1880's (see document). Also refer to document number 143.

169. See document 86, typewritten copy of Kalamazoo Gazette article from 1957 Allegan County Historical Society meet.

170. Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish was counted in the Michigan Superintendency Census in 1842 and is listed as second Chief behind Sagamaw. Penasee succeeded to Chief after

Page thirteen, Documents.

the death of Sagamaw in 1845. The account from the Allegan County History is likely the description of the death of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish (see document), pages 270-271.

171. We have attached a copy of the original 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty which then shows the deleted portions which had been agreed upon but struck out by the President. The Treaty was then sent back to Michigan and ratified in Mid-June. Penasee signed this Treaty, however he was not Chief of the Matchipe-nash-i-wish Band and most likely was included as an individual because of his status as a leading Warrior. See original document then compare with (7 Stat. 491, March 28, 1836) the ratified treaty located in document number 51.
172. See document number 63. It clearly shows that the Secretary of War knew of the concentration of Indians in Allegan and Barry Counties and then chose to remain silent on the matter. Likely to help Michigan to sell land being advertised in Philadelphia, and many other places. See attached "Tourist Map" a conscious decision to not pay annuities to those who had agreed to remove but did not. See document.
173. M-234, Roll 134, Chicago Agency, Emigration, 1835-47, documents 309-311. Suggest that between 800 and 1000 have refused to go to Kansas and shows the U.S. knowingly discontinued annuities to coerce, or "induce", Pottawatomies to remove. One must bear in mind that the Nottawaseppi Reserve does not mean the Nottawaseppi Band of Pottawatomi but refers to the five or so bands who formerly occupied the "99 sections reserve" added by the 1827 Treaty and referred to as the Nottawaseppi. The U. S. had the additional fear that if the aggravation with Great Britain and local borders skirmishes taking place might break ou in war; who would the Indians be loyal to? See document.
174. See document number 62.
175. See document number 67.
176. In the War of 1812 Sagamaw had lit the torch on Chicago, Blackskin and Noonday at Buffalo; indeed the area identified earlier as a sanctuary for Indians was a retreat for Tecumseh's Michigan followers during the War of 1812 and a hot bed for the followers of Pontiac in the mid-1700's. See document 172; and document number 100. Travelers were steered quite clear of the area.
177. M-234, Roll 423, Letters Received by OIA, Michigan Page

fourteen, Documents.

Superintendency, 1838-39, document numbers 138-139; 142-143 (see documents).

178. Ibid., see number 177.

179. M-234, Roll 423, Letters Received by OIA. Michigan Superintendency, 1838-39, document number 005, 034, 134-135 (see documents).

180. M-234, Roll 134, Letters Received by OIA, Chicago Agency, 1824-37, Emigration, 1835-47, documents 638-639. Sprague, who had replaced Sibley in the shake up in the War Department, traveled to Washington to meet with the Secretary of War. He reports that in addition to the Grand River region situation that there are approximately 1200 Pottawatomies a few miles to the south that present another danger (see document).

181. Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Arno Press, New York, 1975, pages 594-597; 590-591 (See document)

182. M-1, Roll 37, Records of the Mich. Superintendency, Michigan Supt. and Mackinac Agency, Letters Sent, July 18, 1836-June 26, 1839, document numbers 457-458, and 460-461 (see documents). The June 5, 1838, Compact with the Grand River Chiefs modified the 1836 Treaty. A Friendship Treaty was entered into by the Chiefs who also agreed to visit the Mississippi region to explore. In addition the Chiefs agreed to allow Sagamaw and his Band at Gun Lake to be paid along with the Grand River Bands (see document number 60). This opened the legal route to concentrating the Pottawatomie War Chiefs on specific reserves where they could be monitored. By modifying an existing treaty funds were made available from article four of the 1836 Treaty, and the civilization fund.

183. See document number 60; and 74.

184. M-1, Roll 37, Michigan Superintendent and Mackinac Agency, Letters Sent, July 18, 1836- June 26, 1839, document numbers 198, 225, and 226. The President approved the plans for the mission schools suggested by Schoolcraft (see document number 76). His plans had been under consideration since at least Nov., 1836. The "Glass Affair" likely made it expedient to implement the plans.

185. M-1, Roll 37, Michhigan Superintendency and Mackinac Agency, Letters Sent, July 18, 1836- June 26, 1839, document numbers 225, 226. Due to the shortages

of human resources, a system whereby the War Department appointed sub-agents to carry out treaty provisions had been approved by the War Department. In effect, McCoskry, by accepting the Mission to implement under a treaty provision, had also become a part of U.S. Government.

186. M-234, Roll 423, Letters Received by OIA from the Michigan Superintendency, 1838-39, document numbers, 153, 164, 165, 168, 171 (see documents).
187. M-234, Roll 423, Letters Received by OIA from Michigan Superintendency, 1838-39, document numbers 442, 448, 450-451, 455, and 476 (see documents).
188. M-1, Roll 37, Records of Mich. Superintendency and Mackinac Agency, July 18, 1836-June 26, 1839, document number 190 and a page from the History of the Western Diocese of the Episcopal Church (Ibid.) denoting the local visit of McCoskry to the Grand River Indians (see document). Also refer to 1839 Annuity payment (document number 74) and review Ottawa Colony Band of Grand River Ottawa. One must recall that Noonday was, in effect, the Head Chief of all of Michigan Indians by being Head Chief of the Grand River Band. The Grand River Band held the Warrior Chiefs who had the ear of the War Department. By creating the Gun Lake-Griswold Colony and the Ottawa Colony the U.S. had pacified the two principal elder war leaders of Michigan's Ottawa, and Pottawatomi.
189. See document 187 (#476).
190. M-234, Roll 424, Letters Received by OIA from Michigan Superintendency, 1840-41, document numbers, 264, 273, and 791 (see documents). One should recall that the 961 Michigan Ottawa (see document number 62) are being reported as Grand River and Maumee Ottawa in Schoolcraft's Statement of Annuities for 1840. It has not been publically disclosed at this date that there are 961 Michigan Ottawa and the 1200 Pottawatomi (see document 180) still in Michigan whom have been reported as "removed". The Colonies were aimed at corralling the leaders of these formidable Warrior groups. They were successful.
191. See document number 51. In the 1836 Treaty, Wasso, a Chippewa, appears as an Ottawa "Chief of the third class". Thus the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty seems to be a relief valve document for more than the Pottawatomi.
192. M-1, Roll 37, Records of the Michigan Superintendency/OIA, Letters Sent, Michigan Supt. and Mackinac Agency, Vol. 1., July 18, 1836-June 26, 1839, document number 645 (see document). Pee-tway-wee-tum also is listed in 1836 Treaty

in the third class of Chiefs, as is Penasee giving credence to the notion that displaced Chiefs from other regions were made a official part of the treaty with minimal remuneration. Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish did not sign.

