

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

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

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

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

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

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

had the opportunity to return home.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

lands when the court broke the McCoskry Trust in 1884.³⁰⁸

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

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

was left.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pete Stevens, adopted son of a Pokagon Pottawatomi (Alec

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

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

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

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

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

Michigan Agency. Previous to that time Sprague had served as a Indian Agent whose headquarters had been at Kalamazoo. Some of the Pottawatomi who joined Griswold from Kekalamazoo became known as "Sprague's Indians", or Sprague, (Spregg on the 1860 Census)³²² when the first English surnames were provided. Since all of the marriages were Indian to Indian few surnames will be found on passenger manifests but rather are to be found in the names of leaders of the time. Lewis Cass begat the many "Lewis" names. The Biblical David which appears early in the 1850's in reality comes from the name of the first Bradley postmaster, "David" Bradley. Selkirk, from James "Selkirk"; Foster, from Samuel "Foster", (a local doctor) and so on. The idea that the names emanated from marriage outside of the Indian Tribe is not supported by any records of the time.

In a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1853 it was noted that the "Griswold Indians are making substantial improvement. They now sit on chairs, sleep in beds, and eat with utensils". There is no mention of white neighbors wanting to join their rustic lifestyle, or mixed marriages.

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

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

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

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

A significant difference during the post 1920's era from

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The period of time when the Bradley Indian reservation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Bradley Mission has exhibited a tradition of Sprague

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tradition of medicine and the profession of medicine has become one of the exemplary elements of continuity among many changes in the fabric of the Allegan County Indian Community. If one has recently been operated on in Allegan County General Hospital, it is likely that Phoebe Stevens handed the surgeon the tools of his trade. If one has medicine proscribed for them there it is likely Sarah Medawis grandson who filled the proscriptio. Dr. Robert Church is the Hospital Pharmacist at Allegan General. His younger brother Richard,

also a graduate of the Univesity of Michigan, went to Washington D.C. and is currently the Assistant Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service.³⁶¹

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

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

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

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

This year (1994) another fine and old art is passing from the scene. Since treaty days, and possibly long before, the Indians of Allegan County have pruned and nurtured fruit trees for themselves and as a profession for fruit farmer throughout the region. For some it was nearly their total livelihood. For others it was extra money or seasonal work. These last to practice a dying art in the Indian community don't even seem to realize that cutting back fruit trees is traditional hold over from the colony experiences of a hundred fifty years ago. Fred Sprague, a victim of Sugar Diabetes who had his leg removed in 1992, was one of the last to practice the art. Others who still possess the skill to prune and make trees produce are now too old to climb.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At Athens the Methodist movement withered and died. The

historic Nottowa Mission closed.³⁷¹ The abundance of leadership available in the Indian communities caused the younger leaders to side step their elders, leave their homes, and become leader in other regions. Bob Pokagon and Lester White Pigeon from Salem went to Arizona, Sam Mackety to Los Angeles. They raised their families in other lands; some died and never came home; others returned but did not go back to the reservations. The Methodist Indian Mission movement in Michigan is still functioning in Michigan largely because Joe Sprague and Lewis Church followed the example of their Chiefs and stayed in their communities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the early 1950's, one such story, a century old oral story about the Indian lands owned by the Sha-pe-quo-ung Band again surfaced, preserved by oral tradition. The story, a reference to the three-mile square Kekalamazoo Reservation provided by the U. S. to Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band in the 18 Treaty, recalls accurately that he was never compensated full for it by the U. S. even though it was ceded in 1827 in another U.S. Treaty. The stories recall a famous long ago court case which demonstrated the authenticity of the claim, and obvious reference to the 1899 Supreme Court Case which allowed the Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish Band to be paid along with the Pottawat as Indians whom had not been removed under the 1833 Treaty.³⁸¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By December 1954 the Tribe made a concerted effort to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When the Michigan Agency of the BIA was created they then

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of a Petition for Federal Acknowledgment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Part III

DESCRIPTION OF THE CURRENT GROUP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE LOCATION AND EXTENT OF OUR GEOGRAPHIC COMMUNITY.

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

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

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

We do have one sizable family branch at Mt. Pleasant, where two Sprague brothers (Joe and Phil) moved and found a livelihood, and raised their large families. Those families now have

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

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

A PRACTICAL REFERENCE TO MODERN COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP.

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

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

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE UP THE TRIBE

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

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

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

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

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

THE ELEMENTS WHICH BIND THE COMMUNITY TOGETHER TODAY.

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

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

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

CONTEMPORARY INITIATIVES OF THE TRIBE REFLECTING COMMUNITY WILL

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

THE COMMUNITY CENTER GROUND BREAKING

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



Part IV

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

25 C F R P A R T 8 3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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