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.)

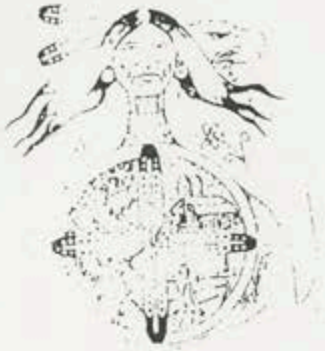
Submitted by:

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 Liason 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 proceedure 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 Rev 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 Kekalamazoo.

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 ther 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 name[8] 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 Michigan[9] 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 systems[12] 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 case[31] 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 diseases[32] 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 Grand[34] 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 Gun[36] 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 River[46] 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 Treaties[51] 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 Department[60] and a Treaty of Friendship[61] 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 of lessor 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 Rapids[98] 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 Pottawatomi 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. "Saggunk" (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-iwish.[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 emminent 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 on 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, Paanassee[125] (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, particlularly 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

Pottawatomi[136] 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, Moguago, 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 Michigan[142] 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 of ....1827 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 cession

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 be to 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 become 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 Treaty[164] 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 Roll[166] 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 remove[174]. 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 Ottawa[196] 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-qua[223] (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 Pottawatomi 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 alcohol[241] 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 Pottawatomies 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 <u>in addition</u> 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 snd 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 Matchi-penash-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 theron".

On November 6, 1858, Manypenny's successor, Charles E. Mix, in his annual address[260] 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 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 Reservation[278] 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