193. See document number 171. We have attached page 8 of that document and highlighted Wasso, Penasee and Pee-tway-weee-tum (see document).
194. Liber 282, Page 448 of Allegan County, Michigan Court Records. Samuel McCoskry deed for 160 acres (200 additional acres was purchased by the U.S. in 1839) and the total acreage was held in Trust by Bishop McCoskry for the Griswold Colony, or Gun Lake-Griswold Colony, as listed on his 1840 Census (see document). Also refer to document number 60; and document number 187, #451.
195. See document number 187.
196. Personal memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, republished by Arno Press, New York, 1975, pages 483-484 (see document).
197. Three U. S. War Department "Colonies" from Article four Education funds from the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty were created in Allegan County in 1838-39 by the Baptist, Episcopal, and Congregationalists under George Smith at Old Wing. The Ottawa Colony of Noonday (Baptist) at Prairieville; the Gun Lake-Griswold Colony (Episcopal) of Sagamaw; and the Old Wing Colony (Congregational). Also see document number 79 for Old Wing Census.
198. Although the Northern Ottawa at Cross Village had earlier rebuffed the Pottawatomie they seized the opportunity to join the Old Wing Colony and lived in Allegan County until 1848.
199. See documents number 57; number 60; number 190.
200. Cemeteries of Allegan County, Michigan, Townships of Gun Plains, Martin, Wayland and Leithton, Vol. I, Allegan, Michigan, 1951 (see document).
201. See document number 74, Gun Lake Village, Grand River Bands.
202. See document number 76, Michigan Superintency Census of 1842, Griswold Colony.
203. See document number 74, particularly the Grand River Band Annuity Rolls, and compare them with the 1853 Annuity

Page Seventeen, Documents.

Roll (document number 78).

204. Refer to document number 60.
205. Document number 187.
206. Memorials of the Grand River Valley, Franklin Everett, A.M., Chicago legal News Co. 1878, pages 295, 296, and 297. Also see document number 74, Gun Lake Village, Grand River Bands (see document).
207. See document number 194.
208. M-234, Roll 416, Letters Received by OIA, Emigration, Mackinac Agency 1838-39, document no. 303 (see document).
209. M-234, Roll 405, Let. Rec. by OIA from Mackinac Agency, document number 321 & 322. Shows authorization for land purchase given (see document).

M 234, Roll 425, Letters Received by OIA, from Michigan Superintendency, document number 191. Shows that the Griswold colony was "supported entirely by the Government of the United States"; 360 acres of land. (see document).

Allegan County Courthouse Records, July 13, 1855, Leber 13, Page 205 and 206 (see document). Trust statement of Bishop Samue A McCoskry, Also see documents 187; 194.
210. See document 200, page 296.
211. See document number 57, page 41; document number 84; and document number 209 in which Bishop McCoskry lists the line of succession of the Gun Lake-Griswold Chiefs.
212. See document number 80; also number 62.
213. Michigan History Magazine, Volume LII, Number I, Spring, 1968, Michigan Historical Commission, pg. 47 See document).
214. M-234, Roll 425, Let. Rec. by OIA from Mich. Superintendency, 1842-45, pages 426, 428, 429, and 430 (see document).
215. These emanated from the Gun Lake and Thornapple River region surrounded by requests for Babcock to be removed. Millard Fillmore acted personally in this matter, Babcock was removed, Sprague became Michigan Agency Superintendent.
216. See document from Allegan County Historical Society.
217. See Census of 1850 document 216, 217.

Page eighteen, Documents.

218. In 1848 Maiskaw was elected Chief; but the decision was not unanimous. By 1850 some Ottawa Colony members had drifted to Griswold and appear on the Griswold Census. One of them is Mac-ca-tay (Mackety).
219. History of Allegan County, Ibid., page 41, footnote. Also typed copy of Letters received, OIA, Michigan Superintendency, M-234, Roll 426, pages 735-38. The rumored removal of the Pottawatomi was likely fed by the charge that Superintendent Babcock was favoring the Pottawatomi in the Grand River Colonies (he was following War Department policy and attaching them to the Colonies (see document 214, page 429) which led to his ouster made the Pottawatomi remaining in Michigan uneasy. Since Henry Jackson was a Methodist pastor for the small number of Hurons at Griswold known as the Meshemenecon Band news would logically flow to Calhoun County since Henry Jackson was also their interpreter, paid by the U.S. Also see page 675 from M_234, Roll 416, Letters Rec. by OIA from the Mackinac Agency (see document).
220. See document number 209 in which McCoskry lists the succession of Chiefs at Griswold from 1838-1855.
221. Information from Six Months Among Indians, Wolves, and Wild Animals, a book written by Darius Cook, published by Avery Color Studios, AuTrain, Michigan. 49806, first printed in 1889.
222. Autobiography of James Selkirk, page 40, (see document number 57).
223. Ibid., Autobiog. James Selkirk. (See document number 57, page 43).
224. But only for a few years as Chief Moses Foster and his younger brother perished within a few years of each other. D.K. Foster Died in 1903. D.K. Foster was educated and taught school for the Tribe in the Mission system from 1862 until the 1855 Treaty education funds ended. Also see M-234, Roll 786, Letters Received, OIA from Schools, pages 59-60 (see document) which mention Chief Penasee's bright son.
225. Selkirk asked the Secretary of interior to look into some matters including the continued funding of the Griswold Colony. His request was denied in view of the 1855 Treaty negotiations which would take place in the near future (M-21, Roll 52, OIA, Letters Sent, page 67, see document).
226. Griswold Colony Chiefs Maw-bese (representing the Ottawa Colony members at Griswold, and Sha-pe-quo-ung representing

Page Nineteen, Documents.

the Griswold (Gun Lake) Pottawatomi, in June of 1855 ask the Secretary of Interior to place their 360 acres of land in Trust with the President of the United States. They fear that if McCoskry might die their land would be lost to them. (M-234, Roll 788, Letters Received by OIA, from Schools, pages 553, 554, 555, and 556; see document). Also refer to document number 194, and document number 209 in which McCoskry officially files an explanation of the Trust, likely to assist the Tribe since the land was not able to be taken into Trust because of the imminent 1855 Treaty.

227. Census Returns, 1847, Bureau of Indian Affairs, History, Condition, and Prospect of the Indian Tribes of the United States., authorized by Congress, pages 478-487. Multiple Chiefs are listed, see page 483 (see document).
228. Annual Reports, 1851-55; also see doc. 150 (see document).
229. M-21, Roll 52, OIA/Letters Sent, Vol. 52, June 13-Oct.27, 1855, letter number 139 (see document). The Secretary of the Interior authorizes the Pottawatomi (and Huron Pottawatomi) to be included in the 1855 Treaty.
230. See document number 209.
231. Refer to document number 226.
232. M-234, Letters Received by OIA, Roll 783, 1846-47, page 414 (see document).
233. M-234, Roll 782, Letters Received by OIA, Schools, 1844-45, pages 422-426 (see document). Bishop McCoskry's total outlay of funds received was reported on these pages and accepted by the War Department. He reported the funds received from the U.S. for land which Rev. Selkirk purchased on behalf of McCoskry and the Tribe. Previous to 1843 Bishop McCoskry had been receiving payment payable to "cash" (see M 234, Roll 780, Letters Received by OIA, Schools, 1841-42 (see document).
234. Lewis Cass, The Last Jeffersonian, Woodward, Frank B., Rutgers Univ. Press, 1950, pages 191, 202, and 219 (see document). Cass had a blind trust which Trowbridge handled while Cass was in public service.
235. M-234, Roll 783, Letters Received by OIA, Schools, 1846-47, pages 152-153 (see document).
236. C.C. Trowbridge, a banker in Detroit, Michigan, was long known in government circles. He was also a Free Mason, and a member of the Episcopal Church in Detroit.

Page Twenty, Documents.

237. M-234, Roll 783, Let. Rec. by OIA regarding Schools, 1846-47, pages; M-234 Roll 416, Letters Received by Office of Ind. Aff., Emigration, 1846-50, pages. Two representative reports from F. H. Cuming, Supt. of Education, Griswold Colony (see document).
238. Documents of United States Indian Policy, Francis Paul Prucha, Univ. of Neb. Press, pages 89-92 (See document).
239. See document number 51 (11 Stat., 621, July 31, 1855). Shaw-be-co-ung (Moses Foster) our Chief, was not involved in the negotiations. However, it appears that with the authorization of the Secretary of the Interior, a meeting with the Pottawatomi was convened such that Shaw-be-co-ung signed the revised treaty, either for his Pottawatomi Band, or for the Small number of Grand River Ottawa under his authority, in 1856.
240. See document number 226. Penasee died in 1854. His son was chosen by the band as Chief see document).
241. See document number 57, page 43.
242. M-234, Roll 404, Letters Received by the Office of Ind. Aff. from the Mackinac Agency, 1853-55, pages 369, 370, 372, and 380 (see document). The Pottawatomi from Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Reserve from the 1821 Treaty were paid out of the Ottawa, or Michigan Ottawa, account. by review of the 1853 Annuity payments (document number 78) for the Griswold Colony one can determine that Gilbert could have reasoned the Tribe was Ottawa.
243. It would appear that the Treaty negotiations came together so quickly that Gilbert himself probably did not know when they would take place. Also Gilbert was not an entirely honest man and in the end was relieved of duty for misconduct.
244. RG 75 1870 Annuity payroll of the Grand River Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan. The Shaw-be-quo-ung Pottawatomi from Griswold.
245. Even a superficial review of the 1870 Grand River Annuities will reveal many Pottawatomi dispersed through out the Grand River Bands (see full document of 1870 Roll).
246. Refer to document 229, Secretary of Interior approval.
247. M-574, Roll 80 page 143, National Archives micro film In an 1891 Court of Claims document 1372 Indians are listed, each claiming Pottawatomi ancestry. With the dispersal of the Pottawatomi into the Grand River Bands

Page Twenty-One, Documents.

after 1855, voluntary removal north to Mason and Oceana Counties, intermarriage, new births in the new land, taking jobs, attending Northern Michigan Indian Schools, and not returning south, or earlier removals, such as the Old Wing removal in 1848 to Grand Traverse, it is entirely possible that 1371 were Pottawatomie descendants, even in Northern Michigan (see document).

248. Atlas Of Allegan County, Michigan, D. J. Lake, Published by C. O. Titus, Philadelphia, 1873, page 31 (see document). and parts of a document located in the Allegan County Court, Liber 158, pages 495-501, relative to the breaking of the McCoskry Trust and who purchased land with the consent of the State Court.
249. See document number 237. In 1847 F.H. Cuming reports that a few more Hurons who had been resident at Griswold, returned to Nottawaseppi.
250. M-234, Roll 416, Letters Received by OIA, from Mackinac Agency-Emigration, 1846-50, page 312 document begins (see document). Concurrently, at Griswold the population was 109. The next year when the Old Wing Colony moved north 100 more Pottawatomies arrived at Griswold. By 1850, 199 Indians were at Griswold, mostly Pottawatomie (see document 237; document 217).
251. See document 219.
252. See document 250.
253. Reports of the Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church-Missions to the Indians, 1842-61 (Located at the Methodist Church Archives, Adrian, Michigan), page 73 (see document). Since the Griswold was Episcopal, the Methodist toe hold at Griswold was with Huron Pots attached to Nottawa.
254. See document number 74, Ottawa Colony, Grand River Band; also document number 244, Shaw-be-co-ung's Band, individual # 8, "May-co-tay".
255. See document number 78, "Fish Creek Band".
256. See document number 245, Grand River Band section.
257. Abstract of Entries at United States Land Office in Michigan, 1870-75. From the private records of Lewis Church, given to him by Issac Shagonaby (see document).
258. Letter of the Secretary of the Interior, 1360, 40th Congress, 3rd, Executive document number 33.

Page Twenty-Two, Documents.

These letters to Congress show what was intended and what happened along the way.

259. See document number 238.
260. Ibid., Documents of U. S. Policy, Prucha, pages 92-95 (see document).
261. See document 85, Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XV.. 1931, 655-656.
262. The Pottawatomi had hoped for a separate Treaty such as that received by the Saganaw Chippewa.
263. Census of 1860, Eastern half of Allegan County, Michigan, Michigan State Library, 1947 (see document).
264. See document 244, Shaw-be-co-ung's Band.
265. Ibid., Documents of U. S. Indian Policy, Prucha, pages 95-96. Also refer to document number 85, by Spooner, for "Indian War".
266. If the Certificates for land had materialized into land patents, many of the former Griswold Colony may have remained in northern Michigan like so many other former Grand River Valley Indians did. A copy of a land "Certificate" is provided; seemingly as worthless as the paper it is printed upon. See example document.
267. See document number 258. In a nut shell, lists of Grand River Indians who would be provided land were to be finished by 1856. In reality they weren't satisfactorily completed until 1870 and by then the time, according to the treaty, for the lists to have been completed had passed. The obligation for land to be provided had lapsed. No patents were issued and the Indians scattered. Some of the Shaw-be-co-ung Band returned to Allegan County.
268. Old Tyme Plat and History of Oceana County, Michigan, Michigan State Library, 4-H Youth Council, Hart, Mich., 1976, and miscellaneous news articles (no dates available); Oceana County Pioneers and Businessmen of Today, History, Biography, Statistics, and Humorous incidents, L.M. Hartwick and W. H. Tuttle, Pentwater, Mich. 1890, plat map and pages 59-61 (see documents). Also see Census of 1870 of Allegan County, State of Michigan Library, Michigan, which shows that not all of the Griswold Colony removed north to Oceana County (see census document).
269. Ibid., Document of U.S. Indian Policy, Prucha, pages 141-143; also Rubinstein, Justice Denied, pg. 39-42 (see doc).

Page Twenty-Three, Documents.

270. Ibid., Documents of U.S. Indian Policy, Prucha, page 136, (see document).
271. See documents numbered 257; 258.
272. Handbook of North American Indians, Smithsonian Institution, Vol 15, Northeast Indians, 1978, page 784 (see document). Also see document numberd 194; 209.
273. See document number 163.
274. Allegan County Court Records, Liber 158, page 497. The land was legally still "in Trust", there should have been no taxation. However since the 1871 Federal Law abolishing Treaty making had passed, taxes were assessed over the objections of the Tribal community (see document).
275. F. Cohen, Handbook on Indian Law, 1982, the Michie Company, pages 510-522 (see document).
276. Excerpt from a Nov. 10, 1993, letter to Ass't Secretary, Ada Deer indicating that many Pottawatomi, both Shaw-be-co-ung and Huron Bands are listed among Grand River Bands. The sugestion is that part of the Huron Band might be considered a "splinter" of the Griswold Colony (see document).
277. This document is a typewritten report of Pottawatomi Claimants in Pantopee and 1371 other Indians v. U.S. who were living in Allegan and Ottawa County (which is adjacent to Allegan Co.) in 1890. They are randomly listed on Claims Court documents, this report includes only those in Allegan and Ottawa Counties (see document). Also see document number 247.
278. See document 268 (b), "Pioneers and Businessmen, pages 59-60-61. "D. K. Foster's report provides a flavor of the skills possessed by the Indians who returned to Allegan County.
279. The Allegan County Indian population has remained relatively stable as shown by the Indian population graphics developed by B. A. Rubinstein, Justice Denied: An Analysis of Ameircan Indian-White Relations in Michigan, 1855-1889, a dissertation, Michigan State Univ., 1974, pages 20,21,22, and 23 (see document). Also see article from Wayland Globe, May 2, 1957, "Olden Days of Bradley Exciting" (see document).
280. A Survey on Indian Groups in the State of Michigan, 1939, John H. Holst, Supervisor of Indian Schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs Central Library, Department of the Page

Twenty-Four, Documents.

- Interior, see pages 14, and 19.
281. Lewis Medawis not only gave the community words to live by, but daughters. Today the Medawis blood lines are thoroughly dispersed through the Bradley Indians much like the blood lines of Penasee (see pictures from Salem Mission Community, 50 years apart).
 282. Athens Times, December 15, 1911, Death of James David who married a Huron Potawatomi and moved to Athens around 1900. See document number 248.
 283. See document number 248.
 284. These individuals are enumerated in the 1860 Census of Allegan County in Cheshire Township.
 285. Legislation of the Fifty-First Congress relating to the Court of Claims, chapter 39, (26 Stat. L.), AN ACT to ascertain the amount due the Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana, approved, March 19, 1890, pages XXIII, XXIV (see document).
 286. Court of Claims document, "Brief for Claimants by John B. Shipman, in the case of Pam-to-pee and 1371 other Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana vs. U.S., filed Oct. 31, 1891, docket number 16842, pages 1-28, (see document). The brief verifies that three reservations were involved and that five bands held rights to the 99 sections reservation, including the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, Prairie Ronde, and Huron Bands. The Griswold Colony was made up of the Prairie Ronde and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Bands. Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish did not sign the 1833 Treaty.
 287. M-234, Roll 425, Letters Received by OIA, Michigan Superintendency, 1842-45, pages 756, 757, and 758 (see document).
 288. Wayland Township Plat map, 1913 (see document).
 289. Deed to Griswold mission Cemetery, deeded to D.K. Foster and his Heirs, and assign, forever (see document).
 290. Journals of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Michigan, Michigan State Library, for the years 1840, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1855, and 1856 (See documents). In 1840 the Bishop marked off the present Cemetery for Griswold. See document number 289.
 291. For many years the Post Office was located on the Selkirk reservation; the first Post master was David Bradley,

for whom the town of Bradley is now named.

292. M-234, Roll 784, Letters Received by OIA, Schools, 1848-49, pages 835, 836 (see documents). In 1848 One Hundred Pottawatomies joined the Gun Lake-Griswold Colony; children doing well in school, especially the son of the Chief Pe-na-see. This refers to D. K. Foster, or Cau-se-qua as he was known then (see document).
293. See document 163. One must recall that the result of the Supreme Court decision meant that the Tribes remaining in Michigan who were part of the "99 sections reservation" would be included with Pam-to-pee's Nottawasippi (thus the Taggart Roll potentially contains the names of six bands), five bands from the 99 Sections Reservation plus the Nottawaseppi Band Reservation. The Huron Pottawatomi, the Prairie Ronde, and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band represent those remaining in Michigan from the 99 Sections Reservation. The Taggart Roll is a Census, not a Tribe's membership roll.
294. The 49 Sections Reservation was the domain of the Pokagon Band and the Topenabee Band.
295. Actually, before Allegan County was named, it was known as "Kalamazoo" as Kalamazoo County encompassed a much larger area. The Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band was located at Kalamazoo, and the Prairie Ronde had a reservation near present day Schoolcraft, both in Kalamazoo County.
296. See document 163.
297. Medawis became a pastor while in Oceana County and worked cooperatively with the Shaw-be-co-ung Band when he returned to Allegan County from Oceana. He was a full Blooded Grand River Band Ottawa.
298. Medawis had been a pastor for 20 years before he became active with the Allegan County Indians in the early 1900's. As the Elder, he had the responsibility to groom younger leaders including Selkirk Sprague, who returned from Haskell Indian School just after 1900. The earliest Mission records from Allegan County Indians (James Foster's house fire claimed most of them in the 1960's) show that in 1905 "Lewis Medawis, John Pigeon, and James Wasageshik, and Sampson Pigeon were licensed to preach" (see document).

Court of Claims Depositions , taken at Hamilton, Michigan, in 1891 where Chief Foster resided. Medawis' Father was Chief of the Me-tay-wis Band of Grand River Ottawa and he also returned from Oceana County and lived out his life in Allegan County. Many who returned lived at Page

Twenty-Six, Documents.

Hamilton, where land was still not sold to the public, and appear there in 1890. This is Where Chief Moses Foster lived then. This is also where the Court of Claims held it's hearings in 1891 (see document).

300. In reality, Indian pastors were few in number probably having to do with the ability to read and write, and interpret and not all Indians had the opportunity for schooling. A History of Michigan Methodism, The Father Still Speaks, by William Ray Prescott, Michigan Printing Service, Lansing, 1941, page 56 (see document) simply suggests that the Methodists "had no definite plan for work among the Tribes". This left the Tribes free to use the Missions to organize and lead their People.
301. Ibid., Documents of United States Indian Policy, Prucha, pages 177-78 (see document).
302. Justice Denied: An Analysis of American Indian-White Relations in Michigan, 1855-89, Bruce Alan Rubenstein, A Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1974, pages 140-45 (see document). I always got the idea listening to my elders that Indians were better off not having government interference in our lives. I believe it is the effect of the sorry lot of Agents that cheated, lied, cajoled, mislead, and then forgot us (see document). I speak of Agents like Henry Gilbert, the man who was once authorized by the Secretary of the Interior to make a Treaty with us. Read this and weep.
303. See document number 152.
304. In 1908 the BIA created field notes for the Durant payment Roll and the Shaw-be-coung Band was listed and researched along with the Ottawa and Chippewa. Since they had recently been paid under the Taggart Pottawatomi Roll in 1904, they were ruled as Pottawatomi based on the Supreme Court decision of 1899 and subsequent payment. The modern Allegan County Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band is made up of the descendants of Penase, and the descendants of Metaywis, in terms of Tribal Bands. The Grand Rapids Band was led by Joe Medaywe (Lewis Medawis father), the Grand River Chief, and he joined the community of the Bradley-Salem Indians. His children and their descendants are Pottawatomes.
305. 22 Ind. Cl. Comm. 504, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish not part of the Saginaw Chippewa. He was born at Michillimackinac while the Indians gathered there at the post. But when General Wayne, and others, traveled to see him, to meet with him, he was living at Kekalamazoo. In 1821 Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish was provided a three-mile square reserve

at Kalamazoo (see document number 51, 7 Stat. 218, Aug, 29, 1821, page 199; and document number 83). Also review Historical Collections made by the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, Vol. XII, Lansing, Mich., 1908, pages 142,-43, 162-63, and 593-94 See Documents). It would appear that since Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish was the spokesperson for all Michigan Indians it was supposed that he had no Tribe of his own. See document 112, page 216.

306. See document number 74; Ottawa Colony Band, Muck-tay-wooshay.

307. See document number 248.

308. Allegan County Registrar of Deeds, Allegan County, Michigan, Liber 158, pages 495, 501 (see documents). Also see document number 248.

309. See document 299, page 124. From "Miscellaneous Articles, Nottawaseppi-Huron Petition for Federal Acknowledgment (see documents).

When the Secretary of Interior ruled that any settlement with Pottawatomies would include Hurons (see document 309 (b)) those who had found refuge by purchasing land at Bradley (see document number 248) returned to Athens to await their payment, which of course, did not come until 1904, after the Allegan Indians took the case to the Supreme Court, and were also included (refer to document 162).

310. This community is commonly known as the "Salem" Indians and all of the old time leaders of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan know where Salem is and have also been there. On the Holst Education Report of 1939 the Salem shows up as those listed under Burnips Corners, where the nearest Post Office was located, and Dorr, Holland, Allegan, and Hamilton, where the original Salem Members had spread out to by 1939. The Center of the community was, and is, the Mission which the Tribe itself built (see document number 280, page 14, "The Bradley Group"; and page 19).

311. M-234, Roll 134, Letters Received by OIA from Chicago Agency, Emigration, 1835-47, page 20 (see document).

312. Grand Rapids Press wire service photo, 1941, Expert Indian Basket Weaver Buried (see document).

313. Map from State Transportation Commission showing locations of "Salem" and Bradley, and Rabbit River (see document).

Page Twenty-Eight, Documents.

314. See document 313.
315. See document number 276, Flat River Village.
316. Atlas of Allegan Co., Mich., C.O. Titus, Phila., 1873 (see document).
317. See document 248.
318. Quarterly Conference Report Book kept by Allegan County Indians. In 1907 they decided to Build the Bradley Mission and cooperated to pay for it. Includes 1958 picture from Grand Rapids Press of original building before renovation and addition by Tribe a few years ago (see document).
319. Various newspaper articles, 1900-1925, from Nottawaseppi-Huron Petition for Federal Acknowledgment showing sustained contact between Hurons whose ancestors came from Matchi-pe-nashi-wish Band and Bradley Indians (see highlighted documents).
320. The utilization of the Taggart Roll by the Huron Potawatomi as a Base Roll gave this false impression. The Taggart Roll is made up "Scattered, living descendants of Michigan and Indiana Potawatomis, including Huron, Pottawatomie, and others. See May 17, 1843 letter from T. Hartley Crawford to Rober Stuart attached as document. Also review pages from Mineapolis Area Agency Report entitled Background of the Judgments in Indian Claims Commission Dockets.... a Commissioner of Indian Affairs Document, March 20, 1975 (see documents). Also refer to document 286, pages 1 and 2.
321. Penasee Globe, Aug. 9. 1989, Indian Baseball Players: Local Legend Lives On (see document).
322. See document number 263, page 189.
323. See document number 319; also Penasee Globe, Wed., June 29, 1988, page 11 (old long Style Camp Meeting picture) of Bradley Camp of 1925 (See document).
324. Funeral of Thomas Mackety, those attending, and Pottawatomies represented (see document).
325. Grand Rapids Press Article, Sunday, April 7, 1957, A Century Has Seen Few Changes; and Indian Mission Wanes Only 54 Pottawatomies Remain At Bradley (see document). Also review documents numbered 318; 319.
326. "County Roads", published by Penasee Press, Wayland Page

- Michigan, 1988, (see document).
327. See picture of Salem Indian Mission on document 326. The original structure was added to, and the old structure strengthened, and enlarged in the 1950's and the 1970's.
328. The Indians of Allegan County built everyting themselves, even their own homes until the late 1950's when, as factory workers they found it necessary to hire outside contractors to help them because their time was limited. Amos Pigeon was always there. He was a fruit tree trimmer and in his off season he always found time to contribute. Sampson Pigeon was his Father.
329. On document 326 part of the over hanging branches of one of the Maple Trees can be seen in the left edge of the Photo.
330. Schoolcraft's Census (document number 227) indicates 43 horses; Selkirk's reports show 61 by 1851, and D.K. Foster's 1868 report from Oceana County (document number 268) shows 131 horses. Lewis Church says almost every Indian family had at least one horse until the 1930 when cars scared the horses so bad that the Indians were scared into buying cars.
331. Chicago Agency Reports show that a contributing reason that St. Joe Pottawatomies didn't remove to Kansas in the numbers the U.S. had hoped was that because the Treaty ratification took over a year to complete. Consequently bids and contracts for rations were late in coming, and the Indians began selling their horses and wagons they received form the 1833 Treaty. Then the Indians didn't want to walk to Kansas.
332. Ibid., Atlas of Allegan Co. Titus C., Phila, 1873, page 48 (see document).
333. The U.S. Government only assisted those Tribes and groups who created Temperance Societies. The Missions seem to have had, as their number one criteria, to see Indians separated from Alcohol. The Bradley Mission Indians became great antagonists of Alcohol use. Hence their Mission gatherings became not only social, but also recreational. Without alcohol the gathering centered around food, and celebration of holidays; and the Mission was the only building big enough to gather in for community events.
334. Document number 57, page 41-42; M-234, Roll 425, Letters Received by OIA from Michigan Superintendency, 1842-45, 785-86 (see document), no sales of Alcohol to Indians.

335. See document 280, page 19. Minutes of the Michigan Annual Conference of The Methodist Church, Volume 29, number 2; and Volume 30, number 1; for the 1941 and 1944 (see documents). The documents show that the combined membership of the two Missions themselves was 85 persons in 1941.
336. Neither Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish nor Penasee signed the 1833 Chicago Treaty, on the 26th of September, or the 27th, and rallied others to resist removal. The Historical Collections made by the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan, Vol. X, 1888, pages 170-172, relate a Council as reported by the White Pigeon Republican (see document) arranged by Ketchum, a Special Agent for the War Department and Poinsett. The Article refers to Penasee speaking against removal. Doc. 336 (b), M-234, Roll 427, Michigan Supt. Emigration, 1830-48, pages 303 and 304 relate the same meeting regarding Penasee (or Big Bird, as he referred to him) and his vow to never remove (see document). Refer to document number 63.
337. One only has to follow emigration of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish, and Sagamaw, from 1795, in successive treaties, surrendering their claims in 1807 (the Detroit region), going to war in 1812, the Peace of 1815, their relocation in 1821 at Prairie Ronde for Sagamaw and Kekalamazoo for Matchi-pe-nash-i wish (see document 51), ceding the 1821 lands in 1827, in effect trading their reservations for space in the "99 sections reservation" that was ceded by every Chief in 1833 but Match-i-pe-nash-iwish and Penasee. They were then pacified in the diplomacy of the Compact of June 5, 1838, where they were allowed to take part in certain articles of the 1836 Treaty without ever having signed it. More of the same in 1855, even though the Secretary of the Interior had given permission to treat with the Pottawatomies. Added to another Ottawa Treaty without being part of the negotiations. It is no wonder that the other two Pottawatomi Tribe thought (or think) the Bradley Indians are Ottawa. The 1899 Supreme Court decision agreed in effect that the Allegan County Indians, the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band was Pottawatomi and we were added to the Taggart Roll. (See the document, Report of the Michigan Pioneer Society, State of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan, Vol. III, 1903, pages 367, 368, contained in a letter from the BIA itself (Mackinac Agency, Ypsilanti, Mich., Dec. 26, 1878. See document.
338. The case of Wasso is an example of the complexity of the matter, especially in determining if one is Chippewa, Ottawa, or Pottawatomi. Review the certificate for the land grant (see document). It lists Wasso as a Pottawatomi (he is listed as a Griswold Colony member in 1851. In

1819 he was an influential Chippewa Chief who resided on the Shiawassee River, at present day Owasso (named after him later). He moved west, to Allegan County and received no payment for his lands from 1819 until Aug. 1, 1853 when he received 40 acres in a Presidential Land Grant to be held by his heirs and assigns, forever. Wasso, or Waso, or Owasso, was also swept away with the tide of the 1855 Removal north with the promise of lands which were never made for 318 "Grand River" (including our People, the Pottawatomies at Griswold) who were each to receive 80 acres. The eighth article of that treaty (see document 51, 11 Stat., 621, July 31, 1855), a Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa, which we Pottawatomi were attached to by authorization of the Secretary of the Interior (refer to document number 229), states that "Should any of the heads of families die before issuing of the certificates or patents herein provided for, sthe same shall issue to the heirs of such deceased persons. (Article Eighth, page 727, paragraph six). It was the old bait and switch for Wasso, the former Chippewa, lately a Pottawatomi, and listed under the Chiefs of the third class in the 1836 Ottawa Chippewa Treaty (see documents). It was also the same for the Shaw-be-co-ung Band, formerly known as the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band.

339. The depositions for the Supreme Court case show his presence there in 1890. Court depositions also show that he was a Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band member (see document number 277).
340. Court of Claims Deposition of Phineas Pam-to-pee, Hamilton, Michigan, July 14, 1891, 18 pages (see document).
341. As a point of clarification, the Pine Creek Reservation is the Huron Band Reserve, purchased by individuals with funds from the 1807 Treaty which were not paid for a period prior to 1842. The four mile-square Nottawaseppi Reserve was held by the Nottawaseppi Band of Pottawatomi (see document 340, pages 3, and 4). The 1847 Census of the Huron Pottawatomi listed 61 person.
342. Silas was recognized by the Holst Report as one of our Bradley leaders (see document 280). He was one of our local pastors, a good man, and elected as representative of the Allegan County Pottawatomi as liaison to the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association meetings during the Claims Commission era. The Bradley folks knew there were claims; they just could not gather the documents. In 1959 Silas gave this picture to my parents, with a small caption on the reverse side (see document).
343. May 29, 1940, Department of the Interior letter from John

Collier regarding Lake State Region (see document).

344. See document 51.
345. In the 1850's Pe-nase-way-wa-ge-zhick can be found on the rolls of the Fort Village Band of Grand River Ottawa; Peet-way-wee-tum, a Chief of the third class in the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty.
346. See document number 62. They were organized under the heading of "Michigan Ottawa, or "Ottawa" on stipulations and were still being paid their permanent annuities until the 1855 Treaty.
347. M-1, Roll 37, Michigan Superintendency of Ind. Aff., Mich. Superintendency and Mackinac Agency, Letters Sent, July 18, 1836-June 26, 1839, pages 311-12, 354-55 (see document). Also see document number 78, Griswold Colony.
348. See Document number 51. Thus the Michigan Ottawa disappeared from the stipulations and from memory as if they had been removed west. Essentially, Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish's Pottawatomi from the 1821 Treaty are technically Michigan Ottawa in the sense that it was out of this category that they were compensated until 1855.
349. M-234, Roll 487, Letters Received by OIA, Miscellaneous Emigration, 1824-48, pages 534-539, and related map, and 738 which show the remainder of the Ottawa Colony (those who had not joined Griswold after Noonday's death in 1847) under Maishkaw and their choice to go to Oceana (see documents).
350. Grand Rapids Press, July 10, 1993, Legal Battle Brews Over Indian Bones and Artifacts. In this controversy the Huron Pottawatomi of Calhoun County attempted to claim that Bradley Cemetery was a Huron Pottawatomi Cemetery but failed. They then met leaders of the Mission at Bradley to gain the nod to burying centuries old bones. Chief of the Huron Pottawatomi, John Chivis is buried at Bradley. He is also a descendant of Chief Matchi-pe-nashh-i-wish, but claimed a Huron Pottawatomi birth right (see document) as a descendant of Pam-to-pee. Also see document number 289; 290 (year 1840).
351. See document number 250.
352. Pam-to-pee v. United States, 1890. Pam-to-pee originally represented the Nottawaseppi Band in this matter and the interests of the Pottawatomi from the 4 mile-square Nottawaseppi Reservation created in 1821. The Indians from the "99 Section Reservation" intervened and later

joined the suit along with Pam-to-pee claiming that none of the Tribe from the "99 Sections" were included in the claims (this category included both Huron Potawatomi and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band Pottawatomi; and others). See document number 286.

353. Newsletter of Huron Potawatomi, Inc., April 1991, see page 2 and three (see document).
354. Kalamazoo Gazette, Jan. 10, 1994, Federal Recognition Splits Indian town.
355. See document 279. The divisions in the Bradley-Salem Indian Community are Bradley Mission followers, and Tribal members whose families are affiliated with Salem Mission. Both communities are descended from Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish. The Salem Community was started after the 1904 Pottawatomi payment when Lewis Medawis and members of his family purchased their own land ten miles west of Bradley. See document number 313. The Grand River influence is more pronounced at Salem. The melding of the Medawis Band into the Shaw-be-co-ung brought new blood into the communities gene pool. Also see document 318; 325.
356. Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, 1965, Vol 35, number 2. See document.
357. Indian Office Files, Page 51, Metaywis, Chief, 1870, Grand River Roll, 1908 Durant Roll field notes, BIA, Sault Ste. Marie. 45533 Special Agent File, H. B. Durant. Also see document 312.
358. The young Pam-to-pee brothers became adherents to an evangelical movement and inspired the community to pull out of Methodism and build a new Church, across the street from the historic Mission. Within a few years both Warren and Charles Pamp had died, and with them the dreams of a revitalized Mission movement. The Pine Creek Church is now controlled by a white Board of Directors although it is located on the Indian land.
359. Church, and now Joe Sprague, since 1954, have organized Michigan's remaining historic Methodist Indian Missions into a network called the Indian Worker's Conference. It's purpose is to keep the missions in repair, prepare pastors to lead their communities, and preserve their historic communities. In 1994 Rev Lewis White Eagle Church stepped down from leadership of this organization after 40 years of assisting the State's Indian Missions, all of them created by the War Department and still surviving in their communities today.

Page Thirty-Four, Documents.

360. Kalamazoo Gazette, 1980, Bradley Indians Hold Their Ground, see document.
361. The Lakota Times, Feb. 4, 1992, IHS Pharmacist Wins Surgeon General's Medal (see document).
362. Ibid., Years Gone By, Prosper G. Bernard, M.D., Hasting's Public Library, page 33 (see document).
363. Document 301, page 77.
364. The attendance of the Indian children at public schools in the 1950's hastened the decline in use of the Indian language. But the pastors as community leaders staunchly supported education for their children, saying to the children, "get yourself a good education; that is something the White man can never take from you". Since 1959 there has not been an Indian from the Missions who has not graduated from high school, and there was no federal program to achieve this.
365. The years among the Ottawa have provided the Bradley Salem Indian speakers with an Ottawa dialect of the Algonquin language. Thus the Indian language of the community is Ottawa, although only two persons are left who speak the language fluently.
366. Even the pastors of the Missions hunt, except Sunday. If there is a death, the pastor's attend the funeral and then if there is time they take to the field. The Indians no longer have to hunt out of necessity; it is only a tradition. The Mission circulated Indian Hunting Rights information to it's Tribal Members (see document).
367. State of Michigan, The District Court, 57 Judicial District, case number 704-0318, Willard Bush v. the State of Michigan, November 16, 1970 (see document); and The Development of the Commission on Indian Affairs, the Study Commissions, 1956-65, by James R. Hillman, 1981.
368. See document 308. This was the Tribe's first contact with the Tax system.
369. The Minutes of the West Michigan Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, Vol. 36., number 2, page 78, State of Michigan Library; and 1947 Athens Times article announcing Adam Sprague's death (see document).
370. Athens Times, Sept. 6, 1950. New Article, Rev. Pamp (see document).
371. Athens Times, 10-14-53, Dedication of New Mission (see

- document). Gone were the Tribe's ties to Methodism. By 1962 the organizational structure of the Mission was revamped and the the Church became Indian in name only. The death of Charles Pamp burst the dream of an Indian Mission Home, an orphanage for Indian children.
372. First minutes of the Indians of Allegan and Ottawa County, organized in 1950 to assist the community to participate in the development of Indian Land Claims (see document).
373. See document 51, 1836 Ottawa and Chippewa Treaty, Chiefs of the first Class; they are the Grand River Chiefs.
374. The Bradley-Salem Indians of Shaw-be-co-ung's Band created a linkage with the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association. The structure of the organization eventually worked against the Pottawatomis who desired to surface claims because of the Majority Rules, and the majority were Ottawa from Northern Michigan.
375. The Pottawatomies in the 1821 Treaty Area (Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band, would only receive funds from the judgment if they were 1/4 Ottawa. This was not well received by the Pottawatomis desiring to cooperate with Ottawas on Indian Claims. (see document).
376. See document 372, page 7.
377. See document 372.
378. Grand Rapids Press, September 25, 1954, Pottawatomis Get 1st Chief in 50 years. The leader of the Mission was usually considered the Community leader, or Chief. By 1954 the Pottawatomies had been by passed in the Indian claims process, and Mission leaders had done as much as they could. This meeting and election was very important. By cooperation with the Bradley Mission, but not being directed by it, the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band Pottawatomis created a new government made of up of Mission and non Mission Pottawatomies. The organization was developed to promote Pottawatomis interests.
379. See document 372, page 10.
380. See document 372, pages 14, 15 and 16.
381. See document 29).
382. Kalamazoo Gazette, Dec. 14, 1954. Claim Big Chunk of Kalamazoo, see document.
383. See document number 163.

384. First Huron Potawatomi Newsletter, Allegan-Ottawa Indian Ass'n files, Lewis Church Collection. The wave of organization in Michigan Indian country moved from north to south as the treaties and claims were explored. There were more Ottawa so more energy was expended on Ottawa claims; thus the Pottawatomies organized by themselves to protect their rights (see document). Also see document 378; document number 372.
385. News articles regarding Now-Qua-um, the fore runner of the Huron Pottawatomi organization brought together by Albert Mackety to pursue claims from the 1846 Treaty. Kalamazoo Gazette, August, 1954; Athens Times, January, and February, 1954 (See documents). Also see The Pottawatomi Indians of Southwest Michigan, by Everett Claspy, Dowagiac, 1966, page 31, on this subject as to his conclusions on this subject (see document).
386. See document number 78, Griswold Colony Band. Penasea became Chief of the Allegan County Pottawatomi Tribe after the death of their Great Chief Sagama.
387. See document 336 (a), and 336 (b).
388. In 1972 both the Huron Pottawatomi and the Pokagon Band attempted to intervene in docket 29-E and receive payment directly as tribes, but were denied (see document). The Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band, suffered the loss of most of it's Elders in the 1960's and consequently were at a great disadvantage. Leadership of the communities again became the domain of the Mission Pastors. Theywerenot, however, politicians.
389. See document 375.
390. See document 388. By 1972, Now-Qua-um had become the Huron Potawatomi, Inc., and Albert Mackety withdrew from his former position on the Shaw-be-co-ung Band Council. Albert's son David became the first Chair of the organization twenty years after Allegan Indians held elections for their modern Tribes (See document 372).
391. See number 163.
392. See document 320, pages 16, 17.
393. In 1795 Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish and his band resided at the mouth of the Kalamazoo in Royce Area 117. The creation of the 1821 Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Reserve at Kekalamazoo resulted in the United States recognizing ownership of the 3 mile-square land area at Kalamazoo based on the agreements set forth in the 1795 Treaty and

Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish relinquished his title, or ownership, to the rest of the 1821 Treaty Area, or Royce Area 117. In this manner, by the U.S. measuring the boundaries of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Reserve in metes and bounds, the U. S. conferred recognition to the Tribe (see Peoria Tribe v. United States, Docket 289, 19 Ind. Cl. Comm. 107, 120-2 (1969) (see document).

394. The Indians at Salem went to school in a one room country school where the Indians were always the majority. Therefore Rev. Church took his turn with each of the other Farmers and educational leaders and served off and on as the Public School's Administrator, hired teachers, purchased materials, kept the books, and reported to the County for District No. 9, the Dallas School. It was an early form of "parent involvement".
395. The existence of the community did not escape Sol Tax, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. See The North American Indians, 1950 Distribution of Descendants of the Aboriginal Population of Alaska, Canada, and the United States. They were listed as "Ojibwa and Pottawatomi (see document).
396. What Mackety failed to ever mention was that two competing Petitions for Federal Acknowledgment had been submitted to the Bureau of Acknowledgment and Research, located in the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs.
397. The matter of opening up Tribal Rolls was seemingly easy because the criteria for membership was being listed on the Taggart Roll and being one quarter Pottawatomi. Subsequent Research revealed that the Taggart Roll was made up of several bands after a Supreme Court judgment and was not primarily a Huron Band Roll but was formally known as "Nottawaseppi, and Other Bands." See document 277, document 286, pages 1 and 2, and 8 and 9, and document 163, The Taggart Roll of 1904.
398. In 1988 D. K. Sprague was hired to Administer the Administration for Native Americans Status Clarification Project from the Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Native American Division.
399. They were based on the Tribe's Constitution which required one to be listed on the Taggart Roll, and be 1/4 Nottawaseppi Huron; see document 165. The Taggart Roll contains more than one Tribe's members and is a court ordered census from which an Annuity was paid, and not a Huron Potawatomi Band Base Roll.

400. Many attempts to organize various community efforts have been tried in Allegan County for the Indian population but if it does not have the blessing of the Mission Board, or be in conflict with it's calendar, the initiative will fail. There was a certain amount of logic involved in the approaching the community to consider Federal Acknowledgment. It was evident the Mission Board led the community. Thus it had to decide whether it would relinquish control and allow formation of a modern community council. After much thought, the Mission agreed.
401. The Mission agreed to assist in the development of a new "Elder's Council". See Nov. 9, 1992 correspondence to Lewis Church, Interim Chief (see document).
402. See Draft Constitution, Article VI, Section 2 (see Document).
403. Incorporation document, "United Nation" (see documents).
404. Response from Secretary of Interior Brown, July 8, 1992, regarding acceptance of undocumented petition.
405. Response from the U. S Department of Interior-BIA, Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, September 11, 1992 (see document) Subsequent Research shows that both the Huron Potawatomi and the Pottawatomi Tribe known as The Gun Lake Band are, in fact, each themselves splinters of the "99 Sections Reservation" as affirmed in Pam-to-pee v. United States (see document).
406. See document number 76; 187.
407. We have an unbroken line of leaders whom were all descendants of Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish from 1795 to the present. Please see our letter dated November 10, 1993, to Assistant Secretary Ada Deer regarding our research and our shared history (Since both our Tribes occupied the so-called 99 Sections Reservation) and that the research show that we are not a splinter of the Huron Potawatomi but we do have a shared history, and our clarification. (See the letter). See BIA response dated Jan 10, 1994 (see document).

END